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SOME DRAWINGS FROM THE ›PAPER MUSEUM‹ OF CASSIANO DAL  
POZZO AND THE BERLIN CODEX DESTAILLEUR ›D‹

IAN CAMPBELL

INTRODUCTION

What follows is a written-up version of a paper presented at a ›Studentag‹ at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in April 2004.<sup>1</sup> The paper was of a speculative nature rather than arguing a particular point. It therefore raises more questions than it answers but, I hope, may prove useful in juxtaposing drawings from different collections not usually seen as connected.

THE PAPER MUSEUM

The ›Paper Museum‹ is the name given by Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588–1657) to a vast collection of prints and drawings (over 7000 known and more still being identified) amassed by Cassiano himself and his brother Carlo Antonio (1606–1689) in their modest palazzo in Via Chiavari in Rome. The subject matter ranges from natural history to all aspects of human culture.<sup>2</sup> Around 1200 sheets of architectural drawings survive, the majority, including the Codex Coner, in Sir John Soane's Museum in London. They were bought by the English architect Soane (1753–1837) at the sale of the estate of the great Scottish architect, Robert Adam (1728–1792), instigated by his heirs in 1818. The Paper Museum had been sold by the dal Pozzo family in 1703 to Pope Clement XI. (reg. 1700–1721), who in turn sold it on to his nephew, Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1692–1779) in 1714. James Adam (1732–1794), Robert's brother, had negotiated the sale of the Albani collection of drawings and prints, into which the Paper Museum had been absorbed, to the British king George III. (reg. 1760–1820) in 1762. The second largest group of architectural drawings from the Paper Museum (about 300 sheets) is still preserved at the Royal Library at Windsor Castle. One sheet of drawings in a French sixteenth-century hand seems closely related to the Berlin Codex Destailleur ›D‹. Now in a modern portfolio, it was kept in an eighteenth-century portfolio known as ›Portfolio 5‹ or the ›Albani Elephant Portfolio‹ among a miscellaneous selection of mainly

sixteenth-century architectural drawings.<sup>3</sup> The other drawings to be discussed here are 25 sheets, some dated 1568 and 1570, by the Anonymous Portuguese draughtsman. These are sufficiently similar in character to the Berlin codex that a possible connection is worth discussing. They are preserved in an album entitled ›Architectura Civile‹ which was bound while still in the ownership of the dal Pozzo family. It contains 150 numbered folios in which are mounted a miscellany of drawings from the late fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries of both ancient and modern subjects, mostly in and around Rome.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE CODEX DESTAILLEUR ›D‹ AND THE ALBERTINA PARALLELS

The Codex Destailleur ›D‹ is the name given to a collection of drawings, originally in three volumes, which belonged to the French architect, Hippolyte Destailleur (1822–1893). They were acquired from him in 1879 by the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin and are now in the Kunstbibliothek in the same city.<sup>5</sup> One volume contained all sixteenth-century subjects from St. Peter's, the Vatican Palace and the Palazzo Farnese and the Tomb of Julius II. A second consists predominantly of drawings of ancient temples and arches in Rome, Tivoli, Ancona and Arles, but also includes some contemporary projects such as the Villa Lante on the Janiculum. A third volume was exclusively of antique buildings, namely the Colosseum, the Theatre of Marcellus and the Baths of Caracalla, Diocletian and Trajan.

The subjects are treated exhaustively with measured plans and elevations, accompanied by a wealth of enlarged details and written comments. These are mostly in Italian with a strong French accent. One French (or at least Franco-phone) draughtsman seems to be responsible for 90% of the drawings. Bernd Kulawik, author of the first comprehensive catalogue of the codex, makes a strong case for identifying him with one ›Guielmo francioso‹ (›French William‹) who was paid for work as both a carpenter and a mason for the ›Fabbrica‹ of St. Peter's between 1544 and 1547.<sup>6</sup> This is near enough the dating of the ›third quarter of the sixteenth century‹ (1551–1575), which I assigned to the drawings of the antiquities from the Codex Destailleur ›D‹ when entering them into the *Census* between 1986 and 1988.<sup>7</sup> Kulawik hesitates, however, from concluding definitively that the two are the same, and hence the traditional denomination of ›Anonymous Destailleur‹ is maintained here. The remaining drawings or annotations are by a variety of hands. I noted two cases

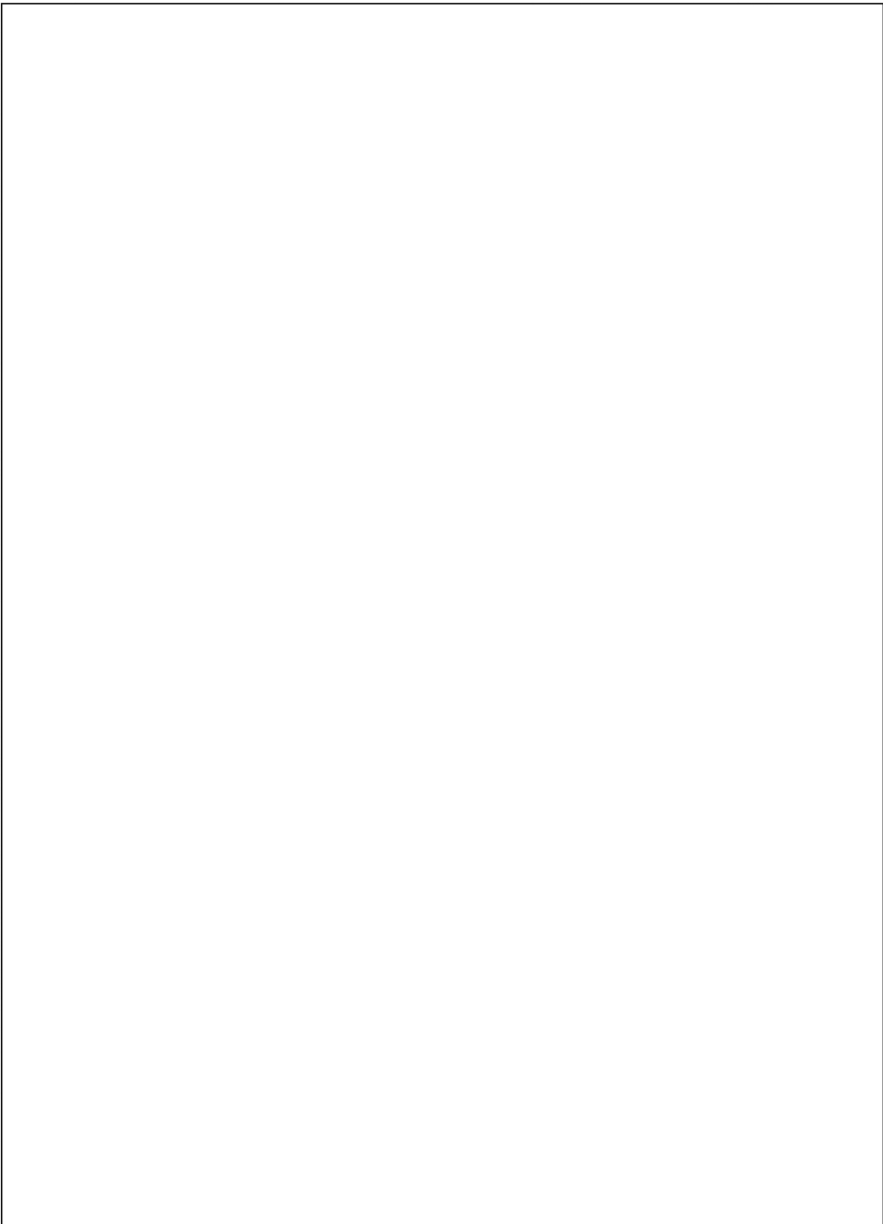
(fols. 3 and 66) in which the hand is that of the so-called ›Kopist des Anonymus Destailleur‹, and Kulawik has identified a third (fol. 12 v).<sup>8</sup>

