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Charles Antoine Coypel (French, 1694–1752). *François de Jullienne and His Wife*, 1743. Pastel, 39⅜ x 31½ in. (100 x 80 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gift, in honor of Annette de la Renta, 2011 (2011.84)

for Katharine Baetjer

WHO DEVOTED HERSELF TO THIS PUBLICATION

AND MADE COUNTLESS CONTRIBUTIONS

TO ITS SUCCESS

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Back cover illustration: Detail of El Greco, *A View of Toledo*, ca. 1599–1600. See fig. 1, p. 12.

Illustration on p. 2: Detail of *Mercury Changes Aglauros to Stone* from the *Story of Mercury and Herse*. Design, Italian, ca. 1540. Tapestry, Netherlandish, ca. 1570. See fig. 1, p. 148.

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MANUSCRIPT GUIDELINES FOR THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM **JOURNAL**

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Its purpose is to publish original research on works in the Museum's collection. Articles are contributed by members of the Museum staff and other art historians and specialists. Submissions should be emailed to: journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org.

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ABBREVIATIONS

MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*
MMJ *Metropolitan Museum Journal*

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

METROPOLITAN
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FEMKE SPEELBERG
FURIO RINALDI

Vincenzo de' Rossi as Architect: A Newly Discovered Drawing and Project for the Pantheon in Rome

Although Vincenzo de' Rossi (1525–1587) is principally known as a sculptor today, early written sources suggest that this eminent pupil of Baccio Bandinelli (1493–1560) also had a career as an architect. In the 1568 edition of his *Vite*, Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) introduced the artist among the "accademici del disegno" as "Vincenzo de' Rossi of Fiesole sculptor, and also architect and member of the Florentine Academy."[1] Raffaello Borghini (1537–1588), in his short account of Vincenzo's life in *Il Riposo* (1584), similarly referenced his work as an architect: "He [Vincenzo] also loved architecture, and with his designs many works have been made."[2]

Given the fact that Vincenzo seems to have been generally known as an architect by his contemporaries, it seems surprising that no architectural project or building has, to date, been assigned to his name. The second part of Borghini's sentence quoted above, which

fig. 1 Vincenzo de' Rossi (Italian, 1525–1587). *Design for a Fountain with the Labors of Hercules*, ca. 1559–62. Black chalk, 17 × 11 in. (43.3 × 27.8 cm). Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, New York (1942-36-1)

fig. 2 Vincenzo de' Rossi. *Design for a Fountain with Hercules and Cerberus*, ca. 1559–62. Black chalk, with pen and brown ink (?), 17¾ × 14¼ in. (45.2 × 36.1 cm). Location unknown (formerly Colnaghi)

fig. 3 Here attributed to Vincenzo de' Rossi. *Design for an Altar Surmounted by a Crucifix*, ca. 1546–47. Pen and brown ink, brush and gray-brown washes, over traces of black chalk, ruling and compass work; annotated by the artist in pen and brown ink, 23 × 16¾ in. (57.3 × 42.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Brooke Russell Astor Bequest, 2013 (2013.205)

implies that the execution of Vincenzo's architectural designs was often left to others, provides some explanation as to why so little is known about this side of his career. It still leaves us with questions, however, concerning what those designs were for and what they may have looked like.

In an effort to explain Vasari's and Borghini's references to Vincenzo as an architect, Barbara Castro, in her 1998 biography of the artist, referred to the *Design for a Fountain with the Labors of Hercules*, now in the collection of the Cooper Hewitt Smithsonian Design Museum (fig. 1), as an example of his designs for architecture.[3] A second drawing of similar subject matter appeared on the art market in 1983 (fig. 2).[4] Together the two designs can be considered to represent the start of a small oeuvre, but while fountains occupy a middle ground between sculpture and architecture, they can hardly provide the sole basis for understanding Vincenzo's career as an architect.

A drawing newly attributed to the artist, acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2013,[5] more persuasively substantiates the references found in the sixteenth-century sources and sheds new light on Vincenzo's activities as a draftsman and architect.

The *Design for an Altar Surmounted by a Crucifix* (fig. 3) is inscribed and signed *Vincentio Rossi* by the artist at bottom right (fig. 4) and can be considered the first genuine architectural drawing known by his hand. Moreover, it is almost certainly connected to an early and prestigious commission in Rome for an altar in the Pantheon, by then the dedicated church of Santa Maria ad Martyres, that was awarded to the artist by the influential Confraternita dei Virtuosi.

THE DRAWING AND ITS AUTHORSHIP

The altar design is executed on a sheet of monumental size and contains four different views of the structure, placed on the sheet in a correlated manner, with three projections of the elevation depicted on a horizontal axis above the floor plan of the altar. In the center, the frontal elevation is worked out in pen and brown ink with a light, gray-brown wash. The overall construction consists of a protruding tabernacle supported by Tuscan columns on top of a podium with three steps. The tall frieze above the columns is decorated with a combination of triglyphs with guttae, and metopes filled with symbols of the liturgy: from left to right, a bishop's miter; the host above a chalice and paten; Veronica's veil with the *vera icon*; a trophy of the crucifix and other instruments of the Passion; and a trophy consisting of a ewer and censer. The cornice is crowned by an arched pediment, which is left undecorated, and on top are placed three figural

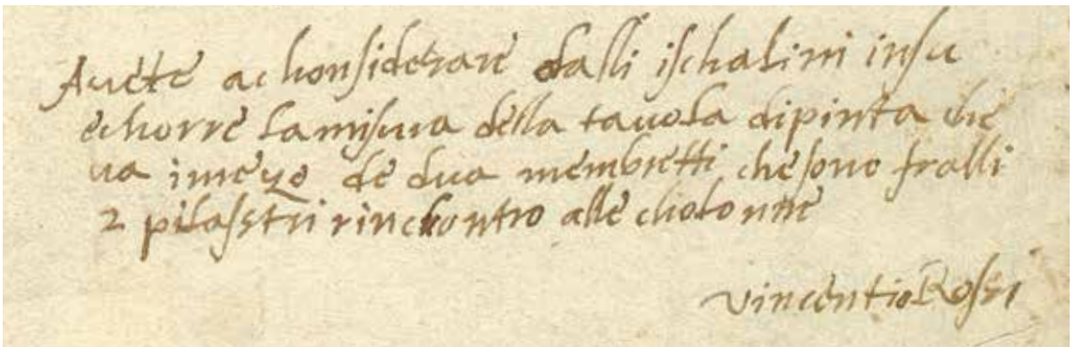

fig. 4 Detail of fig. 3, showing autograph inscription with signature of Vincenzo de' Rossi

