

Worcester College Ms B 2. 3 and Its Sources: Seventeenth-Century French Drawings of Ancient and Modern Roman Architecture

In the library of Worcester College, Oxford, is a seventeenth-century French manuscript of folio drawings of ancient and modern Roman architecture – a manuscript that, in the words of Howard Colvin, “deserves to have attention drawn to it”¹. Bearing the shelf mark B 2. 3, the manuscript contains measured drawings of the Pantheon, Saint Peter’s, the Colosseum, the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and the Palazzo Barberini, as well as a comparative study of the five orders according to Vignola, Palladio, Scamozzi, and Serlio. Executed in a uniform hand to a high degree of finish, Ms B 2. 3 is the work of a draftsman who had access to a group of mid- to late-sixteenth-century drawings now divided among the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Cronstedt Collection of the Stockholm Nationalmuseum². The Worcester College draftsman copied drawings from this group – many of which are themselves related to other drawings now in the Uffizi, the Louvre, Windsor Castle, and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – and augmented them with additional information gathered on site in Rome³. Thus Worcester College Ms B 2. 3 offers new insight into two areas of early modern architectural research: the study of Rome in the academic milieu of seventeenth-century France and the circulation of an important group of late-Renaissance drawings. The manuscript’s drawings also contain information about the building fabric of the Pantheon and of Saint Peter’s that is available in few, if any, other sources. So that other scholars might benefit from this rich source, this article assembles evidence about the date and authorship of the manuscript and makes a preliminary assessment of its relationship to other drawings collections.

The date of Worcester College Ms B 2. 3

Ms B 2. 3 was given to Worcester College by George Clarke (1661-1736), whose collection of architectural books, prints, and drawings – including those of Inigo Jones and John Webb – forms the nucleus of the college’s library⁴. Although no record exists of when and where Clarke acquired the manuscript, it may have come into his possession during his trip to Paris in 1715⁵. Given that Ms B 2. 3’s provenance cannot be traced prior to Clarke’s ownership, its

date and author can be inferred only from the evidence of the drawings themselves.

On first examination, Ms B 2. 3 has the overall look of an academic exercise – that is, of having been made after the founding of the Académie Royale d’Architecture in 1671. Detailed measurements of Roman buildings and analyses of architectural treatises were the main topics of discussion at the academy’s regular meetings, and the manuscript echoes this emphasis⁶. For example, the comparison of the orders at the end of Ms B 2. 3 (folios 103v-112r), which includes formulaic textual summaries in addition to scaled studies of columns, displays the academy’s characteristic interest in exactitude. In their format and choice of subjects, the manuscript’s drawings resemble the *Concorsi* of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, the results of the student architectural competitions that began the year after the Accademia merged with the Roman outpost of the Académie de France in 1676⁷. The drawings of the Pantheon and the Colosseum, in particular, recall the portfolios assembled by winners of the Prix de Rome, established in 1720 for Parisian students⁸. Yet despite these factors that contribute to its late-seventeenth-century look, individual drawings suggest an earlier date for the manuscript.

First among these drawings is the partial elevation of Bernini’s tomb for Urban VIII at Saint Peter’s on folios 87v-88r. This drawing must have been made after 1644, the year that the bronze decorations on the tomb’s sarcophagus, including the skeletal Death, were completed and the statue of Urban VIII was installed⁹. Missing from the drawing is the marble statue of Justice, which should appear opposite Charity on the left¹⁰. Not begun until 1644, Justice was one of the final elements installed in the tomb before it was unveiled in February 1647. If this elevation is interpreted as an unfinished drawing of an unfinished tomb, then the draftsman recorded the tomb’s state sometime between September 1644, when the sarcophagus was completed, and the end of 1646, when both Charity and Justice were polished.

Details of a second drawing, a plan of the *pi-ano nobile* of the Palazzo Barberini on folios 101v-102r, indicate that the draftsman visited this building a few years before the construction