The name ›Kopist des Anonymus Destailleur‹ was invented by Hermann Egger in his catalogue of the drawings of ancient buildings in the Albertina in Vienna, published in 1903.<sup>9</sup> He used it to identify the hand of a draughtsman responsible for hundreds of drawings of both ancient and Renaissance subjects which parallel those in the Codex Destailleur ›D‹. However, it is utterly misleading, as not only do the ›Kopist's‹ drawings include monuments not found among the former (such as Trajan's Column and S. Stefano Rotondo), but also several which appear in both collections are drawn more fully in Vienna. Nor are the Vienna drawings entirely by one hand being, although one predominates, the product of several draughtsmen like those in Berlin.<sup>10</sup> In my notes for the *Census* on the Codex Destailleur ›D‹ I suggested that the two sets of drawings either formed part of some joint project or depend on some common prototype, presumably available to both main draughtsmen at roughly the same time.<sup>11</sup>

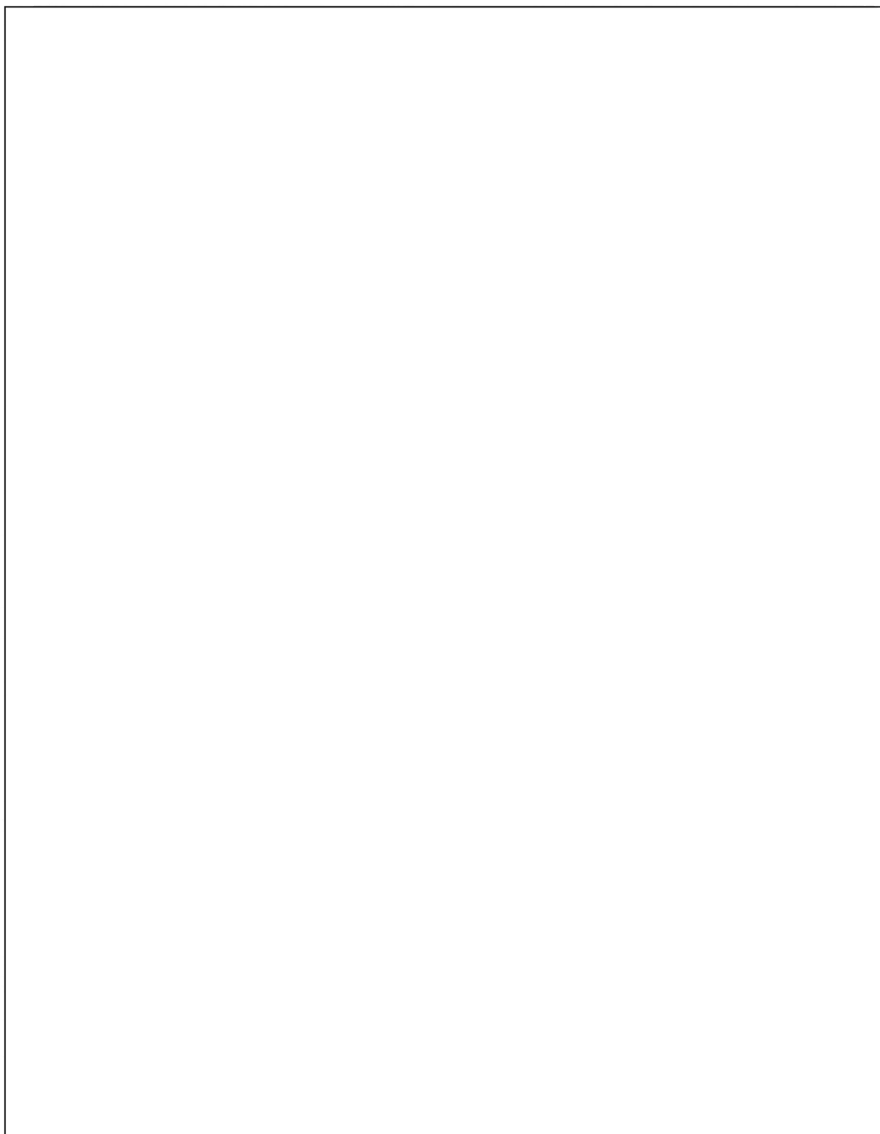
Kulawik has tentatively suggested the joint project might be linked to the programme of the ›Accademia della Virtù‹ or Vitruvian Academy, adumbrated in the famous letter of 1542 by Claudio Tolomei to Agostino de'Landi.<sup>12</sup> To accompany its proposed definitive edition of Vitruvius the academy intended a volume of reconstructions of Roman buildings, and Vasari reports that Vignola was employed ›to measure fully the antiquities of Rome‹, although no drawings by Vignola corroborate this statement.<sup>13</sup>

Though it is tempting to try to connect the Codex Destailleur ›D‹ with Vignola's commission, it is worth remembering that there are other possibilities where Francophone draughtsmen may have been involved. Philibert de l'Orme (1514–1570) describes in his ›L'Architecture‹ (fol. 131) his own collaboration with other craftsmen to measure and draw ancient remains. It was first published in 1567 and could refer to a project either during Philibert's definite first stay in Rome from 1533–1536 or to a putative second visit, variously dated between 1553 and 1560. The latter would, of course, fit better with the proposed dating of the Codex Destailleur ›D‹, although the drawings of St. Peter's relate specifically to the project around 1546.<sup>14</sup>

Another possibility is that the Codex Destailleur ›D‹ and the Albertina parallels are linked with the series of 27 prints of the Baths of Diocletian, etched and engraved by Jan or Lucas van Duetecum and published by Hieronymus Cock in 1558.<sup>15</sup> The title on the overall plan of the baths refers to the



1 *Windsor, RL 19250*



2 *Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, inv. Hdz 4151, fol. 19*

project's patrons, the emperor Charles V., his son Philip II. of Spain and Cardinal Granvelle (1517–1586), who commissioned Sebastian van Noyen and other architects from the Spanish Netherlands and elsewhere to undertake the survey, which presumably took place during the earlier 1550s.<sup>16</sup> The sheer quantity and comprehensiveness of the drawings of Roman baths, especially those of Diocletian, in the Codex Destailleur >D< and their Albertina parallels imply they were the work of a team. It has to be said that there is no obvious relation between the drawings and the prints at first sight. Nevertheless, it is surely worth exploring (although, unfortunately, not in this present article) possible connections of the Codex Destailleur >D< with this project, especially since the Spanish Netherlands contained a large French-speaking population, the Wallons, including Cardinal Granvelle, who was, until 1559, bishop of Arras in Picardy.

