Antiquity Expanded
Ancient West Asian and North African Architecture in European Art, c. 1450-1570

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Abstract

This dissertation argues that early modern Netherlandish artists and architects imagined an expanded antiquity. I examine a range of case studies that explore the ways that fifteenth- and sixteenth-century artists such as Hugo van der Goes, Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen, Jan van Scorel, Maarten van Heemskerck, Hieronymus Cock, Pieter Coecke van Aelst, and Pieter Bruegel imagined the ancient architecture of West Asia and North Africa. Examples include the ruins of the City of David, pillars from Solomon's Temple of Jerusalem, the Tower of Babel, Persian fire temples, and figures of enslaved Persians, Dacians, and Egyptians as columns in ancient imperial architecture. While European pictures animated these distant worlds of buildings, including them within the histories of European art, they also evidence a wide realm of transcultural devices that crossed geographies, texts, workshops, and pictorial compositions in the artistic exploration of ideas. The modern idea that Greece and Rome were the only stylistic components of the revival of antiquity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is a historiographic misdirect. This oversight has more to do with the invention, centuries after the Renaissance, of the concept of "classical art" as a category of Greek and Roman antiquities. Even though it was mostly mediated through ancient Roman art and architecture, the actual early modern processing of the past demanded an aggregation of antiquities from the wider reaches of the world. Netherlandish travelling artists, most notably van Scorel and van Heemskerck, carried on some of the Italian ideas in art and architecture, and developed a corpus of pictures that is especially attuned to the ways antiquity was understood across Europe, and how it changed according to new discoveries. Across four chapters, I develop the concept of "archaeological imagination" as the ways artists and architects process(ed) the past. These processes, I argue, were far more global in their ambition than what a "classical" definition affords.

Résumé en français

Dans cette thèse, je soutiens que, pour les artistes et architectes néerlandais des XVe et XVIe siècles, l'Antiquité s'étendait au-delà du monde dit « classique ». En quatre chapitres, je déploie une série d'études de cas qui explorent les façons dont ils ont imaginé l'architecture ancienne de l'Asie occidentale et de l'Afrique du Nord. Je réfute ainsi l'idée moderne selon laquelle la Grèce et la Rome antiques ont été les principales composantes de la renaissance de l'Antiquité aux XVe et XVIe siècles, une invention qui remonte seulement aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles. Le traitement réel de l'Antiquité représentait pourtant une agrégation plus saine d'exemples d'architecture provenant des régions les plus éloignées du monde. Les ruines de la Cité de David, les piliers du Temple de Salomon de Jérusalem, la Tour de Babel, les temples du feu persans et les colonnes figurant les esclaves Perses, Daces et Egyptiens sont des motifs qui ont traversé l'imaginaire de l'Europe du Nord de la Renaissance à travers un large éventail de dispositifs transculturels comme les textes, les compositions picturales et le travail d'atelier. Des artistes voyageurs néerlandais, tels que Jan van Scorel et Maarten van Heemskerck, s'ils ont repris certaines idées italiennes concernant l'art et l'architecture antique, ont développé un corpus d'images qui est particulièrement en phase avec la façon dont l'Antiquité a été comprise à travers l'Europe, et l'évolution de cette conception selon les nouvelles découvertes. Je développe le concept d'« imagination archéologique » pour exprimer ce traitement du passé de la part des artistes et architectes néerlandais. Dessiner et rendre de villes anciennes, de leur architecture et d'objets, sont comme une méthode archéologique cruciale pour envisager le passé. Comme le démontre cette thèse, les artistes et architectes néerlandais pratiquaient l'imagination archéologique, un moyen archéologique empirique avant l'heure, pour tenter de comprendre le passé par sa représentation.

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Figure 5.5 – Detail of figure 5.4.

Introduction

> Mappers of the heavens or mappers of the historical universe, those of us who desire to look into the dark and distant recesses of the past often discover, in the end, that centuries-old light has been illuminating our gaze all along.
>
> - Michael Ann Holly, *Past Looking*

Around 1508 or 1509, when Jan Gossart (1478-1532) drew the Colosseum in Rome, the painter initiated a new mode of imagining the ancient past in Netherlandish art (fig. 0.1). The artist had accompanied his patron, Philip, Bastard of Burgundy (c. 1465-1524), on a diplomatic mission to Italy that same year with intentions to secure ties with Pope Julius II (1443-1513). The entourage returned to the Netherlands early in 1509.[1] Philip's intention in bringing Gossart along was to have his court artist study, draw, and recompose Rome's antiquities in Netherlandish commissions in the years after their return. The drawing of the Colosseum is among Gossart's many sketches made while in Italy. The artist drew sculptural and architectural fragments from Roman antiquity, many of which appear in his later works, however redesigned to suit new compositions. As Marisa Anne Bass has convincingly asserted, while Gossart may have sourced many of his architectural and sculptural fragments from his observation of Italian models, the ancient Mediterranean worlds that he painted were also entangled with myths and legends that served to re-invent Netherlandish antiquity.[2] In a similar way, artists after Gossart, including Jan van Scorel (1495-1562), Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574), Hieronymus Cock (1518-1570),

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[1] See Stephanie Schrader, "Drawing for Diplomacy: Gossart's Sojourn in Rome," in *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossart's Renaissance*, ed. Maryan W. Ainsworth (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 44-55.

[2] Marisa Anne Bass, *Jan Gossart and the Invention of Netherlandish Antiquity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 1-5.

Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-1550), and Pieter Bruegel (c. 1525-1569), would travel to Rome, where many studied the Colosseum and produced drawn, painted, and printed images (fig. 0.2). Instead of just rendering the Colosseum and other ancient ruins as monuments of Roman imperial ruin, some artists chose to use fragments of ancient Roman architecture to design buildings from beyond the geographic and temporal confines of the Roman empire. For example, Pieter Bruegel's *Tower of Babel* from around 1563 redesigns the Colosseum to imagine an ancient Babylonian monument (fig. 0.3). In other words, early modern artists used pieces from Roman antiquity to build worlds beyond Rome.

I open with Gossart's drawing of the Colosseum, not to illustrate the spread of ancient Roman aesthetics across Europe, but to instead consider sixteenth-century Netherlandish compositional processes that unfolded archaeological methods of recording, copying, and recomposing antiquities to build ancient worlds in pictures. As Ethan Matt Kavaler argues, painters such as Gossart were architects, in the sense that they recomposed parts of buildings to design new ones in pictures.[3] In this dissertation, I focus on the reception of ancient architecture in works of art that highlight two geographic areas: West Asia and North Africa. *Antiquity Expanded* thus refers to the ways artists built worlds in pictures, and how these pictures imagined ancient worlds of buildings. While these pictures were meant to depict the past, they also invented and created new pasts in each iteration. With the case studies presented below, I argue that West Asia and North Africa featured prominently in sixteenth-century archaeological imagination, and that global travel, attunement to ancient histories, and careful study of material remains were what processed and built these ancient worlds across artistic media. Gossart's

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[3] Ethan Matt Kavaler, "Gossart as Architect," in *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossart's Renaissance*, ed. Maryan W. Ainsworth (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 31-43.

Colosseum is at the beginning of a tradition in Netherlandish art that highlighted Roman antiquity and projected ancient monuments into modes of archaeological imagination that processed and built worlds beyond the idea of Rome.

I define archaeological imagination as the *ways* artists and architects *processed* the past. A "way" of doing something, *wijze* in Dutch, also translates into "mode" and "manner," synonyms for "style."[4] The style I am emphasising here is the sixteenth-century replication of antiquity that is indicative of archaeological imagination. In my case studies, archaeological imagination is indebted to the kind of paths that scholars such as David Young Kim, Bronwen Wilson, Angela Vanhaelen, and Stephen Campbell theorise as the *ways* artists travelled to, encountered, and depicted, other, new, and intersecting worlds.[5] "Process" is the second loaded word in my definition. Thinking with Alfred North Whitehead, process refers to the ways that things—referred to as events—continue to be.[6] Process is durational, and it expands beyond the idea that an event or thing can only be purely accessed as an empirical encounter.[7] Gossart's

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[4] See Svetlana Alpers "Style is What You Make It: The Visual Arts Once Again," in *The Concept of Style*, ed. Berel Lang (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, [1979] 1987), 137-162; Irene J. Winter, "The Affective Properties of Style: An Inquiry into Analytical Process and the Inscription of Meaning in Art History," in *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, eds. Caroline A. Jones and Peter Galison (London: Routledge, 1998), 55-77; and the chapter "Fighting with Style" in Philip Sohm, *Style in the Art Theory of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 19-42.

[5] David Young Kim, *The Travelling Artist in the Italian Renaissance: Geography, Mobility, and Style* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014); Bronwen Wilson and Angela Vanhaelen, "Making Worlds: Art, Materiality, and Early Modern Globalization," *Journal of Early Modern History* 23, no. 2/3 (2019): 103-120; and Stephen J. Campbell, *The Endless Periphery: Toward a Geopolitics of Art in Lorenzo Lotto's Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019).

[6] Alfred North Whitehead, *Process and Reality: An Essay in Cosmology*, corrected edition (New York: Free Press, [1929] 1978).

[7] Isabelle Stengers elaborates on Whitehead's theory of cosmology in *Thinking with Whitehead: A Free and Wild Creation of Concepts*, trans. Michael Chase (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011). Also see Steven Shaviro, *Without Criteria: Kant, Whitehead, Deleuze, and Aesthetics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009), and Erin Manning, *Always More than One: Individuation's Dance* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press).

drawing of the Colosseum exemplifies process. The ancient amphitheatre, built by the Flavian

dynasty of Roman emperors and dedicated to the city in 80 CE, is an architectural icon; a

massive symbol of ancient empire and architectural ingenuity with an image that has been spread

across media for nearly two thousand years (fig. 0.4).[8] Gossart's drawing could potentially be a

viewer's first encounter with the Colosseum, and it is through representations in media that

viewers come to know about the ancient architecture of faraway places. How the building has

been and continues to be known—how it has shaped and is shaped by centuries of enduring

receptions—is how the Colosseum is processed.[9] It is through this continuous process of coming

into being that a "world" of the Colosseum makes new worlds. For Donna J. Haraway, who

works with Whitehead's theory of process: "it matters what worlds world worlds."[10] It matters,

then, what was happening, socially and politically, in the early modern European world, where

artists such as Gossart and Bruegel were working, and building worlds—worlding—in their

painted pictures. It is the process of worlding that is the focus of this dissertation.

 I open with Gossart's drawing as a way to exemplify this process of archaeological

imagination. After Gossart, sixteenth-century artists and architects rebuilt the Colosseum each

time they studied, drew, and copied it; and they also built other buildings by modelling new

designs after the amphitheatre's iconography. Maarten van Heemskerck designed a similar

iconographic representation when in 1553 he painted a self-portrait with the Colosseum in the

background (fig. 0.5). The portrait is a dual kind, because in the landscape behind his painted

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[8] See Katherine E. Welch, *The Roman Amphitheatre: From its Origins to the Colosseum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 128-162; and Keith Hopkins and Mary Beard, *The Colosseum* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

[9] My methodological example is from Jonathan Sterne, "Shakespeare Processing: Fragments from a History," *ELH* 83, no. 2 (2016): 319-344.

[10] See Donna J. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 35.

bust in partial profile, van Heemskerck included a second depiction of himself seated before the Colosseum sketching the architecture. The dual portrait tells a story of the artist who journeyed to Rome between 1532 and 1536/37, and also claims his authoritative position as an expert witness of antiquity.[11] Van Heemskerck painted the portrait nearly two decades after he was in Rome, so the drawings he had made while he was there served as recordings of architecture—as an iconographic database—which he continued to consult and rework throughout his later professional practice. Like van Scorel, van Heemskerck's engagement with the Colosseum exemplifies a central claim of this dissertation, which is that the repetition and reworking of ancient archaeological iconography makes visible the often invisible processes of artistic travels, experiences, and modes of composing.

At the centre of my investigation is the repurposing of ancient Roman architecture to create influential fabrications of non-Roman architectural histories. Each of the four chapters takes up works by Netherlandish artists that evidence a mode of depicting antiquity beyond Greece and Rome, in which ancient Roman fragments of architecture and sculpture serve the archaeological imagining of ancient places and histories in West Asia and North Africa. "The ancient near east was alive and well in early modern Europe," Jane Grogan argues. Despite this prevalence, she claims that there is little to no scholarly corpus of work that focuses on the reception of ancient worlds, such as Babylon, Persia, and Assyria, in early modern Europe. Grogan challenges scholars to "address this significant gap in scholarship of early modern classical reception, in the widest sense of that term, and to put the ancient near east back on the

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[11] See Arthur J. Difuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome: Antiquity, Memory, and the Cult of Ruins* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 217-242.

map of early modern Europe."[12] This dissertation responds to this challenge by examining the ways in which the architectural histories of West Asia and North Africa determined a range of early modern pictures that imagined architecture from the past, and beyond Europe. The use of the Colosseum as an iconographic base for many Netherlandish depictions of the Tower of Babel is a compelling example. The scale and shape of the Colosseum occupied a central place in early modern archaeological imagination, especially in artworks that required artists to invent a colossal ancient monument like Bruegel's Tower of Babel. Because of the Colosseum's iconographic affordance, many depictions of the Tower of Babel resemble a Roman amphitheatre. Bruegel's picture, and others like it, however, are intended to convey to viewers a West Asian monument. Just how "historical" such pictures were supposed to be is a question that initiated my inquiries.

The building of the Tower of Babel, as recounted in the ancient Jewish Book of Genesis, predates the Colosseum by thousands of years, yet there are many sixteenth-century depictions of the Tower of Babel that derive from the Colosseum's basic iconographic format. However, scholars have pointed out that most Netherlandish depictions of the Tower of Babel also depart from the iconography of the Colosseum and are actually more Romanesque in style, with the thick walls, piers, and buttressing of Europe's medieval castles and fortresses.[13] My point in bringing up this discrepancy is to highlight that while the Colosseum acted as a material model with which one could imagine the distant worlds of architectural history, artists never simply copied the Colosseum, but deliberately remodelled its fragments into something that was not

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[12] Jane Grogan, "Introduction: Beyond Greece and Rome," in *Beyond Greece and Rome: Reading the Ancient Near East in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jane Grogan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 2.

[13] Wolfgang Born, "Spiral Towers in Europe and Their Oriental Prototypes," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 24, no. 6 (1943): 238-239; Joseph Leo Koerner, *Bosch & Bruegel: From Enemy Painting to Everyday Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 302

precisely locatable to any exact period or identifiable structure. Using this innovative strategy, the artists I examine were able to forge a new visual vocabulary to imaginatively reconstruct the architectural history of distant buildings, lost to centuries, even millennia, of ruin, by mobilizing what I term "archaeological imagination," an inventive rebuilding of ancient worlds from disparate architectural fragments. Imagination, processes of invention, and new theories of making were increasingly valued by Northern European humanist patrons, scholars, and artists in the sixteenth century. "Innovation," Bass argues, "became a way to approach art-making with new rigor, but also a means to playfully query past artistic tradition."[14] Bass identifies a shift toward a new sense of innovative principles in Netherlandish cultural shortly after the year 1500, when

> the concept of an ingenious Renaissance "inventor" was being redefined in [Northern Europe] through everything from new experiments with architectural form and an emergent awareness of classical antiquity to advances in university education and an increasingly rebellious stance towards the accepted forms and iconography of religious images.[15]

"Ingenuity" from the Latin *ingenium*, was a key concept for referring to an individual's creative potential.[16] Ingenuity was linked with invention, which referred to both the discovery of truth, in a philosophic tradition, and to what Martin Kemp calls the "processes of discovery."[17] To invent

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[14] Marisa Bass, "Hieronymus Bosch and His Legacy as 'Inventor'," in *Beyond Bosch: The Afterlife of a Renaissance Master in Print*, eds. Marisa Bass and Elizabeth Wyckoff (Saint Louis, MO: Saint Louis Art Museum, 2015), 13.

[15] Bass, "Hieronymus Bosch and His Legacy as 'Inventor'," 12-13.

[16] For the often-cited source on such Renaissance creative vocabulary, see Martin Kemp, "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia': The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator* 8 (1977): 347-398. Alexander Nagel provides an exceptional summary in *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 55-77.

[17] Kemp, "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia'," 348.

with ingenuity is to discover, to make, and to build a world, the formative process that this dissertation explores.

I accordingly link the Netherlandish archaeological imagination to the early modern significance of ingenuity and invention. Renaissance intellectuals defined imagination according to Aristotle, who wrote "imagination is the process by which we say that an image arises for us."[18] In the centuries of reception after Aristotle, scholars concluded that the ancient Greek philosopher was referring to physical chambers in the brain where images were stored. Such a worldview defined artists as mediators who ingeniously invented worlds in pictures by drawing from what Bass calls "a physical storehouse of images gathered from one's sensory experience of the world."[19] R.G. Collingwood, Hayden White, Michael Ann Holly, and Stephanie Porras have argued similarly for written and pictorial arts that aim to convey histories in what is known as a method of "historical imagination."[20] With fragmentary primary sources and factual evidence, an artist or historian is faced with the responsibility of filling in the gaps of knowledge and creating a coherent historical account. Following from the work of these and other scholars, this dissertation does not consider the inventive works of art taken up in the case studies as only "fantastic," or made up, which was the aspect of "invention" held suspect in the Renaissance.[21] Rather, I propose that a range of pictures—the erudite products of artists, their patrons, and

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[18] Passage combines translations from Aristotle, *On the Soul. Parva Naturalia. On Breath*, trans. W.S. Hett (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), 158-159 (*De anima* 3.3.428a); and Kemp, "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia'," 361.

[19] Bass, "Hieronymus Bosch and His Legacy as 'Inventor'," 13; also see Kemp, "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia'," 378.

[20] See R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in 19th-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014); Michael Ann Holly, *Past Looking: Historical Imagination and the Rhetoric of the Image* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Stephanie Porras, *Pieter Bruegel's Historical Imagination* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016).

[21] Bass, "Hieronymus Bosch and His Legacy as 'Inventor'," 13.

intellectual colleagues—of ancient architecture in the sixteenth-century Netherlands sought to piece together archaeological erudition specific to key monuments and that these works of art were not perceived only as fantasy, but also as history.

Chapter Breakdown

The chapters pursue four themes that survey a selection of works of art and architecture that together build my theory of archaeological imagination. Chapter one surveys the iconography and development of works of art that depict the ruins of ancient Bethlehem in pictures of the birth of Jesus in Roman-occupied Judea at the turn of the first millennium CE. Chapter two innovatively positions Netherlandish depictions of the Tower of Babel at a meeting point between archaeological imagination and history of architecture. The third and fourth chapters analyse the reception of two Egyptian telamons—columns sculpted in the shape of male bodies—to assess how and why Egyptian architectural sculpture was received, depicted, and reanimated as African embodiment in the political and imperial contexts of sixteenth-century Netherlandish art.

The first chapter opens with Jan van Scorel's *Adoration of the Magi* from 1519 to position the painting within the fifteenth-century Burgundian and Italian traditions of depicting the adoration among monumental ruins, and the sixteenth-century Netherlandish turn toward ancient styles, iconographies, and pictorial narratives for which van Scorel's workshop was renowned.[22] Calling the pictures "adorations" refers to their depictions of the act of adoring—

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[22] For a recent overview of the development of ruins in Renaissance adoration pictures, see Andrew Hui, "The Birth of Ruins in Quattrocento Adoration Paintings," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 18, no. 2 (2015): 319-348. For van Scorel's workshop see the chapter "The Ruin Landscape in Jan van Scorel's Workshop," in DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 59-76.

glorifying and venerating—the infant Jesus, either through bestowing gifts upon him as depicted in *magi* scenes, or through bowing and recognizing the newborn as the new king of the world, as in shepherd scenes. Both themes of adoration are exegeses, which means that they illustrate moments from biblical accounts. The accounts that are recorded in the New Testament books of Matthew and Luke detail the birth of Jesus, believed by Christians to be the saviour, known as the "Messiah" in Hebrew, and "Christ" in Greek. The authors and editors of these texts made it clear that Jesus was born in the West Asian city of Bethlehem, which was once the domain of the ancient King of Israel, David. Earlier art historical studies by Erwin Panofsky and Shirley Neilsen Blum, and more recent interpretations by Margaret L. Koster, Alexander Nagel, Christopher S. Wood, and Joseph Leo Koerner, all harness the analogy of Bethlehem as the City of David in adoration pictures to argue for polyvalent rhetoric that conveys a crucial idea: the succession of a new world from an old world.[23] The new world was the one brought to light through Jesus, and biblical prophecy foretold that Jesus would emerge from David's patriarchal line—the old world of Jewish antiquity. Even though the term "Iron Age" was not in use in the sixteenth century to periodise the era of the Kings of Israel from the early first millennium BCE, theologians had calculated that David was the king of Israel about a thousand years before Jesus was born.[24] The artistic imagination of the ruins of Bethlehem—the ancient rubble from the city of David–affirmed the rhetoric of succession and the establishment of Christianity as the new

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[23] See in order of publication date: Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), 1:333-335; Shirley Neilsen Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs: A Study in Patronage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 20, 78-79; Margaret L. Koster, *Hugo van der Goes and the Procedures of Art and Salvation* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 52; Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 154; and Koerner, *Bosch & Bruegel*, 113.

[24] An example of this that will be cited in the chapter is in Felix Fabri, *Felix Fabri (Circa 1480-1483 A. D.)*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1893), 2.1:234.

builder of worlds. However, there was one major problem for sixteenth-century artists: no fragments of the City of David survived to provide any kind of empirical index—or exact identifier—of the Iron-Age architecture. I advance the idea that to picture the City of David, artists had to exercise their imaginations by piecing together architectural fragments that they did know. This archaeological imagination resulted in compositions bringing together various styles disjointed in time, such as medieval Romanesque with ancient Roman.[25] Further, I show how the style of ornament called "grotesque" signified something eastern, which is why it became an appropriate and popular inclusion in Netherlandish architectural compositions of the adoration where artists imagined the ruins of an ancient West Asian city bearing grotesque relief ornament. This first chapter is thus a case study in the processes of imagining ancient architecture by artists who lacked points of empirical reference.

The second chapter on the Tower of Babel builds upon the imaginative process developed in the first chapter, and explores a crucial dimension of the history of such paintings in Netherlandish art history: in the sixteenth century, the Tower of Babel was not only something that had to be imagined through fragments that afforded some kind of qualitative reference, but was also a ruined building in the heart of Mesopotamia that many travellers had seen, described, measured, and published in books and tracts.[26] In addition to the ziggurat in ruin, some spiralled mosque minarets, such as those at Samarra, north of Baghdad, and in Cairo, were believed to

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[25] The pertinence of my approach is evident in recent publications such as Konrad Adriaan Ottenheym, ed., *Romanesque Renaissance: Carolingian, Byzantine and Romanesque Buildings (800-1200) as a Source for New* All'Antica *Architecture in Early Modern Europe (1400-1700)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2021). Also see the foundational study: Werner Körte, "Die Wiederaufnahme romanischer Bauformen in der niederländischen und deutschen Malerei des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts" (PhD diss., Leipzig University, 1930).

[26] Among the most notable for this chapter is the twelfth-century travelogue of the Spanish Rabbi, Benjamin of Tudela, first published in Latin as *Itinerarivm*, trans. Benito Arias Montano (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1575).

have been medieval Islamic copies of the "Tower of Babel," which determined a range of spiral

shapes to evoke the tower in analogic replications.[27] This chapter opens with a work by Van

Scorel or his workshop that is among the earliest depictions of a spiralled Tower of Babel. The

fact that the format of the Tower of Babel took a turn around 1520 is indicative of van Scorel's

journeys to Venice and West Asia around that time, when his intellectual and social networks

included the publisher Daniel van Bombergen.[28] Along with his more empirical insights into

Jewish antiquity and its material remains came West Asian archaeological attunement. One of

these attunements was the reformatting of the Tower of Babel in pictorial tradition from a

squared tower to a circular one. Rather than just a random pictorial invention, or a model based

on the Colosseum, as is commonly insisted, I argue that descriptions of the ancient building

south of Baghdad—a Mesopotamian ziggurat in ruin with a spiral tower—provided an update to

the tower's iconography and archaeological imagination. The iconography of this newly invented

architecture continued to circulate throughout the sixteenth century. I trace how the spiral format

appears in the published accounts of global travellers, and in the works of artists such as van

Heemskerck, Bruegel, and Abel Grimmer (c. 1570-1620).[29] I thus offer new evidence that

reframes pictures of the tower as historical documents that were used to reconstruct and imagine

ancient architecture.

The third chapter opens with van Heemskerck's *Landscape of Ruins with Saint Jerome*, a

painting from 1547 that includes among its various depictions of ancient artefacts one of the first

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[27] See Wijdan Ali, *The Arab Contributions to Islamic Art: From the Seventh to the Fifteenth Centuries* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1999), 60; and Jonathan M. Bloom, "On the Transmission of Designs in Early Islamic Architecture," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 22-23.

[28] See Gaila Jehoel, *Het culturele network van Jan van Scorel: Schilder, kanunnik, ondernemer en kosmopoliet*. (Hilversum: Verloren, 2020), 115-183.

[29] Sarah Elliston Weiner surveyed the types of tower and the shift toward a circular format in "The Tower of Babel in Netherlandish Painting" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1985), 23-51.

Netherlandish representations of the Egyptianised telamons that stood in the Italian commune of

Tivoli, just outside of Rome. Their appearance in a Netherlandish painting evidences the

infrastructure of lithics in the Roman empire and the reception of these imperial stones in the

centuries that followed Rome's decline and sack in 410 CE.[30] The ancient Roman architect

Vitruvius (c. 78-c. 10 BCE) had described similar columns in his *Ten Books on Architecture*,

which is dedicated to Rome's first emperor, Augustus (63 BCE-14 CE). At the time that

Vitruvius wrote his books around 25 BCE, Rome had only been an empire for a few years. The

empire was born after a series of events that were initiated by Julius Caesar's (100-44 BCE) heir

Octavian, who won the battle of Actium and annexed Egypt as a Roman province in 31 BCE. He

inaugurated the Roman empire, officially, when the Roman senate bestowed upon him the title

"Augustus" in 27. The world Vitruvius describes, then, was not quite yet that of the newly

formed Roman empire, but of the declining Hellenistic Mediterranean realm in which the Roman

republic had been integrated. The ancient author's examples of columns in the shape of human

bodies were ancient Greece's stories of war and architecture, not Rome's. For Renaissance

architects and artists across Europe who were invested in reanimating Roman antiquity in their

work, updates to Vitruvius' descriptions were necessary.[31] The Telamons from Tivoli provided

Egyptian examples of captive subjects enslaved to bear the burden of Rome's built world. In this

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[30] See Braden Lee Scott, "Kingship and the Rocks: Infrastructure and the Materiality of Empire," in *The Routledge Handbook of Infrastructure Design: Global Perspectives from Architectural History*, ed. Joseph Heathcott (London: Routledge, 2022), 19-29; and Dale Kinney, "The Discourse of Columns," in *Rome Across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c. 500-1400*, eds. Claudia Bolgia, Rosamond McKitterick, and John Osborne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 182-199.

[31] See George Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture: Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), 77-148; and Elizabeth J. Petcu, "Anthropomorphizing the Orders: 'Terms' of Architectural Eloquence in the Northern Renaissance," in *The Anthropomorphic Lens: Anthropomorphism, Microcosmism and Analogy in Early Modern Though and Visual Arts*, eds. Walter Melion, Bret Rothstein, & Michel Weemans (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 345-351.

chapter, I coin the term "bodying column" as a way to inflect the enduring process of the

engendering and reception of the telamons, and to restore to the iconography of such columns an

empathetic account of the enslaved bodies that empires bind to their visual programmes.

The fourth chapter returns to van Heemskerck's *Landscape of Ruins with Saint Jerome*,

which was converted into an engraving and printed by Hieronymus Cock in 1552. I posit that in

these works, Egypt comes to stand in for "Africa," a geographical place name used to designate

the Roman province that encompassed modern Tunisia and parts of Algeria and Libya. Africa's

capital was the Phoenician-founded seaside city of Carthage, now a suburb of modern Tunis.

Two centuries after the decline of Rome, and after the seventh-century birth of Islam, the ancient

Berber settlement just south of Carthage, named Tunis, grew into the medieval Islamic capital of

the region.[32] By the time van Heemskerck and Cock were painting and printing in the middle of

the sixteenth century, Tunis, which had been ruled since 1229 by a dynasty of Berber kings with

Moroccan origins known as the Hafsids, had been battling for autonomy against the Ottoman

empire's expansive colonial ambitions. The case of Tunis is a compelling example of a conflict

that is not easily demarcated based on religious differences and enmity between Christianity and

Islam. In 1534, the Ottomans had taken Tunis. In a grand diplomatic gesture, the Hafsid king

Mulay Hassan (c. 1445-1550) forged a friendship with the Holy Roman Emperor, Lord of the

Netherlands, and King of Spain, Charles V (1500-1558), and beseeched him to aid the African

court in ridding the city of their Ottoman conquerors.[33] Charles orchestrated what can only be

described as a "world war": funded with gold and silver from the Americas, he commanded

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[32] See Allen James Fromherz, *The Near West: Medieval North Africa, Latin Europe and the Mediterranean in the Second Axial Age* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 86-118.

[33] The history and its immediate reception is the theme of Cristelle L. Baskins' book *Hafsids and Habsburgs in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Facing Tunis* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).

armies to depart from Antwerp, Barcelona, and Genoa and descend upon Tunis and reclaim the city. While he agreed to reinstall Hassan as king, however, he only did so under the agreement that the Hafsids were his vassal rulers. Thus, after defeating the Ottoman armies in 1535, Charles went on to proclaim his triumph in Europe, where he paraded through cities bedecked in grand displays that exalted him as the imperial ruler of Africa. Upon excavating the many layers of the image, one may find not only a picture of an ancient saint, but also a picture that memorialized political events that were contemporary to the artists who were involved with the visual culture of Charles' triumphs.[34]

Each chapter presents a different approach to archaeological imagination. The first and second explore the processes of fantastic invention through qualitative associations, with an empirical dimension of architectural history presented in the second. The third and fourth chapters work together to show how archaeological imagination expands beyond the frame of a depicted picture and plays a role in the realms of politics, power, and empire. In chapter three, I focus on the ways Egyptianised column fragments from an ancient Roman architectural programme afforded early modern artists and architects the ability to theorise new stories of enslaved subjects within the histories of architecture. Chapter four then resituates the columnar reception within another kind of "world-building" process. Their inclusion in a composition designed by van Heemskerck in 1547 coincides with a series of political events, where Egyptian iconography could indicate the entirety of Africa. As indicators of a continent, their image was mobilized to express the territorial ambitions of the Holy Roman Empire, which had, in 1535, claimed parts of Africa within its imperial reach.

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[34] For a theory of the "excavation of the image," see Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art*, 41-72.

Literature Review and Contribution to Knowledge

There are two main clusters of literature to which this dissertation is both indebted and contributes: the reception and reanimation of antiquity in early modern Netherlandish art and architecture; and global approaches to early modern European art histories.

Historians of Netherlandish art have long contended that it was in the early sixteenth century that artists such as Gossart began to explore visual modes of depicting the ancient past that were derived from earlier works by Italian Renaissance artists, who in the words of Raphael, "woke antiquity from its slumber."[35] However, there are problems with this art historical narrative, which creates the myth of a "Renaissance," or "rebirth," that began in Italy and then spread elsewhere. As I will show in the first chapter of this dissertation, Northern artists before Gossart had already implemented a wide range of ways of depicting antiquity.

Alongside the broader studies of the "rebirth" of antiquity in European art, the art historical subdiscipline of Netherlandish art history has produced a corpus of literature that is devoted to the theme of antiquity and its reception under the stylistic category of "Romanism." The term was theorised at length by pioneering art historians such as G.J. Hoogewerff and M.J. Friedländer in a range of publications written in the first few decades of the twentieth century. Early notable books include Hoogewerf's *Nederlandsche schilders in Italië in de XVIe eeuw: De geschiedenis van het Romanism*, "Netherlandish painters in Italy in the 16th century: the history of Romanism," published in Dutch in 1912, and Friedländer's *Die niederländischen Romanisten*,

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[35] "Che avegna che a' di nostril l'architectura sia molto svegliata et ridutta assai proxima all maniera delli antichi…," in Raphael's letter in Munich, folio 3v, published in Raphael, *Lettera a Leone X di Raffaello e Baldassare Castiglione*, ed. Francesco Paolo Di Teodoro (Florence: Maddali e Bruni, 2021), 53. For two texts a century apart that insert Gossart into this scholarly conversation, see G.J. Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche schilders in Italie in de XVIe eeuw: De geschiedenis van het Romanism* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1912); and Nicole Dacos, *Voyage à Rome: Les artistes européens au XVIe siècle* (Brussels: Fonds Mercator, 2012).

"The Netherlandish Romanists," published in German in 1922.[36] Their idea of "Romanism" as a stylistic category centred around the concept of Italy's persuasive pull and influence on foreign artists. For Hoogewerff and Friedländer, Gossart was a compelling example of an artist who travelled to Italy, studied both ancient and modern examples of art, and carried Italian motifs, styles, and practices back to the Netherlands. Within the scholarship that employed "Romanism" in this way, those who followed in Gossart's itinerant footsteps and made the journey to Italy and further abroad, especially the highly acclaimed master Jan van Scorel and his student Maarten van Heemskerck, established Italianate influence as a key style in sixteenth-century Netherlandish art.

Even though for much of the twentieth century, "Romanism" was the definitive term used to describe the antiquarian styles and Italianate borrowings employed by Netherlandish artists of the sixteenth century, the term has rarely appeared without some kind of criticism. Already in 1923, Hoogwerff exclaimed "van Scorel has been overly stigmatised as a painter of 'Romanism'," reprimanding the lack of attention art historians have devoted to the painter due to what he believed was their dismissal of an absorption of Italian style.[37] However, on another occasion, Hoogewerff referred to van Heemskerck as being without imagination due to the artist having filled the landscapes with drawn copies of examples of ancient Roman architecture that the artist saw during his stay in Italy between 1532-1536/37.[38] "Romanism" in Hoogewerff's

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[36] G.J. Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche schilders in Italie in de XVIe eeuw: De geschiedenis van het Romanism* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1912); M.J. Friedländer, *Die niederländischen Romanisten* (Leipzig: Ernst Hedrich Nachf., 1922).

[37] G.J. Hoogewerff, *Jan van Scorel: Peintre de la renaissance hollandaise* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923), 1.

[38] "Werken als het *Stierengevecht in een Romeinsch amphitheater*, van 1552, in het Museum te Rijssel en vooral het *Ruïnenlandschap met den H. Hieronymus*, in de verzameling Schönborn te Weenen (prent van Hier. Cock), toonen hoe de meester de verworven details fantasieloos naast elkander toepast. Hier kan

own theorisation is thus a slippery idea: while some engagement with Italian styles was judged to be innovative, too much reliance on foreign influences was seen as indicative of a lack of artistic imagination.

When one confronts the question of Romanism in Netherlandish art history, a set of problems abounds, particularly around the general idea of influence, and the specific idea that an artist and style had been influenced by Rome specifically, and Italy more generally. Bass notably reinvigorated the conversation with the book *Jan Gossart and the Invention of Netherlandish Antiquity* in 2016. She pointedly argued against the long-entrenched idea of "Romanism" in the reception of Gossart and posited instead that his artistry "participated in a local renaissance—the revival of an alternative 'Netherlandish' antiquity."[39] Also in 2016, Stephanie Porras argued for a similar approach in *Pieter Bruegel's Historical Imagination*. Proposing a concept of "vernacular antiquity," Porras highlighted the hybrid role of Bruegel's paintings in their ability to reanimate local Netherlandish histories within depictions that also engage with ancient Mediterranean stories and metaphors.[40] The scholarly trend is to understand early modern engagements with antiquity as deeply intellectual and localised, as is evidenced by the collection of essays in *Local Antiquities, Local Identities*, edited by Kathleen Christian and Bianca de Divitis.[41] This dissertation differs from these studies because I am not looking to depictions of, or engagements with, the antiquities and ancient ruins of Northern Europe. I am, however, advancing these studies' aim to craft a more nuanced and global method in art history. By global, I refer to

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man van "verwerken" niet eens spreken," in Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche Schilders in Italië in de XVIe Eeuw*, 200-201.

[39] Bass, *Jan Gossart and the Invention of Netherlandish Antiquity*, 4.

[40] Porras, *Pieter Bruegel's Historical Imagination*, 7.

[41] Kathleen Christian and Bianca de Divitiis, eds., *Local Antiquities, Local Identities: Art, Literature and Antiquarianism in Europe, c. 1400-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).

Angela Vanhaelen's and Bronwen Wilson's methodological aims of emphasising such things as travel, diplomacy, and transcultural exchange.[42] Through connectivity across lands and seas, I reject frameworks based on essentializing national characteristics, exemplified by terms such as "classical art," and foreground instead the complex connectivity—actual and imagined—across places and and times in the early modern worlds of imagination.

I present as my main contribution a major revision to the histories of art in which van Scorel, his workshop, and his colleagues, such as van Heemskerck, are written and theorised as having brought the Renaissance north. Van Scorel provides a compelling historiographic case because he has long been positioned in certain art historical narratives in terms of how his journeys, experiences, and influences indicate a triumphal conveyance to the Netherlands of the ancient Roman style of art and architecture that in part defined the Italian Renaissance. This influential narrative was fastened by the biographer and painter Karel van Mander, who in his biographies of artists published in 1604, wrote that as a youth van Scorel excelled in Latin and devoted himself to an exceptionally thorough study of the humanist texts, ancient and modern.[43] After an apprenticeship in Haarlem, van Scorel moved to Amsterdam around 1512 to work with the northern master Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen (c. 1460-1533). Sometime after this, van Mander reports that the young artist sought out Gossart, to learn from the northerner who had gone to Italy and returned with a whole new arsenal of motifs and image. Around 1517, van Scorel followed Gossart's example and travelled toward the south to study art and architecture

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[42] See the collection of essays in Angela Vanhaelen and Bronwen Wilson, eds., *Making Worlds: Global Invention in the Early Modern Period* Wilson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022).

[43] Karel van Mander (as Carel), *Het Leben der Doorluchtighe Nederlandtsche/en Hoogh-duytsche Schilders* (Haarlem: Passchier van West-busch, 1604), folio 234v. This volume consists of the fourth book in van Mander's *Het Schilder-Boeck*, and from here on, I will refer to it as *Het Schilder-Boeck*, 2, bk. 4.

beyond the Netherlands.[44] He first followed the Rhine upstream and visited Hans Holbein the

Younger in Basel, and then made his way to Nuremberg to learn from Albrecht Dürer. Dürer

likely convinced him to make his way to Venice, which he did around 1519/1520. From Venice,

he made stops on Crete and Cyprus while journeying to the Levantine province of Syria that had

just come under Ottoman control in 1516. After spending no less than two months in Jerusalem,

he moved on to work in Rhodes before returning to Venice in 1521. By 1522, he had made his

way to Rome, accepting an invitation to serve in the court of the newly appointed Dutch pope

Adrian VI (1459-1523). Van Scorel was appointed as the successor to Raphael as keeper of the

Vatican antiquities. He remained in Italy for a couple of years after Adrian's death in 1523, and

by September 1524, he is documented as having moved to Utrecht, where he would soon receive

the title as Canon of Saint Mary's. From then on, he was important in Holland, both as a

religious leader, and as a well-travelled artist familiar with both Jerusalem and Rome.

　　　Shortly after van Scorel's death in 1562, he was written into the history books as an artist

who changed Dutch painting. In 1588, the humanist physician and antiquarian Hadrianus Junius

included the artist in his history of *Batavia*, the ancient Roman Latin name for the Netherlands,

where, in a rising climate of northern Netherlandish nationalism, he placed the painter at the

beginning of what he considered to be Dutch art:

> Of the artists of Batavia, Jan van Scorel, from the village of the same name known for
> its horse market, first rose to a preeminent rank of honour and glory. Afterwards, he was
> accepted into Utrecht's college of canons. His prominent works in many holy places
> throughout Holland are spectacles that merit great admiration: … his work is austere in
> colour, [and] his rendering of flesh and muscular limbs express living images.[45]

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[44] Molly Faries has sketched the likely dates of van Scorel's travels in "Jan van Scorel, His Style and Its Historical Context" (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1972), v-vi.

[45] "In his principem honoris ac gloriæ gradum ascendit primus Ioannes Scorelius, pago cognomina, equine generis mercut nobili, oriundus; post Canonicorum collegio Traiecti adscitus: cuius insignia opera tota passim Hollandia magna cum admiration pluribus in sanis spectantur, sed quòd pulposos lacertososque artus cum iusta symmetria exprimant viuidæ imagines, vulgus profanum & supra crepidam

Junius carries on describing the roles of van Scorel's most renowned disciples: Antonis Mor (c. 1517-1577), who would master the art of the portrait for the European elite, and van Heemskerck, who would shape a new style of rendering ruins and figures. It is important to remember that the northern Netherlandish states of Holland commissioned Junius to write this history as a way to glorify their separation from the Catholic Spanish kings and the birth of their nation. Van Scorel's deep entanglement with the Catholic church and unwavering support of the Vatican were glossed over by Junius who focused on the fame and success of this Netherlandish artist and his "prominent works." In another list, Junius places Erasmus at the beginning of a "parade" of Dutch intellectuals. Both Van Scorel and Erasmus were mobilised as foundational figures who engendered a sense of what made Hollanders Dutch.[46] In Junius' history, van Scorel symbolised two things that were crucial to the formation of northern Netherlandish nationalism. The first was his position as the founder of a line of Dutch artists. The second was that by his travels and experiences, van Scorel broke from Netherlandish artistic traditions which had been primarily dominated by southern Netherlandish artists. In the context of the Dutch Revolt that erupted around 1566, new distinctions were being made between the Dutch—northern and reformed—who were fighting for independence, and the Flemish—southern and Catholic—who remained ruled by Spain.

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sapiens, minus dignè de picturæ honore loquitur ac sentit: vtcunque sit, in coloribus austerior est," in Hadrianus Junius, *Batavia* (Leiden [as Lvgdvni Batavorvm]: Franciscum Raphelengium, 1588), 238.

[46] See Isabel Zinman, "From Ausonia to Batavia: The Artists of Hadrianus Junius Reconsidered," *Simiolus* 37, no. 3/4 (2013/2014): 204-226; and Chris Heesakkers, "From Erasmus to Leiden: Hadrianus Junius and his Significance for the Development of Humanism in Holland in the Sixteenth Century," in *The Kaleidoscopic Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575)*, ed. Dirk van Miert (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 33.

Following from the influential accounts of Junius and van Mander, scholars continued to locate van Scorel at the beginning of a teleology of Dutch art. In van Mander's biography, he writes that the painter's most noble contribution was shifting the Dutch style away from the Flemish and toward one that was modelled after the Italian. He opens van Scorel's biography, not with an account of the artist's life, but with a lengthy passage full of praise for the glory of ancient Rome. After describing how Italian artists were the first to uncover the beauty of antiquity and bring it into their art, he introduces van Scorel as "the torchbearer and the pathmaker; …because he [was the first to] have visited Italy and return to the Netherlands to enlighten our ways in the art of painting."[47] The artist is given an important role in *Het Schilder-Boek*, which van Mander wrote as a teleological history: in the first book, he established the groundwork of painting, in the second book, he paraphrased from ancient and Renaissance historians the lives of ancient Mediterranean artists, and followed with the rediscovery of antiquity in an account of the lives of the Italian painters, primarily sourced from the Italian artist and architect Giorgio Vasari's (1511-1574) biographies. At the end of Italy's history comes the lives of the Netherlandish artists, followed by two books on the meanings, magic, and iconography of Ovid's metamorphosis. Together, the parts of the multivolume *Het Schilder-Boeck* attest to growth, decline, transition, and transformation. Among these transformations, Van Scorel's life is strategically placed. Echoing Vasari, van Mander writes that when Raphael died in 1520 "the art of painting may have also died along with him, because when the artist shut

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[47] "…tot dat Ioan van Schoorel, hun uyt Italien het wesen van de beste wijse oft ghestalt onser Consten bracht/en voor ooghen stelde. En om da thy wel den eersten was/die Italian besocht/en de Schilder-const hier heft commen verlichten/worde hy van Frans Floris en ander (als men sight) den Lanteeren-brager en Straet-maker onser Consten in den Nederlanden gheheeten/en gehouden te wesen," in van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, 2, bk. 4: folio 234r-folio 234v.

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his eyes, so too did art become blind."[48] Art did not die, however, because van Scorel arrived in

Rome to carry on Raphael's legacy. Thus a northern European artist took up the work of the

Renaissance to illuminate with Italian style previous northern artistic traditions, which, van

Mander writes "were in the dark so to speak." In van Mander's history, northern painting was

blind before van Scorel. As Walter S. Melion has argued, van Mander rhetorically placed van

Scorel's students, such as van Heemskerck, in a transitional period of Dutch artistic legacy where

Netherlandish artists assimilated the Italians.[49] While I certainly agree with Melion, I add that it

was first through van Mander's employment of Raphael's death and van Scorel's succession of

him as an antiquarian painter that the literary rhetoric of a decades-long period of Dutch art's

metamorphic transformation was made. It was van Scorel who made the path from the

Netherlands to Italy and beyond, and then ventured back again, and who lit the way for other

Dutch artists in the future.

    Modern art historians continue to carry forth the sentiment of these sixteenth- and

seventeenth-century writings that locate van Scorel at the vanguard of a new style of antiquarian

arts in the sixteenth-century Netherlands.[50] Arthur J. DiFuria credits van Scorel's workshop for

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[48] From van Mander's life of Raphael: "Wel hadde met eenen de Const van Schilderije moghen sterven met desen edelen Constenaer/dewijl sy met zijn ooghen sluytinghe soo blindt gheworden is," in Karel van Mander (as Carel), *Het Leven der oude Antijcke doorluchtighe Schilders soo wel Egyptenaren/Griecken al Romeynen/uyt verscheyden Schrijvers by een ghebracht/en in Druck uytgegheven/tot dienst/nut/en vermaeck der Schilders/en alle Const-beminders* (Haarlem: Passchier van West-busch, 1603), folio 121r-folio 121v. This volume consists of the first three books in van Mander's *Het Schilder-Boeck*, and from here on, I will refer to van Mander's Lives of the Italian Painters as *Het Schilder-Boeck*, 1, bk. 3. For Vasari's passage, see *Le vite de piu eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani: da Cimabue in sino à tempi nostri* (Florence: Appresso Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550), 2:671: "Ben poteua la pittura, quando questo nobile artifice morì: morìre anche ella, che quando egli gli occhi chiuse ella quasi cieca rimase."

[49] Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's* Schilder-Boeck (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 118-125.

[50] Three important studies include Hoogewerff, *Jan van Scorel*; Faries, "Jan van Scorel"; and Jehoel, *Het culturele network van Jan van Scorel*.

encouraging the next generation of artists to travel to Rome and thus for converting sixteenth-century Netherlandish painting into a visual culture of ancient ruins.[51] Similarly, Edward H. Wouk argues that van Scorel brought Italian modes of painting to the north and thus shaped the style of later generations that included Frans Floris, adding that he "opened the way to the current flourishing of the visual arts in the Low Countries."[52] Unlike Gossart, who was brought to Rome by his Burgundian patron, van Scorel was the first to travel to Italy for his own artistic endeavours to see, study, and copy whatever he wanted. Bass has repositioned Gossart's place within the modern historiography, arguing that he belongs at the end of a tradition of fifteenth-century Burgundian court painters, and not the turn to the antique in sixteenth-century Netherlandish style. Van Mander, she posits, sets this history in place to convey a key shift in the antiquarian tradition: "that it was Scorel who illuminated the Low Countries with his understanding of Italian models and served as a 'road-builder' for subsequent artists (including, by extension, van Mander's own circle in Haarlem)."[53] Does this mean that we can call van Scorel, but not Gossart, a Romanist? As fitting as it seems, it might be time to do away with the term rather than displace it onto another artist. Van Scorel did, in a way, bring Rome to the Rhine. But to essentialise his process as limited to Rome, and to Roman style, limits the potential of understanding how he imagined and depicted diverse ancient worlds.

It is clear from this review of the literature that art historical geographical categories and periodisation, which is the clustering of works of art into discrete spatial and temporal categories, has largely determined how van Scorel's life and work have been interpreted. In his survey *Early*

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[51] DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 59-76.

[52] Edward H. Wouk, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570): Imagining a Northern Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 50.

[53] Bass, *Jan Gossart and the Invention of Netherlandish Antiquity*, 150.

Netherlandish Painting, Erwin Panofsky assumed that van Scorel was an artist who looked ahead to a new style of art, rather than behind to earlier Netherlandish artists from the fifteenth century, an 'archaism' that defined some of the works by his Flemish colleagues, including Gossart.[54] To create nationalistic art historical divisions, Panofsky warned against forging what he called a "psychological kinship in the massive historical concept of 'Dutchness'," preferring to separate out northern and southern Netherlandish artists along the lines created by the Reformation and the Dutch Revolt.[55] Similarly, Hans Belting argued in *Likeness and Presence* that by the second decade of the sixteenth century, Netherlandish artists had to decide between two traditions of art making. The first tradition was the archaism Panofsky spoke of, where artists consulted renowned Burgundian artists such as Jan van Eyck (1390-1441), Rogier van der Weyden (1399/1400-1464), and Hugo van der Goes (c.1430/1440-1482), whose fifteenth-century style of painting was remarkably replicative of medieval icons, symbols, and allegories. The second tradition was imported: "the native models from the legacy of van Eyck and Rogier were set against new models from the ancient art of the South."[56] However, as Amy Knight Powell argues in her critique of Belting, "periodization may well be indispensable to understanding the difference between these two modes of painting, but when followed too rigorously it prevents one from seeing what their proximity precipitates."[57] Van Scorel is an example of an artist who

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[54] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1:356. For Gossart's archaism, see Bass, *Jan Gossart and the Invention of Netherlandish Antiquity*, 14-38.

[55] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1:322.

[56] Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 475.

[57] Amy Powell, "Caught between Dispensations: Heterogeneity in Early Netherlandish Painting," *Journal of Visual Culture* 7, no. 1 (2008): 93.

has been mobilized by art historians to represent such divisive periodization. Periodization, as Powell warns, "can make certain differences visible, but it exacts a certain price for doing so."[58]

Building from Powell's work, I argue that the price van Scorel's legacy has paid is that the narrative of his life and work has been stylized to support a history wherein he is placed at the beginnings of a certain kind of cultural production that was employed to forge Dutch nationalism. Taking the torch from Raphael, the Dutchman van Scorel was credited with bringing the Renaissance north. The conflicted term "Renaissance" thus raises fraught questions about how nationalism and nationalist biases have informed art historical narratives of competing cultural progress among modern European nations. Since 1860, when Jacob Burckhardt published *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, Italian art and culture has been used as a standard with which to measure other nations. "When imported as a reference for northern lands," Ethan Matt Kavaler summarises, "the [Italian] Renaissance is often conceived as a utopian expression of order, simplicity, and harmony."[59] The problem with such comparative reference is that, outside of Italy, there are few, if any, examples of the Italian Renaissance. So, Kavaler continues, "for those in search of modernity and national character, a Renaissance must signal rebirth and the rejection of the past." Junius and van Mander had both tailored their accounts of van Scorel's life to tell the story of a Netherlander who was enlightened to the ways of Italy, and, upon turning away from his local traditions, established some element of Italian culture in northern art making. The goal was twofold: to locate a quality of *the* Renaissance—the Italian Renaissance—in the Netherlands, and to enfold such a renaissance within nationalist histories that assert the cultural superiority of the Dutch Netherlands.

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[58] Powell, "Caught between Dispensations," 83.

[59] Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic: Architecture and the Arts in Northern Europe, 1470-1540* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 2-3.

As the case studies in this dissertation demonstrate, the works of van Scorel and the artists from his circle do not dismiss previous artistic traditions in the pursuit of a "rebirth" of Roman antiquity. As Kavaler argues, centuries of art historical writings have intentionally glossed over many works from the early modern period if they did not fit into the ideal of a Northern European "renaissance," which included social changes, innovations, and cultural developments—especially in art and architecture—that were always compared to achievements of the Italian Renaissance. Despite his development of a periodization scheme, Belting observes van Scorel's "impure" Renaissance style, and argues van Scorel's work "bore vivid witness to the kind of conflict that artists faced in the light of the dual tradition."[60] While it is true that van Scorel produced many works of art that depicted ancient architecture and sculpture, historicised as a "Romanist" stylistic movement in Netherlandish art history, Belting mobilizes him as an example of stylistic duality within a period of stylistic change. Just as Bass argues "Gossart was really more of an end than a beginning," I find van Scorel's work impossible to categorize as a rupture from the past and the beginning of a new teleology. Revisiting Belting, and borrowing from Bass's approach to Gossart, I posit a new way to consider van Scorel in the art historical record: the worlds in which van Scorel and those around him travelled, practiced, studied, and liaised, processed antiquity from an assemblage of architectural traditions, not just from Rome, but from places such as Bethlehem and Babylon in West Asia, the cities along the Nile, and along the coast of North Africa, such as Alexandria, and Tunis.[61] This is to say that while they certainly looked forward toward the future reception of their innovative and inventive works, they also looked around to their present, and deep into diverse pasts to consult the repertoire of

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[60] Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 475.

[61] Bass, *Jan Gossart and the Invention of Netherlandish Antiquity*, 152.

motifs, figures, and meanings with which to compose their pictures. This is the process I am

calling archaeological imagination, and with it I return to Michael Ann Holly's words in this

introduction's epigraph: that in our excavation process, in our modes of looking backward and

building the past in ideas and images, some kind of torchbearer in the form of "centuries-old

light has been illuminating our gaze all along."[62] Illuminations from the past determine how

works of art are received, and interpreted, and processed.

An Excursus Against the Classical

The imagining of ancient worlds is often referred to as "classical reception." In art history, and in

the disciplines of classics and archaeology, "classical art and architecture" refers to things made

in ancient Greece and Rome, ranging from around the tenth century BCE to the fourth century

CE.[63] In Western art and architecture, "classical" also refers to anything that resembles and

replicates ancient Greek and Roman styles.[64] In extension, a "classic," in its broadest usage,

refers to something from the past that is revered by a society, and that sets a standard with which

to compare everything else.[65] There is a classical period in Chinese art, and in Hollywood

cinema. These have nothing to do with Greece and Rome in their parameters. Despite this

commonality, using the word is an anachronism in any study of art and architecture from before

the eighteenth century. I do not take issue with the term simply because it is anachronistic, but

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[62] Holly, *Past Looking*, 208.

[63] This stretch of time is quite generous, and some standards would see a tighter range, such as fifth or fourth century BCE to the third or early fourth century CE. See Mary Beard and John Henderson, *Classical Art: From Greece to Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[64] See the section "The Essentials of Classicism" in John Summerson, *The Classical Language of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1963), 7-13.

[65] See Jennifer Nelson's introduction to the special dossier on the theme "What is a Classic? On the Role of Endurance in Art History," *Selva* 3 (2021): 1-6.

rather because the birth of "classical art" as an ideology is full of problems. "It is a mistake,"

John Summerson claims, "to try to define classicism. It has all sorts of meanings in different

contexts."[66] The mistake in searching for a definition may be, as James I Porter has pointed out,

that "it is *the very idea of the classical* that is problematic."[67] Due to these difficulties, I avoid

using "classical" in my work, and my aversion includes referring to "classical reception."

The term "classical" is ancient, but it did not refer to art and architecture. The Latin term

classici referred to people, the first-class elites of the highest rank in Rome's hierarchical social

structure.[68] By the second century CE, writers began to use the Latin *classicus* to refer to the

highest rank of ancient literary cultural production.[69] Greek authors were especially valued for

their accounts of historical events and mythological tales. These texts, most of which were from

the preceding millennium, served great import for Roman politics and society. A classic was thus

a standard, an elite written work from the past, or a person in the present, from which Romans

believed a tradition and model *should* be structured. The literary usage of the term was revived

by the middle of the sixteenth century.[70] However, in the classical's early modern revival, it did

not apply to works of art and architecture. Objects from the past, even the ones considered to be

models of the highest rank to be emulated, were simply referred to as "antique," or ancient.

Usage of the term "classical" to describe art and architecture is a modern value

judgement of the cultural production of Greece and Rome, and of their historical afterlife and

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[66] Summerson, *The Classical Language of Architecture*, 7.

[67] James I. Porter, "Introduction: What is 'Classical' about Classical Antiquity?," in *Classical Pasts: The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome*, ed. James I. Porter (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 11. Emphasis in text.

[68] Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, *Classical Architecture: The Poetics of Order* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986), 1.

[69] Porter, "Introduction," 10.

[70] Porter, "Introduction," 10-11.

revivals.[71] The term "classical," literally the elite "class," was applied to art and architecture at the end of the eighteenth century, and was developed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Tied to nationalistic agendas of European cultural superiority, Greece and Rome were employed as ancient standards and models for modern states. As Caroline Vout has argued, the processes of defining classical art in a way that was similar to literature required lengthy methods of attempting to purify and condense an idea of an ancient world.[72] To make the "classical" fit into Eurocentric narratives of ancestral claims, Greek art had to have a clear and appropriate teleology that folded into Roman styles. With the ambition and aim to conquer and build, the transition of imperial Greek into imperial Roman histories served as powerful analogous examples for modern colonising nations. The blended term Greco-Roman evidences the modern worldview where over a millennium of artistic styles are contracted, condensed, and purified, into a canonical ideal that conveyed European cultural supremacy. For example, the modern invention of "classical art," which forged a connection between the ancient worlds of Greece and Rome to an ideology of pure European racial and national teleology, was central to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century colonial expansion, and to the rise of twentieth-century national socialism in Europe that triggered the first and second world wars.[73]

A major problem for the modern invention of classical art and architecture, however, was that ancient Greece and Rome were situated as hubs of travel and transcultural exchanges. The art made in these regions was always a blend of styles from Western and Eastern Asia, Africa,

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[71] The problems with the use of the term "modern" are also evident here, although this discussion is beyond the parameters of this dissertation.

[72] Caroline Vout, *Classical Art: A Life History from Antiquity to the Present* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), vii-viii.

[73] See the essays in Mark Bradley, ed., *Classics and Imperialism in the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), and Michael Squire, *The Art of the Body: Antiquity & its Legacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 16-23.

and other parts of Europe. Jaś Elsner has argued that Rome's reverence for foreign ancient standards of art and architecture did not fit into the nineteenth- and twentieth-century European and American ideals of what classical art should be, and were largely left out.[74] For example, Egyptian religion, culture, iconography, and styles were prevalent in Roman art and daily life. Roman art and architecture are far more "pluralistic," to borrow Elsner's term, than just a carryover of the works from Greece. "Classical art as a discipline," Vout reveals, "comes into its own in the nineteenth century, when the Greco-Roman is prised apart from other ancient cultures."[75] To adhere to a strict definition of the classical, she concludes, is to also accept that a study of classical art as a phenomenon requires that one ignores the cultural pluralism of the ancient Greek and Roman empires.

In other words, while "classical" continues to be a ubiquitous a term that refers to ancient Greece and Rome, scholars have clearly shown that it is a troubling Eurocentric idea, a means to assert notions of stylistic, national, and racist purity. Since it is so problematic, I heed Porter's admonition to find alternative expressions to refer to ancient art and architecture. For the purpose of my study, I will refer to ancient societies by using specific years, centuries, or millennia, or overarching identifiers if appropriate or necessary, such as "West Asian Antiquity." The term "West Asia" is a good example of the ways scholars carefully select their words. Many have begun to refer to West or Western Asia, and not to the "Near East," because the latter refers to Asia from a Eurocentric direction.[76] "Middle East" has similar problems and is often associated

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[74] Jaś Elsner, "Classicism in Roman Art," in *Classical Pasts: The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome*, ed. James I. Porter (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 270-297.

[75] Vout, *Classical Art*, viii.

[76] See the explanation of terms in the preface of Akira Tsuneki, Olivier Nieuwenhuyse, and Stuart Campbell, eds., *The Emergence of Pottery in West Asia* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2017), no page number. Also see how the term has come to be used in early modern art history in Tomasz Grusiecki, "Doublethink: Polish Carpets in Transcultural Contexts," *The Art Bulletin* 104, no. 3 (2022): 29-54.

with contemporary political events.[77] The term "Orient" is still used by some Western academic societies, but it is outdated and is imbued with colonialist ideologies.[78] Within West Asia, there are more specific locations, such as the Levant on the Mediterranean coast, and Mesopotamia, the land between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Since I discuss the reception of ancient architecture in present-day Iran, Iraq, Israel, Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon, which are all on the western side of the Asian continent, I employ West Asia to refer to this region. Similarly, the term "North Africa" refers to the region above the Sahelian line that divides the African continent at the Sahara Desert. Africa historically refers to the ancient Roman province, which was between Egypt to its east, and Mauritania to its west. All three regions were, however, understood as being on a larger land mass that was also referred to as Africa. Since there is a much larger continent, and I am not discussing the southern side of the Sahel, I refer to North Africa, where there are the present-day countries Morrocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. Words carry with them tender nuance, and scholars have to update their language according to shifting events and societal world views. It is time to bring similar critique and query to our use of the classical.

In each of the four chapters that follow, I probe different modes of early modern European understandings of antiquity that expand beyond what the categories of "classical reception" permit. West Asian antiquity is by definition not classical. Neither is North African antiquity. This is not to say that they cannot be pulled into the orbit of the standardised versions of what constitutes classical art and architecture, such as when architects from Roman North Africa built imperial architecture in their territories. Empire and its networks are strengthened by

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[77] See Vaughan Hart's employment of terms throughout *Christopher Wren: In Search of Eastern Antiquity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020).

[78] See Edward Said's formative study *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

the idea of a "classical style," which is, in modern colonisation, an identifiable Roman style that can be spread throughout a territorial domain to establish a visual rhetoric of conquest.[79] However, while Romans were building with a colonial, expansive, and imperial style, they were not building "classical architecture" in Carthage, and their work there was not received as "classical architecture" in the Renaissance. I draw attention to the multiple colonial problems and limits of the term "classical" to show how pictures of antiquity from before the invention of "classical art" engaged with a different understanding of ancient art and architecture. The largest problem is that while defining Greek and Roman art as classical, modern scholarship has built, buttressed, and defended barriers that delineate Greco-Roman cultural production from all other simultaneous antiquities. I contend that before the invention of the category of classical art, fragments from the Roman past had the material power to signify a wider realm of societies and their cultural production. It is this expansion, and not the Eurocentric barriers, that this dissertation probes for new insights. With an emphasis on European artists, who lived and worked in Europe, I hesitate to call the approach of *Antiquity Expanded* "decolonial." I do not want to argue that my project offers a "decolonial method" or formula for the discipline of art history. But I do claim that my approach is decolonising in its ambition, which is to decenter Europe and emphasise the global aspects of European works that the "classical" has obfuscated.

We must always keep in mind that, in the process of imagining antiquity, all pasts have been mediated by societies, worldviews, and artists that came after them. For example, "Greece," Mary Beard and John Henderson highlight, "is always mediated through Rome."[80] Likewise, Vout argues "anyone interested in Greek and Roman art today looks at it through a Renaissance

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[79] See the essays in Barbara Goff, ed., *Classics and Colonialism* (London: Bloomsbury, 2005).

[80] Beard and Henderson, *Classical Art*, 5.

lens."[81] What would happen, however, if one were to account for the fact that Renaissance artists, architects, and archaeologists did not define Greece and Rome with the same stylistic purity forged by the modern discipline of "classical art"? For those interested in knowing how the ancient world was mediated through Renaissance arts, Vout argues, "the Renaissance teaches them how to look." What is referred to as "the period eye" in art history requires that one try to understand how a work of art was received in the past, accounting for both its moment of facture, and the years of its reception.[82] In the influential book *Anachronic Renaissance*, Nagel and Wood convincingly direct the discipline of art history away from only seeing the ancient world, as it was understood in the Renaissance, through the modern disciplinary formation of "classical" aesthetics specific to some Greek and Roman works of art and architecture.[83] Their study focuses on a wide array of case studies to stake a claim on the temporal world views of early modern European societies. The period eye, as Nagel and Wood understand it, is one where an expanded realm of objects were understood as ancient, even when they were not. Certainly, ancient Roman objects were known to be ancient, but so was a Romanesque vault or column. The amalgamation of styles is entirely different from the kind of Roman antiquity that over a century of "classical" theory has taught modern viewers to see. My study builds from their innovative approach and pushes the question of temporal disjunction regarding specific objects and fragments to focus on the ways artists and architects amassed these objects in compositions where they imagined how ancient worlds could have looked. Early modern pictures of ancient architecture, such as Bruegel's Tower of Babel that bears a combination of antique Roman and medieval Romanesque

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[81] Vout, *Classical Art*, 97.

[82] Michael Baxandall advanced ideas of the period eye in *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A primer in the social history of pictorial style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972); and *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980).

[83] Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*.

styles, are quite different from the ways we imagine and depict Mesopotamia today. I will show how this disjunction, while often explained as evidence of naïve early modern fantasy, was actually attuned to European knowledge of ancient West Asia. The building's resemblance to the Colosseum, and thus to "classical architecture," has instead entirely obfuscated this attunement that was specific to Bruegel's time.

As Vout has shown, applying "classical" to the history of art creates a barrier between the works made in Greece and Rome, and those made in the more global reaches of ancient Greek and Roman empires.[84] This dissertation moves away from the Eurocentric model of looking to the kinds of antiquity that early modern artists copied and recomposed in their designs as "classical" art and architecture. The fact is, however, that for all European artists, Greek and Roman architecture was the most easily accessible of antiquities. Greek imperial architecture remained around the Gulf of Salerno and in Sicily, from a time when those lands were Magna Grecia. While most remnants of Roman architecture were in Italy, some of the empire's ancient buildings were visible in Spain, France, and the Netherlands. Mixed with other objects, some old and some new, fragments from these ancient buildings were used to imagine and animate worlds beyond Rome. Herein lies this dissertation's central tenet: with fragments of an assemblage of ancient architecture, artists imagined what ancient worlds looked like. Without the restrictions of the classical, such archaeological imagination permitted an expanded antiquity, a building of worlds, in pictures, that existed centuries before their own.

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[84] Vout, *Classical Art*, 243.

Chapter 1

A Triumph for Ornament: Imagining the City of David in Adoration Pictures

> Natural forms will only pass into a repertory of ornament
> when they have been isolated, blessed, or cursed by ritual.
> - Joseph Rykwert, *On the Palmette*

Jan van Scorel's (1495-1562) *Adoration of the Magi* (1519) builds a world on a painted wood surface. As a picture, *Adoration* is an exegesis, an illustration of a biblical text, based on a passage from the Gospel of Matthew (fig. 1.1). Three *magi* (μαγοι), plural of *magus* (μαγος), a Greek word that in the bible referred to magic-practicing priests from Persia, travelled to Bethlehem to pay tribute to the newborn king of the Jews with gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. The *magi* have stepped onto the stone floor of a crumbling basilica, where the virgin Mary holds the newborn Jesus, and accepts their gifts. Parts of the narrative from the gospel take place in van Scorel's painted background of rocky crags and hills, where the magi are on their camels following an angel's star that leads them first to Jerusalem, and then to Bethlehem.[1] Soldiers roam the landscape looking for the newborn that the *magi* had informed the Jewish King Herod was the reason for their travel. In a fit of jealous fear, the king ordered the massacre of every firstborn male in the Roman province of Judea. But Jesus was safe in Bethlehem, and the *magi*, upon seeing him, recognized him as the prophesied king of kings and did not report to Herod so as to prevent any harm from coming to the infant. Each depicted part of the story transports viewers into the world of the depicted scene. In this chapter, this is the first sense of my use of the word "world," where a massive environment can be rendered—captured—and

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[1] Molly Faries and Martha Wolff, "Landscape in the Early Paintings of Jan van Scorel," *The Burlington Magazine* 138, no. 1124 (1996), 730.

accessed in another medium. When we view pictures of Jesus, TJ Clark argues, "we are in Judea."[2]

To help a viewer enter Judea, van Scorel built a world in his painted picture where Jesus' birth could take place. Framing the scene are crumbling pillars and arches that bear surfaces covered with vines, creatures, and foliage that scroll upward. The same pillars frame the landscape in the background, creating a picture within the picture. The architecture and its ornament are supposed to capture one's eye for consideration as figures within the composition. Adoration pictures are the visual complement to what the Renaissance humanist intellectual Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466/69-1536) argued was the "exceptional natural gift" of including one's erudite knowledge of the world in writing. In addition to a general command of the liberal arts, Erasmus established that to imagine history required

> knowledge of the objects of nature, for example, stars, animals, trees, jewels, and in addition, places—especially those that divine literature mentions. For it is the case that when territories are recognized from cosmography, we follow the narrative in our thought as it passes before us, and we are, as it were, completely carried away with it, having a sense of pleasure, so that we seem not to read about but to look upon the events narrated; at the same time, what you have thus read sticks much more firmly.[3]

Those responsible for imagining places make it possible for a reader, or viewer, to enter a place such as Judea. Thus, the antiquity of the architecture in adoration pictures demands to be understood as the key component of early modern archaeological imagination: how an artist such as van Scorel imagined the world of Jesus' birth.

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[2] T.J. Clark, *Heaven on Earth: Painting and the Life to Come* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2018), 127-131.

[3] Desiderius Erasmus, "A System or Method of Arriving by a Short Cut at True Theology," in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 41, *The New Testament Scholarship of Erasmus: An Introduction with Erasmus' Prefaces and Ancillary Writings*, ed. Robert D. Sider, trans. Robert D. Sider (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 501.

In this chapter, I argue that painted architecture, exemplified by the ruins in van Scorel's adoration picture, conveyed the worlds of West Asian monuments to Renaissance viewers. Specifically, van Scorel designed the ruins based on iconographic precedents wherein artists set the adoration scene within the biblical King David's palatial architecture in the ancient Kingdom of Israel. This chapter thus begins and ends on van Scorel's painting as a case in point, but his adoration is not the only object in focus. Van Scorel's worlds of art reveal a wonderful web of exchanges wherein knowledge of ancient architecture was always moving, was always in process. This is my second use of the word "world," by which I refer to the many artists van Scorel knew, or knew about, including their works, and their ideas. We continue to use the word in this way when we talk about the contemporary "art world," and in Pamela M. Lee's object-oriented reformation of the concept, "art's world," which "is to retain a sense of the activity performed by the object as utterly continuous with the world it at once inhabits and creates."[4] While the art world at any point in time is specifically attuned to its contemporary markets and social contexts, Lee's concept of "art's world" is not period specific. The art worlds in which early modern artists worked afforded the kinds of erudition, and imagination, that processed the kinds of worlds they and their works inhabited and created.

This chapter's primary aim is to process van Scorel's art's world to provide this dissertation's opening case study of early modern archaeological imagination. To reiterate my definition set out in the introduction, the archaeological imagination refers to the ways artists and architects turned to physical artefacts and historical texts to figure out how to design ancient monuments in their created works. It is necessary to keep in mind that in the Renaissance worldview, adoration paintings were historical pictures. This is to say that paintings of Jesus'

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[4] Pamela M. Lee, *Forgetting the Art World* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012), 8.

birth were not seen as pictures of a mythological or metaphoric event, but rather as real depictions of the event of Jesus' birth that Christians believed had happened in ancient West Asia. This chapter is thus what Alexander Nagel calls "an excavation of the image," in that it uncovers some of the pieces of the known world, including secular artefacts, that were used to imagine Jesus' birth, and assesses why and how they were reassembled in adoration compositions.[5] To understand art's world requires that we examine how a world has been processed.

Literature Review

This chapter also has a secondary aim that is specific to the reception of van Scorel's art world: I revise the overdetermining myth that he broke from tradition and ushered in an Italian Renaissance style in sixteenth style in Netherlandish art. While I agree that van Scorel learned from and employed Italian modes of painting, I disagree with the way his story continues to be told as a severance from "Northern" art, and as a stylistic march forward into the future of Dutch painting. Simply put, he was not the first Northern artist to depict ancient West Asian architecture in adoration pictures. And even though he was among the first artists who began to employ Italian Renaissance styles in their painted depictions of ancient buildings, a close examination of his *Adoration of the Magi*'s architecture reveals that this reception of antiquity was present in northern workshops well before van Scorel ever left the Netherlands. Instead of restating that van Scorel found antiquity in Italy and brought it back with him, I claim that when he arrived in Italy, he expanded his abilities to design antiquity from painterly modes that had

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[5] Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 41-72.

been established, communicated, shared, and networked across Europe since at least the middle

of the fifteenth century. This interventive adjustment to van Scorel's place in Netherlandish

history requires an examination of works beyond his own, and thus this chapter is tailored to

include the broader appearance of architecture in a selection of earlier Northern Renaissance

adoration pictures. Once van Scorel's place within that history is contextualised, it becomes clear

that we must reassess the ways we understand the transmissions of antiquarian ideas across

Europe in the sixteenth century.

      In this dissertation's introduction I elaborated on the art historical placement of van

Scorel at the beginning of a new tradition of Dutch painting. Van Scorel certainly did change his

style after travelling, but instead of historicizing his travels as a severe rupture with the past that

projected forward into a so-called "Dutch canon," I consider them an amplification of an already

existing tendency toward antiquity in Netherlandish workshops. We must find a way to diffuse

the way his change in style and influence on his future generation is told without discrediting van

Scorel's influential role as a master painter and architect in the north. For James Ackerman,

artistic influences are easy to spot for the modern art historian, who is able to trace artistic

movements backward and find imitations that project forward in time from an artist, their

workshop, or an individual work.[6] But influence, as Michael Baxandall and David Young Kim

have respectively argued, is not as direct or top-down as it seems.[7] When an artist made said

influential work, they were consulting the worlds of art available to them. "Influence," Baxandall

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[6] James Ackerman, "Imitation," in *Antiquity and its Interpreters*, eds. Alina Payne, Ann Kuttner, and Rebekah Smick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 9-16.

