



Giovanni Battista Piranesi.
Six Roman Masks,
ca. 1776–1777.
Morgan Library & Museum.

Piranesi Slices

CAROLYN YERKES

Giovanni Battista Piranesi was not known for his sense of humor, and yet there is something funny about his drawing of six Roman masks. At first glance, these are typical examples of ancient theatrical masks of the kind usually made from terracotta and found all around the Mediterranean. With their wide-open eyes and gaping mouths, the masks have exaggerated expressions designed to be legible from long distances. The last mask of Piranesi's half-dozen stands out, however, as familiar and specific rather than generic. Instead of hair wound into tight braids, the mask is bald, with large ears poking out at the sides. In his new book *Sublime Ideas: Drawings by Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, John Marciari suggests that the grinning face is the artist's own.¹ Marciari assigns the sheet of drawings to late in Piranesi's career, when the artist was exploring the ruins of Pompeii in preparation for a suite of prints devoted to the site. Born in 1720, Piranesi was in his fifties when he began the suite, already sick with the bladder disease that would kill him in 1778. His drawings of Roman masks are easy to imagine as an outtake from the Pompeii project, an effort to continue his life's work of reanimating the material remains of antiquity while laughing through the pain.

Piranesi's sheet of studies of Roman masks now belongs to the Morgan Library and Museum, which has one of the largest collections of his drawings in the world and was the site of a recent survey exhibition curated by Marciari.² Although the book and the exhibition share a title, the former is not a catalogue of the latter: rather, *Sublime Ideas* is a monograph in which Marciari ranges over the entirety of Piranesi's graphic legacy, a feat no other scholar in recent memory has attempted. Amid the spate of exhibitions and publications that have appeared since 2020, the tercentenary of the artist's birth, Marciari has made a distinctive and lasting contribution.³

One reason for the absence of a synoptic overview of Piranesi's drawings is logistical: more than 550 sheets attributed to Piranesi survive, along with many others from his workshop, and these are spread across public and private collections. A second reason, which may sound contradictory to the first, is that Piranesi is not primarily known as a draftsman. As a printmaker, certainly, and as an architect, author, and antiquarian, too—but not as the type of artist who assigned much weight to his own drawings as anything other than preparatory for other projects.

As diverse and dispersed as Piranesi's drawings may be, a central mystery of provenance unites them. The artist's sons inherited much of his property after his death, including his palace full of equipment, supplies, print stocks, and sculptural works assembled from ancient fragments. The inheritance also

included Piranesi's copperplates and piles of his drawings. The sons continued to pull new impressions from the plates, first in Rome and later in Paris, where they moved after the end of the (French) Roman Republic in 1799. History does not relate what they did with their father's drawings, however. Piecing together the provenance of nearly any Piranesi drawing thus involves a leap of speculation across the gap between his death and the drawing's first appearance in a collector's hands, often several decades later. Marciari has a convincing hypothesis to bridge this gap. He knits together disparate scraps of historiographical information about the sheets that survive and produces a unified field theory about how they might have left Piranesi's workshop. This theory informs how Marciari interprets individual drawings.

Today, Piranesi's drawings are spread across many collections, but they are not truly scattered. Most of them cluster in large groups of sheets that have traveled together from owner to owner through the years. To describe these groups, Marciari uses the word *tranche*, a multivalent term that feels especially apt for the Piranesi scenario. In its most basic definition, a *tranche* is just a portion of a whole, in this case a segment of Piranesi's complete works. Yet the term also has a more specific financial application: it describes a portion of a security, like a mortgage, that can be divided into pieces to be sold to individual investors. The provenances of Piranesi's drawings suggest that the sons may have sold them off in large lots, presumably to boost cash flow, rather than one at a time. These lots were not organized by project; they were culled from across the corpus of drawings. This practice makes sound financial sense: every customer got a piece of the layer cake—sheets from different projects and drawings in varying degrees of quality and finish. Each *tranche* is thus like a slice through Piranesi's career.