#### THE WINDSOR SEPTIZONIUM DRAWING

When regarding the Paper Museum the similarity in the character of the drawings of the Septizonium at Windsor (Fig. 1) with those in the Codex Destailleur >D<, such as the drawings of the Colosseum (Fig. 2), is striking.<sup>17</sup> In both cases a carefully drawn perspectival elevation is accompanied by enlarged details, mostly drawn orthogonally and linked to the elevation by key letters. The Windsor drawing, which appears to be measured in >palmi< and >minuti<, is accompanied by an inscription in French on the right margin reading »Lescolle d[cut] Virgille a roma«. The ink of the inscription seems to be the same as that of the drawings, measurements and key letters, allowing us to assume that the draughtsman is also responsible for the inscription. The >School of Virgil< is a medieval name for the Septizonium and another Frenchman, Étienne Dupérac (1525–1604), still calls it so in his printed view of 1575.<sup>18</sup> A peculiarity of the Windsor drawing is that the key letters on the elevation are not in a continuous sequence but skip alternate letters. Hence we have only A, C, E and G which correspond to four of the details: the entablatures of each of the three storeys and the cornice of the basement. A fifth detail, a profile of a composite base, has no key letter.<sup>19</sup> While it is not uncommon for keyed details to be on the other side of a sheet from the main drawing or even on a separate sheet, a discontinuous sequence of letters on the principal drawing is most unusual. It presupposes the existence of another closely related main drawing, perhaps a section or a plan, which contained the missing letters B, D and F.

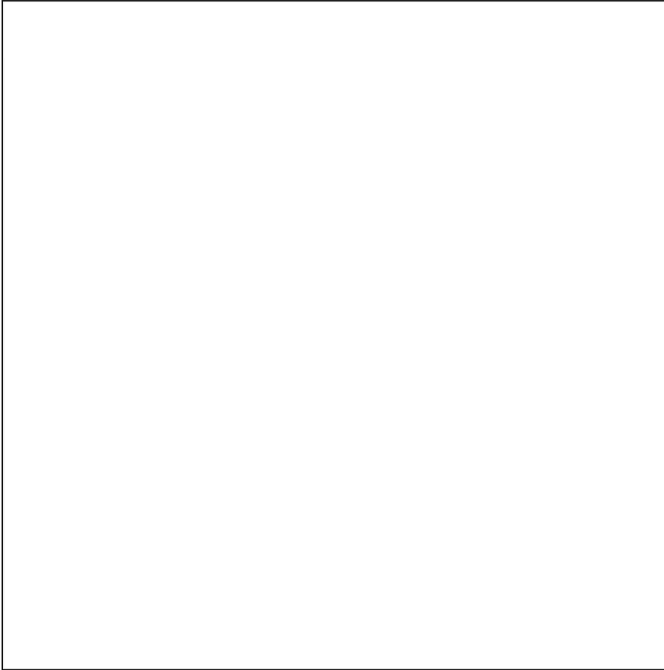


The verso of the Windsor sheet contains a drawing of an unidentified Renaissance ceiling (Fig. 3).<sup>20</sup> It comprises three concentric octagons, the two inner ones being linked by eight pairs of brackets drawn in awkward perspective. The space between the intermediate and the outermost octagon is divided into compartments: four circular and four trapezoidal with two straight sides and two concave. The mouldings separating the fields are shown in part decorated with egg-and-dart which was clearly intended to extend to them all. There is no indication if the ceiling was (or was intended to be) timber or stucco, and whether the central octagon is really raised up on brackets or is merely ›trompe l'oeil‹.

Again we find a correspondence of subject matter in the Codex Destailleur ›D‹ in a drawing of the compartmented vault of the ›Sala Regia‹ in the Vatican Palace, designed by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. It comprised octagons, round-ended oblongs and Greek crosses with concave arms (Fig. 4).<sup>21</sup>

Thus the Windsor sheet resembles closely both in content and character the folios of the Codex Destailleur ›D‹, which raises the question of whether they are related.

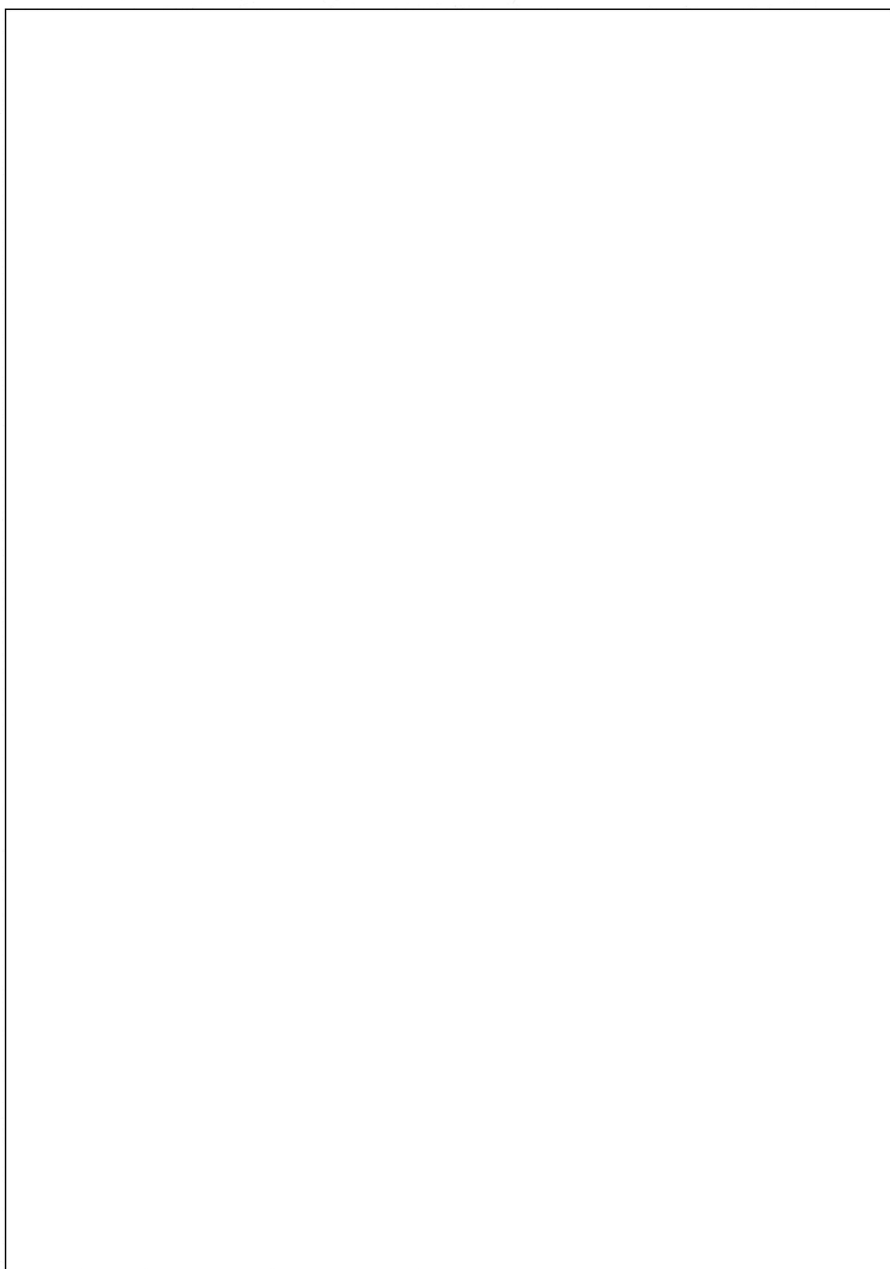
The first possibility to be considered is that the Windsor sheet is a stray folio from Codex Destailleur ›D‹. The Septizonium is only represented in the latter by two sketches: one a section of the back wall recording the numbers of the masonry courses, the other a schematic profile of the basement with measurements (Fig. 5).<sup>22</sup> Given how comprehensively other monuments are treated it is likely that more were intended, and the so-called Kopist's Albertina parallels fill some of the gaps. One sheet has plans of the first and second storeys on the recto. The verso has a profile of the entablature of the middle storey, easily recognisable from its pulvinated frieze, and a plan and profile of a coffered ceiling, probably from the same storey.<sup>23</sup> A second sheet shows the section of the back wall as in the Codex Destailleur ›D‹ drawing. It extends it, however, to include the façade at the front (Fig. 6).<sup>24</sup> There are also three details. That at top left, a measured profile of an entablature, is the most significant as it matches the profile of the third storey entablature in our Windsor drawing. The majority of contemporary views omit the cornice of the top entablature, some showing only the architrave and others including the frieze.<sup>25</sup> These two drawings imply that some fragment of the cornice did survive because one would not expect measurements if they were a reconstruction.<sup>26</sup> At the top right are two profiles of cornices, one drawn summarily, the other below it, more carefully detailed and measured, which seems to repeat that of the entablature at top left.