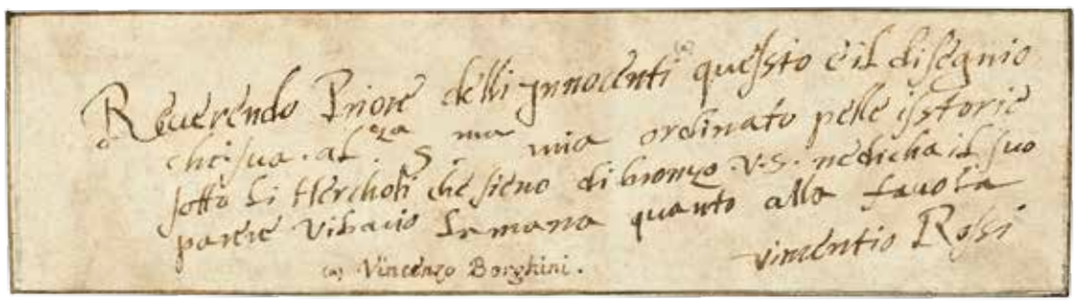

fig. 5 Note written and signed by Vincenzo de' Rossi to Vincenzo Borghini, ca. 1562. Pasted on the verso of *Hercules' Descent into Hades* (fig. 6). Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris (1573v)

sculptures supported by rectangular pedestals. The main sculpture in the center is an elongated crucifix with the rocks of Golgotha and the skull and bones of Adam at the base. It is flanked on either side by a figure of a crouching cherub holding up a lance—on the right side combined with the Holy Sponge. An altar table placed underneath the tabernacle consists of a thin slab supported by balusters. The plinth above the altar supports a reliquary in the form of a small central-plan building, of which only half is worked out in the round, flanked at left and right by three candelabra. In the wall above, a shallow compartment or niche with a semicircular top has been outlined by a frame with beveled edges.

The elevation of the altar is combined with three more views: the floor plan (depicted directly under the elevation), the side view from the exterior (on the right, marked *di fuoro* [from outside]), and a section of the side view (on the left, marked *Didrento* [*sic*] [from inside]). These additional views elucidate various details of the design. They make clear, for example, that the *mensa* (the altar's tabletop) protrudes from the tabernacle, and that shallow Tuscan pilasters are added to the structure behind the main columns of the tabernacle. The elevation and side views are combined with inscriptions providing relevant measurements in Florentine *braccia*. From these measurements it can be calculated that the main architectural body of the altar measures approximately 4.8 × 2.8 × 1 meters, and that the structure at its full reach, including sculpture and pedestal, covers almost double the drawing's surface, with approximate measurements of 7.9 × 4.2 × 2 meters.[6]

Aside from these notes, the sheet contains two other inscriptions written in the same hand but at different times. The four-line inscription at the bottom right is executed in an ink of similar hue to the ink of the drawing and includes the artist's signature: *Avete a chonsiderare dalli ischalini insu / echorre la misura della tavola dipinta che / va i[n] mezo de dua membretti che sono fralli / 2 pilasstri rinchontro alle cholonne / Vincentio Rossi*[7] (From the small steps and up, you have to take into consideration the measurement of the painted panel that goes in between the two members that are between the 2 pilasters behind the columns, Vincenzo Rossi).[8]

The second inscription, which is placed in the central compartment over the altar, is written in a different, nearly black-brown ink. It appears to have been added later and rather quickly, because the cursive is less neat in comparison to the first inscription, and the text partially runs over the lines of the drawing: *Se fatta questa tavola tonda / perche si servivano duna / vechia altrimenti nonsi / faceva*[9] (This panel has been made with an arched top, because they were using an old one, otherwise this would not have been done [designed] in this manner).[10]

Despite the presence of the artist's signature below the inscription at the lower right, the drawing was not connected to Vincenzo de' Rossi prior to its acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum, and it had been on the art market as an anonymous,

fig. 6 Vincenzo de' Rossi. *Hercules' Descent into Hades*, ca. 1562. Pen and brown ink, over traces of black chalk, 13⅞ × 17⅝ in. (35.2 × 44.8 cm). Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris (1573r)

sixteenth-century Florentine design. This omission in attribution is perhaps explained by the drawing's subject matter, which has no direct connection with the artist's known sculpted oeuvre.

A comparison of the handwriting (fig. 4) with that in a note written and signed by Vincenzo de' Rossi—addressed to the learned courtier Vincenzo Borghini (1515–1580) and pasted on the verso of one of the artist's few firmly attributed drawings, in the Musée du Louvre, Paris[11]—leaves no doubt, however (figs. 5, 6). Both inscriptions display the distinct *cancellaresca* cursive, the same use of flourishes on the letter *e*, and an almost identical signature by the artist as "Vincentio Rossi."

The draftsmanship of the two sheets is otherwise difficult to compare, owing to their different functions. The figural drawing in the Louvre, *Hercules' Descent into Hades* (fig. 6), was conceived as a compositional study for a bronze relief to be placed under one of the statues of Hercules commissioned from Vincenzo about 1562 by Cosimo I de' Medici (1519–1574), grand duke of Tuscany. The Louvre drawing was primarily meant to convey the composition and expressive properties of the relief, while the overall style of the architectural structure of the altar in the Museum's sheet is descriptively objective and focused on a clear portrayal of the details of the construction. The character of the sculpted figures on top of the altar, particularly the quick and effective pen strokes seen in the two crouching cherubs holding the instruments of the Passion (figs. 7, 8), nevertheless unmistakably exposes the influence of Vincenzo's master, Baccio Bandinelli.[12]

THE COMMISSION

While the inscription and style of the altar drawing confirm the attribution to Vincenzo de' Rossi, at first sight they do not reveal much that can help to identify the specific commission for which this design was made. The Central Italian watermark in the paper (fig. 9) is known to have been in use between 1529 and 1580—a time span that encompasses most of Vincenzo's working life—and therefore does not provide any helpful clues, either.[13]