[7] See the section "Excursus against Influence" in Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 58-62; and also David Young Kim's echo of Baxandall "Another Excursus Against 'Influence'," in the chapter "Mobility and the Problem of 'Influence'" in David Young Kim, *The Traveling Artist in the Italian Renaissance: Geography, Mobility, Style* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 24-26; 11-38.

argues, "is a curse of art criticism primarily because of its wrong-headed grammatical prejudice about who is the agent and who the patient: it seems to reverse the active/passive relation which the historical actor experiences and the inferential beholder will wish to take into account."[8] Perhaps it is best to avoid the concept of influence altogether in this case, and look instead to the distributed clusters, constellations, and networks of the early sixteenth century where information and ideas regarding West Asian antiquity were consulted, studied, and depicted in adoration pictures. Once we start to shuffle around a few of the common ideas around van Scorel, we can also begin to find the holes in the current narrative that his transmission of antiquity to the North was one that was preoccupied only with Roman antiquity.

The architectural ornament that van Scorel painted is among the composition's most defining parts. It is because of van Scorel's painted pillars and foliate ogival arch that until 1996, art historians believed that *Adoration of the Magi* was painted by Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen (c. 1460-1533).[9] The misattribution can be explained by looking into van Scorel's artistic affiliation. The painter and art theorist Karel Van Mander (1548-1606) wrote in the Netherlandish biographies section of his multivolume *Het Schilder-Boeck* that van Scorel worked in van Oostsanen's Amsterdam workshop.[10] It was there that van Scorel learned how to paint antique ornament. Van Oostsanen and his workshop produced some of the earliest Netherlandish paintings with Attic pillars that historians of Netherlandish art have called

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[8] Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention*, 58-59.

[9] Faries and Wolff, "Landscape in the Early Paintings of Jan van Scorel," 728, n.16. Faries previously noted the possibility of van Scorel's authorship of 'van Oostsnanen's *Adoration of the Magi* in "Jan van Scorel, His Style and Its Historical Context" (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1972), 14 n.26, 47-48.

[10] Karel van Mander (as Carel), *Het Leben der Doorluchtighe Nederlandtsche/en Hoogh-duytsche Schilders* (Haarlem: Passchier van West-busch, 1604), folio 234v-folio 235r. This volume consists of the fourth book in van Mander's *Het Schilder-Boeck*, and from here on, I will refer to it as *Het Schilder-Boeck*, 2, bk. 4.

"architecture in the early Renaissance style."[11] This means that even before van Scorel had left

the Netherlands, he was, in van Oostsanen's workshop, working within a network that collected,

distributed, and reproduced antique forms.

The way scholars refer to van Oostsanen and his workshop's rendering of ancient

architectural ornament is well worth a query: what is "Renaissance" style? In art history's

traditional tale of Renaissance art and architecture, van Oostsanen's Attic pillars are *re-*

naissance, French for "rebirth," precisely because they depict what the Italian artist, architect,

and writer, Giorgio Vasari called *rinascita*: "antiquity's perfection, ruin, and restoration, or to

say it best, *rebirth*."[12] Nineteenth-century scholars employed the French variation of Vasari's

term, and we continue to refer to the period in the same way.[13] However, in her survey of

Northern Renaissance art, Stephanie Porras points out the term "Renaissance" in the context of

the Northern Renaissance "implies that the real Renaissance happened elsewhere, namely in

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[11] "Onder een an drie zijden open bouwwerk in vroege renaissancestijl staat de kribbe met Maria en Joseph ter weerszijden," in H.J.J. Scholtens, "Het te Napels bewaarde Kersttafereel van Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen," *Oud Holland* 73, no. 1 (1958): 198- 203; and Arnoldus Noach refers to them as "in den geest der jonge Renaissance," or "in the spirit of the early Renaissance," in "Jacobus Cornelisz. van Oostsanen en het Geslacht Boelens," *Historia* 6, no. 8 (1940): 226. Recent scholarship continues to reflect this. Ilja M. Veldman refers to the Attic pillars as "renaissancedecoratie," or "Renaissance decoration" in "Kunst voor de Burgerij: Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen als het begin van de Amsterdamse schilder- en prentkunst," in *Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen (ca. 1475-1533): De Renaissance in Amsterdam en Alkmaar*, ed. Daantje Meuwissen (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014), 63; Daantje Meuwissen refers to them as "renaissance-ornamentiek," or "Renaissance ornament," in "Ambachtelijke Precisie in Verf: Het geschilderde oeuvre van Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen," in *Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen (ca. 1475-1533): De Renaissance in Amsterdam en Alkmaar*, ed. Daantje Meuwissen (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014), 107.

[12] "Però lasciando questa parte indietro; troppo per l'antichita sua incerta, uegnamo alle cose piu chiare della loro perfezzione, & Rouina, & Restaurazione, & per dir meglio Rinascità, delle quali con molti miglior fondamenti potreno ragionare," in Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de piu eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani: da Cimabue in sino à tempi nostri* (Florence: Appresso Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550), 1:117-118.

[13] J. Michelet is largely responsible for the common usage of the French term, "Renaissance," as he developed it in *Histoire de France au seizième siècle, vol. VII: Renaissance* (Paris: Chamerot, 1855).

Italy."[14] The term "Renaissance" has long been debated, exemplified by Erwin Panofsky who proposed that in addition to the Renaissance, with a capital R, Western Art includes multiple "renascences" in periods where antiquity was emulated and reanimated.[15] But the period categorized as the Renaissance that ranges from 1300-1600 is also, as Porras posits, "a period defined less by one artistic style than by socio-economic and artistic change—an increasing historical consciousness, a self-awareness of the modernity of the contemporary moment."[16] Scholars such as Porras and Christy Anderson have argued for a more "global" form of Renaissance art history, one that takes into account that "the Renaissance is also the beginning of the age of exploration, and the discovery of a world beyond Europe."[17] With these debates in mind, I contend that van Oostsanen's and van Scorel's Attic pillars are "Renaissance" in both the traditional and updated senses of the word; in that they are part of the phenomenon that was the rebirth of ancient art in Italy, and their use in an Amsterdam workshop indicates foreign facture, networks, and exchanges of ideas and motifs that afforded artists new ways of imagining worlds beyond their own.

The Ritual of Selection

When van Scorel painted *Adoration of the Magi* in 1519, writers and artists had been, for more than a thousand years, analyzing the literary meanings of the narrative of Jesus' birth and forging

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[14] Stephanie Porras, *Art of the Northern Renaissance: Courts, Commerce, and Devotion* (London: Laurence King, 2018), 10.

[15] Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1960). The book is an expanded version of an argument Panofsky made in "Renaissance and Renascences," *The Kenyon Review* 6, no. 2 (1944): 201-236.

[16] Porras, *Art of the Northern Renaissance*, 15.

[17] Christy Anderson, *Renaissance Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 7.

core components of its iconography in artistic depictions.[18] As one of sixteenth-century Europe's leading pictorial themes, abundant variations of the adoration provided van Scorel with plenty of figures to recompose in his own picture.[19]

The most important thing that Bethlehem and its symbols meant for Renaissance artists was that as the site of Christ's birth, the city was the stage of events that connected the Hebrew and Aramaic scriptures with the Greek. Christians would come to refer to the Jewish texts from the first millennium BCE that contained the tribal histories of the Kingdom of Israel and prophecies of the messiah as the "Old Testament." Joseph Koerner argues that this collection of ancient West Asian texts "foreshadowed, in its every word and event, the New Testament of Christ."[20] The early Christians that rose from within the Roman Empire saw in Jesus the fulfillment of messianic prophecy and ensured that he was aligned as a descendent of Abraham and David. Through his death, Jesus acted as the saviour of humankind, which ensured the translation of the Jewish "messiah" into the Greek "Christ" to refer to him as the chosen or anointed one. The writers and editors of Matthew and Luke, who were in closer proximity to ancient Hebrew texts, placed the event of Jesus' birth in Bethlehem despite the decline and abandonment of the Judean city by the time that they were writing during the early Roman Empire.[21]

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[18] See Richard C. Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi: Meanings in History of a Christian Story* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 22-27.

[19] For the popularity of adoration pictures and their sale in European markets, Dan Ewing, "Magi and Merchants: The Force Behind the Antwerp Mannerists' Adoration Pictures," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (2004/2005): 274-299.

[20] Joseph Leo Koerner, *Bosch & Bruegel: From Enemy Painting to Everyday Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 108.

[21] Aviram Oshri, "Where was Jesus Born?," *Archaeology* 58, no. 6 (2005): 44.

Received as an actual event from world history, the epiphany had enchanted artists and theologians across the centuries in their imaginative responses to the messianic Christ's birth. As early as the second century CE, Roman artists began depicting three *magi* parading toward the enthroned virgin with the infant Jesus on her lap.[22] Sculptors also carved the event, and a fourth-century marble sarcophagus is among the earliest kind of adoration scene that dominated the formal composition of Renaissance pictures. On one of the lid panels of the Adelfia sarcophagus, three *magi* parade toward the virgin on the right (fig. 1.2). While many other reliefs show a similar procession, the *magi* are often walking toward an enthroned virgin, offering gifts to the infant on her lap. The rare depiction on the Adelfia sarcophagus is Jesus lying coddled in a manger beside an ox and an ass, protected by the roof of a small barn.[23] The sculpted ox nuzzling Jesus' wrapped feet, and ass's head above him, indicate that the passage in Luke was interpreted beyond the text: since Jesus was born in a manger, then he must have been born in a barn, where livestock lived. Early Christians also began excavating the Hebrew texts for passages that confirmed biblical prophecy in Jesus' birth, and Isaiah 1:3, written centuries before the gospels of Luke and Matthew, provided a connection to Jesus' birth in a manger: "the ox knows its

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[22] Felicity Harley, "Visual Apocrypha: The Case of Mary and the Magi in Early Christian Rome," in *Apocryphal and Esoteric Sources in the Development of Christianity and Judaism: The Eastern Mediterranean, the Near East, and Beyond*, ed. Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 383-384; Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi*, 22-27.

[23] The sarcophagus was discovered by Francesco Saverio Cavallari and published in Isidoro Carini, "Annotazioni sul sarcofago rinvenuto in Siracusa," *Bullettino della Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti in Sicilia* 5 (1872): 27-34. See Mariarta Sgarlata, "La Cultura Figurativa in Sicilia tra Vita Pubblica e Vita Privata," in *Arte Minori et Arti Maggiori: Relazione e interazioni tra Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo*, eds. Fabrizio Bisconti, Matteo Braconi, and Mariarita Sgarlata (Umbria: Tau Editrice, 2019), 145-169. For recent inclusion of the sarcophagus in studies on the adoration, see Maria Lidova, "Virgin Mary and the Adoration of the Magi: From Iconic Space to Icon in Space," in *Icons of Space: Advances in Hierotopy*, ed. Jelena Bogdanović (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), 215-216; and "Embodied Word: Telling the Story of Mary in Early Christian Art," in *The Reception of the Virgin in Byzantium: Marian Narratives in Texts and Images*, eds. Thomas Arentzen and Mary B. Cunningham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 30-35.

owner, and the ass its master's crib." Late Roman sarcophagi such as this one prove important because their reliefs indicate the ways artists imagined the past by thinking about what written texts said, and what their imaginations could fill in. As well, the fact that there are three *magi* reveals artists' imaginative response to theological writings. Since the gospels of Luke and Matthew failed to number the *magi*, artists could turn to the story of the gifts, which was elaborated on by Origen of Alexandria in the third century, to assume that there must have been three men.[24] If we look carefully, we see that the three *magi* are all similar in appearance. Their Parthian costume and so-called "phrygian caps"—the bulbous headpiece—identified them to ancient viewers as eastern, and as Persian.[25] The Greek scriptures identified the men as *magi*, and *magi* were from Persia. Origen had belaboured the fact that "*Magi* are in communion with daemons and by their formulas invoke them for the ends which they desire."[26] Confused by the sudden disappearance of their demonic allies, they sought out the reason and discovered the prophecy of the King of Kings, born in Judea, who was superior to the demons they worshipped. The gifts they brought, Origen claimed, "were symbols, the gold being offered as to a king, the myrrh for one who would die, and the frankincense to God."[27] While the story of gift-giving begins as one of some demon-worshippers' travels, their "epiphany," or sudden moment of recognizing Jesus as King of Kings, as the Christ, effectively converts their travel into one of

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[24] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, trans. Henry Chadwick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 55 (1.61). While Origen does not make quite explicate the connection, Koerner argues his passage on the three gifts was fundamental to numerating the magi for successive artists in *Bosch & Bruegel*, 106.

[25] Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi*, 22-27. See Filippo Coarelli, *La Gloria del vinti: Pergamo, Atene, Roma* (Milan: Mondadori Electa, 2014); and Andrew Stewart, *Attalos, Athens, and the Akropolis: The Pergamene "Little Barbarians" and their Roman and Renaissance Legacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[26] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 54 (1.60).

[27] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 55 (1.61).

conversion: the *magi* became the first gentiles, the first pagans to come to see Jesus as the

Messiah, or Christ. On the sarcophagus, and in other fourth-century carvings of the *magi*, the

magi point to the star that brought them to Bethlehem from Persia, the same star that van Scorel

painted deep in the background sky.

André Jolles' culturally conservative remark "the cradle of the Renaissance lay in a

grave," referring to the impact of sarcophagi on early modern iconographic programmes, is

ironically wrong when it comes to Renaissance depictions of Jesus' cradle.[28] It is tempting to

trace a line of causality from such a sarcophagus to van Scorel's painted depiction, or any other

picture that appears to echo the ancient sarcophagus. Take Rogier van der Weyden's (1399/1400-

1464) *Adoration of the Kings* from 1455 as an example (fig. 1.3). The *magi*'s rigid bodies bound

in the early Christian sarcophagus' stone now appear to move fluidly in paint. While Rogier's

Persian travellers dress differently than their ancient sculpted counterparts, his rendering of their

silken fabrics and ornamented fashions indicate their "exotic" origins. The painting's figural

composition is less linear than that on the sculpted sarcophagus, but the main components remain

the same: the three *magi* approach in line to bestow gifts and blessings on the infant Jesus, who

is sitting on his mother's lap, the enthroned Madonna, clad in her signature blue fabrics. An ox

and ass are present, as is the manger they feed out of on Mary's right—Christ's cradle. The scene

is sheltered by a dilapidated structure, made of stone and wood, and peeking out above the

rotting wooden shingles is the star that led the *magi* to Bethlehem. However, unlike many other

ancient Roman sarcophagi that were directly replicated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,

the sarcophagi with adoration scenes had little direct influence on Renaissance pictures of the

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[28] See Paul Zanker and Björn C. Ewald, *Living with Myths: The Imagery of Roman Sarcophagi*, trans. Julia Slater (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 8.

same event.[29] Rather, the architects of the adoration's "world" assembled a range texts, fragments, and images to compose their pictures in their own time.

Since the adoration was not captured in a single archetype—a prime example—Renaissance artists looked to a range of adoration pictures from across the ages. This includes Rogier, who consulted a corpus of artefacts from before 1455 to compose his picture, and it also includes van Scorel, who looked to the past and especially to the renowned examples of northern works from the fifteenth century.[30] Belting argued in *Likeness and Presence* that in each era, the makers of Christian art consulted a range of "authentic archetypes" from the past.[31] In this theory, the range of works from the past that were modelled after icons formed "archetypes," which is to say that it was in the multiple copies and receptions where a nexus of a depicted Christian "truth" was found. As Belting argues for icons, so in narrative painting successful, authentic-seeming prototypes established norms of representation. Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood have come up with a similar model in *Anachronic Renaissance*, where religious artefacts serve as physical links to ancient "prototypes" that are reactivated in their copies, their "replicas."[32] The main difference between Belting's archetype and Nagel and Wood's prototype is that the archetype is not locatable or singled out as an entity—either lost or

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[29] For the early role of sarcophagi relief in the rebirth of antique style in late medieval and Renaissance art, see Zanker and Ewald, *Living with Myths*, 8; and Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 61

[30] For Panofsky's concept of "archaism of around 1550," see Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), 1:356; Amy Powell, "A Point 'Ceaselessly Pushed Back': The Origin of Early Netherlandish Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 88, no. 4 (2006): 715; and Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 122.

[31] Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 19.

[32] Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 86-87.

extant, actual or imagined—that can be replicated, whereas the prototype can. While prototypes

are only revived in each of what Nagel and Wood call a "chain of replicas," archetypes

continuously survive across multiple artefacts. Belting's archetype and Nagel and Wood's

replica both fit into Whitney Davis' theory of the "chain of replications." "By 'replication',"

Davis writes, "I mean the sequential production of similar material morphologies—made or

imagined material forms that are always 'artifacts' and often images—that are substitutable for

one another in specific social contexts of use."[33] A form or object may be replicated—copied or

re-produced—and intentionally replicated further, across centuries and even millennia, but at

some point, the "prototype" is no longer necessary because the cluster of replications continue to

serve as the material world in which an "archetype" lives.[34] In sum, the works of art that depict

the adoration began to reference other works that depict the adoration, and their replications

began to compose the adoration's world across media, and into the centuries we refer to as the

Renaissance.

    In the case of Renaissance adoration pictures, the artists were looking to archetypes,

many of them ancient, that were linked into successive chains of replications. But how are

archetypes made? Whitney Davis and Svetlana Alpers have developed art historical theories to

argue that archetypes are made across chains of replications of artistic motifs, styles, genres, and

entire works of art, that serve to link each newly made work to an older realm of artists and

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[33] Whitney Davis, *Replications: Archaeology, Art History, Psychoanalysis* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 1; and *Masking the Blow: The Scene of Representation in Late Prehistoric Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 25.

[34] Davis first theorised the "chain of replications" in "Replication and Depiction in Paleolithic Art," *Representations* 19 (1987): 111-147, and later provided a book-length case study of similar phenomena in *Masking the Blow*. A selection of his previously published work was reedited along with a new introductory essay that concisely defines the concept in *Replications.* Davis has revisited his theory in *A General Theory of Visual Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).

artmaking, forming what is called a "canon."[35] For Alpers, each copy, emulation, tribute to, and variation of an older work recalls and updates a specific tradition: "an inheritance or filiation and artistic continuity is confirmed, and a certain canon of works is taken up in the process."[36] The canonical mode of representing the adoration of the *magi* consisted of vast variations that engaged with broad ranges of texts and images in which the adoration was received at a given time. For example, the canonical mode of depicting the adoration required an artist to design a picture with three gift-bearing *magi,* a virgin enthroned, the infant Jesus either on her lap or nearby, such as in a manger, livestock, and some form of a built shelter. The shelter, however, was typified depending on its region of production: in the West, as we see in the Adelfia sarcophagus, and Rogier's and van Scorel's paintings, it was a man-made structure. In the east, where the Roman empire continued until 1453—referred to in modern history as "Byzantium" after the original name of its capital city—the site of Jesus's birth was most often located in a cave in Bethlehem, a belief confirmed in apocryphal texts. Thus, artists who consulted the eastern tradition, as was more prevalent in Venice for example, often depicted the adoration in the believed prototype: the cave. The cave provided a rare exception of an actual prototype within the arsenal of canonical adoration iconography. In the decades after Jan van Scorel had spent time in Venice, Rome, and Syria, and returned north, he changed the style of his adoration setting. His workshop produced multiple panels of the theme, where the holy family presents Jesus to the *magi* from the cavernous substructure underneath the ruins of Roman architecture,

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[35] See Svetlana Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 69-77; and Whitney Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1-37. When referring to shifts in style, Alpers connects her use of the term "canon" specifically to Davis' in *The Vexations of Art: Velazquez and Others* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 258.

[36] Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise*, 73.

and triumphal entries (fig. 1.4). There was no single archetype. Some Venetians, such as Giovanni Bellini (1430-1516), had painted architecture, while Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506) depicted the cave in paint and in print. In the gospel of Matthew, the *magi* arrive in Bethlehem mere moments after the shepherds, and no single text, and no single artefact, suggested that Mary and Joseph moved to a new location. Artists had a wide range of archetypes, and a handful of prototypes in replicated canonical variables, from which to freely select, reassemble, and compose.

With no single prototype to follow or emulate, artists updated the archetypes according to new ideas. Two centuries after sculptors carved the Adelfia sarcophagus, where the three *magi* appear unanimous, sixth-century Byzantine mosaicists at the Basilica di Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna depicted the Persian *magi* as three different men of different ages and physical characteristics. For centuries, theologians debated the specifics, and artists rendered them.[37] By the sixteenth century, artists began to commonly depict the three *magi* as kings that each embodied their respective continent: Asia, Africa, and Europe. For Koerner, this shift—one that happened early in theology, but late in art—determined the reception of adoration pictures as representations of the entirety of the world: "complementing their allegorical embodiment of time, the Magi thus also came to figure the whole of space."[38] Painting one of the *magi* with black skin to reflect his journey out of Africa was a late fourteenth-century pictorial innovation that became standardized by 1500.[39] As a rhetorical representation of global political synergy,

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[37] See Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi*, 38-39.

[38] The Venerable Bede made the continental analogy in the seventh to eighth century. See Koerner, *Bosch & Bruegel*, 107; and Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi*, 38.

[39] See Kristen Collins and Bryan C. Keene, eds., *Balthazar: A Black African King in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Los Angeles: Getty, 2023); and Paul H.D. Kaplan, *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985). John of Hildesheim first proposed that Caspar (sometimes spelled Gaspar, or Jaspar) was Ethiopian, and thus Black, but most Renaissance artists

the three men from, not just the east, but also from the south, in Africa, enabled a complex

meaning that entangled their act of gift-giving with the imperial symbolism of foreign rulers

paying tribute to, and ensuring diplomatic ties with, Jesus, the newborn King of the Jews.[40]

I have mentioned the barns and caves that some artists depicted, but after the middle of

the fifteenth century, artists began setting the adoration scene within massive palatial complexes

modelled after ancient and medieval basilicas. Centuries of picture makers had provided a canon

of available motifs with plenty of extractable and reusable archetypes. But the most important

archetypes for sixteenth-century Netherlandish artists, Larry Silver argues, were the formidable

panels that came out of the courts of Burgundy in the previous century; panels that formed

"visual pedigrees" and set the architectural standard for the next generation of painters.[41] It is to

the most monumental of these we now turn.

Imagining the City of David with Romanesque Ornament

Van Scorel's stage amid colossal ruins harkens back to an iconographic tradition that a previous

generation of Netherlandish painters designed to place Jesus' birth in Bethlehem. "In the sacred

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depicted Balthasar as the black magus. In a rare case, Koerner refers to the black magus in Hieronymus Bosch's *Adoration of the Magi* as Caspar, even though he introduces the idea that Balthasar was the black magus in Renaissance art, in *Bosh & Bruegel*, 107, 118. Trexler notes the confusions of names, and since no primary source directs us otherwise, prefers to call the figure the "black magus," in *The Journey of the Magi*, 102-107. Also see Patrick Manning, *The African Diaspora: A History through Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 67-68.

[40] Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 169, 250. For the rhetoric of the gift, see Natalia Teteriatnikov, "The 'Gift Giving' Image: The Case of the Adoration of the Magi," *Visual Resources* 13, no. 3/4 (1998): 381-391. Also see Robin M. Jensen, "Allusions to Imperial Rituals in Fourth-Century Christian Art," in *The Art of Empire: Christian Art in its Imperial Context*, eds. Lee M. Jefferson and Robin M. Jensen (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 13-29; and Kaplan, *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art*, 21-32. Marcel Mauss' study remains central to these studies: "Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques," *L'Année sociologique* 1 (1923/1924): 30-186.

[41] Larry Silver, *The Paintings of Quinten Massys* (Montclair, NJ: Allanheld & Schram, 1984), 88-89.

histories," the nineteenth-century art historian Jacob Burckhardt confirmed, "it became the

custom, we can hardly say how, to set the stage of the birth of Christ in the ruins of a magnificent

palace."[42] Why? Northern Renaissance painters were the first to begin designing a palace in both

kinds of adoration pictures—shepherd and *magi*—as a monumental ruin built of wood and

stone.[43] Compare, for example, the 1420 *Nativity* by Robert Campin beside one of Rogier's other

adoration pictures in the central panel of the Bladelin Triptych from around 1450 (fig. 1.5 & fig.

1.6). Rogier's figural placement of the barn is similar to his master's, but he changed one key

thing: the materials of the structure from rotting wood to a building made of both wood and

stone. The inclusion of stone, and the addition of Romanesque columns and window, converts

the building from a delipidated shed into monumental architecture that lies in ruin. The

imaginative association is not far off from actual examples: in Rome, medieval farmers had

converted the Colosseum into a stable for their livestock.[44] But what perplexed Burckhardt the

most was that the new palatial phenomenon in fifteenth-century paintings seemingly came out of

nowhere. In earlier works of art, the architecture could be absent, such as in Byzantine depictions

of the adoration events happening in a cave.[45] Or, when a building was depicted, the manger and

stable were housed in an old wooden hut, which some scholars have interpreted as an example of

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[42] "In der heiligen Geschichte wird es, man kann kaum sagen wie, gebräuchlich, die Darstellung der Geburt Christi in die möglichst prachtvollen Ruinen eines Palastes zu verlegen," in Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (Basel: Schweighauser, 1860), 187.

[43] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1:135-136; Andrew Hui, "The Birth of Ruins in Quattrocento Adoration Paintings," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 18, no. 2 (2015): 324; Emanuela Ferretti, "Prophecies and Ruins: Architectural Sources for Leonardo's *Adoration of the Magi*," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 23, no. 2 (2020): 290-291.

[44] David Karmon, *The Ruin of the Eternal City: Antiquity and Preservation in Renaissance Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 123.

[45] See Earl Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1918), 22; and Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi*, 39-40.

Vitruvius' story of the first wooden shelters at architecture's origins.[46] But shortly after the turn of the twentieth century, the Belgian archaeologist and art historian Joseph Destrée suggested a different solution: the monumental architecture that Netherlandish artists of the fifteenth century painted in adoration pictures stood to represent the remains of King David's palace.[47]

The most convincing example of a northern painter intentionally evoking the King of Israel's palatial ruins is Hugo van der Goes' *Adoration of the Shepherds*, the central panel of the Portinari Triptych (fig. 1.7). The depicted scene takes place while the *magi* are on their way to Bethlehem. Painters of the adoration of the shepherds took into account verses 1-20 from the second chapter of the Gospel of Luke where the same story is told, of Mary and Joseph arriving in Bethlehem late at night. There, unable to find lodging at an inn, they seek shelter in the city. Whereas Matthew writes of the *magi* and their journey, Luke writes only of an angel that appeared to the shepherds tending their flocks in the middle of the night, who announced "for there is born to you this day in the City of David a savior, who is Christ the Lord. And this *will* be the sign to you: you will find a babe wrapped in swaddling cloths, lying in a manger." The shepherds rushed to Bethlehem, the "City of David," to witness the newborn king of the Jews. As in Rogier's painting, the shoddy barn has been replaced with stone ruins, but Hugo's are much bigger, more monumental in the sense that they were clearly part of a larger and more important structure. The architecture shelters familiar figures from the adoration's canon: a regal Mary presents the infant Jesus to a group of three men, with Joseph, an ox, an ass, and a manger

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[46] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Ingrid D. Rowland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 34-35 (2.1). Nagel and Wood have argued that adoration pictures depict the Vitruvian origin of architecture in *Anachronic Renaissance*, 300-312; and Hui has carried this on in "The Birth of Ruins in Quattrocento Adoration Paintings," 330-331. For an overview of the early modern reception of Vitruvius' wooden hut, see Joseph Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1972), 105-140.

[47] Joseph Destrée, *Hugo van der Goes* (Brussels and Paris: G. van Oest & Cie, Éditeurs, 1914), 98.

close by. But one of the keys that unlocks Hugo's archaeological imagination is the relief

sculpture in the tympanum directly above Mary's head: a harp, painted to appear as a coat-of-

arms. The painting's perspective system locates this harp at the vanishing point on the horizon,

where the pyramid recedes from the bottom corners of the "picture/window" into the distance. In

an open landscape, our vision would be pulled into the blue beyond, but instead, we are stopped

directly above the virgin, the second most important protagonist in the picture. Above Mary's

head, Hugo inscribes MV into the tympanum, which reads *Maria Virgo*, the "Virgin Mary," and

above the harp, PNSC: *Puer Nascetur Salvator Christus*, or "the child will be born the saviour

Christ."[48] Assembled with the harp, the point is clear. Jesus' birth fulfilled Jewish prophecy that

the messiah would emerge from the line of the king that the harp represents: David. Koerner

argues that Renaissance artists took the conventional idea that Jesus' birth happened within the

city of David and standardized the pictorial iconography to include architecture that "stands for

the vestiges of King David's palace in Bethlehem, thus signalling Christ's hereditary kingship as

David's son."[49] Despite being a rural shepherd boy of humble birth, David's good looks and

talent as young harp player merited his invitation to Israel's court of King Saul. David later

succeeded Saul, and as the great-grandson of Ruth and Boaz, fulfilled the prophecy that Ruth

would be the ancestor of the messiah. Hugo's explicit indication of the Davidic subplot of the

adoration may explain his choice to depict this picture as one of the shepherds and not the *magi*.

Scholars across the twentieth century have agreed with Destrée's hypothesis and

expanded the Bethlehem/City of David analogy in their interpretation of works of art beyond

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[48] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1:334; Shirley Neilsen Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs: A Study in Patronage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 78.

[49] Koerner, *Bosch &* Bruegel, 113.

Hugo's *Adoration of the Shepherds*.[50] The Davidic reference was so ubiquitous to Netherlandish

artists that even without clear references such as David's harp, adoration architecture signified

the antiquity of the ancient Jewish king.[51] The only thing artists needed to do to find Bethlehem

in the City of David was read the Bible. The angel did not say Bethlehem when he announced

Christ's birth to the shepherds in the field, he said the City of David. The same identification is

made multiple times in the Gospel of Luke: after Caesar Augustus demands that all subjects

within the Roman Empire must report in a census "Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the

city of Nazareth, into Judea, to the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, because he was of

the house and lineage of David, to be registered with Mary, his betrothed wife, who was with

child." (Luke 2:1-5). In the gospel of Matthew, "Bethlehem of Judea" is clearly the same

birthplace, even though the City of David is not mentioned. In fact, the actual city of Bethlehem

is eight and half kilometres south of what archaeologists identify as the Iron-Age city of David.

The ancient city seems to have been well forgotten, even by the time of the Roman empire in the

early centuries CE.[52] According to Marino Sanudo Torsello's *Secreta fidelium Crucis*, a

pilgrim's account and crusader manifesto written in the early fourteenth century, David's Gate

on the south wall of Jerusalem lead to Bethlehem two leagues away, or a two-hour walk.[53]

Evidently, the ancient authors and editors of the New Testament had efficiently ensured that the

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[50] See Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1:333-335; Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs*, 20, 78-79; Margaret L. Koster, *Hugo van der Goes and the Procedures of Art and Salvation* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 52; Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 154; Koerner, *Bosch & Bruegel*, 113.

[51] See for example Hieronymus Bosch's disintegrating stable that Koerner interprets as what's left of David's palace, in *Bosch & Bruegel*, 113.

[52] Among the most recent of publications are the essays published in Ronny Reich & Eli Shukron, eds., *Excavations in the City of David, Jerusalem (1995-2010)* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press for Eisenbrauns, 2021).

[53] Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, trans. Peter Lock (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 410 (3.11).

sacred Aramaic and Hebrew texts from centuries before found solutions to their prophetic

riddles. The family lived in Nazareth, but Joseph was from Bethlehem and from the line of

David. Since he and the "virgin" Mary had not consummated their marriage, Jesus' miraculous

birth had to align with the history of David. Locating her labour in Bethlehem, when the family

was there for Joseph to respond to a census, ensured the Davidic rhetoric. The few kilometres

between Bethlehem and the City of David were pinched, and the city thus became one and the

same. Sanudo leaves no doubt that late medieval pilgrims believed the actual city of Bethlehem

was the City of David: "O Bethlehem, city of David! Glorified by the birth of the true David,

with a strong hand and pleasing appearance, the city was small but has been magnified by the

lord."[54]

    The sheaf of grain in Hugo's *Adoration* is meant to be interpreted along with the

architecture to locate the painted scene in Bethlehem. Many ancient Levantine city names use the

prefix ב, or "Beth," which in Aramaic and Hebrew means "house," along with another word

associated with the place. In the ancient world, the Levant was always within the social, cultural,

political, and religious networks of ancient Mesopotamia further east, and the site of a temple to

Lahamu became the "House of Lahamu," or "Beth-Lahamu."[55] The late antique Christian

Basilica of the Nativity that continues to stand in Bethlehem is above the site of an ancient

Canaanite temple erected for the worship of Mesopotamian fertility gods. "Lehem" as grain, or

bread, is the Hebrew accumulation and linguistic derivation of a local cultural memory of the

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[54] Sanudo, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, 410-411 (3.11).

[55] William Ewart Staples, "The Book of Ruth," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 53, no. 3 (1937): 149; William Foxwell Albright, "The Canaanite God Haurôn (Hôrôn)," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 53, no. 1 (1936): 6-7; Richard R. Losch, *The Uttermost Part of the Earth: A Guide to Places in the Bible* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005), 51-54.

goddess Lahamu and her brother Lahmu, who, as silt deities, provided the fertility that afforded

an agrarian environment in primordial Mesopotamia.[56] While Renaissance artists would not have

painted adoration pictures with these two ancient deities in mind, they did know of the residual

associations of fertility and generation that Bethlehem implied.[57] In Hebrew, בית לחם, or "Beit-

Le'chem," means the "House of Bread," or "House of Grain," which Erasmus made clear in his

commentary on Luke, published in 1523: "Bethlehem, which means 'house of bread.'"[58]

Erasmus, an erudite antiquarian, was aware that Bethlehem had mysterious past lives.

The Jewish historian Yosef Ben Matityahu, commonly known by his Latin name, Josephus (34-

95 CE), knew that Bethlehem was inhabited before the Kingdom of Israel when he wrote "the

Canaanite population was expelled by David, the king of the Jews, who established his own

people there."[59] While Jesus' birth could be located within the ancient king of Israel's palatial

ruins, the City of David was built above the ruins of a deeper, unknown, pagan antiquity.

Maurice Halbwachs refers to this kind of spatio-temporal phenomenon from world history,

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[56] See Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society & Nature* (1948; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 234; and Thorkild Jacobsen, "Mesopotamia," in Henri and Henriette A. Frankfort, John A. Wilson, Thorkild Jacbosen, and William A. Irwin, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man: An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East* (1946; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 170-172. For a primary record of the gods in cuneiform script, see Richard L. Litke, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists,* AN*: ᵈa-nu um* and AN*: Anu ša amēli* (New Haven, CT: Yale Babylonian Collection, 1998), 22. For an account of the ancient Canaanite temple to Lahamu built on what is still referred to as the Hill of the Nativity, see Losch, *The Uttermost Part of the Earth*, 51

[57] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1:333.

[58] Desiderius Erasmus*, Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 47, *Paraphrase on Luke 1-10*, trans. Jane E. Philips (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 70. Elsewhere, Erasmus noted that he often turned "to that little book *On Hebrew Names* that reflects such mingled sources," in "A System or Method of Arriving by a Short Cut at True Theology," 505.

[59] Josephus, *The Jewish War*, trans. Martin Hammond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 340 (6.439).

where single sites are continually re-used with successive world regimes, as an indicator of "collective memory":

> If the mission of humanity through the ages has been to make an effort to create or recreate gods in order to transcend itself, then one finds the essence of the religious phenomenon in those stones erected and preserved by crowds and by successive generations of people whose traces one can follow in these very stones.[60]

In early modern archaeological imagination, Bethlehem occupied such a collective memory. I contend that the city was an example of the kind place that Erasmus advised should be studied thoroughly: "In truth the prophets often stud their books with the names of places, like lights of a sort, and if anyone tries to investigate the allegory, he will not do so either safely or auspiciously if he has no knowledge of the setting of the places."[61]

To clarify the analogy of Bethlehem as the City of David, Renaissance artists re-formed the iconography of the barn that had for centuries been part of the adoration's canon. While the archetypes of the ox and the ass already began in late antique iconography, the animals prompted fifteenth-century artists such as Rogier and Hugo to imagine anew just exactly where Jesus' birth took place.[62] Medieval theologians, consolidated by Jacobus de Voragine, had reasoned that Joseph brought the ox, "perhaps to sell it for money … and an ass, no doubt for Mary to ride on."[63] In other words, if Mary and Joseph had brought the animals, then artists did not have to depict a barn. Since Bethlehem was built upon the ancient City of David, then it made sense to imagine Mary and Joseph had found refuge within the ruins of the old city.

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[60] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. and ed. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 235.

[61] Erasmus, "A System or Method of Arriving by a Short Cut at True Theology," 501.

[62] Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence*, 18-22. Koerner argues that the Donkey is also a visual idiom of ancient anti-Semitic calumny "that Jews secretly worshiped the head of a donkey in their temple," *Bosch & Bruegel*, 113.

[63] Jacopus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 41.

Singled out from the architecture, Hugo's blue Romanesque column with the lily capital

indicated to fifteenth-century viewers the ancient world of Bethlehem (fig. 1.8). There is more

than one column in *Adoration of the Shepherds*, but the main one is highlighted directly behind

the virgin. This column was not bound to any single interpretation. In one tradition, it signified

the support to which Mary clasped while giving birth to Jesus; in another, it was the column in

Jerusalem to which Jesus was tied and flogged.[64] One interpretation that has not been explored is

how the column responded to its intended space of display. The Portinari triptych was

commissioned for a chapel in Bruges' Sint-Jakobskerck, the "Church of Saint James," that the

Dukes Philip and Charles had begun renovating in 1454.[65] On October 16, 1474, Tommaso

Portinari, Hugo's patron, purchased the church's old apse, which was now attached to the side of

the new nave, and converted it into his family's chapel.[66] It was in this chapel where he planned

his tomb and commissioned the *Adoration of the Shepherds* triptych to monumentalise his

family's significant role in Burgundian politics. Plans changed, and Portinari returned to

Florence by 1483 with the massive triptych, which was installed in the chapel of the virgin and

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[64] Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs*, 20-21; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1:277.

[65] Susanne Franke was first to present archival documents that proved the triptych was first intended for Sint-Jakobskerk in "Between Status and Spiritual Salvation: The Portinari Triptych and Tommaso Portinari's Concern for His Memoria," *Simiolus* 33, no. 3 (2007/2008): 123-144. A. Victor Coonin has taken up Franke's thesis to explain other quirks in the painting in "Altered Identities in the *Portinari Altarpiece*," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 35, no. 1 (2016): 4-15. For the Burgundian renovations to Jokobskerck, see Andrew Brown and Hendrik Callewier, "Religious Practices, c. 1200-1500," in *Medieval Bruges, c. 850-1550*, eds. Andrew Brown and Jan Dumolyn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 336, 373-376.

[66] Portinari's deed of endowment is in the Stadsarchief Brugge, Charters Ambachten nr. 310, charter nr. 473. See Franke, "Between Status and Spiritual Salvation," 123; and Paula Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence: The Impact of Netherlandish Painting, 1400-1500* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 45.

Sant'Egidio at the hospital of Santa Maria Nuoava.[67] Had Hugo's Portinari Triptych stayed in

Bruges, the blue Romanesque column in the painting would have mirrored the towering columns

made of locally quarried *petit granit*, also referred to as Belgian bluestone, that lifted Sint-

Jakobskerck's nave (fig. 1.9). Romanesque cathedrals were centuries old by the time Hugo

painted his adoration, and their iconography afforded a symbolic temporality of the distant past

in the broadest sense.[68] As Panofsky argued, Netherlandish painters, including those from the

northern Netherlands as is evidenced by Geertgen tot Sint Jans' (1465-1495) *Adoration of the*

Magi from 1480, designed buildings with Romanesque architectural iconography to indicate the

setting of their pictures in Jewish antiquity (fig. 1.10).[69]

Hugo and Geertgen's inclusions of a medieval column in their compositions to convey

the antiquity of the scene may seem a bit odd to art historians today. Judged by modern

categories of periodised style, the "Romanesque" is medieval, not ancient. But the Romanesque

is a modern invention, and it is an unclear concept. At the beginning of the nineteenth century,

when the term Romanesque was coined, it referred to all medieval architecture from the fourth to

the twelfth century. By the turn of the twentieth century, only the architecture of the eleventh

through to the twelfth centuries that clearly display the medieval "renaissance" of ancient Roman

styles and forms could be called Romanesque.[70] This included Burgundian architecture from

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[67] Some histories of art refer to the Portinari altarpiece as a commission for the hospital chapel at Santa Maria Nuova, such as Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts across Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 239-242.

[68] See the recent collection of essays in Konrad Adriaan Ottenheym, ed., *Romanesque Renaissance: Carolingian, Byzantine and Romanesque Buildings (800-1200) as a Source for New* All'Antica *Architecture in Early Modern Europe (1400-1700)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2021), especially the overview in Ottenheym's introduction on pages 1-22.

[69] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1:131-140.

[70] Eric Fernie, *Romanesque Architecture: The First Style of the European Age* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 5-9.

earlier centuries, such as Sint-Jakobskerck, which displayed barrel vaults, round arches, and sturdy walls with either piers or thick columns with capitals that mimicked, but did not quite replicate, those on ancient Roman temples.[71] However, the architecture in the Netherlands that we call "Romanesque" was not the modern style when Hugo and Geertgen painted their adoration pictures; the Gothic was. Geometric filigrees had swarmed their way across art and architecture in the twelfth century and remained popular in the Netherlands through to the middle of the sixteenth century, much later than in Italy.[72] Rogier, Hugo, and Geertgen included elements of the modern, Gothic style in some of the architecture in their backgrounds, so the inclusion of Romanesque indicated polychronic building styles.[73] In the fifteenth century, the origins of many "Romanesque" buildings across Europe—including Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany—were forgotten and then believed to be older by centuries, or even more than a millennium.[74] Jan van Eyck is credited with initiating the mode of designing painted architecture with Romanesque elements to signify the architecture of the Old Covenant, the architecture of age of the prophets, and the kings of Israel, such as David, and his son Solomon.[75] After van

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[71] Edson Armi surveys the development of Burgundian Romanesque architecture in "Orders and Continuous Orders in Romanesque Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 34, no. 3 (1975): 173-188.

[72] See Ethan Matt Kavaler's book-length study *Renaissance Gothic*.

[73] A notable study is Werner Körte's chapter "Romanische Architektur in der Kunst der Gebrüder van Eyck und ihrer Zeitgenossen," in "Die Wiederaufnahme romanischer Bauformen in der niederländischen und deutschen Malerei des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts" (PhD diss., Leipzig University, 1930), 8-26.

[74] For the amplified confusion of Roman and Romanesque north of Italy, see the chapter "Replica" in Christopher S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 185-254. Also see Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 37, 134-158; and Stephan Hoppe, "Translating the Past: Local Romanesque Architecture in Germany and its Fifteenth-Century Reinterpretation," in *The Quest for the Appropriate Past in Literature, Art and Architecture*, eds. Karl A.E. Enenkel and Konrad Adriaan Ottenheym (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 511-585.

[75] See the chapter "Architectural Style and Sculptural Symbolism" in Craig Harbison, *Jan van Eyck: The Play of Realism* (London: Reaktion, 1991), 151-157. Also see John L. Ward's articles, "Hidden Symbolism in Jan van Eyck's Annunciations," *The Art Bulletin* 57, no. 2 (1975): 196-214-216; and "Disguised Symbolism as Enactive Symbolism in Van Eyck's Paintings," *Artibus et Historiae* 15, no. 29

Eyck, the combination of Romanesque architecture with Gothic emphasized anachronism within a painted picture, and it reminded viewers that they lived in a world that had succeeded past ones.[76] Hugo and Geertgen, for example, still compose some Gothic architecture in the backgrounds of their pictures. The inclusion of Romanesque architecture in fifteenth-century adoration paintings thus served to harness the City of David as a representational device that foresaw and engendered the birth of Christ and the New Covenant that the modern Gothic represented.[77] When a Netherlandish painter from the fifteenth century designed architecture in a style that we today categorize as "Romanesque," their intention was to paint an ancient building.

Unlike the ruins of ancient Greece and Rome, Romanesque architecture afforded artists with iconographic references to a deeper antiquity from a thousand years before Jesus's time. It was precisely known just how old the architecture of the City of David was supposed to be. With the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE as a reference, Josephus wrote: "the period from king David, [Jerusalem's] first Jewish sovereign, to its destruction by Titus was one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine years; and from its first foundation until its final overthrow, two thousand one hundred and twenty-seven."[78] Writing between 1484 and 1488, the Swiss Dominican pilgrim and theologian Felix Fabri consolidated Josephus' *War* with a range of medieval speculations on dates to convey a similar chronological understanding: "from the

(1994): 15, 43; and Noa Turel, *Living Pictures: Jan van Eyck and Painting's First Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020), 50, 89, 123.

[76] Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1:131-140.

[77] Erwin Panofsky advanced this idea first in "The Friedsam Annunciation and the Problem of the Ghent Altarpiece," *The Art Bulletin* 17, no. 4 (1935): 449-450, especially the lengthy footnote n. 28, and more fully in *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1:131-140.

[78] Josephus, *The Jewish War*, 304-305.

foundation of Solomon's temple down to its final destruction by Titus, is reckoned to be eleven

hundred and two years."[79] Fabri's extensive calculations begin with the creation of Adam:

> As for the reckoning of these years: first, from Adam to the flood was two thousand one
> hundred and forty-two years; from the flood to Abraham was nine hundred and forty-two;
> from Abraham to Moses, who brought Israel out of Egypt, is reckoned five hundred
> years; from Moses to Solomon, and the first building of the temple, five hundred and
> twelve years; from Darius to the time of Christ's preaching in the fifteenth year of
> Tiberius Caesar, was five hundred and forty-eight years. All these years, up to the time of
> Christ's preaching, make five thousand two hundred and eighteen.[80]

With these dates, Fabri then places Jesus within the lives of the Roman Caesars, concluding with

Titus' sack of Jerusalem. In other words, by the end of the fifteenth century, there was no

anachronic confusion when it came to the architecture in adoration pictures: at the time of Jesus'

birth, the ruins of the City of David were imagined to be at least one thousand years old. The

Romanesque, a style out of time, was able to provide such ancient analogy.

Above all, Hugo animated the column as the bearer of the painter's archaeological

imagination. Renaissance painters designed compositions with attention to detail when it came to

columns. The practices highlight what the architect and polymath Leon Battista Alberti argued in

his treatise *De re aedificatoria*, "On the Art of Building": "there is nothing to be found in the art

of building that deserves more care and expense, or ought to be more graceful, than the

column."[81] But Alberti's views on architecture also provide us with an alternative to the common

interpretation that adoration pictures depict the wooden-hut myth of Vitruvian origins. The

architect ignores Vitruvius' myth of an ancient wooden hut entirely, and matter-of-factly

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[79] Felix Fabri, *Felix Fabri (Circa 1480-1483 A. D.)*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1893), 2.1:234.

[80] Fabri, *Felix Fabri (Circa 1480-1483 A. D.)*, 2.1:234. Also see on page 232: "[Solomon's] temple was built in the year 4169 from the creation of the world, 1033 before the birth of Christ, 1480 after the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt."

[81] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), 25 (1.10).

discusses the integration of stone and wood in the world's first temples that prehistoric builders erected in Asia.[82] As with Hugo's "Romanesque" column that served to locate the scene in the ancient City of David, the next generation would select motifs and employ columns as crucial indicators of ancient West Asian architecture in their adoration pictures.[83] It is to this next generation that we now turn. The importance of a column in a painted architecture to signify the building's antiquity remained, but the kind of antiquity and its realm of significations varied.[84] The style became less Romanesque and more Roman.

Building Asian Antiquity with the Attic Order

In 1512, van Oostsanen made a pictorial selection that participated in the redefinition of the adoration's architectural iconography: unlike the Netherlandish painters of the fifteenth century who used Romanesque columns to indicate Davidic antiquity, van Oostsanen designed the ruins of the City of David for his *Adoration of the Shepherds* with Attic pillars (fig. 1.11). The Attic order was comprised of a square column with surfaces that were either fluted or carved with vineated motifs. Some of the motifs from the previous generation of Netherlandish painters are present, such as the sheaf of grain in the manger along with the infant Jesus. Beyond food for the ox and ass and the cushion to pillow the baby Jesus's little head, the sheaves of grain that van Oostsanen painted in the manger also symbolically locate the event within the city of Bethlehem, a pictorial symbolism established by an earlier generation of painters. But the inclusion of new

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[82] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 157 (6.2).

[83] See Körte, "Die Wiederaufnahme romanischer Bauformen in der niederländischen und deutschen Malerei," 26-41.

[84] See Christopher P. Heuer, "Northern Imaginative Antiquarianism: The Dismembered Column as Relic and Tool," in *The Companion to the History of Architecture, Volume I, Renaissance and Baroque Architecture*, ed. Alina Payne (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2017), 1-24.

elements, such as the Attic pillars, updated the style of his workshop to become one that could

execute antique ornament. The panel has been "characterised by a bizzare equilibrium of late

gothic elements … and an incipient "Romanism."[85] The Gothic style, as Ethan Matt Kavaler has

pointed out, was ubiquitous and modern in the Netherlands until at least 1540, and "the antique,"

he argues, "however it was interpreted, was understood as opposed to the Gothic."[86] Just as

Hugo's Romanesque column served to indicate the antiquity of his painted architecture, so too

did van Oostsanen's Attic pillars.

The versatility of adoration pictures afforded continuous updates to the pictorial

iconography, and van Oostsanen's *Adoration of the Shepherds* reflects the dialogue that was

happening across European workshops. Daantje Meuwissen argues that van Oostsanen's

inclusions of antique ornament indicate the artist's response to a demand for "the international

taste of the time."[87] In van Oostsanen's prints, marketed to a vast public, the ornament of the

borders and frames remained in the modern style, Gothic. While in his paintings, commissioned

for or solicited to wealthy patrons in Holland, he opted for a synthesis of the Gothic with antique

ornament that signified his workshop's connections to a larger world.[88] By the time van

Oostsanen was painting his *Adoration of the Shepherds*, artists in Italy, such as Sandro Botticelli

(1445-1510) and Domenico Ghirlandaio (1448-1494), had dropped the Romanesque as the

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[85] "… caratterizzata da un bizzarro equilibrio di eleganze tardo-gotiche … e d'un incipiente «romanismo»," in Pierluigi Leone de Castris, ed., *Museo Nazionale Capodimonte: Dipinti dal XIII al XVI secolo, le collezioni borboniche e post-unitarie* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1999), 175-177, cat. 163.

[86] Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, 17, also see pages 242-257.

[87] Meuwissen, "Ambachtelijke Precisie in Verf," 113.

[88] Meuwissen argues that van Oostsanen was a painter first and a printmaker second in "A 'Painter in Black and White': The Symbiotic Relationship Between the Paintings and Woodcuts of Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen," in *Making and Marketing: Studies of the Painting Process in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth Century Netherlandish Workshops*, ed. Molly Faries (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 72-73. Also see Ilja M. Veldman, "Doen Pietersz's editions of woodcuts by Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen and Lucas van Leyden, and illustrations in French printed books of hours," *Simiolus* 35, no. 1/2 (2011): 43.

indicator of Davidic antiquity and begun using styles of architecture and ornament from ancient

Greece and Rome.[89] One example of this is Ghirlandaio's *Adoration of the Shepherds*, completed

by 1485 in the Sassetti Chapel of Florence's Santa Trinita (fig. 1.12). The altarpiece is a direct

response to Hugo's colossal triptych that had arrived in Florence two years earlier.[90] Ghirlandaio

replaced the Romanesque architecture with fluted Attic pillars that bear a rotting wooden roof.

Jesus' manger is an ancient Roman sarcophagus, on which is inscribed: "ENSE CADENS SOLY

MO POMPEI FVLVIV[S]/AVGVR/NVMEN AITQVAE ME CONTIG[IT] VRNA DABIT," or

"Falling by the sword in Jerusalem, Fulvius, augur of Pompey, prophesied the tomb that contains

me will yield a god." As far as we know, the inscription is made up, and no primary source

indicates an augur named Fulvius. But Pompey was the Roman general in charge of the siege

and entry of Jerusalem in 63 BCE that brought the Hellenistic Levant into Roman control.[91]

Pompey appointed the Jewish prince Hyrcanus II as governing high priest, which marked the

beginning of Rome's vassal kings in Jerusalem, rulers that answered to Rome as their higher

power.[92] Ghirlandaio indicates this relationship between Rome and Jerusalem on the arch

inscription at the left, under which the *magi* are seen arriving in triumph to witness the birth of

Jesus: "GN[EO] POMPEO MAGNO HIRCANUS PONT[IFEX] P[OSUIT]," "Erected by the

priest Hyrcanus in honour of Gnæus Pompey the Great." Like the sarcophagus, there was no arch

with this inscription in Italy or Judea. Ghirlandaio's painted antiquities served to link the birth of

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[89] Hui, "The Birth of Ruins in Quattrocento Adoration Paintings," 319-320.

[90] Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence*, 148-151.

[91] Josephus recounts the history of Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem in *Jewish War*, 18-22 (1.123-1.158).

[92] Katharina Galor and Hanswulf Bloedhorn, *The Archaeology of Jerusalem: From the Origins to the Ottomans* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 65-66. Also see Eric H. Cline, *Jerusalem Besieged: From Ancient Canaan to Modern Israel* (Ann Arbour: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 68-95.

Jesus to the ancient Jewish kings, but he did so through not just Roman, but Hellenistic Roman aesthetics, ergo "Attic," as the mediator.[93] Just as some artists such as Hugo in the fifteenth century had formatted Davidic architecture with Romanesque fragments to indicate antiquity, Ghirlandio and others, including van Oostsanen, began employing a new mode of depicting antiquity in adoration paintings with the architectural styles of ancient Greece and Rome. They imagined ancient worlds in the pictures they painted, but depending on how the past was physically perceived, the fragments with which they built those worlds could change.

As one of van Oostsanen's largest works, which resounded as a monumental altarpiece with strikingly detailed figures in the composition, the Amsterdam *Adoration* triggered abundant copies and variations in Holland and in Flanders.[94] Like Hugo's Portinari triptych, van Oostsanen's panel depicts the patron's family, which included Amsterdam's mayor, among the ruins of Bethlehem, the City of David. Margriet Dirk Boelenznsdr, a member of Amsterdam's Catholic oligarchy, commissioned the panel as a donation to the city's Carthusian charterhouse, Sint Andries ter Zaliger Haven, "Saint Andrew's Harbour of Salvation," where it stood as an altarpiece.[95] To suit the space in which the altarpiece was installed, a workshop assistant, likely van Scorel, painted a fantasy harbour in the background. Scholars have noted that the harbour

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[93] Hui, "The Birth of Ruins in Quattrocento Adoration Paintings," 338; Fritz Saxl, "The Classical Inscription in Renaissance Art and Politics: Bartholomaeus Fontius; Liber monumentorum Romanae urbis et aliorum locorum," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 4, no. 1/2 (1940/1941): 27-29.

[94] Jane Louise Carroll lists the copies and variations, which include pictures of both the shepherd and magi themes, in "The Paintings of Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen (1472?-1533)," (PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1987), 105-129. The Most recent biographical update to van Oostsanen is Yvonne Bleyerveld and Daantje Meuwissen, eds., *Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsane (ca. 1475-1533): de renaissance in Amsterdam en Alkmaar* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2014), xi-lv.

[95] For the context of commission and patronage, see Truus van Bueren and S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "De *Geboorte van Christus* door Jacob Corneliszn: De identificatie van de geportretteerde personen," *Oud Holland* 125, no. 4 (2012): 169-179; and H.J.J. Scholtens, "Het te Napels bewaarde Kersttafereel van Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen," *Oud Holland* 73, no. 1 (1958): 198- 203. Also see Carroll, "The Paintings of Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen (1472?-1533)," 105-121.

would have reminded viewers of Amsterdam's, and that it may be the first seascape in Dutch art, bringing to Amsterdam a picture where "Christ is born in a ruin on the sea."[96] Just as Ghirlandaio designed an imaginative landscape with ruins, so too did van Oostsanen, and probably van Scorel as part of his workshop. Van Oostsanen's general ornamental selection quickly became demanded and then mass produced: painters of the thousands of adoration pictures that flowed out of the Netherlands between 1510 and 1540 designed their architecture with Attic columns that bear foliate patterns.[97] Selecting Attic columns in imaginary depictions of for ancient Asian architecture was appropriate, especially since the Renaissance reception of the Attic afforded ambiguous interpretations.

While van Oostsanen, van Scorel and other artists were painting their Attic pillars, the style of tectonic ornament was in the process of theorisation. In 1521, Cesare Cesariano published a translation of Vitruvius into Italian alongside his commentary, and in it, he included a woodcut that depicted an Attic column among five others to illustrate architecture's *ordini*, or "orders."[98] From left to right, Cesariano inscribed the columns' identifications: masculine Doric, feminine Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Attic, and Tuscan (fig. 1.13). Cesariano's print of the six columns and its explanation in the manuscript are examples of the Renaissance invention of the ancient orders, when architects employed the style of a building's ornament to determine its

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[96] "Christus' Geboorte in een ruïne aan zee," in Noach, "Jacobus Cornelisz. van Oostsanen en het Geslacht Boelens," 226. Also see Meuwissen, ed., *Jacob Cornelisz van* Oostsanen, cat. 13, 196-197; and Carroll, "The Paintings of Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen," 118.

[97] Dan Ewing, "Magi and Merchants: The Force Behind the Antwerp Mannerists' Adoration Pictures," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (2004/2005): 277; Annick Born, "Antwerp Mannerism: A Fashionable Style?," in *ExtravagAnt! A Forgotten Chapter of Antwerp Painting, 1500-1530*, eds. Peter van den Brink and Maximilian P. J. Martens (Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 2005), 13, 54-55, cat. 17.

[98] Cesariano's print is in Vitruvius, *De architectura libri dece[m]*, trans. Cesare Cesariano (Como: Gotardo da Ponte, 1521), folio LXIIr (misprinted as LXIIIr).

architectural programme. Vitruvius had never referred to Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian ornament

as the orders, but rather as *genera*, the plural of *genus*, which technically means "species" but

can be similarly translated as "kind."[99] The kind of the building was determined by its figural

tectonic composition, its ornament. In Rome, the papal architect Raffaello Sanzio (1483-1520),

or Raphael, who had undertaken the responsibility of editing and translating a new edition of

Vitruvius, was the first to define the kinds of ancient architecture as *ordini*, as orders.[100]

Raphael's research for his Vitruvian project included a thorough archaeological survey of Rome

and drawing of the city's ancient monuments. Cesariano's treatise, published one year after

Raphael's death in 1520, reflects the architectural culture in Italy that was tending toward the

categorisation and canonisation of ancient architecture.[101] Cesariano's treatise echoes some of

Raphael's research, especially on the orders, which Raphael listed as "Doric, Ionic, Corinthian,

Tuscan, and Attic."[102]

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[99] Ingrid D. Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 231. Alina Payne writes of a 'species theory' in *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance: Architectural Invention, Ornament, and Literary Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 141-143.

[100] Raphael took on the project with Baldassare Castiglione and Angelo Colocci. See Ingrid D. Rowland, "Raphael, Angelo Colocci, and the Genesis of the Architectural Orders," *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994): 81-104; and *The Culture of the High Renaissance*, 226-233. For Raphael's preliminary manuscript of Vitruvius, translated by the humanist Marco Fabio Calvo, with Angelo Colocci likely serving as scribe, see Vincenzo Fontana and Paolo Morachiello, eds., *Vitruvio e Raffaello: Il "De Architectura" di Vitruvio nella Traduzione Inedita di Fabio Calvo Ravennate* (Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1975).

[101] John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 247-262; Ingrid D. Rowland, "Vitruvius in Print and in Vernacular Translation: Fra Giocondo, Bramante, Raphael and Cesare Cesariano," in *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, eds. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 105-121.

[102] Francesco Paolo Di Teodoro has edited several editions of Raphael's letter to Pope Leo X, the most recent being *Lettera a Leone X di Raffaello e Baldassare Castiglione* (Florence: Maddali e Bruni, 2021). A passage with the orders is on page 64.

The Attic inclusion is out of place in Renaissance editions of Vitruvius' text. While the ancient author had carefully explained the origins and manners of executing the Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and somewhat the Tuscan, he only passively mentions that there is an Attic style of building while discussing column bases and doorways, and he does not describe nor provide examples of Attic columns.[103] But another ancient author did: the first-century historian of the natural world, Pliny the Elder. In a passage on lime plaster made from marble stones in the *Natural History*, Pliny briefly mentions columnar architecture where he claims "there are four kinds of columns," before noting the measurements of the Doric, Ionic, Tuscan, and Corinthian proportions.[104] At the end of this passage, Pliny adds: "another kind of column is that known as the Attic, which is quadrangular and equilateral."[105] As simple as this sounds—a square column—no Renaissance architect seemed to know exactly what it was. Vitruvius had provided clear descriptions of the other four kinds, and multiple examples of them still stood in the city of Rome and in the further reaches of the ancient empire. In the words of Ingrid Rowland, when it comes to the theorisation of the Attic order in the Renaissance, "they probably made it up."[106]

To make it up, Renaissance architects had to piece together the literature and imagine what the Attic was. After Pliny notes the Doric, Ionic, Tuscan, and Corinthian, he begins describing the origin of columnar proportions at the Temple for Diana in Ephesus, a Greek city on the Anatolian coast. Only there, separated from the other kinds of columns, did he mention

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[103] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, 51 (5.5.1), 60 (4.6.6).

[104] Peter Fane-Saunders analyzes the attempts to theorise the Attic order in *Pliny the Elder and the Emergence of Renaissance Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 155-169, 182-186; and in "Pliny the Elder and *Cinquecento* Architectural Theory: The Case of Cesare Cesariano's 1521 Edition of Vitruvius," *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences* 61, no. 166/167 (2011): 423-453.

[105] Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), 10:142-143 (36.56).

[106] Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance*, 231.

the Attic. Some Renaissance editions of Pliny left the clauses open, and the Attic's origin was located in the Temple for Diana, a West Asian "wonder of the ancient world."[107]

It is not too surprising to note that Renaissance architectural theory would have located the Attic order's origins in Asia. Vitruvius had left no doubt that the dominant styles of Roman architectural ornament were born in Greek contexts, which included the lands that fell under the Greek imperial umbrella, such as Ionia, which was also in West Asia. The origin of the Ionic was, as well, located at the temple for Diana at Ephesus. There, a sense of a deeper and prehistoric antiquity was also forged, as this was the temple where Pliny had written the first *spirae*—the corkscrew-shaped round column bases of the ancient orders—were used.[108] Vitruvius had written of the Temple of Diana's Ionic columns that stood on these new bases as the elegant matronly order, compared to the plain and rigid masculinity of the Doric.[109] Vitruvius and Pliny had left no doubt that the Temple of Diana was a colossal Asian monument. While discussing the symbolic meaning of the materials of its architectural fabric, such as cedar, cypress, ebony, and vines, Pliny notes his surprise that "inasmuch as though the whole of Asia was building it it took 120 years to complete."[110] For Alberti, writing centuries later, such architecture was at the beginnings of all the world's architectural history: "building, so far as we can tell from ancient monuments, enjoyed her first gush of youth, as it were, in Asia, flowered in Greece, and later reached her glorious maturity in Italy."[111]

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[107] See Pliny, *Historia Naturale di Caio Plinio Secondo*, trans. Christophoro Landino (Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1476), folio 400v-folio 401r of the unpaginated edition in the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, catalogue reference Bod-Inc P-372.

[108] Pliny, *Natural History*, 10:142-143 (36.56).

[109] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, 55, (4.1).

[110] Pliny, *Natural History*, 4:524-527 (16.79). Repeat of "it" in translation.

[111] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 157, (6.3).

While Alberti had never mentioned the Attic, he did open up the possibilities of what the Attic could be for those who would take an interest in Pliny's quadrangular column and begin to imagine and define ancient ornament. Unlike the architects of the sixteenth century, Alberti, a century earlier, did not invest any energy in canonising the styles of ornament into discrete orders. In *De re aedificatoria*, which was the first architectural treatise of its kind to be written since Vitruvius, Alberti used Vitruvius' word *genera* to refer to ancient columnar ornament by its "kind." Otherwise, his interest in the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian was archaeological. He wanted to know what ancient literature said about them, and how he could imagine them and recreate them in his own way. It was not to lock ancient architectural ornament into "order," which was the way that Alina Payne argues Raphael consulted them: "recovering, reconstructing, and only then deriving working precepts from this body of evidence."[112] On the contrary, Alberti encouraged compositional mixing of the kinds, or *varietà*: "variety is always a most pleasing spice, where distant objects agree and conform with one another; but when it causes discord and difference between them, it is extremely disagreeable."[113] So long as *varietà* was respectful of *decorum*, or aesthetic beauty, he encouraged modern architects imagine new compositions from ancient architecture's examples:

> Although other famous architects seem to recommend by their work either the Doric, or the Ionic, or the Corinthian, or the Tuscan division as being the most convenient, there is no reason why we should follow their design in our work, as though legally obliged; but rather, inspired by their example, to surpass the glory of theirs.[114]

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[112] Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance*, 73.

[113] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 24, (1.9). See Fane-Saunders, *Pliny the Elder and the Emergence of Renaissance Architecture*, 156; and Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance*, 70-88.

[114] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 24, (1.9).

This helps to explain why Alberti, when discussing the Temple for Diana at Ephesus, does not do so by mentioning the Ionic column. Instead, he brings in the temple's one hundred and twenty columns as an example of *varietà*: the artists, bored with plain columns, "would commission famous sculptors to carve figures and images on them."[115] Elsewhere, he admits that some temples should have the solemnity of plain columns, but when the architectural programme permits it, such as at the Temple for Diana, one can find "columns completely bedecked with spiraling vine leaves and sprinkled with little birds in relief."[116] The Asian architecture Alberti describes includes the kind of columns that van Oostsanen and van Scorel painted.

Alberti's opinions on the architecture of the Temple for Diana, and in extension the Ionic and Attic kinds of ornament there, are reflected in sixteenth-century architectural literature. In another of Cesariano's woodcuts for his edition of Vitruvius, he illustrated an Attic base with two possible columnar varieties that rise from it: one is an empty rectangular surface; and the other variety is fluted (fig. 1.14).[117] The empty rectangular surface on the print is notable here, because it affords free invention of the kinds of ornamental forms and *varietà* that Alberti admonishes, and it folds Vitruvius' myth of the Ionic order at the Ephesian Temple for Diana into the Renaissance archaeological imagination of what the Attic was. The example Cesariano shows on the print of the six columns is just one possibility. The Attic was thus a diverse order that unfurled and generated abundant forms of architectural ornament.

After comparing histories, the written words that are transcribed and carried on through the ages, architects became archaeologists, surveying Italy for ancient material artefacts that

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[115] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 184 (6.13).

[116] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 217-218 (7.10).

[117] Vitruvius, *De architectura libri dece[m]*, ed. Cesariano, folio LVIIr (misprinted as XLVIIr).

could physically describe the elusive quadrangular column. Cesariano encouraged his readers to go outside and look for the Attic, where "many examples on Roman buildings demonstrate what Vitruvius wrote, and what I have hereby illustrated."[118] Instead of providing an ancient example of the Attic column, Cesariano provided a modern one, modelled after the best antique prototypes, that exemplified the order's adaptability: Bramante's designs for the Sacristy of San Satiro in Milan (fig. 1.15).[119] Cesariano refers to the sacristy's circular colonnade as Attic, and notes that Bramante designed the columns to project out from the wall, thus establishing the Attic as an order that includes pilasters.[120] Compare Bramante's pilaster with Cesariano's printed example of the Attic column. Their similarity lies in their rectangular geometry, and in their surfaces that are ornamented with symmetrical candelabra motifs. Their main difference is that Bramante's Attic ornament is much closer in style to thinly intertwining foliage on ancient pilasters, such as those on the Arch for Titus.

Other Renaissance architects understood Bramante's pilasters as an example of Attic ornament. In his notes on art and architecture in northern Italy, assembled between 1521 and 1543, Marcantonio Michiel noted Bramante's role as architect at San Satiro: "here the round sacristy and Attic colonnade, without a cella, are Bramante's architecture."[121] Michiel was well connected to Italy's early architects, and moved within the same social networks that included

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[118] "Si come da molti Romani ædificii ho exemplato alcuni quiui per dimonstrarte di quello dice Vitruuio in la præsente lectione li ho affigurati," in Cesariano, folio LXIIIr

[119] For San Satiro in context, see Anna Elisabeth Werdehausen, "L'ordine del Bramante Lombardo," In *L'Emploi des ordres dans l'architecture de la renaissance*, ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris: Picard, 1992), 70-72.

[120] Vitruvius, *De architectura libri dece[m]*, ed. Cesariano, folio LXXv

[121] "Ivi la Sagrestia rotunda e colonnata attigurge, sensa cella, fu architettura di Bramante," in Marcantonio Michiel, *Notizia d'Opere di Disegno nella prima met del secolo XVI, Esistenti in Padova, Cremona, Milano, Pavia, Bergamo, Crema e Venezia* (Bassano: Jacopo Morelli, 1800), 40. Also see Marcantonio Michiel, *Der Anonimo Morelliano (Marcanton Michiel's Notizia D'Opere del Disegno)*, ed. Theodor Frimmel (Vienna: Verlag von Carl Graeser, 1888), 50-51.

Raphael and Cesariano. He made use of their studies along with what he saw while travelling throughout the Italian peninsula, from Venice to Naples.[122] What this means is that across Italy, Cesariano's print of an Attic column—however different it was from Bramante's columns—afforded architects with the ability to engender diverse variations in their designs of the Attic. What seemed to define the Attic the most, or at least make it present as an example, was the foliate and grotesque ornament.

Bramante's architecture had a notable impact on the drawn, printed, and painted designs in Netherlandish arts.[123] Take for example the northern reception of Bernardo Prevedari's print made in 1481 after Bramante's design of an ancient temple, the first extant print to include *fecit* beside a designer's name to read "Bramante made this" (fig. 1.16).[124] The picture's core idea is clear: a group of people are loosely assembled in an ancient building that is partly in ruin, while one man is on his knees praying to a large sculpted candelabra on the altar. Bramante would actualise aspects of the printed architecture in his designs for the lighting of the sacristy at San Satiro from the vaults. What remains unclear is whether the building is a temple to an ancient god, or if the small cross above the candelabra indicates that this is a Christian church made from the ruins of a pagan structure. Without directive, the print permitted artists from diverse social backgrounds and religious cultures to appreciate the picture, which likely explains why it became one of the first mass produced prints with wide dissemination across Europe, and why artists

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[122] See Jennifer Fletcher, "Marcantonio Michiel: His Friends and Collection," *The Burlington Magazine* 123, no. 941 (1981): 456-457.

[123] See Samantha Heringues, "Bramante's Architecture in Jan Gossart's Painting," *Dutch Crossing* 35, no. 3 (2011): 229-248; and Oliver G. Kik, "Bramante in the North: Imag(in)ing Antiquity in the Low Countries (1500-1539)," in *Portraits of the City: Representing Urban Space in Later Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Katrien Lichtert, Jan Dumolyn, and Maximiliaan Martens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 97-112.

[124] Clelia Alberici transcribes the contract in "L'incesione Prevedari," *Rassegna di Studia e di Notizie* 6 (1978): 52-54.

often extracted pieces from the picture in new compositions.[125] Around 1520, an unknown painter from Antwerp painted the ruins of the City of David by combining Bramante's printed architecture with the ornament that painters, such as Raffaello Botticini, had included in their replications of Bramante's print (figs. 1.17 & fig. 1.18).[126] Even though Bramante left his printed Attic pillars bare, Botticini and the Netherlandish painter chose to fill many of the architectural surfaces with the kind of symmetrical candelabra that we see in Cesariano's print. Vegetation is composed as and with vases from which shoots and leaves emerge.[127]

That artists painted Attic architecture in both Antwerp and Amsterdam reflects a shared interest in ancient architectural ornament between Italy and the Netherlands and the circulation of prints, drawings, and eventually treatises, which connected artists, scholars, and patrons across Europe. Van Oostsanen's regular travels to Flanders and registration between 1505 and 1516 with the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke—a professional society of artists that controlled the production of art and architecture—evidence his Amsterdam workshop's strong ties with the Flemish painters in the south.[128] As Koerner argues, "this style, an eclectic amalgam of late Gothic and Renaissance, shaped and was shaped by the tastes of consumers from France,

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[125] See Laura Aldovini, "The Prevedari Print," *Print Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (2009): 38-45; and David Landau and Peter W. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470-1550* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 23-24, 103-108. For the open interpretation of the print, see Christian K. Kleinbub, "Bramante's *Ruined Temple* and the Dialectics of the Image," *Renaissance Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (2010): 412-458; and Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 309-311. I draw my idea of the print as one that appealed to diversity from Angela Vanhaelen's study of similar works of art in seventeenth-century Amsterdam, in "Calvinism and Visual Culture: The Art of Evasion," in *Cultures of Calvinism in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Crawford Gribben and Graeme Murdock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 138-153.

[126] Kik, "Bramante in the North," 107.

[127] Roberta J.M. Olson, *The Florentine Tondo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 239.

[128] Christiane Möller, *Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen und Doen Pietersz.: Studien zur Zusammenarbeit zwischen Holzschneider und Drucker im Amsterdam des frühen 16. Jahrunderts* (Münster: Waxmann, 2005), 59; Daantje Meuwissen, "Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen: Het leven van een vroege Hollandse kunstenaar," in *Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen (ca. 1475-1533): De Renaissance in Amsterdam en Alkmaar*, ed. Daantje Meuwissen (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014), 98.

Portugal, Spain, Italy, Germany, Poland, England, Scandinavia, and the Baltic Coast."[129]

Netherlandish artists' desires to sell to this broad market determined their shift to forge global

perspectives, which was the mixing into their repertoires architectural iconography and theory

from abroad. Although it is beyond the premise of the chapter, I want to also highlight that the

style that seemed so attached to Antwerp after 1515 likely also or equally had its roots in the

workshop of the Amsterdam painter/printmaker van Oostsanen, albeit with close connections to

Antwerp.

As prevalent as the Attic was across Europe, there has never been a clear idea as to

exactly what it was, and today, the order rarely appears in the histories of art and architecture.