3 *Windsor*,  
*RL 19250v (detail)*

Although the ›Kopist's‹ Septizonium drawings are more comprehensive they are not completely so, the most obvious omission being an elevation. This is, of course, precisely what we have in the Windsor drawing. The size of the Windsor sheet at 505 × 364 mm is smaller than those of the Codex Destailleur ›D‹ (typically about 575 × 430 mm). But, as we have seen, the inscription is cut, demonstrating that the sheet has been trimmed, and so it is possible that the original size was similar. There are, however, three further objections to the stray sheet hypothesis: one, the Windsor drawings are measured in palms and minutes (probably Roman) rather than the French feet and inches preferred by the Anonymous Destailleur and the Kopist; two, the letters and figures in the inscriptions and measurements resemble none of those of the draughtsmen of the Codex Destailleur ›D‹;<sup>27</sup> three, there is no obvious gap in the original numbering sequence of the drawings in the vicinity of the Septizonium drawings in the second volume of the Codex Destailleur ›D‹.<sup>28</sup>

Thus the possibility that the Windsor sheet has strayed from the Codex Destailleur ›D‹ is extremely remote. Almost equally improbable is that the Windsor sheet could be a copy of an original which is missing both from the Codex Destailleur ›D‹ and from the Albertina parallels.



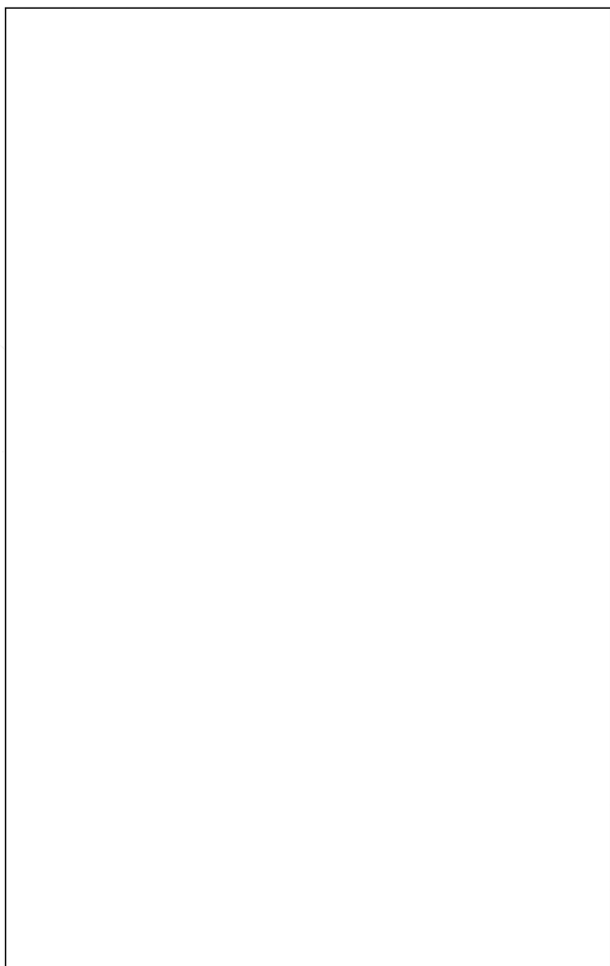
4 *Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, inv. Hdz 4151, fol. 109*



5 *Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, inv. Hdz 4151, fol. 3v (detail)*

The third possibility is that already mentioned, that the sheet was part of a source of which the rest is now lost and was available to both the draughtsmen of the Codex Destailleur >D< and the Albertina parallels. The potential objection about the use of different units of measurements does not apply in this case since it was not unusual for copyists to convert dimensions into their preferred unit, as did Palladio with his copies after Ligorio.<sup>29</sup>

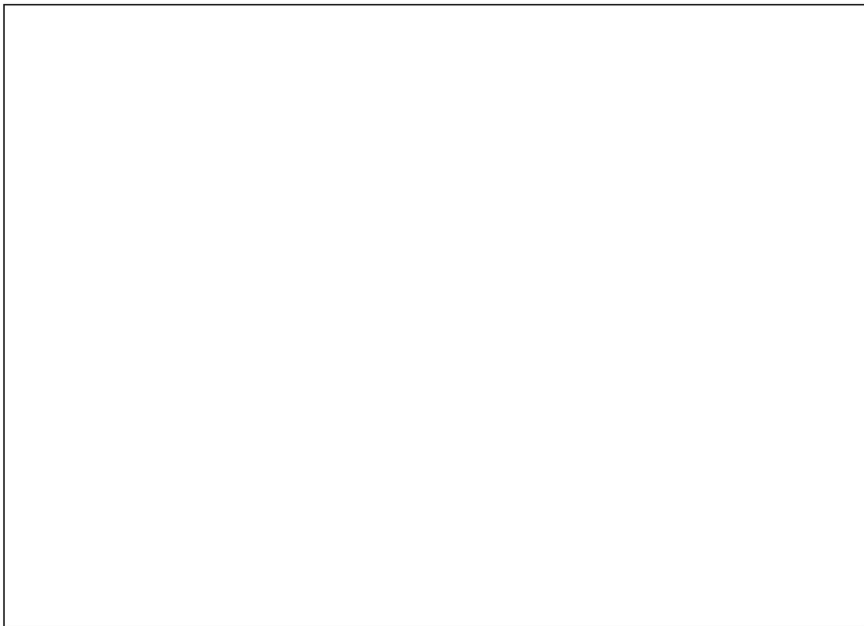
In the absence of further evidence, this appears to be as far as we can go with the Windsor sheet at present and so we will leave it now and move on to the drawings by the Anonymous Portuguese hand.