Viewed within the context of Vincenzo's career, however, the relatively sober character of the altar design indicates an early work. In this respect the design is reminiscent of the overall structure of the tombs of

figs. 7, 8 Details of cherubs in fig. 3

the Medici popes Leo X (r. 1513–21) and Clement VII (r. 1523–34) in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome—a commission obtained by Vincenzo's master, Bandinelli, in 1536. To complete the complex project, Bandinelli supervised a team of Tuscan artists that included the architect Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1484–1546), who created the overall structure, and the sculptors Raffaello da Montelupo (1504/5–1566/67) and Nanni di Baccio Bigio (1512/13–1568), who were responsible for the final execution of the statues of Popes Leo X and Clement VII.[14] Although he is not mentioned by name, the young Vincenzo de' Rossi, who began an apprenticeship in Bandinelli's workshop at the age of nine, is generally presumed to have assisted in the execution of the two tombs, which were completed by June 15, 1542, when the ashes of the popes were transferred from Saint Peter's to Santa Maria sopra Minerva.[15]

Following his assistance on the two Medici tombs, Vincenzo appears to have worked for Bandinelli in Florence between 1541 and 1545, but his first recorded commissions as an independent artist were also in Rome, where he executed the marble reliefs for the tomb of Pietro Mates (1474–1545) in the church of San Salvatore in Lauro (ca. 1545)[16] and the freestanding sculpture group *Saint Joseph with the Christ Child* for the main altar of the Chapel of Saint Joseph in the Pantheon (fig. 10). Commissioned in August 1545 to "mastro Vincentio scultore,"[17] the latter sculpture can still be found on the altar of the first chapel on the left when one enters the building.

The Chapel of Saint Joseph is one of the four subsidiary spaces within the Roman building, and it was donated in 1541 by Pope Paul III (r. 1534–49) to the newly founded Confraternita dei Virtuosi al Pantheon, later known as the Confraternita di San Giuseppe in Terrasanta (Brotherhood of Saint Joseph in the Holy Land). The confraternity was founded in March 1541 by the Cistercian monk and canon of the Pantheon, Desiderio de Adiutorio (ca. 1481–1546), who remained at its head until his death. The members of the confraternity came from religious and secular backgrounds, and among them were many prominent artists active in Rome at the time, including Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Antonio Salamanca (1479–1562), Perino del Vaga (1501–1547), Livio Agresti (ca. 1508–1579), Jacopino del Conte (ca. 1515–1598), Francesco Salviati (1510–1563), Marcello Venusti (ca. 1512–1579), and Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta (1521–ca. 1580).[18]

The confraternity became a pontifical academy that survives to this day, and the minutes of the meetings, regularly held by its members, are kept in the Archivio Storico dei Virtuosi al Pantheon in Rome.[19] The minutes of the early meetings provide detailed information about the commission and execution of, and payment for, the statue of Saint Joseph, and they also contain crucial records about a subsequent commission extended to Vincenzo by the confraternity that has so far gone unnoticed. This second commission entailed the erection of an altar in the same chapel that was to house the statue Vincenzo had made. It is this commission that provides us with a plausible context for the newly discovered drawing.

The minutes of the confraternity record that the chapel remained unfurnished during the first two years after the official concession and, through use, gradually became cluttered and disorderly. For this reason, by October 14, 1543, Desiderio decided to commission works to furnish the chapel and decorate it with a statue. The chapel was also meant to house one of the most precious objects in the confraternity's possession: a marble reliquary containing earth from the Holy Land that had been collected by Desiderio himself during two visits to Jerusalem and Mount Sinai in the 1520s. The relics had miraculously survived the Sack of Rome in 1527, when so many others were lost, and found a proper home in the chapel of the confraternity, which was therefore in need of a more dignified appearance.[20]

Initially, the confraternity meant to dedicate its chapel to the Crucifixion and outfit it with sculptures of

the crucified Christ, the Virgin Mary, and Saint Joseph. During the meeting of October 1543, however, the members discussed the fact that another altar in the Pantheon was already dedicated to the same subject (the first chapel to the left of the main altar), and they subsequently decided to choose Saint Joseph as their principal patron saint. In response to this change, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger—an important member of the confraternity since its founding and, together with Raffaello da Montelupo, one of the surveyors of the chapel's refurbishment—suggested that he knew a suitable "antique" sculpture ("statua antiqua") that could serve their purpose, and Desiderio immediately set out to obtain it.[21]

Unsuccessful in this endeavor, Desiderio instructed the two surveyors in May 1545 to give the commission to "un mastro excellente" of their acquaintance—who, as the minutes of August 1545 show, was none other than Vincenzo de' Rossi. Just two months after the members of the confraternity had discussed and decided on the iconography of the statue of Saint Joseph, Vincenzo was able to show them an initial clay model. This *bozzetto*, although not yet completed, was highly praised by members of the confraternity ("qual modello piacque molto"), and they gave Vincenzo further instructions to ensure that the final marble version would "please all, in every respect."[22]

fig. 9 Detail of fig. 3, showing watermark (letter *M* under star in shield)

Between September 22, 1546, and May 7 of the following year, the marble sculpture of Saint Joseph was completed, and during their meetings, the members of the confraternity began to discuss the subsequent commission for a proper altar, referred to as a large window, to accommodate it. Since Antonio da Sangallo, their principal architect, had died in August 1546, the confraternity decided to entrust this matter either to Raffaello da Montelupo or to Vincenzo.[23]

Close reading of the minutes reveals that the satisfactory execution of the statue of Saint Joseph induced the members to invite its author to furnish the rest of the chapel as well: "The sculptor who made the statue of our Saint Joseph, having brought it to good result by now, also planned to begin to decorate the place where it was to be placed."[24] To execute the design, Vincenzo requested a draft with the specific requirements from the members of the confraternity,[25] who assigned this task to Raffaello da Montelupo and Antonio Labacco (also known as Antonio dell' Abacco; 1495–1570), Sangallo's close collaborator and successor as artistic consultant to the confraternity. That Vincenzo was indeed chosen to design an altar for the chapel is confirmed further by the minutes of the meeting of

fig. 10 Vincenzo de' Rossi. *Saint Joseph with the Christ Child,* 1546–47. Marble. Detail of the Altar of the Confraternita dei Virtuosi al Pantheon (fig. 13), Santa Maria ad Martyres (Pantheon), Rome

August 1547, when the artist was asked to report on his progress with the statue and his plans for the site where it was to be placed.[26]