This is because when Sebastiano Serlio canonised the orders in his book *On the Five Styles of*

Building, the fourth part, but first published, of the seven volumes of his treatise *All the works on*

Architecture and Perspective, the Attic did not make the final cut. Along with Vitruvius' three

core orders—the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian—Serlio included the Composite, a combination of

Ionic and Corinthian, as its own order, along with another Renaissance invention: the Tuscan,

which was sometimes also called the Rustic order.[130] Serlio's standardisation eliminated some

other styles of architectural orders, such as the Syracusan and Phrygian, that architects Giovan

Francesco da Sangallo and his cousin Antonio da Sangallo had begun to research and include

among the list of orders.[131] Architects after Serlio followed suit, and when Vasari discussed

architectural ornament in the opening book of his *Lives of the Artists*, he, like Serlio, located the

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[129] Koerner, *Bosch and Bruegel*, 23.

[130] Sebastiano Serlio, *Regole generali di architetvra sopra le cinqve maniere de gli edifici, cioe, thoscano, dorico, ionico, et composito, con gli essempi dell'antiqvita, che, per la magio parte concordano con la dottrina di Vitrvvio* (Venice: Francesco Marcolino da Forlì, 1537), folio VIr. On the formation of the Tuscan order, see James S. Ackerman, "The Tuscan/Rustic Order: A Study in the Metaphorical Language of Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42, no. 1 (1983): 15-34.

[131] Fane-Saunders*, Pliny the Elder and the Emergence of Renaissance Architecture*, 167.

Tuscan, or Rustic order along the Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite, officially damning the Attic to art historical obscurity.[132]

Even though the Attic was removed from the canon of the ancient architectural orders, artistic depictions of Attic columns persisted. A profound example of this persistence is in one of Pieter Coecke van Aelst's variations of the *Adoration of the Magi*, painted around 1540. That Coecke is the painter is remarkable because in the preceding year he had published, in Antwerp, an unofficial translation into Dutch of Serlio's book on the orders.[133] Even though Serlio had removed the Attic from Raphael's and Cesariano's canons, Coecke designed the architecture in *Adoration of the Magi* with the Attic style, where symmetrical grotesque patterns entangle foliage, vases, and creatures on the surface of the pillars (fig. 1.19). In the same year that he published his Dutch translation of Serlio's *On the Five Styles of Building*, Coecke published *Die Inventie der Colommen*, or "The Invention of Columns." The small pocketbook, which Krista De Jonge proposes may have functioned more as a craftsman's manual than as a treatise, synthesised popular commentaries on Vitruvius, such as Diego de Sagredo's *Medidas del Romano*, published in Toledo in 1526, with Cesariano's expanded and annotated edition.[134] Based on Cesariano's

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[132] Vasari, *Le vite…*, 1:36.

[133] Sebastiano Serlio, *Generale reglen der architectvren op de vyve manieren van edificien, te vveten, thvscana, dorica, ionica, corinthia, ende composita, met den exemplen der antiqviteiten die int meeste deel concorderen met de leerin ghe van vitrvvio*, trans. Pieter Coecke van Aelst (Antwerp: Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1539). On Coecke's architectural publications, see Herman De La Fontaine Verwey, "Pieter Coecke van Aelst and the publication of Serlio's book on architecture," *Quaerendo* 6, no. 2 (1976): 167-194; Krista De Jonge, "Inventing the Vocabulary of Antique Architecture. The Early Translators and Interpreters of Renaissance Architectural Treatises in the Low Countries," in *Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries*, eds. Harold J. Cook and Sven Dupré (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2012), 217-240; Kavaler, "Ornament and Systems of Ordering," 1289-1293; and Christopher P. Heuer, *The City Rehearsed: Object, Architecture, and Print in the Worlds of Hans Vredeman de Vries* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), 39-48.

[134] Krista De Jonge, "Vitruvius, Alberti and Serlio: Architectural Treatises in the Low Countries, 1530-1620," in *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, eds. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 284.

and Sagredo's observations, Coecke managed to thread the Attic into his discussions on the proportions and styles of Serlio's five other orders, even though Serlio had removed the Attic from the new set.[135] The Attic's wide ranging versatility, and over a century of its architectural theorisation, permitted the appearance of the ornamental style of ancient Asian architecture in Netherlandish archaeological imagination.

Might we start to consider the architecture in adoration pictures—the architecture of the City of David—as a welcoming subject for such an order as the Attic? Van Oostsanen and van Scorel did not compose treatises or written explanations as to why they began painting Attic columns, but what is important here is that decades before Italian architectural theory circulated in translation in the north, painters were engaging with theories of antiquity and diverse visual models when composing buildings in their pictorial designs. With its presumed origins in the Temple for Diana at Ephesus, the Attic would have functioned for artists who were faced with the task of imagining the ancient City of David as an architectural reference to West Asian antiquity. Here I employ John Durham Peters' theory that "media are not only devices of information; they are also agencies of order."[136] This is to say that once the Attic had become adopted as the main architectural order of the City of David, each new picture that replicated the ornamental mode of design further locked the Attic into the adoration's repertoire, and the style became an order that was progressively imbued with antique, eastern qualities. Thus, adoration pictures effectively processed the Attic as an order, wherein the ancient Roman architecture

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[135] Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Die Inventie der Colommen met haren coronementen ende maten* (Antwerp: Pieter Coekce van Aelst, 1539), folios b6r-b6v, c1v, c6v, d8r.

[136] John Durham Peters, *The Marvelous Clouds: Toward a Philosophy of Elemental Media* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 1.

became qualitatively entangled with the ancient architecture of Bethlehem, and thus further enmeshed in the reception of the architecture of West Asian antiquity.

Grotesque Ornament in Adoration Architecture

One thing that must also be addressed is that the foliate ornament on the Attic pillars' surfaces is in a style that modern art historians refer to as "grotesque." In this section, I focus on the appearance of foliate grotesque ornament in adoration architecture. The ritual of replicating foliate patterns, I believe, enabled the eastern antiquity of West Asian architecture to come through in early modern archaeological imagination.

Van Oostsanen's style of rendering the architecture in adoration paintings with Attic pillars that bore swirling, undulating, and scrolling forms of palm leaves, pomegranates, armour, urns, putti and other little creatures that are entangled within and merge from shoots and vines on their surfaces was new to the Netherlandish workshop repertoire.[137] What was *not* new in the Netherlands was vegetal ornament on architectural surfaces or as architectural sculpture. Gothic ornament promoted the depiction and carving of leaves, vines woody boughs, and thorns. The foliate motifs that were popular from the thirteenth through to the sixteenth century were angular, incisive, and geometric in form. Artists such as van Oostsanen found a way to update the enduring tradition of Gothic vegetal ornament to accommodate the smoother style of antique motifs from ancient Rome, referred to at the time as "grotesque." For Kavaler, in Netherlandish art "the grotesque was an unmistakable reference to Roman antiquity."[138] Adoration pictures,

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[137] Meuwissen, "Ambachtelijke Precisie in Verf," 113.

[138] Ethan Matt Kavaler, "Ornament and Systems of Ordering in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 72, no. 4 (2020): 1296.

however, managed to use the grotesque as a reference to Roman antiquity while building worlds in ancient West Asia.

Van Oostsanen's, van Scorel's, and Coecke's selections of grotesque architectural ornament exemplify what Belting observes was the "double tradition" in the first couple decades of the sixteenth century: "The painters often had their own difficulty in reconciling the Italian style with their native models. The dual aspect that permeates every image at the time therefore emerges in a particularly dramatic form in the Netherlands."[139] This "drama" is present in the ways van Oostsanen responds to both Hugo and Ghirlandaio; of which the latter was also responding to Hugo. While the architecture in Ghirlandaio's painting in the Sassetti Chapel does not include pillars with renaissance ornament on them, Ghirlandaio designed pilaster frames for the adoration within the chapel that project forward from the walls of the apse to frame the central altarpiece. Ghirlandaio did, however, paint pillars similar to van Oostsanen's in another *Adoration of the Magi*, where pillars surfaced with foliate ornament stand as the antique remains of the City of David and the architecture of the Christ's birth (fig. 1.20). Ghirlandaio's pillars are nearly identical to the ones Bramante designed, and which Cesariano said were among the best examples of the Attic order. If we compare Ghirlandaio's grotesque pillars and pilasters with van Oostsanen's, we can see how they are similar in execution, which is perhaps why historians of Netherlandish art refer to the latter's painted architecture with the vague identifier: "Renaissance ornament." Renaissance ornament, in this case, is both Attic and grotesque.

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[139] Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 475.

Many art historians have long been captivated by the layers of meaning that grotesque ornament bears.[140] In early modern art history, especially, no discussion of the grotesque can avoid repeating the story of the discovery and reception of the Domus Aurea.[141] The story goes that around 1480, a young Roman man who was wandering around the ruins of Titus' bathhouse in the southern woods of the Oppian hill fell into a hole and discovered the interred remains of an ancient Roman hall.[142] Illuminated by torchlight, the young man, crawling along the tight passages on his belly, saw what remained of frescoed vines, candelabra, and monstrous creatures composed of multiple plants and animals (fig. 1.21). In van Scorel's *Adoration*, the entanglement of plants vessels, and creatures—notably the harpy with a bucranium that emerges from the vegetal shoots—fits the Domus Aurea's style of grotesque ornament. Writing several decades after the discovery of the Domus Aurea, the biographer Giorgio Vasari referred to the kind of ornament found there as "cave like, or *grotto-esque*: "these *grottesche* were therefore called grotesques due to them having been found inside caves."[143] The term "grotesque" was

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[140] See Stephen Bann, *The True Vine: On Visual Representation and the Western Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 6-10; and John Shearman, *Only Connect… Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 16, 10-17.

[141] The Domus Aurea as the cause of ornament similar to van Scorel's continues to be the history told. See Michael Squire, "'Fantasies so Varied and Bizarre': The Domus Aurea, the Renaissance, and the 'Grotesque'," in *A Companion to the Neronian Age*, eds. Emma Buckley and Martin Dinter (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2013), 444-464; and the essays in Damiano Acciarino, ed., *Paradigms of Renaissance Grotesques* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019).

[142] Nicole Dacos, *La découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute, 1969), 9-10. Also see See Maria Fabricius Hansen, *The Art of Transformation: Grotesques in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 2018), 83-147; and Frances S. Connelly, *The Grotesque in Western Art and Culture: The Image at Play* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1-23.

[143] "Queste grottesche adunque (che grottesche furono dette dell'essere state entro alle grotte ritrovate) fatte con tanto disegno, con si varij, e bizarri capricci…," in the second edition of Vasari's lives: Giorgio Vasari, *Delle Vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori Scultori et Architettori* (Florence: Appresso i Giunti, 1568), part 3, book 2: 577. Also see Dacos, *La découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance*, 68

understood in this way by at least 1502, when the first recorded use of the word appears in a contract for Pinturicchio's decorations of the Piccolomini Library's vaults in Siena: "work on the vault of this library must include those fantasies, colours and divisions … in the style and design now called grotesques."[144] Grotesque ornament appears on a range of surfaces, including pilasters that were designed by Pinturucchio and Ghirlandaio in Rome and in Florence. In art history, we continue to describe these architectural fragments as "grotesque" works that are indebted to the discovery and reception of the Domus Aurea.[145]

However, the way the history of the grotesque continues to be told overdetermines the discovery of the Domus Aurea's role in the appearance of foliate ornament. A good example of this overdetermination is present in Vasari's writing, where he referred to Donato di Niccolò di Beto Bardi's (better known as Donatello, c. 1386-1466), foliate patterns, made decades before the discovery of the Domus Aurea, as "ornament in the grotesque style."[146] Echoing Vasari a few decades later, Francesco Bocchi includes Donatello's gilded *pietra serena* tabernacle in his description of Florence's proud works: "also of note is the beautiful ornament of scattered grotesques."[147] Vasari and Bocchi were referring to Donatello's ornament as grotesque, when in Donatello's time, the term had not yet been used to describe such patterns. In other words, grotesque became an anachronistic term to describe a range of ancient ornament where plants, vessels, and creatures entwine, engender, and emerge from their assemblage of forms.

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[144] Gaetano Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese: Secolo XVI* (Siena: Presso Onorato Porri, 1856), 3:9. See Claudia La Malfa's application of the passage in the context of Raphael in *Raphael and the Antique* (London: Reaktion, 2020), 42.

[145] La Malfa, *Raphael and the Antique*, 30-43.

[146] "… nella quale opera fece uno ornamento di componimento alla grottesca," Vasari, *Le vite…*, 1:335.

[147] "Bellissimo poscia è l'ornamento divisato co[n] grottesche," in Francesco Bocchi, *Le belleze della citta di Fiorenza, dove à pieno di pittura, di scultura, di sacri tempij, di palazzi i più notabili artifizij, & più preziosi si contengono* (Florence: Sermartelli, 1591), 154.

To account for some of these anachronisms, scholars sometimes suggest that we pull the date of discovery back by a few years to accommodate the appearance of some grotesque patterns in painting.[148] But what about Donatello, who was creating sculpted grotesque ornament in the 1430s, or Mantegna in the 1460s who painted mirror images of patterns that would later on be called Domus-Aurea-derived grotesques? Instead of just revising the discovery date, I suggest that we instead accommodate the fact that while the discovery of the Domus Aurea certainly helped to revive the foliate style of ornament, it did not, as is commonly argued, cause its invention. The Domus Aurea's overdetermining role in interpreting foliate ornament in the Renaissance has been the result of misapplying Nicole Dacos' foundational text from 1969: *La découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance* (The Discovery of the Domus Aurea and the Formation of Grotesques in the Renaissance). Dacos' study is often cited when the rediscovery of the Domus Aurea is identified as the reason why grotesque ornament exists on so many Renaissance surfaces.[149] If there are grotesques in a pattern, then they are assumed to have been influenced by those seen in the Domus Aurea. But Dacos did not claim that the Domus Aurea created the kind of foliate ornament that would later be called grotesque. I emphasise that a central tenet of Dacos' argument is that "the discovery of the Domus Aurea *amplified* a tendency that had already manifested in the second half of the fifteenth

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[148] Claudia La Malfa presents a compelling case for the discovery of the Domus Aurea in the 1470s, and not, as art historians often assume, the 1480s, in, "The Chapel of San Girolamo in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome. New Evidence for the Discovery of the Domus Aurea," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63 (2000): 259-270.

[149] See for example Susan Stewart, *The Ruins Lesson: Meaning and Material in Western Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 72; Kavaler, "Ornament and Systems of Ordering," 1296; and Heuer, *The City Rehearsed*, 109-111.

century."[150] What Dacos establishes is that even though the discovery of the Domus incited a sensation, and the grotesque became a popular style of ornament, the style had already begun to emerge as an aesthetic replication of antiquity before a man in Rome fell into a grotto in the Oppian hill.

There are, however, many other terms used to describe the grotesque. While historians of early modern art often cite the story of the Domus Aurea, and use the term "grotesque" to describe any kind of antique entangled foliate ornament, historians of ancient and medieval art refer to the same style as scroll-work, or *rinceau*, a French term that describes the scroll-like unfurling leaves.[151] Periodic boundaries are not clearly cut, and sometimes *rinceau* is used to describe early modern ornament that is also categorised as grotesque.[152] "Peopled" or "inhabited" scrolls are other terms used to describe the same kind of ornament, as they account for the creatures within the vegetation which are often hybridised with human shapes of some sort.[153] In other words, because of the story of the Domus Aurea, we use the word "grotesque" to describe foliate ornament in sixteenth-century art, but must remember that in many cases it is an anachronistic identifier with multiple interchangeable indices.

After the end of the sixteenth century, the grotesque moved on to be mostly about creatures and characters and less about the kind of foliage and vineated scrollwork replicated

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[150] Dacos, *La découverte de la Domus Aurea*, 57, emphasis added. Also see Dacos' discussion of pre-Domus examples on pages 57-61; and her reassertion that the Domus' discovery ignited an amplification, not invention, of the ancient ornament on 61.

[151] See Emerson H. Swift, *Roman Sources of Christian Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 167-186; and Ittai Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 56-70.

[152] Janet S. Byrne, *Renaissance Ornament Prints and Drawings* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981), 12, 15, 51, 55, 58, 92; cat. nos. 46, 53, 56, 106, 107.

[153] See J.M.C. Toynbee and J.B Ward Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls: A Hellenistic Motif in Imperial Art," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 18 (1950): 1-43; and Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 195-224.

from ancient prototypes. Foliate motifs that were once called grotesque sometimes became

known as "arabesques" as a way to "orientalise," to use the outdated expression, the style by

conflating it with the foliate patterns seen in West Asian and North African ornament.[154] The

impact this synthesis of terminology had is present today in the way art historians continue to

conflate grotesque and arabesque.[155] A case in point is the more recent reception of a house built

in Antwerp between 1520 and 1522 (fig. 1.32). Some scholars refer to the façade pilasters' relief

sculptures as grotesques that evidence European-wide reception of the Domus Aurea's ornament,

while others describe the same sculpted reliefs as arabesques.[156] This is despite a long history of

scholarship, dating back to Alois Riegl, that has long asserted that despite the confusion, the

word "arabesque" refers to medieval and early modern West Asian and North African

ornamental styles of vegetal patterns, literally referring to the style of the Arabs.[157] For Finbarr

Barry Flood, foliate ornament reflects a much larger history of "disjunctive continuity," or the

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[154] See Connelly, *The Grotesque in Western Art and Culture*, 54-81; Byrne, *Renaissance Ornament Prints and Drawings*, 60, 72; and Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapi Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center, 1995), 112.

[155] See Peter Burke, *Hybrid Renaissance: Culture, Language, Architecture* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2016), 77-95; and Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, 244-246, 255. Robert Brennan tackles the problem in a forthcoming article in *The Art Bulletin*.

[156] Linda van Langendonck refers to the ornament on William Heda's house in Antwerp as "grotesque" in "Het Karbonkelhuis van kanunnik Willem Heda. Een renaissance *primaverva* op de Groenplaats in Antwerpen (1520-1522)," in *Vreemd Gebouwd: Westerse en Niet-Westerse Elementen in Onze Architectuur*, ed. Stefaan Grieten (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 105-106; and Krista de Jonge is the most recent architectural historian to refer to the same motifs as "arabesque ornaments taken from contemporary northern Italian prints," in "Early Modern Netherlandish Artists on Proportion in Architecture or 'de question der Simmetrien met redene der Geometrien'," in *Proportional Systems in the History of Architecture: A Critical Reconsideration* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2018), 268, n. 42.

[157] Alois Riegl had argued for a distinction in 1893, but his intention was to find continuity from ancient Egypt and Greece to medieval Islam: "I hope to have forged the various links of this chain in an unbroken sequence," in *Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament*, trans. Evelyn Kain (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 229. Murat Cetin and M. Arif Kamal resituate the term 'arabesque' in "The Emergence and Evolution of Arabesque as a Multicultural Stylistic Fusion in Islamic Art: The Case of Turkish Architecture," *Journal of Islamic Architecture* 1, no. 4 (2011): 160-161.

later reception and propulsion of a newly forged and mixed trajectory for things that were historically unrelated. Tomasz Grusiecki has similarly made the claim for early modern carpets. In a "doublethink" logic, evocative of George Orwell's dystopia where more than one truth can exist at once, "arabesque" carpets have been received, documented, and understood as being both Persian and Polish, simultaneously.[158] The grotesque's entanglement within the history and reception of the arabesque is indicative of how, Flood argues, "disjunctive continuities arise from the anachronistic emulation or revival of resonant ornamental forms that evoke specific monuments, places, or times in an attempt to evoke temporal and spatial distance."[159] By way of Flood, the question I propose is not necessarily concerned with labelling exactly the kind of ornament that we are looking at, but rather I ask: how are the fragments of the past always building something new?

I think that we must consider the grotesque ornament on Netherlandish adoration pictures as a stylistic selection that was evocative of exotic ornament. By exotic, I evoke Peter Mason's definition wherein

> the exotic is produced by a process of decontextualization: taken from a setting elsewhere (it is this "elsewhere' which renders it exotic), it is transferred to a different setting, or recontextualized. It is not the "original" geographic or cultural contexts which are valued, but the suitability of the objects in question to assume new meanings in a new context.[160]

If, as Kavaler argues, grotesque ornament was "an unmistakable reference to Roman antiquity," then the architecture imagined by Coecke, van Oostsanen, and van Scorel combines this

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[158] Tomasz Grusiecki, "Doublethink: Polish Carpets in Transcultural Contexts," *The Art Bulletin* 104, no. 3 (2022): 29-54.

[159] Finbarr Barry Flood, "The Flaw in the Carpet: Disjunctive Continuities and Riegl's Arabesque," in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, eds. Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 84.

[160] Peter Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 3.

unmistakable reference with the Attic order: two things "transferred to a different setting, or recontextualised." Since, as I have shown above, the Attic order could be associated with Asian antiquity, then the artistic assemblage of ornament and order rendered the architecture in adoration pictures both antique and exotic.

Frames of War

Outside of literature, there were no examples of grotesque Attic columns in the Netherlands, so for van Oostsanen to have introduced the ornamental style into his workshop, he had to have seen such architectural fragments recorded in another format, on another medium. If we evoke Marshall McLuhan's popular adage "the 'content' of any medium is always another medium," we are brought to the media that conveyed antique Attic ornament, based on unmistakable references to Roman antiquity, to the Netherlands: print.[161] It is to these prints we now turn, as it is in them where we find yet another connection to the reception of the grotesque, and its appearance on Attic columns, as indicative of West Asian antiquity.

Prints that circulated across Europe offered to artists and their workshops motifs and iconographies that would otherwise only be accessible to travellers. Ancient Romans had left plenty of coins, blocks of inscribed stones, and small statues that were unearthed in medieval and Renaissance Europe, but aside from a few interred sites in the Netherlands, they had not left much in the means of monumental architecture, and there were certainly no Attic pillars or pilasters lying around that van Oostsanen and van Scorel could have seen.[162] There were,

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[161] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 8.

[162] A great example of this is Hadrianu's Junius publication of the objects that were discovered after Caligula's lighthouse, referred to as "Arx Brittanica," was exposed off of the coast of Katwijk aan Zee a few times in the sixteenth century, in *Batavia* (Leiden [as Lvgdvni Batavorvm]: Franciscum

however, Roman grotesque pilasters in engraved and printed pictures that were circulated out of

Italy to transmit examples of ancient architecture widely across Europe. Regarding the use of

grotesque in van Oostsanen's workshop, Ilja Veldman argues "the Renaissance decoration on the

pillars demonstrates that Jacob Cornelisz. was up to date with this modern style, which he knew

from Italian prints."[163] Prints are thus a kind of medium. "Media," as Peters defines them, "are

vessels and environments, containers of possibility that anchor our existence and make what we

are doing possible."[164] But "without other media," Peters adds, "a medium is not a medium,"

suggesting McLuhan's adage should be adjusted to read "a medium reveals a medium—as

medium."[165] In the flow of motifs, meanings, and iconographies, Netherlandish paintings may

evince a workshop's replication of print media, but those print media in turn evince artistic

replications of architectural fragments and the media from which such architecture has been

Raphelengium, 1588), 107-122. For a general context of antiquities across Europe, see Alain Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past: The Origins of Archaeology* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 80-119; Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 26-42; and Marisa Anne Bass, *Jan Gossart and the Invention of Netherlandish Antiquity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 56-58, 66-73. Rome's presence across Europe was continuously made with each discovery, soliciting a fear of ancient idols in medieval Christian communities. See Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 76; Anna C. Knaap, "Sculpture in Pieces: Peter Paul Rubens's *Miracles of Francis Xavier* and the Visual Tradition of Broken Idols," in *Idols and Museum Pieces: The Nature of Sculpture, its Historiography and Exhibition History 1640-1880*, ed. Caroline van Eck (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 352-393; and Byron Ellsworth Hamann, "Chronological Pollution: Potsherds, Mosques, and Broken Gods before and after the Conquest of Mexico," *Current Anthropology* 49, no. 5 (2008): 814-815.

[163] Veldman, "Kunst voor de Burgerij," 63. For the development of printmaking in the Netherlands, a context that included van Oostsanen around 1500, see Möller, *Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen und Doen Pietersz.*, 31-38. The format of the Attic pilaster differed from the selection of foliate motifs in northern prints that circulated since the 1470s, but van Oostsanen's extraction is similar. See Shira Brisman, "A Matter of Choice: Printed Design Proposals and the Nature of Selection, 1470-1610," *Renaissance Quarterly* 73, no. 1 (2018): 126-134.

[164] Peters, *The Marvelous Clouds*, 2.

[165] Peters, *The Marvelous Clouds*, 111.

composed. To find what all these media together conveyed to artist, I first turn to the prints, and then follow the media that reveal other media.

Among the most copied Italian prints in Netherlandish artistic workshops were those that reproduced Andrea Mantegna's cycle of paintings of the triumphs of Julius Caesar that the Gonzaga family commissioned for the Ducal Palace in Mantua.[166] In an engraving after one of the paintings from the triumph series, a grotesque pillar borders the right side of the sheet. The printed pillar is a replication of the engaged pilasters that projected forth from a palace wall that Mantegna used to frame and section his nine painted panels (fig. 1.22).[167] These are the same kind of grotesque Attic pillars that van Oostsanen integrated into his workshop's canon of adoration iconography in the early sixteenth century. As I have shown above, artists often selected architectural figures for their adoration pictures when they exhibited ancient and Asian qualities. As I will show below, the prints made after Mantegna's triumph cycle continued to afford such global archaeological imagination.

From the nine panels of the *Triumphs of Caesar*, two were copied into prints, and some preparatory drawings were converted into one entirely new print that had not been painted in the Mantuan cycle. The paintings are meant to be seen as a sequence. Today, they are displayed in London's Hampton Court, but their size and layout are similar to what a viewer experienced in Mantua's Ducal Palace. The sequencing of the pictures requires a beholder to move within the

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[166] See Elisabeth J. Kalf, "Prenten naar Andrea Mantegna in verbrand gebracht met een wandtapijt," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 23, no. 3 (1975): 166-172.

[167] See Anthony Blunt, *The Triumph of Caesar* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1975), 22-24; and Andrew Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1979), 181-185. Arthur Hind provides an overview of the artists Zoan Andrea, Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, Simone di Ardizoni, and Mantegna himself, who designed prints after the *Triumphs of Caesar*, in *Early Italian Engraving* (London: Bernard Quaritch Ltd., 1948), 5:6. Joseph Manca provides an overview of Mantegna's printmaking in *Andrea Mantegna and the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Parkstone Press, 2007), 143-168.

viewing space so that they can witness the full spectacle of Caesar's triumph. Mantegna placed the panels in sequential order, from the fore of the triumph to the rear, and, with no titles, art historians have named them based on what they depict: (1) The Picture Bearers, (2) The Bearers of Standard and Siege Equipment, (3) The Bearers of Trophies and Bullion, (4) The Vase Bearer, (5) The Elephants, (6) The Trophy Bearers, (7) the Captives, (8) the Musicians, and the final panel (9) Caesar on his Chariot.[168] Even though *Triumphs of Caesar* is painted in an order that demands a viewer follow the procession to access the picture as a whole, each panel provides a discrete picture as if taken as a still shot from a cinematic sequence. Mantegna, and other printmakers, produced such still shots: printmakers selected the Elephants and the Trophy Bearers to print as stand-alone pictures (fig. 1.23). Caesar was not necessary to interpret the individual prints. Instead, it was likely that the exoticism of the elephants and the luxurious appeal of looted treasures were appealing to collectors of single-sheet engravings.[169] Additionally, a third print was invented from preparatory drawings for the Captives. The print of the same figures is renamed "Roman Senators," which returned the subject matter of the picture back to the marble fragment from which Mantegna copied (however unaware at the time that he had in his hand a piece of the Ara Pacis).[170]

Mantegna's paintings and the prints made after them replicate the architectural sculpture on the Arch for Titus that spans the Via Sacra in the Roman Forum (fig. 1.24). Between 1488 and 1490, Mantegna paused his work in Mantua to travel to Rome and carry out a papal

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[168] Titles modelled after those in Blunt, *The Triumph of Caesar*, 26-34; and Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar*, 125-161.

[169] On the market for single-sheet engravings, see Michael J. Waters, "A Renaissance Without Order: Ornament, Single-Sheet Engravings, and the Mutability of Architectural Prints," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 71, no. 4 (2012): 488-523.

[170] See Michael Vickers, "Mantegna and the Ara Pacis," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 2 (1975): 113; and Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar*, 31-34.

commission. There he was able to study the city's antiquities, which included a close analysis of the Arch for Titus that his brother, Domitian, and the Roman senate, erected around 81 CE. Mantegna's composition of human figures in the Trophy Bearers resembles those sculpted in the ancient panel, where a parade of trophy bearers carries booty of war through the streets of Rome (fig. 1.25). They are bringing sacred vessels that had been looted from the Jewish Temple, such as the seven-armed candelabra.[171] The artist avoided direct representations, and instead transformed the ancient relief objects such as the menorah and showbread table into a painted display of a bulbous vessel on a stretcher surrounded by an overflow of riches.[172]

The foliated pilasters on the Arch for Titus that frame the bay's relief panels provided Mantegna with Rome's best example of Attic ornament in Rome (fig. 1.26). Fane-Saunders points out that a square arch in the Forum Boarium and the Arch for Titus in the Roman Forum were the two best prototypes for the antiquarians who formed theories on Attic ornament.[173] Neither appear exactly like the Attic as Cesariano pictured it in print, with a wide candelabra ornament from which a few vineated leaves and palm fronds emerge. But the thin symmetrical

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[171] Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar*, 143-145.

[172] The armour at the center of the print is not from the same relief, but rather modelled after a figure from the panel on the northern side of the arch's bay, where the Genius Honos' bares his chest. On this northern panel, Titus stands in a chariot accompanied by Victory, who holds out a laurel wreath to crown the emperor for his triumph over Judea. See Margarete Bieber, "Honos and Virtus," *American Journal of Archaeology* 49, no. 1 (1945): 25-34; Diana E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 187-188.

[173] Fane-Saunders notes two sets of extant ancient pilasters in Rome that best served as Cesariano's models: the swirling circular patterns on the *arcus agrigentii*, and the vineated candelabra on the Arch for Titus, in *Pliny the Elder and the Emergence of Renaissance Architecture*, 184-185. Formally, Cesariano's ornament is more similar to the sculpture on the Arch for Titus than it is the arcus agrigentii. Compared to the Arch for Titus, the *arcus agrigentii*—known to have been erected by Septimius for the cattle farmers—was a notable source of sculpted ornament, but did not bear as much importance in the way of imperial significance in Renaissance Rome. See for example Sebastiano Serlio, *Il Terzo Libro: nel qval si figvrano, e descrivono le Antiqvita di Roma, e le altre che sono in Italia, e fvori d' Italia* (Venice: Francesco Marcolino da Forlì, 1540), 108-109 (paginated as CVIII-CIX); and Lucio Fauno, *Delle Antichità della Citta di Roma* (Venice: Michele Tramezzino, 1548), 87-88.

foliated patterns on the Arch for Titus' pilasters are strikingly similar to Bramante's sculpted

ornament at San Satiro, which was, as discussed above, what Cesariano considered to be a

modern example of the Attic style. Ornamental inconsistency illustrated what Cesariano

emphasised was the diversity of the Attic order: as long as designated proportions are respected,

the Attic may appear as a vertical column (*longitudine*), or a horizontal beam (*latitudine*), with

surfaces that were most often sculpted, but could also be fluted, painted, or stuccoed, and topped

with Ionic or Corinthian capitals. The pilasters on the Arch for Titus, with Corinthian capitals,

thus merged well into the Renaissance theory of the Attic. Ultimately, Cesariano sums up, "these

columns are very convenient, and even adapt well to any composition."[174]

A question that one might ask here is why did Mantegna consult an arch erected for Titus

to paint a triumph for Caesar? The answer lies in the absence of ancient histories that described

Julius Caesar's triumph over Gaul, which is the triumph Mantegna depicts. He may have painted

Caesar simply to suit his patron, but then to do so required a command of archaeological

imagination on Mantegna's part, and he turned to descriptions of other triumphs, and the ancient

artefacts that survived as the primary sources of actual triumphs. In the *Triumphs of Caesar*,

there are visual references to written descriptions of triumphs by ancient authors Appian, Livy,

Pliny the Elder, Suetonius, and Plutarch, and by the fifteenth-century archaeologist Biondo

Flavio (1392-1463) who famously provided the Roman popes their own triumph in *De Roma*

triumphante, "Rome Triumphant," posthumously published in 1479.[175] Although earlier

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[174] Vitruvius, *De architectura libri dece[m]*, ed. Cesariano, folio LXIv.

[175] Blunt, *The Triumph of Caesar*, 10; Manca, *Andrea Mantegna and the Italian Renaissance*, 124; Frances Muecke, introduction to Biondo Flavio, *Rome in Triumph*, trans. Frances Muecke, ed. Maria Agata Pincelli (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 1:xviii. Only 2 of 10 books have been translated into English. For the entire manuscript see *Roma triumphante libri decem* in Biondo Flavio, [*Opere*] (Basel: Johann Froben, 1531), 1-117.

humanists such as Petrarch had revived the idea of triumphal processions, Biondo revived *the triumph* as it was known from ancient texts as a ceremony unique to Roman rulers who conquered distant lands. The triumph was a processual and spectacular ritual that, by the time the republic had become an empire, was believed to be a traditional ceremony that linked Rome's military conquests to their ancestral and foundational beginnings.[176] Mantegna in his own time developed an acute knowledge of all things ancient, earning him the nickname *professore de antiquità*, or "professor of antiquity."[177] He was remarkably attentive to historical specifics, so much so that his depictions of the ancient world continue to be received as early examples of archaeological erudition.[178] Mantegna imagined a triumph for Caesar—a triumph which had no description in text or artefacts—with what he could assemble. The *Triumph of Caesar* is thus an assemblage of many other triumphs and Mantegna's historical imagination.

As its own picture, the print of the Trophy Bearers evinced one of the most glamourous displays of Roman triumph for a different ruler: the Flavian emperor Titus, who led the sack of Jerusalem in 70 CE and destroyed the Jewish temple. Josephus' description of the spoils stolen from the temple and paraded through Rome matches Mantegna's pictures full of dazzling treasures:

> The mass of silver, gold, and ivory artefacts in every shape and form looked more like a moving river than a series of separate objects carried in procession: there were tapestries

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[176] Peter J. Holliday, *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration in the Visual Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 22-30; Maggie Popkin, *The Architecture of the Roman Triumph: Monuments, Memory, and Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 2.

[177] The Marchioness of Mantua Isabella d'Este called Mantegna *professore de antiquità*, in Roger Jones, "Mantegna and Materials," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 2 (1987): 86-87.

[178] For Mantegna's archaeological thoroughness, see chapter three, "*Historia* and Mantegna's Sense of the Past," in Jack M. Greenstein, *Mantegna and Painting as Historical Narrative* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 59-85. Also see Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2009), 153-159; Manca, *Andrea Mantegna and the Italian Renaissance*, 128-135; and Federico Rausa, "Mantova, Mantegna e l'antichità classica," in *A casa di Andrea Mantegna: Cultura Artistica a Mantova nel Quattrocento*, ed. Rodolfo Signorini and Daniela Sogliani (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2006), 158-171.

too on display, some made in the rarest purple, some embroidered with utterly lifelike scenes by Babylonian artists; transparent gems, worked into golden crowns or other settings, were carried past in such a plethora of examples that we realized how wrong we had been to assume to rarity of any of them. Carries in the procession too were statues of their gods of impressive size and more than any cursory execution, every one of them made in some costly material. All sorts of animals were led along, all with their appropriate caparisons. The many drovers of each group of animals were clad in uniforms of true purple dye interwoven with gold thread, while those chosen to take part in the main procession wore exquisite outfits with an amazing richness of ornamentation. Even the mass of captives put on parade were smartly dressed, and the variety of their fine clothing distracted attention from the unsightliness of any physical disfigurement they had suffered.[179]

Thinking about the bigger picture, the intermedial worlds where texts and things entangle and intersect, such commentary goes a long way to understanding the lavishness of the three kings' dress and gifts and the luxury associated with West Asian kingdoms. But Mantegna's print is not an adoration picture. The printed *Trophy Bearers* with the Attic pillar replicated the actual architectural framing of Mantegna's triumphal paintings in Mantua. The engaged pilasters in Mantua and and their printed analogues echo the architecture and relief panels on the Arch for Titus, which is a sculpted description of Josephus' ekphrasis. As a complement to the spoils of war, the grotesque pillars and pilasters offered themselves as extractable trophies for an artist to replicate in compositions.

The grotesque Attic column, in the context of triumphal and adoration imagery, was evocative of a kind of ornament found in ancient West Asian architecture. In Venice, there were some other Attic columns that were similar to those on the Arch for Titus, known as the *Pilastri Acritani*, the Acre Pillars (fig. 1.27), which Mantegna would have seen stationed at the Basilica di San Marco's south entrance. In the early thirteenth century, Venetian raiders stole the quadrangular pillars from Constantinople's sixth-century church St. Polyeuctus, where ancient

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[179] Josephus, *The Jewish War*, 351 (7.132-138).

Roman motifs such as vines, urns, and acanthus leaves, were entangled with vegetal references

to West Asia—pomegranates and palmettes—to employ ornament as a symbolic entanglement of

the Byzantine rulers' hold of Asia.[180] But by the fifteenth century, the *pilastri*'s provenance was

overshadowed by a new myth: that they were columns taken from Acre and that they were once

linked to Solomon's temple.[181]

It was the ornament in relief on the *pilastri acritani* that determined their reception as

fragments of the Jewish Temple. On the *pilastri* ornament's indicative ability, Gerhard Wolf,

quipping McLuhan, posits "ornaments can point back to another medium."[182] The medium that

the *pilastri acritani* point back to are the columns of the Jewish temple, known only through

written texts. In 1 Kings 7:13-22, Solomon, the son and successor of David, liaises with a

Phoenician craftsman from Tyre named Hiram, who provides the new king of Israel with two

colossal bronze columns—with the names Jachin and Boaz—to erect in the Jewish Temple's

portico. They are similarly described in Kings, in 2 Chronicles 4:12-13, Jeremiah 52:17, and in

Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, as massive columns, eighteen cubits high, replete with foliate

ornament from base to capital. Every surface of the columns, from the thick smooth shafts to the

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[180] Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice & Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 17-21; Matthew P. Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth: Art and Ritual of Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Iran* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 211-215.

[181] See Robert S. Nelson, "The History of Legends and the Legends of History: The Pilastri Acritani in Venice," in *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*, eds. Henry Maguire and Robert S. Nelson (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010), 63-90; and in the same volume, Fabio Barry, "*Disiecta membra*: Ranieri Zeno, the Imitation of Constantinople, the *Spolia* Style, and Justice at San Marco," 52-55. For the connections Venice propagated of itself with Solomon's temple and palace, see David Rosand, *Myths of Venice: The Figuration of a State* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 96-116.

[182] Gerhard Wolf, "Vesting Walls, Displaying Structure, Crossing Cultures: Transmedial and Transmaterial Dynamics of Ornament," in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, eds. Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 105. Also see Martin Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium: The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana's Palace-Church in Istanbul* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), 137-147.

lily capital, was covered in entangled foliate ornament, rendered in bronze relief.[183] Palmettes, vines, and pomegranates encircled the capitals and trailed their way along the shafts. One main problem was that devout readers of the bible also knew that two years after the Babylonians had laid siege to Jerusalem in 589 BCE, they broke apart Jachin and Boaz and took the bronze and brass pieces back to their Mesopotamian capital along with a throng of Jewish captives (Jeremiah 52:17). When medieval Venetians forged a new origin story for the ancient *pilastri* in San Marco they were able to resituate them in the context of Jachin and Boaz. It was not the authenticity of the columns as prototypes that was in question, which is to say that it did not matter whether the columns actually stood in the temple. What the ornament indicated was that the *pilastri acritani* were somehow connected to the temple, either as replications of the temple's columns, or as touchstones from the Phoenician workshops that cast and sculpted parts of the temple's portico. Replications of the temple's ornament were revered as if they were prototypes.

In Mantegna's archaeological imagination, grotesque Attic columns belonged in Jerusalem's temple. An example of this is seen in his architectural designs for the painting *Circumcision of Christ in the Temple* from around 1460 (fig. 1.28), which is evidence of how Mantegna carefully examined archaeological details in historical accounts.[184] Steven Fine argues that for ancient Romans, ornamental depictions of eastern vegetation "were far more evocative of Judaea than the Temple artifacts."[185] This is because the temple of Jerusalem's ornament, as described in the first book of Kings, was replete with vegetal motifs: "on the walls all around the

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[183] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, trans. Ralph Marcus (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934), 3:256-257, 8.3.4.

[184] Jack M. Greenstein, *Mantegna and Painting as Historical Narrative* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 86-89. Of note is the appendix to chapter four, "On Which Part of the Temple is Shown," 108-109.

[185] Steven Fine, *The Menorah: From the Bible to Modern Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 44.

temple, in both the inner and outer rooms, he carved cherubim, palm trees and open flowers" (1 Kings 6:29). Josephus wrote that Solomon transferred the temple's foliate ornament onto the surfaces of his palatial structures where one could see "the skill of sculptors who had fashioned trees and plants of all kinds, … so exceedingly delicate that one could have imagined they actually moved and were covering the stone under them."[186] Mantegna visually animates the textual descriptions as gleaming gold-gilded relief of vegetal scrollwork that ascends the Attic pilasters and flourishes across the temple doors, pilasters, architraves, and archivolts. As Roger Jones has argued regarding Mantegna's *Circumcision*, "no one had re-employed ancient stones on this scale or to this extent in real buildings of the fifteenth century."[187] Without an extant model to emulate, Mantegna had instead an assemblage of fragments of architectural artefacts and descriptions in written historical records. From these many pieces, he imagined the ancient temple.

Now I want to draw attention to the obvious formal similarities of Jerusalem's temple pilasters and those on the Arch for Titus—a connection that has, to the best of my knowledge, never been made. The Renaissance reception of the arch revolved around the reception of Titus and his Flavian dynasty, whose most important action was the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem in the Roman province Judea in 70 CE. The arch was erected by the senate in honour of Titus to serve as a war monument.[188] In the Renaissance, a monument was understood as an architectural record of an event meant to transmit a signal through to the future. "A monument,"

[186] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 3:288-289 (8.5.2).

[187] Jones, "Mantegna and Materials," 78.

[188] Inscription and translation in Fergus Millar, "Last Year in Jerusalem: Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome," in *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, eds. Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason, and James Rives (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 123.

Biondo wrote "is a memorial built for posterity."[189] Everything that went into the Arch for Titus'

architectural programme conveyed the Jewish Temple to Rome. This included the foliate

scrollwork on its pilasters, the product of Asiatic workshops that imperial programmes utilized to

emphasize their reach into Asia. This was received centuries later, despite some interruptions in

the message, in a way that ancient sculptors had intended. The arch's pilasters bear the same

ornament that Mantegna painted in *Circumcision*. Thus, the Attic pilasters on the Arch for Titus

indicated the architecture of West Asia, establishing an architectural "order" that was

imaginatively appropriate for building the world of the ancient kings of Israel.

The frames on the Arch for Titus afforded a kind of reception wherein they could be used

as models for the soaring Attic columns in depictions of the ancient Jewish temple, and the

pillars that bore the ruins of the City of David in adoration pictures. To conclude this section, I

return to Peters, for whom "media are not only about the world; they *are* the world."[190] As the

architectural stage of Jesus' birth, the frames of war were spoliated to stand as the frames of

Christ's triumph. While the grotesque Attic was not securely locked to only symbolize the

ancient architecture of the Kingdom of Israel, it afforded multiple entangled threads of relation

with West Asian antiquity and artists selected the ornament for their compositions wherein they

depicted such architecture. Once, however, the grotesque Attic became the standard ornament an

artist consulted to imagine the worlds of ancient West Asia, the style—across various media—

built the world wherein the adoration was set.

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[189] "Monumentu[m] ad memoria[m] posteritatis," in Biondo, [*Opere*], 42. For the eternal quality of a monument, see Zainab Bahrani, *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity* (London: Reaktion, 2014), 176-178.

[190] Peters, *The Marvelous Clouds*, 21, emphasis in text.

Framing Triumph

In Hans Holbein the Younger's portrait of Erasmus from 1523, a pillar similar to Mantegna's features prominently in the background (fig. 1.29). One interpretation of the architectural fragment in the composition is that the pillar serves to remind viewers of Erasmus' authority as a medium between the ancient and modern worlds.[191] Erasmus was a man of letters, a humanist who translated biblical texts and travelled across Europe in the pursuit of advancing his knowledge on the ancient world from which scripture sprang.[192] The humanist's monumental accomplishments are conveyed by the combination of Greek and Latin inscriptions on the outer edge of the book that he holds, which reads "ΗΡΆΚΛΕΙΟΙ ΠΌΝΟΙ / erasmi rotero," or "the Herculean Labours of Erasmus of Rotterdam."[193] In this interpretation, the single pillar is posited as a possible reference to the two columns that the mythical Hercules erected at the strait of Gibraltar to indicate the limit of the Western world. Nagel and Wood have argued that columns as *spolia*, or "reused fragments," "might only be loosely coordinated with chronology, with historical events and persons."[194] I wonder if we might adjust this interpretation to instead accommodate the architectural iconography's historicity? As we have seen, in every new medium old media are remediated and recontextualised. Nagel and Wood have argued similarly: "to identify a column as a spolium was to acknowledge its historicity." There were no clear codes as to exactly what an Attic pillar was supposed to mean in new compositions, but the

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[191] Oskar Bätschmann and Pascal Griener, *Hans Holbein*, 2nd ed. (London: Reaktion, 2014), 230.

[192] Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 4; Johan Huizinga, *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 39-46, 62-68, 151-160.

[193] Transcription in Oren Margolis, "Hercules in Venice: Aldus Manutius and the Making of Erasmian Humanism," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 81 (2018): 97. See also Bätschmann and Griener, *Hans Holbein*, 230-231.

[194] Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 183.

style's many affinities afforded its selection as a West Asian architectural order in archaeological imagination. On its own, Holbein's Attic pillar seems loosely attached to Erasmus' identity, but as part of a larger network of visual culture and reception of the Flavian triumph over Jerusalem, the pillar conveyed to early modern viewers antiquity's rebirth and triumph in Christian Europe.

Around the same time that van Scorel painted his 1519 *Adoration of the Magi*, Erasmus compared Christianity's ancient entry into the world with Roman triumph: "For if we should choose to judge by true standards, there was more sublimity, more power, more majesty in the quite humble birth of Christ than in all the pomp and triumphs of all the Caesars."[195] Triumphs as parades, entries, and processions had never really disappeared, but it was Erasmus' use of the word "triumph" to refer to Jesus' birth as a conquest of the world, Mechtilde O'Mara argues, that indicated a revival of the term to refer to the historical Roman procession.[196] Erasmus's Latin translations of Greek scriptures updated the biblical rhetoric to convey the imperial Roman triumph to the sixteenth-century Christian world view.

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[195] Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 47, *Paraphrase on Luke 1-10*, trans. Jane E. Philips (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 70.

[196] Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 43, *Paraphrases on the Epistles to the Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians*, trans. Mechtilde O'Mara and Edward A. Phillips Jr., ed. Robert D. Sider (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 328-329. Mechtilde O'Mara analyzes Erasmus' revival of the word 'triumph' in "Triumphs, Trophies, and Spoils: Roman History in Some Paraphrases on Paul by Erasmus," in *Holy Scripture Speaks: The Production and Reception of Erasmus' Paraphrases on the New Testament*, eds. Hilmar M. Pabel and Mark Vessey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 111-125. After more than a century of reception of Petrarch's (1304-1374) poem *I Trionfi*, written between 1352 and 1374, triumphal motifs had developed in a wealth of designs north and south of the Alps. See Bryn Critz Schockmel, "The *Triumphs of Petrarch* at Hampton Court Palace: Weaving an Italian Iconography in a Netherlandish Tapestry," *Comitatus* 51 (2020): 97-129; and Shira Brisman, "Relay and Delay: Dürer's Triumphal Chariots in the Era of the Post," *Art History* 39, no. 3 (2016): 436-465.

Antiquarian images moved within and overlapped circles of intellectuals and artists.[197] A case in point is the way Erasmus can be pulled into the histories of architectural ornament in Holbein's portrait. Matthias Winner has drawn attention to the fact that Holbein modelled the pillar in the portrait after Cesariano's illustrations for the Attic order.[198] Holbein's capital, with a female figure that emerges from the foliage, is a close copy of Cesariano's printed composite capital—a cross between the Ionic and the Corinthian—that Cesariano suggests works well on the versatile Attic. However, while Holbein replicated the capital from Cesariano's woodcuts, he modelled the pillar's superficial relief after the symmetrical foliate ornament that we see on the Arch for Titus, in Mantegna's paintings and print, and in Bramante's pilasters at San Satiro. The pillar in Holbein's portrait is also similar to the one in Bramante's painting *Jesus Tied to the Column* (fig. 1.30). It was Bramante, I remind my reader, whom Cesariano had singled out as the exemplary architect responsible for bringing back to life the ancient Attic order. Bramante's Attic, as well as Mantegna's, was modelled remarkably closely after the pilasters on the Arch for Titus.

The portrait of Erasmus was not the first time that Holbein had painted an Attic pillar. Around 1518, Holbein replicated Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* for Jakob von Hertenstein, the *schultheiß*—mayor—of Lucerne, as a painted façade on his new four-storey house (fig. 1.31). The fame that determined the spread of the Marchese of Mantua's private palazzo drove

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[197] For the Erasmus was entangled within the visual arts, see Shira Brisman, *Albrecht Dürer and the Epistolary Mode of Address* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 133-155; and Erwin Panofsky, "Erasmus and the Visual Arts," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 200-227.

[198] Matthias Winner, "Holbein's *Portrait of Erasmus with a Renaissance Pilaster*," in *Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints, and Reception*, eds. Mark Roskill and John Oliver Hand (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 160-161.

Hertenstein to display similar triumphal pictures to the public on the surface of his own home.[199]

Holbein painted all nine of Mantegna's pictures from the triumphs cycle between the second and third storeys, and used the building's architectural ornament to convey the idiosyncratic framing devices from Mantua to Lucerne: ten pilasters with grotesque ornament architecturally cut the pictures on the façade into nine panels. The extraction and mobility of each image afforded the reassembly of the scene, and Holbein made use of the largest panel in the centre to display the illustrious riches of the trophy bearers, placing this scene fifth in the sequence instead of sixth.[200] The paintings in Lucerne were among Holbein's many later monumental façade commissions, and these were renowned pictures until the buildings were destroyed. What is important here is that Attic pillars and pilasters were best known in the north as an architectural order that overtly signified triumph.

A similar example of façade ornament was seen in Antwerp in a private home built for Willem Heda in 1520-1522.[201] Modern restorations have changed the house, but in a photograph from 1907, we can see what Heda's house looked like for more than four centuries (fig. 32). Just as van Oostsanen's Attic pillars are identified as early examples of "Renaissance style" in a northern workshop, Heda's house is often described as the earliest example of the "Renaissance

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[199] Bätschmann and Griener, *Hans Holbein*, 108; Jeanne Nuechterlein, *Translating Nature into Art: Holbein, The Reformation, and Renaissance Rhetoric* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 20-21.

[200] While Holbein replicated Mantegna's core concept, he also selected stylistic elements from a few other northern modes of depicting a ruler in triumph. See Bätschmann and Griener, *Hans Holbein*, 105-112.

[201] The house is now known as 'Diamantenhuis' (Diamond House) or 'Karbonkelhuis,' because of the diamond shape of ornament at street level. The name is modern, and does not reflect the house's Renaissance erection or reception. See M. Manderyck and M. Van Strydonck, "Een toepassing van de radiokoolstofdateringstechniek: Het Karbonkelhuis in Antwerpen," *Monumenten en Landschappen* 5, no. 1 (1986): 23-24.

style" of architecture in the Netherlands due to its grotesque Attic pilasters on the façade.[202]

Among the pilasters are the inscriptions ROMA and SPQR: *Senatus Populusque Romanus* (the

Roman Senate and People), an acronym for the city of Rome.[203] But Heda was not Roman, he

was a northern-Netherlandish humanist from Alphen aan de Rijn near Leiden who moved to

Antwerp in 1520. His role as an architectural commissioner is crucial here, because it determines

how we are supposed to see his house and its Attic pilasters—each one topped with a different

capital.[204] Like Erasmus, Heda is among the early Netherlandish intellectuals who are credited

with introducing to the north Renaissance humanism and a taste for ancient Roman styles and

things.[205] After 1479, Heda served as a secretary within the Hapsburg imperial administration,

which included working for fifteen years with the ambassador to Rome and for the Holy Roman

Emperor Maximilian I. Around 1506, Heda produced a manuscript for his *Genethliacum*, a

genealogy of Maximilian's ancestry that could trace itself into mythological antiquity. On the

cover page is a triumphal arch, which Heda employed to rhetorically convey the Hapsburg

dynasty's rule as a triumph in Europe.[206] The pilasters and ornament on Heda's house displayed

his role as one of the Netherlands' most erudite architectural patrons, whose time in Italy and

collection of architectural treatises gave him an upper hand in understanding the meanings

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[202] Langendonck, "Het Karbonkelhuis van kanunnik Willem Heda," 109; Koert van der Horst, "Willem Heda and the edition of his *Historia episcoporum Ultrajectensium*," *Quaerendo* 33, no. 3/4 (2003): 271; Manderyck and Van Strydonck, "Een toepassing van de radiokoolstofdateringstechniek," 24. Bass refers to Heda's house as one with "classicizing ornament" in *Jan Gossart and the Invention of Netherlandish Antiquity*, 14.

[203] Langendonck, "Het Karbonkelhuis van kanunnik Willem Heda," 97.

[204] Before Heda's identification was made, E. Léonard tried to make sense of the many capitals in "Het voormalige patriciërshuis, Groenplaats 33, thans koffiehuis…," *Antwerpen* 12, no. 3 (1966): 140-145.

[205] van der Horst, "Willem Heda and the edition of his *Historia episcoporum Ultrajectensium*," 268.

[206] Langendonck, "Het Karbonkelhuis van kanunnik Willem Heda," 93-112; Bass, *Jan Gossart and the Invention of Netherlandish Antiquity*, 94-97.

conveyed by the kinds of forms he wanted on his house.[207] In other words, Heda would have

been well aware of the ways contemporary architects and artists were theorizing and employing

Attic ornament, specifically, as the architectural ornament of triumph. Building his house with

Attic pilasters in around 1520 carried the triumphal rhetoric northward, just at a time when the

city was rapidly ascending as the world's new economic and cultural center.

In Heda's architecture, and Erasmus' writings, the foliated grotesque appeared as the

visual rhetoric of triumph. In a letter written in 1523, Erasmus employed a vegetal metaphor to

describe the process that he referred to as the or the rebirth of antiquity in fifteenth-century Italy:

> When I was a boy, the humanities had begun to put forth fresh shoots among the Italians, but because the printer's art was not yet invented or known to very few, nothing in the way of books came through to us, and unbroken slumber graced the universal reign of those who taught ignorance in place of knowledge.[208]

Here, the vine motif is animated: it is an effective way for Erasmus to indicate the growth and

generation of antiquity as flourishing abundance.[209] Erasmus was known for his adoration of

antiquity, often pitting the writings of ancient Greece and Rome against the medieval teachings

that he called a "tragic and terrible deluge," asking rhetorically "how did it happen that there is

such an enormous distance between ourselves and the writers of antiquity?"[210] For him, the

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[207] Langendonck, "Het Karbonkelhuis van kanunnik Willem Heda," 104.

[208] Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 23-24, *Literary and Educational Writings, 1 and 2: Volume 1:* Antibarbari/Parabolae. *Volume 2:* De copia/De ratione studii, ed. Craig R. Thompson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), xxi, n.4. For Erasmus' use of the term 'renaissance,' see Huizinga, 103.

[209] See Shira Brisman, "Symmetry's Generative Side," *Res* 67/68 (2016/2017): 127-145.

[210] For the passage in context: "… we tried to discover, and not without sharp wonder, what the disaster was that had swept away the rich, flourishing, joyful fruits of the finest culture, and why a tragic and terrible deluge had shamefully overwhelmed all the literature of the ancients which used to be so pure. How did it happen that there is such an enormous distance between ourselves and the writers of antiquity; that we tried to discover, and not without sharp wonder, what the disaster was that had swept away the rich, flourishing, joyful fruits of the finest culture, and why a tragic and terrible deluge had shamefully overwhelmed all the literature of the ancients which used to be so pure. How did it happen that there is such an enormous distance between ourselves and the writers of antiquity?" in Desiderius Erasmus,

world began to "come to its senses as if awakening out a deep sleep" around 1440: "about eighty

years ago."[211] With this in mind, Holbein's inclusion of the ornamented pilaster in Erasmus'

portrait conveyed the humanist's endeavour to situate Christianity as the triumphant successor of

pagan antiquity. After eighty years, what Erasmus had observed were the "fresh shoots" of

antiquity reborn had grown into entangled vines and leaves, and their inclusion in visual

programmes emphasised the triumph of antiquity's rebirth in Renaissance Europe.

Holbein's grotesque Attic pilaster thus remediated Mantegna's rhetoric of triumph, which

was in turn derived from the Arch for Titus. Erasmus fought for ancient ideas to be accepted in

sixteenth-century Europe, but he could only validate them if they could be absorbed into a

Christian world view. The concept and visual language of triumph had to be Christianised. In his

railings against "barbarian" ideas, he lashes out at his peers who believed ancient writers

belonged to a religious period before Christ, and were therefore heathens:

> Now just look and see how unfair it is to hate without knowing what you hate or why you
> hate it. You condemn rhetoric, but what that might be you have not the foggiest idea. You
> hate poetry, without understanding what it is or what kind of thing. You hate antiquity,
> but the ancients mean nothing to you. In short, you pour scorn on the whole of what
> learned scholars toil for far into the night, and the whole of its greatness is unknown to
> you. For if you ever did learn these things yourselves why rebuke those who want to
> learn, and if you never learnt them (and this you not only admit but glory in) why
> pronounce judgment so ponderously on matters you know nothing about? You have
> heard, I think, that there is something bad in these studies. Of course you have, but from
> people like yourselves, envious, ignorant, and hostile; it is like pig teaching pig, or the
> blind leading the blind. But show me, if you can, one person who has found fault with
> this literature when he has thoroughly understood it, one person who has said that he
> regretted the time spent on it. Why should a dolt be believed, jabbering about things he
> does not understand, and a learned man disbelieved when he talks about what he knows?

Collected Works of Erasmus, vol. 23-24, *Literary and Educational Writings, 1 and 2: Volume 1:*
Antibarbari/Parabolae. *Volume 2:* De copia/De ratione studii, ed. Craig R. Thompson (Toronto:
University of Toronto Press, 2009), 23.

[211] Quote assembled from Huizinga, *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation*, 103; and Desiderius Erasmus*,
Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 23-24, *Literary and Educational Writings, 1 and 2: Volume 1:*
Antibarbari/Parabolae. *Volume 2:* De copia/De ratione studii, ed. Craig R. Thompson (Toronto:
University of Toronto Press, 2009), xxi, n.4.

> Do you think your jealousy is concealed from anybody? Do you think you are deceiving us with your pretences? Or that we cannot see what disease is eating you up? Suppose we now give things their proper names: stop posing as devout and religious men instead of the jealous, sluggish creatures you are![212]

Erasmus's ideas were part of the incessant tug of war between what he perceived to be the medievalism of Christian zealots and the antiquarianism of Christian Humanists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Unlike the Christian reactionaries or extremists, he was not suggesting that one ideology should prevail over the other; rather, Erasmus argued that the ancient world, from which Jesus as Christ emerged, had been reborn in the fifteenth century and triumphantly moved onward. Attic pillars and pilasters, the ornament from an ancient triumphal arch as important as the one erected for Titus, were the best frames with which to convey this message.

Conclusion

Van Scorel's path toward depicting the ancient world of Jesus' birth required an engagement with traditions and innovations that were established by artists—north and south of the Alps—before him, who were already actively involved in the flow and transmission of ideas, motifs, and meanings. Most notably, a column's presence in depictions of the adoration previously had an impactful meaning in fifteenth-century Netherlandish paintings, and sixteenth-century artists updated the style to include the Attic: an architectural style of ornament that permitted associations with West Asian antiquity, triumph, and succession. The architecture is thus a kind of frame in the way Judith Butler speaks of the ways establishing parameters, or framing, "seeks to contain, convey, and determine what is seen [and] depends upon the conditions of reproducibility in order to succeed."[213]

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[212] Desiderius Erasmus, *De copia/De ratione studii*, 47-48.

[213] Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* (New York: Verso, 2009), 10.

Van Scorel set his adoration in ruins that reproduced, in a painted world, a massive basilica. The two pilasters that rise on either side of the platform reveal that the floor on which the adoration takes place is a tribunal, the raised platform in the apse of a basilica. Early Christian appropriation of the architectural format to accommodate their spaces of congregation were so thorough, that the basilica became synonymous with the church. But as Alberti reminded Renaissance artists and architects, the word basilica signifies royalty, and in the pre-Christian Mediterranean, it referred to massive, open structures that accommodated large audiences for a king's hall or public court.[214] Vitruvius described the shape and role of the tribunal in the ancient basilica: a segmented hemicycle where magistrates sat and governed on a visible, elevated platform in the center of the hall's other public business affairs.[215] For artists such as van Scorel, the tribunal provided the perfect platform. Strategically, the basilical platform set the stage for the adoration to take place.

As a picture that captured the artist's archaeological imagination, the basilical format, which was connected to ancient kingship, served as the most appropriate space for a scene of Jesus' birth. Adoration pictures convey Jesus's triumphal entry into the world, but they also set the scene within a ruinous space that evokes the city of David's palatial ruins. In Hugo's time, a Romanesque column indicated the Iron Age architecture of the Kingdom of Israel, but for van Oostsanen and van Scorel, stylistic indicators had changed. Massive basilicas held up by ancient Roman Attic pilasters afforded iconographic connections with ancient West Asian monuments. The specificity of ornament thus indicates the Messianic claim to Old Testament prophesy that

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[214] "it is quite clear that the original role of the basilica was to provide a covered assembly room where princes met to pronounce justice. A tribunal was added to give it greater dignity," in *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 230 (7.14).

[215] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, 33, 64, 69.

Jesus would emerge from David's family line. The medieval Christian church appropriated the basilica's capacity to contain a public, and converted the architecture that had once served an ancient regal purpose into one dedicated to the worship of the new king of kings. The basilica as a format indicated Christian succession and triumph, and its selection within artistic workshops reflects the erudition that Erasmus believed was crucial to a historian's ability to imagine the past: "Now if we will learn from historical literature not only the setting but also the origin, customs, institutions, culture, and character of the peoples whose history is being narrated or to whom the apostles write, it is remarkable how much more light and, if I may use the expression, *life*, will come."[216] Van Scorel's "renaissance" was a world of reanimation.

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[216] Erasmus, "A System or Method of Arriving by a Short Cut at True Theology," 501. Emphasis added.

Chapter 2

Grammar of the Architectural Multitude: The Tower of Babel in Netherlandish Archaeological Imagination

> If there is a people, there is no multitude;
> If there is a multitude, there is no people.
> - Paolo Virno, *Grammar of the Multitude*

"It matters," Donna Haraway argues, "what stories make worlds, what worlds make stories."[1]

The world of this chapter's story begins around 1521, when the connoisseur of art Marcantonio

Michiel (1484-1552) jotted down in his notes on the Venetian cardinal Domenico Grimani's

(1461-1523) art collection "the great canvas of the Tower of Nimrod with a great variety of

things and figures in a landscape."[2] It is not clear who painted the picture, but art historians have

long imagined that Michiel was looking at a panel by the Netherlandish painter Jan van Scorel,

who was in Venice between 1519-1522 (fig. 2.1).[3] Van Scorel's composition was likely

reproduced in the painting that is now in Venice's Galleria Giorgio Franchetti at Ca' d'Oro,

where the figure Michiel identified as Nimrod proudly postures before a great tower that

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[1] Donna J. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 12. Haraway's concept of a "world" derives from Alfred North Whitehead's theories of cosmology, where a world is always in a process of becoming; "worlding," as it is referred to by scholars who engage Whitehead's philosophy. See Alfred North Whitehead, *Process and Reality: An Essay on Cosmology*, corr. ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1978), and Isabelle Stengers, *Thinking with Whitehead: A Free and Wild Creation of Concepts*, trans. Michael Chase (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

[2] "La tela gra[n]de della Torre de nebrot con tanta varietà de cose e Figure in [un] paese," in Marcantonio Michiel's inventories, compiled by Jacopo Morelli in the manuscript labelled "Anonimo morelliano," manuscript# It.XI.67 (=7351), folio 61r, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice. Michiel's notes are also reproduced in a range of modern editions, such as Marcantonio Michiel, *Der Anonimo Morelliano (Marcanton Michiel's Notizia D'Opere del Disegno)*, ed. Theodor Frimmel (Vienna: Verlag von Carl Graeser, 1888). The note on the Tower of Babel is on page 102 in Italian, and 103 in German.

[3] Maddalena Bellavitis, Telle depente forestiere. *Quadri nordici nel Veneto: le fonti e la tecnica* (Padua: Coop. Libraria Editrice Università di Padova, 2010), 298-307, cat. 25.

dominates the landscape and asserts its ancient architecture as the central subject.[4] In chapter

one, I examine how the art worlds of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries imagine the ancient

West Asian architecture of Bethlehem, the City of David, in adoration pictures—the world of

Jesus' birth. How similar Renaissance European art worlds animated the kinds of painted figures

that Michiel saw—how artists came to know, imagine, depict, and build the ancient world of

Nimrod's tower—is this chapter's story.

The "tower of Nimrod" refers to the Tower of Babel, a building from ancient Babylon

recorded in one of the book of Genesis' many origin stories. Michiel could not have known that

the depiction of the tower would go on to become one of the most abundant subjects in sixteenth-

century Netherlandish painting. But at the time, Michiel could have seen the innovative change

to the tower's formal design, from square to circle. After the 1520s, helicoidal architectural

iconography, by which I refer to the round and spiral shape, became the standard format for

buildings that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Netherlandish artists used to imagine the tower

of Babel. This change in the tower's architectural format was due to an increased attunement to

archaeological methods of interpreting the past that had amplified in the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries. While artists continued to consult written histories while designing pictures of the

Tower of Babel, they also began turning to material remains that evidenced the biblical

monument and determined a sense of its massive scale and shape. In this chapter I argue that

Netherlandish paintings of the Tower of Babel were archaeological reconstructions of ancient

monumental architecture that artists created by drawing from a range of text-based descriptions

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[4] As I will discuss below, if the Ca' d'Oro painting was not by van Scorel, it was by someone from his
workshop, a school that became northern Europe's preeminent academy of archeological pictures. For
van Scorel's workshop and antiquity, see the chapter "The Ruin Landscape in Jan van Scorel's
Workshop," in Arthur J. DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome: Antiquity, Memory, and the Cult of
Ruins* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 59-76.

and material remains—both in Rome and in West Asia. In this manner, Netherlandish artists represented the Tower of Babel in and as architectural history. "The ancient near east was alive and well in early modern Europe," Jane Grogan argues, and challenges scholars to "address this significant gap in scholarship of early modern classical reception, in the widest sense of that term, and to put the ancient near east back on the map of early modern Europe."[5] This chapter responds to this call by examining the ways in which the architectural history of Tower of Babel determined early modern pictures of the building.

By analysing Netherlandish pictures of the Tower of Babel as historically informed archaeological imagination, this chapter also aims to expand the kind of visual culture that we consider to be archaeological reconstructions. Depending on what is left of architecture, which is sometimes as little as imprints made from now-rotten wooden poles in clay substrate, or a few foundation stones, archaeologists must imagine what entire buildings looked like. The modern disciplines of art history and archaeology developed alongside eighteenth- and nineteenth-century cultures of enlightenment and scientific enquiries led by empirical observations.[6] When a building is rendered based on only a few fragments, it is considered to be a scientifically derived, albeit hypothetical image, while artistic renderings of ancient buildings from before the period of modern archaeology are often dismissed as fantastic or imaginative. But there has never been a single standard of how to imagine the past, even in archaeology. Examples such as Heinrich Schliemann's (1822-1890) excavations at Troy, or Sir Arthur Evans' (1851-1941)

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[5] Jane Grogan, "Introduction: Beyond Greece and Rome," in *Beyond Greece and Rome: Reading the Ancient Near East in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jane Grogan, 1-25 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 2.

[6] See Bruce G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Peter N. Miller, *History & Its Objects: Antiquarianism and Material Culture since 1500* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017).

reconstructions at Knossos on Crete are now viewed as either preservation disasters or great examples of modern architecture.[7] Even though Evans, along with the architect Piet de Jong (1887-1967) reconstructed Knossos before and after the first World War with scientific knowledge of the Bronze-Age Minoan past, we now see the reconstructions, scientific in their intentions, as incorrectly imagined and too dependent on the Modernist aesthetics at the time.[8] Regardless, Evans' reconstructions are now just as protected as culturally-relevant artefacts, as they offer insight as to how Minoan Crete was perceived and imagined in the 1920s.[9] What I am proposing is that archaeological imagination always reconstructs the past with pieces from its present moment. Updated ways of imagining the past make previous modes appear less accurate, and some of them purely fantastic.

One of the reasons why Netherlandish pictures of the Tower of Babel provide an exceptional case of archaeological imagination is because the discipline of archaeology has long included them within the visual contexts of ancient West Asia.[10] One example of this is how often one finds a painting in archaeological scholarship, such as Pieter Bruegel's *Tower of Babel* (fig. 0.3) on the cover of former Louvre director André Parrot's scientific study *La tour de babel*, published in 1953 (fig. 2.2). A reproduction of a similar painting appears on the cover of the

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[7] See Clairy Palyvou, *Daidalos at Work: A Phenomenological Approach to the Study of Minoan Architecture* (Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press, 2018), 216-218.

[8] See Nanno Marinatos, *Sir Arthur Evans and Minoan Crete: Creating the Vision of Knossos* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); and Cathy Gere, *Knossos & the Prophets of Modernism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 103-111.

[9] John C. McEnroe, *Architecture of Minoan Crete: Constructing Identity in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 79.

[10] For the development of West Asian archaeology, see Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 67-73, 78-79.

Italian archaeologist Mario Liverani's book, *Immaginare Babele*, published in 2013.[11] Similar

juxtaposition is present in archaeological museum displays. The reproduction of one of Lucas

van Valkenborch's (1535-1597) paintings accompanies the British Museum's display of ancient

foundation deposits and tablet inscriptions that evidence the construction of Mesopotamian

ziggurats, among which one known as Etemenanki could likely be the Tower of Babel that

inspired the biblical legend (fig. 2.3). It is intriguing indeed that pictures from the context of

Michiel's *Notizia* are at the beginning of the iconic Netherlandish painterly tradition *and* a

centuries-long phenomenon of imagining the ancient Mesopotamian monument as one that is

helicoidal.

The continuous pattern of including Netherlandish depictions of the Tower Babel in

archaeological contexts may be the result of a long-standing opinion that, based on their formal

similarity, there must be some kind of connection between early modern depictions of the tower

and architecture in Mesopotamia. A great example of this is in Zainab Bahrani's survey of

ancient Mesopotamian art and architecture, where the art historian opens with a juxtaposed

comparison of Bruegel's *Tower of Babel* with the minaret of the great mosque known at Samarra

in modern Iraq (fig. 2.4):

> Inspired by other mythical images of Babylon in prints and manuscripts—illustrations
> that were perhaps based on the monumental spiralling minaret of the medieval Great
> Mosque of Samarra that had been constructed during the Abbasid dynasty in the ninth
> century CE—the Western picture of Mesopotamia endured for many centuries.[12]

The minaret, like Bruegel's tower, is a colossal helicoidal structure, and even though its form

may not completely appear similar to Bruegel's design, it seems to have been the clear prototype

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[11] André Parrot, *La tour de Babel* (Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1953); Mario Liverani, *Immaginare Babele: due secoli di studi sulla città orientale antica* (Rome: Laterza, 2013).

[12] Zainab Bahrani, *Mesopotamia: Ancient Art and Architecture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2017), 18.

for architecture in other Netherlandish works, such as Maarten van Heemskerck's (1498-1574) print of Babylon (fig. 2.13), and in several of Abel Grimmer's (c. 1570-c. 1620) popular variations of the theme (fig. 2.5). In 1916, the German architect and archaeologist Theodor Dombart pointed out plainly that Samarran iconography became familiar to artists in Early Modern Europe.[13] This new and attuned awareness was due to the increase of travel to Asia in the fourteenth through to the sixteenth centuries. With travel came travellers' reports, which I examine in detail below. In some of these reports that circulated in manuscripts and published texts, there are passages that confirmed the existence of the Tower of Babel.

While some historians of art and architecture continue to maintain Dombart's observation that West Asian architectural iconography changed the ways that Renaissance architects began to imagine and design most circular towers, others have looked inward to European iconography and prototypes.[14] The most present of examples is the amphitheatre in Rome, built by the Flavian emperors between 70 and 80 CE, commonly known as the Colosseum. The massive, oval structure has become the standard model with which to understand Netherlandish depictions of the similarly rounded Tower of Babel. But I want to pull attention away from the Colosseum, not to discredit its place as a possible iconographic prototype, but to emphasise the multitude of other sources that determined what a Tower of Babel should look like. The sources I assemble in this chapter reveal that in the sixteenth century, artists had abundant texts and artefacts with which they could imagine the biblical Tower of Babel. They were, essentially, creating

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[13] Theodor Dombart, "Kunsthistorische Studie zum Babelturm-Problem," *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 21 (1916): 4-9.

[14] Berthold Hub argues that West Asian architecture was received in fifteenth-century archaeological imagination in "Filarete and the East: The Renaissance of a *Prisca Architectura*," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 70, no. 1 (2011): 24-26; and *Der Architekt der Renaissance als Demiurg und Pädagoge* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2020), 299.

archaeological reconstructions: the visual media that imaginatively illustrate and authenticate a past that is otherwise only known from fragmented ruins.[15]

Pulling together the pieces of the past requires imagination, and as this chapter's epigraph elucidates, some confusion arises when imagination is mixed with mass assembly. While Virno writes a commentary on societal phenomena, I highlight his "grammar of the multitude" as a concept that differs from cohesive homogeneity. The story of the Tower of Babel is fitting here, as it exemplifies the Hebrew god's distrust of a centralized people, who after confusing their languages created a scattered multitude. To rephrase Virno to suit the topic of this chapter, if there is a scattered multitude, then there is no people that can have as their capital a Tower of Babel; and if there is a Tower of Babel, there is no multitude.[16] But beyond the parameters of the story, I also want to extend the rhetoric that the Tower of Babel and its reception affords to include the many works of art that depict and imagine the story's world. "Architectural Grammar of the Multitude," the title of this chapter, refers to the method that follows: instead of examining pictures of the Tower of a Babel as a hegemonic whole, I assemble multiple parts, often at the risk of combining contradictions among comparisons. Instead of trying to reveal one main thing that the Tower of Babel meant in early modern Europe, I examine how early modern artists processed the ancient architecture from a multitude of sources.