To build a coherent portrait of Piranesi from his drawings therefore requires dismantling the variegated tranches left to us by historical circumstance and reassembling them into groups based on commonalities among them, such as subject, chronology, or drawing type. Marciari attempts such a regrouping in *Sublime Ideas*, the book, which is a womb-to-tomb journey through the artist's drawings that connects each sheet to other dimensions of the artist's work. *Sublime Ideas*, the exhibition, offered something else entirely. Based on the Morgan's *tranche* of Piranesi drawings and augmented with an exceptional selection of works from private collections, the show put on view a geological core sample of his career.⁴ Together, the exhibition and catalogue provide an occasion to revisit the relation of Piranesi's career to the history of paper media, on the one hand, and to the history of the art market and the history of capitalism, on the other.

Piranesi's tranches can be used to authenticate authorship, influence, and provenance: all tactics for measuring distance from and proximity to the artist himself. Yet Piranesi's drawings reveal as much about relations as they do about origins:

Opposite left:
Giovanni Battista
Piranesi. *Two Male
Figures*, ca. 1770–
1778. Recto. Museum
of Fine Arts, Boston.

Opposite right:
Domenico Barrière.
*Bust of Drusus
Caesar*, ca. 1650.
Verso. Museum of
Fine Arts, Boston.

they can function as prisms to view his place within a complex printing enterprise. In addition to providing a direct view of how the artist conceived of his subjects, Piranesi's drawings help us see obliquely, too, as they refract our gaze toward those on whom he depended.

Piranesi's Proofs

One of the biggest shifts in Piranesi studies over the past two decades has been a new emphasis on how the artist worked with others, including printers, assistants, sculptors, and publishers. Piranesi left clues about these professional relationships through his habitual reuse of printed paper. Many of the drawings exhibited in *Sublime Ideas* and discussed in the book help to thread Piranesi's projects together, including through the evidence of their material supports. Close examination of Piranesi's scrap paper pays dividends in the form of new information about his working methods. Reused paper tells us about printmakers whose work Piranesi knew, the length of time he took to develop and revise new projects, and how he tackled



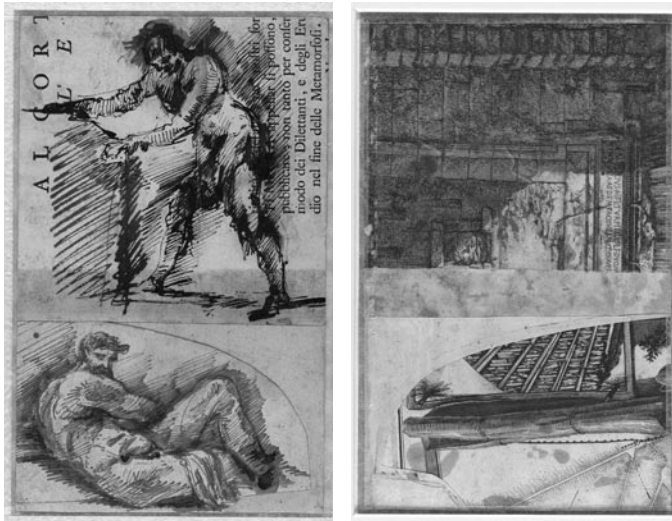
multiple projects simultaneously.

Some of Piranesi's scrap paper was left over from prints he had used for personal study. On the back of an engraving of a bust of Drusus Caesar (ca. 8–33 CE), he drew two men, each one leaning back on a podium. Made by Dominique Barrière, the engraving had appeared in a book on the Villa Pamphili and its collections, first published in the mid-seventeenth century.⁵ Piranesi's interest in this specific bust may relate to his work in the *Antichità di Cora* (1764), a book about the city of Cori, famous for its ancient cyclopean walls and the well-preserved Temple of Hercules. In the book, Piranesi describes an inscription that mentions Drusus Caesar.⁶ Once Piranesi had finished working on the *Antichità di Cora*, Barrière's print became scrap paper, a fate no worse than the one he meted out to the proofs of his own prints, including those for this very book.