Records of the meetings held in November and December of the same year show that most of the work on the altar had been completed to the satisfaction of the confraternity, and arrangements were made to pay Vincenzo and the craftsmen he employed.[27] This passage in the minutes contains crucial information on the various elements of the altar Vincenzo had designed: "On the day of the 11th of December . . . were settled the accounts with master Vincenzo the sculptor, both for the rest that was owed to him for the statue he made and for the works he commissioned for the window in which the above-mentioned statue was placed, as well as the pilasters, architraves, frieze, cornice, the stone slabs and carving [?] all of it done perfectly."[28]

Several parallels can be drawn between the documentary evidence of the confraternity's commission and details of *Design for an Altar Surmounted by a Crucifix* in the Metropolitan's collection (see fig. 3). First, the most characteristic architectural elements of this otherwise rather sober altar design—such as the "architrave" and "stipiti"—are mentioned expressly in the minutes on several occasions with regard to the "finestrone," or large window. Second, the sculptural decorations on top of the pediment recall the confraternity's original intention to dedicate its chapel to the Crucifixion. Although this subject was rejected in favor

of Saint Joseph, its presence in the design bespeaks the order's principal devotion and is warranted by the importance of Christ's sacrifice as the central focus during the Eucharist, an element that is further emphasized in the decoration of the metopes.

A third important link is the prominence that the design gives to the reliquary on the altar (see frontis and fig. 3). This receptacle can be connected to the relics from the Holy Land that had been in the confraternity's possession since its founding. Whether the reliquary in the drawing reflects an already existing object, or whether this, too, is a design by Vincenzo, is unknown. What is significant is that it takes the form of an octagonal temple, in clear reference to the centralized building structure of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. A receptacle of this shape would have been the ideal repository for the confraternity's cherished relics.

The two inscriptions on the drawing with Vincenzo's comments on his plans contain further indications that the design is related to the commission in the Pantheon. His directions at the lower right seem to be meant for the craftsmen who assisted him in the execution of the altar, reminding them of measurements and particulars of the construction. The mention of a "tavola dipinta," or painted panel, in this inscription is somewhat mystifying in the context of the Pantheon commission, since it cannot be adequately reconciled with the records of the altar's construction as chronicled in the minutes of the confraternity. Panels and paintings are mentioned there several times, but not in direct connection with the chapel or the altar.[29] However, in the drawing, the compartment above the *mensa* is portrayed as a relatively shallow space, better suited to a painting than to Vincenzo's sculpture of Saint Joseph and the Christ Child.

This fact, inevitably, raises some doubt about the veracity of the identification of the altar design in the Metropolitan's newly discovered drawing with the confraternity's commission to Vincenzo, unless it may be presumed that the sculpture was not placed directly on the altar but positioned elsewhere in the chapel, contrary to the summary wording in the records ("the window in which the above-mentioned statue was placed"). This hypothesis is partially sustained by the recent analysis of the confraternity's records by Regine Schallert. In her written reconstruction of the chapel, which is based purely on the documentary evidence at hand, she concludes that the confraternity discarded the idea of having the statue decorate the altar in favor of placing it in a simple niche. The latter solution was thought to conform more to the "antique" appearance of the Pantheon, in which each subsidiary space had

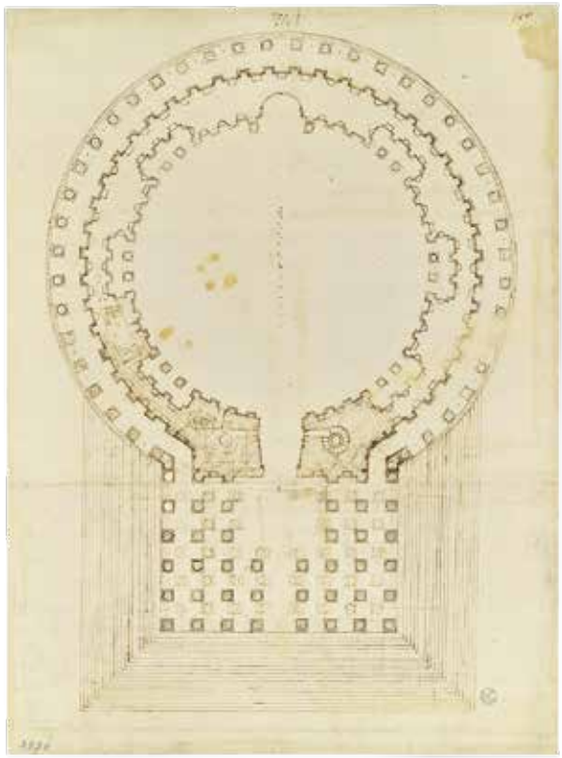

fig. 11 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (Italian, 1484–1546). *Design for the Floorplan of the Pantheon*, ca. 1535. Pen and brown ink, traces of black chalk, ruling and compass work, 23⅛ × 17⅛ in. (58.9 × 43.4 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (3990A)

three rectangular niches in the back wall. This would have been in line with sixteenth-century efforts to restore the original character of the building—a project in which many members of the confraternity actively participated.[30] The idea that the statue of Saint Joseph might have been given a separate place within the chapel seems substantiated further by the fact that Vincenzo selected a pillar from the church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo from which to fashion a base.[31] Schallert does not discuss the matter of the altar further, but it is unlikely that the confraternity would have done without an altar for its chapel, both for practical reasons related to the liturgy and because of the frequent mention of "l'altare di San Giuseppe" in the confraternity's records that predate the construction of the current Baroque altar, toward the end of the seventeenth century.[32]

While the content of the first inscription may generate some doubt about the identification of the altar as the commission by the confraternity, the second inscription, placed over the central niche of the altar, speaks highly in its favor. Most likely written at a later time, the inscription (quoted above) shows Vincenzo in defense of his design. He explains that the niche has been made round because he had to conform to specific conditions, in this case presumably a painted panel with an arched top.

The implication is that someone wondered about this specific element while looking at the design drawing,

prompting Vincenzo to respond—a scenario that might be explained by the context of the altar within the Pantheon. Indeed, the overall design closely follows the model of the *aediculae*, or tabernacles, in the main hall of the building. The most significant departures from the building's structure are the order of the columns (Tuscan in the drawing, instead of Corinthian) and the fact that Vincenzo decided, or was forced, to make his niche round, whereas the *aediculae* all have rectangular niches.