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[15] For a brief survey of archaeological reconstructions, see Sebastian Hageneuer, "The Challenges of Archaeological Reconstruction: Back Then, Now and Tomorrow," in *Communication the Past in the Digital Age: Proceedings of the International Conference on Digital Mehtods in Teachings and Learning in Archaeology (12-13 October 2018)*, ed. Sebastian Hageneuer (London: Ubiquity Press, 2020), 101-112.

[16] The epigraph reads: "Se popolo, niente moltitudine; se moltitudine, niente popolo," in Paolo Virno, *Grammatica della moltitudine. Per una analisi delle forme di vita contemporanee* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbetino, 2001), 7.

A Change in Format, from Square to Circle

We do not know exactly which painting of the Tower of Babel Michiel saw, but scholars have proposed that two panels could have been the so-called "canvas" in Cardinal Grimani's Venetian palace.[17] The two suggested panels may have been in Grimani's collection, or they were modelled after the one that was. Both are notable in the history of the painted subject because they feature massive round buildings with spiral ramps that afford humans, animals, and carts to climb their way to the top of the structure. These early examples of helicoidal architecture indicate a shift in the stylistic survey in that they notably established a new way to format artistic designs for the Tower of Babel.

One painting in Brighton that depicts the Tower of Babel in a landscape is loosely attributed to Joachim Patinir (c. 1480-1524) or an artist from his circle, which has afforded at least one claim that it is the picture Michiel saw (fig. 2.6).[18] Michiel added that the painting was "by the hand of Joachim," which likely refers to Patinir, the Flemish artist renowned for painting what have been called "world landscapes" due to their elevated horizons and sweeping vistas over an extensive landscape.[19] However, none who specialize in Patinir claim the tower among the artist's known works, thus rendering the Brighton panel's anonymous authorship and estimating the date of the painting's facture anywhere in the first half of the sixteenth century.[20]

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[17] Instead of panel, or "*tavola*," Michiel wrote "*tela*," which refers to canvas and was often written "*tella*." For terminology, see Chriscinda Henry, "What Makes a Picture? Evidence from Sixteenth-Century Venetian Property Inventories," *Journal of the History of Collections* 23, no. 2 (2011): 258-263.

[18] Rudolf Schier, "Is Giorgione's *Inferno with Aeneas and Anchises* really lost?," *Vergilius* 65 (2019): 67.

[19] "Fu de mano de Ioachim," in Michiel, MS It.XI.67 (=7351), folio 61r, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice.

[20] See Sarah Elliston Weiner, "The Tower of Babel in Netherlandish Painting" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1985), 68. The Brighton panel is absent from surveys of Patinir's life and work, such as Reindert L. Falkenburg, *Joachim Patinir: Landscape as an Image of the Pilgrimage of Life* (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1988); and Robert A. Koch, *Joachim Patinir* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968). In dialogue with Weiner, Koch expressed that he

The painter of the Tower of Babel in the Grimani collection does not have to be Patinir, especially since Michiel is known to have not always written down the correct facts, such as registering a painting "on canvas" when it was actually on wood panel.[21]

With some free reign to look elsewhere, scholars have turned to a Tower of Babel in the Galleria Giorgio Franchetti in Venice that is attributed to the circle of van Scorel with an estimated date of facture between 1520-1525.[22] Caterina Limentani Virdis argues that if the Ca' d'Oro *Tower of Babel* is not the painting that Michiel saw, then it is quite likely either a copy of the original picture or it is the original's most similar analogue.[23] Mari Pietrogiovanna has further sustained Virdis' claim, especially since it is presumed that the painting Michiel noted in Grimani's inventory remained in Venice and became a part of the collection housed in the fifteenth-century Palazzo Santa Sofia, otherwise known as the Ca' d'Oro, or "golden house."[24] Echoing Michiel in the nineteenth century, Jacob Burckhardt noted that the Ca' d'Oro panel was

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"thinks that Marc Antonio Michiel's reference is insufficient grounds for hypothesizing a lost work by Patinir," in Weiner, "The Tower of Babel in Netherlandish Painting," 70 n.3.

[21] An example of this is Jan van Scorel's *Submersion of Pharaoh's Army in the Red Sea* (c. 1520), painted on panel, but which Michiel describes as on "*tela*," or "canvas" in the collection of M. Francesco Zio: "La Tela della sommersion de Faraon fu de man de Zuan Scorel de Olanda," in Michiel, MS It.XI.67 (=7351), folio 58r, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice. Abbreiviate as BNMV. Reproduced in Michiel, *Der Anonimo Morelliano* 94-95.

[22] The painting is owned by Venice's Gallerie dell'Accademia and is on permanent loan to the Ca' d'Oro, with the inventory id: deposito dalle Gallerie dell'Accademia cat. 132 d.

[23] Caterina Limentani Virdis, "Percorsi grafici e sentimentali: il crocevia fra Italia e Paesi Bassi nella prima metà del Cinquecento," *Incontri* 9, no.1 (1994): 21-23.

[24] Mari Pietrogiovanna, "La *Torre di Babele* alla Ca' d'Oro di Venezia," in *Nord/Sud: Presenze e ricezioni fiamminghe in Liguria, Veneto, e Sardegna*, eds. Caterina Limentani Virdis & Maddalena Bellavitis (Padua: Il Poligrapho, 2007), 113 n. 1. Due to a fifteenth-century renovation of the site where the Ca' d'Oro currently stands, it is possible that paintings such as the *Tower of Babel* became a part of the palazzo's collection. However, after the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797, the building's ownership changed hands. Since the panel's first known appearance in an inventory of the Ca' d'Oro was on 24 February 1815, it is possible that the painting came to the Ca' d'Oro around the turn of the nineteenth century. See Richard J. Goy, *The House of Gold: Building a Palace in Medieval Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

painted "for the sake of the figures."[25] In early modern art theory, the figure referred to the designed and composed subject, which in some visual arts, such as portraiture, especially included humans, but, in others, such as architecture and history painting, included less animate things.[26] For example, in a painting; a human, a horse, a tree in the foreground, a rocky outcrop in the background, and a building are all figures. Michiel is clear in his notes to distinguish between things, such as inanimate elements, and figures, such as humans, animals, and supernatural. What mattered for Michiel and for Burckhardt was that the depicted figures captivated their viewers and told a story of an ancient world.

The painted figures in the Ca' D'Oro *Tower of Babel* that told a story to Michiel and Burckhardt continue to convey to viewers the picture's *istoria*, which was in Renaissance art theory the "history," "story," or "grand narrative."[27] This history painting is based on narrativised writings by the Aramaic and Hebrew authors of the book of Genesis, and by historians who wrote the passage of the construction of the Tower of Babel. The eleventh chapter explains to its readers that in the aftermath of a great flood that nearly wiped out every living thing on earth, the offspring of one man, Noah, all spoke the same language. Once the descendants of Noah began to amass a population, their god commanded them to disperse, and some migrated toward the land of Shinar. One of these migrants, a fierce leader and mighty hunter by the name of Nimrod orchestrated the designs for a city and in it erected a great tower. The construction angered the god who had spared Noah, Nimrod's great grandfather. To spite

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[25] "… Thurmbau von Babel (Acad. Von Venedig) is um der der Figuren willen gemalt;" in Jacob Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone. Eine anleitung zum genuss der kunstwerke Italiens* (Basel: Schweighauser'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1855), 850.

[26] Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), 11-22.

[27] See Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy*, 11-12; and Jack M. Greenstein, *Mantegna and Painting as Historical Narrative* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 14-33, 59-85.

Nimrod and his followers, their god confused the people's tongues, and everyone began speaking in different languages. Thus Babel, the Hebrew בבל, means "confusion."

While *istoria*, and its plural, *istorie*, refer to the narrative in a broad sense, Patricia Fortini Brown has compellingly claimed that fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Venetian painters pushed the idea to also account for documentary evidence.[28] In this worldview, Instead of just illustrating historical texts, painted pictures documented and affirmed events by marking and them in visual form. This documentary impulse included pictures that were made at the same time as the events they depicted—as an artist's authoritative "eyewitness account"—and also pictures made years after something happened. The adoration of the *magi*, for example, was believed to be an actual, historical event. Depictions of the adoration affirmed the authenticity of the history. The same goes for the Tower of Babel. In the Venetian tradition, such pictures that depicted biblical origin stories were understood as documentary, as if they were eyewitness revelations of the past.

Michiel's description of the painting as being steered by the figures makes a compelling case that he was looking at something related to the Ca' D'Oro *Tower of Babel*. The proud Nimrod looks out to the space of the viewer and with his right arm raised, points toward the upper right register of the picture. In Renaissance art theory, figures such as Nimrod, who look out into the viewer's realm and point somewhere within the space of the picture "tell the spectators what is going on."[29] But instead of aiding visual acuity, Molly Faries thinks that this painted Nimrod is a cause of confusion. His nude body has been modelled after the Belvedere

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[28] Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988).

[29] Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, ed. Martin Kemp, trans. Cecil Grayson (London: Penguin, 2004), 77-78.

torso and its iterations in print, such as Raphael's designs for Paris in Marcantonio Raimondi's *Judgment of Paris* engraving. For Faries, the extracting of motifs from other master's works often causes misidentifications and may likely be a reason the Ca' d'Oro *Tower of Babel* has had a long history of confusion: "this mixture of sources can make attributions difficult," she contends.[30] Nimrod's directive gesture guides the viewer, not to the tower, but just past it to an unseen presence outside of the upper right frame. If the tower is the main figure of the painting's *istoria*, then it is not clear what exactly Nimrod wants a viewer to focus on. Is it ironic or fitting then, that half a millennium after its period of facture, the Ca' D'Oro panel has just as confused an authorship as it has a pictorial subject? Nimrod invites his viewer to partake in centuries of Babel.

For nearly two centuries, there have been confusing authorial attributions for the Ca' D'Oro *Tower of Babel.* In 1855, Burckhardt believed Herri met de Bles, and not Patinir, painted the tower.[31] Cataloguers of the Ca' d'Oro collection around 1900 suggested that the panel was painted by Hieronymus Bosch, while others expressed it must have been a later artist such as Jan Swart van Groningen, or Tobias Verhaecht who painted a handful of variations of the Tower of Babel toward the end of the sixteenth century.[32] But by 1930, Freidrich Winkler identified van Scorel as the painter of the Ca' d'Oro *Tower of Babel*, and art historians Max J. Friedländer and Godefridus Hoogewerff, both of whom specialized in early modern northern artists who had

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[30] Molly Faries, "Jan van Scorel in Venice: Crosscurrents of Influence and Technique," in *Nord/Sud: Presenze e ricezioni fiamminghe in Liguria, Veneto, e Sardegna*, eds. Caterina Limentani Virdis and Maddalena Bellavitis (Padua: Il Poligrapho, 2007), 105.

[31] "Von Herri de Bles ist nichts in dieser Richtung Bezeichnendes zu nennen; sein Thurmbau von Babel (Acad. Von Venedig) is um der der Figuren willen gemalt;" in Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, 850.

[32] Bellavitis, Telle depente forestiere, 298-300; Pietrogiovanna, "La *Torre di Babele* alla Ca' D'Oro di Venezia," 113-114.

journeyed to Italy, maintained this identification.[33] But since the early 1970s, a new generation

of scholars that includes Molly Faries, Sarah Elliston Weiner, Caterina Virdis, Bernard Aikema,

Alessio Pasian, and Gaila Jehoel have argued that the panel in Venice was most likely painted by

someone from van Scorel's circle such as Herman Posthumus, Maarten van Heemskerck, or,

revisiting a catalogued attribution from centuries earlier, Jan Swart van Groningen.[34] Maddalena

Bellavitis and Larry Silver both indicate van Scorel as the painter, but include a question mark

beside the artist's name to punctuate the ongoing debate.[35] Avoiding the confusion of authorship

altogether, Arthur J. DiFuria, Chiara de Capoa, and Martin Royalton-Kisch join the Gallerie

dell'Accademia and unambiguously attribute the painting to van Scorel.[36] At this point it must be

clear that there is no agreement when it comes to the picture's attribution. Since all attributions

within the past century have revolved either around van Scorel or artists from his workshop, I

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[33] See Friedrich Winkler, "Jan Scorel oder „Zuan Fiamengo"," *Oud Holland* 48 (1931): 177-178; which was written in response to G.J. Hoogewerff's "Jan van Scorel of „Zuan Fiamengo"?" *Oud Holland* 47 (1930): 169-188. By 1935, Max J. Friedländer had included the Ca' D'Oro *Tower of Babel* among his survey of van Scorel's work in *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Leiden/Brussels: A. W. Sijthoff/La connaissance, 1975), 12:121, cat. 307, pl. 168; and soon so did G.J. Hoogewerff, in *Jan van Scorel en zijn navolgers en geestverwanten* (s'Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1941), 38-39.

[34] In chronological order, Faries speculated the painter may have been Maarten van Heemskerck or Jan Swart van Groningen in "Jan van Scorel, His Style and Its Historical Context" (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1972), 111-112, n. 22. In 1994, Virdis suggested Herman Posthumus painted the Ca' d'Oro Tower of Babel in "Percorsi grafici e sentimentali," 21-30. Bernard Aikema noted Virdis' attribution in "The Lure of the North: Netherlandish Art in Venetian Collections," in *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer, and Titian*, eds. Bernard Aikema and Beverly Louise Brown (New York: Rizzoli, 1999), 86. In 2017, Alessio Paison referred to the painting as "ambito di," literally in the wave of Jan van Scorel, in Bernard Aikema, ed., *Jheronimus Bosch e Venezia* (Padua: Marsilio, 2017), 172-174, cat. 31. Gaila Jehoel agrees with Virdis, and suggests if not Posthumus, then someone else from van Scorel's circle painted the panel in *Het culturele network van Jan van Scorel: Schilder, kanunnik, ondernemer en kosmopoliet*. (Hilversum: Verloren, 2020), 274.

[35] Bellavitis, Telle depente forestiere, 298; Larry Silver, *Pieter Bruegel* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2011), 259.

[36] DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 72-75; Chiara de Capoa, *Old Testament Figures in Art*, ed. Stefano Zuffi, trans. Thomas Michael Hartmann (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 69; and Martin Royalton-Kisch, "Pieter Bruegel as a Draftsman: The Changing Image," in *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints*, ed. Nadine M. Orenstein (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 39 n. 114. My observations on the gallery's identification were made in person on 20 August 2019.

refer to the work either as the Ca' D'Oro *Tower of Babel*, or as van Scorel's *Tower of Babel*.[37]

Given the ways workshops have operated for centuries, from Raphael to Andy Warhol, where teams of artists produce works based on a master's designs, prototype, or idea, I have no problem referring to the painting as van Scorel's.[38]

What I find most important is that the imagination that shaped the depicted architecture came from van Scorel's world of archaeological erudition. One of the ways I used the term "world" in chapter one was to refer to the societal networks around an artist, ultimately the 'art world' in the way that is used in contemporary modes of education, production, and the market. I am using it again in this way here to describe van Scorel's world of archaeological erudition: the world of an artist refers to their societal networks, which includes other artists and architects and their theories on art and architecture; intellectuals, patrons and other commissioners; and also, the intermediaries between buyers and sellers.

Connecting the Ca' d'Oro *Tower of Babel* to van Scorel requires that we consult one of the artist's drawings of the tower from around 1520 (fig. 2.7), likely produced when he was in Venice.[39] In the centuries-long survey of the tower of Babel's iconography, van Scorel's drawing

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[37] Molly Faries claims that the underdrawings of the Ca' d'Oro *Tower of Babel* suggest the if the artist was not van Scorel, then it was another artist who was familiar with van Scorel's workshop style, in "Jan van Scorel in Venice," 105 n.8.

[38] See Robert Williams, *Raphael and the Redefinition of Art in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 173-258.

[39] K.G. Boon, *Attraverso il cinquecento Neerlandese. Disegni della collezione Frits Lugt Institut Néerlandais, Parigi*. (Florence: Istituto Universitario Olandese di Storia dell'Arte, 1980), 185-187, cat no. 126. We must again rely on attributions to approach the drawing within the cultural context of van Scorel. In 1955, while Boon was the curator of prints and drawings at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, he identified the drawing of the tower in the Frits Lugt collection in Paris and claimed it was among van Scorel's preparatory sketches for the painted version in the Ca' d'Oro in "Tekeningen van en naar Scorel," *Oud Holland* 70, no. 1 (1955): 216. Since then, many others, including the former Senior Curator of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, Martin Royalton-Kisch, has upheld Boon's attribution; see Royalton-Kisch, "Pieter Bruegel as a Draftsman," 39 n. 114; and Aikema, "The Lure of the North: Netherlandish Art in Venetian Collections," 86-87.

is the earliest nexus of worlds: it connects the longstanding tradition in European art of depicting the Babylonian story, but it re-formats the tower, and sets the helicoidal monument as the new standard.[40] After 1520, nearly every depiction of the Tower of Babel for the next few centuries was similarly helicoidal. But before 1520, panel paintings of the Tower of Babel, such as one copy of a lost original by Jan van Eyck (1390-1441), perpetuated the tradition of depicting the tower in the rectangular shape (fig. 2.8).[41] The building in this painting resembles squared medieval city towers, echoing any one of Europe's Romanesque defensive structures set into castle or city walls. Other depictions of the Tower of Babel, such as the twelfth-century mosaics at Palermo's Palatine Chapel, also depicted the tower as squared architecture (fig. 2.9). Fifteenth-century artists often lifted architectural iconography from illuminated manuscripts to build towers of Babel in their painted pictures, and this architectural iconography was of a quadrangular, or four-sided structure.[42] In one manuscript that was in Grimani's collection, a Flemish artist illuminated a page with a depiction of the tower, sometime between 1510 and 1520 (fig. 2.10).[43] The illuminator followed a longstanding tradition of depicting the Tower of Babel as a building with a square base that sustained and projected a long vertical body upward.

This shift in the Tower of Babel's architectural format occurred because archaeological modes of understanding the past were increasing and shaping historical imagination in artistic

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[40] See Weiner's survey of medieval examples in "The Tower of Babel in Netherlandish Painting," 23-51.

[41] Friedrich Winkler makes the most convincing case that the anonymous panel in the Rijksmuseum was modelled after a lost prototype by Jan van Eyck in "Ein Unbeachtetes Eyckisches Werk," in *Edwin Redslob zum 70. Geburtstag: Eine Festgabe*, ed. Georg Rohde (Berlin: E. Blaschker, 1955), 91-95.

[42] Stefaan Grieten, "Het Torn van Babel-schilderij in het Mauritshuis. Een illustratie van de relatie tussen de 15de-eeuwse miniatuur- en schilderkunst in de Nederlanden," *Oud Holland* 108, no. 3 (1994): 109-119.

[43] See Gian Lorenzo Mellini, *The Grimani Breviary, reproduced from the illuminated manuscript belonging to the Biblioteca Marciana* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972), plate 41, folio 206r.

depictions. The novelty of a helicoidal tower around 1520 is reflective of van Scorel, who was so renowned for his archaeological erudition that he merited the following praise from Janus Secundus in a poem written around 1533: "The most honoured and eminent maker of pictures, the pillar of our artists who brought grace to their roughness; who brought from afar the ancient monuments of the Latins, and placed Rome on the banks of the Rhine."[44] Indeed, van Scorel's workshop shifted the style of sixteenth-century Netherlandish art to accommodate ancient architecture and sculpture, a fact maintained by historians of Netherlandish art, and recently re-amplified by Marisa Anne Bass, DiFuria, and Edward H. Wouk.[45] Where I diverge from the existing scholarship is that I pursue a history where van Scorel's replication of antiquity was not limited to the kinds of Greek and Roman styles and aesthetics that modern art history has named "classical art"; rather I show that Netherlandish archaeological imagination had a much broader, expanded, and global sense of diverse ancient worlds and their stories.[46] This chapter is in line with recent developments in the field of early modern studies, where scholars, such as Grogan, Margaret Geoga, and John Steele, have recognized a dearth in the reception of West Asia in early modern art and call for more work in the area.[47]

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[44] "Pictorum sublimis honos, columenque virorum/Artificum, rudibusq[ue] novum decus edite terries,/Qui procul ad patrios orbis monumenta Latini/Fers agros, Rhenique loeas ad flumina Romam," in Joannes Secundus, *Opera*, ed. Pieter Schrijver (Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden]: Apud Franciscum Moyaert, 1651), 163. Scholars date Secundus' poems to van Scorel around 1533, see Molly Faries, "Jan van Scorel," 234-235; and J. Bruyn, "Enige gegevens over de chronologie van het werk van Jan van Scorel," *Oud Holland* 70, no. 4 (1955): 194-207.

[45] Marisa Anne Bass, *Jan Gossart and the Invention of Netherlandish Antiquity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 150-151; Difuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 59-76; Edward H. Wouk, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570): Imagining a Northern Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 50.

[46] Caroline Vout provides a compelling critique and survey of the concept of the "classical" in *Classical Art: A Life History from Antiquity to the Present* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018).

[47] See the essays in Margaret Geoga and John Steele, eds., *The Allure of the Ancient: Receptions of the Ancient Middle East, ca. 1600-1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2022).

To move forward, I must first survey the methods with which we analyse depictions of the Tower of Babel in sixteenth-century Netherlandish art. The art historians I cite below have long argued that sixteenth-century paintings of the tower constitute fantastic landscapes, albeit reminiscent of familiar northern terrains, that host colossal buildings composed of a bricolage of architectural fragments found in Europe. I do not disagree with this observation. I only aim to adjust the way we write of this imaginative process to accommodate what I have identified as some of the modes of archaeological curiosity and erudition that coincided with, and largely explain, the sudden appearance and sustenance of a helicoidal tower in Netherlandish pictures. The fact that has been underexamined across the literature is that when sixteenth-century artists depicted the Tower of Babel, it was common knowledge that the tower's ruins still stood in Mesopotamia, and many could read about these ruins in manuscripts and published texts that ranged from travelogues to natural history, most notably in the writings of the twelfth-century Rabbis Benjamin of Tudela and Petachia ben Yakov from Regensburg, and the published transcriptions of the Bavarian Johann/Hans Schiltberger. In what follows, I review the current literature on the Tower of Babel in Netherlandish art history and find space for my argument within it, which is: that… The change in format, from square to circle, evidenced attunement to the architectural history of the Tower of Babel; an attunement that thus shifted archeological imagination.

Literature Review and Intervention Statement

In the vast range of literature on depictions of the Tower of Babel, nearly every study from Netherlandish art history interprets the range of drawings, prints, and paintings as allegorical pictures. In literature and in the visual arts, allegories convey moral instruction, cautious omens,

and guiding secrets.[48] But within another realm of scholarship that interpenetrates architecture

and archaeology, Netherlandish towers of Babel have long illustrated Mesopotamian

architecture.[49] This chapter is a step away from allegory. In the literature review that follows, I

first examine the art historical studies that focus on the Netherlands and northern Europe, and

position myself within a recent trend to find the architectural and archaeological alongside the

allegorical receptions of Babel pictures. Then I bridge this literature with archaeological studies,

where Netherlandish depictions of the Tower of Babel continue to be used as objects with which

to imagine the history and reception of ancient Mesopotamian architecture.

Most scholarly interpretations of Netherlandish depictions of the Tower of Babel are

based on two of Bruegel's extant panels. Other than the one in Vienna, another panel is now in

Rotterdam, and both were painted between 1563 and 1565 (figs. 0.3 & 2.11). The larger of

Bruegel's pictures, the one now in Vienna, likely became the most renowned picture of the

Tower of the Babel because of its novel scale. Measured to accommodate the large walls of the

art collector Nicolaes Jonghelinck's villa outside of Antwerp, the monumental panel brought the

Babylonian story to a new and spectacular large-scale format.[50]

Despite the focus on Bruegel, there is no clear interpretation of his two towers. For every

scholar's convincing argument on their meaning, there is an equally compelling study that argues

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[48] For one assessment of the Renaissance reception of Greco-Roman and Egyptian myths and use of allegory, see Don Cameron Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), viii-ix.

[49] See for example Massimo Scolari, "Forma e rappresentazione della Torre di Babele," *Rassegna* 16 (1983): 4-8. More examples will be examined below.

[50] See Margaret A. Sullivan, *Bruegel and the Creative Process, 1559-1563* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 193. On page 5, Sullivan notes that Bruegel probably painted one or both Tower of Babel panels for Nicolaes Jonghelinck, but the patronage is not confirmed in the historical record. Despite this, art historians assume the Vienna panel was for Jonghelinck's villa, where many of Bruegel's other panels were collected. Also see Stephanie Porras, *Pieter Bruegel's Historical Imagination* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016), 69-70

the opposite. There is no chronological development either, where a new interpretation supersedes the others. Instead, as Philip Michael Sherman has observed, there are "multifarious associations" in the Tower of Babel's reception: "just as the builders' language became confused at Babel, so too did later interpreters speak wildly different 'languages' in their interpretive approach."[51] Amid this babbling, I have found some patterns in the survey of the literature and have clustered the most relevant sources in three groups: emancipation allegories, hubris and punishment allegories, and architectural excavations.

The theme of emancipation was ignited by Steven A. Mansbach in an article published in 1982, where he argues that Bruegel did not paint a perfect illustration of the biblical account, which means that the conclusion of the story is not yet known and can be imagined beyond the punitive account in Genesis.[52] As a point of departure, rather than a terminally encoded visual programme, Mansbach funneled the existing interpretations of the figures into new proposals that placed the painting in its period of facture.[53] For example, Babylon represented the rise of Antwerp as the world's capital city of commerce and trade, and the prideful Nimrod could represent the Spanish King Philip II, who was the unpopular Lord of the Netherlands. But instead of impending doom, Mansbach argued that the culture of humanism in Antwerp afforded a new reception of the Tower of Babel, where civilization's technological abilities superseded those of ancient Babylon, and the story could have a new life where the people's ambition remedied Nimrod's and Philip's hubris and went without god's punishment.

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[51] Phillip Michael Sherman, *Babel's Tower Translated: Genesis 11 and Ancient Jewish Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 2.

[52] Steven A. Mansbach, "Pieter Bruegel's Towers of Babel," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 45, no. 1 (1982): 43-44.

[53] A thorough survey of the reception of Tower of Babel is Arno Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel. Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen*, 4 vols., (Stuttgart: Hierseman, 1957-1963).

Mansbach's argument has been taken up and propelled into new interpretations by Joanna Woodall, Barbara A. Kaminska, and Margaret A. Sullivan. Wielding a wealth of sources that compared Antwerp to Babylon, Woodall compellingly argues that early modern viewers of Bruegel's Towers of Babel would have received them as allegories of Antwerp, a city where every tongue from every part of the world could be heard.[54] Additionally, during this time, Antwerp's Flemish was proposed as the single language spoken before the Hebrew god caused linguistic confusion, even though medieval Christian patriarchs had believed the so-called "Edenic tongue" was Hebrew.[55] It was thus economics and new interests in the Netherlands' ancient past that afforded comparisons with the biblical account. Kaminska has furthered these arguments with more examples of how the Tower of Babel did not signify impending doom, but instead inspired its viewers to think about Antwerp's place in the world and how "to sustain a prosperous community by providing a discursive space within which a positive resolution is possible."[56] Likewise, Sullivan has compared Bruegel's Towers of Babel with pictures of the tower's destruction, such as Cornelis Anthonisz.'s etching *Fall of the Tower of Babel* from 1547 (fig. 2.12), to argue that Bruegel did something quite different than his colleague, and that his unique treatment of the tower ambitiously advertised his artistic and intellectual skill to make multiple interpretations and conclusions possible.[57]

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[54] Joanna Woodall, "Lost in Translation? Thinking about Classical and Vernacular Art in Antwerp, 1540-1580," in *Understanding Art in Antwerp: Classicising the Popular, Popularising the Classic (1540-1580)*, ed. Bart Ramakers (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 1-24.

[55] Josef Eskhult, "Augustine and the Primeval Language in Early Modern Exegesis and Philology," *Language & History* 56, no. 2 (2013): 98-119.

[56] Barbara A. Kaminska, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Religious Art for the Urban Community* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 30-31.

[57] Sullivan, *Bruegel and the Creative Process*, 191-200.

In another cluster of literature, scholars argue that all interpretations of Netherlandish Towers of Babel are allegories of hubris—excessive pride—and its punishment. Larry Silver and Koenraad Jonckheere argue that the theme of hubris and its punishment is present whether it is Anthonisz's etching of a building destroyed by the hand of God, or Bruegel's unfinished tower.[58] These interpretations are incompatible with the aforementioned cluster of emancipatory examples. Jonkckheere believes that art historians "have focused on anything but the biblical theme," and aimed to reposition Bruegel's panels within a wider context of image debates at the end of the sixteenth century that resulted in iconoclasm—the breaking of images, of idols.[59] In this interpretation, Netherlandish paintings of the Tower of Babel served as warnings of hubris as per the moral of the biblical story, evoking the exact opposite of a sustainable future for a city the might resemble Babel.

The hubris and punishment literature has come to depend heavily on Margaret D. Carroll's and Stephanie Porras' reasonings as to why Netherlandish depictions of the Tower of Babel almost always resemble the Colosseum.[60] In a period when northern reformers led by Luther and Calvin slandered Rome and its papal throne as the arbiters of idolatry, and as Augustine's "Babylon the Great," a comparison to the Colosseum pulled the tower into a cycle of representations that wished punishment on Rome for inflated hubris. In these cases, Rome's

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[58] Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 23-25, 49-51; "Bruegel's Biblical Kings," in Imago Exegetica*: Visual Images as Exegetical Instruments, 1400-1700*, eds. Walter Melion, James Clifton, and Michel Weemans (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 795-800; and Koenraad Jonckheere, "An allegory of artistic choice in times of trouble: Pieter Bruegel's Tower of Babel," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 64, no. 1 (2014): 186-213.

[59] Jonckheere, "An allegory of artistic choice in times of trouble," 187.

[60] Jonckheere, "An allegory of artistic choice in times of trouble," 187-189; Margaret D. Carroll, *Painting and Politics in Northern Europe: Van Eyck, Bruegel, Rubens, and Their Contemporaries* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 75-87; Stephanie Porras, "Rural Memory, Pagan Idolatry: Pieter Bruegel's Peasant Shrines," *Art History* 34, no. 3 (2011): 501-505.

architecture is considered the tower's prototype, instead of the descriptions written by ancient

authors of an actual tower in Babylon. Mansbach questioned artists' access to ancient sources

and thus downplays the role of ancient historical descriptions of Babylonian architecture in

determining the form of the tower.[61] Artistic access to the Colosseum is not questioned, due to

the abundance of drawings and prints, and the number of Netherlandish artists who travelled to

Rome including Bruegel. In this literature, the Colosseum is an icon of Rome and one of the

most famous and colossal of architectural monuments in early modern Europe. Porras has since

maintained Jonkckheere's argument that the Babel/Colosseum analogy emphasizes the tower's

impending punitive destruction, and with full doom and gloom, Joseph Leo Koerner likewise

interprets Bruegel's towers of Babel along with Carrol's and Porras' readings: "the world's

people imagine are impossible and doomed. The Apocalypse is not coming soon; it is long under

way."[62]

My study does not expand on any of the allegorical interpretations outlined above.

Rather, I echo Joanne Morra's sentiment that the Tower of Babel in stories and in pictures

affords an art history where all allegorical "readings are supplemental to one another:

contradictory and irreconcilable."[63] I also find it sage to follow Larry Silver's advice to avoid

interpreting the pictures of Babel from our over-determined historical vantage. This is to say that

without a primary source that suggests otherwise, it is easy to interpret a painting of the Tower of

Babel in early modern Netherlandish art as the product of conflict between the Protestants and

the Catholics, or between Northern Europe and the Papacy in Rome, and even between

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[61] Mansbach, "Pieter Bruegel's Towers of Babel," 44-46.

[62] Porras, *Pieter Bruegel's Historical Imagination*, 68-73, 79; Joseph Leo Koerner, *Bosch & Bruegel: From Enemy Painting to Everyday Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 304.

[63] Joanne Morra, "Utopia Lost: Allegory, Ruins and Pieter Bruegel's Towers of Babel," *Art History* 30, no. 2 (2007): 213.

Netherlanders and the sixteenth-century Catholic Spanish rulers of the Netherlands. Silver reminds us of many sixteenth-century Netherlandish artists' Catholic affiliations, and when it comes to their personal faith, "we do not know the beliefs of either Bruegel (who was buried in Notre-Dame de la Chapelle, a Catholic church in Brussels) or his patron Nicolaes Jonghelinck."[64] It is clear that there is no single way to interpret the Tower of Babel in Netherlandish painting, and thus, the panels' subject matter has determined a reception that is appropriately confusing. "Bruegel's pictures," Porras argues, "are largely devoid of direct textual interventions, and thus remain available to more fluid, ongoing processes of interpretation and visual pleasure."[65] But I wonder if, by looking too closely at the allegorical, we have left out one important body of evidence: the architectural history of the Tower of Babel in Netherlandish archaeological imagination.

My study aims to build from the approach that Porras and Koerner have initiated, which is to view the painted tower as a model of architectural history and archaeology. While Porras and Koerner conclude their interpretations with hubris and punishment allegories, their studies differ from many of the others in that they have begun to "excavate" the architecture depicted in Bruegel's paintings. This "excavation of the image," as Alexander Nagel calls it, is crucial to my study because it brings to light the world in which an artefact has been factured.[66] For example, Porras connects Bruegel's tower to the form of the Colosseum in Rome, but she also notes that the wooden thatched buildings that encrust the tower indicate the kind of peasant and pagan

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[64] Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes*, 24.

[65] Porras, *Pieter Bruegel's Historical Imagination*, 112.

[66] Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 41-72.

antiquity that Bruegel developed elsewhere.[67] Thus, Bruegel's anachronistic combination of an antique monument with vernacular "peasant" architecture served to situate his tower as "both rural and urban, pagan and Christian, local and foreign."[68] In Porras' interpretation, the viewer is thus pulled into the painted world, into Bruegel's picture, invited to lose themselves in the mosaic of clustered representations, meanings, and enfolded worlds from different times in the history of architecture. More than anyone Koerner has emphasized the antiquity of Bruegel's panels, noting their natural fabrication from the earth's lithics and relationship to the geological strata that separate past events and swallow ruins.

I want to build on Porras' and Koerner's architectural and archaeological approaches by asking the question: what did early modern artists believe the *actual historical* Tower of Babel was? In the early modern Jewish and Christian worldviews, the Genesis account was not a myth, by which I mean to say it was not believed to be a fictitious story told only for its moral example nor as a way to explain an origin of the world's diverse languages. Instead, a tower was built and it continued to stand in Mesopotamia. Ancient and medieval written accounts, ranging from Herodotus and Josephus to Benjamin and Schiltberger, confirmed the existence of the Tower of Babel and included descriptions of the ziggurat monument that they saw. Drawing from this evidence, I situate the Tower of Babel as a real artefact from the ancient biblical past that sixteenth-century painters came to depict according to the archaeological methods that were available to them. This chapter is thus a bridge between the existing scholarship on

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[67] Porras, *Pieter Bruegel's Historical Imagination*, 72-73.

[68] Porras, *Pieter Bruegel's Historical*, 72. Also see James J. Bloom, "Pictorial Babel: Inventing the Flemish Visual Vernacular," in *The Transformation of Vernacular Expression in Early Modern Arts*, eds. Joost Keizer and Todd Richardson (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 313-338.

Netherlandish pictures of the Tower of Babel and archaeological literature that has interpreted these paintings as illustrations of architectural history.

Surprisingly, seeing how it has fallen to the sidelines of the literature on Netherlandish Towers of Babel, the Ca' d'Oro picture was present in mid twentieth-century literature that sought to unravel the connection between Netherlandish paintings and Mesopotamian architecture. In 1943 the painter and art historian Wolfgang Born argued that the many late sixteenth-century paintings of the Tower of Babel by Bruegel, Grimmer, Hendrick van Cleve (c. 1512-1589), and Lucas van Valckenborch (c. 1530-1598) were indebted to Jan van Scorel's designs for the tower from decades before: "for the first time the traditional square building with a flight of outside stairs around its walls was transformed into a conical tower with a spiral ramp or staircase similar to the Malwiya."[69] Born explains the sudden appearance of helicoidal iconography as the result of three entangled contexts. The first was van Scorel's travels to West Asia from 1520 to 1521. The second was the longstanding fame of Samarra's al-Malwiya at the time and its replication in other buildings across West Asia and Egypt. And the third was that the Netherlandish towers that van Scorel likely saw in Venice, such as the one in the Grimani breviary (in Venice from 1519), which were square, had started to illustrate ancient descriptions and medieval travel reports by including such things as ramps that wrapped around the exterior.

Al-Malwiya's influential role in the format of Netherlandish painted architecture was maintained in further studies, and then dropped and replaced with the Colosseum. In 1960, Helmut Minkowski published his extensive research of the Tower of Babel, both the historical one proposed by archaeologists—of which more than thirty existed at the time—and the

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[69] Wolfgang Born, "Spiral Towers in Europe and Their Oriental Prototypes," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 24, no. 6 (1943): 239-240.

reception of it in art. He concluded that there were too many examples of Netherlandish replications of the Mesopotamian style to believe that the mosque minarets were not informing the new European style.[70] At some point by 1982, when Mansbach published his influential essay, the reminiscence of Bruegel's panels with the Colosseum overtook the literature and the allegorical interpretations afforded by the amphitheatre's history flourished.

Even when we expand the scope of our attention to include both the Colosseum and Al-Malwiya, we must remember that neither building is the Tower of Babel. The reason why allegorical interpretations are so prevalent is that art historians commonly conclude that early modern artists had no idea what the Tower of Babel might have actually been, so they were engaging instead with an *idea* of what Babel could be.[71] Due to this lack of clarity, a longstanding question has been whether or not early modern artists thought the mosque at Samarra was the Tower of Babel, or if they just copied spiral forms without knowing what the iconography meant.[72] To make sense of this confusion, Michael Seymour proposed that Netherlandish depictions of the tower are virtually separable from Mesopotamia and reflective of a Babylonian equivalent to "heavenly Jerusalem"; a medieval fabrication of a virtual realm wherein one could access the holy city—detached from its actual location—anywhere in the world.[73] But van Scorel disrupts this conjecture. The artist was in Jerusalem, and he later depicted the city in narrative paintings and drawings that map out the urban space with indexical

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[70] Helmut Minkowski, *Aus dem Nebel der Vergangenheit steigt der Turm zu Babel. Bilder aus 1000 Jahren* (Berlin: Rembrandt-Verlag, 1960), 31.

[71] Michael Seymour, "Images of Babylon in Early Modern Europe," in *The Allure of the Ancient: Receptions of the Ancient Middle East, ca. 1600-1800*, eds. Margaret Geoga and John Steele (Leiden: Brill, 2022). 18.

[72] Michael Seymour, *Babylon: Legend, History and the Ancient City* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 94.

[73] Seymour sets out a theory of a heavenly Babylon in *Babylon*, 101-104.

accuracy. Without suggesting that he also made a journey to Babylon, the early modern name for

Baghdad, I think it misguided to assume that the same artist—renowned upon his return to

Europe for his archaeological erudition and knowledge of West Asian antiquities—would have

fallen into the purely "virtual" category. Nor would his erudite patrons have wanted this given

their love and collection of antiquities.

My main point of intervention is found in the fact that believers of the book of Genesis

have long taken the account of the Tower of Babel as both an allegory, written to moralise

hubris, and as a written historical account of an actual event to explain the dispersal of languages

across the world.[74] This is how the historian Polydore Vergil (c. 1470-1555) addressed the tower

in *De inventoribus rerum*, a comprehensive survey, published in 1499, of natural histories,

discoveries and inventions: "this, then, is the origin of the variety of the many languages that

people use even now."[75] Regardless of the range of interpretative receptions, the erection of the

tower was pulled into the sixteenth century, not as myth or allegory, but as history. It is to the

histories of the Tower of Babel that we now turn.

Building Worlds from Written Records

Early modern architecture was as much a practice of consulting histories—written texts—as it

was models, drawings, and prints. When faced with the problem of Renaissance artists who

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[74] Hiebert argues "the story is exclusively about the origins of cultural difference and not about pride and punishment at all," in "The Tower of Babel and the Origin of the World's Cultures," 31; while John T. Strong argues that both are implied by the biblical passage in "Shattering the Image of God: A Response to Theodore Hiebert's Interpretation of the Story of the Tower of Babel," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127, no. 4 (2008): 625-634. Also see Robert T. Pennock's book-length study of the phenomenon, *Tower of Babel: The Evidence Against the New Creationism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).

[75] "Haec igitur tot linguarum quibus etima nune homines utuntur: diuersitatis origo est," in Polydore Vergil, *De inuentoribus rerum libri tres* (Venice: Giovanni Taccuino, 1503), folio b.5.r-b.5.v (1.3).

designed architecture based on destroyed or distant buildings, Mario Carpo posed the question:

"How do you imitate a building that you have never seen?"[76] The Tower of Babel in the

sixteenth century was one of these unseen buildings. For Carpo, the answer is in the

transmissions of architectural knowledge. Before the fifteenth century, architectural information

on ancient buildings was shared without visual models. Oral traditions and hearsay were the

most common, and architects were also encouraged to travel and learn from others who shared

their knowledge. Speech is recorded in the written word, and the tradition of *ekphrasis*—the

ancient rhetorical device of description with words—converted architecture into legible

information.[77] By the beginning of the sixteenth century, architecture's oral and written tradition

opened up to include drawings and printed images; a practice wherein ancient Roman

architecture provided centrifugal models.[78] The city of Rome and its environs was a remarkable

gallery of architecture, both intact and in ruin, that hosted touchstone examples for the architects

who examined, drew, studied, and replicated them, thus ushering in the stylistic phenomenon

that Vasari referred to as a *rinascita*—a "rebirth," or Renaissance—of antiquity. But unlike

ancient architecture in Italy, biblical buildings in the heart of Mesopotamia were distanced from

architects geographically. Despite this distance, the Tower of Babel was omnipresent in history.

History is a key term here, because as a concept, it refers to the ways in which the past is

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[76] Mario Carpo, "How do you imitate a building that you have never seen? Printed Images, Ancient Models, and Handmade Drawings in Renaissance Architectural Theory," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 64 (2001): 223-233.

[77] Joseph Rykwert, "On the Oral Transmission of Architectural Theory," *Res* 3 (1982): 68-81.

[78] Carpo expands upon his ideas in *Architecture in the Age of Printing: Orality, Writing, Typography, and Printed Images in the History of Architectural Theory*, trans. Sarah Benson (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 23-41.

recorded in the written word.[79] In this section, I consider the role histories played in the

aggregation of the Tower of Babel's architectural knowledge.

For the early modern European artist and architect, the account of the Tower of Babel in

Genesis, believed to have been written by the prophet and Hebrew prince of Egypt, Moses, was

the first historical source. The first four verses of Genesis' eleventh chapter detail the event and

include the Hebrew god's reaction:

> (1) Now the whole earth had one language and one speech. (2) And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there. (3) Then they said to one another, "Come, let us make bricks and bake them thoroughly." They had brick for stone, and they had asphalt for mortar. (4) And they said, "Come, let us build ourselves a city, and a tower whose top *is* in the heavens; let us make a name for ourselves, lest we be scattered abroad the face of the whole earth.

> (5) But the Lord came down to see the city and the tower which the sons of men had built. (6) And the Lord said, "Indeed the people *are* one and they all have one language, and this is what they begin to do; now nothing that they propose to do will be withheld from them. (7) Come, let Us go down and there confuse their language, that they may not understand one another's speech." (8) So the Lord scattered them abroad from there over the face of all the earth, and they ceased building the city. (9) Therefore its name is called Babel, because there the Lord confused the language of all the earth; and from there the Lord scattered them abroad over the face of all the earth (Genesis 11:1-9).

What I want to focus on in this section is the specificity of a building location in West Asia in the

first four verses. In ancient Hebrew, "Shinar," or "Sinar," and its Greek "Senaar," referred to the

land of Sumer and Akkad, the region between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in what has long

been within or near borders of a province that many historical empires have called Iraq.[80] The

Jewish historian Josephus writes in his book on Jewish Antiquities that the tower of Babel was

built by the generations after Noah who settled in Shinar, and clarified the location for his reader:

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[79] Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 45.

[80] For the word Shinar, see Benjamin R. Foster and Karen Polinger Foster, *Civilizations of Ancient Iraq* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 5; and Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 297.

"the plain called Shinar in the region of Babylon."[81] When Netherlandish humanists turned to

ancient texts that described worlds beyond Greece and Rome, Josephus was the main primary

source because of his masterful mediation between eastern and western Mediterranean

antiquities.[82]

Babel's location, and thus Shinar's as well, were never a mystery, because it could be

read in the ancient texts of authors such as Josephus that Babylon was the ancient city of Babel:

"the place where they built the tower is now called Babylon from the confusion of that primitive

speech once intelligible to all, for the Hebrews call confusion 'Babel'."[83] The city named

"Babel," or "Confusion" in Hebrew, was a clever ancient literary analogy. The English

"Babylon" is rendered from the Greek pronunciation of the Akkadian variations *Bāb-ilu* and

Bab-ilani, which mean the "gate of god(s)."[84] For the ancient writers and editors of the book of

Genesis, the word Babel was loaded with more than one meaning: it carried forward the

Akkadian name of the city of Babylon, and it reminded Hebrew speakers of a word from their

language. The historian of theology Umberto Cassuto pointedly argues "its intention is to say

mockingly: How befitting for her is this name, which in our tongue is a designation signifying

confusion!"[85] Certainly, the word-association cleverly locates a tower from Genesis, built so high

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[81] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930), 1:52, 1:57 (1.4.1, 1.4.3).

[82] Theodor Dunkelgrün, "'Neerlands Israel': Political Theology, Christian Hebraism, Biblical Antiquarianism, and Historical Myth," in *Myth in History, History in Myth*, ed. Laura Cruz and Willem Frijhoff (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 215-216.

[83] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 1:57 (1.4.3).

[84] The city's Akkadian name is known from the *Enûma Eliš* tablet, translated and published in Wilfred G. Lambert, *Babylonian Creation Myths* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 104-105. Also see see by the same author "Babylon: Origins," in *Babylon. Wissenskultur in Orient und Okzident*, eds. Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, Margarete van Ess, and Joachim Marzahn (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 72.

[85] Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1964), 2:248. Likewise, William W. Hallo argues the name was intentionally changed to suit theological demands of biblical texts in "Babylon," in *The Oxford Guide to*

that it accessed the heavenly realm, within a city that is literally a gate to the heavens.[86] Even though Josephus makes no distinct connections to the Akkadian reference, and thus it was unknown in the sixteenth century, it was known that Babel in the bible referred to confusion, and to the city of Babylon, and the two names could be used interchangeably. For example, Vergil referred to "the tower, built by Nimrod and the children of Noah after the flood, in the city that we call Babylon."[87] In Augustine of Hippo's (354-430) *City of God*, the early Christian patriarch ensured that the etymology had come full circle: "the city named 'Confusion' was none other than Babylon, to whose marvellous construction pagan history also pays tribute. For Babylon means 'Confusion.'"[88]

Ancient historians and geographers, including Diodorus of Sicily (c. 90-c. 30 BCE) and Strabo (c. 64 BCE-c. 21 CE), referred to the land around Babylon as "Mesopotamia," a compound of the Greek words μέσος (mesos) "middle," and ποταμός (potamos), river, that form Μεσοποταμία.[89] Use of the word to define the region survived throughout medieval accounts of West Asia. Renaissance artists and architects, such as Leon Battista Alberti, continued to use the Latinised version of the Greek "Mesopotamia" when referencing Babylonian architectural

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People & Places of the Bible, eds. Bruce M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 28.

[86] Jonathan Grossman, "The Double Etymology of Babel in Genesis 11," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 129, no. 3 (2017): 364.

[87] "Turrim uero quæ præ altitudine uix oculis terminari poterat in eo loco quæ de inceps Babylon uocata est (ut idem testat[ur]) iuuentus post diluuium Noe rursum uim aqua[rum] formidans id suadente Nembroth primitus co[n]struxit," in Vergil, *De inuentoribus rerum libri tres*, folio i.vi.v (3.9).

[88] Augustine, *City of God*, trans. Eva M. Sanford and William M. Green (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 5:26-27 (16.4).

[89] Diodorus, *The Library of History*, trans. C.H. Oldfather (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933), 9:28-29 (18.6); Strabo, *Geography*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), 5:316-317 (11.14).

histories.[90] In 1477, Pope Pius II distinctly located Mesopotamia in his treatise on Asia. He noted

that while the Tigris and Euphrates rivers have their origin in the Armenian mountains, they flow

down toward the sea and, upon reaching a wide plane, have for millennia cradled the agrarian

societies that live between them: "Mesopotamia is thus named because it lies between the Tigris

and the Euphrates."[91] In an edition of Pius' treatise from 1544, Sebastiano Fausto included a

chapter on Mesopotamia intended to supplement the pope's writings which had, north of the

Alps, become the most influential text on the subject: "beyond Syria lies the grand and open

country of Mesopotamia: it alone is enclosed by the Euphrates and Tigris rivers; but even though

only this part is Mesopotamia, the name has been carried over to Assyria and Chaldea where the

lands of these rivers are bathed."[92] Considering how Fausto's addition expanded the geographic

area of Mesopotamia, it is less surprising to read that Pius, while trying to surround the Ottoman

Turks with allies on their eastern borders, invited the Sultan Uzun Hasan to Rome where he was

hailed as the "King of Mesopotamia."[93] Hasan controlled the Türkmen state of Ag Qoyunlu,

which at the time occupied parts of present-day Iran, Iraq, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Syria, and

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[90] Leon Battista Alberti, *De re œdificatoria* (Florence: Nicola Laurentii Alamani, 1485), folio ɔ.iii.r.

[91] "qu[æ] inter Tygrim est atq[ue] euphrate[m]; Mesopotamia dicta," in Pius II, *Historia rerum ubique gestarum cum locorum descriptione non finita asia minor incipit* (Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1477), folio d.7.r.

[92] "Giace oltra la Syria la Mesopotamia gra[nde] paese, & aperto : ne solo è chiusa da l'Euphrate, e da'l Tigri fiumi, benche questa parte sola è la Mesopotamia, ma traportato l'uso de'l nome in l'Assiria, & in la Caldea per li fiumi, da quali sono bagnate queste terre," in Pius II, *La discrittione de l'Asie, et Europa di papa Pio II e l'historia de le cose memorabili fatte in quelle, con l'aggionta de l'Africa, secondo diversi scrittori, con incredibile brevità e diligenza*, trans. and ed. Sebastiano Fausto da Longiano (Venice: Vincenzo Vaugris al segno d'Erasmo, 1544), folio 363v. Fausto's additions appear at the end, and his chapter on Mesopotamia is on folios 363v-366v. For the popularity of Pius's treatise in Germany, see Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe, vol. 2: A Century of Wonder* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), bk. 2:334.

[93] Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 224-225.

Turkey. In other words, there was no confusion that Mesopotamia refers to the larger region that encompasses the Tigris and Euphrates, and that Shinar and Babel were located within this area.

After establishing the location and setting of the Tower of the Babel, the passage in Genesis 11 indicates the aftermath of the building project. Van Scorel's painted edifice is nearly completed and will soon coincide with the past tense of the scripture: "the tower which the sons of men *had* built." The nude Nimrod on the lower left points with his right finger, not to the tower, but to an unseen presence outside of the upper right frame. The tower stands with its mighty peak in the clouds, which means that God did not have to descend far to see that it had invaded his heavenly realm. The unseen but indicated presence invites the viewer to complete the story: is God going to, as the scriptures suggest, come and put an end to the building of the tower? Or, could Nimrod point to a yet-unknown conclusion to the story? As noted, this figure has afforded a wide range of allegorical interpretations in literature and art.

The range of interpretations is prompted by the range of histories that diverge slightly in the way they convey to readers the events that transpired around the erection of the tower. Nimrod's appearance indicates that artists consulted texts other than Genesis. Aside from a few rare examples, such as Bruegel's Rotterdam panel where the ancient king is not present, it was standard to paint Nimrod among the figures in the foreground, either with an entourage or commanding the labouring people to build the tower. However, Nimrod is not mentioned in the Genesis account. Chapter ten of Genesis mentions a descendant of Noah, a king named Nimrod, who was a "mighty hunter before the lord" (Genesis 10:9). Nimrod, Noah's great-grandson, is reported to have founded many cities in Shinar, and the first of these was Babylon (Genesis 10:1-

12).[94] Even though the connection between Nimrod and the Tower of Babel is not made explicit

in the book of Genesis, other ancient writers, such as the Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria

(c. 15-10 BCE – 45-50 CE), had indicated that if the Nimrod of Genesis 10 was the historical

founder of Babylon, he was thus the king who oversaw the erection of the tower in Genesis 11.[95]

The connection was clear in the first century for Josephus, but the angle of his story offered a

new way to interpret the account from Genesis.[96] In Josephus' account, Nimrod built the tower

because he did not trust a god that had chosen to wipe out humanity with a flood, and sought to

provide a safe place for the people of Babel in the event that god would again inundate the earth:

> The people were eager to follow this advice of Nimrod, deeming it slavery to submit to
> God; so they set out to build the tower with indefatigable ardour and no slackening in the
> task; and it rose with a speed beyond all expectation, thanks to the multitude of hands. Its
> thickness, however, was so stout as to dwarf its apparent height. It was built of baked
> bricks cemented with bitumen to prevent them from being washed away.[97]

Even though Josephus' story diverges from the Genesis account, there was no doubt for early

Christian patriarchs that "Moses" and Josephus were writing about the same king and the same

tower. In the fifth century, Augustine concluded: "one may gather that Nimrod the mighty one

was the founder of the city."[98]

    That artists were aware of different interpretations of the Tower of Babel's physical

history is evident in their use of architectural iconography and building materials. Renaissance

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[94] K. van der Toorn and P.W. van der Horst, "Nimrod Before and After the Bible," *Harvard Theological Review* 83, no. 1 (1990): 1-4.

[95] Philo, *On the Cherubim. The Sacrifices of Abel and Cain. The Worse Attacks the Better. On the Posterity and Exile of Cain. On the Giants*, trans. F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), 478-479 (*On the Giants*, XV).

[96] Josephus' changes to the biblical tradition are analyzed in Sabrina Inowlocki, "Josephus' Rewriting of the Babel Narrative (Gen 11:1-9)," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period* 37, no. 2 (2006): 169-191.

[97] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 1:54-57 (1.4.2-1.4.3).

[98] Augustine, *City of God*, 5:26-27 (16.4).

standards for tower architecture required the width to be no greater than one quarter of its height for quadrangular towers, and one third its height for those circular.[99] Josephus reported that the Tower of Babel was built so wide that it appeared thick and stout. Artists clearly heeded the ancient description, which countered Renaissance aesthetics of architectural ascension. Josephus reported the tower's construction with baked bricks and bitumen, but one can see bricks as well as stone building materials depicted in van Scorel's and Bruegel's construction processes. Both include stoneworkers in the landscape quarrying and cutting fresh stone blocks. Neither the account in Genesis nor Josephus mentions construction with lithics, but Augustine added an oddly alchemical description of what happened in ancient Babylon: "bricks were made into stone."[100] Bruegel's panel thus illustrates multiple materialities: a monument sculpted from a mountain and completed with bricks and quarried stone. At this point, it should be clear that texts aside from Genesis provided artists with the "history" and architectural specifics of the Tower of Babel.

In addition to establishing Nimrod as the builder of the Tower of Babel and permitting artists to imagine a building made of bricks and stone blocks, Augustine also argued that the history described in Genesis served as an example for God's followers. Augustine drew attention to the fact that the passage from the book of Genesis that was often translated to read Nimrod was "before" God could also mean that Nimrod was 'against' God, which adjusts the passage's sentiment to reflect Nimrod's obstinate and haughty character.[101] "Since a ruler's power resides in his tongue," Augustine concluded, "it was in that member that he suffered the penalty for his

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[99] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 258 (8.5).

[100] Augustine, *City of God*, 5:24-25 (16.4).

[101] Kaminska, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, 25.

pride."[102] John Calvin, who interpreted the book of Genesis alongside Augustine in the sixteenth

century likewise interpreted this passage as Moses' attempt to paint a picture of Nimrod as a

tyrant: "the passage 'before the lord' seems to me to express how Nimrod tried to elevate himself

above all of mankind, quite in the way that prideful men, moved by vanity and self-confidence,

look down on others as if they are in the clouds."[103] The punishment extended to all of Nimrod's

subjects who were collectively building the Tower to prevent their death should God once again

decide to extinguish human society. The division of tongues was an unnatural punishment for

what Calvin identified as humanity's "impious conspiracy against God."[104] Although there seems

to be a causality—building the tower caused God to divide their tongues—the sin for

theologians, both Protestant and Catholic, was not the act of building a city or a tower.[105] The

sin, as Augustine and Calvin understood it, was that the people, led by Nimrod, worked together

as a unified body and aimed too high *solely* for the sake of sustaining themselves; by that I mean

protecting themselves from the future wrath of God and establish a central city from where they

would grow as a society and as a culture.[106] Their affront was their collective ambition: God

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[102] Augustine, *City of God*, 5:28-31 (16.4).

[103] "Particula *Cora[n] Domino*, exprimere mihi videtur quòd Nemrod eximere se conatus sit è numero hominum, quemadmodu[m] superbi homines ventosa confidential fese esserunt, vt reliquos omnes quasi ex nubibus despiciant," in John Calvin, *In Primvm Mosis Libru[m], qui Genesis vulgo dicitur, Commentarius Iohannis Caluini* (Geneva: Estienne, 1554), 77.

[104] "Ergo vitium hoc, quia cum natura pugnat, Moses accidentale esse docet, pœnámque diuinitus esse hominibus inflictam, vt dissipare[n]tur eorum linguæ, quia impiè in Deum conspiraueran[n]t," in Calvin, *In Primvm Mosis Libru[m]*, 80. Calvin is reciting Augustine: "Erigebat ergo cum suis populis turrem contra Deum, qua est impia significata superbia," or "Therefore he, with his subjects, erected a tower against the Lord, which is a symbol of his impious pride," in *City of God*, 5:28-29 (16.4).

[105] Kaminska, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, 24-25.

[106] "Therefore he, with his subjects, erected a tower against the Lord, which is a symbol of his impious pride. Moreover, an evil desire is deservedly punished even though it is not effectuated. What sort of penalty was actually meted out in this case?," in Augustine, *City of God*, 5:28-31 (16.4); Calvin relates similarly in *In Primvm Mosis Libru[m]*, 79-82.

feared their potential, feared *what they could do*, and forced them to disband from their collective cohesion.

Calvin's response to Augustine's opinions on the Tower of Babel makes it clear that there existed no single and straightforward interpretation of the account in Genesis. For example, Augustine had not been able to conclude from the ancient texts whether or not Nimrod and his subjects managed to complete the tower, but added that nevertheless, "an evil desire is deservedly punished even though it is not effectuated."[107] Even though Calvin, with the help of Augustine, aimed to isolate what the Babylonian allegory presented as a clear moral judgment, Martin Luther was less adamant, and concedes: "[Moses] does not indicate clearly wherein the sin of the builders of the tower consisted."[108] Luther does, however, concur with Augustine's concluding passage on the Tower of Babel, which claims that that the entire operation was an ineffable part of God's plan to scatter humans throughout the earth. Nimrod's hubris, the tower, and the people were all unknowingly enacting "the will of God, who accomplished this in hidden ways incomprehensible to us."[109] The polyvalence of Augustine's account continues to inflect art historical interpretations of Netherlandish variations of the Tower of Babel. Pointedly, Kaminska argues "[the Tower of Babel's] function as a stimulus for a unifying intellectual exchange reverses the biblical narrative on the disastrous effects of the lack of communication."[110] With Augustine's permission, there was no telling for Calvin or Luther which interpretation was purely correct.

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[107] Augustine, *City of God*, 5:28-29 (16.4).

[108] Martin Luther, sermon quoted in Kaminska, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, 25.

[109] Augustine, *City of God*, 5:30-31 (16.4).

[110] Barbara A. Kaminska, "'Come, let us make a city and a tower': Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Tower of Babel* and the Creation of a Harmonious Community in Antwerp," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 6, no.2 (2014): 15.

For early modern artists, Augustine's writings on Babylon were sources of two strands of interpretation. The first strand, as I noted in the literature review, is the idea of a virtual city. Michael Seymour argues that we look to Augustine as the initiator of understanding Jerusalem and Babylon as two antithetical "virtual cities." In this approach, urban spaces are dislocated from their geographic locations and not accessed physically, but imaginatively—through meditation, contemplation, prayer, and visual aids.[111] In the same way that medieval theologians and artists converted Jerusalem into an idea, as a "heavenly" Jerusalem freed from human temporality on earth, so too did they convert Babylon into an imaginary city. This approach to Augustinian reception has resulted in the interpretation of Babylon in medieval and early modern art as a realm of allegory and myth.[112] However, Augustine also described Babylon as an actual place on earth. Augustine's inclusion of building materials in the history of the tower's construction clearly conveys this material history, and in the passage cited above, where he equates Babel/Confusion with Babylon, the patriarch also stated something very un-ideal: "[Babylon], to whose marvellous construction pagan history also pays tribute." Babel, the city of Babylon, was a real place with an architectural history and a monumental tower.

While much has been written about the idea of Babel in art history, there is still no real case for early modern architectural histories of the tower. For Seymour, the idea of Babylon began to be inflected with actual archaeological knowledge around 1616, when Pietro Della Valle (1586-1652) journeyed across Asia and rediscovered the site of ancient Babylon.[113] While Della Valle's travels make for an appropriate start to a modern history, I wonder if this kind of

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[111] Seymour, *Babylon*, 103-104.

[112] See Andrew Scheil, *Babylon Under Western Eyes: A Study of Allusion and Myth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

[113] Seymour, *Babylon*, 94-101.

historicisation is too decisive in that it is based on scientific approaches of empirical observation. As Peter Fane-Saunders has compellingly shown in his work, Renaissance artists often designed buildings in imaginative ways based on ancient descriptions, and while some of them could be rebuilt from ruins and fragments, all of them were also based on the imagined "idea," since the buildings had long been destroyed and their arch forms were mainly knowable from histories.[114] I suggest we begin to accommodate a similar kind of approach to the Tower of Babel. In the range of historical sources thus far covered, *every* interpretation began with the worldview that placed the Tower of Babel as an actual monument with a prominent place in architectural history.[115]

Many of the pagan historians Augustine referred to included specific details in their passages on the Tower of Babel. In the second-century BCE *Book of Jubilees*, an anonymous Jewish priest includes the monument's measurements in his account: "forty and three years were they building it; its breadth was 203 bricks, and the height (of a brick) was the third of one; its height amounted to 5433 cubits and 2 palms, and (the extent of one wall was) thirteen stades (and of the other thirty stades)."[116] Specific descriptions of the Tower of Babel placed it within a history of objects and things, of a building manufactured—made by human hands—with a range of tools and materials. Writing a few centuries before the author of the *Book of Jubilees*, the Greco-Anatolian historian Herodotus (c. 484-430-420 BCE) did not describe the Tower of Babel as per the Jewish tradition, but he describes a temple-tower that stood in the heart of Persia. In

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[114] Peter Fane-Saunders, *Pliny the Elder and the Emergence of Renaissance Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[115] Christoph Uehlinger has made a similar point in *Weltreich und "eine Rede": Eine neue Deutung der soganannten Turmbauerzählung (Gen 11, 1-9)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 514-558.

[116] R.H. Charles, ed. and trans., *The Book of Jubilees or The Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), 82-83 (10.21).

539 BCE, the Persian empire had claimed Babylon, a city that Herodotus argued "was planned like no other city we know of."[117] Of the temple's description, Herodotus provides a few key details:

> A square of two furlongs each way, with gates of bronze. In the centre of this enclosure a solid tower has been built, of one furlong's length and breadth; a second tower rises from this, and from it yet another, till at last there are eight. The way up to them mounts spirally outside all the towers; about halfway in the ascent is a halting place, with seats for repose, where those who ascend sit down and rest.[118]

Herodotus provided a basic format, transmitted in text, of the colossal Babylonian monument.

Herodotus' ancient history became one of the descriptions of Babylon that provided Renaissance artists such as van Scorel and his pupil and colleague, Maarten van Heemskerck, with an ekphrastic archive of architectural iconography. In an engraving from 1572, the Antwerp printmaker Philips Galle published van Heemskerck's design of the city of Babylon (fig. 2.13). The city is depicted behind the warrior queen, and divided by the mighty Euphrates river. According to Herodotus, the Assyrian queen had built the dikes on the Euphrates' floodplain to protect Mesopotamian cities from the river's floods. It was Babylonian technical mastery of aqueous engineering that especially fascinated Renaissance architects. In *De re œdificatoria*, Alberti had retold the stories of the ancient queen who had built multiple walls to protect the city from invasion, commanded the rivers into reservoirs and aqueducts, and enclosed two centres of the city on either side of the Euphrates.[119] In the print, the walled tower on the left of the Euphrates is the precinct that Herodotus described as a temple to Zeus, whom the ancient historian believed was the Babylonian god Ba'al's analogue. Since Herodotus was not describing

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[117] Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, trans. A.D. Godley (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), 1:220-225 (1.176-1.180)

[118] Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, 1:224-227 (1.181).

[119] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 38 (2.3), 192 (7.2)

the "Tower of Babel" as it was known in the Jewish tradition, Jan de Hond argues that van

Heemskerck's design for Semiramis' Babylon was less about the tower, and more about the artist

showcasing his masterful virtuosity in converting ancient histories of Babylon's architecture into

visual depictions.[120] It is most telling that Herodotus never mentioned a massive helicoidal

monument, in the way that van Heemskerck imagined it, but rather the ancient historian

specifically stated that there was square upon a square, and a ramp that spiralled around. Alberti,

commenting on the city's urban iconography, concluded "the walls of Babylon were

quadrangular."[121] But Alberti had also recommended Renaissance architects design towers

"either quadrangular or circular in plan," and that "any tower …wholly pleasing in appearance

must have a round story sitting on top of a quadrangular one, followed by a quadrangular on top

of a round."[122] In archaeological imagination, when ancient architecture is received at a given

time, historical erudition meets theoretical and aesthetic parameters.

To build Semiramis' world within sixteenth-century aesthetic parameters, Van

Heemskerck consulted historical accounts beyond Herodotus'.[123] This is most evident in the

print's inscription BABYLONIS MVRI, or "the Walls of Babylon," which locates the grandeur of

Babylon's protective encasements, and not its tower, as one of *The Eight Wonders of the Ancient

World*.[124] Van Heemskerck's selection of the walls as one of the ancient wonders is the result of

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[120] Jan de Hond, "Nineveh in de Westerse Kunst," in *Nineveh. Hoofdstad van een Wereldrijk*, eds. Lucas Petit and Daniele Morandi Bonacossi (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2017), 36-37.

[121] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 102-103 (4.4).

[122] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 258 (8.5).

[123] See Horst Bredekamp, "Babylon as Inspiration: Semiramis' Encyclopedia of Pictures," *Pegasus* 10 (2008): 85-102. Van Heemskerck's design for the print is evidenced in a drawing in the Louvre, which was likely intended to be flipped for the printed image.

[124] To the seven wonders of the ancient world—which were the Great Pyramid of Giza, the Walls of Babylon, the sculptor Phidias' seated statue of Zeus in the deity's temple at Olympia, the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus, the Mausoleum of Halicarnuss, the Colossus of Rhodes, and the Pharos (lighthouse) of Alexandria—van Heemskerck and Galle inserted Rome's Colosseum and established eight ancient

closely analyzing Diodorus, who was more extensive than Herodotus in his histories of Babylon. Diodorus writes of Semiramis as not just one of the city's builders, but as an Assyrian queen who descended south along the Euphrates and founded Babylon downstream from Assyria:

> After securing the architects of all the worlds and skilled artisans, she gathered together from her entire kingdom two million men to complete the work. Taking the Euphrates river into the centre she threw about the city a wall with great towers set at frequent intervals, the wall being three hundred and sixty stades [about sixty-five kilometres] in circumference.[125]

Van Heemskerck includes the thick walls that Semiramis built to wrap around her city far off in the background, complete with watchtowers that project upward in defensive intervals. The temple to Ba'al echoes the towers in the walls, but is much larger and more monumental than them. A spiral tower rises above a quadrangular one supported by a larger square base. The print is thus a merger of Herodotus' description of the tower with Diodorus' account of the city's walls.

A few years earlier in a print series from 1569, *Disasters of the Jewish People*, van Heemskerck stuck close to Herodotus' text to design the Tower of Babel. In one print, Nimrod is overseeing the construction of the tower, a massive rectangular structure, with switchback ramps that spiral around and lead into the clouds where the top of the edifice is no longer visible (fig. 2.14). As Liverani has pointed out, van Heemskerck's adherence to Herodotus' text produced a tower that uncannily resembles actual ziggurat architecture from ancient Mesopotamia.[126]

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wonders for early modern antiquarians. See Inmaculada Rodríguez-Moya and Víctor Mínguez, *The Seven Ancient Wonders in the Early Modern World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017); and Adam Sammut, "Maarten van Heemskerck's *Eight Wonders of the Ancient World*: Contesting the Image in an Age of Iconoclasm," *Dutch Crossing* 46, no. 1 (2022): 27-49.

[125] Diodorus, *The Library of History*, 370-371 (2.7).

[126] Mario Liverani, *Imagining Babylon: The Modern Story of an Ancient City*, trans. Ailsa Campbell. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 16.

One might also consider that van Heemskerck's architecture harkens back to the general

format of a pyramid, which alludes to the possibility of a mode of reception of the writings in the

Qur'an—the central religious texts of Islam written in the seventh century.[127] The Qur'an's

reception was especially amplified in intellectual, humanistic, antiquarian, and artistic circles

after the first Latin and Italian translations in 1543 and 1547.[128] Although Nimrod, and the

Tower of Babel, are not explicitly named in the Qur'an, there are similar stories. When Moses

warns Pharaoh that the god of the Israelites will smite Egypt, the deified king replies to his court

"build me a tall tower so that I may reach the ropes that lead to the heavens to look for this God

of Moses. I am convinced that he is lying" (40:36-37).[129] The Qur'an concluded: "Pharaoh's

scheming led only to ruin" (40:37). Elsewhere, another passage reads: "Those who went before

them also schemed, but God attacked the very foundations of what they built. The roof fell down

on them: punishment came on them from unimagined directions" (16.26).[130] In another of van

Heemskerck's prints of the Tower of Babel from the same series, a helicoidal rooftop structure

that was too high and out of view in the first print comes crashing down (fig. 2.15). For early

ninth century Islamic writers such as Ishāq ibn Bishr (d. 821), this passage of architectural

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[127] Cándida Ferrero Hernández points out that after 1143, when Robert of Ketton translated the first Latin edition of Qur'an in 1143, the Islamic texts underwent an "intense circulation of manuscripts, readings, annotations, interpretations and polemical writings" through and into sixteenth-century Europe, in "Introduction," in *The Latin Qur'an, 1143-1500: Translation, Transition, Interpretation* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 7-8.

[128] Theodor Bibliander (1509-1564) published the first printed version of the Qur'an in its Latin translation in 1543, and Andrea Arrivabene published the first Italian printed edition in 1547. Theodor Bibliander, trans. and ed., Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran (Basel: Ioannes Oporinus, 1543); and Andrea Arrivabene, trans. and ed., L'Alcorano di Macometto (Venice: Andrea Arrivabene, 1547). See especially the first and final three chapters of Pier Mattia Tommasino, *The Venetian Qur'an: A Renaissance Companion to Islam*, trans. Sylvia Notini (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 3-23; 159-199.

[129] *The Qur'an*, trans. M.A.S. Abdel Haleem (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 303.

[130] *The Qur'an*, 167.

destruction was a clear reference to Nimrod's tower that was detailed in Jewish histories.[131] It is uncertain exactly when the story of the Egyptian Pharaoh was considered part of the story of the Tower of Babel, but it seems to have already been long-standing common knowledge in the seventeenth century when the Roman scholar Ludovico Marraci (1612-1700) noted in his annotations to a new translation of the Qur'an: "Mohammed confused the sacred stories."[132] Regarding the story of the Egyptian Pharaoh, Marraci claims no such account of a tower exists, and thus "without a doubt [Mohammed] appropriated it from the erection of the Tower of Babel."[133]

To build these imaginary worlds required van Heemskerck to replicate styles, fragments, and iconographies of architecture that he knew. We see this in the *Disaster* series in the way he modelled the ramps and their ascension after Bramante's designs for the Vatican Belvedere staircases. In Semiramis' Babylon, van Heemskerck modelled the tower of the temple of Ba'al after the fifteenth-century Gothic style of the Saint Bavo church in Haarlem.[134] To design Babylon's hanging gardens, he refigured what remained of a third-century building in Rome known as the Septizonium "because," as the architect Giuliano da Sangallo claimed, "it had seven levels of columns, one above the other."[135] While exegetical pictures are artistic

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[131] See Shari L. Lowin, "Narratives of Villainy: Titus, Nebuchadnezzar, and Nimrod in the *ḥadīth* and *midrash aggadah*," in *The Lineaments of Islam: Studies in Honor of Fred McGraw Donner*, ed. Paul Cobb (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 263.

[132] "Confundit Mahumetus Sacras historias," in Ludovico Marraci, *Refutatio Alcorani* (Padua: Seminarium, 1698), 526. See Adam Silverstein, "The Qur'ānic Pharaoh," in *New Perspectives on the Qur'ān: The Qur'ān in its historical context 2*, ed. Gabriel Said Reynolds (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 469; and S.M. Syed, "Historicity of Haman as mentioned in the Quran," *Islamic Quarterly* 24 (1980): 51.