	Ms B 2. 3 Worcester College, Oxford	Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks Metropolitan Museum of Art	Cronstedt Collection Stockholm Nationalmuseum
Pantheon	3r: plan at two levels	68.769.1v, 68.769.5r, 68.769.6v, 68.769.8r/v	1322
	4v–5r: longitudinal section	68.769.4v, 68.769.6r, 68.769.7r/v, 68.769.9r, 68.769.68v	
	6v–7r: partial interior elevation	68.769.7v, 68.769.68v	1319
	8v–9r: partial exterior elevation		1320
	10r: details of four elements from the portico	68.769.1r, 68.769.4r	1317, 1408
	10v: entablature from main entrance exterior	68.769.2v	1317, 1408
	11r: detail of the portico trusses	68.769.1r	
	11v: portico roof structure	68.769.1r	
	12v–13r: details of main entrance interior	68.769.4v	1316
	14r: details of an aedicule and a pilaster	68.769.7v, 68.769.8r	
	18r: details of the oculus and the attic cornice	68.769.7r/v	
	19r: details of the attic and central niche	68.769.7r/v	
	20r: elevation of a portico capital	68.769.4r	
	21v–22r: partial elevation and details of an aedicule		1315
Saint Peter's	63r: partial plan of drum	49.92.62r, 49.92.63r	1337
	64v–65r: section with details and curvature diagram	49.92.15v, 49.92.17r, 49.92.18v, 49.92.20v, 49.92.45r, 49.92.91r	1353
	68v–69r: partial elevation and details of exterior niche	49.92.12r/v, 49.92.14r, 49.92.42r/v	1354r
	70v–71r: partial elevation and details of exterior window	49.92.13r/v	
	72r: partial elevation of an attic window and profile of the drum cornice	49.92.22r	1354v
	74r: profile of exterior colossal order	49.92.14r	1354r
	75r: partial elevation and details of interior apse vault window	49.92.89r	
	79v–80r: partial elevation and profiles of the interior second-story windows	49.92.45r, 49.92.91r	
	81v–82r: profile and detail of the drum interior entablature	49.92.20r, 49.92.21v	1347, 1355
Palazzo dei Conservatori	95v–96r: plan with detail of the portico ceiling	49.92.27r, 49.92.64r	
	97v–98r: partial elevation and details of façade and interior niche	49.92.11r	1349
	99v–100r: section and details	49.92.27r	

1. Drawings related to Worcester College Ms B 2. 3 in the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks and the Cronstedt Collection.

This table includes only those drawings in the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks and in the Cronstedt Collection that relate to drawings in Worcester College Ms B 2. 3. Other relationships exist between those two collections, but the associated drawings do not appear here because they feature subjects not included

in Ms B 2. 3. Likewise, drawings in Ms B 2. 3 that do not relate to drawings in the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks or in the Cronstedt Collection are not included in the table. These are catalog numbers 11–13, 18–25, 28, 34–36, 39–45, 49, and 50–54. Bertocci and Davis described the need for a “composite mosaic” to organize the graphic sources of the Scholz Scrapbook (see note 72). Ideally such a mosaic also would incorporate Worcester College

Ms B 2. 3, the Goldschmidt Scrapbook and the Cronstedt Collection drawings, as well as all the other related drawings that have been identified thus far – these include Giovanni Antonio Dosio’s drawings after architectural projects by Michelangelo in the Uffizi, the drawings of the anonymous Portuguese draftsman at Windsor Castle, Munich Staatsbibliothek Cod.Icon 209e, and the Album Derand at the Louvre. No doubt there are more drawings to be discovered.

of the Urban VIII tomb. An annotation at the top left corner – *escurie* – refers to the stables that were located on that spot until 1638, when they were demolished to make room for a new theater building¹¹. This plan also shows the palazzo before the renovations that began in late 1676, when a road was cut through the ground floor to connect the front courtyard with the rear garden¹². Neither the road nor the east porch built over it at the time appears on folios 101v-102r, which show the set of stairs that before the renovation led directly from the central oval salon to the garden¹³.

Taken together, the elevation of the Urban VIII tomb and the plan of the Palazzo Barberini suggest that Ms B 2. 3 was made by a French draftsman working in Rome from the late 1630s to the mid-1640s. Given the manuscript's uniform style of execution it is possible that, having made preparatory drawings over several years, the draftsman then made these fair-copy drawings in a relatively short time. Other details tend to support this thesis. For example, on the right side of the elevation of the basilica nave shown on folios 66v-67r, the partial section through the entrance portico stops abruptly just above the level of the uppermost cornice; unlike elsewhere on this drawing and on others, no attempt has been made to provide details of the roof, however schematic. This omission may be because Bernini's southern bell tower for this spot was under construction from 1637 to 1641, and when cracks appeared soon after its completion, a design competition was held in the fall of 1645 for its replacement. The demolition decree went out in February 1646, and Bernini's tower came down the next year¹⁴. The draftsman of Ms B 2. 3 may have declined to draw this section of the building in the late 1630s and early 1640s because its appearance was then in flux¹⁵.

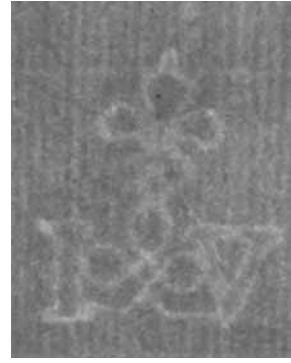
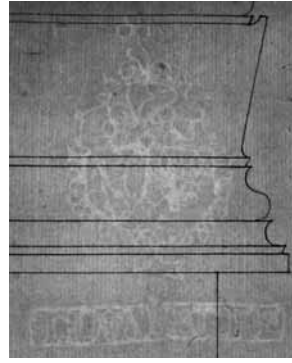
Although the evidence suggests a mid-seventeenth-century provenance for Ms B 2. 3, a date closer to the end of the century cannot be entirely dismissed. The Worcester College draftsman copied other drawings to produce the manuscript, so the details that support an earlier date – like the “*escurie*” annotation on the Palazzo Barberini plan – may have been recycled from older material. The strongest evidence in support of a date closer to the end of the century appears on folios 28v-29r, which is one of only three drawings in the manuscript without ink; the other two, on folios 24r and 32r, consist mainly of ruled graphite lines. Although these three drawings seem to constitute a group – they are drawn in the same medium and are bound near each other in the middle of a section of blank sheets – of them, only the drawing on folios 28v-29r contains enough information for its subject to be tentatively identified.