PANTHEON SANGALLENSIS

The decision to follow the general shape of the *aediculae* may have been influenced, or even prescribed, by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. Annotations and sketches preserved in several of his drawings, now in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, reveal Sangallo's profound interest in the Pantheon.[33] Rather than being in awe of its design, however, the architect focused on the defects he noted in the building's architectural structure and set out to correct them, if not in real life, then at least on paper.[34] Sangallo's rendition of a new floor plan for the building (fig. 11) of about 1535 can be considered the culmination of this so-called *Pantheon Sangallensis*, in which all irregularities have been removed and the building answers to one uniform scheme.[35]

Antonio da Sangallo's role as principal surveyor of the building activities of the Confraternita dei Virtuosi provided him with direct access to the architecture of the building. Although he did not execute the altar for the confraternity personally, it may be presumed that his stature as the architect of highest renown and seniority, and his role as surveyor, granted him the right to advise and exercise his influence on the plans, either through Raffaello da Montelupo, who survived him, or possibly directly through Vincenzo, whom he seems to have known from their collaboration on the papal tombs in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Most of Sangallo's emendation plans for the Pantheon, in fact, date from that period, when the two were working so near the antique building. That Sangallo knew Vincenzo well is further attested to by the fact that Vincenzo's brother, Nardo de' Rossi (ca. 1520–1570/72), was an active member of the Sangallo workshop until Sangallo's death in 1546 and was also connected to the Sangallo family by marriage. A letter from Nardo to Sangallo written on the verso of a drawing in the Uffizi dated January 9, 1546, includes greetings from his brother and reveals that Vincenzo was staying with Nardo in Rome at the time of the Pantheon commission.[36]

fig. 12 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. *Design for a Freestanding Tomb Seen in Elevation and Plan*, 1530–35. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, over extensive, compass-incised and stylus-ruled construction with pinpricked measurements, on off-white paper now partly darkened, 15¾ × 7⅜ in. (40.1 × 18.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward Pearce Casey Fund, 1998 (1998.265)

The Metropolitan Museum's sheet itself also sheds light on the relationship between Vincenzo and Antonio da Sangallo. It is clear, for example, that Vincenzo had become acquainted with the particular drawing practice of the architect's workshop. Over the course of his career and influenced by the methods of his father, Antonio da Sangallo the Elder (1455/62–1534), his uncle Giuliano da Sangallo (1443/45–1516), and Donato Bramante (1444–1514), Antonio da Sangallo the Younger had perfected a systematic way of portraying architecture by integrating plans, projections, and sections into one fully comprehensive design that enlightened the viewer about every aspect of the construction. This revolutionary system became particularly important in Sangallo's work after the Sack of Rome in the late 1520s and 1530s, when he was working on his survey of the architecture of antiquity and his commentary on Vitruvius.[37]

Though often criticized for a certain loss of spontaneity, the comprehensive end result was informed by a series of preparatory drawings, as demonstrated, for example, by the surviving designs by Sangallo for a freestanding tomb, often identified as a monument for Pope Clement VII meant for Santa Maria sopra Minerva.[38] A comparison of Sangallo's *Design for a Freestanding Tomb Seen in Elevation and Plan* in the Metropolitan Museum

(fig. 12) and Vincenzo's altar shows how Vincenzo adopted the expository manner of portraying the architectural form, as well as Sangallo's use of wash, to enhance the spatial effects of the construction. Vincenzo does not seem to have used the latter technique for his figural drawings, or he may have abandoned the use of wash later, after returning to Florence, for a system of hatching, closer to Bandinelli's approach (see fig. 6).

The decorative components of the altar—the choice of Tuscan columns and a frieze of triglyphs and decorated metopes—are also reminiscent of Sangallo's preferred vocabulary, which was prevalent as early as 1519 in a design for part of the facade of Saint Peter's.[39] Vincenzo's design is also especially close to another sheet by Sangallo, dated 1542–43, with ideas for the Porta Santo Spirito in Rome.[40]

The shared history of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and Vincenzo de' Rossi, and the latter's knowledge of (or possibly even training in) Sangallo's comprehensive system of architectural representation, reveals a closer connection between the two artists than was previously known. It is thus not surprising that the young Vincenzo's candidacy for the confraternity's two commissions was so strongly endorsed by the architect and his colleagues. In the execution of the altar and the decision to follow the shape of the *aediculae* in the nave of the Pantheon, Vincenzo was able to realize at least a small part of Sangallo's vision of bringing more unity to the interior structure of the antique building.

THE FATE OF VINCENZO'S ALTAR

Despite the many reproductions of the Pantheon in drawings, prints, and books, no interior views portraying the chapel of the confraternity with the completed altar appear to have survived.[41] The confraternity's records indicate that the altar remained in place until 1691, when both the statue of Saint Joseph and the altar were deemed to be in need of renovation.[42] Although Vincenzo's sculpture underwent restorative treatments and was returned to the chapel in the Pantheon, the altar itself was demolished to give way to a more modern structure. The confraternity's records report that a design for the renovations was prepared by Mattia De Rossi (1637–1695), a pupil of Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) and member of the confraternity, although the marble tabernacle with a convex frame and broken pediment still visible in the chapel today (fig. 13) is also attributed to Filippo Leti (active Rome, 1677–1711).[43] It was only at this time, it seems, that the decision was made to place the statue of Saint Joseph and the Christ Child centrally, in a niche above the altar. To accommodate this change, it was necessary to "expand the altar towards the front [of the chapel] and to this effect, demolish the old one."[44] Also mentioned as part of the renovation work was the relocation of the confraternity's relics from their original repository into a deeper-set compartment within the new altar.[45] Whether the original tabernacle was discarded or put to new use elsewhere is not known, but it is no longer part of the chapel's inventory today.

fig. 13 Vincenzo de' Rossi. *Saint Joseph with the Christ Child*, 1546–47; Mattia De Rossi (1637–1695) or Filippo Leti (active Rome, 1677–1711), marble altar, 1691. Chapel of Saint Joseph, Santa Maria ad Martyres (Pantheon), Rome

fig. 14 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and Vincenzo de' Rossi. Detail of *Tomb of Angelo Cesi and Franceschina Carduli Cesi*, ca. 1554–60. Cesi Chapel, Santa Maria della Pace, Rome

VINCENZO'S DRAFTSMANSHIP RECONSIDERED

The general paucity of drawings securely attributable to Vincenzo de' Rossi has led modern scholars to conclude that the artist was not a prolific draftsman and preferred his sculpting tools to pen and ink.[46] While the drawings assigned to Vincenzo are few compared to the large corpus of drawings by his principal master, Baccio Bandinelli, the rediscovery of the Metropolitan's drawing, with its architectural subject matter, raises the question of whether there might still be others waiting to be uncovered, or to be correctly attributed to his hand.