[133] "quod commentum haud dubium est, quin ex Babelicæ turris ædificatione desumpierit," in Marraci, *Refutatio Alcorani*, 526.

[134] Adam Sammut makes this observation in "Maarten van Heemskerck's *Eight Wonders of the Ancient World*, 42.

[135] Barb.lat.4424, fol 30r (32r). See Cammy Brothers, *Giuliano da Sangallo and the Ruins of Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2022), 52. For van Heemskerck's drawings of the

illustrations of a text, they are also compositions built from selected models. In what follows, I

examine the role of artefacts—material things—in the processes of archaeological imagination.

Building Worlds from Artefacts

When Haraway writes "it matters what matters we use to think other matters with," she extends

the logic of how stories build worlds to include the physical remains that also contribute to the

process.[136] In addition to textual descriptions, sixteenth-century Netherlandish artists also

imagined the tower of Babel by studying and replicating actual buildings and ruins. As noted, the

Colosseum in Rome is most often proposed as the architectural prototype from which artists built

their Towers of Babel. But many other buildings were considered in the story of the tower's

reception. Unlike histories that can instruct us how to interpret a past, the materials that evidence

connectivity, imitation, and replication, waver in their range of qualitative determinism. While

histories provided legible descriptions of the Tower of Babel, ancient architecture provided the

formal style of imagined buildings. It is the synthesis of histories and artefacts that affords an

artist the ability to exercise imagination that is, by definition, archaeological.

While history refers to way we understand the written past, archaeology—*antiquitates* in

Latin, which has developed into the English term "antiquarianism"—refers to an aggregation of

media that convey to a recipient the contents of a past.[137] This includes oral histories, legends,

origin myths, and, most importantly for the development of modern disciplines such as art

history and archaeology, material artefacts. An "artefact" is any medium manipulated by a

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Septizonium, see Difuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, cat. nos. 10, 13, 23, 24, 25, within pages 309-337.

[136] Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*, 12.

[137] Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 45.

human.[138] While not every artefact can fit into some of the historical definitions of art, every work of art is an artefact. An artefact is also not limited by scale. A hand-axe, clay vessel, sculpture, painting, and entire building or fragments of it, are all artefacts. This definition locates the objects that we study in art history and archaeology within an anthropocentric approach to the world that distinguishes manufacture from naturally occurring phenomena.[139] While histories and archaeologies can seem comparable in most periodic studies, we are reminded of their difference when we look to events that precede what we call the "historical record," the concurrent existence of an artefact and legible written texts. While we can refer to periods that precede legible texts as "prehistory," there is no term that indicates "pre-artefact" in the deep time of the anthropological record.[140] We rarely have the need to make the distinction between artefact and history in early modern art history, where an abundance of legible texts were produced at the same time as artefacts. But I want to show how the material record is distinct from the historical, even though I acknowledge the impossibility of completely separating the two in the sixteenth century. By attempting to parse them out, we begin to approach an understanding of how artists assembled and composed histories and artefacts.

Sixteenth-century artists and architects worked within a compositional enterprise established by Alberti, who favoured modes of invention modelled after ancient examples. Around 1435, Alberti completed *De pictura*, a treatise that synthesised artistic practice at the time and instructed painters on how to convert the architectural tectonics of space onto flat

[138] Linda M. Hurcombe assumes this definition as one that is ubiquitous in dictionaries and in archaeology in *Archaeological Artefacts as Material Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 3-5.

[139] See Jules David Prown, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 71.

[140] For an in-depth discussion of the terms, see the chapters "Antiquarianism without Texts" and "The Beginnings of Prehistoric Archaeology" in Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 80-120, 121-165.

surfaces.[141] The desired effect, when looking at a painting resembles looking out of a window and into another world, is what Alberti called a picture. A decade and a half later, when Alberti completed his architectural treatise *De re aedificatoria*, he emancipated the Tower of Babel as a building model that had previously been bound to a reception centred on hubris and punishment. Citing Herodotus directly, Alberti restated the measurements of the Babylonian tower and pointed out the monument's eight layered stories that were connected by a spiral ramp. He refrained from referencing biblical and Christian texts that commented on Nimrod, pride, and Babylon's fate. Instead, he radically argued: "I would approve of this type of construction for watchtowers: the vertical stacking of stories contributes both grace and strength; their intersecting vaults ensure that the wall is bound together perfectly."[142] Freed from an implied meaning, the Tower of Babel, then, was offered a rebirth and a fresh start in Renaissance architecture. While Netherlandish artists contemporary to Alberti, such as Jan van Eyck, were not building towers of Babel in the actual world, they were building them in painted pictures; in painted worlds.

The visual worlds in which artists built their towers were also subjected to ideas stemming from Renaissance art theory. In the strict formality of Alberti's art theory, a human figure positioned within the frame, and thus at the front of the open window, should proportionately be about half the size of the painting's height.[143] The dimensions of the painting's surface could vary, but the human figure set the picture's scale, and the figures in the foreground determined the mathematical sizing of smaller figures that were located further in the

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[141] Alberti's painterly geometrics are laid out in Book 1 of *On Painting*, 37-59.

[142] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 257-258.

[143] Alberti, *On Painting*, 54-58.

distance of the painted background. This perspectival effect created windows into other worlds where a "painter can represent with his hand what he has understood with his mind."[144] Contrary to Alberti's formal instructions, a few Netherlandish painters in the first three decades of the sixteenth century, such as Joachim Patinir, Herri met de Bles, and van Scorel, began playing with the rules and modified the perspective of their painted pictures to elevate their point of view and lead a viewer into vast landscapes with expansive vistas.[145] These rebel artists neglected to include a key human figure who set the pictorial scale; opting instead to reduce the figures to the point that many appear as if they are tiny insects. But in line with Alberti, who encouraged artists to think of their painted surfaces as open windows, painters such as van Scorel pulled their horizon lines up toward the top of the picture frame, and tilted the perspective to shoot the vanishing point, and the viewer, far off into an infinite beyond.[146] It was as if artists were trying to capture the entire world in a single picture, and this is the reason why the style has received its modern name, the "world landscape," or "world picture."[147] Babel paintings make for curious world pictures, because the scale of their colossal central figure always blocks a large portion of the panoramic landscape. In the words of Joseph Koerner, "size matters."[148] But within these Babylonian world pictures, artists filled the landscapes with an abundant bricolage of technologies, infrastructure, and the labours of industry; most of which is reflective of the worlds

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[144] Alberti, *On Painting*, 59.

[145] For a survey of the world landscape, see Walter S. Gibson, *Mirror of the Earth: The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989).

[146] Molly Faries and Martha Wolff, "Landscape in the Early Paintings of Jan van Scorel," *The Burlington Magazine* 138, no. 1124 (1996), 724-733.

[147] Eberhard Freiherr von Bodenhausen coined the term "world landscape" or *weltlandschaft*, in *Gerard David und seine Schule* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1905), 209; Koerner refers to it as a "world picture" in *Bosch & Bruegel*, 274-280.

[148] Koerner, *Bosch & Bruegel*, 268.

of the artists, and not of ancient Babylon.[149] The reason for this is simple: few artists knew what

Mesopotamia really looked like.

In Renaissance European art theory, the invention of new architecture—actual or

painted—could only emerge from the imitation and imaginative recomposition of ancient

architecture.[150] Alberti was clear in his treatises on painting, architecture, and sculpture that

artists and architects needed to learn from nature.[151] By "nature," he refers to physical things that

exist in the world, which includes works by other artists, and material antiquities.[152] He believed

the best human figures in paintings, for example, were modelled after ancient statues.[153] Indeed,

artistic training was based on imitating ancient architecture and sculpture. This means that in

order to imagine what a building such as the Tower of Babel looked like, artists first turned to

actual material fragments that they could study and reuse in their archaeological imagination.

For many European artists, Rome's antiquities were both renowned and the most

accessible, which explains why they served as the fragments with which they imagined and built

ancient worlds. Thus, pictures of Mesopotamia's buildings appear "Roman." Bruegel's panels

are said to be among the most convincing examples of an artist's replication of the Colosseum.[154]

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[149] See H. Arthur Klein, "Pieter Bruegel the Elder as a Guide to 16th-Century Technology," *Scientific American* 238, no. 3 (1978): 134-140.

[150] See Alina A. Payne, "Creativity and *Bricolage* in Architectural Literature of the Renaissance," *Res* 34 (1998), 20-38; and Martin Kemp, "From Mimesis to Fantasia: The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator* 8 (1977): 347-398.

[151] Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), 1-22.

[152] Alberti, *On Painting*, 89-94. Also see Steven Stowell, "Artistic Devotion: Imitations of Art and Nature in Italian Renaissance Writings on Art," in *'Inganno'—The Art of Deception*, eds. Sharon Gregory and Sally Anne Hickson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 26-27.

[153] For the relationship between painting and sculpture, see Alberti, *On Painting*, 81-83.

[154] The connection between Bruegel's *Tower of Babel* and the Colosseum is ubiquitous in the literature, but Katrien Lichtert has mapped out his journey and placed his knowledge of Rome's monuments in context in "New Perspectives on Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Journey to Italy (c. 1552-1554/1555)," *Oud Holland* 128, no. 1 (2015): 47. While discussing both Bruegel and van Scorel, Royalton-Kisch believes

In the Vienna panel, layer upon layer of arched bays with pier supports imitate the Colosseum's

tectonic structure, and the ruddy mud bricks that are encased by beige travertine echo the

materials that fabricate the amphitheatre. Michael Waters argues that when Renaissance

architects used the Colosseum's blocks of stone to build new architecture, they were

resubstantiating—remaking and accessing anew, through material contact—the ancient Roman

empire.[155] This logic of resubstantiation extends to painted examples, where the Colosseum's

formal iconography and depictions of its stones as building blocks have converted Netherlandish

towers of Babel into the Roman amphitheatre.

Bruegel's towers in particular so closely echo the architectural format of the Colosseum,

that the panels have invited debates as to their symbolic meanings based on what the

amphitheatre might have meant to an early modern audience.[156] By the Renaissance, myths had

emerged that the Colosseum had hosted Christian executions as spectacles for a bloodthirsty

pagan crowd.[157] Along with the Christian invention of this story, the building became an

architectural relic, and after standing for nearly 1500 years, the Colosseum was in a state of

extreme ruin. In the centuries after the decline of Rome as the centre of the Roman empire, an

earthquake caused a massive collapse on its south side and Rome's inhabitants reused the

amphitheatre's rubble as building blocks for their new buildings.[158] In this state, the Colosseum

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"the Colosseum in Rome was a source of inspiration for both artists," in "Pieter Bruegel as a Draftsman," 39 n. 114.

[155] Michael J. Waters, "Reviving Antiquity with Granite: Spolia and the Development of Roman Renaissance Architecture," *Architectural History*, 59 (2016): 150-156.

[156] Carroll, *Painting and Politics in Northern Europe*, 77, 83-87; Koerner, *Bosch & Bruegel*, 303.

[157] Keith Hopkins and Mary Beard, *The Colosseum* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 103-106.

[158] David Karmon, *The Ruin of the Eternal City: Antiquity & Preservation in Renaissance Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 117-144.

was apprehended in the sixteenth century as a monumental material memory of a glorious empire

that had collapsed into ruin. To add to its demise, the amphitheatre's grounds were haunted by

reports of many strange and inexplicable events that occurred there, including the Florentine

sculptor Benvenuto Cellini's (1500-1571) account of his friendship with a Sicilian priest, who

brought him to the "Culosseum" and conjured a troop of demons.[159] In the sixteenth century, the

obscure Colosseum, full of dark caverns and hiding places, was distrusted as a dangerous place

and rumoured to be where demons and sodomites lurked.[160] Thus, it is quite possible that when

Netherlandish artists construct their painted towers of Babel as the Colosseum, they intended to

bring in to their paintings some of the Roman architecture's baggage; the cursed and ruinous

meanings that had doomed the architecture to a fate similar to that of Sodom and Gomorrah. This

fares well with scholarly interpretations that Bruegel's incorporation of the Colosseum's

architectural iconography in Bruegel's *Tower of Babel* to signify the city that Augustine had

claimed, twice, was Babylon's successor and analogue: Rome.[161]

  The main problem that arises if we rely on interpreting the Tower of Babel as *only* the

Colosseum's analogue in Netherlandish art is that several artists selected other models of Roman

architecture when they composed their architecture. Van Scorel's and van Heemskerck's designs

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[159] Benvenuto Cellini, *My Life*, trans. Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 109-110 (1.64). Also see Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, trans. Barbara F. Sessions (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1953), 61-62.

[160] See Nathan T. Elkins, *A Monument to Dynasty and Death: The Story of Rome's Colosseum and the Emperors Who Built It* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019), 82; and Lila Yawn, "*Culiseo*: The Roman Colosseum in Early Modern Jest," *California Italian Studies* 6, no. 1 (2016): 1-18.

[161] "Rome itself is like a second Babylon," and further on, "the city of Rome was founded as the second Babylon and as the daughter of the former Babylon, through whose agency it pleased God to conquer the whole world and impose peace over its whole length and breadth, uniting it in the single society of the Roman commonwealth and its laws," in Augustine, *City of God*, 5:370-371 (28.2), and 5:438-439 (28.22). Examples of scholars who have made use of this interpretation include Mansbach, "Pieter Bruegel's Towers of Babel," 45; and Jonckheere, "An allegory of artistic choice in times of trouble," 198.

do not resemble the Colosseum at all, and neither does another mid sixteenth-century painting of the tower believed to be linked somehow to van Heemskerck's circle (fig. 2.16). The switchback staircase on the middle right of the tower is the same design, emulated after Bramante, that van Heemskerck employed for the ramp in his later prints. While painterly resubstantiation of the Colosseum and its range of nefarious meanings to an early modern artistic repertoire has provided ample ground for analysis, the Roman architecture has overdetermined art historical interpretations of Netherlandish depictions of the Tower of Babel.

Some towers, then, maintain the helicoidal architectural format, but appear to emulate other round structures. Victor Plahte Tschudi and DiFuria have proposed that van Scorel and van Heemskerck consulted Rome's ancient monumental mausolea in some of their imaginative architectural designs.[162] Like van Scorel who was in Rome as Pope Adrian VI's keeper of the Vatican antiquities between 1522 to 1523, Van Heemskerck was in Rome between 1532 and 1536/37, and he made drawings and prints after the format of the massive helicoidal tombs of the emperors Augustus and Hadrian.[163] Hadrian's tomb, built around 135-139 CE had already in the fifth century been converted into a fortress, a medieval castle. Later referred to as the Castel Sant' Angelo, Hadrian's mausoleum continues to stand as one of Rome's most colossal round architectural features, and it has certainly determined a range of imaginative reconstructions (fig. 2.20).[164] But other than its form—a gargantuan circular building with a few successive layers—

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[162] Victor Plahte Tschudi, "The Rhetoric of Roman Monuments: Observations on an engraving by Maerten van Heemskerck," *Nordlit* 6 (1999): 133-149; DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 220.

[163] Ilja M. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the sixteenth century* (Maarssen: Gary Schwartz, 1977), 12, 32; DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 83-84, and cat. 7, 304, and cat. 59, 394-395; For both mausolea's context and reception, see Penelope J.E. Davies, *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 13-48.

[164] Especially see the chapters "Death and Power: The Burial Places of Rulers," in David Rollason, *The Power of Place: Rulers and Their Palaces, Landscapes, Cities, and Holy Places* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton

the castle's connection to Hadrian offered early modern artists nothing in the way of a Babel metaphor.[165] Augustus's tomb, however, offered more than just form. While the first emperor's mausoleum was mostly destroyed by the Renaissance, and had become a green space full of plants and trees, artists knew based on ancient written descriptions that it had been a round monument with multiple layers, and imagined it this way in their drawn, painted, and printed designs (fig. 2.21).[166] Augustus' mausoleum was an exciting archaeological entity for early modern imagination, as it had been buried until 1519 when architects began excavating.[167] As with the Colosseum, there is no single correct response to how the architectural iconography of imperial tombs should be interpreted in Babel pictures. While it is clear that Netherlandish artists designed their Mesopotamian towers with Roman monumental architecture as a source of the imaginative composition, it is unclear if any single Roman monument was the emulated prototype, and if or how exactly the artist intended to pull the prototype's meaning into a new composition.

I think that it is more befitting of the represented subject, as the confusion of overlapping tongues, that pictures of the Tower of Babel would have been conceived with multiple

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University Press, 2016), 344-386; and "Hadrian's Mausoleum and the *Pons Aelius*" in Mary Taliaferro Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 161-180. Also note Thorsten Opper, *Hadrian: Empire & Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 208-216; and Tschudi, "The Rhetoric of Roman Monuments," 137.

[165] Weiner claims that replicating the mausolea in Rome as architectural iconography for painted towers of Babel may have reflected an artist's intention to compare the ancient Roman empire to the modern Papal throne, in "The Tower of Babel in Netherlandish Painting," 80.

[166] Among the most influential of studies on the Renaissance reception of the Mausoleum of Augustus is Anna Maria Riccomini, *La ruina di sì bela cosa: Vicende e trasformazioni del mausoleo di Augusto* (Milan: Electa, 1996). A compelling take on the adaptability of the mausolea in Renaissance art is present in Denis Ribouillault, *Rome en ses jardins. Paysage et pouvoir au XVIe siècle* (Chartres: CTHS-INHA, 2013), 50-56, 73-81. Also see Jane Clark Reeder, "Typology and Ideology in the Mausoleum of Augustus: Tumulus and Tholos," *Classical Antiquity* 11, no. 2 (1992): 265-307.

[167] Rodolfo Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome: A Companion Book for Students and Travelers* (Boston & New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1897), 462.

overlapping and even contradictory meanings and intended modes of reception. Porras has drawn

attention to the compelling observation that some cities built on rocky mounds uncannily

resemble Netherlandish designs of the tower, which further adds to the repertory of consulted

motifs and possible meanings.[168] What we can say, for certain, is that artistic theory at the time

encouraged compositional practices that assembled multiple examples—or *varietà*—in an artist

or architect's imagination; a process that David Young Kim argues was amplified through

artistic travel.[169] Alberti admonished the practice of assembly, encouraging invention through

emulating the best examples of multiple prototypes to produce the most beautiful—well

arranged—works of art.[170] Similarly, Leonardo da Vinci's *comporre*—another mode of

composition, required that an artist pull from the known, the natural world, to produce *fantasie*—

imaginative compositions.[171] Shrewd and erudite selection of prototypes recomposed

iconographies into new assembled meanings and interpretations. Of course, "extracted" motifs—

copied and transferred iconographic forms from one composition into another—do carry with

them some baggage from their original context and reception.[172] This accounts for an artist's

intentions in selecting a motif for replication which should, Alberti admonished, reflect studious

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[168] Porras, *Pieter Bruegel's Historical Imagination*, 71.

[169] See especially the chapter "*Varietà* and the Middle Way," in "Part II. The Path and Limits of *Varietà*," in David Young Kim, *The Traveling Artist in the Italian Renaissance: Geography, Mobility, Style* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 125-160, and 125-242.

[170] See Svetlana Alpers's breakdown of Renaissance modes of replication and emulation in *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 69-77.

[171] Leonardo da Vinci, *Trattato della pittura*, ed. Rafaelle du Fresne (Paris/Naples: Giacamo Langlois/Francesco Ricciardo, 1651), 3, 20-23. For a recent compilation of this publication alongside critical essays, see Claire Farago, Janice Bell, and Carlo Vecce, *The Fabrication of Leonardo da Vinci's* Trattato della pittura, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

[172] Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise*, 75-76.

and learned decisions. [173] The ancient architect Vitruvius had likewise opened his treatise with architecture by expressing that above all, an architect must be well-learned, so that they know full well how each part of their building engages with its past, present, and future.[174] To copy a motif or figure was to bring some part of that motif or figure into the new composition and refine an architectural programme, or rhetoric of the building.[175] Since in their many pictures of Babel, Netherlandish artists pulled multiple buildings into their formal designs, I want to steer my question away from asking what specific building's iconographies mean, to ask instead: how did assemblages of ancient ruins afford Netherlandish painters the ability to imagine a West Asian monument?

A case in point is the example of the circular "fire temple" on the lower left of van Heemskerck's *Tower of Babel* (figs. 2.17, 2.18, & 2.19). A throng of worshippers crowds around the building, which is rather large in comparison to the scale of human figures, but miniscule in the vicinity of the massive tower behind it. At the center of the rotunda, a flame licks the sky from an oculus in the second tier of the domed roof. Van Scorel designed a similar circular structure in his *Tower of Babel* drawing, albeit without a crowd, and the same kind of architecture is present in foregrounded landscape of the anonymous panel in Brighton. Van Scorel's bulbous dome is more pronounced than van Heemskerck's, but fine lines contour whisps of smoke that escape from the oculus at the dome's center. The fire temple in van Scorel's drawing appears to be nearly replicated in the Brighton painting, and adjusted roughly

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[173] Alberti especially emphasises the need for artists to have broad knowledge in their compositional selections in Book III of *On Painting*, 87-96.

[174] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Ingrid D. Rowland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 21-24 (1.1)

[175] See Robert Tavernor, *On Alberti and the Art of Building* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 46-48; and Caroline van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 31-54.

forty-five degrees to the left, to be seen on its side. The bright red flick of a brushstroke above

the dome's oculus claims this building as another fire temple.

In their histories of West Asia, ancient authors described the kind of fire temples that

Netherlandish artists were painting. Herodotus writes that the Persians did not worship statues

and effigies of gods in the same way as the Greeks, but rather that they worshipped the elements:

"they call the whole circle of heaven Zeus, and to him they offer sacrifice on the highest peaks of

the mountains; they sacrifice also to the sun and moon and earth and fire and water and

winds."[176] Four centuries later, the Greek geographer Strabo echoed Herodotus in his account of

Persian religious customs, but added an architectural detail: "it is especially to fire and water that

they offer sacrifice… and in the midst of these [temples] there is an altar, on which there is a

large quantity of ashes and where the Magi keep the fire ever burning."[177] The customs Strabo

described are those of ancient Zoroastrianism, a religion viewed as a mystical Persian one that

included the *magi* travellers that I discussed in chapter one.[178] Van Heemskerck's crowd reflects

what Strabo highlighted were the Persian processual customs, where worshippers congregated

and moved through the temple enclosures and brought wood to maintain the eternal flame.

In the same way that artists consulted Rome's buildings to design the Tower of Babel, so

too did they turn to ancient Roman architectural iconography to imagine what Persian fire

temples looked like. Van Heemskerck modelled his fire temple after three circular temples of

Vesta—one near Rome in the commune of Tivoli, another in the Roman Forum, and a third near

the forum on the eastern bank of the Tiber. His drawing of the temple of Vesta in Tivoli records

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[176] Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, 1:170-171 (1.131).

[177] Strabo, *Geography*, 7:174-177 (15.3.13-15).

[178] See Yumiko Yamamoto, "The Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire in Archaeology and Literature," *Orient* 15 (1979): 19-53; and Michael Shenkar, "Temple Architecture in the Iranian World before the Macedonian Conquest," in *Iran and the Caucasus*11, no. 2 (2007): 169-194.

a large remnant of the round interior cella, visible through the spaces between the peristyle's

remaining columns (fig. 2.22). Even though he sketched the temple from a low angle, it is

evident that no part of the roof is visible. Even less of a roof remained on the temple in the

Roman Forum, as is evident in the building's few remaining columns recorded in van

Heemskerck's panoramic drawings (figs. 4.12 & 4.13). The third, on the bank of the Tiber in the

Forum Boarium (now believed to be a temple to Hercules), provided a more complete model.

These three circular temples of Vesta are examples of architectural iconography that

determined a broad range of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century designs for rounded architecture;

small rounded temples in particular.[179] The fifteenth-century antiquarian, Andrea Fulvio, credited

the Tivoli temple as the influential source of Donato Bramante's *Tempietto*, completed in 1502 at

San Pietro in Montorio in Rome.[180] A Netherlandish example is Jan Gossart's painted

architecture in *Danaë*, completed in 1527, in which the chapel that surrounds the titular figure

appears to be modelled after the round temples in and around Rome.[181] There is no single model

for Gossart's painted architecture; rather, the socles, columns, capitals, and architraves are partly

derived from the three temples of Vesta, and Gossart has recombined them within his

imagination to include modern buildings, such as Bramante's *Tempietto*, that the artist would

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[179] For example, see Mark Wilson Jones, "The Tempietto and the Roots of Coincidence," *Architectural History* 33 (1990): 17-20; and Oliver G. Kik, "Bramante in the North: Imag(in)ing Antiquity in the Low Countries (1500-1539)," in *Portraits of the City: Representing Urban Space in Later Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Katrien Lichtert, Jan Dumolyn, and Maximiliaan Martens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 99-100.

[180] "Sacello ibi nuperrime exitato eleganti rotu[n]do in gyrum colu[n]nato/ ad eius similitudinem/quod Albune[a]e erar dicatum super casum Anienis/vti hodie tyburi visitur," in Andrea Fulvio, *Antiqvitates vrbis* (Rome: Marcello Silber, 1527), folio XXVIIr.

[181] Sadja Herzog identified the Roman temples of Vesta as Gossart's iconographic sources in "Tradition and Innovation in Gossart's Neptune and Amphitrite, and Danae," *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen* 19, nos. 1-3 (1968): 38. Samantha Heringuez added Bramante's *Tempietto* to Herzog's iconographic identifications in "Bramante's Architecture in Jan Gossart's Painting," *Dutch Crossing* 35, no. 3 (2011): 232-234.

have seen during his journey with his Patron Philip of Burgundy in 1508/1509.[182] Similarly, van

Heemskerck employed the temples' iconographies to construct painted circular temples in

Panorama with the Abduction of Helen of Troy Amidst the Wonders of the Ancient World (1536-

1537) and *Triumph of Bacchus* (1536-1537).

The same circular Vestal ruins that inspired many artists to compose similarly round

architectural designs were the most appropriate formal analogues for Persia's fire temples.

Antiquarians in Italy had, since the fifteenth century, begun excavating around the Temple of

Vesta in the Roman forum and had built a world of knowledge around the temples.[183] Fulvio

connected the material finds with what he had read in ancient texts, and made sense of the

evidence for the Temple of Vesta in the Roman Forum accordingly. Fulvio's sources included

the second century CE Greek historian Plutarch, who credited the ancient king Numa Pompilius

with the original erection of the Temple of Vesta—which still stood in his own time due to

multiple Roman renovations. Numa's life, like Nimrod's, is by modern standards couched within

mythology: he succeeded the city's mythological founders, Romulus and Remus. The temple of

Vesta thus signified an architecture older than the Roman Empire, and even the Roman republic.

Whereas neither Herodotus nor Strabo described the shape of the Persian temples, Plutarch

clearly indicated that the Romans had long kept a similar eternal flame burning in the center of

the circular Temple of Vesta:

> Furthermore, it is said that Numa built the temple of Vesta, where the perpetual fire was
> kept, of a circular form, not in imitation of the shape of the earth, believing Vesta to be
> the earth, but of the entire universe, at the centre of which the Pythagoreans place the

[182] Ethan Matt Kavaler, "Gossart as Architect," in *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossart's Renaissance*, ed. Maryan W. Ainsworth (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 35.

[183] Jack Freiburg, *Bramante's Tempietto, the Roman Renaissance, and the Spanish Crown* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 76.

element of fire, and call it Vesta…[184]

Van Heemskerck's Persian fire temple looks like one of the Vestal temples because the histories

of their architecture shared a common purpose: to house an eternal flame. Similarly, van Scorel's

drawing of the fire temple resembles the temple of Vesta, but he designed a roof in a way that

more closely resembled those sculpted on imperial Roman coins that circulated among objects

and in drawings across Europe and into the Netherlands (fig. 23).[185] At the center of the domed

roof, which Pliny noted was covered with the same Syracusan metal that adorned the capitals of

the Pantheon's columns, is an opening where flames emerge as if fiery tongues that lick the

sky.[186] The form and function of the Temple of Vesta lent the circular architectural iconography

to be reconfigured in the archaeological imagination of Persian fire temples.

The Temple of Vesta's popularity likely prompted its inclusion among artistic selections

for architectural iconographies. Of the temple of Vesta, Augustine had written "in the eyes of the

Romans no shrine was more sacred."[187] In 1540, the architect Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554)

consulted written descriptions, the remains of the temples of Vesta, and, like van Scorel, the

Vestal iconography on ancient coins to imagine the temple as it would have looked in ancient

Rome. In his third book from a treatise on architecture, Serlio printed an orthogonal section of

the temple with a domed roof and central oculus that permitted the emission of smoke from the

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[184] Plutarch, *Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), 1:344-345 (Numa 11). On some occasions of war, Plutarch noted that the vestal virgins, the priestesses of the Temple of Vesta, would "snatch up and carry off" the eternal flame, and rekindle it after the war ended, in in *Lives* 2:142-143, 172-173 (Camillus 20, 31). Strabo indicates that the Caeretani had harboured and protected the Vestal virgins and the immortal fire that they brought with them when Rome was under attack by the Galatae, in *Geography*, 2:338-341 (5.3).

[185] Tine Meganck notes Vestal iconography that circulated in *Erudite Eyes: Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 263.

[186] Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), 9:136-137 (34.7).

[187] Augustine, *City of God*, 1:384-385 (3.28).

centrally-contained eternal fire.[188] Six years later, Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-1550) translated Serlios' third book of architecture, focused on ancient buildings, into Dutch, and printed the same woodcuts in Antwerp (fig. 24).[189] While Serlio's print served to imagine what the temple looked like in the ancient Roman world, other artists analogised the Vestal Temples' qualitative affinities with circular form, and containment of a flame, to imagine what the Persian fire temples looked like. This is important: *both* depictions are archaeological imagination. The Temple of Vesta in Serlio's treatise is just as imagined—just as based on an idea of the temple— as the painted depictions of Persian fire temples. Both architectures existed in the ancient world, and later required imaginative processes for an artist to depict them.

To return to the Tower of Babel, it is clear that Netherlandish depictions of the monument were formally designed with ancient Roman architecture as one of the key material sources from which an artist could build an imagined architecture in their composition. More than any other artefact, scholars have interpreted the Colosseum as the main architectural model with which to analyze the Tower of Babel's symbolic meaning in Netherlandish paintings. But what would happen if we considered the Colosseum to be more like the temples for Vesta: a suitable formal analogue with which to imagine the descriptions of a colossal monument? The circular temples carried with them some qualitative affect that ensured their formal characteristics would engender clever analogies in artistic depictions; but their use as artefacts to imagine the archaeology of fire temples did not completely determine the symbolic meaning of the Persian architecture. In other words, the fire temples were not confused with the temple of Vesta, and

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[188] Sebastiano Serlio, *Il Terzo Libro: nel qval si figvrano, e descrivono le Antiqvita di Roma, e le altre che sono in Italia, e fvori d' Italia* (Venice: Francesco Marcolino da Forli, 1540), 27.

[189] Sebastiano Serlio, *Die aldervermaertste antique edificien…*, trans. Pieter Coecke van Aelst (Antwerp: Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1546), folio 12r.

vice versa. If we look at the Colosseum in a similar way, we have to make some revisions to the amphitheatre's overdetermining role in the art history of the Tower of Babel. To aid my case, this is exactly what Philip Michael Sherman, in his evocative and in-depth study of the Tower of Babel in the history of literature, admonishes when he warns "the history of interpretation is a distraction, … [and that history] must be eclipsed if one hopes to return to Babel."[190]

When we diffuse the Colosseum as the key signifier of the sixteenth-century tower's architectural iconography, we can make room in the field to cast our glances beyond Rome so that we might also grasp other architectural artefacts that served Netherlandish archaeological imagination. What is significantly at stake when allowing the Colosseum to determine the reception of depictions of the Tower of Babel is methodological expansions into a more global approaches in art history. When I refer to "global approaches," I do not mean that a case study must interact with each part of the globe simultaneously; rather I refer to the aim to tend to a much larger context of transmission, mobility, and reception of ideas and things. "Following broader tendencies in an emerging global history of art," Stephen J. Campbell argues, "our goal should be a rethinking of [the] axial hierarchy of places."[191] European art has long been examined with methods that have been developed to assess European art history. But what happens when we query some of our long-standing approaches to the many Netherlandish depictions of the Tower of Babel *Tower of Babel* and consult the peripheral as well as the "-centric" is we find out that such works were less bound to one context than we previously imagined. Archaeological imagination is thus also important to art historical methods: previous modes of imagining the past remind us of material things are received throughout their lives as

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[190] Sherman, *Babel's Tower Translated*, 5.

[191] Stephen J. Campbell, *The Endless Periphery: Toward a Geopolitics of Art in Lorenzo Lotto's Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 26.

objects. Among the overlooked contexts are the accounts of medieval and early modern travellers who travelled to Mesopotamia, and who saw and described ancient Mesopotamian Ziggurats as the Tower of Babel that continued to stand in ruin in their day. It is to the travel accounts that decentre Europe as the determining factor in pictures of the Tower of Babel and the ruins described in them that we now turn.

The Tower of Babel in Mesopotamia

What I have thus far covered is the crucial and entangled dialogue between histories, in textual descriptions, and archaeologies, in material artefacts, that processed early modern archaeological imagination. Until van Scorel drew a circular monument, there were many different ways to depict the Tower of Babel's architecture, but all of them were square; modelled after Europe's own quadrangular medieval city towers built into fortress walls. What caused van Scorel's decisive drawing? The answer, we have seen, is partly unsheathed in the contexts of literature at the time, and in the replication of Rome's monumental architecture such as the Colosseum and imperial tombs. In this final part of the story, I assemble the ongoing dialogue between written histories and material artefacts in the reception of travel accounts that described what many believed was the actual tower of Babel: an ancient ziggurat that stood in early modern Mesopotamia.[192]

The first travelogue we must consider as a source of information for early modern artists who imagined the Tower of Babel was that of Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1130-c. 1173). Benjamin,

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[192] For surveys of medieval and early modern travel accounts to West Asia, see Bart Ooghe, "Mesopotamian Archaeology and Travel Literature: Shifting Relationships," *Isimu* 10 (2007): 49-6; Bart Ooghe, "The Rediscovery of Babylonia: European Travelers and the Development of Knowledge on Lower Mesopotamia, Sixteenth to Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 17, no. 3 (2007): 231-252; and Seymour, *Babylon*, 80-129.

a twelfth-century Spanish Rabbi, travelled across Europe and Asia in the 1160s and 1170s. Like many travellers to Asia, Benjamin visited the Levantine coast and spent some time in and around Jerusalem. Benjamin then carried on to Damascus before heading east to traverse Persia, following the Tigris and Euphrates from Armenia to head south. Once he arrived at the mouth of the two rivers, he set sail in the Persian Gulf, travelled around the Arabian peninsula's coast, then followed the Red Sea up to the Sinai. After travelling around Egypt, he took a boat from Alexandria to Sicily, and then headed back to Spain. His goal was to find the communities of Jews that had been forced out of the Levant due to oppressive political regimes. After the Babylonian siege and conquest of Jerusalem between 589-587 BCE, the city's residents were brought back to Babylon as slaves of war. Around 539, after the king of the Medes and Persians, and founder of the Achaemenid Empire, Cyrus the Great, conquered Babylon, he granted Jews the right to return to Jerusalem. But over the centuries, the Jewish generations who remained in Babylon had grown and integrated with local communities, and with time, a Jewish community flourished in Mesopotamia. Benjamin's travelogue is thus primarily invested in documenting the communities of Jews that he found in West Asia. But along the way, he noted down precise distances, descriptions, sizes, and shapes of architectural monuments from Jewish antiquity.

Benjamin's descriptions include the tower of Babel. Unlike some travellers who wound their way deep into the heart of Persia, such as the Venetian explorer Marco Polo (1254-1324), and left behind written accounts of their journey's, Benjamin is exceptional for the history of architecture on account of his description of the many monuments he saw.[193] When the Rabbi was travelling around Baghdad, he made sure to include a journey to visit what had for centuries

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[193] Hermann V. Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands During the 19ᵗʰ Century* (Philadelphia: A.J. Holman and Company. 1903), 13.

been the uninhabited ruins of Babylon in hopes of locating the Jewish communities that he had

heard lived there. Benjamin noted "Babel is one day away [from Baghdad]."[194] There he

describes the ruins of architecture from ancient biblical histories, such as the Babylonian king

Nebuchadnezzar's palace, but discloses "people are afraid to enter them on account of the many

serpents and scorpions."[195] Babel, for Benjamin, clearly referred to Babylon. Benjamin was

astonished to discover that some Jewish architecture from the time of their Babylonian captivity

was still standing, and functioning: "twenty thousand Israelites, who live within twenty miles

from Babylon, perform their worship in a synagogue that Daniel built at a very ancient time with

solid stones and brick masonry."[196] Wandering a few miles around Babel toward Hillah,

Benjamin discovered another community of over ten thousand Israelites—Jews—who had built

four synagogues within the vicinity of a colossal monument from Jewish antiquity: "the tower

built by the dispersed generation."[197]

  We can still see the "Tower of Babel" that Benjamin saw standing in present-day Iraq

(fig. 2.25). The four-thousand year-old architecture is a ziggurat, built either by an ancient

Sumerian or Akkadian society, that stood as a temple monument in Borsippa, a city that hosted a

major temple precinct twenty four kilometres away from Babylon.[198] The word "ziggurat" is

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[194] "Hinc vno itinere Babel illa antiqua distat triginta miliarium spatium complexa, iamq[uae] funditus eversa," in Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerarivm*, trans. Benito Arias Montano (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1575), 70.

[195] "…in qua Nabuchodonosoris regiæ ruinæ adhunc visuntur, hominibus inaccessibiles propter varia & malefica serpentum draconumque[m] ibidem dege[n]tium genera," in Benjamin, *Itinerarivm*, 70.

[196] "…ab his ruinis non plusquàm viginti millibus passuum distantes habitant Israëlitarum viginti millia, qui in synagogis preces fundunt; in quibus præcipua est illa Danielis superior antiqua contignatio quadris lapidibus lateribusque constructa…, in Benjamin, *Itinerarivm*, 70.

[197] "Inde ad Hhilan miliaria quinque peraguntur, vbi Israëlitarum decm ferè millia sunt, in quatuor synagogas diuisa; … Illinc quatuor miliaria sunt ad turrim quam diuisionis filij ædificare cœperant, quæ eò genere laterum construebatur, quod Arabicè Lagzar vocatur," in Benjamin, *Itinerarivm*, 71.

[198] Helga Trenkwalder and the University of Innsbruck have lead the most recent excavations of Borsippa, see "Austrian Archaeological Expedition to Iraq: Preliminary Report on the 17th Campaign in Borsippa

ancient Akkadian, and we continue to use it in art history because it means "to be high," referencing the towering quality of these massive buildings.[199] Many Mesopotamian ziggurats are among the world's oldest examples of colossal, monumental architecture. They were built with the layering of mastabas; thick rectangular sheets of mudbrick and stone. The widest mastabas were placed on the bottom, and each successive mastaba was slightly smaller and layered above the other to provide a succinct impression of ascendancy that supported the holiest layer at the very top: the temple. The format of ziggurats fits Herodotus' and Alberti's descriptions of Babylon's towers as stacked quadrangular layers. Benjamin was quite precise when he took measurements of the ziggurat: "the length of its foundation measures two miles, the breadth of its walls measures two hundred and forty cubits, and the height measures one hundred canna."[200] At an unknown point in premodern history, the ziggurat's origins were forgotten, and Mesopotamian locals believed it instead to be the biblical Tower of Babel and named it "Birs Nimrud" after its builder Nimrod.[201] This identification of the ziggurat held fast: from at least Benjamin's time through to the early twentieth century, Birs Nimrud was the Tower of Babel, rendering the tower into a very real and ancient architectural monument that travellers, antiquarians, and archaeologists visited to see.[202]

(Autumn 2000)," *Sumer* 50 (1999/2000): 11-20; and Friedrich T. Schipper, "The Protection and Preservation of Iraq's Archaeological Heritage, Spring 1991-2003," *American Journal of Archaeology* 109, no. 2 (2005): 258-261.

[199] Gwendolyn Leick, *A Dictionary of Ancient Near Eastern Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1988), 246.

[200] "Fundamenti longitude duo ferè militaria continent, murorum verò latitude ducentorum quadraginta cubitorum est: vbi verò latissima, centum cannas continet," in Benjamin, *Itinerarivm*, 71.

[201] Zeinab Azarbadegan, "Imagined Geographies, Re-invented Histories: Ottoman Iraq as Part of Iran," *Journal of Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 5, no. 1 (2018): 138.

[202] As late as the 1920s, some archaeologists were convinced that the ziggurat at Borsippa was the Tower of Babel: Emil G.H. Kraeling, "The Tower of Babel," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 40 (1920): 276-281; and John P. Peters, "The Tower of Babel at Borsippa," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 41 (1921): 157-159. These arguments were clearly attempts of re-attributions, since

In Benjamin's descriptions of the ziggurat that medieval Mesopotamian Jews believed was the tower of Babel, the Rabbi included a formal detail that uniquely described the kind of spiral tower that artists, including van Scorel, van Heemskerck, and Bruegel, painted:

> At every tenth cubit, there is a spiral passage that has been built into the tower that leads up to the summit from which there is a prospect of a wide plain for twenty miles, due to the level countryside. The heavenly fire that struck the building cracked it open to its very core.[203]

Despite its state of ruin, the ziggurat that Benjamin saw still evidences that its mastabas were encircled by a built-in ramp that spiraled around the structure. Benjamin measured the walkway's dispersal at 10-cubit intervals, resulting in the spiral layers and the ziggurat's helicoidal form. At the very top of the ziggurat, the spiral layers continue to wrap around the uppermost structure that, albeit split down the middle, is in the shape of a helicoidal spiral (fig. 2.26) Nothing in Rome can compare to the similitude: Benjamin's twelfth-century descriptions translate into the kind of architectural iconography that sixteenth-century Netherlandish painters designed for their pictures. But instead of simply switching out the Colosseum in Rome with the ziggurat at Borsippa as *the* key influential artefact, I maintain that both, and more examples, were among the assemblage of exemplary architecture that determined the shape of Netherlandish towers. Babel is about the multitude, not the singular.

The heavenly fire that Benjamin believed had cracked the building open was not part of the account in Genesis. As with many other details around the Tower of Babel, this architectural

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archaeologists in the nineteenth century had already claimed that the ziggurat was an ancient temple, and not Nimrod's tower: Henry C. Rawlinson, "On the Birs Nimrud, or the Great Temple of Borsippa," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 18 (1861): 1-34.

[203] "…inter denarum cannarum spacia viæ sunt in spirarum formam per totum ædificium product, quibus conscensis èsupremo loco agri prospiciuntur ad miliaria viginti. quippe regio ipsa latissimi ac planissima est. Atqui ædificu[m] hoc igni de cælo quonda[m] tactu[m] atque ad insima vsq[ue] excisum est," in Benjamin, *Itinerarivm*, 71.

history was told elsewhere. By the time Josephus was writing his histories of Jewish antiquities, a tradition had become established centuries earlier that an ancient sybil, or oracle, had spoken of how the tower came to an end: "the gods sent winds against it and overturned the tower."[204] Writing in the early first century CE, Philo poetically reasoned that the demise of the ancient builders of the Tower of Babel was the consequence of their increasingly empirical worldview that privileged science over god:

> … those who extended the activities of their word-cleverness to heaven itself, men who gave themselves to studies directed against nature or rather against their own soul. They declared that nothing exists beyond this world of our sight and senses, that it neither was created nor will perish, but is uncreated, imperishable, without guardian, helmsman or protector. Then piling enterprises one upon another they raised on high like a tower their edifice of unedifying doctrine. For we read that "all the earth was one lip" (Gen. xi. 1), a harmony of disharmony, that is a blend of all the parts of the soul, to dislodge from its position the greatest binding force in the universe, government. And therefore when they hoped to soar to heaven in mind and thought, to destroy the eternal kingship, the mighty undestroyable hand cast them down and overturned the edifice of their doctrine.[205]

These ancient texts served as inspiration for a similar passage in the Qur'an, written in the seventh century CE: "Those who went before them also schemed, but God attacked the very foundations of what they built. The roof fell down on them: punishment came on them from unimagined directions" (16.26).[206] These ancient and medieval accounts permitted artists to solicit a sense of cataclysmic doom: what will become of the Tower of the Babel? Did van Scorel paint Nimrod pointing up toward God who is on his way to "overturn the edifice?" Some artists, such as Anthonisz., whose print depicts a helicoidal tower collapsing in ruin by the hand

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[204] Josephus cites Alexander Polyhistor's *Oracula Sibyllina* from the 2nd century BCE in *Jewish Antiquities*, 1:56-57 (1.4.3).

[205] Philo of Alexandria, *On Flight and Finding. On the Change of Names. On Dreams*, trans. F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934), 570-571 (*On Dreams* XLIII).

[206] *The Qur'an*, 167.

of god, believed a destructive outcome concluded the story. The ziggurat in Mesopotamia

confirmed the belief, shared across texts, that the tower was supernaturally brought to ruin.

After Benjamin, other travellers to Mesopotamia believed they too had seen the Tower of

Babel when faced with the ziggurat at Borsippa. With insecure dates, but likely within a decade

or two after Benjamin left West Asia around 1173, the German Rabbi Petachia ben Yakov from

Regensburg journeyed to Mesopotamia from Prague. While in Baghdad, he travelled to Hillah to

visit the nearby tomb of Ezekiel and took a detour to see the "tower of the dispersed

generation."[207] Unlike Benjamin, who saw wonderful details in the Tower of Babel that

evidenced its architectural history, Petachia saw little more than a heap of rubble. "It has

collapsed," the rabbi observed, "forming a high mountain, a neverending heap; the city that laid

before it is in ruins."[208] A little over two centuries after Petachia's travels, the Bavarian

Johann/Hans Schiltberger (1380-c.1440) visited the same "Tower of Babel" at Borsippa. At the

age of sixteen, the Ottoman army took Schiltberger prisoner after he was wounded during the

Battle of Nicopolis in 1396, and he then served thirty years in enslaved servitude to different

Ottoman and Timurid masters, travelling with them as far east as modern Kazakhstan and

Siberia.[209] After escaping, he returned to Europe and, although illiterate, managed to have his

Reisebuch, or travel book, written down by those who listened to his oral testament.[210] In them,

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[207] The French translation from Hebrew reads: "En se dirigeant vers le tombeau d'Ézéchiel, Péthachia passa devant la *Tour de la génération dispersée*," in Petachia of Regensburg, *Tour du monde, ou voyages du Rabbin Péthachia, de Ratisbonne, dans le douzième siècle*, trans. M.E. Carmoly (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1831), 80.

[208] "Elle s'est écroulée et a produit une haute montagne, une masse éternelle; mais la ville qui était devant est ruinée," in Petachia, *Tour du monde*, 80.

[209] Albrecht Classen, *Freedom, Imprisonment, and Slavery in the Pre-Modern World: Cultural-Historical, Social-Literary, and Theoretical Reflections* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 71-74.

[210] Albrecht Classen, "Global Travel in the Late Middle Ages: The Eyewitness Account of Johann Schiltberger," *The Medieval History Journal* 23, no. 1 (2020): 74-101.

he included a lengthy passage on the ziggurat at Borsippa, which he refers to as "Babylon's high tower."[211] While his writers had clearly combined Herodotus' and Benjamin's descriptions to compose Schiltberger's, they did provide one unique detail: locals called the ruin *Marburtirudt*: "Nimrod's tower."[212]

While the ancient city of Babylon had long crumbled to ruin—with the last self-reference to a community living in Babel appearing in the tenth century—the area that encompassed the few hundred kilometres around Borsippa was referred to as Babylonia or simply Babylon.[213] This especially included Baghdad. Schiltberger was one of the many travellers who referred to Baghdad as Babylon's modern city: "New Babylon lies across from Great Babylon, separated by water, a grand river known as the Schatt [Tigris]."[214] Baghdad's urban analogy with ancient biblical cities was common. Some fifteenth and early sixteenth-century editions of Marco Polo's travelogue notified readers, upon the Venetian traveller's arrival in Baghdad, that it was the new name for ancient Susa, a city that featured in the book of Esther as a capital within the Babylonian empire during the Jewish captivity; while other editions of the travelogue said

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[211] The chapter title is "Von der mechrigen Stat Babylonia und irem hohem Thurn," in Johann Schiltberger, *Ein wunderbarliche unnd kurztweylige Histori* (Nuremberg: Johann vom Berg and Ulrich Neuber, 1549), folios I.3.r-I.4.v. Also see Seymour, *Babylon*, 87-89.

[212] "Den thurn hat gebawet ein Konig der hat geheyssen inn Heydnischer sprach Maulburterid," in folio I.3.v. I have spelled the name according to P. Brunn's editorial notes in Johann Schiltberger, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger, a Native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396-1427*, eds. Karl Friedrich Neumann and P. Bruun, trans. J. Buchan Telfer (London: Hakluyt Society, 1879), 46-47, 167 n.1.

[213] Seymour, *Babylon*, 83.

[214] "Das new Babilonia ligt von dem grossen Babilonia auff einem wasser das heysset Schatt ist ein groß wasser," in Schiltberger, *Ein wunderbarliche unnd kurztweylige Histori*, folio I.3.v. For the Schatt as the Tigris, see the editorial comments in Schiltberger, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*, 168 n.3. For other travellers who refer to Baghdad as Babylon or New Babylon, see Seymour, *Babylon*, 85-86.

Baghdad was ancient Nineveh.[215] By the middle of the sixteenth century, editors clarified that in

Marco Polo's travelogue, "the great city of Baldach, or Baghdad, we once called Babylon."[216] In

fact, none were correct. What travellers had recognized as the ancient kingdom of Babylonia was

a parcel of land that straddled the provinces of Mosul and Iraq where the Tigris and Euphrates

are within one hundred kilometres from each other. Baghdad, on the Tigris, is within the vicinity

of the ruins of the Babylon, on the Euphrates, and both are within the general area of Borsippa,

the supposed tower of Babel.[217]

    With Babylon established as the broader vicinity around Baghdad, early modern

travellers began to identify other architectural ruins within the area as the tower of Babel. One of

these misidentified monuments is the ziggurat known as 'Aqar-Qūf or *Nisr Nimrod*, which was

erected around 1400 BCE in the ancient city Dur-Kurigalzu, named after the first Kassite king

who came to rule the Babylonian empire (fig. 2.27). The Bavarian botanist Leonhard Rauwolf

(1535-1596) was among the earliest of travellers who believed 'Aqar-Qūf, and not Borsippa, was

the tower of Babel.[218] This is because he was convinced that the city Falluja, nestled next to the

Euphrates only fifty kilometres from Baghdad, was actually the site of the ancient city of

Babylon. Ruins near Falluja that appeared as canals confirmed what Alberti, who sourced

diverse ancient histories, had written were Babylon's exemplary aquatic infrastructure: "because

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[215] Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, trans. A.C. Moule and Paul Pelliot (London: George Routledge & Sons Limited, 1938), 1:101. This translated edition combines multiple manuscripts in the text to reflect the many different passages that circulated.

[216] Marco Polo's travelogue is included in Giovanni Battista Ramusio, ed., *Secondo volume delle naviagioni et viaggi in molti lvoghi* (Venice: Giunti, 1559), folio 5v.

[217] Marco Polo notes the names of the provinces Mosul and Hirak around Babylon in travelogues, which was included in Ramusio, ed., *... delle naviagioni et viaggi in molti lvoghi*, folios 4r, 6v.

[218] Karl Henry Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf: Sixteenth-Century Physician, Botanist, and Traveler* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 108-109.

the bed of the Euphrates is very high, a large number of canals have been dug from the Euphrates

to the Tigris."[219] With these canals in mind, Rauwolf imagined that Falluja was Babylon, and

that the ziggurat travellers saw on the road between Falluja and Baghdad, between the Euphrates

and the Tigris, was "Babylon's high tower that the children of Noah (who were the first to

inhabit these lands after the deluge) began to erect into heavens."[220] In 1583, the English

merchant Ralph Fitch described the journey one takes down the Euphrates to Falluja, in order to

get to "Babylon"—referring to Baghdad and its environs. Like Rauwolf, Fitch identified 'Aqar-

Qūf as the Tower of Babel:

> The Tower of Babel is built on this side the river Tygris, towards Arabia from the towne
> about seven or eight miles, which tower is ruinated on all sides, and with the fall therof
> hath made as it were a little mountaine, so that it hath no shape at all: it was made of
> brickes dried in the sonne, and certaine canes and leaves of the palme tree layed betwixt
> the brickes. There is no entrance to be seene to goe into it. It doth stand upon a great
> plaine betwixt the rivers of Euphrates and Tygris.[221]

Even though Baghdad was a medieval city built by the Abbasid caliphate to serve as their

capital, its identification as Babylon converted the land around it into the region, also called

Babylon.

Aside from ancient ziggurats, there were also medieval mosques that stood within the

lands around Babylon, and their spiral format was an architectural replication of ancient West

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[219] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 347 (10.11).

[220] "Ferrner gleich für den Flecken Elugo hinauß welcher auss ein viertel mehl wegs von dannen zusehen liget der Schloßberg in der ebne darauff auch noch etliche rudera der alten Bestin stehn die gank zerfallen unnd unbewohnet ligen bleiben: hinder dem in der nehe der Babylonische hohe Thurn gestanden den die kinder Noah (welche erstlich dise landschaffe nach der Siindflut bewohnet) bisz an himmel zuerhawen angefangen," in Leonhard Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiß* (Laugingen: Reinmichel, 1582), 204.

[221] M. Ralph Fitch's letters reprinted in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Naviagations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Overland, to the Remote and Fartheset Distant Quarters of the Eart, at Any Time withint the Compasse of These 1600 Years* (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599), 251.

Asian architecture. Around eighty kilometres north of Baghdad stands the ninth-century minaret of the great mosque at Samarra, known as al-Malwiya, or "the spiral" (fig. 2.28), and fifteen kilometres further, the Abu Dulaf mosque (fig. 2.29).[222] When the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil completed both mosques in the 850s, two decades after he had moved the capital from Baghdad to Samarra in 836, the spiral minaret that his architects erected was a new format in the Islamic architectural repertoire. There are two competing claims of the spiral minarets' origin: the first is that the mosques were designed as architectural replications of Mesopotamia's ancient ziggurats, especially Borsippa and ʿAqar-Qūf.[223] Both the Samarran minarets and the uppermost towers of the Mesopotamian ziggurats are helicoidal towers that bear spiral ramps that wrap around their exteriors and permit users to make their way to the top. The second claim of origin is that the medieval minarets replicated a Sassanian fire temple's tower that stands thousands of kilometres away in Persia.[224] The Abbasids may have striven to disidentify with the Syrian Umayyads, and thus selected architectural iconography from further east. Since neither origin theory has proven or disproven the other, I foreground Robert Hillenbrand's observation that in both claims,

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[222] See Wijdan Ali, *The Arab Contributions to Islamic Art: From the Seventh to the Fifteenth Centuries* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1999), 58-61.

[223] Of the two claims, the one of origins after Mesopotamian ziggurats has the most concord among scholars, including Ali, *The Arab Contributions to Islamic Art*, 60; Jonathan Bloom, *Minaret, Symbol of Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 11-12; Doğan Kuban, *Muslim Religious Architecture. Part 1: The Mosque and its Early Development* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 18; K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1979), 2:262-264; Sigfried Giedion, *The Eternal Present: The Beginnings of Architecture; A Contribution on Consistency and Change* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), 234-236; and Richard J. H. Gottheil, "The Origin and History of the Minaret," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 30, no. 2 (1910): 140-141.

[224] Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, rev. ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 113.

medieval architects designed the helicoidal mosque minarets after ancient West Asian monuments.[225]

It is clear that medieval and early modern travellers did not confuse the mosque minarets for the ziggurats that other travellers described. A small population had continued to maintain Samarra's mosques after 892, when a new government returned the capital to Baghdad, but without the vibrant court culture and patronage to continue to nurture the urban infrastructure, the city's lack of maintenance rendered its buildings to appear as antiquities to travellers centuries later.[226] But even as Mesopotamian antiquities, there is no indication that medieval and early modern travellers mistook the mosques at Samarra for the tower of Babel—even though by the early twentieth century, the Malwiya mosque was rumoured to be the much more ancient Babylonian Tower (most likely a marketing ploy to sell tickets to a growing tourism industry).[227] The difference of identification is clear in the first known traveler's reports of Samarra, written by the English Sir Anthony Sherley and those around him during an expedition to Persia on behalf of Queen Elizabeth I in 1598:

> So we held on our journey, and came in a few days to a place called by the Turks Sammara [Sāmarrā], but as we were told by the Jews that still accompanied us, it was Samaria: it is an ancient place, but much ruinated, the walls stand firm to this hour, and in the middle of the old city the Turks and Arabians have built a little town, walled about with a mud wall of an infinite height, that a man cannot see so much as a steeple in the town. There standeth also, by the old city, a tower about the height of Paul's steeple, made in the form of the tower of Babilon; the going up is so broad, as three carts may

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[225] Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 144-145

[226] Ali, *The Arab Contributions to Islamic Art*, 61.

[227] Nico Israel, *Spirals: The Whirled Image in Twentieth-Century Literature and Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 108; Seymour, *Babylon*, 94.

easily go, one by another.[228]

The mosque at Samarra's minaret architecture was "made in the form of the tower of Babilon," and was not believed *to be* the tower of Babylon. The distinction is important. While in early modern archaeological imagination the ziggurats were believed to have been the tower of Babel, the mosques were recognized as later replications of the older biblical monument.

By the end of the sixteenth century, a similar perception of replication was recognized in 'Aqar-Qūf. The matter of replication is most present in the writings of Sherley's entourage, where the travellers noted a discrepancy between the ruins referred to as the tower of Babel. George Manwaring, William Parry Gentleman, and Abel Pinçon, were all aware that there was an "old tower of Babel" a few days away from "Babilon," or Baghdad.[229] The travelling men could not agree on distance: one, two, and three days are provided as the temporal measurement of the journey to see the tower of Babel. Factoring in different methods of transport, the days do reflect the amount of time that it takes to travel from Baghdad to Borsippa. All three writers differentiated the old tower from a new false one that is much closer to Baghdad that they say was called "Nebuchadnezzer's Tower." Pinçon makes it clear that Nebuchadnezzer's Tower, the ruin on the way to Falluja, is 'Aqar-Qūf: "There is another tower which is only half a day's journey away: the Venetians called this the false tower. The Moor in their tongue call it Carcuc ['Aqarqūf], which signifies 'sacrifice of the lamb'."[230]

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[228] The passage is from George Manwaring's account, published in 1601: *A True Discourse of Sir Anthony Sherley's Travel into Persia*, reprinted in Sir Anthony Sherley, *Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure*, ed. Sir E. Denison Ross (London: Routledge, 1933), 116.

[229] The separate passages are reprinted in Sherley, *Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure*, 72, 88, 114.

[230] Pinçon in Sherley, *Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure*, 88

Sherley and his entourage travelled after the artists in this chapter designed the tower, but their discrepancies of identification are important to my case study because they exemplify the multitudes of architectural replications that permitted one to see the Tower of Babel in artefacts that were not themselves the tower. Just as the travellers in Sherley's entourage noted the mosque at Samarra was "made in the form of the tower of Babilon," so too did they describe 'Aqar-Qūf as "fashioned much like the [Borsippa] (as it is said) but not so high as that we saw."[231] As medieval companions to the ziggurats around Baghdad, the spiral minarets in the early modern period had become quite like them, in that they were all monuments that defined the helicoidal architectural style of the "kingdom of Babylon." Helicoidal architecture was thus apprehended as very ancient, and very Mesopotamian.

The striking resemblance between the minaret at Samarra and European depictions of the Tower of Babel have long solicited scholars to conclude that there must be some kind of a connection.[232] But as Michael Seymour concludes: "illustrations of the Malwiya minaret do not seem to have been in circulation in any form, making it unclear how the image could have passed into European art."[233] So how do we explain the tower on the upper left of van Heemskerck's print of Semiramis' Babylon, or Grimmer's multiple panels that replicate the minaret's form?

First, we must keep in mind the oral transmission of late medieval and early Renaissance architectural knowledge, a mode of piecing together the world that did not disappear with the rise of drawn and printed images, and that was certainly never restricted to their contexts of

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[231] Manwaring and Genteleman in Sherley, *Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure*, 72, 94.

[232] See Bahrani, *Mesopotamia*, 18; Liverani, *Imagining Babylon*, 16; and Fernando Escribano Martín, "Idea and Image: How What We Know Determines What We Want to Know," in *Time and History in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 56th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Barcelona, 26-30 July 2010*, ed. L. Feliu, J. Llop, A. Millet Albà, and J. Sanmartín (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 369-370.

[233] Seymour, *Babylon*, 94.

production. An extant example of the transmission of Mesopotamia's architectural iconography

is the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn in Cairo. Built between 876-879, the Egyptian mosque is named after

its builder who grew up in Samarra, and was sent to Cairo at the age of thirty-four to govern the

province for the Abbasid caliphate (fig. 2.30). Even though the spiral minaret that stands today is

the result of late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century renovations, historians of Islamic

architecture have long acknowledged that Ibn Tūlūn had his architects design the mosque's

original minaret to emulate helicoidal Mesopotamian antiquities.[234] The Arab geographer

Ya'qūbī (?-908/909?) wondrously recorded the process of Ibn Tulun's architectural replication:

> The builders said to him, "According to what model shall we construct the minaret?"
> Ahmad, who never used to fool around during his meetings, took a roll of paper and
> began playing with it, so that part of it came out from his hand and part of it remained in
> his hand. The people present were astonished. He said, "Construct the minaret according
> to this model." So they built it.[235]

As satisfying as the passage is, Jonathan Bloom argues that more had to have happened in the

mosque and its minaret's construction processes.[236] For Bloom, the patron's history and the

formal analogies between the mosque minarets clearly evidence architectural exchanges over

long distances that required graphic plans, workshop expertise, or a combination of the two.

I wonder if we might extend Bloom's logic to account for the transmission of

Mesopotamian architectural iconography in early modern depictions of the Tower of Babel.

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[234] In descending order of publication year, see Zahid Tauqeer Ahmad and Seemin Aslam, "Comparative Study of Architecture of the Great Mosque at Samarra, Iraq and Ibn Tūlūn Mosque at Cairo, Egypt," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 10, no. 2 (2020): 299-301; Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 145-146; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 51, 55; and Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2:259-261.

[235] Ya'qūbī, *The Works of Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ya'qūbī*, eds. Matthew S. Gordon, Chase F. Robinson, Everett K. Rowson, and Michael Fishbein (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 1:215.

[236] Jonathan M. Bloom, "On the Transmission of Designs in Early Islamic Architecture," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 22-23

With that said, I want to steer clear of making a direct causal claim between any two things, which is to say that I do not think it is possible to claim any single structure as the sole source for the broader iconography of the tower in early modern archaeological imagination. What I present here makes it evident that Netherlandish depictions of the Tower of Babel were not just composed with the Colosseum or Roman mausolea, or Mesopotamian ziggurats and mosque minarets in mind. Rather I believe it was all of them.

The breadth of descriptions of the Tower of Babel and deep engagements with the archaeology of Mesopotamia attest to the rise of knowledge about West Asia in sixteenth-century Europe. After 1530, the publication of Mesopotamian travel accounts became a booming enterprise, with more than nineteen books appearing and dozens of smaller accounts published within larger travelogues that included other places, such as the Levant, Persia, India, and Egypt.[237] Schiltberger's *Reisebuch*, which was in circulation across fifteenth-century Europe, and published in at least a dozen official editions by the middle of the sixteenth century, updated historical imagination with intimate accounts from his thirty years of enslavement. He describes an Asia that was unknown to most Europeans.[238] Rauwolf's published travelogue similarly updated European imagination in the sixteenth century (in addition to introducing coffee to the European diet).[239] In other words, while not everyone could travel and see the ziggurats and mosques in Mesopotamia, many could read about them and discuss them among their networks of antiquarian intellectuals, patrons, artists, and architects.

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[237] Ooghe, "The Rediscovery of Babylonia," 233-234.

[238] See the editors' preface in Schiltberger, *The Bondage and Travels*, i-xiv.

[239] Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe, vol. 2*, bk. 2:329-330.

Publishing Babel

During van Scorel's travels to West Asia, he certainly could have heard about the ziggurats, and the mosques at Samarra, and possibly even saw drawn reproductions of them. Estimates can only assume so much, but one connection that has not been made is van Scorel's involvement within Venice's intellectual networks and the enterprise of publishing West Asian antiquarian knowledge.

The Netherlandish artist and biographer, Karel van Mander informs us that while van Scorel was in Venice between 1519 and 1521, the young artist was intimately associated with Daniel van Bombergen (c. 1483-c. 1549): "and so he went to Venice, where he made acquaintance with some Antwerp painters, namely Daniel van Bombergen, a lover of the art of the painting."[240] More than just an art lover, we remember van Bombergen as a historically relevant publisher.[241] By 1515, van Bombergen had moved to Venice, opened a printshop, and within a few year acquired permission from the Venetian Senate and Pope Leo X to publish the Rabbinic Bible, and the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds in Hebrew.[242] In 1516, he published the Torah as his printshop's first Hebrew book; otherwise known by its Greek name "Pentateuch," which refers to the first five books of the "Tanakh," which van Bombergen

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[240] "Dus van daer vertreckende/quam te Venetien/alwaer hy gheraeckte in kennis van eenighe Antwerpsche Schilders/naemlijck eenen *Daniel* van Bomberge/een liefhebber der Schilder-const," in Karel van Mander (as Carel), *Het Leben der Doorluchtighe Nederlandtsche/en Hoogh-duytsche Schilders* (Haarlem: Passchier van West-busch, 1604), folio 235r. As per the same consulton of this source in the first chapter, this volume consists of the fourth book in van Mander's compilation of books known as *Het Schilder-Boeck*, and from here on, I will refer to it as *Het Schilder-Boeck*, bk. 4. Jehoel surveys van Scorel's Venetian network in *Het culturele network van Jan van Scorel*, 115-163.

[241] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe. Volumes I and II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 224.

[242] See David Stern, *The Jewish Bible: A Material History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017), 143-145; and Marvin J. Heller, *Further Studies in the Making of the Early Hebrew Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 440-441.

published the year after as the complete Hebrew Bible. Beyond bibles and Talmuds, van

Bombergen's printshop published more than two hundred Jewish books by 1549.[243] On van

Bombergen's significant contribution to Hebrew literature, the sixteenth-century Jewish historian

Joseph ha-Kohen (1496-1575) wrote "Daniel Bomberg, of Antwerp, began to print, and he

brought forth from darkness into light many books in the holy tongue."[244] In other words, when

van Scorel visited van Bombergen in Venice, he was in the centre of Europe's production of

Jewish antiquarian knowledge.

It is within van Bombergen's network where some of the more archaeological

descriptions of a Ziggurat, believed to be the Tower of Babel, were disseminated in Europe. One

example is Benjamin of Tudela's travel account. While van Bomberg never did publish

Benjamin's travelogue, he was at the helm of Italy's network of manuscript collectors and

transcribers. The first two publications of Benjamin—one in Constantinople in 1543 and another

in Ferrara in 1556—derive from the same manuscript that is now in the National Library of Israel

in Jerusalem.[245] This manuscript is not medieval: it was compiled and transcribed from now-lost

older sources in Italy around 1520 (the city is not specified). It is unlikely that van Bombergen

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[243] See Marina Caffiero, *The History of the Jews in Early Modern Italy: From the Renaissance to the Restoration*, trans. Paul M. Rosenberg (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), 42-44; and Piet van Boxel, "Hebrew Books and Censorship in Sixteenth-Century Italy," in *Jewish Books and Their Readers: Aspects of the Intellectual Life of Christians and Jews in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Scott Mandelbrote and Joanna Weinberg (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 76; and Heller, *Further Studies in the Making of the Early Hebrew Book*, 398-400.

[244] Translated passage in David Werner Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy: Being Chapters in the History of the Hebrew Printing Press* (Philadelphia: Julius H. Greenstone, 1909), 183.

[245] MS Heb 82647, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem. Marci Freedman surveys the sixteenth-century publications based on circulating manuscripts in "The Transmission and Reception of Benjamin of Tudela's *Book of Travels* from the Twelfth Century to 1633," (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2016), 70-82. Freedman includes an invaluable report on the Hebrew manuscript in Jerusalem, with English translations of key information on pages 43-68. For the Soncino family and their press, responsible for the publication in Constantinople, see Heller, *Further Studies in the Making of the Early Hebrew Book*, 3-34, 81.

was unaware of such a manuscript. "Constantly," ha-Kohen wrote, "there went in and out of his house many learned men and he never withdrew his hand from giving unto all in accordance with their demands and to the extent of the means with which God had endowed him."[246] Considering that van Bombergen, as Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin argues, held a monopoly over Hebrew print in Italy from 1516 through the 1540s, it is most likely that the Jerusalem manuscript was processed by someone from within his network.[247]

Van Scorel's involvement with van Bombergen was among these intellectual transactions. Even though Venice was a port city from where most journeys to Asia departed (the other was Genoa), van Mander was under the impression that van Scorel had arrived in the Veneto without a plan to travel beyond Italy but was persuaded by an entourage of Dutch travelers that he had met while there to join them on their way to Jerusalem.[248] Van Scorel wanted to go, but he did not have the money. He was still a rather journeyman artist, in the sense that he had no stable workshop of his own or a secure patron. As we have seen in the first chapter, he solicited commissions during his travels to continue to fund his itinerancy. Bruce Nielson has compellingly argued that van Bombergen would have seen in van Scorel an opportunity.[249] One of van Bombergen's editors, Jacob ben Ḥayyim ibn Adoniyaho, wrote in the introduction to the second edition of the Rabbinic Bible: "he did all in his power to send into all

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[246] ha-Kohen cited in Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy*, 183-184.

[247] Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, *The Censor, The Editor, and the Text: The Catholic Church and the Shaping of the Jewish Canon in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Jackie Feldman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 101-102.

[248] van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, bk. 4, folio 235r-235v. See Jehoel, *Het culturele network van Jan van Scorel*, 165-219.

[249] Bruce Nielson, "Daniel van Bombergen, A Bookman of Two Worlds," in *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*, eds. Joseph R. Hacker and Adam Shear (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 58-59.

the countries in order to search out what may be found."[250] Others from van Bombergen's circle

praised his generous support in funding their journeys to Asia to seek out the most accurate

secrets of Jewish antiquity. The linguist Guillaume Postel explicitly stated "in order to bring

back sacred books in the earlier forms of the characters, …Daniel Bomberg asked me to seek

them and paid me the expenses."[251] We do not know how van Scorel scrounged up the funds to

go to Jerusalem, but Nielson believes van Bombergen may be the answer: "we know that van

Bombergen funded others' trips to the East, hoping always to acquire more ancient manuscripts

in Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, and other languages, so why not van Scorel?"[252] Gaila Jehoel even

suspects that van Bombergen, pleased with what van Scorel brought back from Asia,

spearheaded the artist's success by introducing him to the Catholic elite in Rome.[253]

     As a "lover of the art of Painting," in the words of van Mander, van Bombergen mediated

between artists and collectors.[254] He carried on his family's business of selling luxurious

tapestries to nobles and royals across Europe and acted as proprietor of Hieronymus Bosch's

estate after the artist's death in 1516.[255] One collector he established ties with while he was in

Venice was Cardinal Domenico Grimani; the same Cardinal in whose collection Michiel noted a

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[250] Cited in Nielson, "Daniel van Bombergen," 58.

[251] Guillaume Postel, *De foenicum literis* (Paris: Martinum Juvenum, 1552), folio d.iii.v; cited in Nielson, "Daniel van Bombergen," 59.

[252] Nielson, "Daniel van Bombergen," 58.

[253] Jehoel, *Het culturele network van Jan van Scorel*, 125-126, 162.

[254] Bernard Aikema, "Hieronymus Bosch and Italy?" in *Hieronymus bosch: New Insights into His Life and Work*, ed. Jos Koldewij, Bernard Vermet, and Barbera van Kooij (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2001), 29; Nielson, "Daniel van Bombergen," 59-60. Especially see the essays in Aikema, ed., *Jheronimus Bosch e Venezia*, from 2017, where van Bombergen is a major theme.

[255] For van Scorel's affiliation with van Bombergen and patrons in Venice such as Grimani, see Rosella Lauber, "Per il cardinal Domenico Grimani. Tra eccellenza e 'materia della fantasia'," in *Jheronimus Bosch e Venezia*, ed. Bernard Aikema (Padua: Marsilio, 2017), 53, 57; and from the same catalogue, Bernard Aikema, "Jheronimus Bosch e Venezia. Tra 'sogni' e 'meraviglie'," 24.

Netherlandish "tower of Nimrod." Grimani's collection in Venice, and his house on the Quirinal hill in Rome, assembled Greek and Roman antiquities with modern art; together reflecting the Cardinal's avid pursuit of humanism.[256] "But his interests," Bernard Aikema argues, "extended to Jewish culture," a curiosity reflected in his collection with such inclusions as the Tower of Babel.[257] With van Bombergen as an erudite colleague, Grimani's collection was able to reflect an impressive erudition of Jewish antiquity in Europe.

Locating van Scorel within van Bombergen's world of intellectual exchanges requires that we accommodate what such a network and experience afforded the artist. Art historians have long elided any substantial study where Netherlandish Tower of Babel paintings evidence connections to sites beyond Italy. But if van Scorel was on the inside of the European production of knowledge concerning Jewish antiquity, then it can hardly be a coincidence that his are the first designs that reformatted the tower into a massive, stout, helicoidal architecture. It is not clear exactly how he came to this formal idea for the tower's architecture, but it is clear that his was an imaginative innovation to the idea of Babel, and that this invention was informed by historical and archaeological erudition. In a particular intellectual context in Venice.

I do wonder, then, if there might be another possible allegorical message in van Scorel's depictions of the *Tower of Babel* based on the pursuit of Hebrew antiquity. It was rumoured by some that based on their names alone, Daniel Bombergen and his nephew David had some kind of distant Jewish origins.[258] This was not true, as ha-Kohen made clear in his editorial notes.[259]

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[256] Monika Schmitter, *The Art Collector in Early Modern Italy: Andrea Odoni and His Venetian Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 85-106.

[257] Aikema "The Lure of the North," 86-87.