Like most artists and authors, Piranesi was his own greatest source of scrap paper. He rarely saved his proof impressions, preferring instead to reuse them as drawing paper. Figure studies fill the margins of proofs that Piranesi checked and then

set aside; architectural studies cover the versos. Occasionally, Piranesi recycled a sheet of paper more than once, using a sheet of scrap paper from another printer to run off a proof of one of his own plates, then filling whatever blank space remained with drawings. A composite sheet now in Amsterdam shows several such reworkings. In the sheet's top half, a man bends over a table, head down: he is a printer at work. In the bottom half, Michelangelo's *Day* looks up over his shoulder as he begins to rise. Piranesi did not draw the figures in this suggestive pairing of men at different points in their days' labors: he sketched them separately, each on one of his proofs. The excess paper of these sheets was later trimmed off, and the figures were set into their current juxtaposition, joined together with infill paper.

Piranesi drew the printing man at work on a proof from the *Antichità di Cora*, an interior view of the pronaos of the Temple of Hercules. He had proofed that plate on another piece of printed scrap paper, and fragments of letterpress text frame the



bending figure. The text mentions Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and appears to derive from a passage on the court of heroes. Perhaps it is from a libretto: Piranesi often drew on scrap paper from the press of Angelo Rotili, who had printed the letterpress pages of *L'Antichità Romane*, in addition to many libretti. To Piranesi, the paper's most essential aspect was its blank verso—large enough for a proof, which he evidently made before letters. The fragment lacks the key letter *A* that appears in the view of the pronaos as it was published in the *Antichità di Cora*. Piranesi, like most printmakers, typically added details like these to his plates last, because they refer to textual references or captions that were produced separately from the images. The key letter's absence from the proof reminds us that Piranesi designed most of his prints as pages for books and did not consider them finished until they included the apparatus that connected them to the larger work. Piranesi proofed the Temple of Hercules print on recycled paper and then, after checking it, recycled the paper again. On the twice-printed paper, Piranesi

drew a man busy printing, ink rag in hand, pressing down on the low table.⁷

Piranesi drew the printing man from life, a fast sketch tossed off in the workshop. To study Michelangelo's *Day*, however, he probably worked from a surrogate for the sculpture, such as a model or, more likely, a print.⁸ He drew the *Day* on another proof, this one from *Le Rovine del Castello dell'Acqua Giulia*, a book Piranesi first published in 1761 and later issued together with the *Antichità di Cora*. The *Acqua Giulia* print plays on the way topographical and architectural information can be conveyed through images. An elevation and plan of the aqueduct forms the background, with a map of the Esquiline Hill depicted at the top as if drawn on an unfurled scroll. On the right, a detail of the aqueduct's masonry arch is shown as if tacked on a sheet of paper. Like the Temple of Hercules fragment that forms the other half of the composite sheet in Amsterdam, this print was a proof before letters: abbreviations

Opposite far left:
Giovanni Battista
Piranesi. *Study of a
Leaning Man* (top),
after 1764, and *Study
of Michelangelo's Day*
(bottom), after 1761.
Recto. Amsterdam
Museum.

Opposite left:
Giovanni Battista
Piranesi. Top:
Fragments of "Veduta
del presente stato
dell'interno del
Pronao del tempio
d'Ercole nella città di
Cora," tavolo 5 from
Antichità di Cora,
descritte ed incise da
Giovambat. Piranesi
(1764). Bottom:
Fragments of "Del
Castello dell'Acqua
Giulia," tavolo 1 from
*Le rovine del castello
dell'Acqua Giulia*
(1761). Verso.
Amsterdam Museum.

Right: Giovanni
Battista Piranesi.
"Veduta del presente
stato dell'interno del
Pronao del tempio
d'Ercole nella città
di Cora," tavolo 5 from
Antichità di Cora,
descritte ed incise da
Giovambat. Piranesi
(1764). Getty
Research Institute.



for the cardinal directions, key letters, and labels do not appear on the map.