6 *Vienna, Albertina, AZ Egger 148*

#### THE ANONYMOUS PORTUGUESE DRAWINGS

As mentioned earlier the Anonymous Portuguese drawings are found on twenty-five folios bound in the album entitled ›Architectura Civile‹ at Windsor. Many of the sheets have been trimmed, the largest now being 450 × 327 mm, but the majority are half that size at around 330 × 225 mm.<sup>30</sup> All the drawings are taken from ancient Roman buildings, predominantly tombs, in the Campagna east and south east of Rome as far as Tivoli and Albano, apart from one sheet of details of the Pantheon (Fig. 7) and another of portable antiquities

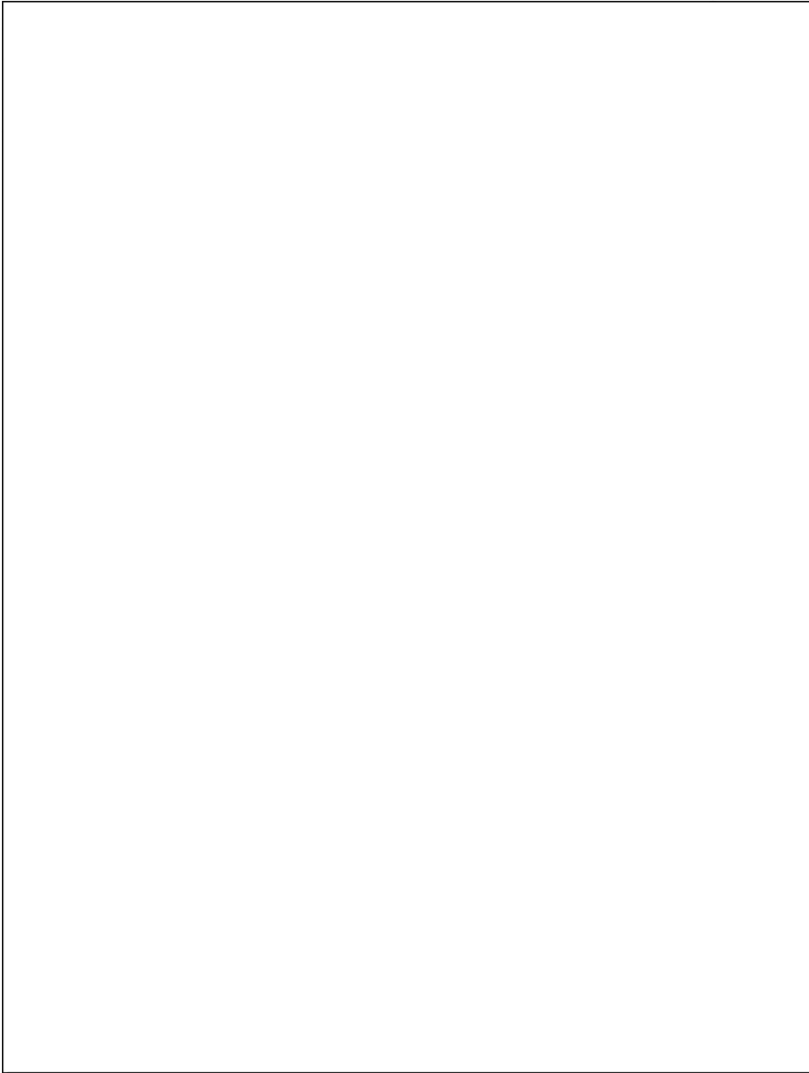


7 *Windsor, RL 10376*

from Tivoli.<sup>31</sup> The drawings range from simple plans to immensely complex sheets made up of plans, elevations, perspectives, sections and details of a single building. Many are recorded in much more detail than in drawings of the same buildings by other draughtsmen and, where the original building survives, can be seen to be very accurate, suggesting that their testimony can be relied upon (with due caution) in cases where monuments or details are no longer extant.

Three groups of drawings are keyed to form series. The first distinguishes monuments by a single letter, running from A to S, with a gap between H and L. This probably means at least one – I – is lost (K would not have been used in the sixteenth century and J is not usually distinguished from I).<sup>32</sup> P occurs without a drawing on a cut down sheet. The drawing keyed G is dated 9 June 1570, but that keyed S is dated May 1568, which demonstrates that the order of the lettering does not signify the order of the drawings' execution.<sup>33</sup> Rather, it would appear to be topographical as the first five sheets show monuments found on or near the ancient via Latina. Three sheets show monuments on or near the ancient via Appia and two sheets are on the via Praenestina.

The second series uses a letter and a corresponding number, running continuously from A1 to P13.<sup>34</sup> Another sheet with drawings labelled EE27 and



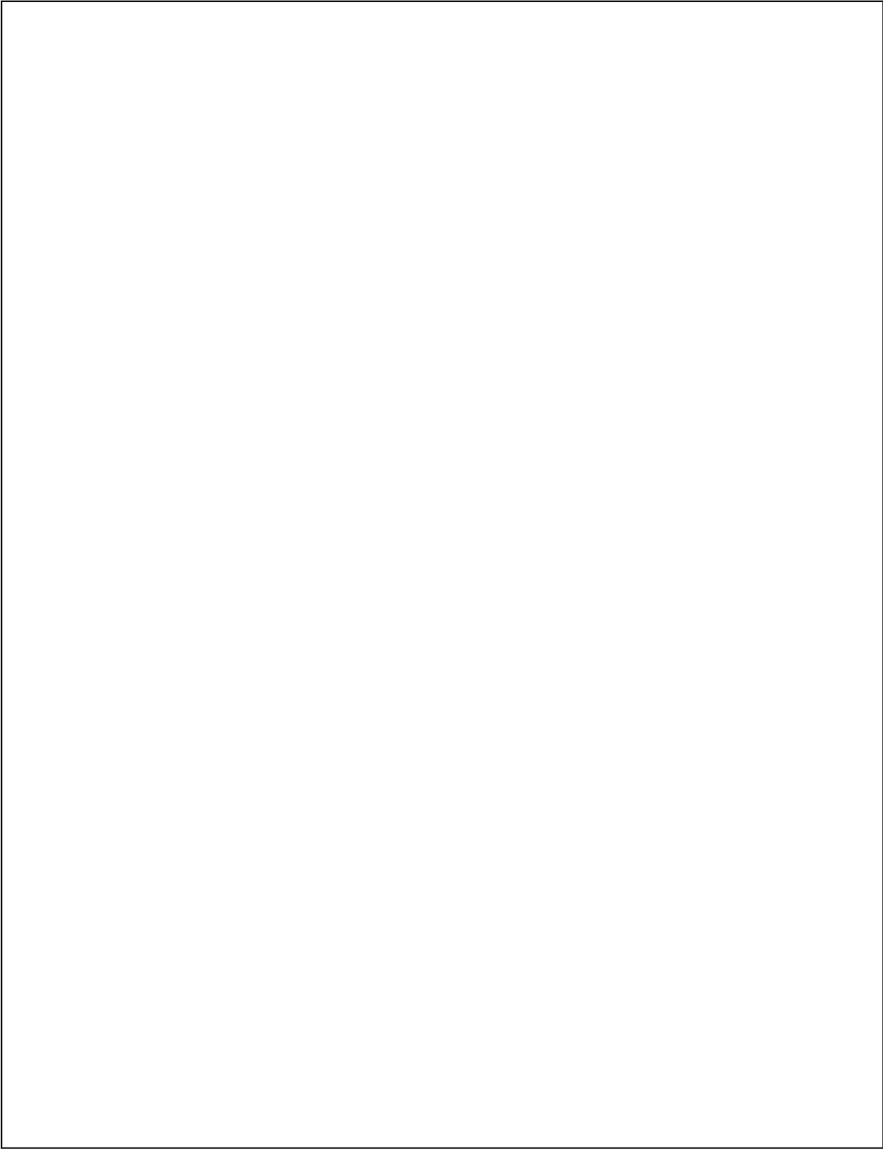
8 *Windsor, RL 10368*

FF28 probably belongs to the same series. Assuming that the letters U and V were treated as one and that W and Y were omitted, twelve subjects are missing. Two of the drawings are dated August and September 1570.<sup>35</sup> All the buildings are located on or near the ancient via Appia starting at Albano, 15 miles (25 km) out from Rome, and ending with the Mausoleum of Maxentius, just inside the third milestone (4 km).