[258] Joshua Bloch, "Venetian Printers of Hebrew Books," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 36, no. 2 (1932): 82.

[259] ha-Kohen cited in Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy*, 184

But even as a non-Jewish printer, van Bombergen faced challenges in Europe's anti-Semitic market. In the early sixteenth century, increased legislation against Jews had targeted their ability to publish, and by 1516, Venice placed the Jewish community into a ghetto to restrict their movement and prohibited their production of books (followed by Rome in 1555).[260] Van Bombergen, as a Christian, could publish in Hebrew, and he located his workshop in the ghetto and employed members of the Jewish community as typesetters and proofreaders. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Jews were not only forbidden from owning printing presses, but they also came to witness the confiscation and burning of their books at the will of Italy's Christian leaders. While van Bombergen had publication permissions from the Republic of Venice and from the Vatican, in 1525 his Hebrew press was targeted by the Venetian Senate as an institution that was "against the faith."[261] He was forced to pay, like the Jews, sums of money called a *condotta*, a permission to exist in Venice. But even when he offered 100 ducats to keep his printshop open, the senate refused his request; and only a year later when van Bombergen upped his offer to 500 ducats did they acquiesce.[262] Could it be fitting then, that a painting with linguistic rhetoric such as a picture of the Tower of Babel was somehow able to capture the struggles of the Jewish community and the Hebrew intellectual enterprise in Venice? In this way, multiple allegories add up: at once the "unfinished" quality of so many Babel pictures affords more than one possible outcome, while the iconoclastic tendency of the hubris and punishment would have related to the treatment of Jews by the hands of civic and religious authorities. I suspect that amid the intellectual struggles, the new format of helicoidal architecture reflected the

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[260] Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 90-91.

[261] Bloch, "Venetian Printers of Hebrew Books," 77.

[262] Bloch, "Venetian Printers of Hebrew Books," 77; Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 90-91.

erudite addition of attuned, historical, formal features in the architecture from the stories of Jewish antiquity. The new format of the Tower of Babel attests to a re-naissance of Jewish antiquity in early modern Europe; a subversive claim to and depiction of Jewish antiquity during a time when the texts of Hebrew history were simultaneously produced, censored, and destroyed.

My hypothesis is strengthened when we take into account that the Tower of Babel as an archaeologically imagined history of architecture from Jewish antiquity is also entangled with the sacred stories told by two of Judaism' derivative cults: Christianity and Islam. With or without words, The Tower of Babel and its depicted receptions are each an *archaeology*— etymologically, "arche-logos"—or origin story of the world's three Abrahamic faiths. The world's diversity in the sixteenth century, a multitude rather than a peopled hegemony, was epitomized in linguistic and religious divisions.

Van Scorel's archaeological imagination carried through the sixteenth century, and while he shaped the many variations of the Tower of Babel that reflected antiquarian knowledge, the context of his Babel picture also foreshadowed ongoing religious confusions in the sixteenth century. The sustainment of van Scorel's archaeological imagination was no coincidence. In 1575, Christophe Plantin's workshop in Antwerp published the first Latin translation of Benjamin's travelogue, rendering the descriptions of the Mesopotamian ziggurat available to the majority of early modern humanists.[263] The Spanish theologian Benito Arias Montano had acquired a copy by 1563, and over the course of a decade, translated the text from Hebrew for Plantin. Montano had, since 1568, already been helping the publisher prepare Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, and Latin translations of the bible in the eight volumes of the Polyglot bible

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[263] Freedman, "The *Transmission* and Reception of Benjamin of Tudela's *Book of Travels*," 135-148.

that were printed by the end of 1571 and completed two years later.[264] Plantin was able to publish a bible in Hebrew precisely because he had acquired Daniel van Bombergen's entire inventory, including the type cut by Jewish residents of Venice's ghetto. Van Bombergen had already returned to Antwerp by 1539, and a few years after his death a decade later, his relatives saw the rise of anti-semitism in Venice as their cue to pack up his printing enterprise in Venice and ship his manuscripts, books, printing technology, and Hebrew type to Antwerp. Van Bombergen's son Charles and nephew Cornelius contracted a partnership with Plantin's workshop, lasting until 1567, that ensured the lucrative sale of van Bombergen's estate and Plantin's ability to succeed their family's printing legacy as Europe's primary source of Jewish literary publications.[265] In 1562 and 1563, Plantin, like van Bombergen, was held suspect by the Catholic state, and he was placed under harsh surveillance as an alleged Calvinist (an accusation later confirmed).[266] For at least five years after he and Montano finished the Polyglot bible, disapproving Catholic officials forbade Plantin to sell it.[267] During this time, the popularity of the Tower of Babel as a painted variation of a theme skyrocketed in the Netherlandish workshop. If, as many allegories claim, these paintings reflect the religious struggles of the reformation, then they do so as reflections of the multitude—of the world's languages, religions, and cultures— whose origins lie in Hebrew antiquity.

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[264] *Biblia Sacra: hebraice, chaldaice, graece et latine*, 8 vols. (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1569-1573). See Ben Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598)*, (London: Warburg Institute, 1972), 45-69; Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: The History of the House of Plantin-Moretus* (Amsterdam: Vangendt & Co., 1969), 1:60-65.

[265] Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion: The Learned Book in the Age of Confessions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 108; Nielson, "Daniel van Bombergen," 67.

[266] Sullivan, *Bruegel and the Creative Process*, 176.

[267] Stephen G. Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500-1660)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 202.

We have long concluded that Plantin's workshop was a source of inspiration for his friend, Bruegel, who had intimate knowledge of the Antwerp printer's literature during pre-publication processes.[268] What this also means, I must add, is that to build in paint the world of Babylon, Bruegel was consulting the same literature—the same stories—and intellectual antiquarianism in which van Scorel had been immersed decades earlier. Bruegel's knowledge of West Asia had been translated from Venice to Antwerp, but the vast archaeological literature in which the Tower of Babel was known, seen, and described, highlights the crucial fact that his rich arrays of allegorical and textual references are ensconced by the historical world his picture builds. To echo Haraway's opening words to this chapter, it mattered to sixteenth-century painters, what stories made worlds. It also mattered what kinds of worlds made the stories they retold in visual media. The Tower of Babel is an exceptional example of how worlds are processed, which is to say, how archaeological imagination processes the past and builds its world in each iteration: It matters what worlds of art and archaeology world the world of ancient Babylon.

Conclusion

Even though Born had not yet assembled all the pieces, he was correct to assume that van Scorel's painting in the Ca' d'Oro reflected the kinds of knowledge exchanged within his world of travellers, antiquarians, and humanists involved with researching Jewish antiquity. A few art historians in the twentieth century had already suggested that we look beyond Europe to analyze Netherlandish depictions of the Tower of Babel. In 1916, Theodor Dombart suggested that in

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[268] Koerner, *Bosch & Bruegel*, 302; Meganck, *Erudite Eyes*, 15-35; Sullivan, *Bruegel and the Creative Process*, 3-5; Mansbach, "Pieter Bruegel's Towers of Babel," 52.

addition to Herodotus, artists would have turned to Benjamin's travelogue, which provided a crucial detail regarding the scale, shape, helicoidal format, and rupture of the tower.[269] He believed, as well, that architectural historians should start considering the mosque minarets as a likely stylistic source, since Samarra was becoming increasingly known to the west through an increase in early modern travel. In 1943, Born echoed Dombart's opinion and agreed that the mosque minarets make sense as the likely architectural iconography that artists and architects, without misidentifying the mosque as the tower, associated with a Mesopotamian style. He concluded: "it is reasonable to suppose that Jan Scorel had heard about the Malwiya or had seen a representation of it in the Orient, for it was famous enough to be imitated in distant Cairo."[270] Born's opinion has hardly had an impact in the scholarship on the Tower of Babel. Instead of questioning why van Scorel was the initiator of the architectural format's change, scholars have turned to Bruegel's panels and, even though they recognize a vague similarity with the minarets, produced instead multiple allegorical meanings that now dominate the tower's reception in art historical studies. However, it is important to emphasize that, even though Bruegel's panels, centuries later, became the most famous of towers in modern art history, he was not the originator of the new format. Instead, he was responding to a wave of archaeological erudition that, as Born argued, van Scorel had set in motion decades earlier.

When artists approached the process required to imagine what the Tower of Babel looked like, they selected the best assemblage of textual descriptions and architectural examples. Rich written descriptions of diverse monuments clung to the iconographic "residue" of Roman architecture that was most accessible to European artists' repertory of motifs. "Written words are

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[269] Theodor Dombart, "Kunsthistorische Studie zum Babelturm-Problem," *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 21 (1916): 4-9.

[270] Born, "Spiral Towers in Europe and Their Oriental Prototypes," 239.

residue," argued Walter J. Ong, which was to say that "writing makes 'words' appear similar to things because we think of words as the visible marks signaling words to decoders: we can see and touch such inscribed 'words' in texts and books."[271] Netherlandish towers of Babel have long conveyed to viewers an architectural grammar of the multitude instead of the particular, which has determined their confused reception. Through this confusion, one thing is clear: artists were replicating, more so than any specific building, the helicoidal quality of West Asian architecture that spanned millennia.

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[271] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 1982), 11.

Chapter 3

The Bodying Column in Renaissance Architecture: The Egyptian Telamons from Tivoli across European Art and Architecture

> *Bodies that matter* is not an idle pun, for to be material means to materialize, where the principle of the materialization is precisely what "matters" about the body.
> - Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter*

A figure steps forward from the pier of a triumphal arch at the left of Maarten van Heemskerck's (1498-1574) *Landscape of Ruins with Saint. Jerome* (fig. 3.1). A face on the monument's surface similar to that of the figure appears as an echo, like a trace of the walking figure's movement left behind. Together, they bear on their heads what is left of an architrave. The beam arrests their movement and defines the figure in the round as architectural ornament: an anthropomorphized column, a column sculpted in the shape of a human body.

Van Heemskerck's column stands alone as one of the last remnants of the urban fabric that has collapsed around it. The lone column was exemplary of in Renaissance architecture, a practice with a theory laid out by Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) in his 1450 treatise *De re aedificatoria*, "On the Art of Building." There he writes "in the whole art of building the column is the principal ornament without any doubt; it may be set in combination, to adorn a portico, wall, or other form of opening, nor is it unbecoming when standing alone."[1] Accordingly this chapter is only about the column van Heemskerck painted and the way that it moved across media in Renaissance theories of architecture. What I refer to as "the bodying column" takes into account the kind of architectural fragment exemplified by van Heemskerck's painted figure as an

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[1] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), 83 (6.13). The epigraph is from page 25 (1.10).

emergent medium, as the ongoing processing of materiality in transcultural and transhistorical

social circumstances.[2] I will expand upon the picture's meaning and patronage in chapter four.

Van Heemskerck designed the Egyptian column for the painting in 1547 after two ancient

red granite columns that stood in Tivoli (fig. 3.2). He would have seen them during his stay in

Rome between 1532-1536/1537, and likely had a rendering on hand to consult in the decades

after his return to Haarlem.[3] Ancients had sculpted the prototypes in human forms, chiseling out

from single blocks of red granite bare-chested men with muscular torsos, arms, and legs.

Vitruvius, the ancient Roman author of the sole surviving text on architecture from antiquity, had

given this type of column a name:

> If statues of male figures hold up mutules or cornices, we call them *telamons*—the reasons for this or why they are so called are not to be found in the history books—and the Greeks call them *atlantes*. For Atlas is portrayed in history as holding up the cosmos.[4]

In his published annotations on Vitruvius, the French humanist Guillaume Philandrier (1505-

1563) brought attention to the fact that in ancient Greek mythology, there was a prominent

patriarchal figure by the name of King Telamon, to which he adds "it is surprising that Vitruvius

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[2] I derive my term "bodying column" from scholarship within body studies, such as Brian Massumi, Erin Manning, and Fred Moten who refer to "bodying" as the "accumulation of relative perspectives and the passages between;" it is the process across "nodes of relation—ecologies—actively co-composing." Cited passages from Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 57; and Erin Manning, *Always More than One: Individuation's Dance* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 19. Also see the way it is applied to processes of becoming in Erin Manning, *The Minor Gesture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 115-117; Fred Moten, *Black and Blur* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), 77; and Fred Moten, *The Universal Machine* (Durhan, NC: Duke University Press, 2018), 170. Manning explicitly connects bodying with Black activism in *For a Pragmatics of the Useless* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020).

[3] Karel van Mander located van Heemskerck in Rome for only three years: "doe hy maer dry Jaer to Room had gheweest," in Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem: Paschier van Wesbusch, 1604), 2, bk. 4, folio 245v. Based on material evidence of longer activity, Ilja M. Veldman extended this stay to 1537 in *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the sixteenth century* (Maarssen: Gary Schwartz, 1977), 12, 32; and Arthur J. DiFuria maintains this dating in *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome: Antiquity, Memory, and the Cult of Ruins* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 167.

[4] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, eds. Ingrid D. Rowland & Thomas Noble Howe, trans. Ingrid D. Rowland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 83; 6.7.6.

hid this."[5] Debates over Vitruvius' terminology aside, what was clear in the sixteenth century

was that anthropomorphized columns could be gendered. Philandrier also informs his readers

that early modern architects identified the telamons as Egyptian based on their sartorial

finishing.[6] On each head, we see a cloth *nemes*, a royal head covering, and wrapped around each

waist, a *shendyt*, which is a kind of Egyptian kilt.[7] One of the columns also appears on the

Egyptian page of the Colonna Missal that was written and illuminated sometime in the late 1520s

or early 1530s (fig. 3.3). In effect, it was known at the time that van Heemskerck's painted

telamon depicted an Egyptian.

  This chapter argues that van Heemskerck's depiction of an Egyptian column reveals the

networked exchanges of artistic ideas in the sixteenth century that engaged architecture within a

long history of the reception of imperial conquest, including the subjugation of bodies under

empire. By the fifteenth century, the columns bore meaning as architectural fragments, made of

African stone, that attested to Imperial Rome's vast reach into its provinces. In addition to their

stone medium, the columns are also sculpted in the shape of human bodies. The reception of

ancient anthropomorphized columns was flourishing in sixteenth-century Europe, and the

resulting discourse determined an iconography of these columns as architecture's indentured

captives; enslaved to forever bear the burden of the building into which they have been

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[5] "Id Seruius Æneid. I. ex Ennio explicat. Ait enim Telamonem latine, græce Atlanta dici. Mirum est Vitruuium id latuisse," in ... *in decem libros M. Vitruuii Pollionis De architectura annotationes* (Rome: Apud Io. Andream Dossena Thaurineñ, 1544), 203. Philandrier spent nearly a decade in Italy between 1536 and 1545. He resided with his patron, Georges d'Armagnac, in Venice, where he met and studied architectural literature with Sebastiano Serlio. In 1540, Philandrier followed D'Armagnac to Rome, where he continued to study antiquities and work on his translation of Vitruvius. See Richard Cooper, *Roman Antiquities in Renaissance France, 1515-65* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 55-56.

[6] "Sunt et Tyburti invenes duo, alti pedes duodecim, quos aliquando antepagmentorum fuisse loco sunt qui existiment, ornatu capitis Aegyptio," in Philandrier, ... *annotationes*, 5.

[7] Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 53-60.

installed.[8] I contend that the proliferation of the telamons across Europe reveals the ways that architecture's enslaved subjects were not limited to ancient stories, but became a part of a wider realm of Renaissance European visual culture. In this case, Africa, and African bodies, are the implied subjects of imperial domination.

Literature Review

Obscurity as to the painting's whereabouts for most of the twentieth century has resulted in next to no scholarship on the picture or its meaning. In 1746, a picture described as a "rudera" *mit dem heil. Hieronymo*, or a "rubble/ruins with Saint Jerome," was noted in the collection of the Viennese House of Shönborn—a noble family of the Holy Roman Empire.[9] In this inventory, Van Heemskerck is not listed as the painter. Instead, the artist is identified as "Gorg," which may have been the sixteenth-century Flemish artist Joris Hoefnagel, considering that "Georg" is Joris in German. This Gorg is only responsible for the depicted subject. The landscape of this Jerome painting is attributed to a "Cossiau," which may refer to the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century landscape painter Jan Joost van Cossiau. It is clear that this was a landscape with ruins, or a ruinscape, with Saint Jerome. It is unclear if this actually was a painting by Hoefnagel, later retouched by Cossiau, or if it was van Heemskerck's painting and collectors were confused as to its attribution. In either case, by 1768, the Viennese Shönborn had merged with the counts of Buchheim, and a nineteenth-century inventory of the Schönborn-Buchheim

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[8] Across the early modern Mediterranean, the terms "captive" and "slave" were interchangeable. See Daniel Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea: Slavery, Communication, and Commerce in Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 4.

[9] Johann Balthasar Gutwein, *Beschreibung Des Fürtreflichen Gemähld- Und Bilder-Schatzes, Welcher in denen Hochgräflichen Schlössern und Gebäuen Deren Reichs-Grafen von Schönborn, Bucheim, Wolfsthal, [et]c. Sowohl In dem Heil. Röm. Reich, als in dem Ertz-Hertzogthum Oesterreich zu ersehen und zu finden* (Wirtzburg: Marco Antonio Engman, 1746), folio X1r.

collection identifies van Heemskerck as the author of a *Landschaft mit dem büssenden heiligen Hieronymus*, "Landscape with the penitent Saint Jerome" (fig. 4.4).[10] Shortly after, when it was assumed to be lost, it was actually just hidden from scholars within the private homes of modern descendants of Hapsburg families. This late provenance, however, does not quite affirm the painting's sixteenth-century audience, but it does prove that the picture was within collections of families from the Hapsburg network. These families are the later inheritors of the Holy Roman Imperial legacies, in which Charles V's conquest of Africa in 1535 was a pinnacle memory of their expansive colonial ambitions.[11]

The first reference to the painting as one of van Heemserkck's pictures was made in 1894, but within a few decades after the identification was made, scholars thought the painting was lost—"said to be now in America," according to Edward S. King in 1944.[12] It is unclear if *Landscape of Ruins* was accessible to art historians. In 1912, Godefridus J. Hoogewerff briefly mentioned *Landscape of Ruins* as an example of van Heemskerck's tendency to copy Roman architecture, but did not reproduce the painting among the plates in his book *Nederlandsche Schilders in Italië in de XVIe Eeuw*.[13] Thirty years later, in Hoogewerff's survey of Dutch painters, he again mentions the painting, this time only to provide an example of an artist who cleverly signed his work (on the sheet where Jerome writes).[14] Even by 1980, Rainold Grosshans

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[10] Theodor von Frimmel, *Kleine Galeriestudien: Neue Folge* (Leipzig: Georg Heinrich Meyer, 1894-1897), 3:19, cat. 11.

[11] See the chapter "The greatest generation (1516-64)" in Benjamin Curtis, *The Habsburgs: The History of a Dynasty* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 55-82.

[12] Frimmel, *Kleine Galeriestudien*, 3:19, cat. 11; Edward S. King, "A New Heemskerck," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 7/8 (1944/1945): 65 n.11.

[13] G.J. Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche Schilders in Italië in de XVIe Eeuw: De Geschiedenis van het Romanisme* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1912), 200-201.

[14] G.J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst* ('S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1941-1942), 325.

was unable to find *Jerome* to produce a reproduction of the painting in his extensive catalogue of van Heemskerck's work, and the dimensions are listed as "unknown."[15] Seven years later, Jefferson Harrison mentions *Landscape with Saint Jerome* in his dissertation catalogue, but says nothing of its assumed loss.[16] He lists it as part of the private collection of Georg, Count Schönborn-Buchheim, in Göllersdorf and Vienna. Neither Harrison nor any other scholar published anything further. The painting remained virtually invisible until the Prince of Liechtenstein, Hans-Adam II, bought it at auction in 2006, and included it among the princely collections in Vienna.[17] However, even a year after its sale, Boudewijn Bakker and Michael Hoyle refer to van Heemskerck's *Landscape with St. Jerome* as missing.[18] This obscurity explains the painting's near absence from art historical analyses.

In 2019, Arthur J. DiFuria provided the first scholarly analysis of the painting since its "rediscovery," but he does not note the panel's obscure provenance.[19] I will return to DiFuria's argument in the literature review of the fourth chapter, but here I point out that his contribution to the painting's discourse is to steer it in a direction of hagiography. DiFuria confronts the puzzling picture as a hagiographic enigma, especially since many artists before van Heemskerck had painted Saint Jerome, even similarly in the wilderness, but none had located their pictures in a realm of so much ancient architecture. Jerome's popularity as a subject in sixteenth-century art

[15] Rainald Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck: die Gemälde* (Berlin: Boettcher, 1980), 177, cat. 57. Grossan provides, instead, a print made by Hieronymus Cock in 1552 as an accurate replication of the painting. This print will be of focus in chapter four.

[16] Jefferson Harrison. "The Paintings of Maerten van Heemskerck—A Catalogue Raisonné" (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1987), 641-649, cat. 69.

[17] Alexandra Hanzl, Director & Curator of the Liechtenstein Princely Collections, e-mail message to author, June 16, 2021.

[18] Boudewijn Bakker and Michael Hoyle, "Pictores, Adeste! Hieronymus Cock Recommending His Print Series," *Simiolus* 33, no. 1/2 (2007/2008): 61.

[19] DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 209-211.

significantly increased after the humanist scholar from Rotterdam, Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466-1536), published the saint's letters in 1516.[20] DiFuria aims to correct what he believes is an oversight: the few references to the painting in art history have not made a hagiographic connection between the architecture and the saint. Additionally, he suggests that Jerome's new popularity through Erasmus could have opened a demand for a new kind of Jerome picture such as van Heemskerck's.

While it is fair to say that a picture of a saint is likely hagiographic, I cannot help but focus on how the large scale of the column is an odd compositional choice in a picture of Saint Jerome. In van Heemskerck's painting, the figure of the saint is diminished and placed under the column's feet. Jerome did not belong underneath anyone's feet. Jerome was renowned for his fourth-century translation of ancient Hebrew and Greek scriptures into Latin, known as the Vulgate, that would form the main corpus of later Christian bibles across Europe. According to the Golden Legend, Jerome isolated himself in the West Asian deserts after growing tired of the sinful Roman ways, eventually making his way to Bethlehem to live in the cave where he believed Jesus was born.[21] As a desert-dwelling hermit, he continued to translate the scriptures. By the 1540s, variations of Jerome pictures across Europe placed the saint as either a scholar in his study working on his translations, in the wilderness, or some combination of the two. In van Heemskerks' painting, we find Jerome's key iconographic objects on the fragment of a stone floor to the lower left that doubles as a visual register and platform on which we behold the

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[20] Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 61, *Patristic Scholarship: The Edition of St. Jerome*, ed. and trans. James F. Brady and John C. Olin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992). For the connection between Jerome and Erasmus in the Netherlands and Germany, see Shira Brisman, *Albrecht Dürer and the Epistolary Mode of Address* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 115-122.

[21] Jacopus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 597-602.

saint.[22] A red cardinal's hat and gown are draped on the boulders that encircle the platform, a scourge that he used to whip himself lies at his feet, a stone is in the grip of his right fist with which he will beat his breast until he bleeds, and behind Jerome rests his lion companion, from whose paw he extracted a troublesome thorn. Van Heemskerck's Jerome is an elderly figure hunched over an illuminated manuscript, supporting his crumbling weight on a human skull. But hagiography is not enough. The saint's iconography is all there, but the picture's story—with all of its ruins, and the inclusion of a massive telamon—is not clear.

Every figure—every image in the design, whether that is a person, building, lion, skull, or telamon—in a Renaissance composition is part of a picture's story, referred to in the period as the *historia*.[23] Fifteen years before Alberti wrote his treatise on architecture, he theorized *historia* in *De pictura*, a treatise in three parts that details the process of rendering architectonic space on flat surfaces.[24] "The great work of the painter," Alberti writes, "is the 'historia'; parts of the 'historia' are the bodies, part of the body is the member, and part of the member is a surface."[25] To paint a picture, artists must master three things: circumscription, the reception of light, and

[22] For the development of Jerome's iconography see Eugene F. Rice, Jr., "The Cult," in *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 49-83. Also see Bernhard Ridderbos, *Saint and Symbol: Images of Saint Jerome in Early Italian Art* (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1984); and Daniel Russo, *Saint Jérôme en Italie: Étude d'iconographie et de spiritualité (XIIIe-XVe siècle)* (Paris/Rome: Éditions la Découverte/École Française de Rome, 1987).

[23] Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), 11-12.

[24] There is some debate among scholars of Netherlandish art whether or not artists in the north knew *De pictura* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. On one hand, Marisa Anne Bass makes the case that no known editions of Alberti's treatise appear in Netherlandish library collections, which makes it difficult to assume a northern readership, in *Jan Gossart and the Invention of Netherlandish Antiquity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 14. On the other hand, Joanna Woodall, Bart Ramakers, and Ann-Sophie Lehmann argue "although very few people in the Low Countries would have read Alberti's words, his ideas were widely disseminated in Christian Europe and resonate with an epistemological regime in which visual reference was conceived as a form of attraction…," in "*Ars amicitiae*," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 70, no. 1 (2020): 13.

[25] Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. Cecil Grayson (London: Penguin, 2004), 68.

composition. It is "these combinations of surfaces in their correct relationship," Alberti writes,

that determines the success of the *historia*."[26] Translated as either *storia* or *istoria* in Italian, and

history in English, Alberti's Latin *historia* is often applied to a work as a way to explain the

illustrated narrative or historical theme of a painting. This is only partly true. Jack M. Greenstein

and Anthony Grafton have compellingly argued that "narrative" is not Alberti's only sense of the

word.[27] *Historia* was, in antiquity and the Middle Ages, a prized component of rhetoric in the

liberal arts. It entailed the imaginative recounting of the past with a selective composition of

words. Even though each piece of the story is essential to the telling of the *historia*, the erudite

composition builds something more than the superficial meaning through each of its parts. By

framing *historia* as the penultimate goal of painting, Alberti located in painted pictures the

rhetorical command of history.

In a similar model, Vitruvius adamantly believed that a builder of worlds, whether that be

an architect or an emperor, must know "a great deal of history."[28] The ancient author provided

examples of *historia* in his work that served to isolate ideas and explain the subject matter at

hand.[29] Among his most notable examples of *historia* is an explanation of how architects began

to build with columns in the shape of human bodies. At the very start of his first book, he

introduces anthropomorphized columns as enslaved captives, locked into buildings as tectonic

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[26] Alberti, *On Painting*, 64, 71.

[27] Jack M. Greenstein, "Alberti's View of the Structure of Significant in Pictorial Narrative," in *Mantegna and Painting as Historical Narrative* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 34-58; Anthony Grafton, "A Humanist Crosses Boundaries: Alberti on 'Historia' and 'Istoria'," in *Worlds made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 35-55. Greenstein and Grafton counter Michael Baxandall who influentially applied *istoria* as the basic illustration of holy stories in *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 45-55.

[28] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, 22 (1.1). For the role of the emperor as a builder of worlds, see Indra Kagis McEwen, *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).

[29] See the editorial commentary provided in Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, 135.

ornaments to forever bear the burden imposed by their of their conquerors. Compositional selection, Vitruvius argues, should not be frivolous, "because architects often include such ornaments in their work, and ought to be able to supply anyone who asks with an explanation why they have introduced certain motifs."[30]

This chapter provides the first scholarly explanation of van Heemskerck's Egyptian column, a figure that has been ignored in the existing literature as a crucial part of the composition. Alberti promoted Vitruvius' example for builders of words in pictures when he wrote "we will work out the whole 'historia' and each of its parts by making preparatory studies on paper, and take advice on it with all our friends; so that there will be nothing in the picture whose exact collocation we do not know perfectly."[31] Before analyzing the picture as a whole in the following chapter, in this chapter, I first explore what an Egyptian telamon from Tivoli meant to Renaissance architects and artists, and propose why such a bodying column is standing in van Heemskerck's painting.

The Telamons at Tivoli

The two red granite telamons from Tivoli that inspired van Heemskerck's painted figure now stand in the Vatican Museums, but they originally served as part of the architecture of an ancient villa.[32] In the Renaissance age of drawn, printed and painted reproduction, van Heemskerck

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[30] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, 22 (1.1).

[31] Alberti, *On Painting*, 94.

[32] On the telamons, see Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 200-208; James Stevens Curl, *The Egyptian Revival: Ancient Egypt as the Inspiration for Design Motifs in the West* (London: Routledge, 2005), 47-56; and Anne Roullet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 85-88. Nikolaus Pevsner and S. Lang brought them into modern architectural discourse in "The Egyptian Revival," *Architectural Review* 119 (1956): 249.

imagined one of the telamons in a new archaeological context. The lone column in *Landscape of Ruins* is among the columnar replications that brings our inquiry back to the telamons themselves.

The columns are not actually Egyptian, but ancient Roman; sculpted for and installed in the villa of the Roman emperor Hadrian. The emperor built the villa thirty kilometres northeast of Rome, and five kilometres southeast of Tivoli. There he ordered the construction of a massive complex of temples, baths, lodgings, and an outdoor pool that emulated the green marshlands of the Nile Delta. Sculpted deities, crocodiles, and portraits of politicians stood in and among the structures. These included busts and larger-than-life statues of Hadrian's young lover Antinous. During the pair's travels to Egypt, Antinous drowned in the Nile. Hadrian commemorated his beloved boyfriend by creating a cult of worship for him in Egypt and throughout the Mediterranean. He commissioned statues of Antinous to resemble those of the ancient Egyptian god of the dead, fertility, and resurrection, Osiris.[33] The two telamons at Tivoli were among these sculpted portraits, carved in the Egyptian style to at once indicate Antinous and Osiris (fig. 3.4).[34]

In the centuries after the decline of imperial Rome, the villa was abandoned, and with time, the buildings became medieval quarries for *spolia*: reused architectural fragments. In 1461, the fifteenth-century archaeologist Flavio Biondo (1392-1463) and his patron Pope Pius II (r.

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[33] Caroline Vout analyzes the Antinous 'portrait type,' sometimes referred to as the "Antinous formula," in "Antinous, Archaeology and History," *Journal of Roman Studies* 95 (2005): 80-96.

[34] Zaccaria Mari and Sergio Sgalambro, "The Antinoeion of Hadrian's Villa: Interpretation and Architectural Reconstruction," *American Journal of Archaeology* 111, no. 1 (2007): 98-99. Also see Stephanie Moser, "Reconstructing Ancient Worlds: Reception Studies, Archaeological Representations and the Interpretation of Ancient Egypt," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 22, no. 4 (2015), 1282; and Bob Brier, *Egyptomania: Our Three-Thousand Year Obsession with the Land of the Pharaohs* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 25.

1458-1464) identified Hadrian's Villa as the overgrown site of massive ancient ruins that the

locals called *Tibur Vetus* or *Tivoli vecchio*, both of which mean "Old Tivoli."[35] The pope was

renovating parts of the commune of Tivoli at the time, and he carted the telamons out of the villa

ruins to stand on the Via delle Colle in Tivoli to ornament a gate to the Bishop's palace, the

Palazzo Archivescovile (fig. 3.5).[36] It is unclear, however, if van Heemskerck, or if other artists

and architects, recognised Antinous in the telamons.

The first explicit connection between the telamons and Antinous was made in 1764, when

Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) wrote about them in *Geschichte der Kunst des*

Alterthums, "History of the Art of Antiquity."[37] This is surprising, especially since some

sculptures of Antinous as Osiris were discovered at Hadrian's villa in the sixteenth century, and

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[35] Biondo discusses the find in a private letter dated 12 September 1461. See Peter Fane Saunders, "Pyres, Villas, and Mansions: Architectural Fragments in Biondo Flavio's *Roma Triumphans*," in *The Invention of Rome: Biondo Flavio's* Roma Triumphans *and its Worlds*, eds. Frances Muecke and Maurizio Campanelli (Geneva: Droz, 2017), 188-189. The full passage that Biondo wrote in *Italia illustrata* reads: "There are huge and impressive ruins in the neighborhood of Tivoli: apart from all the other sumptuous buildings, almost without number, there are the remains of the villa that the emperor Hadrian constructed. Aelius Spartianus writes of it: 'His villa at Tibur was marvellously [sic] constructed, and he actually gave to parts of it the names of provinces and places of the greatest renown,'" in Flavio Biondo, *Italy Illuminated*, trans. Jeffrey A. White (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 1:167. Also see William L. Macdonald and John A. Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa and Its Legacy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 207.

[36] For the pope's construction in Tivoli at the time, including the Rocca Pia see Pius II, *The Commentaries*, trans. Margaret Meserve (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 3:141, V.26. Curl speculates Pius moved the telamons in *The Egyptian Revival*, 85. Curran notes that by the end of the sixteenth century, Pius' role seems to be somewhat forgotten. Some locals assumed that Tivoli took the telamons from Tusculum after the latter militantly opposed papal authority and was destroyed between 1183-91. This local legend serves only to buttress Tivoli as the claimant of triumphal booty. Tusculum, like Tivoli, is one of Rome's nearby communes, and is only 25 km to the south of Tivoli. It is likely that even if Pius's role was forgotten, and the telamons were believed to have come from Tusculum, that most viewers with the slightest antiquarian leaning would have at least speculated that clans from Tusculum had raided Hadrian's Villa, where similar sculpture in the Egyptian style was also found. See Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance*, 203-204.

[37] Johan Joachim Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (Dresden: Waltherischen Hof-Buchhandlung, 1764), 56-58.

other sculptures of Antinous, not as Osiris, were in Renaissance collections.[38] Even a statue of

Mercury was misidentified as Antinous in the early sixteenth century, based on its facial features

that had been carved in a way that resembled the Antinous type. Early modern reception instead

focused on the telamons' format as columns that served an architectural program. One of the

telamons, as Winckelmann saw them, is captured in a drawing by the architect William Kent

(1685-1748) in the early eighteenth century (fig. 3.6). Missing limbs, such as the broken forearm

rendered in Kent's drawing, were restored after 1779, when the commune of Tivoli gifted the

telamons to the Vatican to join the Belvedere sculpture collection in the newly built Museo Pio

Clementino.[39] They were then installed as part of the architecture of the portal that connects the

Vatican Museums' Sala a Croce Greca with the Sala Rotonda, where we find them today (fig.

3.7). Before Winckelmann's identification, the telamons on the Via delle Colle were not seen as

Antinous, but as two captive Egyptians. This shift is important: it reflects the early modern desire

to disidentify them as queer, deified statues, and reidentify them, instead, as enslaved bearers of

meaning.

Questioning the statues' provenance afforded new possible meanings. Their origins as

"Roman," even if simply from an imperial Roman period and sculpted in a Egyptianising style,

is absent from any primary source. These changes could be the result of forgotten or

misconstrued histories, but sometimes the changes were acutely made to direct the ways

architectural programmes conveyed imagined pasts into the present. Based on the absence of

connections to Roman sculptors, or to Hadrian and Antinous, it appears that the telamons were

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[38] Christiane Ziegler, ed., *Egyptomania: L' Égypte dans l'art occidental, 1730-1930* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 46-48, cat. 1; Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture* (London: Harvey Miller, 1986), 58, 163, cat. 128.

[39] Writing at the end of the eighteenth century, Ennio Quirino Visconti and Giambattista Antonio Visconti include the restorations in *Il Museo Pio-Clementino* (Milan: Presso Gli Editori, 1819), 2:14-15.

assumed to have been made by an older, "authentic" Egyptian antiquity. Their life story as objects changed, and they became booty, objects taken to Italy by ancient Romans, and displayed in Hadrian's Villa. By the end of the sixteenth century, a legend had even emerged that the telamons could have been twelfth-century spolia from the nearby village of Tusculum.[40] Regardless, their location in Tivoli, and proximity to Hadrian's Villa, afforded their reception as exquisite examples of Egyptian architectural sculpture

The rediscovery of Hadrian's Villa attracted Renaissance artists and architects to Tivoli, where many saw the telamons on the Via della Colle. When Michelangelo Buonarotti (1475-1564) stayed in Tivoli to study Hadrian's villa in 1515, he was awestruck by the telamons that were then mounted as door jambs in the palazzo gate. The sixteenth-century historian Giovanni Maria Zappi noted in his 1580 annals of Tivoli that Michelangelo claimed the Egyptian columns were "two of the most beautiful monuments from the ancient world, and valued them at three thousand scudi each."[41] Totaling at six thousand scudi for the pair, the sum was well above the one to two thousand scudi that Michelangelo was willing to pay for an entire palazzo in Florence.[42] The telamons' fame and value clearly remained strong in the years that followed. During his trip to Italy with Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) in 1578, Joris Hoefnagel (1542-

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[40] Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance*, 203-204.

[41] quello ecc.mo ms. Michelangelo Bona Rota, sì homo raro al mondo, ritrovandosi in la città di Tivoli per prender desegni dalla Villa di Adriano imperatore disse che queste due memorie si ritrovavano essere delle più belle memorie antique del mondo et che valevano tremila scudi l'una et l'altra," Giovanni Maria Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, ed. Vincenzo Pacifici (Tivoli: Nella sede della società in Villa D' Este, [1580] 1920), 21.

[42] See Rab Hatfield, *The Wealth of Michelangelo* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2002), 179-180. Shortly after the turn of the seventeenth century, the cost of rent in Rome ranged from 12 scudi per year in cheaper quarters, to 25-40 scudi per year in some of the districts where many artists stayed, to 100 scudi per year for more spacious and comfortable accommodations. See Richard E. Spear, "Scrambling for *Scudi*: Notes on Painters' Earnings in Early Baroque Rome," *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 2 (2003): 312.

1601) recorded the columns in his printed view of Tivoli (fig. 3.8).[43] Here the Flemish artist

erects the architectural fragments as heraldic frames for an inscription: "Bina huismodi Egiptiaca

ex porfido marmore Idola Tiburti conspicua sunt," which reads "Two porphyry marble Idols in

the Egyptian style can be seen in Tivoli." Hoefnagel misidentified the stone: the columns are red

granite, not porphyry. Despite this, the print attests to the telamons' enduring popularity in the

sixteenth century as famous landmarks that were part of an artist's formative journey to Tivoli.

      The famous telamons, as van Heemskerck and others saw them, were incomplete ancient

fragments in ruin. Kent's drawing is the sole visual record that depicts the telamons integrated

within Tivoli's urban fabric. Their location in the Vatican museums must be similar to their

intalments in the Bishop's gate, because their supportive pillars are visible when viewed from

behind, a note that the eighteenth-century antiquarian Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-

1768) made when he marveled that each column was carved from a single block of red granite

(fig. 3.9).[44] Other modern finishes include the application of bronze gilding in the shape of

ostrich feathers on the surface of the plain lotus basket; the addition of small discs above the

lotus basket capitals to merge the columns with marble Doric capitals; and the replacement of

square plinths with cylinders. However, before the eighteenth century, when the columns were

still in a gate in Tivoli, they were damaged. In this incomplete state, they afforded early modern

artists the ability to render them as spoliated pieces of the past, which they integrated into newly

imagined designs.

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[43] Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg published a coloured print after Hoefnagel in *Civitates orbis terrarium* (Cologne: Petrus à Brachel, 1581), 3:52. See Marisa Anne Bass, *Insect Artifice: Nature and Art in the Dutch Revolt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 77; and Tine Luk Meganck, *Erudite Eyes: Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 30-31, 96-97. Stephanie Koerner and Edward Wouk isolate this print in their review of Bass' and Meganck's books in "Art in Times of War," *Art History* 44, no. 2 (2021): 429-435.

[44] Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, 56.

Architects who had travelled to Tivoli to study Hadrian's Villa were the first to begin replicating the telamons. Their designs are exemplary of architectural *licentia*, "license," in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[45] License governs the parameters of artistic reuse within modes of early modern invention. To learn from and copy ancient fragments was a basic part of artistic training. License implied the next stage, when one ingeniously replicated their studies in imaginative and inventive ways. Architects and artists mixed the old with the new, and in so doing, invented new modes of replication within an aesthetic paradigm that located ancient fragments at the center of their interest.[46] For example, Giuliano da Sangallo and Baldassare Peruzzi had both drawn the telamons while they were in Tivoli studying Hadrian's Villa before 1500. In Giuliano's drawing, which is the earliest rendering of the telamons that we know of, the architect ignored the columns' placement in Tivoli and imagined them as extracted sculptures. However, the architect joined both of their capitals with a single architrave and adjoined their plinths to the bases of three interspersed tombs which were also in Tivoli. Together, the drawings appear to be an imagined façade made up of different antiquities, where the telamons tower above the ancient Roman Palatine Gate in Turin as colossi (fig. 3.10).[47] Giuliano leaves no doubt that the slightly modified columns are the telamons from Tivoli, indicating in dialect that they are from *Tighcoli*—Tivoli. I emphasize that their existing architectural format partly determined their function in a building's programme, but it did not limit their imaginative reuse.

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[45] See the chapter "License and Archaeology," in Alina A. Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance: Architectural Invention, Ornament, and Literary Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 15-33.

[46] Alina A. Payne, "Creativity and *Bricolage* in Architectural Literature of the Renaissance," *Res* 34 (1998), 20-38.

[47] Barb.lat.4424, folio 43r (previously 41). See Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance*, 204-205; Curl, *The Egyptian Revival*, 113-114.

When van Heemskerck was in Rome, he saw the columns in person, and also would have

seen the inventive designs of other artists and architects. At some point during his five-year stay,

he journeyed to Hadrian's Villa and Tivoli.[48] There he drew the same waterfall that Pieter

Bruegel (c. 1525-1569) and Hoefnagel included in their landscape views of Tivoli.[49] If van

Heemskerck made drawings of the Egyptian columns, none of those sheets have survived.

Similar drawings do survive, however, by artists from van Heemserkck's social network. One of

these drawing was made by Battista Franco (1510-1561) around 1535. According to Giorgio

Vasari, the young Venetian had arrived in Rome to study Michelangelo's work, but ended up

most impressed with the work of van Heemskerck, who happened to be in the city at the same

time.[50] Franco produced two animated drawings of the telamons, under which the young

Venetian inscribed *alti piedi 12*, "stood twelve feet high," and were *sula piaza di tivollo tuti dua*,

"both in the Tivoli piazza" (fig. 3.11). On the plinth of the Egyptian Telamon on the right,

Franco identifies the column as a "CHARIACHO," a caryatid, claiming a masculine example for

a Caryan slave that serves as architecture's load bearer.[51]

Most travelling artists who wanted to continue working with Italy's ancient and modern

models recorded their observations in sketchbooks and copybooks.[52] These sketchbooks

provided an archive of visual motifs for future replications, both for the artists who drew them,

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[48] DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 289-290.

[49] Nils Büttner, "'Quid siculas sequeris per mille pericula terras?' Ein Beitrag zur Biographie Pieter Bruegels d. Ä. und zur Kulturgeschichte der niederländischen Italienreise," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 27 (2000): 220.

[50] Giorgio Vasari, *Delle Vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori Scultori et Architettori* (Florence: Appresso i Giunti, 1568), part 3, book 2, 585-586.

[51] Curran notes the masculinisation in *The Egyptian Renaissance*, 206.

[52] See Christopher P. Heuer, "On the Peripatetics of the Sixteenth-Century Sketchbook," in *The Notion of the Painter-Architect in Italy and the Southern Low Countries*, ed. Piet Lombaerde (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 149-160.

and for other artists who accessed the drawings at a later date.[53] Van Heemskerck would have

likely had a drawing of the telamons on hand when he painted the figure that steps forward on its

right foot in *Landscape of Ruins*. This could have been a drawing that he made himself, or one

that he copied from one of his colleagues, such as Franco.[54] These kinds of cross-cultural

interactions updated artistic practices north and south of the Alps, effectively promoting new

techniques and modes of recording ancient and modern models.[55] The fact that Franco drew a

telamon while van Heemskerck was in Rome, and that van Heemskerck painted one of them in

Landscape of Ruins a decade later, evinces the opportunities the two men had to debate the

columns in an exchange of ideas, opinions, and images. What is increasingly clear is that for

Renaissance artists and architects, the telamons were a marvel to behold, draw, and replicate in

other media.

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[53] See Cara Rachele's thorough study: "Building Through the Paper: *Disegno* and the Architectural Copybook in the Italian Renaissance" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2015). For the Berlin sketchbook, see Ilja M. Veldman, "The 'Roman Sketchbooks' in Berlin and Maarten van Heemskerck's travel sketchbook," in *Rom zeichnen. Maarten van Heemskerck, 1532-1536/37*, eds. Tatjana Bartsch and Peter Seiler, (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2012), 11-23; and Tatjana Bartsch, "Transformierte Transformation. Zur *fortuna* der Antikenstudien Maarten van Heemskerck sim 17. Jahrhundert," in *Wissensästhetik: Wissen über die Antike in ästhetischer Vermittlung*, ed. Ernst Osterkamp (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), 113-160. Artists employed van Heemskerck's drawings in their compositions well into the seventeenth century. Pieter Saenredam, referred to as an "archaeological painter," provides the most recurring example, and probably owned van Heemskerck's sketchbooks. See I.Q. van Regteren Altena, "Saenredam Archaeoloog," *Oud Holland* 48, no. 1 (1931): 1-13; and Hans Joachim Kunst, "Realität und Fiktion in den Bildern von Pieter Saenredam," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 21 (1986): 118-135.

[54] Indents along the circumscribing lines of the figure on the left, and black chalk on the verso of the sheet, are signs that Franco's drawing was copied. See Carmen C. Bambach, *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Theory and Practice, 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 12, 376n47; and Jacob Bean, *15th and 16th Century Italian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), 101, cat. 91.

[55] Michael W. Cole, *Ambitious Form: Giambologna, Ammanati, and Danti in Florence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 29-33.

Egyptian Red Granite, From Monoliths to Bodies

Aside from being famous fragments of ancient architecture, the telamons were also material things, made of stone that the Emperor Hadrian had quarried in Egypt. From the late first century BCE through to the end of the third century CE, Roman emperors quarried and transported monoliths—massive single blocks of stones—that could each weigh hundreds of tonnes. Builders installed these blocks and columns throughout the empire, from Baalbek to Rome, but within the eternal city itself, the stones signaled a specific message: that the empire had the technological power and surplus wealth to command, organize, and bend infrastructure so as to control the provinces and their resources. As bodies made of stone, the telamons' presence in the Renaissance world determined a reception where ancient imperial lithics indicated ancient imperial subjects.

Whether van Heemskerck drew the telamons himself, or possessed a drawing made by one of his colleagues when he returned north from Italy, he remained aware of the fact that the telamons at Tivoli were red granite. In *Landscape of Ruins*, despite the column's place in the shadows, a deep, warm red exudes from the stone body, emitting the heat stored from the sun that sets in the distance behind the figure. At the same time, cool grey tones resonate from the figure's forehead, cheeks, shoulders, breasts, and abdominals. The red and the grey are not clearly distinct, but shade into other. We find in this painting an example of why Vasari proclaimed van Heemskerck a master of *chiaroscuro*, a master of composing shadows and light.[56] When we look at the picture and move our eye from the blue sky to the figure's face, we behold an obfuscated body, a visual trick that mimes the effect of looking into a shaded space

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[56] "Ne lascerò di dire a questo proposito, che il detto Martino, il quale motlo valse nelle cose di chiaroscuro…," in Vasari, *Delle Vite…*, part 3, book 2, 586.

after exposure to the sun. After a moment, the eye is reminded of the redness of the stone when it compares the face that emerges from the wall with the pier's darker fabric. Moving down toward the base of the column, the nearly obscure feet now appear brilliant with a definite redness. This distinction is visible because of the foot's contrast with the even darker substrate beneath the column that doubles as the roof of Jerome's cave.

Franco's inscription underneath his drawings provides us with evidence that sixteenth-century artists and architects knew that the telamons were made from the kind of Egyptian red granite that they saw in Roman architecture: *Anticha mente servieno p[er] portta, e son[o] di pietra granitta del marme medesimo delle Collone della rotunda*, which reads "In antiquity, they served as a portal, and they are of the same granite stone as the marble columns of the rotunda." The inscription delivers two key facts: the first was that the form of the telamons evidenced their function as door jambs. The second is that they are made of the same granite medium as the "Rotunda's" columns.

Franco's "Rotunda" was the common name for the round ancient temple in Rome known as the Pantheon (fig. 3.12). Since "pantheon" means "all of the gods," the building's name aptly described that the temple was devoted to *the* pantheon, or entirety of deities. As a physical structure, the Pantheon was not in ruin by the time of the Renaissance. This conservation, Biondo revealed, was due to the temple's Christian appropriation. In 609, Pope Boniface IV received permission from the emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire, Flavius Phocas (r. 602-610), to convert the ancient polytheistic temple into a church.[57] Boniface renamed the Pantheon "Santa

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[57] For assessments of the event, see See Erik Thunø, "The Pantheon in the Middle Ages," in *The Pantheon: From Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Tod A. Marder & Mark Wilson Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 232-234; and Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 72.

Maria ad Martyres," or Saint Mary of the Martyrs. This appropriation of the temple's original

devotion to many gods translated ancient polytheism into medieval Christianity's cults for the

saints.[58] Later, the round form of the structure afforded a popular nickname that carried into the

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: "the Pantheon that Marcus Agrippa Built," Biondo writes, "we

now call Santa Maria Rotunda."[59]

After Biondo, Renaissance architects attributed the building of the Pantheon's porch to

Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (64-12 BCE), Augustus' close friend and master builder. While

modern archaeologists recognize the building as Hadrian's update of Agrippa's original

prototype, there were many misidentifications before the nineteenth century. The inscription on

the Pantheon's frieze proudly boasts M. AGRIPPA L. F. COS. III FECIT: "Marcus Agrippa, son

of Lucius, three times a consul, built this." This wasn't a misnomer. Agrippa had built the

Pantheon in Augustus' honour, and ancient authors such as Pliny and Dio Cassius recounted this

in their histories. But early moderns also read in the ancient texts that multiple emperors had

restored the Pantheon in the first and second centuries.[60] This discrepancy made it difficult for

architects to tell exactly which parts were from which time. Alberti and Sebastiano Serlio, the

first architect to publish an architectural treatise accompanied by the author's own illustrations,

simply referred to the Pantheon as Agrippa's building. But Serlio is aware of later imperial

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[58] Christian zealots would soon claim that the pope substituted "saints for demons." See Thunø, "The Pantheon in the Middle Ages," 235.

[59] Flavio Biondo, *Roma ristaurata, et, Italia illustrate*, trans. Lucio Fauno (Venice: Domenico Giglio, 1558), folio 27r (2.8).

[60] Cassius Dio reports the destruction of Agrippa's Pantheon in *Roman History*, trans. Earnest Cary and Herbert B. Foster (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925), 8:308-309, 66.24.1; and other texts refer to later emperors, such as Domitian and Hadrian, rebuilding Rome's architecture lost to fire; see *Historia Augusta*, trans. David Magie (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921), 1: 58-61, (*Hadrian* 19.10-11); and Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, trans. J. C. Rolfe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 2:334-335 (8.5.1).

updates to the buildings, and admits that his colleagues debate which of the Pantheon's parts were built when.[61] One of these colleagues was Michelangelo, who observed that the portico did not match the rotunda in style or execution: the cornice and pediment on the Pantheon's drum do not align with those on the portico.[62] Andrea Palladio concluded that of all the Pantheon's parts, the portico must be Agrippa's because it bears the authorial frieze inscription.[63] Despite no clear consensus about the dating of each part of the structure, all agreed that Agrippa built the porch.

Inscribing Agrippa as architect draws attention to our telamons, made of the same granite as the Pantheon's columns, and locates these monoliths—massive single blocks of stone—within empire's infrastructure and histories of extracting material resources from Rome's distant province: Egypt.[64] Egypt's role in the formation of the Roman empire was well-known in Renaissance Europe; events that are still remembered once a year on Italy's national holiday, Ferragosto. After Julius Caesar's death, his adopted heir, Octavius, led the Roman republic with Caesar's close ally, Marc Antony. Antony aligned himself with the last of the Macedonian rulers in Egypt, Cleopatra, and their actions spurred enmity with Octavius, who called for civil war. Octavius defeated Antony and Cleopatra at the battle of Actium in 31 BCE and annexed Egypt as Rome's province. As the Macedonians had done before him, Octavius crowned himself

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[61] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 179; Sebastiano Serlio, *Il Terzo Libro: nel qval si figvrano, e descrivono le Antiqvita di Roma, e le altre che sono in Italia, e fvori d' Italia* (Venice: Francesco Marcolino da Forli, 1540), 5-17 (paginated as V-XVII). Andrea Fulvio argued similarly in *Antiqvitates vrbis* (Rome: Marcello Silber, 1527), folio 93v. See Paul Davies, David Hemsoll, and Mark Wilson Jones, "The Pantheon: Triumph of Rome or Triumph of Compromise?" *Art History* 10, no. 2 (1987): 133-153.

[62] Vasari recounts Michelangelo's opinion that multiple different builders constructed parts of the Pantheon in *Delle Vite…*, part 3, book 1, 117-118, in the life of Andrea Sansovino.

[63] Andrea Palladio, *I Quattro Libri dell' Architettura* (Venice: Appresso Dominico de' Franceschi, 1570), 4:71.

[64] See Braden Lee Scott, "Kingship and the Rocks: Infrastructure and the Materiality of Empire," in *The Routledge Handbook of Infrastructure Design: Global Perspectives from Architectural History*, ed. Joseph Heathcott (London: Routledge, 2022), 19-29.

Pharaoh—political king and divine priest—in 30 BCE. Also like the Macedonian Ptolemaic dynasty, Octavius had his image sculpted in the canonical Egyptian style, and set up chapels in Egypt for his cult worship.[65] By 27 BCE, the Roman senate bestowed upon him the title *Augustus* (venerated), which exalted his succession of Caesar and signaled the dawn of a new era with a *princeps* (primary citizen) at the head of *imperium* (power of the realm); in other words, an emperor. Octavian, now Augustus, exercised command over empire and began developing a complex infrastructural network for the transport of building materials from Egypt. Writing in the second and third centuries, Suetonius and Dio penned that Augustus found Rome made of brick and clay, but left it a city of marble; an adage Renaissance architects would repeat centuries later when surveying Rome's ancient buildings.[66] Despite Dio's disclaimer that Augustus "did not thereby refer literally to the appearance of its buildings, but rather to the strength of the empire," there was actually a considerable amount of truth to the lithic metaphor: it was because of Augustus that Rome began to import and display Egyptian monoliths, both obelisks and columns. Agrippa, as Augustus's architect, was in charge of orchestrating monolithic commissions and transport. Red granite, a well-known material, signaled their provenance in Egypt and boasted Rome's imperial conquest.[67]

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[65] Erin A. Peters, "Octavian Transformed as Pharaoh and as Emperor Augustus," in *The Ancient Art of Transformation: Case Studies from Mediterranean Contexts*, eds. Renee M. Gondek & Carrie L. Sulosky Weaver (Oxford: Oxbow, 2019), 107-134; McEwen, *Vitruvius*, 240-241. For the Hellenistic context that Augustus adopted, see J.J. Pollitt, "Alexandria and the Pharaoh," in *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 250-264.

[66] "… e bellissime habbitatione dondi Otto Augusto si glorio che havea hauta la Città de mattoni et che la lasciava tutta de de marmo," in Andrea Palladio, *L'Antichità di Roma* (Rome: Vincenzo Lucrino, 1554), folio 30v. For the ancient sources Palladio echoes, see Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, 1:192-193 (2.28.3); and Dio, *Roman History*, 6:68-69 (56.30.3-4).

[67] Biondo speaks of Agrippa's knowledge of Egypt to transport monoliths in *Roma ristaurata, et, Italia illustrate*, folio 37r-37v (2.74-75).

No detail of the Pantheon and its construction went unnoticed in the Renaissance, and this included the symbolic value of empire locked into the columnar material (fig. 3.13). Vasari's opinion that the Pantheon's columns provided the most beautiful example of Corinthian ornament indicated their importance as a prototype for study and emulation.[68] Northern artists who travelled to Rome, including Van Heemskerck, produced copious drawings of the Pantheon's porch, a few of which ended up in the sketch-and copybooks in Berlin. These drawings served as a visual database for van Heemskerck and other artists, even those a century later, such as Rembrandt van Rijn and Pieter Saenredam, who produced paintings based on the sixteenth-century recordings of Roman architecture (fig. 3.14).[69] In one of the drawn views from the sketchbook, we see that the three western columns had collapsed and were replaced with a solid brick wall that fixed the Pantheon within the urban fabric (fig. 3.15). When van Heemskerck visited Rome, he only saw nine of the original twelve grey columns wrapped around the outer file of the octastyle portico. This outer file encases the four red granite columns with which Franco compared the telamons. We now locate the origins of all of the Pantheon's columns—red and grey—in Egypt, but where Vasari accounts for the provenance of the columns in his passages on architectural material, he notes that ancient Romans installed red granite

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[68] "Ma molto piu è bello il Pantheon, cioè, la Ritonda di Roma…," in the first edition of Vasari's *Lives*, *Le vite de piu eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani: da Cimabue in sino à tempi nostri* (Florence: Appresso Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550), 1:40-41.

[69] For Rembrandt, see Amy Golahny, "The Disappearing Angel: Heemskerck's 'Departing Raphael' in Rembrandt's Studio," *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies* 26 (2007): 38-52; and Svetlana Alpers, who analyzes Rembrandt's copying of van Heemskerck as a mode of reviving less canonical motifs from Netherlandish visual culture, in *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 74. Hubertus Günther connects Saenredam's *Pantheon* painting to van Heemskerck's (or at least the drawings associated with van Heemskerck) in "Pieter Saenredam als Sammler," *Die Weltkunst* 47 (1977): 2242-2245.

columns from Egypt along with grey granite columns from Elba, an island off the Tuscan coast.[70]

Vasari's passage indicates two main ways the Pantheon's columns were understood Renaissance Europe. First, that the provincial quality of Rome's monoliths was taken up in the discourse about architectural materials in the sixteenth century. After the decline of the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries, medieval builders came to associate the vast range of stones, such as Egyptian porphyry and granite, not with individual provinces, but with the qualitative colours of Rome's architecture.[71] After over a century of Renaissance antiquarianism, and the research and study of the Roman empire, Vasari speaks of the imperial monoliths' Egyptian provenance as common fact. Aside from their redness, the columns' Egyptian-ness was once again worthy of note. Second, Vasari's claim of mixed origins may have been a simple error of observation. I suggest instead that he rhetorically mobilized the stones of the Pantheon to act as symbols of Rome's ancient annexation of Egypt, a political history expressed in the formal layout of the Pantheon's porch: Rome, as the grey exterior of the portico, envelops and succeeds Egypt, the red interior. Regardless of how we interpret Vasari's classification of the columnar materials, it is clear that Rome's lithics were understood as evidence of an ancient empire's

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[70] Vasari, *Le vite…*, 1:27-28. The authoritative survey of Roman quarrying in Egypt is David P.S. Peacock and Valerie A. Maxfield, eds., *Survey and Excavation at Mons Claudianus, 1987-1993* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1997-2006). Key studies on Egyptian columns in Roman architecture include J. Clayton Fant, "Ideology, Gift, and Trade: A Distribution Model for the Roman Imperial Marbles," in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of* instrumentum domesticum, ed. W. V. Harris. Supplement, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993): 145-170; J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Quarrying in Antiquity: Technology, Tradition and Social Change," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 57 (1973): 137-158; Mark Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 210-212; and J. Theodore Peña, "*P.Giss.69*: evidence for the supplying of stone transport operations in Roman Egypt and the production of fifty-foot monolithic column shafts," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 2 (1989): 126-132.

[71] Dale Kinney, "The Discourse of Columns," in *Rome Across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c. 500-1400*, eds. Claudia Bolgia, Rosamond McKitterick, and John Osborne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 198-199.

resource extraction, a process that was brought forward by Vasari and others in interpretations of the Pantheon.

The telamons were compared with another kind of monolith in Rome that secured their identification as Egyptian stones from Africa: obelisks. In Zappi's history of Tivoli, the telamons are noted to be of "the same medium as the pyramid or needle of Saint Peter in Rome" (fig. 3.16).[72] In other words, architects knew that the telamons, the Pantheon's columns, and the obelisks were made of the same material: red granite. The ancient author Pliny the Elder left no doubt where red granite was from: "found in a part of Africa that has been assigned to Egypt."[73] By the sixteenth century, Vasari observes that African monoliths were "nearly infinite" in the eternal city, abundant in the city's "obelisks, needles, pyramids, [and] columns."[74] Like the columns and obelisks, the materiality of the telamons brought with them a signification of empire and conquest. Unlike columns and obelisks, the telamons were unique in that they were sculpted in the shape of human bodies. This afforded two key modes of reception: technical wonder, and vibrant animacy.

The first mode of reception takes into account the virtuosic command of granite that technically determined their future fame. Granite is extremely brittle, making it tricky to cut, let

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[72] "… et queste due statue sono di quel mischio simile alla piramide o guglia di S. Pietro di Roma," in Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 21.

[73] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. D. E. Eichholz (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), 10:48-51, 36.12.63. Although Africa was the name of the Roman province surrounding Carthage, Pliny uses the word in the same way that earlier Greek writers did when referring to the same mass of land as Libya: "The whole circuit of the earth is divided into three parts, Europe, Asia and Africa," on pages 2:4-5, or 3.3.3. For Greek comparisons, see Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, trans. A. D. Godley (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921), 2:238-239, or 4.41; and Strabo, *Geography*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), 8:4-5, 112-113, or 17.1.2, 17.1.42.

[74] "Dellaquale si trova nello Egitto saldezze grandissime, & da cavarne altezze incredibili, come hoggi si veggono in Roma negli Obelischi, Aguglie, Piramidi, colonne, & in que'grandissimi vasi de bagni…," and "…in colonne quasi infinite," both passages from *Le vite* (1550), 1:27.

alone sculpt. When fifteenth-century architects began including Egyptian granite columns in their designs, the simplest executions such as rendering a knotted bulge on the surface of a column, required specialized technique and the aid of Florence's best sculptors.[75] The difficult stone partly determined its high value when sculptor architects, such as Michelangelo, saw the columns sculpted in the tricky medium as if carved from buttery marble.

The second mode of reception—vibrant animacy—considers that stone was very much alive in early modern concepts of nature, thought of as the earth's living organ.[76] Vitruvius wrote of stone as an active participant in the earth's fluid systems, emphasising the need for correct quarrying and drying techniques.[77] Centuries later, Alberti echoed this notion of stone as an active part of the earth's organic fabric, embellishing Vitruvius's instructions with other theories of handling stone as an organic medium that grows in the earth.[78] Leonardo da Vinci provides the most compelling example of a Renaissance architect who thought of stone as animated material: "… we might say that the earth has a spirit of growth, and that its flesh is the soil, its bones the arrangement and connection of the rocks that compose the mountains, its cartilage is tufa, and its blood the springs of water."[79] Rocks and stones were living materials that embodied the earth.

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[75] Michael J. Waters, "Reviving Antiquity with Granite: Spolia and the Development of Roman Renaissance Architecture," *Architectural History*, 59 (2016): 156-165.

[76] Fabio Barry, *Painting in Stone: Architecture and the Poetics of Marble from Antiquity to the Englightenment* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020), 3.

[77] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, 38-39 (2.7).

[78] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 47-50 (2.8-9).

[79] "adunque potremo dire, la terra avere anima vegetatius, e che la sua carne sia la terra, li sua ossi sieno li ordini delle collegationi de' sassi, di che si compongono le montagnie, il suo tenerume sono li tufi, il suo sangue sono le uene delle acque," in Leonardo da Vinci, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. Jean Paul Richter, 3rd ed. (London: Phaidon, 1970), 2:178.

Something remarkable happens to our telamons when we think of them as animated

stone: we see them as more than just inert material depictions of African bodies, but enlivened as

African bodies themselves. For Judith Butler, bodies matter, which is to say that they are

ongoing processes of the "stuff out of which things are made."[80] The telamons are bodies that

matter, "where 'to matter' means at once 'to materialize' and 'to mean'." If the body matters

column, and the column matters body, then in the case of the reception of the telamons, it is

matter that bodies. Here I emphasize the fact that lithics engendered the sculpted figures;

Egyptians materialized—or *bodied* forth—from the stone. Informed by Butler, Charmaine A.

Nelson isolates these bodying processes in a theory of sculptural "becoming":

> The idea of *becoming* captures the process of the body's materialization, its very
> corporeality and identifications. Identity then indicates not just a physical phenomenon—
> the body—but also the social, cultural, and psychic meanings that are attributed through
> the identification, experience, and visual scrutiny of the physical.[81]

The body, the human body, is an ongoing process of becoming that takes into account its

environment. Rendered in stone, the sculpted body becomes analogous to the human, to the

person. In the reception of Egyptian granite in the sixteenth century, the African stone processed

the African body. Imperium's lithics became bodies of empire.

My concept of bodying columns is also derived from early modern art theory, where the

telamons and their replications were understood as animated columnar characters. Joseph

Rykwert argues that every ancient column was understood as a body, whether or not it was

sculpted to appear as a human figure, and George Hersey argues that ancient bodying columns

were animated characters in the sixteenth century, instances of matter "transformed into sentient

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[80] Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (London: Routledge, 1993), 7, 41.

[81] Charmaine A. Nelson, *The Color of Stone: Sculpting the Black Female Subject in Nineteenth-Century America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), xii.

beings."[82] Architecture's arrested figures existed in and across media. They became the characters of Renaissance architectural theory that updated and reinvented the purpose of antiquity's columns. In the case of the Tivoli telamons, the columns were cut from African stone and sculpted to appear as Antinous in the guise of Osiris. After their rediscovery in the fifteenth century, their lives as objects changed. Forgotten as depictions of Antinous, the Egyptian iconography and African material determined their reception as captives from the African region of Egypt. The reception history of these columns clearly indicates that their materiality and imperial provenance signified their conquered enslavement by the Roman empire.

Persians, Dacians, and the Reception of Vitruvius' Captives in Renaissance Rome

Around the turn of the sixteenth century, artists in Rome began replicating the telamons as characters in painted pictures. In particular, Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican had the most impact on van Heemskerck (fig. 3.17). For the first time since antiquity, Raphael's painted Egyptian telamons served an architectural programme as load-bearing columns, painted to appear as if sculpted in the round, and the Renaissance artists and architects who began using bodying columns knew that this particular kind of ornament had a history. In this history, humans rendered as architectural bearers are conquered and enslaved subjects. Vitruvius wrote that for the ancient Greeks, these columns were depictions of the Caryans and Persians after the war between Greece and Persia.[83] Vitruvius was writing at the beginning of the Roman empire in

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[82] Joseph Rykwert, *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 129-138; George L. Hersey, *Pythagorean Palaces: Magic and Architecture in the Italian Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976), 107-109. For a theory of the character, see Marc Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix: Franchising Toys and Characters in Japan* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 83-85.

[83] See George Hersey's analysis of Vitruvius' reception in *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture: Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988), 69-76.

the third decade of the first century BCE, and the monuments of imperial Roman architecture had not yet been erected. In his treatise, while Rome had already conquered Egypt at the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE, the Romans did not yet have a similar kind of ornament—no conquered subjects to enslave as the bearers of its infrastructure. In the Renaissance reception of Vitruvius, new forms of enslaved subjects updated the material analogies.[84] Columns sculpted in the form of enslaved Dacians, whom the emperor Trajan defeated at the beginning of the second century CE, provided material and iconographic analogies for the Vitruvian story of Persian columns. The variability of human forms in architecture afforded new contexts where the archaeological remains of Rome could be reimagined in new designs.

The telamons at Tivoli provided Raphael with the iconographic source for three Egyptian columns that he designed and painted with his workshop between 1514 and 1517. Three red Egyptians in fresco frame the upper walls of the *Stanza dell'incendio di Borgo*, the Vatican "Room of the fire in the Borgo," named after a depiction of Rome on fire in one of the frescoes on the wall. Raphael's indexical accuracy provoked Michelangelo's pointed comment that these frescoes displayed that Raphael was nothing but an imitator.[85] But, as Alina Payne argues, archaeological facts were "more wondrous than fiction" for Raphael.[86] The architect, painter, and archeologist executed a creative sense of license in his slight reformation of the telamons. He stuck to the telamons' archaeological indexicality, but replicated them with a stroke of imagination. Raphael retained their formatted function by painting them as the bearers of the vaulting in three corners of the room, but added cushions on top of their heads to support the

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[84] For a recent study on the reception of Vitruvius in Renaissance political contexts, see Indra Kagis McEwen, *All the King's Horses: Vitruvius in an Age of Princes* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2023).

[85] Ingrid D. Rowland, "Raphael, Angelo Colocci, and the Genesis of the Architectural Orders," *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994): 82.

[86] Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance*, 28.

basket capitals that double as widened square cornices at the base of adjoining vaults. From these capitals, acanthus leaves flamboyantly surge upward, combining the telamons with a disassembled style of Corinthian ornament that inventively imagines the columns as tectonic parts of the vaulting at Hadrian's Villa. In one of Giuliano's drawings of the baths at Hadrian's Villa, we find a Corinthian column supporting the vaults, with foliated motifs—full of vines and flowers—growing upward and over within the framework.[87] Scholars often argue that Raphael was "an archaeologist in the modern sense of the word."[88] In his mode of archaeology, to know the ancient world required not just copying, or studying things from the past, but also animating them in a fantasy of referentiality.

Erudite invention requires some direction, and in the case of bodying columns, the ancient Roman Vitruvius directed from across the millennia through his written treatise. In the Vatican apartments, the telamons appear as if they have been restored to their original architectural purpose as support bearers. At the time, Raphael was actively engaged in a long-term archaeological project that involved drawing Rome's ancient architecture, designing a map of the city as it would have looked 1500 years prior, and editing an Italian edition of Vitruvius'

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[87] For the replication of the vaults at Hadrian's Villa, see Hetty E. Joyce, "Studies in the Reception of Ancient Vault Decoration," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 67 (2004): 193-232.

[88] Citation from Arnold Nesselrath, "Raphael's Archaeological Method," in *Raffaello a Roma: Il convegno del 1983*, ed. Christoph Luitpold Frommel (Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1986), 357. Other scholars who refer to Raphael as an archaeologist include John Shearman, "Raphael as Architect," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 116, no. 5141 (1968): 401; Philipp P. Fehl, "Raphael as Archaeologist," *Archaeological News* 4 (1975), 29-48; Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny, *Raphael* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), 199-206; and Rowland, "Raphael, Angelo Colocci, and the Genesis of the Architectural Orders," 82. Bette Talvacchia refrains from calling Raphael an archaeologist, but admits he was a precursor to the modern discourse due to his "reconstruction of ancient culture from its material remains (a practice that in the future would evolve into the discipline of archaeology)," in *Raphael* (London: Phaidon, 2007), 15. For my use of fantasy of referentiality, see Georges Didi-Huberman, "The Index of the Absent Wound (Monograph on a Stain)," *October* 29 (1984): 78-81.

ten books.[89] He was thus an expert on Vitruvius' histories of bodying columns. In these histories,

bodying columns that were so integral to ancient ornament converted architecture into public

displays of slavery.[90] For centuries, architects had read variations of these stories in Vitruvian

passages, and after a discovery of a more accurate manuscript in the early fifteenth century,

scholars translated and edited the texts for clarity. During this time, architectural knowledge was

either passed down through oral traditions, or in the later fifteenth century, distilled into

intellectual treatises that were published without pictures.[91] With advancements in the printing

press came changes in treatise format. In 1511, Fra Giovanni Giocondo published the first

illustrated Latin edition of Vitruvius, complete with 136 woodcut prints. Vitruvius's illustrated

history of architectural embodiment could be looked at and read by those with knowledge of

Latin. In 1514, Raphael used Giocondo's text to begin working on a vernacular edition of

Vitruvius, a translation from Latin into Italian. The project was cut short by Raphael's death in

1520. A year later, Cesare Cesariano published the first illustrated Italian edition with his own

set of printed pictures.[92] A wider range of readers could now access both word and image.

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[89] Ingrid D. Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 109-140; John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 247-263. Raphael's preliminary manuscript is reproduced in Vincenzo Fontana and Paolo Morachiello, eds., *Vitruvio e Raffaello: Il "De Architectura" di Vitruvio nella Traduzione Inedita di Fabio Calvo Ravennate* (Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1975).

[90] McEwen, *Vitruvius*, 30-31; Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture*, 77-117, Raphael is specifically isolated on 111-117.

[91] See Joseph Rykwert, "On the Oral Transmission of Architectural Theory," *Res* 3 (1982): 68-81; and Mario Carpo, *Architecture in the Age of Printing: Orality, Writing, Typography, and Printed Images in the History of Architectural Theory*, trans. Sarah Benson (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 23-41.

[92] Ingrid D. Rowland, "Vitruvius in Print and in Vernacular Translation: Fra Giocondo, Bramante, Raphael and Cesare Cesariano," in *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, eds. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 105-121.

Early modern architects were especially captivated with Vitruvius' first examples of architectural ornament, which were two kinds of bodying columns.[93] Respectively, these are the two subjects of the first woodcut prints in Giocondo's and Cesariano's editions. The prints illustrate Vitruvius' first *historia* in his treatise, the history of Caryatids and Persians as columnar load bearers, where the ancient author argues "[one] needs to know a great deal of history because architects often include ornaments in their work, and ought to be able to supply anyone who asks with an explanation why they have introduced certain motifs."[94] His first example is the female column that represents women from Caryae, a Peloponnesian city that sided with Persia during the wars with Greece that began shortly after 500 BCE, and ended in 449 BCE (figs. 3.18 & 3.20).[95] These Caryatids stand "so that they should not simply be exhibited in a single triumphal procession, but should instead be weighted down forever by a burden of shame [to be] recalled to future generations."[96] Vitruvius' second example is the male column, which represented Persian captives after the same war, "decked out in their ornate barbarian dress, holding up the roof." Giocondo's and Cesariano's second set of woodcuts illustrate the Persian *historia* (figs. 3.19 & 3.21).[97] Whether a column was male or female did not matter at this point in Vitruvius' treatise (he does not name the *telamon* until he gets to book six). What mattered was that the body depicted was a conquered subject.

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[93] Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance*, 44-45.

[94] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, 22 (1.1).

[95] Vitruvius, *M. Vitruvius per Iocundum solito castigatior factus cum figuris et tabula ut iam legi et intelligi possit*, ed. Giovanni Giocondo (Venice: Ioannis de Tridino, aka Tacuino, 1511), folio 2r; Vitruvius, *De architectura libri dece[m]*, trans. Cesare Cesariano (Como: Gotardo da Ponte, 1521), folio VIr.