Piranesi proofed this plate from the *Acqua Giulia* more than once; another impression of it is on the verso of a drawing now in Berlin.⁹ By the time he made the Berlin proof, Piranesi had taken the plate one step closer to completion, though he had not quite finished it. After making the Amsterdam proof, Piranesi added, or had an assistant add, the title and map locations. He indicated other details like key letters and corrections in red chalk and ink; blots from the corrector's pen are splattered across the page. The Amsterdam proof prompted one set of edits, the Berlin proof another. After finishing these rounds of changes, Piranesi no longer needed the proofs. He used one as scrap paper for a figure study and the other as scrap paper for mantelpiece designs, in both cases training his hand for the next round of projects.

In addition to the Amsterdam and Berlin proofs of the same plate, fragments of impressions from at least four other plates

in *Le Rovine del Castello dell'Acqua Giulia* have drawings on them, mainly designs for mantelpieces. The high number of surviving impressions from the same book suggests that Piranesi proofed a complete or near-complete set of the illustrations for the book at once. Such a proof set would have had many practical purposes. Piranesi may have used the proofs to correlate the book's typeset list of topographical captions with its plates' key letters, or he could have made the set to check every plate before letting a specialist engraver add captions and other labels.

Previous generations of print scholars have disparaged Piranesi's textual references as marring the works that they identify. Arthur Hind, author of one of the first catalogues raisonnés of Piranesi's prints, wrote of these references, "The strength of [Piranesi's] artistic power may be appreciated all



Giovanni Battista Piranesi. "Del Castello dell'Acqua Giulia," tavolo 1 from *Le rovine del castello dell'Acqua Giulia* (1761). Getty Research Institute.

the more if it is considered that it works in spite of the letters and numbers of reference, which one might expect to disfigure an architectural plate."¹⁰ Hind did not consider the mutual dependence of text and image in Piranesi's work to be one of its primary intentions, let alone its accomplishments. Yet Piranesi himself could not have viewed reference marks this way or considered his prints that did not have them to exist in a pristine, original state. To the contrary, a plate before letters was an unfinished plate, and he rarely saved or sold impressions made from them, even in a print market where proofs had special value. These proofs served a functional purpose as aids in completing plates, and once they had served that purpose they were useful only as drawing paper and as support for other proofs.

Piranesi put his proofs from the *Antichità di Cora* to work,

as he did nearly all the impressions that he pulled before finalizing a plate. The drawings that he made on these sheets of paper were usually later cut down, as multifigure groups of figure studies were reduced to single (salable) figures. This type of slashing occurred in both the Amsterdam and Berlin sheets, for example. As a result, few intact proof impressions by Piranesi exist, and the *Sublime Impressions* exhibition offered a truly rare opportunity to see four of them at once. All four are now in the collection of Andrew Robison, a scholar of Piranesi whose many publications have untangled the intricacies of the artist's plate states. The most vivid example on display has back-to-back proofs: *The Bridge and Mausoleum of Hadrian* is printed on one side and *The Tomb Chambers of L. Arruntius and His Household* is on the other. The view of Hadrian's mausoleum has edits marked in pen and the caption scribbled in graphite, while the view of the tomb of Arruntius awaits its revised caption and shading. The two etchings fill their respective sides of the paper, leaving no room for Piranesi to draw—the reason, perhaps, that they were saved from the knife.