9 *Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, inv. Hdz. 4151, fol. 68*





10 *Windsor, RL 10367v*

The third series consists of only three sheets with letters running from A to E, all of subjects from the Tivoli area.<sup>36</sup> Most of the other drawings also bear key letters and/or numbers which often refer to drawings on the same sheet but perhaps sometimes belong to some other unrecognized ordering system. The drawings tend not to display standard perspective conventions but are very similar to the system employed by Pirro Ligorio, apparently in emulation of ancient Roman reliefs.<sup>37</sup>

The annotations are in a mixture of conventional Italian with occasional anomalies, which Lanciani identified as Spanish. Salza Prina Ricotti believed the draughtsman to be a Spanish follower of Pirro Ligorio, and Mariette de Vos proposed Francisco del Castillo (fl. 1552–1577).<sup>38</sup> However, Arnold Nesselrath labelled him Portuguese, and this opinion has been confirmed by Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa and Fernando Marías.<sup>39</sup> Marías pointed out that one of the sheets dated 1568 has more Portuguese words than usual, suggesting it was one of the earlier drawings by the draughtsman before he became more proficient in Italian (Fig. 8). Also on the sheet of the Pantheon some details are measured with a foot which corresponds to the Portuguese *pe* (Fig. 7).<sup>40</sup>

Marías also suggested as a possible candidate the architect Guillermo Ferran (fl. 1571–1598). Ferran is first encountered working at the Spanish church in Rome, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, and was its architect from 1573 until at least 1598.<sup>41</sup>

Not all the drawings are identical in character. In some cases they may actually have been begun on site – on one some remarks appear twice, once in black chalk and again in brown ink, and the text talks about peasants being frightened to sleep in the tomb because it was full of lizards.<sup>42</sup> Others appear much more polished, and the use of the stylus may indicate that they are entirely executed in the studio from earlier sketches or even copied from another source, although in no case has any drawing been recognized as a copy.<sup>43</sup>

The systematic recording of the monuments and the detailed annotations in the two labelled series of c. 1568–1570 suggest they were executed as part of a larger project and not solely for the draughtsman. Despite the similarity to Ligorio's drawing conventions there is no evidence to suggest that the Anonymous Portuguese was working for Ligorio, who left Rome for Ferrara in 1568. Dosio was compiling material for his treatise on architecture in the early 1570s, but his drawings are very different in character.<sup>44</sup> A more intriguing possibility is that the draughtsman was working on the great project described in a letter of 1569 by Dosio's friend and collaborator Guglielmo della Porta

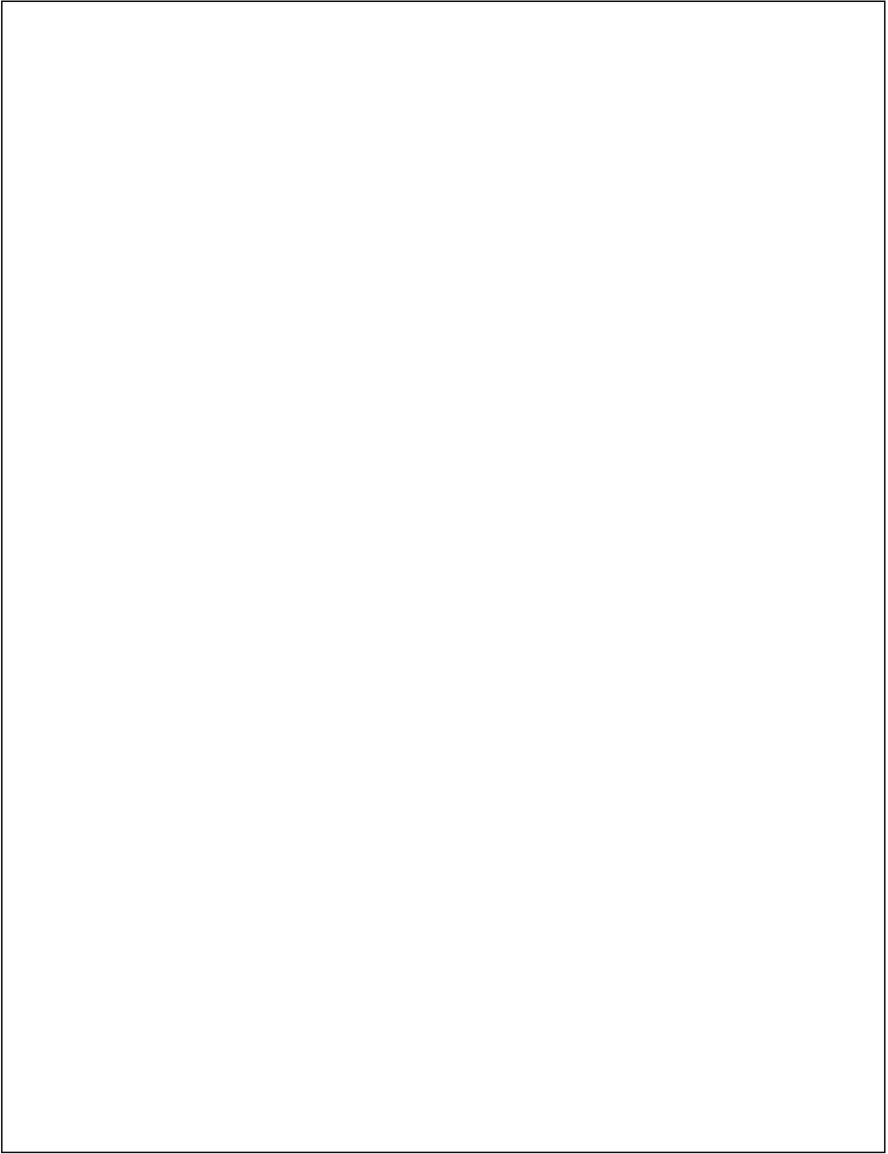
(fl. 1534–d. 1577) to record all the ancient buildings in Rome and its vicinity.<sup>45</sup> He specifically states that this will be a collaborative effort, with the work shared out among the many experts in Rome and that it would be finished in a short time.<sup>46</sup> Although we have no firm evidence that the project even began, it is tempting to link the Anonymous Portuguese's drawings with it as they were being executed just at the time Guglielmo wrote the letter.

One possible piece of evidence in favour of the della Porta connection is the provenance of the Anonymous Portuguese drawings. A few of the Paper Museum drawings including some by the Anonymous Portuguese have sketches in black chalk added by a later hand. Some of these sketches are paralleled among Giovanni Battista Montano's own drawings, and, in the Paper Museum catalogue, I've argued that these sketches make it likely that Montano (1534–1621) owned them and that Cassiano dal Pozzo acquired them along with 700 of Montano's autograph drawings soon after the latter's death.<sup>47</sup> The chalk sketches could be by Montano himself but Lynda Fairbairn has suggested Guglielmo della Porta, with whom Montano was closely associated when he first came to Rome, as a possible previous owner of the drawings. In that case he might be responsible for the sketches.<sup>48</sup>