[96] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, 22 (1.1).

[97] Vitruvius, *M. Vitruvius per Iocundum*, folio 2v; Vitruvius, *De architectura libri dece[m]*, folio VIIr.

Vitruvius concludes the *historia* on bodying columns by noting that architects have taken

liberties to install variations of Persians in their buildings—effectively resituating the rhetoric of

captive load bearers in new contexts. A building's ornament is indicative of an architect's

breadth of knowledge, and Vitruvius argues that architects need to be aware of their variable

selections: "there are other histories of the same type, with which the architect is obliged to have

some acquaintance."[98] In Philandrier's commentary on this passage, under the headline:

CAPTIVORVM SIMVLACHRA BARBARICO VESTIS ORNATV, "captive statues dressed in

barbaric ornament," the French humanist notes that one of the problems in trying to picture

Vitruvius' histories was that there were no examples in Rome of what the ancient author

described. Despite this "lacuna of Persians," he writes that there are a variety of other columns

that can be imagined in their place:

> We see two captives installed in the Palazzo Colonna in Rome. Two stand in Tivoli,
> twelve feet tall, where they can be seen serving as the portal, attired with Egyptian
> headpieces. We also see in Rome two Satyrs, still holding up the building in the palazzo
> of Bartolomeo dell Valle.[99]

We can still see the examples that Philandrier recommended Renaissance architects consult.[100]

The satyrs that stood in the courtyard of the della Valle sculpture collection are now in the

Capitoline Museum (fig. 3.22), and van Heemskerck drew them while he was in Rome (fig.

3.23). He also drew the façade of the Palazzo Colonna, built onto the ruins of a temple for

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[98] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, 22 (1.1).

[99] "Visuntur senes duo captivi istiusmodi Romae in ædibus Columnensium. Sunt et Tyburti invenes duo, alti pedes duodecim, quos aliquando antepagmentorum fuisse loco sunt qui existiment, ornatu capitis Ægyptio. Videas & Romae Satyros duos, etia nunc oneri ferundo collocatos in ædibus Barptol. à Valle. Ita Romani, quod Lacones in Persarum ignominiam fecerant imitati, variarum rerum imagines in columnas transtulerunt," in Philandrier, ... *annotationes*, 5.

[100] The satyrs are now in the Capitoline Museum, and the Dacian columns in the Naples Archaeological Museum. See Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, 109-111, cat. 75; 197-198, cat. 165a, 165b.

Serapis on the Quirinal Hill, where he just barely contoured the human shape of four ancient Roman columns: two Dacian prisoners carry the logia's roof, and two others are built into the exterior wall (fig. 3.26).[101] Franco drew a clear rendering of the Dacians freed from the loggia, much like he drew the telamons, that afforded new modes of invention with the sculpted form (fig. 3.27). The Dacians appear this way today, where they stand on either side of the entrance to the eastern wing of Naples' Archaeological Museum (fig. 3.28).[102]

What did these examples offer artists who compared them with the telamons at Tivoli? The satyrs, as supernatural beings, were not quite the same kind of column, in that they did not fit the story of captivity and enslavement that Vitruvius told. But they did offer a formal example of what a column in the shape of a body *could* look like. For example, van Heemskerck installed them in an arch in one of his variations of *Triumphal Procession of Bacchus* that he painted while still in Rome (fig. 3.24). Others thought of them in similar ways. A woodcut print in *Vitruvius Teutsch*, a German adaptation of Vitruvius, depicts the satyr columns from the della Valle courtyard as walking figures with baskets of fruit and acanthus leaves on their heads, imagining them—like Caryans and Persians—as mobile subjects before their architectural arrest (fig. 3.25).[103]

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[101] "Ideo Architecti artificiis publicis designauerunt corum imagines oneri ferundo collocatas: & ita ex eo argumento uarietates egregias auxerunt operibus. Extant hodie huiuscemodi duo senum marmorea simulacra tectum logiae sustinentia in antiquis ædibus," in Andrea Fulvio, *Antiqvitates vrbis* (Rome: Marcello Silber, 1527), folio 59v; and in Italian translation: *Opera di Andrea Fulvio delle antichità della Città di Roma, & delli edificij memorabili di quella*, trans. Paulo del Rosso (Venice: Michele Tramezino, 1543), folio 162v. See Rabun Taylor, "Hadrian's Serapeum in Rome," *American Journal of Archaeology* 108, no. 2 (2004): 225-231; and Cammy Brothers, "Reconstruction as Design: Giuliano da Sangallo and the 'palazo di mecenate' on the Quirinal Hill," *Annali di architettura* 14 (2002): 55-72.

[102] They were later brought to the Palazzo Farnese and reformed to stand as freestanding sculpture. See Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, 197-198.

[103] Walther Hermann Ryff, *Vitruuius Teutsch: nemlichen des aller namhafftigisten vñ hocherfarnesten römischen Architecti vnd kunstreichen Werck oder Bawmeisters Marci Vitruuij Pollionis Zehen Bücher von der Architectur vnd künstlichem Bawen* (Nuremberg: Johan Petreius, 1548), folio XIXr. For a range

The other examples in Rome, the columns in the Palazzo Colonna, provided Philandrier with a more analogous model of captives in "barbarian" dress (fig. 3.28). They are among the hundreds of sculptures of enslaved Dacians spoliated from Trajan's forum after the third century CE. On their heads, they wear the Phrygian cap, a bulbous bonnet that lops forward, or sometimes to the side, that had been used for centuries in Western European art to indicate persons from ancient West Asia and the Balkans.[104] Eight similar captives wearing the same Phrygian cap surmount the columns and stand in the attic of the fourth-century Arch for Constantine. Raphael connected these to Trajan, whose most defining military effort was quashing the Dacian rebellion that threatened to disconnect Rome's land routes between the Danube and the Tigris.[105] Raphael continued work that had begun a century earlier, when archaeologists began to mark out Trajan's Forum on the east side of the Capitoline Hill, or Campidoglio. Throughout the Middle Ages, anyone who could read the Latin inscription on the base of the column that stood on the north side of the Forum knew that the Roman senate erected it for Trajan as a monument of this war. Dio Cassius recounted 10,000 Dacian prisoners and 11,000 animals were brought to Rome and executed in gladiatorial spectacles.[106] Trajan eternalized the death of these Dacians by sculpting them in marble that he quarried in Phrygia, in

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of humanoid columns in the *Vitruvius Teutsch*, see folio XVr, and Hersey's analysis of them in *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture*, 127-132.

[104] Richard C. Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi: Meanings in History of a Christian Story* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 15-22. By 1789, the Phrygian cap became a symbol of liberty through its iconographic attachments to the French revolution. James Smalls notes how the iconology of "freedom" and the Phrygian cap extended to freed, enfranchised Black Africans in the nineteenth century in "Slavery is a Woman: 'Race,' Gender, and Visuality in Marie Benoist's *Portrait d'une négresse* (1800)," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 3, no. 1 (2004): 2-22. Also see Yvonne Korshak, "The Liberty Cap as a Revolutionary Symbol in American and France," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 1, no. 2 (1987): 52-69.

[105] Scholars often assume their origin in Trajan's Forum, but others have suggested they may come from other sources, and depict an "eastern" person more generally.

[106] Dio details Trajan's campaign against Dacia in *Roman History*, 8:368-389 (68.6.1-68.15.3).

what is modern Turkey.[107] Phrygia is not quite Dacia, but proximate enough to evoke the general

region. Just as Egyptian granite bodies Africa, here Phrygian marble bodies Dacia. After the turn

of the sixteenth century, artists in Raphael's circle began closely studying the textual and

material records in the Trajanic Forum that documented Trajan's war when, as Dio recounted,

"Dacia became subject to the Romans."[108] Since Trajan's column on the north side of the forum

was the most monumental intact example of the architecture that had survived the centuries, it

became one of the primary objects of focus. Around 1506, Jacopo Ripanda produced the first

drawings of the entire sculpted frieze that narrativizes Trajan's Dacian campaign.[109] Notice that

the Dacians in the frieze wear the same Phrygian caps as the sculpted captives that stood in

Rome, both on the Arch for Constantine, and in the Palazzo Colonna. In Raphael's letter to Pope

Leo X, he speaks positively of the Arch for Constantine as architecture, but poorly of its

sculpture, concluding that its carvings evidence Rome's aesthetic decline in the fourth century.

"Except," he writes "the spoliated sculpture from Trajan are excellent and in the perfect style."[110]

As with the satyrs, architects imaginatively located the Dacian columns in Vitruvian

theory. Beginning with Giocondo, illustrated editions of Vitruvius depicted Dacians in the role of

defeated Persians. Jean Goujon's woodcuts for the first French translation of Vitruvius in 1547

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[107] Marc Waelkens, "From a Phrygian Quarry: Provenance of the Statues of the Dacian Prisoners in Trajan's Forum at Rome," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89, no. 4 (1985): 641-653.

[108] Dio, *Roman History*, 8:386-387 (68.14.4).

[109] Claudia La Malfa, *Raphael and the Antique* (London: Reaktion, 2020), 120-122. Also see Diana E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 207-230; and John W. Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples: The Republic to the Middle Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 173-183

[110] "E questo cognoscier si può da molte cose e, tra l'altre, da l'Arco di Constantino, il componimento del quale è bello et bon fatto in tutto quel che appartiene all' architectura. Ma le sculture del medesimo arche sono sciochissime, senza arte o disegno alcuno buono. Quelle che vi sono delle spogle di Traiano e di Antonino Pio sono excellentissime e di perffetta maniera," in Cod. It. 37b, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, folio IX; transcribed in Raphael, *Lettera a Leone X di Raffaello e Baldassare Castiglione*, ed. Francesco Paolo Di Teodoro (Florence: Maddali e Bruni, 2021), 54.

brought the Dacian-Persians to a new audience, and a year later, Ryff included them among the

many prints he recycled in the *Vitruvius Teutsch*.[111] By 1567, Andrea Palladio—a late

Renaissance expert on archaeology and architecture—engraved the Dacian-Persian portico for

Daniele Barbaro's authoritative translation of Vitruvius (fig. 3.29). The Dacian model carried on

in Giovanni Rusconi's architectural treatise in 1590, which sought to update all existing editions

of Vitruvius and adapt them into a new critical book.[112] Across the translations and editions, it is

clear that in the sixteenth century, Greece's conquered Persians were imagined in the form of

Rome's subjected Dacians.

  There are two reasons behind the ease of the Dacian-Persian analogy. The first was that

ancient historical texts that described Trajan's wars placed Dacia in an eastern context. Dacia is

east of Rome, on land referred to in the Renaissance as "Wallachia," where current geography

locates the Eastern European countries Romania, Moldova, Bulgaria, and Ukraine. But Trajan's

aim to control the east also pulled Dacia into power struggles over territories further into West

Asia. Dacian rebellion threatened Rome's access to northern land routes that led to the east, and

the emperor viewed it necessary to control Dacia to keep these routes open. After quashing

Dacian rebellions, Dio recounts that Trajan's war triggered a chain reaction of Roman victories

in Syria, Petra, and Arabia.[113] Representatives from Asia came to Rome where they pledged

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[111] Goujon's woodcut print is in Vitruvius, *Architecture, ou Art de bien bastir*, trans. Jean Martin (Paris: Veuve & Heritiers de Ian Barbé, 1547), folio 3v. In 1550, Goujon sculpted four caryatids that support the musician's tribune of the Louvre's ballroom, an architectural form that Anthony Blunt argues was "hitherto almost unknown in France," in *Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700*, 5th ed., rev. Richard Beresford (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 47-48, 80. For the Ryff woodcuts, see *Vitruuius Teutsch*, folios XVIv, and XVIIIv.

[112] "… ne i disegni delle figure importanti io ho usato l'opere di M. Andrea Palladio Vicentino Architetto," in Vitruvius, *I Dieci libri dell'Architettura*, trans. Daniele Barbaro (Venice: Appresso Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, & Giovanni Chrieger Alemano Compagni, 1567), 64, woodcut on 17; Giovanni Rusconi, *Della architettura* (Venice: I. Gioliti, 1590), 3-4.

[113] Dio, *Roman History*, 8:388-389 (68.14.5-68.15.1).

allegiance to the emperor and witnessed the triumphal spectacles, which included the parade of

enslaved Dacians, in Trajan's newly built forum where hundreds of sculpted Dacians stood as

architecture's eternal captives. Reception of Trajan's Dacian campaigns folded into the

emperor's war against the Parthian empire in Persia a decade later. Rome annexed Armenia and

Mesopotamia—the land between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers—as a Roman province. After

Herodotus, and through to the Roman Empire, the vague term "Persian" was used in ancient

histories to denote anyone from the broadest reaches of West Asia, which could, in the context of

Trajan's war, include Dacians.[114] This ancient eastern association overlaps with the second

reason that Persians and Dacians were conflated, which was that Dacia's lands were, by the

sixteenth century, made up of various territories that were all within the realm of the Ottoman

Empire, a political aggregation that signified the east. In Andrea Cambini's history of the Turks,

published in 1529, modern Wallachia is indicated as Ottoman territory.[115] Geographic

anachronism converted ancient Dacians into modern Ottomans. This anachronism is most

apparent in a zealous Christian tract published in 1589, where Gregorio Picca lists the lands

controlled by the Ottoman enemy, including "Wallachia, which was ancient Dacia."[116] The

Renaissance reception of the Dacian wars and their aftermath broadened the possibility of who

could embody and illustrate the figure of Vitruvius' captive Persians.

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[114] François Hartog, *Le miroir d'Hérodote: essai sur la représentation de l'ature* (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), 328-335. This extends to the Turk in Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 43-93

[115] Andrea Cambini, *Della originne de Turchi et imperio delli Ottomanni* (Florence: Philippo di Giunta, 1529), folio 9v.

[116] Gregorio Picca, *Oratione per la Guerra contra Turchi a Sisto Quinto Pont. Massimo, et a gl' altri prencipi Christiani* (Rome: Giorgio Ferrario, 1589), folio Bir-Biv. On Picca, see Roger Cushing Aiken, "*Romæ de Dacia Triumphantis*: Roma and Captives at the Capitoline Hill," *The Art Bulletin* 62, no. 4 (1980), 592.

Above all, Raphael's archaeological erudition set the standard for the conflation of

Dacians as Persians. He worked intimately with Giocondo in Rome before the latter's death in

1515, and Giocondo's Latin edition of Vitruvius served as the starting point for Raphael's

illustrated edition, which he asked Fabio Calvo to translate into *volgare*, or vernacular Italian.[117]

Raphael's death in 1520 cut his archaeological endeavors short, and no secure identification of

drawings from this project can be made. An engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi, however,

records what Raphael may have had in mind (fig. 3.30). Raphael likely designing the picture for

Raimondi as one of their collaborative single-sheet prints, like *Massacre of the Innocents* (1512),

and *The Judgement of Paris* (1513-1518).[118] Four colossal Dacian-Persians stand on plinths

raised above a stylobate. They support a Doric architrave, frieze, and cornice, which platforms a

second story where four caryatids, who also stand on raised plinths, bear the same roof

components in the Ionic order: a tri-partite architrave and a running frieze. Raphael's familiarity

with Vitruvius no doubt accounts for the pairing of masculine ornament with male columns, and

feminine ornament with female columns. Raphael also invented the concept of "order" when he

codified ancient styles of ornament in Renaissance architecture, a process that others continued

to develop throughout the sixteenth century.[119] Raphael, Rome's leading antiquities expert,

integrated the Dacians into architectural theory early on, effectively highlighting them as

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[117] La Malfa, *Raphael and the Antique*, 185-188.

[118] Kathleen W. Christian, "Raphael's Vitruvius and Marcantonio Raimondi's *Caryatid Façade*," in *Marcantonio Raimondi, Raphael and the Image Multiplied*, eds. Edward Wouk and David Morris, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 66-82. On the single-sheet engraving, see Michael J. Waters, "A Renaissance Without Order: Ornament, Single-Sheet Engravings, and the Mutability of Architectural Prints," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 71, no. 4 (2012): 488-523.

[119] For Raphael as "inventor" of the use of the word "order" in architecture, see Rowland, "Raphael, Angelo Colocci, and the Genesis of the Architectural Orders," 81-104; and Christoph Thoenes, "Gli ordini architettonici, rinascita o invenzione?," in *Roma e l'Antico nell'arte e nella cultura del Cinquecento* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1985), 261-271.

representative examples of ancient empire's captives. So, how did artists come to adapt Dacians into Egyptians? Raphael again is responsible.

Raphael and the Depiction of African Enslavement in the Stanza dell'Incendio

It is important to underline that when Raphael designed the telamons for the *Stanza dell'Incendio*, he was also imaging Dacian iconography as a way to illustrate Vitruvius' story of Persians enslaved to architecture. In other words, Raphael's practices of studying and copying the telamon*s* in Tivoli coincided with his deep engagement with Vitruvius' texts, and with Rome's ancient imperial image. One must also consider Raphael's patron, Pope Leo X, who dined in the Vatican apartment. In addition to Perugino's architectural ornament and ceiling decorations above the *Stanza dell'Incendio*, Raphael and members of his workshop painted four frescoes in the apartment between 1514 and 1517: *The Oath of Leo III*, *The Coronation of Charlemagne*, *Fire in the Borgo*, and *The Victory of Leo IV at Ostia*.[120] The depicted events took place during the reigns of Leo III and Leo IV between 800 and 849, but it is Leo X we see in all four pictures, in the guise of the other two Leos. In the last picture on the timeline, Leo IV is enthroned as the religious victor of the Battle of Ostia (fig. 3.31). In 849, a fleet that embarked from Sicily invaded the Italian peninsula's southwestern coastline, and moved north.[121] Byzantine Sicily had recently been invaded by the armies of the Islamic Aghlabid dynasty; emirs

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[120] Details regarding the *stanza* and each fresco are from George Hersey, *High Renaissance Art in St. Peter's and the Vatican: An Interpretive Guide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 152-157; and Ludwig Pastor, *History of The Popes* (London: Kegan Paul, 1908), 8:287-290. For Raphael's workshop, see John Shearman, "The Organization of Raphael's Workshop," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 10 (1983): 40-57; and Robert Williams, "The Rationalization of Labor," in *Raphael and the Redefinition of Art in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 173-258.

[121] The events surrounding the Battle of Ostia are summarized in Barbara M. Kreutz, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 26-27. Also see pages 48-49.

appointed by the Abbasid caliph, who ruled from Baghdad, to govern Northern Africa, a region

referred to in the Arabised "Ifriqya." Rome called their neighboring city states to their aid, and

with this collective effort, thwarted the invasion by capturing the flotilla that arrived at Ostia.

Raphael's Egyptian telamons frame the account, providing images of subjects who were

identified within the narrative: African Muslims.

The *historia* Raphael depicted in *The Victory of Leo IV at Ostia* is from Leo IV's

biography in the *Liber Pontificalis*, the collective lives of the popes. The winds of a storm,

believed to be God's intervention, helped overturn the battle, and most of the Muslim invaders

drowned. The survivors of the storm met other consequences:

> Many of them were killed by our men while they endured hunger and want on certain of
> our islands, while others were taken alive and, to witness to the truth of the event, brought
> living to Rome. In case their number might appear too large, the Roman dignitaries
> ordered that many be hanged on trees near our Port of Rome. We ordered that some
> should live, bound in iron, but for one reason only, *so* that they could know clearer than
> light both our hope, which we have in God, and his ineffable piety, and also their own
> tyranny. After this, to stop them living among us idly or without distress, we were
> bidding them carry out everything, sometimes at the wall which we were beginning round
> St Peter the apostle's church, sometimes at various manufacturers' tasks, whatever
> seemed necessary.[122]

Raphael's fresco depicts this ninth-century history, when Leo IV's captains and soldiers brought

the surviving members of the invading army to the pope. The pope's advisor's stand behind him,

waiting to decide which prisoners to execute, and which to bring back to Rome as enslaved

labourers. Echoing Vitruvius' *historie* of ancient Greece's captives, those enslaved in Rome first

served as physical labourers, as living reminders of oppression and as bearers of architecture's

burden.

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[122] *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)*, trans. Raymond David (Liverpool:
Liverpool University Press, 1995), 134 (105.53).

The Battle of Ostia was not the first Muslim encroachment on the Roman coast. In 846, a

year before Leo IV became pontiff, a similar fleet that had departed from Sousse, on the African

coast, defeated the defensive line at Ostia and carried on up the Tiber to Rome. The Muslim

armies sacked the eternal city and intentionally desecrated Christian monuments, such as the

Basilica for Saint Peter, which was situated outside the protection of the Aurelian fortress walls.

Once the invaders filled their carts with early Christian Rome's precious jewels, treasured

vessels, altarpieces and the silver doors of Saint Peter's, they moved on. Three years later, those

captured at Ostia paid the price for the prior Muslim invaders, who were said to have retreated to

Africa with Rome's treasures: "for when after perpetrating their wicked and devastating crime

they all wanted to return to the African region whence they had come."[123] Christians believed

these African Muslims' actions did not go unpunished: "God allowed them to be overwhelmed in

the empty vastness of the sea by the force of winds and storms, and lo! The prayer of the apostles

was worth to achieve anew that ancient miracle over the Egyptians."[124] African Muslims were

blamed for the ninth-century sack of Rome, and biblical passages from the book of Exodus that

detail God's drowning of the Egyptian army in the Red Sea were revived in the history of the

events. In this analogy, Egypt came to represent the continent Africa.

In the fifteenth century, the humanist Bartolomeo Platina published much of the story

from *Liber Pontificalis*, but added a few specifics regarding what exactly the enslaved people

worked on:

> Those who were led to Rome as prisoners served to repair the churches, the ones that the
> Agarens had already ruined, and battered, and to also repair the city walls, and extend
> them to enclose the Vatican. …they also had to build fifteen new towers in the city's

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[123] *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)*, 113 (105.7).

[124] *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)*, 113 (105.7).

walls to better defend against similar attacks. This is why we call the city by the name *Leonine*, Leo's City.[125]

Those enslaved after the Battle of Ostia were forced to correct what was perceived to be their previous attack on Rome. Framed on both sides by the telamons, the *historia* of Raphael's *Battle of Ostia* becomes larger than the single narrative depicted and expands beyond the narrative of the painted scene to encompass the multiple frescoes in the *stanza*. The anachronisms, such as Leo X's presence, determine the interpretation of the picture as visual rhetoric that conveys the sixteenth-century pope's divine command and judicial governance over time, space, and bodies. Here, we might consider the possibility that the enslaved Egyptian bodies *as* architecture that frame *The Victory of Leo IV at Ostia* indicate the enslaved "Agarens" in the painting that would go on to *build* architecture. The form of the Egyptian columns evinced an origin in Africa, and with this, they represented that land's pre-Islamic ancient peoples. In the sixteenth century, the terms Saracen, Agaren, and Moor were used to identify people from West Asia and North Africa. The same terms often implied persons belonging to the Muslim faith, which included large populations in regions of Europe, such as the Iberian Peninsula, Sardinia, and Sicily. Despite this usage, no group has ever self-identified with these names. Saracen and Agaren were Christian monikers, known from the work of early church fathers. Eusebius and Jerome in the fourth and fifth centuries CE derived the terms Saracen and Agaren from Genesis 16, which recounts the tale of Abraham, his legitimate wife Sarah, and his concubine Hagar. Sarah was barren, but wanted to ensure Abraham had an heir, so she offered her enslaved Egyptian maidservant Hagar

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[125] "Di quelli, che furono in Roma menati prigioni, si servì egli nel rifarcire delle chiese, che havevano già gli Agareni rouinate, e bruciate, e nel fare della muraglia, con la quale il colle Vaticano ne cinse, e che del suo nome città Leonina chiamò," in Bartolomeo Platina, *Historia di Battista Platina Cremonese, delle vite de i Sommi Pontefici, dal Salvator Nostro Infino à Paolo II*, ed. Onofrio Panvinio, trans. Lucio Fauno (Venice: Appresso Bernardo Basa, & Barezzo Barezzi, 1592), folio 126v; "…e vi edificò dalla prima pietra quindeci torri per difesa della città di paβo in pass," folio 126r.

to him as a concubine. Abraham and Hagar bore a son, Ishmael, who founded the patrilineal line of the Ishmaelites. Thus, it was believed that "Agarens"—the children of the Egyptian Hagar—was the Greek term for Ishmaelites. "Saracen"—a word that means "barren Sarah"—refers to the same people. Church fathers claimed that these descendants came to inhabit a region of West Asia and North Africa that connects Egypt, the Levant, and the Arabian peninsula.[126] However, these early church fathers were writing centuries before Islam would begin developing as a religion and political force in the seventh century. By the middle of the eighth century, when Islamic conquests established the religion throughout West Asia, North Africa, and Southern Europe, the terms Agaren and Saracen were revived and applied broadly to Muslims in these regions.

A similar prejudice informs the Christian usage of the term "Turk." Around the turn of the sixteenth century, many European courts sought to reclaim Jerusalem in Christian crusade. Leo X had hopes of conducting a crusade of his own. Much to Leo's dismay, Mediterranean politics had shifted significantly: the Ottoman Turks had taken over Constantinople in 1453 and converted the Byzantine capital of eastern Christianity into an Islamic city. For centuries, it was the "Saracens" who prevented any secure hold in the Levant, but in 1517 the growing Ottoman empire scored a major victory as they overthrew the Mamluk Sultanate's control over Jerusalem in the province of Syria. When Vasari described Raphael's fresco in 1550, he notes the "Port of Ostia, occupied by an armada of Turks, who have come to take Pope Leo IV prisoner."[127] While

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[126] The histories of the terms "Saracen" and "Agaren" are found in Walter D. Ward, *Mirage of the Saracen: Christians and Nomads in the Sinai Peninsula in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 27-28; and Jan Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity: Their History from the Assyrians to the Umayyads* (London: Routledge, 2003), 505-509. Also see John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

[127] "L'altra storia e del medesimo San Leon IIII. Doue hà finite il porto di Ostia, occupato da vna armata di Turchi, che era venuta per farlo prigione," in Vasari, *Le vite…*, 2:662.

earlier histories laid the blame on the Saracen or Agaren, in Vasari's history, the Turk is now the

preferred designator for an attacking Muslim, even though no "Turks"—which is say Turkic

peoples from Anatolia—were involved in the ninth-century Battle of Ostia. As Bronwen Wilson

argues, "the Turk" became "the nomenclature for Muslim more than a specific ethnic

identity."[128] All three terms come together on the title page of Theodorus Bibliander's (1509-

1564) translation of the Qur'an from Arabic to Latin, published in 1543 (fig. 3.32). In addition to

noting that the text was written in "the Arab Language," Bibliander refers to the prophet

Mohammed as "the most esteemed Saracen," and refers to the Qur'an as the "holy book of the

Agareni and Turks."[129] While each term could indicate a specific group of peoples, they were

also broad and interchangeable Muslim signifiers.

The word *moro*, or "Moor," also had complex signification. It could be synonymous with

Saracen, Agaren, and Turk, and it could also refer to enslaved Black Africans. Three months

after the sack of Rome in 846, the papacy issued an appeal "to fight the enemies of Christ—

Saracens and Moors."[130] In this instance, both are Muslim, but they represent two geographic

origins: Saracens from West Asia, and Moors, or Mauri from Mauritania, the span of land from

Morocco to Tunisia in Northwestern Africa. Moor also became a term to describe Muslims

living in the Western Mediterranean, especially Islamic converts to Christianity who resided on

the Iberian Peninsula. While the term *moro nero* was sometimes used to distinguish a darker

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[128] Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 6. Also see Larry Silver, "East is East: Images of the Turkish Nemesis in the Hapsburg World," in *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750: Visual Imagery before Orientalism*, ed. James G. Harper (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 185-216.

[129] Theodorus Bibliander, *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran* (Basel: Ioannes Oporinus, 1543), titlepage.

[130] Cited in Alex Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 18.

complexioned sub-Saharan African person from a lighter skinned person from the north, there was no consistent division.[131] Slave traders commonly used Moor to describe Black African captives, and soon the term became interchangeable with other Islamic identifiers, even defining "Saracen" as "a blacke-man."[132] With this in mind, we can see how artistic depictions of Egyptian figures could encompass all of the terms associated with Muslims and Africans: Saracen, Agaren, Turk, Moor. Raphael's African bodies stand in place of terminology and similarly conflate a diverse range of peoples from various regions.

A visual distinction between Africans and Italians in the *Battle of Ostia* is not clearly designated. The captives presented to the medieval pope in the picture are not visually racialized in the same way that the telamons are. There is little difference in the colour of their hair and skin, and they have no distinctive items of clothing, such as the *nemes* or phrygian cap, that indicated "otherness" in contextual works made at this time, such as the Dacian Persian prints. Raphael's "African bodies" are idealized as essentialized human forms, which is quite different from the usage of terms like "Saracen," "Agaren," "Turk," and "Moor," which serve as catchalls for non-European even when intended to mean something specific in context.

However, like the sculpted Dacians that appeared in Renaissance architectural treatise illustrations, the Egyptian telamons from Tivoli were converted into an architectural order that indicated Vitruvius' example of bodying columns as conquered subjects. Raphael's Egyptian telamons are not detached framing devices: they were designed and painted at the same time as

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[131] Kate Lowe, "Introduction: The Black African Presence in Renaissance Europe," in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, eds. T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 5-6.

[132] Kate Lowe, "The Stereotyping of Black Africans in Renaissance Europe," in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, eds. T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 17-47. Lowe updates some of her ideas and the state of her research in "Visible Lives: Black Gondoliers and Other Black Africans in Renaissance Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (2013): 415-419.

the four walls, and were thus intended to be interpreted as part of the pictorial programme. This is most evident in the hand of the telamon painted on the transept that connects the east and north walls, which just slightly overlaps with the painted pier. The columnar frame's body visually breaks out of its architectural confines and slightly penetrates the picture.[133] In the same way that the iconography and context of Dacian captives afforded their Renaissance reception as Rome's version of Vitruvius' Persians, the Egyptian captives from Tivoli permitted archaeologically inclined artists and architects, such as Raphael and van Heemskerck, to imagine them as the ancient bearers of a meaning that indicated most broadly the Muslim "infidel," but signified, specifically, Africa.

Van Heemskerck painted *Landscape of Ruins* with intimate knowledge of the world around Raphael's depictions of Africans in the *Stanza dell'Incendio*. This was largely due to the artist's social network.[134] One of van Heemskerck's workshop masters who became his close colleague in Haarlem, Jan van Scorel, was able to pull some strings. A decade before van Heemskerck arrived in Rome, van Scorel had succeeded Raphael as Keeper of Antiquities for the Vatican Belvedere during the short reign of the Dutch Pope Adrian VI (r. 1522-23). After Adrian's death, van Scorel's time in the Vatican provided him with a newfound fame when he returned north in 1524 to take up the post as Canon of Utrecht. Van Scorel encouraged his students, such as van Heemskerck, Hermann Posthumus, and Anthonis Mor, to make their own

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[133] Arnold Nesselrath makes this observation in "Raphael's Gift to Dürer," *Master Drawings* 31, no. 4 (1993): 377.

[134] Ilja Veldman, "Maarten Van Heemskerck en Italië," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 44 (1993): 126-141; Joanna Woodall, *Anthonis Mor: Art and Authority* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2007), 44-93; Edward H. Wouk, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570): Imagining a Northern Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 108-11; DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 51-56.

journeys to Rome to learn from antiquity directly.[135] In van Heemskerck's case, these journeys involved some kind of papal liaison on van Scorel's behalf.

While in Rome, van Heemskerck drew the sculpture collection of Ippolito de'Medici, who kept at his court in the Villa Madama a collection of enslaved peoples from all over the world as a kind of human "wunderkammer" for others to look at.[136] Referred to as his "Barbarian guests," Catherine Fletcher has made it clear that such a household was more of a so-called "human zoo" than a court. There is no record of the opinions of the "guests," but that they were treated in the same way as animals, Fletcher argues, as "exotic and different" curiosities "to entertain Ippolito and his friends."[137] The situation becomes more complex when we take into account that Ippolito was the bastard son of Giuliano de Medici and a servant, who was a woman of colour, with partial Black African ancestry.[138] Ippolito's own nickname was "moro," due to his darker features. Despite this, he maintained a different identity through his class and social stature, privileges that ensured that those enslaved within his circle were viewed as dehumanized "barbarians."

Scholars have contended that the telamons Raphael painted in the Vatican would have reminded viewers of enslaved peoples in Rome, and to the growing population of enslaved and

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[135] See Nicole Dacos' book-length studies on these artists, *Voyage à Rome: Les Artistes Européens au XVIe Siècle* (Brussels: Fonds Mercator, 2012), and *Roma quanta fuit ou l'invention du paysage de ruines* (Paris/Brussels: Somogy/Musée de la maison d'Erasme, 2004). Also see Woodall, *Anthonis Mor*, 94-113.

[136] This "troop of Barbarians," as Jacob Burckhardt calls them (*Schaar von Barbaren*), reportedly spoke no less than twenty-four languages, in *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (Basel: Schweighauser, 1860), 291.

[137] Catherine Fletcher, *The Black Prince of Florence: The Spectacular Life and Treacherous World of Alessandro de' Medici* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 14-18.

[138] Fletcher, *The Black Prince of Florence*, 73.

free African people in Europe.[139] While van Heemskerck was in Rome, he would have seen the telamons in the *Stanza dell'incendio* and he would have seen enslaved and previously enslaved people in the Vatican—many of whom were among those forced to rebuild the new Saint Peter's. Unlike the reimaging of architectural theory with the ancient history of the Dacians, Raphael's replication of the ancient telamons in a visual programme with *historie* of slavery emphasized the historical *and* contemporaneous presence of enslaved captives in Renaissance Europe.

Conclusion

What I have set forth in this chapter is that the column van Heemskerck painted in *Landscape of Ruins* indicated, in the sixteenth century, Africa. When Alberti converted Vitruvius' advice for builders into advice for those who build worlds in pictures, he wrote "we will work out the whole 'historia' and each of its parts by making preparatory studies on paper, and take advice on it with all our friends; so that there will be nothing in the picture whose exact collocation we do not know perfectly."[140] This chapter has laid the groundwork to claim that the telamons from Tivoli signified Africa to early modern architects, and artists. Moving into the final chapter, I will pursue the significance and reception of these columns within the context of the sixteenth-century imperial conquest of Tunisia.

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[139] See Una D'Elia, *Raphael's Ostrich* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016), 75-79; and Jones and Penny, *Raphael*, 150-151.

[140] Alberti, *On Painting*, 94.

Chapter 4

***Carolus Africanus*: Africa and Empire in Charles V's Triumph in Rome**

> Those who formed statues to serve, bound in stone fabric, wanted
> to ensure perpetual triumph.
>
> - Giovanni Rusconi, *Della architettura*

In 1552, five years after van Heemskerck painted *Landscape of Ruins with Saint Jerome*, the

Antwerp printmaker Hieronymus Cock (1518-1570) converted the picture into an etching (fig.

4.1). Like van Heemskerck, Cock emphasises the Egyptian telamon, while he is equally attentive

to the proliferation of architectural ruins. Rising from the mass of buildings and sculpture on the

left, a portico of massive shafts is reminiscent of the Temple of Saturn in the ancient Roman

Forum. And in the middle ground toward the right, a dilapidated amphitheater evinces the

Colosseum set at an angle that both artists had rendered in drawings while they were in Rome.

The landscape reproduces what van Heemskerck saw when he visited Rome between 1532 and

1536/1537, and that Cock saw when he visited the city around a decade later. This chapter turns

to the world depicted in the painted and printed *Landscape of Ruins* to analyse the expansive

pictures. Even though the painting and the print are full of architectural ruins and sculpture, both

are designed to direct the viewer's attention to the Egyptian telamon. While van Heemskerck's

giant sculpted river god looks out to the viewer, Cock has altered the figure somewhat, turning

the head up toward the right, so that it appears as if the river god is looking at the Egyptian

statue. To follow the gaze of Cock's river god is to turn one's focus onto the Egyptian column

(fig. 4.2).

The statue in both pictures is not an accurate depiction of any single river god that was known in Rome. At first glance, the she-wolf and twins identify the figure as the personification of the Tiber river that was quite a sensation after it was excavated from an ancient temple of Isis and Serapis in 1512.[1] However, that sculpture of the Tiber, now in the Louvre, holds the cornucopia in his right hand, instead of the left, like the one we see in van Heemskerck's painting and in Cock's print. The river god is not perfectly indexical to any single river god—it is instead a combination of two: the Vatican Tiber and Marforio. As with the other figures in *Landscape of Ruins*, Marforio was, when van Heemskerck and Cock visited the city, in the Roman forum, and van Heemskerck drew the massive, reclining river god while he was there (fig. 4.3).[2] With missing arms, Marforio's form lent imagination to the artist who could depict the forum's river god as a Tiber just as easily as he could any other fluvial sculpture.

The Marforio statue was a conduit of urban communication. Romans animated him in inscribed conversations with another of the city's speaking statues, the Pasquino. Pasquino is an ancient Roman sculptural fragment of two men that was engaged with as if it were a single subject. In the early sixteenth century, Rome's literate inhabitants began to post written notes affixed to, or directly on the stones around him. The tradition continues today, effectively giving the sculpture a voice and making it a platform for dialogue. Many of the early modern notes were intended to animate conversations between Pasquino and Marforio, who famously bantered

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[1] Based on a reported discovery at the same site in 1440, scholars assume the statue referred to as the Vatican Tiber was "found" twice. See Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (London: Harvey Miller, 1986), 102-103, cat. 66; Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 1.

[2] Van Heemskerck also drew the river god at least two times on the far left of the view of the forum from the Capitoline (fig. 4.14). Note Antonio da Sangallo's drawing of Marforio among his sketches of the arches for Charles' triumph in the Uffizi, inventory 1269Av.

about things happening in Rome and cracked crude jokes of sodomy aimed at the city's leaders. But they also posed serious questions and became reflective media for Roman publics.[3] In Cock's print, the river god looks toward the Egyptian column. Is he engaging the telamon in conversation? In the painted *Landscape of Ruins*, the river god looks out at the painting's viewers, almost uncomfortably, prompting reflection about what it is that they see (fig. 4.4). It is as if van Heemskerck anticipated a slow response, and placed a speaking statue in the composition to invite the viewer to return to the image multiple times, and contemplate the meaning of each figure separately, and then together, until the complexity of the *historia* unfolds.

This chapter situates van Heemskerck's and Cock's pictures within the cultural landscape, the social and political circumstances, of the time. In chapter three, I argued that the Egyptian telamons from Tivoli signified Africa in Renaissance architectural theory. Renaissance artists and architects worked with Vitruvius' story of bodying columns in ancient architecture, and believed, based on his account, that columns in the shape of humans represented conquered and enslaved subjects—bearers of meaning that displayed their defeat. For the sixteenth-century architect and theorist Giovanni Rusconi (c. 1500-1578), who interprets Vitruvius' story of bodying columns, the makers of such columns—in antiquity and in the Renaissance—do so with the aim of "ensuring perpetual triumph."[4] Considering that the Egyptian column was evocative of an African body, I contend that such iconography was appropriate in art that was received as among the works commissioned to commemorate the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V's (1500-1558) conquest of Africa in 1535, the triumphal processions that lasted into 1536, and the

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[3] See Rose Marie San Juan, *Rome: A City Out of Print* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 1-22; and Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 223.

[4] Giovanni Rusconi, *Della architettura* (Venice: I. Gioliti, 1590), 3.

inclusion of Egyptian iconography as a way to commemorate the role of Africa in the expanding empire.

I argue that van Heemskerck's Egyptian painted column, and Cock's replication of it in print, is a noteworthy component of the pictorial compositions of *Landscape of Ruins* because it bears the potential to convey an aspect of the "art's world," to return to Pamela M. Lee's concept from chapter one, which "is to retain a sense of the activity performed by the object as utterly continuous with the world it at once inhabits and creates."[5] For many in Europe in the 1540s and 1550s, Europe's war in Africa in the 1530s was still present. The visual culture of the Netherlands certainly reflected the recent events concerned with Africa, as many of the north's most esteemed painters, printers, and architects were involved with the commissions surrounding imperial commemorations of the conquest of Tunis. Van Heemskerck, for example, was directly involved with Charles' triumph. While in Rome between 1535 and 1536, he helped Pope Paul III (r. 1534-1549) and the papal architect, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1484-1546), to redesign the city into an archaeological spectacle to host Charles' triumphal entry celebrating his conquest over Africa.[6] The Holy Roman Emperor—who was also Lord of the Netherlands and King of Spain—conquered Tunis in July 1535. By August, the Emperor had signed peace treaties with the Berber Hafsid king, Mulay Hassan (c. 1445-1550), whom he returned to the African throne as a vassal. Immediately after, Charles left North Africa for Sicily, which had been since 1282 under the authority of the Spanish crown. Arriving first in Trapani, the Emperor revived the ancient practice of orchestrating a massive triumph: parading through the city in an elaborate display of imperial conquest. He then staged a similar triumphal procession in the Sicilian cities

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[5] Pamela M. Lee, *Forgetting the Art World* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012), 8.

[6] Guido Rebecchini, *The Rome of Paul III (1534-1549): Art, Ritual and Urban Renewal* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2020), 25-31.

of Palermo and Messina, and toured parts of the island before crossing over to the mainland to stage a triumph in Naples.[7] As ancient Roman emperors had done, Charles placed human subjects at the fore of his triumphal parade. Leading the way was a throng of newly freed Christians, and following them were enslaved non-Christian captives. Reviving the ancient imperial Roman triumph over a conquered territory, the enslaved marched as captive "Africans," even though some were from elsewhere, such as West Asia.[8] When news arrived that Charles was scheduled to triumph his way into Rome in 1536, artists and architects collaborated and began preparing designs for *apparati*—ephemeral triumphal arches and decorated surfaces.[9] Van Heemskerck was among these artists. What I set forth in this chapter is that *Landscape of Ruins*, in both its painted and printed formats, may be considered among these circumstances of making, and also, in the decades that followed, as receptions of the war in Africa.

Literature Review

Neither iconographic nor descriptive methods have sorted out the significance of *Landscape with Ruins*. However, I propose a possible interpretation: a picture of Saint Jerome made at this time, among Rome's ruins, rhetorically conveyed, to an elite European audience, the Spanish King and Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V and his triumph in the eternal city. I maintain the current assumption that the picture is an *historia*—a grand narrative. I differ, however, by considering the picture among the kind of *historie* theorized by Patricia Fortini Brown, as discussed in

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[7] See Cristelle L. Baskins, *Hafsids and Habsburgs in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Facing Tunis* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 27-121.

[8] Geoffrey Parker, *Emperor: A New Life of Charles V* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), 244-245, 582.

[9] Nicole Dacos, *Roma quanta fuit, ou l'invention du paysage de ruines* (Brussels: Musée de la Maison d'Érasme, 2004), 145-165.

chapter two, where pictures are both imaginative *fantasia* and historical records of a moment in time: "documentation and verification of an event depicted."[10] While Brown's study is exclusive to Venetian painting, scholars such as Peter Burke have developed Brown's core idea beyond a historical specific to apply as well to similar works of art from diverse places and periods, such as ancient Roman sculpture, nineteenth-century French painting, and twentieth-century American cinema.[11] *Landscape of Ruins* is, I believe, among these kinds of pictures that combine documentation with imagination.

Certainly, as a picture of Saint Jerome, the painting affords a mode of reception where the saint's life is the most obvious element of the pictorial subject. When Arthur J. DiFuria produced the first scholarly analysis of the painting in 2019, he argued that *Landscape of Ruins* was pivotal in van Heemskerck's career in the Netherlands, marking the artist's return to replicating Roman antiquities, as he had done a decade earlier, in numerous drawings and a handful of paintings such as *Panorama with the Abduction of Helen of Troy Amidst the Wonders of the Ancient World* (1536-1537) and *Triumph of Bacchus* (1536-1537). According to DiFuria, the amplified interest in Jerome after 1516 could have instigated a new kind of early modern reception where viewers saw van Heemskerck's painting as a discursive prompt to contemplate what the saint wrote, what translators such as Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1466-1536) wrote about him, and how Jerome was exemplified by Rome's ruins.[12] This reception focuses on the changes

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[10] Patricia Fortini Brown, "Painting and History in Renaissance Venice," *Art History* 7, no. 3 (1984): 264. Brown develops her theory throughout the book *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988).

[11] Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 14-17. Range of examples provided throughout book.

[12] Arthur J. Difuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome: Antiquity, Memory, and the Cult of Ruins* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 209-211.

from old to new, pagan to Christian, and the translation of ancient Rome into the Christian

sixteenth century.

Based on Jerome's hagiography, we know that the depicted location is supposed to be

near the city of Bethlehem in the early fifth century CE. The rocky mound under the column

partially covers the saint from above, and its dark recess evinces a hollow, the cave where the

saint lived out the last three decades of his life.[13] This cave, the "grotto of the Nativity," was a

known place to sixteenth-century Netherlandish artists. Men from van Heemskerck's social

network, including his teacher Jan van Scorel, had visited the cave under the Basilica of the

Nativity in Bethlehem during their journeys to Jerusalem.[14] For van Heemskerck and his

colleagues, Bethlehem was located in a province called Ottoman Syria. But in Jerome's day, the

same territory had for nearly a millennium been referred to in Greek after the ancient Aegean

travelers, known as Philistines, who had colonised parts of the West Asian coast: Palestine.[15]

Understood in this way, van Heemskerck's landscape could have been intended to evoke the

ancient province of Jerusalem that surrounds Bethlehem. In the background of van

Heemskerck's painting, the undulating trunks and shimmering fronds of palm trees are, as Peter

Mason argues, "no doubt intended to evoke the exotic flora of the Holy Land."[16] The same can

be said of the camels beside the colosseum in Cock's print that walk toward the ruins in the

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[13] Jacopus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 599.

[14] Kathryn Blair Moore, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land: Reception from Late Antiquity through the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 242-245.

[15] For early modern context see Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials: Rural Administration Around Sixteenth-Century Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3-10; for ancient context see Assaf Yasur-Landau, *The Philistines and Aegean Migration at the End of the Late Bronze Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 162-163.

[16] Peter Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 34. Also see Walter Gibson, *"Mirror of the Earth": The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 21.

background. For Mason, "the primary point of reference of these elements is to an exotic landscape as such, and not a geographically specific one." However, upon closer inspection, one sees Rome's buildings, and is aware that this is not Jerome's Palestine. This dislocation of place, DiFuria argues, affords free interpretations: "we should be in Bethlehem, but we are not; we are simultaneously in Bethlehem, Rome, and even the Netherlands. We are thus nowhere. We could thus be anywhere. Seen in this light, the monuments are free to signify in relation to the narrative they support."[17]

Despite the freedom to signify anywhere, scholars cannot confidently explain why van Heemskerck focused so much on Roman architecture and so little on Saint Jerome. Shortly after the picture arrived in the Liechtenstein princely collections, and was no longer believed to be lost, the museum's director Johann Kräftner argued that "St Jerome in Heemskerck's painting is no more than an excuse to unroll a panoramic perspective of the Roman ruins known at the time."[18] Even though van Heemskerck modified each ruin enough to signify "nowhere," they remain to be seen as close documentations of some of Rome's monuments. This kind of visual description is too close for some, such as Godefridus J. Hoogewerff, to appreciate the painting as an inventive work of art. Along with another of van Heemskerck's paintings, *Bullfight in a Roman Amphitheatre*, Hoogewerff criticized *Landscape of Ruins*, known to him at the time only

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[17] DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 214. For the recognition of landscapes in Renaissance painting, see Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 19-20. Van Heemskerck's work is consulted in a range of texts in art history, architecture, and archaeology as evidence of two things: most commonly as recordings of the city of Rome in the sixteenth century, and secondarily as evidence of ancient Roman, Greek, and Egyptian antiquities as they were known and collected. For debates on the drawings, see the collection of essays in Tatjana Bartsch and Peter Seiler, eds., *Rom zeichnen: Maarten van Heemskerck, 1532-1536/37* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2012).

[18] Johann Kräftner, *Distant Prospects: Landscape Painting from the Collections of the Prince von und zu Liechtenstein, 15th to 19th Century* (Vienna: Liechtenstein Museum, 2008), 33. I discuss the absence of the painting from historiography in the literature review of chapter three.

through Cock's print, as an example that "shows how the master unimaginatively sticks each studied detail side by side," adding "one cannot even speak of a 'process' here."[19] For Hoogewerff, Van Heemskerck's descriptive display of ruins reduces Jerome to a nearly forgotten side story, which ruptures the picture's *historia* for a viewer who tries and fails to find Jerome's hagiography in the compositional narration. The explicit indexicality of van Heemskerck's figures leaves no room for *fantasie*. The Dutch word he used to discredit van Heemskerck was *fantasieloos*, a compound of the Greek-derived *fantasie*, "fantasy" or "imagination," and *loos*, "lack," which can be understood as "without fantasy" or "unimaginative." Thus, a lack of fantasy equals a lack of the kind of imagination needed to paint *historie*.

However, while each architectural and sculptural figure in the painted and printed compositions are somewhat indexical, DiFuria observes that none of them perfectly depict their prototype.[20] While for him this unhinges the picture from any locatability in the real world, rendering it simply what he calls a "ruin *fantasie*," this abstract effect is for others, such as Georges Didi-Huberman, still within "the logic of the index: the experimental fantasy and love of verification."[21] Here, indexical figures are not *fantasieloos*. Instead, the architectural and

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[19] "Werken als het *Stierengevecht in een Romeinsch amphitheater*, van 1552, in het Museum te Rijssel en vooral het *Ruïnenlandschap met den H. Hieronymus*, in de verzameling Schönborn te Weenen (prent van Hier. Cock), toonen hoe de meester de verworven details fantasieloos naast elkander toepast. Hier kan man van "verwerken" niet eens spreken," in G.J. Hoogewerff, *Nederlandsche Schilders in Italië in de XVIe Eeuw: De Geschiedenis van het Romanisme* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1912), 200-201.

[20] DiFuria notes that each figure is slightly different than its prototype, and proposes the use of the term "ruin *fantasie*" in *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 5, 209.

[21] Georges Didi-Huberman, "The Index of the Absent Wound (Monograph on a Stain)," *October* 29 (1984): 78-81. For the theoretical background of my use of the index in art history and visual culture, see David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London: Phaidon, 2003), 27-29; Mary Ann Doane, *The Emergence of Cinematic Time: Modernity, Contingency, The Archive* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 69-107; and Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 12-40.

sculptural figures in the painting boast van Heemskerck's "fantasy of referentiality."[22] Each recognizable figure the artist depicts in the composition is part of this verification process, permitting each figure that a viewer can see to reference something that the viewer may know. Kräftner, as well, admits that "reality and fantasy are coupled in both pictures."[23] The amphitheater, for example, in both *Bullfight* and *Landscape of Ruins* would have been recognized as "the Colosseum," even though it is not perfectly indexical to it.

The painting and print reveal two main problems in their art historical interpretations. On the one hand, if we follow a hagiographic interpretation, then the painted and printed landscapes that emphasize ruins should convey some kind of cryptic symbolism. On the other hand, if we only see the painting and print as indices of Rome's monuments, they are little more than descriptive studies with an oddly placed Jerome at the bottom left. I do not intend to bridge *Landscape with Ruins* with the kind of seventeenth-century Dutch visual culture that Svetlana Alpers calls the "art of describing," but I do stress the point that the mode of "describing" that is key to Alpers' study is not a phenomenon belonging to only one period or place.[24] It refers to the process wherein something in the world has been de-scribed; literally cut out, in language or in visual representation. Circumscription is the word Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) used. Circumscription is the art of rendering the world in description, it is the drawing around a figure that transfers what is seen onto an artist's surface.[25] To draw is to describe, accounting for, of

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[22] See Mary Ann Doane's employment of Didi-Huberman's fantasy of referentiality in "The Indexical and the Concept of Medium Specificity," *differences* 18, no. 1 (2007): 128-152.

[23] Kräftner, *Distant Prospects*, 33.

[24] See Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), xxiv; and Christopher S. Wood, "'Curious Pictures' and the Art of Describing," *Word & Image* 11, no. 4 (1995): 332-352.

[25] Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. Cecil Grayson (London: Penguin, 2004), 65-67.

course, a range of inventive variables on behalf of the drawer. Van Heemskerck's offense, for

Hoogewerff, was that he described Roman architecture in *Landscape of Ruins* in a way that too

closely replicated the city's actual buildings. With such a descriptive mode of representation in

view, Hoogewerff did not see enigmatic symbolism specific to the saint the way DiFuria does.

The fault of description without imagination, in other words, rendered the picture too indexical to

Rome, and thus broke any *historia* from correctly forming around what Hoogewerff believed

was supposed to be evocative of a documentary imagination that located Jerome in Bethlehem.

While *Landscape of Ruins* is far too much of an *historia* to belong to Alpers'

classification of the Dutch art of describing, its descriptive qualities also prevent it from being

fully classified as a narrative history painting detailing the life of Saint Jerome. Pictures of this

kind recall Walter Liedtke's definition of the "realistic imaginary," where painters select

recognizable things from the world, but recompose them in ways that they do not exist outside of

the pictorial realm.[26] Angela Vanhaelen builds upon Liedtke's definition for an expanded

understanding of the variables present in architectural paintings, where small disjunctions present

in otherwise recognisable spaces prevent the pictures from acting as the purest kinds of

documentary evidence.[27] For Vanhaelen, the archaeological quality of architectural paintings,

such as seventeenth-century pictures of medieval church interiors, is mixed with imagination.

"Both documentary and imaginary," she argues, "this painting explores the uncertain zone of

their overlap."[28] Realistic imaginary is similar to the theory of archaeological imagination that I

develop throughout this dissertation. While there may be a symbolic realm pertinent to

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[26] Walter Liedtke develops the theory in *Architectural Painting in Delft: Gerard Houckgeest, Hendrick van Vliet and Emanuel de Witte* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1982).

[27] Angela Vanhaelen, *The Wake of Iconoclasm: Painting the Church in the Dutch Republic* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 46-50.

[28] Vanhaelen, *The Wake of Iconoclasm*, 49.

hagiography in *Landscape of Ruins*, there is also an indexical component to each of the

architectural figures, and this descriptive realism needs to be addressed.

I thus contend that hagiography should not be the only way that one might interpret

Landscape of Ruins. In John Shearman's theory of spectatorship, a painting of Saint Jerome can

be, for many who see it, just a painting of a Saint Jerome. That is, until what he calls "a more

engaged spectator" perceives it as something more.[29] In the sixteenth century, this kind of

spectator included the *rederijkers*—a society of theatric intellectuals organized into *rederijker*

kamers, or "chambers of Rhetoric," found in Antwerp and more widely in the cities of the

northern and southern Netherlands.[30] Van Heemskerck was actively involved with the chamber

of rhetoric in Haarlem, producing pictures of allegorical themes from historical and mythological

antiquity—both Christian and Pagan.[31] Cock was himself a member of the *rederijker kamer*

known as the *Violieren*, which had been established and populated predominantly by artists in

Antwerp since 1480.[32] The dramatic rhetoricians produced a range of public events, including

staged performances and competitions, and their engagement with artists drove demand for

clever pictures. Christopher P. Heuer has examined the ways that formal devices, such as

perspectival arrangements similar to the ones van Heemskerck and Cock employed, "worked like

a rhetorical gambit, to draw the beholder into a composition."[33] Within the virtual realm of a

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[29] John Shearman, *Only Connect… Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 10-17.

[30] See Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, *Om beters wille: Rederijkerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400-1650)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008).

[31] See the chapter "The artist among the rhetoricians of Haarlem," in Ilja M. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the sixteenth century* (Maarssen: Gary Schwartz, 1977), 123-141.

[32] Walter S. Gibson, "Artists and *Rederijkers* in the Age of Bruegel," *The Art Bulletin* 63, no. 3 (1981): 431.

[33] Christopher P. Heuer, *The City Rehearsed: Object, Architecture, and Print in the Worlds of Hans Vredeman de Vries* (London: Routledge, 2008), 79.

picture, contemplating the complex allegories and polyvalent symbols was part of the pleasure—as if each picture was a puzzle that could be solved in more than one way. The hundreds of prints produced by van Heemskerck and Cock, who sometimes worked together, implies that more than just the intellectual rhetoricians were purchasing them from printshops in Antwerp and looking at them. A range of spectators begets a range of interpretations. The meanings could be so complex, with interpretations that bordered on offensive and even illegal, that on occasion government officials, including Cock's financial patron Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517-1586), demanded explanations in order to grant the local chamber approvals to execute their work.[34] I consider *Landscape of Ruins* as a picture that was produced during a time when such complex and polyvalent pictures were popular.

Acknowledging the potential for polyvalent interpretations, my main point of intervention with the painted and printed *Landscape of Ruins* is to interpret the pictures' complex references to the Spanish regency and Roman architecture. My observation is based on circumstances. Saint Jerome's iconography, by the middle of the sixteenth century, was linked to Spanish regency through the longstanding close relationship between the crown and Spain's Hieronymite order.[35] The Order of Saint Jerome received papal approval in 1387 to organize themselves in Spain as a monastic order devoted to the rule of Saint Augustine. Their presence within Spanish religion and politics became so entwined that the Order of Saint Jerome became indicative of Spain.[36] In his biography of Charles V, Karl Brandi affirmed the connection

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[34] Gibson, "Artists and *Rederijkers* in the Age of Bruegel," 430.

[35] J.R.L. Highfield, "The Jeronimites in Spain, their Patrons and Success, 1373-1516," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34, no. 4 (1983): 513-533; with a pointed connection to Charles after 1516 made on page 533.

[36] Melquíades Andrés-Martín, (published without Martín in name), "Primer encuentro de la reforma y mística española con la reforma luterana," *Revista de Espiritualidad*, 42 (1983): 546.

between Saint Jerome and the Spanish King, arguing "The Order of Saint Jerome belongs essentially to Spain."[37] Including the saint in royal pictorial programmes signified Spanish regency. This was especially apparent when Jerome's image appeared in the collections of owners with Spanish ancestry who lived elsewhere.[38] Even well before Charles retired in a Hieronymite monastery, or his son and heir, Philip II (1527-1598), built the Royal castle of San Lorenzo El Escorial to house one, Jerome's iconography had long been a part of Spain's royal visual culture.[39] The iconography of Saint Jerome was so connected to the Spanish king that when Charles triumphed in Rome in 1536, bystanders such as Zanobio Ceffino (c. 1499-?) reported the inclusion of a picture of Saint Jerome covering Rome's architectural surfaces along the imperial route.[40] The visual programme of the second half of the triumphal process propelled Charles toward the Vatican and identified him as Rome's emperor.

Ceffino also describes grand pictures of Cleopatra exhibited alongside the pictures of Saint Jerome. The dying Cleopatra motif was especially employed by earlier popes like Julius II (1503-1513), who identified with Julius Caesar, and by Leo X (1513-1521), who identified with Augustus. Cleopatra's entwined diplomatic roles with Julius Caesar, and with Augustus, was

[37] Karl Brandi, *The Emperor Charles V: The Growth and Destiny of a Man and of a World Empire*, trans. C.V. Wedgwood (1939; repr., London: Harvester Press, 1980), 638.

[38] See Bruce Edelstein, "Nobildonne napoletane e committenza: Eleonara d'Aragona ed Eleonora di Toledo a confront," *Quaderni storici* 35, no. 2 (2000): 313, n. 29; and Robert W. Gaston, "Eleanora di Toledo's Chapel: Lineage, Salvation and the War Against the Turks," in *The Cultural World of Eleanora di Toledo: Duchess of Florence and Siena*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Farnham: Ashgate, 2004), 157-162, 166.

[39] Piers Baker-Bates, "The 'Cloister Life' of the Emperor Charles V: Art and Ideology at Yuste," *Hispanic Research Journal* 14, no. 5 (2013): 429.

[40] Zanobio Ceffino, *La triomphante entrata di Carlo V Imperatore Augusto innelalma Citta de Roma Con il significato delli archi triomphalis delle figure antiche in prosa e versi Latini* (Rome: unknown publisher, 1536), folio Aiv.r.

reanimated within the ancient rulers' papal analogues.[41] The Egyptian Queen's well known papal

iconography in Rome served as a compelling icon that rhetorized the formation and ongoing

processing of the Roman empire. For ancient Roman emperors, the Ptolemaic Queen of Egypt's

death marked the end of the Hellenistic Mediterranean and the rise of Roman imperium. Dio's

and Plutarch's ancient descriptions of Augustus's triumphal procession after his annexation of

Egypt noted a paraded statue of the dying Cleopatra, clinging to the asp that had just bit her, as a

symbol of his conquest.[42] For Charles, the Holy Roman Emperor, Cleopatra and her Egyptian

iconography were ancient examples of the capture and display of Africa at the dawn of the

Roman empire.

Saint Jerome, on the other hand, had become a figure in art that was inextricable from the

Spanish Crown, and thus, Charles, who was also Holy Roman Emperor.[43] In other words,

Charles triumphed through Rome with a visual programme that combined Cleopatra, whose

entwined Egyptian and African image signified the birth of the Roman empire, with the

iconography associated with Spain. As a painting that depicted the hagiographic world of

Jerome, *Landscape with Ruins* offers the possibility of referencing the Spanish regency to its

intended viewers. At the same time, the painting indicated Rome's ruins through which, in 1536,

Charles paraded in triumph after his conquest in the North African city of Tunis. The Egyptian

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[41] Brian Curran devotes a contextual chapter to each pope in *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 186-225.

[42] Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, trans. Earnest Cary and Herbert B. Foster (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925), 60-63 (51.21); Plutarch, *Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), 9:328-329 (Antony, LXXXVI [86]).

[43] Highfield, "The Jeronimites in Spain," 513-533; Isabel Mateos Gómez, Amelia López-Yarto Elizalde, and José María Prados García, *El arte de la Orden Jerónima: Historia y mecenazgo* (Madrid: Encuentro, 2000).

telamon in the painting and print efficiently synthesized the kind of Egyptian imperial references made during Charles' triumph with his recent conquest in Africa.

War in Africa

Charles' entry in Rome was a celebration of his conquest of Tunis, the capital of the Berber Hafsid Kingdom of North Africa, in 1535. I will briefly summarise the events that took place in order to situate the imagery. In 1532, the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman (r. 1512-1520) summoned the pirate Khaireddin Barbarossa (c. 1500-1546) to Constantinople, and ordered him to lead his galleys against the Hapsburgs and the papal states. Barbarossa began striking at the Italian coast, but in 1534, he turned south to occupy Tunis, and claimed the city by 16 August. The North African city was strategically located near Suleiman's targets, especially Hapsburg Sicily only one hundred miles away. Tunis' caliph Hassan (r. 1526-1543) established contact with Charles, and orchestrated an intervention on his dynastic behalf, pledging allegiance to the emperor in the event of his success.[44] In 1535, with gold acquired from ransoming and killing the last Inca King, Atahualpa (r. 1532-1533), the emperor funded a Renaissance "World War": one hundred and forty ships carrying thirty thousand soldiers and over seven hundred cavalry left from Antwerp, Genoa, and, Barcelona.[45] Even though the goal was to reinstall Hassan as a vassal king of Tunis as a way to secure the Spanish coasts, which at the time included Sicily and Naples, the pope

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[44] Rubén González Cuerva, "Infidel Friends: Charles V, Mulay Hassan and the Theatre of Majesty," *Mediterranea* 49 (2020): 445-468. The article is one of five plus an introduction that are part of a special dossier included in the same issue: "The Conquest of Tunis (1535) as a European Enterprise," pages 368-492.

[45] Also see Thomas James Dandelet, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 103-107; James D. Tracy, *Emperor Charles, Impresiaro of War: Campaign Strategy, International Finance, and Domestic Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 155-156. Also see Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, "Juan de Rena and the Financing of the Tunis Campaign: The View from Barcelona's Dockyards," *Mediterranea* 49 (2020): 395-416.

blessed the African campaign as Christian crusade. Europe carried out propaganda for the common publics that Charles' war was against the so-called "infidel," or non-Christians.[46]

Charles led the armies into a bloody battle in Tunis, and he ensured that the conquest would be documented by bringing along historians and artists. The artist who best documented the war in pictures was the painter, Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen (c. 1500-1559).[47] On 15 June, the imperial fleet descended upon Tunis, and Vermeyen's job was to sketch as much of the war and landscape that he could while on the battlegrounds. These visual records legitimized pictures of the war through a style that Brown and Burke have theorized as the "eyewitness" mode of depiction, a kind of documentation of the event.[48] Eleven years after the war, Vermeyen, assisted by Antwerp's famous tapestry designer, Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-1550), synthesized his sketches made in Tunis to design cartoons for twelve tapestries that were woven by Willem de Pannemaker (c. 1510-1581) in Brussels between 1548-1554 (fig. 4.5).[49] It was at this time when Netherlandish artists were actively producing the most monumental of works that commemorated Charles' triumph, when van Heemskerck and Cock made their pictures of Saint Jerome in a landscape of ruins.

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[46] María José Rodríguez-Salgado, "'No Great Glory in Chasing a Pirate': The Manipulation of News During the 1535 Tunis Campaign," *Mediterranea* 49 (2020): 417-444; Hendrik J. Horn, *Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen: Painter of Charles V and His Conquest of Tunis – Paintings, Etchings, Drawings, Cartoons and Tapestries* (Doornspijk: Davaco Publishers, 1989), 1:222-223.

[47] Dacos, *Roma quanta fuit*, 127-144; Horn, *Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen*, 1:5-14.

[48] Brown introduces her theory of the "eyewitness style" on page 4 of *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio*, but develops the theory throughout the book. Burke notes Brown's theory as an underpinning of his own book-length study *Eyewitnessing*, 14.

[49] Katja Schmitz-von Ledebur, "Emperor Charles V Captures Tunis: A Unique Set of Tapestry Cartoons," *Studia Bruxellae* 13 (2019): 387-404; Iain Buchanan, "The Conquest of Tunis," in *Grand Design: Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry*, ed. Elizabeth Cleland (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 320-331.

While Vermeyen was converting his sketches from the conquest of Tunis in 1535 into monumental tapestries, van Heemskerck also produced a picture of the conquest at Tunis to include in the twelve-print series, *The Victories of Charles V* (fig. 4.6). Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert cut van Heemskerck's designs onto copper plates, and with Antoine de Granvelle's support, Hieronymus Cock published the series in Antwerp in 1555.[50] We recognize Charles in armor, flowing as if it were liquid metal, on an ornate horse that bears on its saddle blanket the *reichsadler*, the heraldic double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire. Below van Heemskerck's scene of Charles' flurried entry into the city is the Latin inscription: TVNETAM CAESAR, BE/LLI VIRTVTE TRIVMPHANS,/ INGREDITVR VICTOR, CEDENS FVGIT ILICET AFER, "The emperor enters Tunis in triumph, victorious through his courage in the war; the African yields at once and is put to flight." It did not matter that the Hafsids themselves were from Africa, or that the main opponent was the Ottoman Empire. Van Heemskerck's print only identifies "the African" as the vanquished under Charles' conquest. The reduction of the opponent into one entity attests to what Kate Lowe identifies as the early modern conflation of diverse peoples on the African continent into one identifiable subject.[51]

After the war, Charles' armies enslaved a reported ten thousand "African" people.[52] The pictorial flurry of war in tapestry and print, set within grandiose landscapes and city views, fails

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[50] Bart Rosier argues that the prints, which were dedicated to Charles' son and successor Philip II, who had just received the crown in 1556, may have been offered as moral exampla for Philip to follow as Lord of the Netherlands, in "The Victories of Charles V: A Series of Prints by Maarten van Heemskerck, 1555-1556," *Simiolus* 20 (1990-1991): 24-38. Also see Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 223-224; and Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the sixteenth century*, 56 n.13.

[51] Kate Lowe, "The Stereotyping of Black Africans in Renaissance Europe," in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, eds. T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)," 2.

[52] General Archive of Simancas, file 461; translated into French in in *Élie de la Primaudaie, Histoire de l'occupation espagnole en Afrique (1506-1574)* (Algiers: Adolphe Jourdan, 1875), 67. If the number is true, then Charles enslaved about half of the population living in and around Tunis. In 1533, the city's

to convey to viewers the violence that the imperial armies acted out against the people in and around Tunis. While most of the Ottoman-led armies had fled, the soldiers destroyed the city and the towns around it, raped and killed the local men, women, and children hiding in their homes, and enslaved whomever they wished. Survivors reported that Charles' men raided mosques to steal any sliver of precious metals, "for such is that nation's thirst for gold."[53] The pope's blessing maintained the papacy's stance that this scale of decimation and violence against the people of Africa was perceived to be a necessary action against Christianity's enemies, as "dealing a blow to infidelity."[54] Mediterranean slavery in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance operated mostly under a religious structure of subjugating others, often as the result of war, conquest, and piracy.[55] Charles' armies reportedly freed an unbelievable number of twenty thousand enslaved Christians who are already laboring or werw in the markets of enslaved peoples in Africa.[56] Once the war was over, Charles left Tunis for Sicily, along with his historians and artists, where they would join his thousands of troops in triumph at Trapani, Palermo, Messina, and Naples before continuing to Rome. When Charles arrived in Trapani, a mere two hundred and fifty kilometres away on the island of Sicily, he brought with him an

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estimated number of inhabitants was only 6,000, with another 14,000 residing in two surrounding suburbs. These enslaved were a mixed group of local and foreign peoples, including Tunisians, but also Ottomans who were unable to escape the area, and other Africans from both sides of the Sahelian line that divides the continent at the Sahara. For terminology, see Meredith Martin and Gillian Weiss, *The Sun King at Sea: Maritime Art and Galley Slavery in Louis XIV's France* (Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2022), x-xi.

[53] Witness account cited in Tracy, *Emperor Charles, Impresiaro of War*, 149.

[54] David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 100.

[55] For an overview, see the chapter "Mediterranean Slavery" in Gillian Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 7-26.

[56] Again, the number seems high, considering that this was the total estimated population of Tunis and its suburbs. See de la Primaudaie, *Histoire de l'occupation espagnole en Afrique*, 67-71.

entourage of freed and captured slaves. He was the first Spanish monarch to visit the Spanish-controlled kingdom of Sicily—which included Naples and southern Italy—in over a century. After his conquest of Tunis, he was received as a hero, and treated as any ancient Roman emperor who triumphed after war. In the style of ancient Roman triumphs, Charles placed the enslaved at the beginning of his parades: first the freed Christian slaves, followed by the "Africans" that he shackled in Tunis.[57]

When Charles entered Rome for the first time, it was in a kind of imperial triumph—a processual display of an emperor's conquest over a distant province—that had not happened since antiquity.[58] One thing, however, had changed: in antiquity, emperors arrived in Rome from the coast, and entered the city from the West. Charles, on the other hand, was triumphing northward along the coast, and he entered Rome from the south. As the King of Spain, and therefore the ruler of the Kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, Charles entered Rome from the direction that faced his own imperial territory in Southern Europe, and that of his new conquest: Africa.

Triumphs over Africa in Rome and in Antwerp

As an embodiment of Africa, the Egyptian column in the painted and printed versions of *Landscape of Ruins* resonates with a range of works that commemorated Charles' African campaign and triumph through Sicily and Italy.[59] Patronage and display of pictures of ancient

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[57] Parker, *Emperor*, 245.

[58] Margaret Ann Zaho, Imago Triumphalis*: The Function and Significance of Triumphal Imagery for Italian Renaissance Rulers* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 122-123; Parker, *Emperor*, 237.

[59] For examples of the continuation of commemorative objects that consulted sixteenth-century sources, see Arthur J. DiFuria, "The *concettismo* of triumph: Maerten van Heemskerck's *Victories of Charles V* and remembering Spanish omnipotence in a late sixteenth-century writing cabinet," in *Prints in*

architecture effectively matched archaeological imagination with the ambitions of imperial conquest.

Rome itself had been converted into an archaeological world of wonder when Paul prepared the city for the emperor's arrival on April 5, 1536. In the months leading up to the event, Paul ordered the excavation of the main forum and set up throughout the city grand ephemeral displays of painted walls and ephemeral arches known as *apparati*, or "apparatuses." Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) wrote that van Heemskerck, along with his colleague from Florence, Francesco Salviati (1510-1563), also known as Francesco de' Rossi, directed a workshop of northern artists who were responsible for painting the central apparatus.[60] This team likely included Michiel Gast (c. 1515-1577), the draughtsman responsible for most of the drawings of Rome we previously attributed to van Heemskerk, and van Heemskerck's travelling companion and fellow student of van Scorel's, Hermann Posthumus (1512-1566).[61] Preparations for the event demanded city-wide collaborations. Sangallo, who was appointed papal architect upon Raphael's death in 1520, was in charge of converting the city into a grand festival space, and oversaw Salviati's and van Heemskerck's designs for the triumphal arch erected by the Palazzo San Marco. The arch, Vasari concedes, was so exceptionally executed, that it should have been

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Translation, 1450-1750: Image, Materiality, Space, eds. Suzanne Karr Schmidt & Edward H. Wouk (London: Routledge, 2017), 158-182.

[60] "… che le migliori di tutte furono parte fatte da Francesco Salviati, e parte da un Martino, & altri giovani Tedeschi, che pur'allora erano venuti a Roma per imparare," in Giorgio Vasari, *Delle Vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori Scultori et Architettori* (Florence: Appresso i Giunti, 1568), part 3, book 2, 585-586, in the life of Battista Franco.

[61] This team likely included Michiel Gast, the draughtsman responsible for most of the drawings of Rome we previously attributed to van Heemskerk, and van Heemkserck's travelling companion and fellow student of van Scorel's, Hermann Posthumus. On a range of speculations regarding who was in the team, see Dacos, *Roma quanta fuit*, 145-165; Ryan E. Gregg, *City Views in the Hapsburg and Medici Courts: Depictions of Rhetoric and Rule in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 140; DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 105-107; and Edward H. Wouk, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570): Imagining a Northern Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 109.

counted "among the Seven Wonders of the world."[62] This arch in the central palazzo was the

main attraction, but there were many others erected throughout the city.