Piranesi's Dependents

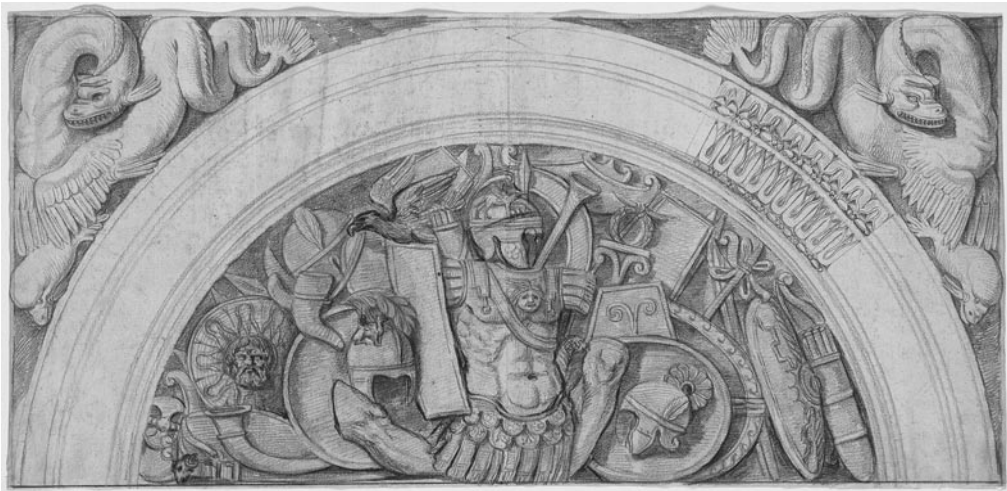
Piranesi's composite sheets, with their fragments of etching, engraving, letterpress, and drawings, mark the distance between a sketch and a finished impression. These fragments also document the many other artists, printers, and assistants who helped carry the work across that distance. In his book and exhibition, Marciari continues a recent scholarly emphasis on Piranesi's relationships, through close analyses of some drawings only recently brought to light and of other drawings already well known but here newly reinterpreted. A notable contribution of the monograph is the way that it fully incorporates a large tranche of drawings in Karlsruhe into the artist's biography. This material, some 297 drawings in two albums, was first attributed to Piranesi and his studio in 2014.¹¹ A research team has been studying the drawings and publishing its results. Already scholars have established that most of the drawings are from the artist's workshop but not by Piranesi himself. Marciari makes a case for why the sorts of sketches and copies made by assistants are relevant to our understanding of the artist.

One revelation to emerge from the Karlsruhe material has been the figure of Nicolas François-Daniel Lhuillier, a French sculptor and draftsman who made drawings of Roman antiquities and sold them to tourists and to other artists. That an artist could make a living off such ornamental drawings is not surprising. Lhuillier's beautifully shaded studies of floral carvings, decorated capitals, and sculptural reliefs likely appealed to those Grand Tourists who found themselves too busy, or perhaps without the talent, to sketch what they encountered. To find Lhuillier's drawings, or copies of them, among the piles of papers that survive from Piranesi's own workshop, however, is surprising. How did these sheets end up in the mix with others

by Piranesi and his assistants? Did Piranesi buy them from Lhuillier to use as training exercises, or did he employ Lhuillier directly? Just as the Karlsruhe material has prompted questions about Piranesi and Lhuillier, it also has prompted new evaluations of drawings previously attributed to Piranesi.

A large, red chalk drawing of a lunette, now at the Morgan and featured in both the book and the exhibition, is one such example. The lunette is one of a pair of ancient stone reliefs that, after heavy restoration, were installed in the Villa Albani around 1760.¹² The existence of the Morgan drawing had seemed to associate Piranesi with the reliefs, even though no other evidence suggests he was involved in their discovery, restoration, or installation. Now that many other drawings similar to this one have surfaced in Karlsruhe and other collections, an attribution of the drawing to Lhuillier, rather than to Piranesi, is much more plausible.

Even as Piranesi acquired drawings by others to study and to incorporate into his own work, he continued to train his