A new, more accurate portrait of Vincenzo de' Rossi as a draftsman emerges from this design together with the few other securely attributable drawings by him, including his signed sheet at the Louvre (see fig. 6) and the two designs for fountains (see figs. 1, 2). Dating from different moments in his career and executed in different media and styles, his drawings seem far more diverse and his artistic personality more multifaceted than has been previously proposed in the scholarly literature, which generally maintains that, on paper, Vincenzo was a less skilled and less energetic imitator of Bandinelli.[47] The four individual sheets discussed here clearly show Vincenzo's ability to change and adapt to the taste of his time and patrons, and to the specific requirements of particular commissions. This flexibility is also manifest in his oeuvre as a sculptor. The archaic look of the confraternity's Saint Joseph has often been criticized by modern art historians, but it was greatly appreciated and praised by its contemporary audience. Vincenzo may have deliberately adopted an archaizing style for the statue in order to conform to an Early Christian ideal; such an approach would have been in line with the confraternity's initial plan to place a "statua antiqua" on the altar of their chapel.[48]

The newly discovered drawing also provides us with tangible evidence that Vincenzo de' Rossi was indeed active as an architect, or designer of architecture, from an early moment in his career. His implementation of the vocabulary and rendering techniques of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger suggests that he may well have been trained in Sangallo's studio during his time in Rome. The connections between the drawing and Vincenzo's further activities for the Confraternita dei Virtuosi at the Pantheon, heretofore overlooked in favor of the details concerning the commission for the still-extant statue of Saint Joseph, are compelling and noteworthy. If correctly identified, the sheet in the Metropolitan Museum thus reinstates a part of Vincenzo's early career and provides a key to understanding his subsequent Roman commissions that display striking architectural components, such as the funerary monument of Uberto Strozzi in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (1553) and the completion of Antonio da Sangallo's renovation and decoration of the Cesi Chapel in Santa Maria della Pace (fig. 14).[49]

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NOTES

1 "Vicenzio de' Rossi da Fiesole scultore, anch'egli architetto ed accademico Fiorentino": Vasari (1568) 1966–87, vol. 6, p. 274.

2 "Si è dilettato etiandio dell'architettura, e co' suoi disegni si sono fatte più fabriche": Borghini 1584, p. 598.

3 Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, New York (1942-36-1). Black chalk, 17 × 11 in. (43.3 × 27.8 cm), Central Italian watermark ("lozenge containing six-pointed star in circle," Diam. 4.5 cm) close to Woodward 292 (Rome, ca. 1555–59) and Briquet 6097 (Lucca ca. 1556–72), annotated at right in pen and brown ink: *Baccio 46*; collector's mark of Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792; Lugt 2364). See Utz 1971, pp. 360–61, fig. 23; Castro 1998, pp. 120, 127n35; and Michael W. Cole in Cole 2014, pp. 222–24, no. 39, with incorrect transcription of the annotation. The same annotation *Baccio* in pen and brown ink, followed by a number written in a different ink, occurs on other drawings by or attributed to Baccio Bandinelli, such as British Museum inv. 1946,0713.261 (*Baccio 37*) and Christ Church, Oxford inv. 0090 (*Baccio / Bandinelli*)—and on a drawing recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum attributed to Bernardo Buontalenti (2014.466, annotated in the same handwriting *Benvenuto Cellino 4.*).

4 Location unknown, formerly Colnaghi, London. Black chalk, 17¾ × 14¼ in. (45.2 × 36.1 cm). See Colnaghi 1983, no. 2, ill.

5 The provenance of the work is as follows: possibly George Ramsey, 8th earl of Dalhousie (d. 1787); possibly his son George Ramsey, 9th earl of Dalhousie (1770–1838); his son James Ramsey, 10th earl and 1st marquess of Dalhousie (1812–1860); his eldest daughter, Lady Susan Broun Ramsey (d. 1898); her great-niece Edith Christian Baird, from 1921 Lady Broun Lindsay (still living in 1965); her grandson (by descent); *Old Master Drawings*, Sotheby's, New York, January 25, 2012, lot 40 (as Anonymous, Florentine, 16th-century).

6 These measurements are based on the common assumption that 1 Florentine *braccio* corresponds to 23 in. (58.3 cm). While the drawing principally contains measurements for the height and depth of the altar, the width can be approximated with relative accuracy, supposing that the design is to scale.

7 Inscription has been normalized in transcription: u = v.

8 Paraphrased translation by authors; artist's signature has been modernized.

9 Inscription has been normalized in transcription: u = v.

10 Paraphrased; interpretative translation by authors.

11 *Hercules' Descent into Hades*, ca. 1562, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, Paris (1573, fig. 6). Pen and brown ink, over traces of black chalk, 13⅞ × 17⅝ in. (35.2 × 44.8 cm), signed by the artist on the lower right of the recto in pen and gray-brown ink: *Vincentio Rossi*. The inscription on the verso, meant for Vincenzo Borghini, reads: *Reverendo Priore delli innocenti (a) questo e il disegnio / che sua. al.[tez]za S.[erenissi]ma mi a ordinato pelle isstorie / sotto li Hercholi che sieno di bronzo .V.[ostra] S.[ignoria] ne dicha il suo / parere vi bacio la mano quanto alla favola / Vincentio Rossi / (a) Vincenzo Borghini.* [in a different hand]." (Honorable prior of the Innocenti [a], this is the drawing that His Highness ordered from me for the stories under the Hercules statues that should be made in bronze. Awaiting your opinion on these fables, I kiss your hand, Vincenzo Rossi / [a] Vincenzo Borghini [later inscription to identify Borghini].) The verso has not been reproduced previously; see Heikamp 1964, pp. 38, 39, pl. 49; Utz 1971, p. 352, fig. 9; Monbeig-Goguel 1972, pp. 105–8, no. 125, ill.; Scorza 1984, pp. 316–17, fig. 2; Schallert 1998, p. 142, fig. 156; and Louis A. Waldman in Franklin 2009, p. 184, fig. 42.1. A preparatory study showing the central figure of Hercules is in an Italian private collection and is published in Scorza 1984, pp. 315–17, pl. 41.