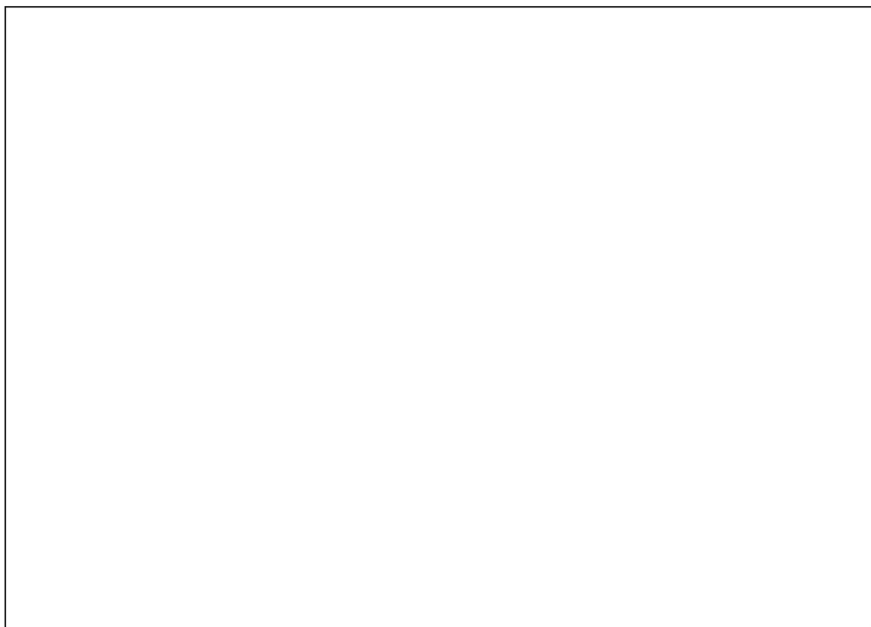
But what is striking is the similarity in character of the drawings to those of the *Codex Destailleur >D<*. If we look at one of the drawings of a tomb from the latter we see a very similar treatment to those of the Anonymous Portuguese with a principal drawing, details with key letters and inscriptions giving locations for any monument which wasn't well known (Figs. 9 and 10).

What is also notable is that there is hardly any overlap between the buildings represented in the two groups of drawings. In fact the only monument that appears in both is the Round Temple at Tivoli. Even though we know that several of the Anonymous Portuguese's sheets are missing, it still seems significant that we do not have drawings by him of the Tomb of Annia Regilla and S. Urbano alla Caffarella. They are two of the best known monuments on the via Appia Antica and they do appear in the *Codex Destailleur >D<*. It is as if the Portuguese draughtsman was commissioned to continue the latter project. This impression is strengthened by the fact that the only building within the walls of Rome represented within the Anonymous Portuguese group is the Pantheon which is correspondingly absent from the *Codex Destailleur >D<*.

Kulawik has suggested that the large group of drawings of the Pantheon on ten sheets of the Goldschmidt Scrapbook in New York, representing the most extensive survey of the monument in the sixteenth century, are connected in some way to



11 *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Prints and Drawings, 68.769.1v*



12 Windsor, RL 10376v

the Codex Destailleur >D<.<sup>49</sup> The Goldschmidt Scrapbook is an album of sixteenth-century drawings of ancient monuments and antique architectural fragments which were mostly in Rome and are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It is related to the Scholz Scrapbook in the same museum, an album of sixteenth-century drawings of contemporary Roman and Florentine buildings. Some of the same hands and watermarks appear in both albums suggesting that they once formed part of a single collection. They were probably assembled by the principal draughtsman, Hand A, possibly that of Étienne Dupérac who was active in Rome from about 1555 to 1578.<sup>50</sup> The Pantheon drawings are by three different hands, Hands A, F and M.<sup>51</sup> The latter two are not responsible for any of the other drawings in the albums, but all three hands appear on sheets bearing the same watermark strongly suggesting they are related. Moreover, the same watermark occurs on sheets with drawings of the Villa Giulia which have been dated to after 1560–1564.<sup>52</sup> Others among the Scholz drawings date from the late 1560s to early 1570s which would make them contemporary with those of the Anonymous Portuguese.<sup>53</sup>

Significantly, the closest parallel to the drawing by Hand F of the bronze trusses of the Pantheon portico in the Goldschmidt Scrapbook is that by the Anonymous Portuguese (Figs. 11 and 12), and, though there are slight dif-

ferences in the drawing, the three measurements on the former are identical to those on the latter.<sup>54</sup> Since the latter has considerably more measurements we can conclude that the Goldschmidt drawing depends on that of the Anonymous Portuguese, or, more likely, that both were copying the same source. One would expect that other Goldschmidt drawings of the Pantheon, especially those by Hand F, have Anonymous Portuguese parallels. But not all have been published and, for those that have been, no immediate correspondences suggest themselves.<sup>55</sup> A definitive opinion on the links will have to await closer examination.

## CONCLUSION

It is difficult to be conclusive about the drawings we have considered. What is clear is that Rome, in the middle of the sixteenth century, was full of draughtsmen both native and foreign who measured its monuments both old and new in such exhaustive detail as to imply a great degree of collaboration. Some of this collaboration will have been formal for organised projects and some informal, when draughtsmen found themselves interested in the same subject. Sometimes they copy each other, but not as often as one would expect. Apparently they preferred to measure features themselves rather than rely on measurements already made by a predecessor.

While it is tempting to link particular groups with known projects such as the Vitruvian Academy, the Baths of Diocletian survey or Guglielmo della Porta's corpus, our knowledge is still too patchy to make more than tentative suggestions. As the *Census* increases in size and scholars learn to use it more pieces of the jigsaw are falling into place and I am hopeful that soon we will be able to confirm some of what are still at present no more than conjectures.

NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Bernd Kulawik for inviting me to the ›Studentag‹, and for answering specific questions on the Codex Destailleur ›D‹ and the related drawings in the Albertina.
- <sup>2</sup> Francis Haskell and Henrietta McBurney: General Introduction to the Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo, in: Helen Whitehouse: Ancient Mosaics and Wallpaintings (The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo. Series A, Antiquities and Architecture, pt. 1) London 2001, pp. 9-26.
- <sup>3</sup> Ian Campbell: Ancient Roman Topography and Architecture (The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo. Series A, Antiquities and Architecture, pt. 9), 3 vols., London 2004, vol. 1, p. 42.
- <sup>4</sup> Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, p. 41.
- <sup>5</sup> Ekhart Berckenhagen: Die französischen Zeichnungen der Kunstbibliothek Berlin: Kritischer Katalog, Berlin 1970, p. 5.
- <sup>6</sup> Bernd Kulawik: Die Zeichnungen im Codex Destailleur D (HDZ 4151) der Kunstbibliothek Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz zum letzten Projekt Antonio da Sangallo des Jüngeren für den Neubau von St. Peter in Rom, 2 vols., Ph.D. thesis, Technische Universität Berlin 2002 (available online at [http://edocs.tu-berlin.de/diss/2002/kulawik\\_bernd.pdf](http://edocs.tu-berlin.de/diss/2002/kulawik_bernd.pdf) but without illustrations).
- <sup>7</sup> Kulawik (note 6), vol. 1, p. 86. For the *Census*, RecNo. 60460, I identified three main hands Anonymous Destailleur ›D‹ 1 and 2, and Anonymous Destailleur ›D‹ ?, but this was working only with photographs and I warned that my attributions should be regarded as tentative.
- <sup>8</sup> *Census*, RecNo. 227516; Kulawik (note 6), vol. 1, p. 87.
- <sup>9</sup> Hermann Egger: Kritisches Verzeichnis der Sammlung architektonischer Handzeichnungen der k.k. Hof-Bibliothek, Bd. 1: Aufnahmen antiker Baudenkmäler aus dem 15.–18. Jahrhundert, Wien 1903.
- <sup>10</sup> Bernd Kulawik, personal communication.
- <sup>11</sup> *Census*, RecNo. 60460.
- <sup>12</sup> Kulawik (note 6), vol. 1, p. 30 f. and pp. 119-126.
- <sup>13</sup> See Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, p. 25 f.
- <sup>14</sup> See Campbell (note 3), vol. 3, pp. 851-853. On the dating of the St. Peter's drawings see Kulawik (note 6), vol. 1, p. 24 f.
- <sup>15</sup> I am very grateful for this suggestion to Maximilian Schich, who is just completing a thesis on representations of imperial baths: ›Tradierung visueller Information am Beispiel der Kaiserthermen in Rom‹.
- <sup>16</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Gc. 36.a. On the prints see Timothy A. Riggs: Hieronymus Cock. Printmaker and Publisher (Garland Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts), New York/London 1977, p. 353 f., no. 174, but note that the title page he illustrates omits mention of Cardinal Granvelle.
- <sup>17</sup> Windsor, RL 19250; Campbell (note 3), vol. 3, pp. 904-906, no. 361 and Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, inv. Hdz 4151, fol. 19, *Census*, RecNo. 227531; Kulawik (note 6), vol. 2, pp. 123-134.
- <sup>18</sup> Étienne Dupérac: I Vestigi dell'antichità di Roma, Rome 1575, pl. XIII, *Census*, RecNo. 43953.
- <sup>19</sup> The Paper Museum catalogue entry states that there was a fifth key letter, I, on one of the columns of the top storey, but it now appears that I mistook an ink splash for the letter: Campbell (note 3), vol. 3, p. 904.
- <sup>20</sup> Windsor, RL 19250v: to be published in: Paul Davies and David Hemsoll: Renaissance and Later Architecture (The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo. Series A, Antiquities and Architecture, pt. 10).
- <sup>21</sup> Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, inv. Hdz 4151, fol. 109; Kulawik (note 6), vol. 2, pp. 793-795. On the ›Sala Regia‹, built 1540-1546, see Gustavo Giovannoni: Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane, 2 vols., Rome 1959, vol. 1, pp. 175-179.