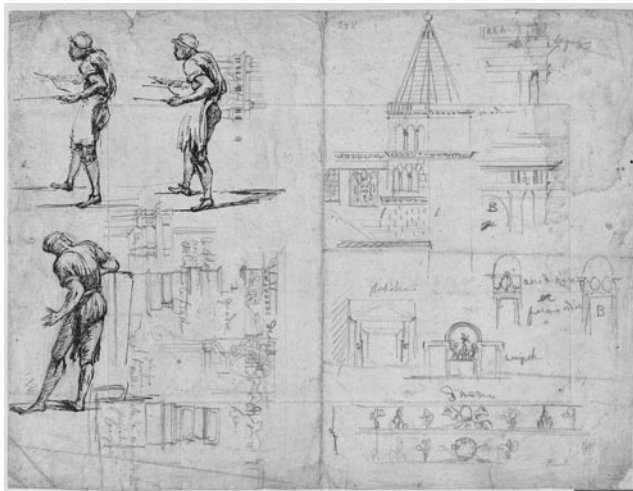


hand by copying and by studying from life. He often used single proofs as scrap paper to do both tasks: the Amsterdam sheet, for example, includes one study from life and another study from art—copied, most likely, from a print. Other sheets combine different types of copies, figural and architectural. The Morgan exhibition featured an exceptional drawing, also from the Robison Collection, in which Piranesi used oiled paper—so treated to make it semitransparent—to copy a print by Nicolas de Larmessin IV, made around 1735, that shows a group of children playing. Piranesi did not seem particularly interested in the subject, only in the distinctive poses of its figures. He copied two of them without regard for their relationship to each other, tracing one child before turning the paper ninety degrees to trace another. Their new relationship respects not the original composition but another constraint: the architectural study already on the sheet.

Piranesi wedged his copies around an earlier drawing he deemed worthy of preserving, an analysis of the age-old

problem of the Doric temple corner. For millennia, architects have debated how best to space the triglyphs and metopes of the Doric frieze so that these elements meet at the corner in a satisfying way. A satisfactory solution, the theory goes, should respect the original tectonic functions that the triglyphs and metopes are meant to represent, while simultaneously maintaining internal symmetry across the frieze—two conditions that are notoriously difficult to reconcile. The red chalk study on Piranesi’s sheet offers one possible solution to the problem, probably copied from a print. Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola’s *Regola delli cinque ordini d’architettura*, which even in the eighteenth century was still the most widely reproduced architectural plate book, has an illustration that is almost exactly like the one on Piranesi’s sheet.¹³

In the exhibition, the corner study with its copied figures was displayed opposite another sheet that combines figural and architectural drawing. On the reverse of a large proof from the *Antichità Romane* (1756), Piranesi used red chalk to sketch



Opposite: Nicolas François-Daniel Lhuillier. *Lunette with Trophies*, ca. 1760. Morgan Library & Museum.

Right: Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Three Figures and Architectural Details*, ca. 1770–1775. Morgan Library & Museum.

the façade, bell tower, and baptistery of San Giovanni in Laterano, a building that he depicted in an etched view in the early 1770s. Two of the sketches focus on the transept’s corner, as Piranesi analyzed how the coupled pilasters at the building’s edge align with the frieze above them. On the left side of the sheet, he drew in brown ink three men at work in the printing studio—here again, like the man on the Amsterdam sheet, studied from life. Their long aprons and rolled sleeves identify them as printers, and each one holds a large sheet of paper or a plate. Less easy to determine, however, is whether these figures depict three different men or the same man over and over and over again.

The precise number of men Piranesi drew on the Morgan sheet is difficult to tell because, although his studies often feature multiple adjacent figures at work, these figures rarely appear to work together or with each other. Rather, Piranesi’s printers are individuals who perform separate tasks at the same time. This phenomenon occurs throughout Piranesi’s drawings

of printers: each figure maintains a distinct integrity despite its proximity to others.¹⁴ Depicted in pairs, trios, or larger groups, the printers remain absorbed in their singular tasks, leaning over their tables, examining impressions, and carrying inkwells. When lined up alongside each other, the men appear to work in a syncopated rhythm, as if on an assembly line, so similar yet segregated are their motions. Piranesi's drawings capture how printers work in sequences of actions but rarely through interactions.

Two years before Piranesi died, Adam Smith made his most famous contribution to modern economics by describing succinctly the task-based distinctions among discrete activities that Piranesi captured in his drawings. "The greatest improvement in the productive powers of labor," Smith wrote in the opening line of *The Wealth of Nations*, "and the greater part of the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which it is any where directed, or applied, seem to have been the effects of the division of labor."¹⁵ Piranesi's enterprise, which increased in scale and complexity as he became more successful, depended on such divisions: his projects required assistants and collaborators. His drawings of printers remind us of this fundamental truth, because Piranesi was able to draw the men around him printing only when he himself was not printing.