12 Compare the draftsmanship of the two cherubs with Bandinelli's compositional drawing in the Uffizi (539F), for which see Petrioli Tofani 1991, p. 229, ill., and Waldman in Franklin 2009, pp. 262–63, no. 92.

13 The watermark (letter *M* under star in shield) is close to Briquet 8390 (documented Florence 1529) and Woodward 324 (documented Ancona 1569).

14 For the collaborative commission of the Medici tombs, see Frommel 2003, pp. 335–57; Götzmann 2005; Carmen C. Bambach in Franklin 2009, pp. 182–83, no. 41; and Partridge 2014.

15 The presence of the young Vincenzo de' Rossi during this commission is endorsed by Schallert 1998, pp. 259–60, and Castro 1998, p. 111. The first official surviving archival evidence that links Bandinelli and Vincenzo dates from June 27, 1541, and relates to his position as stonecutter in the Opera del Duomo in Florence; see Waldman 2004, p. 218, doc. 355.

16 See Marini 2001.

17 Archivio Storico della Pontificia Insigne Accademia di Belli Arti e Lettere dei Virtuosi al Pantheon, Rome (hereafter AVP), "Libro I delle Congregazioni (1543–1597)," 1545, fol. 6v; see Schallert 1998, pp. 28–36, 232–33, no. 1.

18 On Desiderio de Adiutorio and the early history of the Confraternita dei Virtuosi al Pantheon, see Visconti 1869; Orbaan 1915; Cherubini 1987; and especially Tiberia 2000, 2002, and 2005.

19 Part of the documents from the "Libro I" of the confraternity, encompassing the years 1543 to 1597, were published in Schallert 1998, pp. 233–35, and Tiberia 2000, pp. 51–242.

20 Visconti 1869, pp. 41–43; Cherubini 1987, p. 193. Referred to as the "Terre Sante," the relics are mentioned in the first statutes of the confraternity drawn up in 1545, when it was determined that the confraternity's chapel in the church devoted to the Holy Mother would be the perfect place to keep them safe. Specific mention is made of the placement of the relics under an altar in this chapel. "[Desiderio] consider che in tal Tempio consecrato alla Gloriosiss.a Vergine, et a tutti li santi martiri sarebbero bene collocate dette Terre S[an].te, et visto esservi un luogho bello per una Cappella, qual non si usava, né era ad altri destinato, lo domnandò et gratiosamente . . . ottenne per fundavi una Cappella, et sotto l'altare di quelle collocare dette Terre S.te." AVP, "Primo Statuto della Compagnia di San Giuseppe di Terrasanta," 20 Dicembre 1545; Tiberia 2000, pp. 231–32. The reliquary containing the earth is still recorded among the confraternity's possessions in the confraternity's minutes of January 14, 1691; Tiberia 2005, p. 437.

21 AVP, "Libro I," 1543, fol. 3v, 1544, fol. 4r; see Visconti 1869, pp. 41–43, and Schallert 1998, p. 233.

22 "acciò faciessi la statua di marmore che in tutto piaciessi": AVP, "Libro I," 1545, fol. 6v; see Schallert 1998, pp. 233–34.

23 AVP, "Libro I," 1546, fol. 11r: "si risolse che si dessin le dui tavole di marmo o al nostro mastro Rafael da Montelupo o allo scultore detto et che si acconciassi el finestrone dove ha da star la statua di san Josef, pingendolo et ponendovi li stipiti et architravi come ha da stare"; see Schallert 1998, p. 235, and Tiberia 2000, p. 76.

24 "lo scultore qual fa la statua del nostro san Josef, avendola hormai a buon porto, disegnava cominciare di adornare el loco dove

si aveva da ponere": AVP, "Libro I," 1547, fols. 13v–14r; see Schallert 1998, p. 235.

25 AVP, "Libro I," 1547, fol. 13v–14r: "voleva dalli signori confratri el disegno."

26 Ibid., fol. 15r: "14 d'Agosto . . . fu sollecitato mastro Vincentio scultore che dessi perfectione et alla statua del nostro Santo et al luogo dove ha da stare"; see Schallert 1998, p. 235.

27 After Desiderio's death, the confraternity had trouble raising the money for their commissions and frequent mention is made of payments due to Vincenzo for his work in the chapel until the end of 1549; see Tiberia 2000, pp. 86–98.

28 "Adi 11 di Dicembre . . . si erano saldati li conti con mastro Vincentio scultore, si del restante diquel si li doveva per conto della statua fatta da esso et sí del lavoro fatto fare da esso nel finestrone dove si è posta decta statua sopra allo altare, di stipiti, architrave, fregio, cornicie et lastrone et conducitura di tutto a perfetione": AVP, "Libro I," 1547, fol. 16v; see Schallert 1998, p. 236, and Tiberia 2000, pp. 86–87.

29 Early mention is made of a "tavola," with a description of the various "Terre Sante," which was to be placed on one of the walls of the chapel (January 1, 1543). On June 21, 1545, Perino del Vaga and Nanni di Baccio Bigio were invited to decorate the left and right sides of the chapel, respectively. Whether any of these decorations were realized remains unclear. After Desiderio's death and during the time Vincenzo was employed by the confraternity, the members sold a painted "ritratto del Nostro Signore" (on August 8, 1546) and a "ritratto del Papa," most likely Paul III (on September 22 of the same year), both from the possessions left behind by Desiderio, to come up with the funds to pay Vincenzo. During the same meeting, the members also agreed to give two marble panels ("dui tavole di marmo") to Vincenzo for the execution of the altar—which are most likely the same panels mentioned again in the payment records of December 11, 1547, where it is specified that they were meant to be joined together to form one panel ("dui pezi di tavole di mischio per fare una tavola"). In addition, some paintings ("bellisime pitture") were considered, on November 23, 1547, to be part of the decor of the chapel after the completion of the altar. A commission to Federico Zuccaro (1540/42–1609) was considered from 1597 onward after Pope Clement VIII complained about the barren state of the confraternity's chapel, but the program was never executed. The frescoes currently flanking the altar in the chapel were commissioned to the painter Fabrizio Chiari (1621–1695) but, owing to his absence, then assigned to Francesco Cozza (1605–1682) and added only in 1659. AVP, "Libro I," 1547, fol. 16v; see Schallert 1998, pp. 234–36; Tiberia 2000, pp. 34, 65, 74–75; and Tiberia 2005, pp. 38, 288.