When Charles entered Rome, the first *apparatus* that he would have seen was one

bearing pictures by Battista Franco (c. 1510-1561), the same artist who drew the telamons while

van Heemskerck was in Rome. On Rome's southern Porta di San Bastiano, Franco painted

political allegories that tied Charles' recent conquest at Tunis with ancient Roman kings who

conquered Africa.[63] In the arch's picture panels, Franco painted scenes of the Punic Wars—wars

between the Roman Republic and Western Phoenicia in North Africa—that raged during the

second and third centuries BCE. The two main panels on either side of the arch's bay depicted

wars waged in the Punic capital, Carthage, by two Roman kings, Scipio Africanus the Elder

(236-183 BCE), and his adoptive grandson, Scipio Africanus the Younger (185-184-129 BCE).

Both men received the title "Africanus" after their conquest of Carthage, symbolically rendering

them African kings. In the arch's attic, Franco inscribed: CAROLO V. ROM. IMP. SEMPER

AUGUSTO, TERTIO AFRICANO, or "Charles V, Eternally Venerated Emperor of Rome, the Third

Africanus."[64] Holy Roman emperors had, since Charlemagne and Otto I, used "Augustus," which

means "venerable," or "great," as both a way to project their imperial title as emperor into the

divine, and to resubstantiate Rome's first emperor Octavian, whom the senate bestowed with the

title Augustus, into their rhetoric of power.[65] The "Africanus" analogy was clear. The ancient

Punic Wars indicated the first time the Roman Republic defined itself outside of the Italian

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[62] "… si sarebbe potuto meritamente, per le statue, & storie dipinte, & altri ornamenti, fra le sette Moli del mondo annouverare," in Vasari, *Delle Vite…*, part 3, book 1, 319, in the life of Antonio da Sangallo.

[63] Vasari, *Delle Vite…*, part 3, book 2, 586, in the life of Battista Franco; Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527,* 210.

[64] Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, 210-211.

[65] McEwen, *Vitruvius*, 10.

peninsula, and the geographic expansion into Africa marked a shift toward imperial rule in the Mediterranean.[66] Charles was already emperor of an expansive realm in Europe and the Americas, but he could now claim Africa in his empire. When the emperor triumphed in Rome, and passed under Franco's arch, he became the third Africanus.[67]

As we see in medals and coins minted immediately after the conquest of Tunis, Charles claimed the African title that re-substantiated Rome's Punic Wars to eternalize his imperial victory. Some medals that bear a figure of Victory with a palm branch include the inscription VICTORIA AFRICANA.[68] On the reverse of one of these silver coins, Charles is enthroned as Jupiter, and receives three captives who are forced to prostrate themselves before him in the aftermath of the battle at Tunis (fig. 4.7). On the obverse, surrounding the profile bust of Charles, who dons antique armour and wears a laurel crown on his bearded head, is the inscription CAROLVS V IMP. [A]UG. AFRICANUS, or "Charles V, Venerated Emperor of Africa."[69] The captives, indicated as enslaved "infidels" in such a visual programme, were the generalised "Africans."

Once Charles, now a ruler of Africa, passed through the Porta di San Bastiano, he followed a route that was divided into two themes: Rome's ancient architecture, and the succession of the Roman church. Eyewitness accounts written by Ceffino, and also Andrea Sala

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[66] Maggie L. Popkin, *The Architecture of the Roman Triumph: Monuments, Memory, and Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 46.

[67] Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2007), 55; Parker, *Emperor*, 236-246.

[68] Earl Rosenthal, "The Invention of the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V at the Court of Burgundy in Flanders in 1516," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973): 229, the medal with Victory is in n. 134.

[69] Matteo Mancini, "Acuñar monedas y fundir medallas. Identidad e intercambio de funciones en algunes medallas del Prado," *Boletin del Museo del Prado* 19, no. 37 (2001): 176.

(n.d), describe the process in published tracts from that same year.[70] First Charles followed the

Via Appia toward the Circus Maximus, where he veered right toward the Colosseum, passed

through the arch for Constantine, and entered the Roman Forum through the arch for Titus. In a

woodcut by Jan Swart van Groningen (c. 1495-c. 1490) for the title page of Jacob van Liesvelt's

(c. 1495-1545) Dutch translation of Ceffino's tract, we see Charles enter the Arch for

Constantine from the south (fig. 4.8).[71] Roman officials in togas, to appear as ancients,

accompanied him, walking alongside the mounted emperor as tour guides, explaining to him the

significance of each building along the route. On the other side of the Forum, Charles passed

through the Arch for Septimius Severus, and veered north alongside the Capitoline Hill, toward

Trajan's column. Once around, he passed under van Heemskerck's arch in the Piazza San Marco

and moved on toward the Christian half of the tour, toward the Vatican, where he entered one

final portal-cum-arch that concluded the triumph in the courtyard of the Basilica for Saint

Peter.[72]

The arches were designed as models of imperial triumph, and were materially evocative

of Africa. Sala's and Ceffino's descriptions are not specific enough to provide a secure

identification of the arches in any existing drawing, but they do say that under Sangallo's

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[70] Andrea Sala, *Ordine, pompe, apparati, et cerimonie, delle solenne intrate, di Carlo V Imp. sempre Aug. nella citta di Roma, Siena, et Fiorenza* (Rome: A. Blado, 1536); Ceffino, *La triomphante entrata di Carlo V*.

[71] Zanobio Ceffino, *Die blijde en triumphate incoestre des aldermoghensten, ouverwinlijste Heer, Heere Kaerle van Oostenrijcke, en van spaingen, bider Gods genade Rooms Keyser die vijkste van die name Altijt vermeerder des Rijer. geschiet de. v. dach in april binnen R Roome anno mcxxxi* (Antwerp: Jacob van Liesvelt, 1536). For the wider publishing context around Liesvelt, including his trial and execution, see chapters 4 and 5 of Victoria Christman, *Pragmatic Toleration: The Politics of Religious Heterodoxy in Early Reformation Antwerp, 1515-1555* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015), 56-68, 69-86.

[72] Burton L. Dunbar III, "A Rediscovered Sixteenth Century Drawing of the Vatican with Constructions for the Entry of Charles V into Rome," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 23, no. 2 (1992): 195-204.

direction, the arch in the Piazza San Marco was formatted to replicate the Arch for Constantine

(fig. 4.9). The Arch for Constantine especially provided a model in format and style, such as its

assemblage of a range of spolia from imperial architecture, and the location of two columns on

either side of the central bay. Unlike the Arch for Constantine's marble, descriptive reports

reveal that more than one of the ephemeral arches in Rome reused four Egyptian granite columns

on each side, and that the arch in the Piazza San Marco also had a granite bay.[73] The imperial

significance of granite as an African medium was amplified in its sixteenth-century architectural

"resubstantiation," to borrow a term from Michael J. Waters.[74] With granite as the medium of

choice for the ephemeral arches, the architecture of Charles' triumph was built from African

material.

In addition to the material fabric of the arch in the Piazza San Marco, there were also

compelling pictures of Charles' campaign in Africa. Echoing the ancient reliefs on the interior

bay of the Arch for Constantine that narrate the emperor Trajan's second-century campaigns in

Dacia, Salviati's and van Heemskerck's team executed panel paintings on the two sides of the

Piazza San Marco's central bay that depicted two sweeping military landscapes: the battle of

Goletta, Tunis' coastal fortress village that blocked the city from seaside attacks, and across from

it, the conquered city of Tunis.[75] Ceffino also specifically names another series of paintings that

depicted the naval battle staged off the coast of Tunis between the imperial fleets and the

Ottomans, led by Barbarossa; the siege of Goletta; the cavalry battle on land against the

Ottomans in Africa; and another depicting Charles, enthroned, returning the crown to the King of

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[73] Sala, *Ordine, pompe, apparati...*, folio Bi.r-Bi.v.

[74] Michael J. Waters, "Reviving Antiquity with Granite: Spolia and the Development of Roman Renaissance Architecture," *Architectural History*, 59 (2016): 149-179.

[75] See Dacos, *Roma quanta fuit*, 145-165; and Baskins, *Hafsids and Habsburgs in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, 90-92.

Africa, noted in the inscription as "Mulfasses."[76] There was no doubt in Rome that Charles' triumph was over Africa.

Standing above the arch's columns, and the paintings that depicted the campaign in Tunis, stood four enslaved statues. On the right side of the arch, Ceffino noted "one can see two enormous statues with bound hands that signify the great many from Tunis that were captured," and on the left side stood "two more of the same prisoners."[77] Similar prisoners with their hands bound were to be found on the top of the Arch for Constantine, which was built between 312 and 315 CE. There, second-cenury sculpted prisoners from the Trajanic forum had been taken and used as spolia, in new archicture, to stand on top of the arch and indicate Constantine's connection to Rome's past emperors. These sculptures, as discussed in chapter three, depicted those enslaved from Trajan's wars with Dacia in 101-102, and 105-106 CE. Although they were headless at the time, and had no costume indicator, such as a Phrygian cap to give away their eastern identity, their bodies, with clasped hands in tact, maintained and and projected the enslaved subject in architecture.

It is not clear if any of the prisoners on the arches looked like van Heemskerck's Egyptian figure. However, arches erected for Charles' triumph in other cities, such as Naples, included a figure of a conquered Africa, full of sorrow, to emphasize the geographic component of the processional ritual. Similarly, Sala reports that he saw many Egyptian figures, such as personifications of the Nile, among those depicted in paintings above Naples' portals.[78] These likely included a sphinx, or had the *nemes*, the Egyptian headdress. What is clear is that nods to

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[76] Ceffino, *La triomphante entrata di Carlo V*, folio Aiii.r-Aiii.v.

[77] Ceffino, *La triomphante entrata di Carlo V*, folio Aiii.v.

[78] Andrea Sala, *Il Triomphale apparato per la Entrata della Cesarea Maesta in Napoli, con tutte le particolarita et Archi Triomphali, et Statue Antiche, Cosa Bellissima* (Venice: Paolo Danza, 1535), Africa on unpaginated folio 2v, and references to Egypt on folios 4r-4v.

Egypt, and to Africa, were present throughout Charles triumphal programmes. Usually, Egypt and Africa were combined. The Egyptian column in the painting and print, modelled as a column in the format of those that herald the left and right piers on the Arch for Constantine, was thus more than a random or merely decorative inclusion of a fragment from antiquity. The telamon both the painted and printed *Landscape of Ruins* takes the role of an African body, an enslaved subject at the fore of Charles' triumphal procession.

The Arch for Constantine provided a format for imperial reception both for the arch in the Piazza san Marco in 1536, and for van Heemskerck's painted design a decade later. Van Heemskerck, who had drawn the Arch for Constantine on multiple occasions, knew that there were no Egyptians statues on it. This is notable in one of the artist's drawings made while he was in Rome, where he sketched the arch from the south side of the portal, facing east (fig. 4.10). With this view, he captured part of the sculpted body of one of the sculpted prisoners standing in the attic above one of the columns that bears entablature. Serlio and Coecke had made it clear, across Europe in multiple translations, that the sculptures that stood above the columns were enslaved prisoners.[79] With agile invention, van Heemskerck and Cock dropped the bodying column down from where they stand in the Arch for Constantine's attic to stand, instead, in front of their painted and printed piers, effectively analogising the captive programme of the arches in Rome. On this occasion, the column stands as an enslaved African subject.

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[79] "… ancho sopra la cornice erano statue appoggiate a i quattro pilastri, le quali rappresentavano i prigioni de i quali si triomphava." Sebastiano Serlio, *Il Terzo Libro: nel qval si figvrano, e descrivono le Antiqvita di Roma, e le altre che sono in Italia, e fvori d' Italia* (Venice: Francesco Marcolino da Forli, 1540), folio CXIX (119); and the passage in Dutch: "… ende daer oppe hebben beelden gestaen ende boven de cornice gheteeckent B. waren oock beelden ghevoecht teghen de vier pilasters de welcke presenteerden de ghevangenen daer hy af triumpheerde," in Pieter Coecke van Aelst's translation of Serlio, *Die aldervermaertste antique edificen…* (Antwerp: Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1546), folio LVI r (56r). Also note in the Uffizi Giuliano's drawing of the Arch for Constantine: inventory 1562 A.

That an Egyptian column was intended to stand for and symbolise all of Africa was made

clear in Antwerp by 1549, when Charles toured the Netherlands with Philip. Cornelius Grapheus

(1482-1558), Antwerp's Hapsburg secretary who had planned an entry for Charles in the same

city in 1520, organised another triumphal entry and received privileges to publish his account in

1550. Coecke provided woodcut images for Grapheus, and liaised with his colleague, the

Antwerp printer Gillis Coppens van Diest (1496-c. 1472), to publish the organiser's Latin

edition, as well as his own Dutch and French translations.[80] Grapheus describes one of

Antwerp's ephemeral arches that was built to convey to the public, and to the prince who passed

under it, that Philip was to inherit of the territories under his father's imperial realm. In Coecke's

accompanying print, he depicts this arch's *tableau vivant*—a "living picture" composed of live

actors—staged the scene on the apparatus (fig. 4.11). An actor, playing Philip, was heralded by

Julius Ascanius, a figure who emerged from the mythical Trojan war, and Servius Tullius, one of

the inheritors of the early stages of the Roman republic. With flames above their three heads,

they brilliantly signified the Hapsburg's claims to ancient Trojan origins, and their rightful place

within the line of rulers over the Roman realm that spanned not just centuries, but millennia.[81]

Below this rhetoric of dynastic lineage and imperial space, Grapheus describes three female

embodiments of the "three principal parts of the world" that pledge their future subservience to

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[80] Cornelius Grapheus, in Latin: *Spectacvlorvm in svsceptione Philippi hisp. prin. divi Caroli.V. cæs. F. an. M.D.XLIX. Antverpiæ æditorvm, mirificvs apparatvs* (Antwerp: Gillis Coppens van Diest, 1550); Dutch: *De Triumphe va[n] Antwerpen* (Antwerp: Gillis Coppens van Diest, 1550); and in French: *Le triumphe d'Anvers, faict en la susception du Prince Philips, Prince d'Espaigne* (Antwerp: Gillis Coppens van Diest, 1550).

[81] Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 135-138; and Stijn Bussels, *Spectacle, Rhetoric and Power: The Triumphal Entry of Prince Philip of Spain into Antwerp* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), 60.

Philip: from left to right are Asia, Africa, and Europe.[82] Echoing Vitruvius, who argued that bodying columns are identified through their costume, Grapheus notes the crucial role of the continental clothing: "They were in the likeness of women, each dressed to convey her land's costume. Asia was painted brown, and clad in Asiatic, or Turkish style. Africa had a smudged, black face, clad in an Egyptian manner. Europe had a white face, clad in the common Christian costume."[83] Grapheus' passage makes it clear that in the context of sixteenth-century empire, Egyptian iconography could stand in as a signifier for the whole of the African continent.

The actor performing the personification of Africa in the centre is not clearly depicted in Coecke's print as having a blackened face, or as wearing Egyptian costume. Her live presence must have been more obvious in the actual *tableau*. She does, however, don a headpiece of some sort that renders her profile similar to the actors who stand in the piers on either side of the central bay, performing as the arch's bodying columns. There is no description of these four actors performing their roles as columns, but the cushions on their head are remarkably similar to those Raphael rendered above the telamons he painted in fresco in the Vatican apartments, as discussed in chapter three, and to the one van Heemskerck painted in *Landscape of Ruins*.

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[82] "Ad pedes autem ipsius PRINCIPIS, humili gestu adsidebant, Asia, Africa, Europa, velut imperio iam adepto, illi parêre, ipsiusque iugum ultro subire paratæ. Erant autem muliebri forma, quæque patrio habitu, & vultuum colore satis facile cognoscendæ," in Grapheus, *Spectacvlorvm*, K5v. The french edition refers to the continents as "les trois parties principalles du monde," in *Le triumphe d'Anvers*, folio I.iiii.v.

[83] My translation consolidates the nuances of the three editions that vary just slightly in their terminology. For example, while the Latin refers to Asia as dressed in an Asian style, the Dutch and French refer to her as dressed in Turkish costume. Latin: "Siquidem Asia colore subfusco, cultu Asiatico: Africa aspectu ferè Æthiopico, amictu Ægyptiaco: Europa facie candida, vestitu Europæis communi, discernebantur," in Grapheus, *Spectacvlorvm*, K5v; Dutch: "Sij waren in gelijckenissen van vrouwen/elck na sijns lands aert gecleedt. ASIA, was bruyn van verwen/op Turcksche wijse gecleedt. AFRICA, swertachtich van aensichte/gecleedt na de Egypsce manniere. EUROPA, wit van aenischte/gecleedt na de gemeyne Kerstenen costuyme," in *De Triumphe va[n] Antwerpen*, folio I.v.v; and French: "…touttes trois estoient en figure de personnaiges de femmes, chascune vestue a l'usaige de son pais. Asia, estoit de couleur brune, vestue a l'usaige des Turchz. Africa, de couleur noire, ou enfumee, vestue a la mode des Egiptiens. Europe, avoit la face blanche, vestue selon le commun usage des Christiens," in *Le triumphe d'Anvers*, folio I.iiii.v.

Grapheus notes that one of the inscriptions on the architrave—above the caryatids but just below the three continents—made it clear that even though Europe was part of the programme, this *tableau* was about Philip's inheritance of his father's exotic conquests of empire: Ethiopia and the land of the Moors, the Garamantes, and India.[84] Ethiopia and the land of the Moors refer to the eastern and western sides of north Africa. The Garamantes, according to Herodotus, were the jungle lands below North Africa's Sahara Desert, and India was often believed to be attached to Africa at some point in the southeast.[85] Even though by 1549 there had already been nearly a century of nautical knowledge of these coasts, blurring the specifics was a popular mode of envisioning the world that persisted through the sixteenth century.[86] Old and outdated beliefs in continental geographies, and of people with diverse skin colours, other than white, across the lands in the south, were encapsulated in stereotypes performed in *tableaux*. It is likely, given the rhyme between the figure of Africa and the bodying columns in the arch, that they all appeared Egyptian. In any case, there was certainly an element of crossover from the models designed by Raphael, and by van Heemskerck. The cushions on their heads, for example, carry through from Raphael to van Heemskerck, while the actual telamons at Tivoli do not have such a capital. Cock removed the cushions, and kept only the Egyptian headdress, keeping the figure truer to its prototypes in Tivoli. The male telamons, however, were transformed: female actors played the part in Antwerp, thus converting the columns into an Egyptian version of the Vitruvian caryatids.

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[84] Grapheus reproduces the text of the architrave's inscription: "TV SVPER ÆTHIOPAS, SVPER ET GARAMANTAS ET INDOS, PROTENDES SCEPTRVM, TIBI SERVIET VLTIMA THVLE," in *Spectacvlorvm*, K5v.

[85] Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, trans. A.D. Godley (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921), 2:384-387 (4.183). See Mario Liverani, "The Garamantes: A Fresh Approach," *Libyan Studies* 31 (2000): 17-28.

[86] See Elizabeth Horodowich and Alexander Nagel, "Amerasia: European Reflections of an Emergent World, 1492-ca. 1700," *Journal of Early Modern History* 23 (2019): 257-295; a topic that will be expanded into the forthcoming book *Amerasia* (New York: Zone Books, 2023).

The spectacles of the entry, including the preparation and display of the many *apparati* composed within the city to stage the grand scale event was thus a massive public event, witnessed by a broad and diverse audience on the streets. The commemoration of it in written descriptions, translated into vernacular languages, afforded an even wider audience, including those who could not attend, but could read Latin, Dutch, or French. By 1552, Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella (1520-1593) expanded the audience to include Spanish readership when he published an account of Philip's tour and triumphal entries across Europe.[87] The Antwerp spectacle in his account was a remarkable commemoration of Charles' conquest of Tunis, which was the theme of countless history paintings throughout the city. Rhetorically, the emphasis on Tunis, and in embodiments of Africa, dressed as the columns from Tivoli, emphasized Philip's claim to Africa as an imperial inheritance. Calvete describes the same public spectacle that Grapheus saw on an arch leading to Antwerp's central market square: "Recognisable by their costumes and faces, one was Asia, who had a brown face, in Asiatic dress, the other Africa with an Indian black face and dressed as an Egyptian; the third with a white face, beautiful and robust, dressed in her own most common European clothes."[88] Other than Antwerp, Estrella describes *apparati* that included similar depictions of Africa in Amersfoort, Arras, Bruges, Douai, Genoa, Lille, Mechelen, and Trent.[89] Throughout the triumphal tour, embodiments of Africa were

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[87] Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, *El felicissimo viaie d'el mvy alto y mvy poderoso Príncipe Don Phelippe, hijo d'el Emperador Don Carlos Quinto Maximo, desde España à sus tierras dela baxa Alemaña: con la descripcion de todos los Estados de Brabante y Flandes* (Antwerp: Martin Nucio, 1552)

[88] "Eran conocidas por sus insignias y rostros: la vna era Asia, tenia el gesto moreno y el vestido Asiatico, la otra Africa conel gesto de Indio negro y el vestido Egypciano: la tercera tenia el rostro bla[n]co, hermoso y robusto, los vestidos, que traya, eran como los mas communes de Europa," in Calvete de Estrella, *El felicissimo viaie…*, folio 242r.

[89] Calvete de Estrella, *El felicissimo viaie…*, Amersfoort, folio 302v; Arras. folio 170v-171r; Bruges, folio 117r; Douai, folio 162v; Genoa, folio 16v-17r; Lille, folios 134v-135r; Mechelen, folio 217r; and Trent, folio 48v.

proudly conveyed to public viewers as attestations of Charles's conquest of Tunis. This analogy was especially punctuated by the many painted pictures of the battles of ancient Carthage, and contemporary Tunis, that were continuously put up on display throughout the cities. These spectacles were received by a broad audience, and then readership, for those who could read any of the four published languages that described the events.

Van Heemskerck's direct involvement with the entry in Antwerp is not documented. However, as Stijn Bussels has argued, even though Cornelius Grapheus was the master coordinator of the events, he required help from many artists and architects from across Europe.[90] Artists who had helped prepare the triumphal arches in Rome, Florence, and Genoa during Charles triumph of Africa a decade earlier were consulted as the design experts. It would have made sense that someone such as van Heemskerck, who had helped Sangallo prepare similar *apparati* in Rome in 1536, would have been involved. Even though there is no evidence to lay claim that he helped redesign Antwerp into a city of triumphal entries, van Heemskerck is tangentially implicated through an artist who would soon be his collaborator. Cock is listed among artists who were to be paid for executing the city's *tableaux vivants* in an invoice from 23 September 1550.[91] No record details exactly his contributions, but Cock's involvement with the spectacles of empire, where Egyptian columns from Rome indicated Africa in living pictures, is enough to account for his awareness of what such a figure meant in new, northern contexts. Even though he did not print van Heemskerck's picture until 1552, he knew that for the throngs who witnessed the triumphal entry in Antwerp in 1549, and read about them in Grapheus' text, the Egyptian column signified Hapsburg imperialism in Africa.

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[90] Bussels, *Spectacle, Rhetoric and Power*, 40-53.

[91] Bussels, *Spectacle, Rhetoric and Power*, 37; also see 66-67.

As a *rederijker*—a master of rhetoric, puzzles, and games with pictures—Cock could have designed his print as a way to remediate what Margaret M. McGowan refers to as the *sens mystique* of Charles' triumph through Rome. Even he required an interpreter to follow him in the forum and explain the relevance of everything that was along the triumphal route.[92] The river god at the foreground is this kind of figure for the viewer. The Tiber/Marforio sculpture focuses on the Egyptian column—one that many across Europe had seen enacted in *tableaux* in Antwerp, and in similar ephemeral triumphal arches across Europe. The column stands as a signifier of empire, and of those oppressed subjects whom Charles enslaved before he paraded through Europe as the imperial ruler of Africa.

Van Heemskerck's Forum

Although the telamon is among the core compositional components that reveal the painting's meaning, *Landscape of Ruins* is a landscape replete with architecture. Hoogewerff and DiFuria have come up against the perplexing limits of interpretation, noting how puzzling it is that none of the architectural figures—such as the Temple of Saturn—deliver much in the way of interpretation when considered on their own. However, when we see the Egyptian column as a figure that brings the conquest of Africa into the picture, the confusion of assembled fragments begins to build a world picture that could have functioned as a memorial of Charles' triumph in Rome after his conquest of Tunis. My observation is most convincing when we consider that most of the major monuments depicted in the painting are found in and near the Roman Forum. This reference to the forum means that the monuments pictured all were part of the ancient

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[92] Margaret M. McGowan, "The Renaissance Triumph and its Classical Heritage," in *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, eds. J.R. Mulryne & Elizabeth Goldring (London: Routledge, 2017), 29.

"stage" for the first half of the emperor's triumph. Van Heemskerck's drawings of the Roman

forum, made sometime between 1535 and 1536, document the city in transition, when Pope Paul

was restoring the forum into a grand stage of monumental attestations of the city's ancient glory

for Charles' triumph (fig. 4.13). The drawing is evocative of Raphael's archaeological project

that was cut short by his death in 1520. In 1527, Andrea Fulvio (1470-1527), who had worked

with Raphael on drawing Rome as it had looked while it was the capital of an ancient empire,

published the guidebook *Antiquitates urbis*.[93] By 1543, Paulo del Rosso presented a *volgare*

edition of Fulvio's text to the Pope, indicating in the preface the timeliness of the volume, by

noting that Paul "restored ancient Rome in the same way that Fulvio did with his pen."[94] Van

Heemskerck adjusted a few things to fit within the folios' frames, but he left accurate renderings

of what he saw during Paul's archaeological excavations and demolitions. What one discovers

upon looking closely and comparatively at van Heemskerck's drawings is that *Landscape of*

Ruins is the forum, reassembled.

    Paul's preparations for Charles' first visit to Rome included surveying and demolishing

entire districts of the eternal city. The pope wanted to choreograph a triumph that would restage

those of the ancient emperors, and this required pulling down medieval structures that blocked

the view of ancient buildings in the forum.[95] In the adjacent Trajanic forum, Paul also ensured

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[93] In Fulvio's dedication of the book to Pope Clement VII, he reveals that Raphael was the main source of his information: "… quas Raphael Vrbinas (que[m] honoris cā nomino) paucis an[on] diebus q[uae] e vita decederet (me indicāte) penicillo finxerate," in Andrea Fulvio, *Antiqvitates vrbis*, n.p. For the reception of Fulvio's book, which was hindered due to Charles's sack of Rome in 1527, see Anna Bortolozzi, "Architects, Antiquarians, and the Rise of the Image in Renaissance Guidebooks to Ancient Rome," in *Rome and the Guidebook Tradition: From the Middle Ages to the 20th Century*, eds. Anna Blennow and Stefano Fogelberg Rota (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 124-125; and Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1969), 94-96.

[94] "… somiglianti à restauramenti de l'antica Roma; con la Penna da Andrea Fulvio rinnovata …," in Andrea Fulvio, *Opera*, folio Aiii r.

[95] Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, 55.

that Trajan's column was restored as closely as possible to its second-century programme. In the

middle of Van Heemskerck's bipartite drawing of the view of the forum from the Palatine that

documents some of Paul's archaeological demolitions, van Heemskerck drew Trajan's column.[96]

Since 1162, Roman city officials had ensured no harm could come to the ancient emperor's

monument, but Christians built chapels around its base and controlled access to its stairway. In

preparation for Charles' arrival, Paul demolished the Christian clutter and made the stairway, and

the lookout point at the top of Trajan's column, accessible.[97]

Before ever arriving in Rome, Charles coveted Trajan's column, the prize monument of

an ancient emperor with whom he most identified.[98] Trajan was remembered as one of Rome's

greatest emperors, a leader who renovated the city and its provinces after the shift of dynasties

from the Flavians to the Nerva-Antonines. Like Charles, Trajan was also famously a ruler who

came to Italy from Spain, having been born in the Roman settlement Italica, in southern Iberia.

When Charles took control of the Duchy of Milan in 1535, he took great pride in what he

believed was Trajanic architecture that formed the fundament of the ducal palace.[99] A few years

earlier, when Charles entered Bologna for his coronation, he saw in the city street his own

portrait hung alongside those of Trajan and Augustus.[100] He had this imperial mélange sculpted

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[96] The absence of a sculpture at the top is appropriate for the time. The bronze statue of Trajan—described in ancient texts—had long gone missing, and it would not be replaced until 1587 when Pope Sixtus V commissioned the bronze sculpture of Saint Peter that we see today. See Giovanni Di Pasquale, "La costruzione della Colonna Traiana, un'ipotesi," *Annali di architettura* 32 (2020): 21.

[97] For the general context around which architecture was deemed fit for preservation, see David Karmon, "Archaeology and the Anxiety of Loss: Effacing Preservation from the History of Renaissance Rome." *American Journal of Archaeology* 115, no. 2 (2011): 159-174.

[98] Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 22-23.

[99] Calvete de Estrella, *El Felicissimo viaie…*, folio 23v.

[100] Konrad Eisenbichler, "Charles V in Bologna: The Self-Fashioning of a Man and a City," *Renaissance Studies* 14, no. 4 (1999): 432-433.

in medallions on the façade of the convent of San Marcos in the Spanish city of León between

1533-1537, where his bust relief portrait is heralded by Augustus on his right, and Trajan on his

left. While Augustus represents the birth of the Roman empire, and the succession of his title

through the dynasties all the way to Charles, Trajan is included as an acclaimed emperor and

personal hero.[101] When Charles visited Mantua in 1532, the duke presented him with Giulio

Romano's wooden replication of Trajan's column, painted to appear as if it were made of

marble. The massive column depicted, not Trajan's wars, but Charles', affirming that he was, for

the elite families of the Italy at the time, the "dominator of all the world."[102] The connection that

Charles forged between himself and Trajan was so strong, in fact, that his heirs and successors

over the following centuries would continue to reference Trajan's column as a nod to Charles in

the figural propaganda of their Hapsburg and Holy Roman lineage.[103]

Recently renovated when van Heemskerck arrived in Rome, Trajan's column features a

spiral staircase that leads up to a platform that affords a view across the forum and all of

Rome.[104] Van Heemskerck cleverly locates this viewing platform as a vanishing point on the

right side of his painted picture, along the horizon. However, instead of allowing the view to

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[101] Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists: Patronage and Ideology at Four Habsburg Courts, 1517-1633* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 23; Manuel Núñez Rodríguez, "Carlos V y la flamante metáfora de un Imperio Universal," *Liño* 12 (2006): 46, 51.

[102] "…dominatore di tutto il mondo;" in Luigi Gonzaga, *Cronaca del soggiorno di Carlo V in Italia (dal 26 luglio 1529 al 25 aprile 1530)*, ed. Giacinto Romano (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1892), 243. Also see Marco Brunetti, "Philip II of Spain and Trajan: History of a Special Undelivered Gift and of the Reception of Trajan's Column," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 89 (2021): 192; and Parker, *Emperor*, 193.

[103] Brunetti, "Philip II of Spain and Trajan," 181, 192-193.

[104] For scholarship on the column as architecture, see Mark Wilson Jones, *Principles of Roman Architecture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 161-176; "One Hundred Feet and a Spiral Stair: The Problem of Designing Trajan's Column," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993): 23-38; and Penelope J. E. Davies, *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 27-34; "The Politics of Perpetuation: Trajan's Column and the Art of Commemoration," *American Journal of Archaeology* 101, no. 1 (1997): 41-65.

vanish in the distance, the artist redirects the line of vision by projecting a visual pyramid out from an apex at the top of Trajan's monument, locating the Egyptian telamon in a central line within the column's implied field of vision. To follow the visual pyramid out from Trajan's column in van Heemskerck's painting, one begins to survey the ruins and notice that the painted buildings resemble those that can actually be seen from the vantage point of Trajan's column in Rome.

In addition to serving as one of the few documents of the forum that shows how Paul prepared the forum for Charles's arrival, van Heemskerck's drawing is also a visual survey of the center stage of the first half of the emperor's procession between the Arches for Constantine, Titus, and Septimius Severus. This was the most celebrated and ritualistic part of the triumph. After entering the Arch for Constantine, where Charles saw the Colosseum to his right, he began to veer left, toward the Arch for Titus. Before entering the forum through the Arch for Titus, Charles dismounted, and walked west along the Via Sacra with his local guides. After exiting through the Arch for Septimius Severus on the other side, Charles and his entourage turned around and took a moment to survey the forum from the slight incline afforded at the base of the Capitoline.

Van Heemskerck captured this view from both sides of the forum. In the rendering from the Arch for Titus (fig. 4.12), we see the Arch for Septimius at the other side, rendered on the right edge of the left sheet. Perspectival lines focus on what remains of three ancient buildings to the left of the arch. On the left side of the sheet, the three fluted columns holding a Corinthian entablature is the Temple of the Dioscuri, otherwise known as the Temple of Castor and Pollux. To the right, and closer to the Capitoline, eight columns are all that remain of the pronaos of Temple of Saturn, and further behind are three corner columns from the Temple of Titus and

Vespasian. In the "reverse shot," van Heemskerck drew the same stretch from the opposite side where Charles and his entourage stood and looked at the forum (fig. 4.13). The Arch for Severus is on the left, and on the right, the Arch for Titus sucks the vanishing point out beyond its portal. The Temple of the Dioscuri is now far off in the distance, and the Temple of Saturn is in clear view. From the vantage point of Trajan's column, the whole of the forum, from the Colosseum to the Temple of Saturn, can be surveilled.

Scholars note van Heemskerck's prominent replication of the modified Temple of Saturn in *Landscape with Saint Jerome*.[105] There is a problem with this identification, however: it wasn't until 1817 that archaeologists identified the eight monolithic Egyptian granite columns standing in the forum as the Temple of Saturn's portico.[106] Renaissance viewers knew of a Temple of Saturn in the forum, but they thought it was where the Church of Sant' Adriano al Foro stood, on the opposite side of the Arch for Septimius.[107] "The eight remaining Doric columns that stand in file," Fulvio writes of what we now identity as the Temple of Saturn's pronaos, "belonged to the temple of Concordia between the Capitol and the forum."[108] Fulvio's identification of the columns as Doric was only a slight error. Simple Doric ornament was sculpted at the top of the granite shafts, but they are also capped with marble Ionic scrolls. The

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[105] Rainald Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck: die Gemälde* (Berlin: Boettcher, 1980), 177; DiFuria. *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 209.

[106] Homer F. Rebert and Henri Marceau, "The Temple of Concord in the Roman Forum," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 5 (1925): 55.

[107] Richard Cooper quotes an eyewitness account of Charles' triumph: "… e da ultimo il Tempio di Saturno, ch' hoggi chiamano S. Adriano," in "A New Sack of Rome? Making Space for Charles V in 1536," in *Architectures of Festival in Early Modern Europe: Fashioning and Re-Fashioning Urban and Courtly Space*, eds. J. R. Mulryne, Krista De Jonge, Pieter Martens, and R. L. M. Morris (London: Routledge, 2017), 40.

[108] "Imminebat autem ea arx templo Co[n]cordiæ quod erat inter Capitolium, & forum, vt scribit M. Varro, cuius adhuc extat porticus octo columnarum, vno ordine, opere dorico…" in Fulvio, *Antiqvitates vrbis*, folio XVIIIr; and Fulvio, *Opera*, folio 44v-45r. Biondo made the same identification nearly a century before in *Roma ristaurata, et, Italia illustre*, folio 35v (2.66).

architect Andrea Palladio identified the building's ornament as a mix of Doric and Ionic, making it clear that we are looking at the same structure. Palladio, like Fulvio, identified the building as the Temple of Concordia in his 1554 guidebook to Rome, and imagined what the temple looked in his *Quattro libri*, published in 1570 (fig. 4.14).[109] In other words, Van Heemskerck did not paint a Temple of Saturn. He painted a Temple of Concordia.

The picture's meaning as an attestation of triumph becomes more apparent once the temple is recognized as one for Concordia, and not Saturn. As a Temple of Saturn, the ruin offers very little in the realm of interpretation, especially to an audience that was most likely interpreting the painting as a glorification of Charles' empire building. The Temple of Concordia's provenance was remarkably significant to the proclamation of imperial triumph in the sixteenth century. From what they had read in ancient texts, Renaissance architects located the origin of the structure in the ancient Republic, when Marcus Furius Camillus (c. 445-365 BCE) erected a temple after defending Rome from Gallic invasions.[110] Livy describes Camillus' reception in Rome after the battle as a glorious triumph, where the crowds hailed the dictator "as a Romulus and Father of his Country and a second Founder of the City."[111] Camillus set a golden standard of triumph, having done so four times in his rule after defensive battles against the Gauls, Etruscans, and other nearby "outsiders." Salviati, who painted the triumphal arch in the Piazza Venezia with van Heemskerck, soon rendered Camillus' triumphs in fresco in the *Sala*

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[109] "… quelle otto colonne che si veggono verso il foro erano del portico del tempio de la Concordia," in Palladio, *L'Antichità di Roma*, folio 11r; and *I Quattro Libri dell' Architettura*, 4:122-125.

[110] Palladio, *I Quattro Libri dell' Architettura*, 4:124.

[111] Livy, 3:166-167, V.XLIX (5.49).

dell'Udienza of Florence's Palazzo Vecchio (fig. 4.15).[112] Plutarch informed Renaissance

readers of Camillus' architectural intention:

> Turning to the Capitol, he prayed the gods to bring the present tumults to their happiest ends, solemnly vowing to build a temple to Concordia when the confusion was over. … On the following day [the Senate] held an assembly and voted to build a temple of Concordia, as Camillus had vowed, and to have it face the forum and place of assembly, to commemorate what had now happened.[113]

Architects largely misidentified the temple of Saturn as the Temple of Concordia because it was

where Camillus willed it, "at the root of the Campidoglio, near the Arch for Septimius."[114] After

crossing the forum and triumphing through the Arch for Septimius, Charles saw the beaming

granite columns of the Temple of "Concordia" on his left.

Another aspect that changes when we consider the structure as the Temple of Concordia

is the profound impact that such a building had on the Holy Roman Emperor's triumph over

Africa, especially when we take into account architectural modes of replication. Renaissance

architects knew that the building they saw wasn't the same one that Camillus built. They read in

Livy of later emperors who rebuilt the Temple of Concordia after lightning struck Camillus'

building and burned it down.[115] The Temple of Saturn afforded its misidentification as the

Temple of Concordia because of the frieze inscription: SENATUS POPULUSQUE ROMANUS

/ INCENDIO CONSVMPTIVM RESTITVIT, "The Senate and the People of Rome restored [the

building] that was consumed by fire." Fire had, indeed, destroyed the actual temple of Saturn.

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[112] David Franklin, *Painting in Renaissance Florence, 1500-1550* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 215-217. Notice that the "barbarian-ness" of one of the bound captives strapped to Camillus' chariot is indicated by his Phyrigian cap, a now well-used Dacian motif that architects working around Salviati were depicting on bodying columns.

[113] Plutarch, *Lives*, (1914), 2:202-205 (Camillus, XLII [42]).

[114] Palladio, *I Quattro Libri dell' Architettura*, 4:124.

[115] Livy, *History of Rome*, 7:90-91, (XXIII [23]).

Both the Temple of Concordia and the Temple of Saturn were rebuilt, but the latter's heap of

crumbling stones that supports a pronaos of spoliated Egyptian granite columns—a clear

indication of empire—and a frieze inscription of its destruction and rebuilding, afforded the

misidentification.[116] What was most important in the mobilization of the Temple of Concordia in

the Renaissance of imperial Roman iconography was that replications of buildings always linked

back to—and conveyed the power of—their prototype.[117] For example, as we have seen in

chapter three, sixteenth-century architects knew that ancient Roman emperors had rebuilt the

Pantheon—twice—after damages caused by fire and lightning. This kind of architectural

resubstantiation through rebuilding and replication was especially important to Charles' imperial

programme. Ancient sources listed two main replications of the Temple of Concordia, first in the

aftermath of the Punic Wars, and then again by the Roman consul Tiberius under Augustus'

patronage. In both cases, the temple indicated imperium and was rebuilt after periods of social

reform. Charles was the third Scipio Africanus, a title that replicated the Punic Wars in the

sixteenth century, and as Holy Roman Emperor, he was in the line of Augustus's imperial

successors. Concordia established links across the ages between rulers who sought to convey to

the world that their authority brought peace and stability to the empire.[118] This afforded

Renaissance architects the ability to equate the building with both religion and government, as

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[116] Gregor Kalas, *The Restoration of the Roman Forum in Late Antiquity: Transforming Public Space* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015), 134-138; John W. Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples: The Republic to the Middle Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 36-37, 111-115.

[117] Dio Cassius records the building of Pantheon, its consumption by fire around 80 CE, and its destruction after being struck by lightning around 110 CE in *Roman History*, 6:262-263 (LIII.27.2); 8:308-309 (LXVI.24.2); 6:282-283 (LIV.1.1). For a theory of architectural replication, see Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 134-146.

[118] Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples*, 56-59, 141-144

one of the three places in Rome where the Senate deliberated.[119] Further, as Biondo argued in the

middle of the fifteenth century, the aftermath of the Punic Wars set a standard for the new

governing "spirit of Rome."[120]

Although Charles never rebuilt the Temple of Concordia, artists found the deity in his

triumphal programme. When the emperor and Philip triumphed in Utrecht in 1548, van Scorel

built a massive effigy of the goddess Concordia that, when night fell, sparked into a display of

fireworks and consumed itself in flames.[121] Beyond this spectacular highlight, van Scorel had

Utrecht lined with sculptures of Concordia—a deity that the public connected to Charles. Van

Heemskerck's compositional inclusion of the Temple of Concordia in *Saint Jerome* wraps the

emperor's conquests in the guise of peace.

Identifying the central building as the Temple of Concordia may also explain van

Heemskerck's choice to compose an array of famous sculpted works in and around the ruins.

Pliny the Elder described the temple as if it were a museum, locating within it countless painted

pictures and bronze statues of the Olympian deities made by Greek and Roman sculptors.[122] In

the niched pier, van Heemskerck replicated Raphael's colossal marble statue of Athena standing

in the painted and printed *School of Athens*, but he rendered the goddess in bronze. An arch

frames a colossal bronze sculpture of Hercules fighting Antaeus, modelled after the ancient

marble statue in the Belvedere collection, now in the courtyard of Florence's Pitti Palace (fig.

4.16). Could this painted sculpture be a nod to Charles, whose motto *Plus Ultra*, or "forever

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[119] Palladio, *L'Antichità di Roma*, folio 15r.

[120] Biondo, *Roma Trionfante*, trans. Luco Fauno (Venice: Michiele Tramezzino, 1549), folio 198r-198v.

[121] Molly Faries, "Jan van Scorel, His Style and Its Historical Context" (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1972), 35-38.

[122] Pliny, *Natural History*, 9:162-197, 34.19; 9:310-311, 35.1.75. Pliny lists paintings in 9:366-367, 35.1.144

more" often included the Hercules columns of Gibraltar that indicated the nexus between the old world and the new?[123] Antaeus, after all, was connected to and represented Africa, where Hercules defeated him.[124] This interpretation is even more possible if the bronze bust in the tondo of a bearded Emperor, indicated by the Laurel wreath, is the Holy Roman Emperor himself.

A Glorification of Triumph for an Imperial Audience

What is missing from the literature on *Landscape of Ruins* is a consideration of the painting's audience: who might have commissioned it, and why did they want a picture of Saint Jerome among Rome's monumental architecture? Many of van Heemskerck's paintings have no record of a patron. However, a number of his paintings with a strong presence of ruins—both in Rome and in other parts of the ancient world—are believed to have been commissioned for Hapsburg and imperial audiences. As DiFuria argues, such paintings' grand sweeping panoramas, full of ruins, would have mirrored the panoramic nature of Paul's choreographed stage for Charles' triumphal tour.[125] Even though van Heemskerck painted *Landscape of Ruins* a decade after he

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[123] For sixteenth-century uses and adaptations of Charles' motto, see Earl Rosenthal, "*Plus Ultra*, *Non Plus Ultra*, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 204-228; Earl Rosenthal, "The Invention of the Columnar Device…," 198-230; and Marisa Anne Bass, *Insect Artifice: Nature and Art in the Dutch Revolt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 16-17.

[124] Irad Malkin, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 181-187.

[125] DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 174. The most convincing example is van Heemskerck's *Helen of Troy*, from around 1535. As with *Jerome*, there is no clear record of *Helen*'s commission and provenance. To add to the confusion, van Heemskerck's authorship of *Helen* was forgotten. Even though the artist signed his name and dated both the commencement and conclusion—1535-1536—the panel was attributed instead to Paul Bril until 1944, when Edward S. King noticed the signature and dates on the side of one of the ships in "A New Heemskerck," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 7/8 (1944/1945): 60-73. However, an inventory from 1564 records the painting in the deceased Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi's (1500-1564) collection in Rome, in Claudio Franzoni, ed., *Gli inventari dell'eredità cardinale Rodolfo Pio da Carpi* (Pisa: Musei Civici Commune di Carpi, 2002), 60. The fact that Rodolfo owned the

had returned to the north and settled in Haarlem, the spectacle of Charles's triumph reigned in recent memory, and a demand for archaeological pictures—that is, pictures of ancient architecture, sculpture, and stories—is present in the commissions of art for the collections of families from the Hapsburg political network.

Turning to another work—one that was produced around the same time as *Landscape of Ruins*, *Bullfight in a Roman Amphitheatre* from 1552 provides a sense of van Heemskerck's and Cock's audience after returning to the north (fig. 4.18). The first record of *Bullfight* is in an inventory from 1607 of François Perrenot's family collection in Besançon, France.[126] The painting is signed and dated 1552, which means that if the painting was commissioned by the Perrenot family, its patron was Francois' uncle, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517-1586), or Cardinal de Granvelle. Granvelle was a keen patron of the arts, and especially of northern artists who had travelled to Italy and depicted ancient architecture, sculpture, and stories. After studying in Padua and Pavia, Granvelle returned to the Netherlands where he expanded his family's collection of ancient and modern art to include works by the greatest artists north and south of the Alps, such as Charles' court painter from Venice, Tiziano Vecellio (c. 1488-1576), or Titian. Among his collection was van Heemskerck's *Self Portrait before the Colosseum* (1553) and

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painting soon after its facture, and that he owned four other paintings by van Heemskerck, may suggest, as Kathleen Christian has argued, that the Cardinal was the patron, in Kathleen Wren Christian, "For the Delight of Friends, Citizens, and Strangers: Maarten van Heemskerck's Drawings of Antiquities Collections in Rome," in *Rom zeichnen. Maarten van Heemskerck 1532-1536/37*, eds. Tatjana Bartsch and Peter Seiler (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2012), 129-156. Rodolfo was not, however, in Rome at the same time as van Heemskerck, serving instead at the French court of Francis I, and he had not yet begun commissioning or collecting works of art. It does not make it impossible to suggest Rodolfo as the patron, just improbable with the lack of primary sources. Whatever the case, he had the painting within his collection not long after it was made.

[126] Painting inventory no. 125: "Pourtraict, de Martin van Eemskerck, de la ruine d'un vieux Colisée, de sa main, d'haulteur d'un pied sept polces, large d'un pied Treize polces; sa molure de nouhier," in Auguste Castan, *Monographie du palais Granvelle à Besançon* (Paris: Impr. Imperial, 1867), 334. The inventory from 1607 is reprinted on pages 323-357.

Bullfight. DiFuria speculates that the two paintings may have been seen side by side in Granvelle's home, where the artist's self-portrait conveyed his erudition, and ability to imagine new buildings—such as the amphitheater in *Bullfight*—from his empirical study of old ones.[127] I emphasize DiFuria's point here because it is crucial to my own: in both pictures, a viewer was supposed to see—not just an amphitheatre—but "the Colosseum."

Within the colosseum stands a colossal statue that presides over the spectacle. Van Heemskerck modelled his painted colossus after Granvelle's prized marble sculpture of Jupiter, a statue that indicated Netherlandish and Italian diplomacy (fig. 4.18).[128] The sculpture we see today was modified into a herm in the eighteenth century, but when Margaret of Parma graciously gifted the Jupiter to Granvelle's father, and Charles' prime minister, Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle (1486-1550), for his tending to her interests at Charles' court, it was in two parts.[129] In one of van Heemskerck's drawings of the Villa Madama's sculpture collection, we see the colossal statue of Jupiter lying on the ground, and the torso is detached from the legs (fig. 4.19).[130] Based on the inventory notes of the Perrenot family's collections from 1607, the statue was still not reassembled when van Heemskerck painted the Jupiter as a complete, standing

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[127] DiFuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome*, 241; also see Harrison, "The Paintings of Maerten van Heemskerck," 715-716; and Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck*, 203-207, cat. no. 78.

[128] See Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, 52, cat. no. 66.

[129] See Federico Rausa, "I marmi antichi di Villa Madama: Storia e Fortuna," *Xenia Antiqua* 10 (2001): 176, 200, cat. no. 44; and Maurice Piquard, "Le Cardinal de Granvelle, les artistes et les écrivains d'après les documents de Besançon," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 17, no. 3/4 (1947/1948): 133-147. For Jean Drouilly's (1641-1698) restoration of the Jupiter of Versailles, see François Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th Centuries: The Reign of Louis XIV* (Oxford: Cassirer, 1977), 1:266, cat. no. 16; and Edward H. Wouk, "Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, the Quatre Vents press, and the patronage of prints in Early Modern Europe," *Simiolus* 38 no. 1/2 (2015/2016): 44.

[130] Clifford Malcolm Brown, "Martin van Heemskerck, the Villa Madama Jupiter and the Gonzaga correspondence files," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 94 (1979): 49-60.

figure in *Bullfight*.[131] This means that the artist reformed the Jupiter in paint, imagining the pinnacle of the Perrenots' proud collection as a completed statue.

The archaeological imagination of *Bullfight* provides two important comparatives. The first is that the panel is a compelling example of how van Heemskerck incorporated a prized sculpture within Granvelle's collection into his composition. With descriptive imagination, van Heemskerck ensures that a viewer sees the Colosseum in Rome, and Granvelle's statue of Jupiter. But at the same time, as with *Landscape with Ruins*, the picture is not descriptive enough for anyone to recognize the scene as existing anywhere in the world. Freed from pure indexicality, the *historia* is most likely supposed to evoke a Spanish space, where such bullfights were staged for spectators, and that artists such as Vermeyen had depicted in more descriptive ways.[132] However, Edward H. Wouk argues that the inclusion of the sculpture was intended to bring some indexical meaning into the picture from outside of the frame, "given Granvelle's personal connection to the *Jupiter of Versailles* and the diplomatic favor it signified."[133] Regardless of where the amphitheater that hosts a bullfight is supposed to be, van Heemskerck intended for Granvelle to recognize the antiquities described in the picture as they relate to things in the real world. The archaeological imagination of both *Bullfight* and *Landscape of Ruins* is the kind of mix of documentary and imagination, then, that is associated with architectural paintings that convey the realistic imaginary.

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[131] Sculpture inventory no. 1: "Une statue de Juppiter, faite de marbre, colossée et antique; d'haulteur de cinq piedz romains, sans le piédestal, lequel porte description de ladite statue en lettres dorées et pierre de Sanpan; estant au bas du jardin," in Castan, *Monographie du palais Granvelle à Besançon*, 348. Van Heemskerck had also drawn the torso as part of the enthroned lower half of a Jupiter sculpture, also in the Villa Madama. See Rausa, "I marmi antichi di Villa Madama," 159, 162, 197, cat. 27.

[132] Horn, *Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen*, 13.

[133] Wouk, *Frans Floris*, 349.

The second comparative is most salient: the panel establishes van Heemskerck within

Granvelle's patronage, and in extension, within the political networks of the Spanish regency and

Holy Roman Empire.[134] Around the same time that van Heemskerck painted *Bullfight* for

Granvelle, he was assisting the landscape painter cum printmaker, Hieronymus Cock, in

rendering his painting of Saint Jerome into an engraved print. Cock and his wife, Volcxken

Diericx (c. 1525-1600), had established the publishing house, *Aux Quatre Vents*, "the Four

Winds," in Antwerp around 1548, right after he returned from Rome.[135] By 1551, Granvelle

officially funded the fledgling Four Winds and guaranteed publishing protections and copyrights

through his imperial agency.[136] Many of the prints made between 1551 and 1562 bear a

dedication to Granvelle, who continuously supported the Four Winds and ensured the Antwerp

business's international success. Granvelle was surely aware of Cock's engraving of van

Heemskerck's *Landscape of Ruins* in 1552, which was The Four Winds' first replication of one

of van Heemskerck's pictures, and the beginning of a long working relationship between

Granvelle and the two artists.

Cock's access to *Landscape of Ruins* to make the print by 1552 frames Granvelle as a

likely patron of van Heemskerck's painting from 1547. For Cock to have made the print at the

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[134] Wouk, "Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle," 44.

[135] Few studies note Diericx's involvement. See Jan van der Stock, "Hieronymus Cock and Volcxken Diericx: Print Publishers in Antwerp," in *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print*, eds. Joris van Grieken, Ger Luijten, and Jan van der Stock (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 12-21. On the broader issue of feminist art history and sixteenth-century female printmakers, see Arthur J. DiFuria, "Towards an Understanding of Mayken Verhulst and Volcxken Diericx," in *Women Artists and Patrons in the Netherlands, 1500-1700*, ed. Elizabeth Sutton (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 157-177.

[136] Granvelle is present throughout Timothy Allan Riggs' study "Hieronymus Cock (1510-1570): Printmaker and Publisher in Antwerp at the Sign of the Four Winds" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1972). For the issue of Perrenot's authoritative copyright protection, see Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the* privilegio *in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 340-341.

early stage of working with van Heemskerck means that he saw the painted *Landscape of Ruins*, either in Granvelle's or another well-known collection. Granvelle's patronage may also explain why a record of the picture is first made in the eighteenth-century Schönborn collection, a family with lineage that was central to the Holy Roman Imperial court in Vienna.[137] Patron or not, Granvelle would have likely known of van Heemskerck's painting if Cock was making a print of it. He would have also, as a major figure in Hapsburg politics, known of the connections between African iconography and Charles' triumphal entries across Europe for over a decade.

For Granvelle and Cock, it was van Heemskerck's travels and contact with Rome, Larry Silver argues, that especially proved essential to Hapsburg patrons with a taste for the antique, and commemorations of Charles' triumph.[138] Granvelle was especially instrumental in orchestrating commissions and collaborations with workshops across Europe. It was likely due to his liaison that the Mantuan engraver, Giorgio Ghisi (1520-1582), moved to Antwerp by 1549 or 1550 to collaborate with Cock.[139] Cock and Ghisi favoured engravings after famous Italian works of art and architecture, notably expressed in their first collaborative print, *The School of Athens* after Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican apartments' *Stanza della Segnatura* (fig. 4.20). "What the subjects and the technique Ghisi brought to Cock," Silver clarifies, "was the authority of Italy as a model."[140] Soon after Ghisi arrived, however, Cock was already turning to artists

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[137] Johann Balthasar Gutwein, *Beschreibung Des Fürtreflichen Gemähld- Und Bilder-Schatzes, Welcher in denen Hochgräflichen Schlössern und Gebäuen Deren Reichs-Grafen von Schönborn, Bucheim, Wolfsthal, [et]c. Sowohl In dem Heil. Röm. Reich, als in dem Ertz-Hertzogthum Oesterreich zu ersehen und zu finden* (Wirtzburg: Marco Antonio Engman, 1746), folio X1r.

[138] Larry Silver, "Graven Images: Reproductive Engravings as Visual Models," in *Graven Images: The Rise of Professional Printmakers in Antwerp and Haarlem, 1540-1640*, eds. Timothy Riggs & Larry Silver (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1993), 17.

[139] Edward H. Wouk argues it was Granvelle, and not Cock, who invited Ghisi to Antwerp in "Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle…," 44.

[140] Silver, "Graven Images," 17.

who lived nearby. He selected only the ones who had travelled to Rome, such as van Heemskerck. Like Ghisi, Silver argues, he "provided the same 'authentic' contact with Italy."[141]

The fact that van Heemskerck and Ghisi overlap within Cock's network must be considered in the reception of *Landscape of Ruins*. Although Ghisi arrived in Antwerp after van Heemskerck had already painted the picture of Jerome, he would have known about the designs, and especially noticed the telamon. It was Raphael, after all, who first included them in a painted pictorial programme one room over from the *Stanza della Segnatura*, where he and his workshop executed the *The School of Athens* in fresco. *The School of Athens* and *the Battle of Ostia*, which I analyse in chapter three as the picture framed by the telamons, are both on the east wall of their adjoined apartments. Noting their proximity and placement seems necessary when taking into account the fact that Ghisi was tasked with reproducing many of Raphael's pictures in engraved prints during his lifetime. Cock's print, which includes the telamon, would have caught Ghisi's attention. The column is an obvious indicator of both the actual telamons that stood in Tivoli and Raphael's replications of them in fresco, and their afterlife.

In Rome, Raphael had reinvented the Egyptian telamons as Vitruvian architectural examples of African enslavement. Van Heemskerck's and Cock's replication of them foregrounded the idea that Egyptianised architectural sculptural could stand as continental embodiments of Africa. The adaptation of the column in the triumphal *tableaux* across Europe carried forth this message beyond Rome, and beyond Antwerp. Egypt stood for Africa, a continent that the Holy Roman Empire believed was under their domain.

The Egyptian telamon in a landscape of Rome's architecture, with Saint Jerome, was thus a picture forged within a political network and mode of spectatorial reception—both elite and

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[141] Silver, "Graven Images," 17.

common—where it all made sense. First, Cock's printed picture retains van Heemskerck's formal design to bring a viewer's eye to the telamon, a symbol of Africa, that elaborates the *historia*. Secondly, a picture of Saint Jerome, to an official within the King of Spain's intimate employ, was a clear reference to Spanish royalty. And thirdly, the Roman ruins are descriptive because they may be recognized as Rome's ruins—the stage on which Charles conveyed his triumph over Africa. The campaign in Tunis had only happened a decade prior to the date of van Heemskerck's painting. At the time, Granvelle was seventeen years old and still studying in Italy. His father Nicolas, however, was among the chief of Charles' staff who joined the emperor in war, sailed with him to Tunis, and triumphed in Rome.[142] We do not know if Granvelle joined his father in Rome for the triumphal celebration, but given the circumstances at the time, where the event drew many from near and far, it is more than likely. What we do know, for certain, is that during his life Granvelle was instrumental in ensuring the triumph lived on by commissioning artists to produce works in a range of media. A reassembled picture of the forum may be one of them.

Conclusion

As my final case study of archaeological imagination in the Netherlandish reception of ancient architecture, *Landscape of Ruins* provides a compelling example of a sixteenth-century artist's ability to build a world in a pictorial medium. Close looking at the formal compositions of van Heemskerck's painting and Cock's print demands that a viewer turns their focus to the Egyptian column. Since the audience was, most likely, part of the Hapsburg circle, political network of the Spanish regency, and Holy Roman Imperial courts, then the captive African—at once animated

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[142] Baskins, *Hafsids and Habsburgs in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, 216.

by and arrested in its Egyptian medium—stands as a key to interpreting the assemblage of ancient architecture and sculpture in the picture's composed *historia*: Charles V's conquest of Tunis, and triumph in Rome.

Conclusion

> It's very difficult to keep the line between the past and the present.
> Do you know what I mean?
> It's awfully difficult.
>
> -   Little Edie, *Grey Gardens*

The first Egyptian obelisk erected in the Netherlands still stands in the small village of

Heemskerck in the province of North Holland (fig. 5.1).[1] Maarten van Heemskerck, named after

the village about seventeen kilometres north of Haarlem, built the obelisk in 1570 for the grave

of his father, Jacob Willemsz. van Veen (1456-1535). Since the tomb monument was one of the

last things the artist made before his own death in 1574, Karel van Mander concludes van

Heemskerck's biography on this specific work, referring to it as an obelisk and also, based on its

shape, as a pyramid. "For the maintenance of this pyramid," van Mander accounts, "land was

secured by Maarten, for if it were allowed to fall into disrepair then the family would obtain

control of the land."[2] The artist set plans in motion to ensure the monument's longevity on the

grounds of the Heemskerck Dorpskerk, the Village church, and carry on into the future a

message of him, his father, and the Heemskerck legacy.[3] It is this enduring quality of the

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[1] See Ilja Markx-Veldman, "Het grafmonument te Heemskerk en het gebruik van hiëroglyfen in de kring rondom Maarten van Heemskerck," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 24 (1973): 27-44.

[2] Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, 2, bk. 4, Folio 247r; translation from Miedema 246.

[3] See the subsection "Ein Obelisk für Heemskercks Vater" in Alessa Rather, "Maarten van Heemskerck, die antike Überlieferung und die eigene. Kunstproduktion als Erinnerungswerk" (PhD diss., Free University Berlin, 2020), 153-160.

monument that afforded its modern reception as a pointed indicator of the birth of antiquarian interest beyond Greece and Rome in the early modern Netherlands.[4]

In the short space of a conclusion, I do not bring up the Heemskerck obelisk to fully develop another case study, but to end with a punctual example of the kind of definitions used to categorize topical objects in the histories of art and architecture. "Immortality" was what van Mander believed the obelisk represented; it signified death as well as an eternal afterlife. As a monument, van Heemskerck's obelisk has two main roles. As a tombstone, the bluestone obelisk marks the end of a life. His father had, however, died thirty-five years prior. Nearing the end of his own life and career, van Heemskerck erected a monument to himself, and his legacy as a builder of ancient worlds. This legacy informs the monument's second role in its afterlife, including a reception that van Mander had not yet seen come to terms. While the monument is a marker of an end, it is also the beginning of a period of burgeoning interest in the reception of antiquity. Thijs Weststeijn argues "the Heemskerck obelisk marks the beginning of a lively debate on Egypt."[5] Moving past the sixteenth century, this reception moved into an empirical kind of Egyptology that engendered erudite studies and the rise of archaeology as an academic discipline.

As a seven-foot tombstone, the small obelisk towers in the Heemskerck graveyard where van Veen has been buried.[6] For conservation purposes, the original obelisk was moved inside the

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[4] For a theory of the monument's temporal association with energy, see Bruce G. Trigger, "Monumental Architecture: A Thermodynamic Explanation of Symbolic Behaviour," *World Archaeology* 22, no. 2 (1990), 119-132.

[5] Thijs Weststeijn, "Between Rome and Amsterdam: Barthold Nihusius (1589-1657) and the Origins of Egyptology," *Fragmenta* 5 (2011): 247.

[6] See Mirjam Beerman, Frans van Burkom, and Frans Grijzenhout, eds. *Beeldengids Nederland* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 1994), 136, cat. E32.

church in 1990, and the one in the graveyard is a replica. Even in the replica, however, Van

Heemskerck's sculpted relief maintains the message from the original that van Mander saw:

> At the top is carved the portrait of his father with the epitaph in Latin and Dutch, with a little child who stands on human bones in which it ignites the fire, leaning upon the torch and with the right foot on a skull, this seems to have been made to represent immortality; beneath it is written *Cogita mori*.[7]

Cogita mori, "think about death," are apt words for a tombstone and for an obelisk. While the

monument was one among many tombstones in the churchyard cemetery, its form in early

modern Europe was believed appropriate for the architecture of death. While van Heemskerck

was in Rome, he would have seen pyramidal tomb monuments, such as those Raphael designed

for the papal banker Agostino Chigi's (1466-1520) chapel in the Basilica of Santa Maria del

Popolo.[8] Giorgio Vasari believed that ancient Egyptians built obelisks and pyramids "in the

service of their dead; writing in them with the characters of their strange language the lives of the

great, to preserve the memory of their nobility and virtue."[9] Pyramids from antiquity, in Rome

and in Giza, were tombs, and the obelisk that stood outside of Saint Peter's in the Vatican bore a

myth that it too was a tomb in that it contained Julius Caesar's ashes inside the orb held above its

apex (fig. 3.16).[10] Other obelisks, such as the one repositioned on the Capitoline hill that van

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[7] van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, 2, bk. 4, folio 247r; Miedema 246.

[8] See John Shearman, "The Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24, no. 3/4 (1961), 129-160; and Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 208-212.

[9] "Et per questa cagione gli Egittii se ne seruiuano per i loro morti, scrive[n]do in queste Aguglie, co[n] i caratteri loro ststrani la vita da gra[n]di, per mantener la memoria della nobiltà & virtù di quegli," in Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de piu eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani: da Cimabue in sino à tempi nostril* (Florence: Appresso Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550), 1:27.

[10] Brian Curran, Anthony Grafton, Pamela O. Long, and Benjamin Weiss, *Obelisk: A History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009); 64-71.

Heemskerck drew, are surfaced with hieroglyphs.[11] All, as discussed in chapter three, were understood as having been part of ancient Egyptian tomb architecture, appropriated by Romans for similar purposes.

In Weststeijn's history of Egytology, van Heemskerck's tomb monument is a disciplinary precursor: "interest in Egypt blossomed in the low countries from 1570 onward, when the artist Maarten van Heemskerck erected a sizeable obelisk."[12] In some histories of Egyptology, the discipline is believed to have academic foundations in the nineteenth century, highlighted by imperial war and Napoleon Bonaparte's invasions of Egypt between 1798 and 1801.[13] In the nineteenth century, French networks pulled Egyptian antiquities into their global flows, and with a new range of sources and empirical studies, Jean-François Champollion unlocked the pictograms as legible hieroglyphs by 1822 with the aid of an inscribed Greek script on the Rosetta Stone that proved to be analogous with the two forms of Egyptian texts.[14] Finally, primary-source Egyptian antiquities could be understood with primary-source writings, and such things as the names of Pharaonic patrons on Rome's obelisks could be read.[15]

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[11] Arthur J. Difuria, *Maarten van Heemskerck's Rome: Antiquity, Memory, and the Cult of Ruins* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 300-301, cat. 5.

[12] Weststeijn, "Between Rome and Amsterdam," 247. See as well Weststeijn's study of the obelisk in its broader context of hieroglyphic studies in "From hieroglyphs to universal characters: pictography in the early modern Netherlands," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 61 (2011): 238-281. Some studies of Egyptology in the Netherlands only include contributions made in and after the nineteenth century, such as Maarten Raven, "The Netherlands," in *A History of World Egyptology*, eds. Andrew Bednarski, Aidan Dodson, & Salima Ikram (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 136-152.

[13] See Bruce G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 67-70; and Donald Malcom Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 21-63

[14] See Andrew Robinson, *Cracking the Egyptian Code: The Revolutionary Life of Jean-François Champollion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[15] See John Ray's book-length study *The Rosetta Stone and the Rebirth of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

In addition to its fascinating hieroglyphs, the Heemskerck obelisk can be seen as a profound example of an Egyptianising monument because it was the first of its kind to be cut anew in Europe, and erected somewhere beyond Italy. In the northern European tradition of rendering grand scale things as microarchitectural replications, van Heemskerck's obelisk, as a replication of the Egyptian ones in Rome, enacted what Anthony Grafton calls the "empire of the mind": the monuments' command over imagination in their early modern receptions.[16] It was not until 1586 that Pope Sixtus V (r. 1585-1590) and his architect and engineer Domenico Fontana (1543-1607) moved the Vatican obelisk to its current location.[17] A few decades earlier, when van Heemskerck was in Rome, Pope Paul III had already asked Michelangelo to move the obelisk, probably in preparation for Charles V's triumphal arrival in 1536.[18] The "incomparable architect," counted among the most competent of engineers who built Saint Peter's Basilica, famously declined with the response: "And if it breaks?"[19] The daunting task of moving an obelisk, and the difficulty faced in coming up with an engineering solution, revived the Roman appropriation of obelisks, which included the spectacles of their transport that conveyed their

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[16] Anthony Grafton, "Obelisks and Empires of the Mind," *The American Scholar* 71, no. 1 (2002): 123-127. For microarchitecture, see Ethan Matt Kavaler, "Microarchitecture as the Paradigm of Antique Architecture in the Low Countries: 1515-1540," in *Microarchitectures médiévales. L'échelle à l'épreuve de la matière*, eds. Ambre Vilain and Jean-Marie Guillouët (Paris: Picard, 2018), 141-150; and Alina Payne, "Materiality, Crafting, and Scale in Renaissance Architecture," *Oxford Art Journal* 32, no. 3 (2009): 365-386.

[17] Curran, Grafton, Long, and Weiss, *Obelisk*, 102-139.

[18] It was for the emperor's triumph that Paul had many statues moved around in Rome, and tasked Michelangelo with such things as converting the Tigris into a Tiber (which he did not get around to until a decade later). See James Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, 2nd ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 163; Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome 1500-1559: A Portrait of a Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 173.

[19] "Et se si rompesse?" in Michele Mercati, *Degli obelischi di Roma* (Rome: Domenico Basa, 1589), 343-344. See Pamela O. Long, *Engineering the Eternal City: Infrastructure, Topography, and the Culture of Knowledge in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 191-193; Anthony Grafton, *Bring Out Your Dead: The Past as Revelation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 59-60; and Grafton, "Obelisks and Empires of the Mind," 123.

imperial might.[20] Engaging with obelisks restaged the powerful programmes of ancient Egyptian rulers who built monumental architecture for their dead.

Van Heemskerck never lived to see an obelisk moved around, but he did draw, paint, and print multiple obelisks over the course of his career, and so did many others from his circle of colleagues. With a collection of drawings compiled in van Heemskerck's sketchbooks, Pieter Jansz. Saenredam painted the Vatican obelisk in 1629, inscribing on its plaque *P. Saenrtdā.fẽ.* / Aᵒ 1629, or "Pieter Saenredam *fecit* (made this) in the year 1629" (figs. 5.2 & 5.3). While van Heemskerck cut a new obelisk from Belgian bluestone to replicate an Egyptian tomb monument, as it had been mediated through ancient Roman appropriations, Saenredam built one with ruddy oil paint. The range of receptions are microarchitectural when compared to the obelisks in Rome, a shift in scale that Alina Payne argues emphasises architecture's intermedial qualities, as a process that moves across materials.[21] Builders of obelisks include those who build them in pictures.

The Heemskerck obelisk's afterlife punctuates the role of material objects in their processed receptions. In a drawing attributed to Saenredam from 1652, the obelisk in Heemskerck proudly stands beside the small Protestant village church that had been rebuilt in 1628, after Spanish forces destroyed all but the medieval tower during the siege of Alkmaar in

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[20] Braden Lee Scott, "Kingship and the Rocks: Infrastructure and the Materiality of Empire," in *The Routledge Handbook of Infrastructure Design: Global Perspectives from Architectural History*, ed. Joseph Heathcott (London: Routledge, 2022), 19-29. For an inclusion of obelisks within a wider idea of object mobility, see Alina Payne, "The Portability of Art: Prolegomena to Art and Architecture on the Move," in *Territories and Trajectories: Cultures in Circulation*, ed. Diana Sorensen (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018), 91-109.

[21] Payne, "Materiality, Crafting, and Scale in Renaissance Architecture," 365-386.

1573 (fig. 5.4).[22] Here it may be the church or the Heemskerck obelisk that the focal point for a group of men, who look at and discuss the town's monuments (fig. 5.5). Although it is not of the same scale as the Egyptian skyscraper that van Heemskerck saw outside of Saint Peter's in Rome, his obelisk still towers above the spindly tombstones of the humble church's cemetery, rising firm and erect in contrast to the grand, medieval, Catholic architecture of the old church that continues to crumble (fig. 3).[23] The obelisk stands as a traumatised witness to the Protestant war on art and architecture, a breaking of images known as the *Beeldenstorm*, or "Great Iconoclasm" of 1566, when seething mobs scoured northern Europe in deluded fervour to hunt and destroy Catholic forms of representation. The events were at the start of the eighty-years long Dutch Revolt that had emerged with the rise of Dutch nationalism and northern Netherlandish dreams of independence from the Spanish Crown and Hapsburg affiliations. Despite the severe rupture of the way Netherlandish history is demarcated, before and after the revolt, van Heemskerck's obelisk pulls a past life of Catholic, sixteenth century engagements with the worlds of antiquity into its present, and projects it into the future. His obelisk did not break.

The Heemskerck obelisk encapsulates a mode of ancient reception that highlights this dissertation's central argument: the worlds of buildings associated with ancient West Asia and North Africa were part of early modern Netherlandish archaeological imagination. From specific case studies, I unfolded four themes to build my theory of archaeological imagination. The first

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[22] Ilja M. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch Humanism in the Sixteenth Century* (Maarssen: Gary Schwartz, 1977), 145 n. 1; P.T.A. Swillens, *Pieter Janszoon Saenredam: Schilder van Haarlem, 1597-1665* (Amsterdam: N.V. Uitgeversbedrijf "De Spieghel," 1935), 136.

[23] On the presence of the old, Catholic realm of the Netherlands that appears in Saenredam's paintings of Protestant spaces, see Angela Vanhaelen, *The Wake of Iconoclasm: Painting the Church in the Dutch Republic* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), and Amy Knight Powell, "Images (Not) Made by Chance," *Art History* 40, no. 2 (2017): 380-403.

chapter employed the City of David in adoration pictures as a case study for the processes of imagining ancient architecture by artists who lacked points of empirical reference. When faced with absences of material iconographies, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century artists turned to contextual materials and descriptions that afforded some kind of qualitative association with Iron Age palatial architecture. The second chapter carried this kind of imagination through to another case study, the Tower of Babel, but brought in an overlooked fact: the tower was, however misidentified, known through descriptions and travellers' accounts. The format of ancient Mesopotamian ziggurats determined the format of the tower in artistic depictions. Thus, in these two chapters, I foregrounded archaeological imagination's crucial role in the processes of depicting and recreating architecture.

The third and fourth chapters worked out the reception of two Egyptian telamons to assess how and why Egyptian bodies were received, depicted, and reanimated as African embodiment in the political and imperial contexts of sixteenth-century Netherlandish, and Italian art. These two chapters work together to show how archaeological imagination expands beyond the frame of a depicted picture. In chapter three, I focused on the ways Egyptianised column fragments from an ancient Roman architectural programme shaped the ways early modern artists and architects theorised new stories of enslaved subjects within the histories of architecture. Chapter four then resituates the columns within another kind of "world-building" process. Their inclusion in a composition designed by van Heemskerck in 1547 coincides with a series of political events, where Egypt afforded an iconography of Africa. Egyptian architectural sculpture was mobilized to express the territorial ambitions of the Holy Roman Empire, which had, in 1535, claimed parts of Africa within its imperial reach.

Together, the chapters of this dissertation have claimed that there exists an expanded sense of antiquity in early modern archaeological imagination. This is to say that while ancient Roman architecture has largely the determined the way that ancient architecture looks in early modern European art, it does not determine the confines of geographic connectivity and transculturation that "classical" art history and classical reception have long overlooked.

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