- <sup>22</sup> Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, inv. Hdz 4151, fol. 3v, *Census*, RecNo. 227345; Kulawik (note 6), vol. 2, p. 35 f.
- <sup>23</sup> Vienna, Albertina, AZ Egger 147; Egger (note 9), p. 46, no. 147; *Census*, RecNos. 204505 and 204510; Kulawik (note 6), vol. 2, p. 37.
- <sup>24</sup> Vienna, Albertina, AZ Egger 148; Egger (note 9), p. 46, no. 148; *Census* RecNo. 205532.
- <sup>25</sup> See Giovanantonio Dosio, Windsor, RL 10792, *Census*, RecNo. 205532 (Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, pp. 271-273, no. 85) and Pirro Ligorio, Windsor, RL 10817 (Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, pp. 207-209, no. 61).
- <sup>26</sup> Serlio gives the same entablature a strange-looking cornice suggesting it was invented: Sebastiano Serlio: *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospettiva di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese*, Venice 1619, fol. 87v.
- <sup>27</sup> Kulawik (note 6), vol. 1, pp. 86-90 identifies eight hands.
- <sup>28</sup> See the table in Kulawik (note 6), vol. 1, p. 58.
- <sup>29</sup> See for instance their views of the Tempietto del Clitunno: Pirro Ligorio, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS ital. 1129, fol. 399 and Andrea Palladio, Vicenza, Museo Civico, inv. D. 22, *Census*, RecNo. 61921, both reproduced in Judson J. Emerick: *The Tempietto del Clitunno*, 2 vols., University Park 1998, vol. 2, figs. 103 and 107.
- <sup>30</sup> The largest is Windsor, RL 10360 (Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, p. 330, no. 108). For a typical sheet see Windsor, RL 10359 (Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, p. 373, no. 124).
- <sup>31</sup> Windsor, RL 10427; Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, p. 394 f., no. 133.
- <sup>32</sup> Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, p. 316.
- <sup>33</sup> Windsor, RL 10360v and 10368; respectively Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, pp. 334-337, no. 109 and pp. 353-356, no. 116.
- <sup>34</sup> Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, p. 316.
- <sup>35</sup> Windsor, RL 10359 and 10365; respectively Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, pp. 373-375, no. 124 and p. 360 f., no. 119.
- <sup>36</sup> Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, p. 317.
- <sup>37</sup> Howard Burns: Pirro Ligorio's reconstruction of ancient Rome. The >Anteiuae Urbis Imago< of 1561, in: Pirro Ligorio: artist and antiquarian (I Tatti Studies 10), Robert Gaston (ed.), Florence 1988, pp. 19-92, at pp. 37-39.
- <sup>38</sup> Eugenia Salza Prina Ricotti: Villa Adriana in Pirro Ligorio e Francesco Contini, in: *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Classe scienze morali storiche e filologiche)*, Memorie ser. viii, vol. xvii.i (1973), pp. 3-47, at p. 36; and Mariette de Vos: *Presentazione*, in: Marina De Franceschini: *Villa Adriana: mosaici, pavimenti, edifici*, Rome 1991, pp. i-xviii at p. xvi.
- <sup>39</sup> Arnold Nesselrath: *Das Fossombronner Skizzenbuch*, London 1993, p. 88; Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa and Fernando Marías, personal communications to the author.
- <sup>40</sup> Windsor, RL 10376; Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, pp. 405-411, no. 139.
- <sup>41</sup> See Miguel Angel Aramburu-Zabala: *La iglesia y hospital de los Españoles. El papel del arquitecto en la Roma del Renacimiento*, in: *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 3 (1991), pp. 31-42.
- <sup>42</sup> Windsor, RL 10357v; Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, p. 322 f., no. 104.
- <sup>43</sup> For instance, Windsor, RL 10354; Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, p. 348 f., no. 114.
- <sup>44</sup> Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, p. 237.
- <sup>45</sup> Published by Werner Gramberg: *Die Düsseldorf Skizzenbücher des Guglielmo della Porta*, 3 vols., Berlin 1964, vol. 1, pp. 122-127 and discussed by Lynda Fairbairn: *Italian Renaissance Drawings from the Collection of Sir John Soane's Museum*, 2 vols., London 1998, vol. 2, p. 544 f.
- <sup>46</sup> Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, p. 30.
- <sup>47</sup> Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, p. 60.
- <sup>48</sup> Fairbairn, personal communication to the author.



<sup>49</sup> Kulawik (note 6), vol. 1, p. 104 f. The Pantheon drawings are discussed pp. 177-179.

<sup>50</sup> See Émilie d'Orgeix: The Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Study of Renaissance Architectural Drawings*, in: *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 36 (2001), pp. 169-205.

<sup>51</sup> D'Orgeix (note 50), p. 198.

<sup>52</sup> D'Orgeix (note 50), pp. 192 and 204.

<sup>53</sup> D'Orgeix (note 50), p. 192.

<sup>54</sup> I had noted the correspondence before from an old illustration of the Goldschmidt drawing in 1904-1905 when it was in the collection of Georges-Paul Chedanne (1861-1940) but thought the drawing was lost: Campbell (note 3), vol. 1, pp. 405 and 413. I only became aware of the present location of the drawing at the Hertziana ›Studentag‹ on Codex Destailleur ›D‹ when Geoffrey Taylor of the Metropolitan Museum showed the drawing in his presentation on the Goldschmidt Scrapbook.

<sup>55</sup> D'Orgeix (note 50), figs. 16-20.

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