30 Schallert 1998, pp. 95, 96, and nn. 90, 95; Buddensieg 1968; Buddensieg 1971; Buddensieg 1976. For reconstructions of the antique Pantheon, see Grasshoff et al. 2009.

31 Schallert 1998, p. 235; Tiberia 2000, p. 84.

32 For the construction of this new altar, see below in this article.

33 See the drawings in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (306A, 841A, 874A, 1241A), discussed and illustrated by Arnold Nesselrath in Frommel and Adams 2000, pp. 134–35, 158–59, 172–73, 221, 268–69, 347, 369, 380, 424, ill.

34 Sangallo had set out to measure all antique buildings in Rome with the help of his workshop to prove that they answered to the architectural rules as communicated by Vitruvius. Where deviations were noted, these were explained as mistakes made by the ancient architects. In the specific case of the Pantheon, a myth was put forward in the sixteenth century, described by, among others, Vasari in his *Vite* of 1568 (1966–87, vol. 4, pp. 273–74), that the building had been realized by a total of three architects; the beautiful and "correct" parts were built by the first architect, but when his work was continued after his death, his successors misunderstood the plans and made the apparent mistakes. See Frommel and Adams 2000, pp. 3, 4; Buddensieg 1971, p. 265; and Buddensieg 1976, p. 343. Sangallo first studied the Pantheon as a source of inspiration while working with Donato Bramante on the Dome of Saint Peter's. In his later sketches and annotations concerning the Pantheon, Sangallo instead set out to correct the irregularities and thus went a step further than many of his predecessors and contemporaries who created a large group of drawings of the Pantheon during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (some from observation, others by copying). Most of these drawings, which predominantly record the vestibule and parts of the interior, can be considered as observational studies rather than as acts of criticism in Sangallo's sense. For the early Italian drawings, see Shearman 1977; Wurm 1984, p. 473; and Scaglia 1995, pp. 9–28; for a group of French drawings in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum and related material, see Yerkes 2013.

35 *Design for the Floorplan of the Pantheon*, ca. 1535, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (3990A; fig. 11). Pen and brown ink, traces of black chalk, ruling and compass work, 23⅛ × 17⅛ in. (58.9 × 43.4 cm). Annotated at the top in pen and brown ink: *299.* and *100*; at lower left, in blue graphite: *3990*; at lower right, collector's stamp of the Uffizi (Lugt 929); see Arnold Nesselrath in Frommel and Adams 2000, pp. 268–69, 476, ill.

36 Nardo di Raffaele de' Rossi was a stonecutter who worked with Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and was married to an unidentified Sangallo daughter. In 1541 he drew up an inventory of objects left behind by Baccio Bandinelli in his house in Rome, indicating that Bandinelli either stayed with Nardo or was at least a close contact of his whom he trusted with his belongings after leaving Rome for Florence. Later, Nardo would also work with Nanni di Baccio Bigio and Pirro Ligorio, and between 1560 and 1564 he assisted Michelangelo in the completion of sculptures for the Porta Pia. The drawing with the above-mentioned letter from Nardo to Sangallo is Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (302A); see Bertolotti 1884, p. 41; Ferri 1885, p. 164; Utz 1971, pp. 363–65, under docs. 6 and 10; Schallert 1998, p. 173n108; and Waldman 2004, pp. 214–17, doc. 351.

37 Frommel and Adams 1994, pp. 10–51. We would like to thank Carmen C. Bambach for pointing out this important connection.

38 For the Metropolitan Museum's drawing by Sangallo, *Design for a Freestanding Tomb Seen in Elevation and Plan*, 1530–35 (1998.265; fig. 12), see Bambach 2007, pp. 81–82, fig. 95; Bambach 2008, p. 128, fig. 3; and Bambach in Franklin 2009, pp. 182–83, no. 41. Other autograph and workshop drawings related to the same project are in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (183A, 185A, 1129A).

39 Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (122A). Pen and brown ink, brown wash, straightedge, compass, stylus, pin, 18⅞ × 21⅞ in. (48 × 55.6 cm); see Frommel and Adams 2000, pp. 108, 321 (ill.) (dated to 1519).

40 Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (1096A). Pen and brown ink, 8 × 10⅝ in. (20.3 × 27.1 cm); see Frommel and Adams 1994, pp. 195–96, 388 (ill.) (dated to 1542–43).

41 Most of the artists reproducing the building during the Renaissance and Baroque periods focused on recording the

parts of the building that were considered antique and not the "modern additions." This changed in the eighteenth century, with portrayals of the contemporary interior such as the panel by Giovanni Paolo Panini in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (4594); see Shearman 1977; Wurm 1984, p. 473; Scaglia 1995; and Yerkes 2013, p. 87.

42 AVP, "Libro III delle Congregazioni," 14 Gennaio 1691, cited from Tiberia 2005, pp. 42–43, 296–97, 437–38. An earlier restoration was necessary in 1610, and a further plan to enlarge the altar was formulated in 1660 but apparently not executed owing to a lack of funds; see Tiberia 2002, pp. 35, 36, and Tiberia 2005, p. 39.

43 Schallert 1998, p. 232.

44 "dilatare piu avanti l'altare et a questo effetto demolire il vecchio": AVP, "Libro III delle Congregazioni," 14 Gennaio 1691, cited from Tiberia 2005, pp. 437–38.

45 AVP, "Libro III delle Congregazioni," 14 Gennaio 1691, cited from Tiberia 2005, pp. 42–43, 296–97, 437–38, 474–75.

46 See Heikamp 1964, p. 40.

47 Based on this small group of securely attributed drawings, the further body of works attributed to Vincenzo de' Rossi needs careful revision and consideration. In the past, his hand has been sought mainly in the vast body of works from the circle of Bandinelli; see Heikamp 1964; Vitzthum 1965; Utz 1971; Scorza 1984; Schallert 1998; and Louis A. Waldman in Franklin 2009. Not all of these attributions are convincing, however.

48 This idea is also brought to the fore by Schallert 1998, pp. 97–104.

49 On the Strozzi and Cesi commissions, see Schallert 1998, pp. 126–27, 155–201, 242–47.

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