Piranesi's long career as a printmaker, architect, and author transpired within economies of dependence, and these dependencies marked and shaped everything he made. The complex sheets that combine drawing, letterpress, and etching provide evidence for how he relied on others to supply technology, expertise, and even imagery. Clues to other forms of dependencies emerge in the completed works. Printing in all its forms relies on capital supplied up front, because a printer cannot proceed without the money to procure the necessary machinery and supplies. Piranesi was not exempt from this situation, and he littered his prints and books with references to the clients and patrons that he needed to produce them. He dedicated a large book, the *Campo Marzio* of 1762, to thank the friend who had supported him, and wrote a small book, the *Lettere di giustificazione* of 1757, to damn the enemy who had not. He courted papal sponsorship in elaborate etched and engraved dedications and included his customers' names in the inscribed captions to his prints of antiquities. Piranesi's art incorporates perpetual, even pointed, reminders of the economic stakes of his enterprise.

Piranesi's career can be viewed as a series of attempts, with varying degrees of success, to find the financial support necessary to achieve creative independence. When he first arrived in Rome as a young man, he got his start as a printmaker by supplying small etched views to guidebook publishers, but he did not get to keep his copperplates when he finished them. By the end of his career, Piranesi was his own publisher, and he not only kept his copperplates but he also had others doing much of the etching and printing for him. His drawings of

printing men, often made on the castaway proofs of his prints, are one measure of the distance he had traveled. In these drawings, Piranesi never bothered to depict the workshop, omitting the presses entirely. He focused on movements, not on machines, making labor itself the subject of his study. Piranesi did not focus on printing as a technology; he depicted it as an act.

Piranesi's drawings emphasize the physical labor bound up in his art and, in so doing, may suggest why the more successful he got, the more he needed others to help him. He had planned for his own obsolescence from early on, bringing his sons into the business when they were young, training them in drafting and printmaking. He also taught his daughter, Laura, who became an artist in her own right, just as Katsushika Hokusai's daughter, Ōi, began as her father's apprentice. Surely economic reasons drove these decisions, as they did the very structure of Piranesi's career. But the economies of age are the most punishing of all. Aprons and sleeves aside, the most recognizable element of Piranesi's printers is the pose they assume. They put their backs into their job, standing stooped over their work, shoulders rounded and down. Printing, with its reliance on repetitive motions and continual force, punishes the human body.

If Piranesi's prints refer to the constant financial pressure he felt to monetize his art, then his drawings refer to the relentless physical pressure he had experienced over time. Piranesi died at age fifty-eight. If we calculate age holistically rather than in years, his drawings of printers suggest he may have felt a good deal older than that.¹⁶ Piranesi never drew himself working, but in his practice of drawing on printing and of drawing other printers he documented the various forms of dependence he required to achieve creative freedom.

Notes

1. John Marciari, *Sublime Ideas: Drawings by Giovanni Battista Piranesi* (New York: Morgan Library and Museum, in association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2023).
2. *Sublime Ideas: Drawings by Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, 10 March–4 June 2023, Morgan Library and Museum, New York. The Morgan’s online catalogue now reflects Marciari’s recent scholarship on the Piranesi drawings, where individual entries consolidate the insights he explores more expansively in the book.
3. A partial list of books about Piranesi, including exhibition catalogues, published since 2020 includes Mario Bevilacqua and Claire Hornsby, eds., *Piranesi@300* (Rome: Artemide Edizioni, 2023); Chiara Casarin and Pierluigi Panza, eds., *Giambattista Piranesi: Architetto senza tempo* (Milan: Silvana editoriale, 2020); Caroline van Eck, *Piranesi’s Candelabra and the Presence of the Past: Excessive Objects and the Emergence of a Style in the Age of Neoclassicism* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2023); Laurentino Garcia y Garcia, *Piranesi: Antichità di Pompei* (Rome: Arbor Sapientiae editore, 2020); Norbert Miller, *Piranesis römische Anfänge und seine Rezeption in England: Zwei Essays zum 300. Geburtstag des Venezianers* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2020); Domenico Palombi, ed., *Giambattista Piranesi: Antichità di Cora* (Rome: De Luca editori d’arte, 2020); Pierluigi Panza, *Piranesi a Milano: Omaggio nel terzo anniversario dalla nascita* (Milan: Scalpendi editore, 2020); Andrew Robison, *Piranesi: Earliest Drawings* (Rome: Artemide, 2022); Delfín Rodríguez Ruiz and Helena Pérez Gallardo, eds., *Piranesi: En la Biblioteca Nacional de España* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2019); Victor Plahte Tschudi, *Piranesi and the Modern Age* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2022); Victor Plahte Tschudi, Wenche Volle, and Marianne Yvenes, eds., *Piranesi og det moderne* (Oslo: Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst, Arkitektur og Design, 2022); Sarah Vowles, *Piranesi Drawings: Visions of Antiquity: Drawings from the British Museum* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2020); Moritz Wullen, Georg Schelbert, and Eva Dalvai, eds., *The Piranesi Principle* (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 2020); and Carolyn Yerkes and Heather Hyde Minor, *Piranesi Unbound* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020).
4. As Marciari explains, most of the Morgan’s Piranesi drawings came to the museum from the collection of Jane Norton Grew Morgan via her sons, Junius S. Morgan and Henry S. Morgan, and were unknown to scholars before the mid-1940s. Marciari, 19. That collection had 133 sheets, though the Morgan has added other works by Piranesi and his workshop to its holdings since that time.
5. *Villa Pamphilia: Eiusque palatium, cum suis prospectibus, statuae, fontes, vivaria, theatra, areolae, plantarum, viarumque ordines, cum eiusdem villae absoluta delineatione* (Rome: Formis Io. Iacobi de Rubeis [16—]).
6. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Antichità di Cora, descritte ed incise da Giovambat. Piranesi* (Rome, 1764), 15.
7. See Ben Koevoets, *Italië 15e–18e eeuw* (Amsterdam: Dienst der Gemeentemusea, 1976), 44–45.
8. Piranesi’s latest documented stay in Florence occurred in 1744 and is known to have been brief. See Mario Bevilacqua, “The Young Piranesi: The Itineraries of His Formation,” in *The Serpent and the Stylus: Essays on G.B. Piranesi*, ed. Mario Bevilacqua, Heather Hyde Minor, and Fabio Barry (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 31–33. For the hypothesis that Piranesi did not draw the sculpture in situ, see Koevoets, 45.
9. Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, HdZ 6305.
10. Arthur M. Hind, *A History of Engraving and Etching from the 15th Century to the Year 1914*, rev. ed. (1923; New York: Dover Publications, 1963), 229.
11. Georg Kabierske, “A Cache of Newly Identified Drawings by Piranesi

and His Studio at the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe,” *Master Drawings* 53, no. 2 (2015): 147–178. See also Georg Kabierske, “*Vasi, urne, cinerarie, altari e candelabri*: Newly Identified Drawings for Piranesi’s Antiquities and Sculptural Compositions at the Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe,” in *Giovanni Battista Piranesi: Predecessori, contemporanei, e successori: Studi in onore di John Wilton-Ely*, ed. Francesco Nevola, Studi sul Settecento Romano 32 (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 2016), 245–262. The albums were acquired by Friedrich Weinbrenner, an architect from Karlsruhe, and long attributed to him.

12. Marciari, 122.

13. For an eighteenth-century Roman edition of Vignola’s *Regola*, see the one published by Matteo Gregorio Rossi in 1718, digitized by the Getty Research Portal, <https://archive.org/details/dellicinqueordin00vign/page/n39/mode/1up>.

14. For a collation of Piranesi’s drawings of printing men, see Andrew Robison, “Piranesi’s Printers,” in *Venezia Settecento: Studi in memoria di Alessandro Bettagno*, ed. Bożena Anna Kowalczyk (Venice: Silvana Editoriale, 2015), 161–171.

15. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 2 vols. (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776).

16. On the subject of artists aging, see Creighton Gilbert, “When Did a Man in the Renaissance Grow Old?,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 14 (1967): 7–32.