The drawing on folios 28v-29r features a plan for a longitudinal building that resembles projects for the renovation of Sant'Eustachio in Rome in the last decade of the seventeenth and first decade of the eighteenth century¹⁶. The recessed central portico, the narrow ambulatory inserted between the side aisles and the external walls, and the overall proportions and layout are all reminiscent of design schemes for that building put forth by Bernardo Borromini and others, yet the drawing also differs from each of those schemes in significant ways, as it does from the building that exists today¹⁷. Even if this drawing does relate to a late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century project, its inclusion in Ms B 2. 3 could be anomalous, an addition made to the manuscript in a later hand¹⁸.

French architects in Rome in the seventeenth century

Unlike George Clarke, the author of Ms B 2. 3 did not initial its pages, so the effort to discover the draftsman's name involves eliminating possible candidates. A review of the short list of French architects known to have visited Rome in the seventeenth century rules out several potential authors¹⁹. Jacques Lemercier (1585-1684) arrived in 1607 and stayed through 1611, too early to have made many of the drawings in the manuscript, most obviously those of the Palazzo Barberini and Saint Peter's²⁰. Gabriel Le Duc (c. 1625-1704) drew the Arch of Constantine, the Pantheon, the Colosseum, and the Porta Pia between 1647 and 1648, but a comparison of his elevation of the Porta Pia and the drawings in Ms B 2. 3 eliminates him on the basis of draftsmanship²¹. A combination of draftsmanship and timing eliminates François d'Orbay (1634-1697), who delivered a report on the attic of Saint Peter's to the Académie Royale d'Architecture in October of 1687²². D'Orbay visited Rome in 1660, a date known from the sole extant drawing he produced during the trip, a design for the façade of the Trinità dei Monti²³. Once again, d'Orbay's draftsmanship and handwriting – known also from other drawings and documents made later in his career – do not match those of Ms B 2. 3, yet the fact that another Frenchman included Saint Peter's on his study tour of Rome serves as a reminder that the scrutiny of Saint Peter's evident in Ms B 2. 3 was no fluke.

On the face of it, Roland Fréart de Chambray (1606-1676) and Charles Errard (1606-1689) are the most likely authors of the manuscript because they were in Rome in the early 1640s researching the ancient monuments for the *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne*, published in Paris in 1650²⁴. In particular, the side-by-side analysis of the orders in Ms B 2. 3 evokes the comparative method that Fréart used in the *Parallèle* to establish the extraordinary amount of



2. Watermarks in Worcester College Ms B 2. 3
Watermark A
Watermark B, “AIR”
Watermark C, “TDVALETTE”
Watermark D
Watermark E.

variation among the orders designed by the “moderns”²⁵. For Fréart, the moderns included only ten architects, beginning with the four that are featured in Ms B 2. 3: Vignola, Palladio, Scamozzi, and Serlio. Many drawings in the manuscript are copies after sixteenth-century originals, and Fréart and Errard owned other materials of this type²⁶. Fréart received a copy of Leonardo’s manuscript for the *Trattato della pittura* from Cassiano dal Pozzo and eventually published it in a French edition; Errard engraved the illustrations from drawings by Poussin²⁷. Fréart also had copies made after drawings by Pirro Ligorio, which Errard used as the basis for a few illustrations in the *Parallèle*²⁸. And yet despite these hints of a connection, neither Fréart nor Errard could have made Ms B 2. 3. By the spring of 1643 they were both back in France, working on their publication projects²⁹. The installation of the tomb of Urban VIII at Saint Peter’s, partially depicted in the manuscript, began the year after their departure from Rome³⁰.

Fréart and Errard left Rome too early to have made Ms B 2. 3, but the next two pairs of French architects – Blondel and Mignard, and Desgodets and d’Aviler – arrived too late. François Blondel (1618-1686), the first president of the Académie Royale d’Architecture, came to Rome in 1671 as an escort to Colbert’s son, the Marquis de Seignelay³¹. He was accompanied by Pierre Mignard, nephew to the painter, whose drafting skills were known to Colbert from Mignard’s previous experience recording the ancient monuments of France³². The Marquis de Seignelay’s diary of the journey to Italy describes the group’s explorations of Roman architecture, with Saint Peter’s receiving special attention³³. This is perhaps why Blondel’s is the only name associated with Ms B 2. 3, which it has been ever since the mid-twentieth century when Anthony Blunt first proposed the attribution and it was recorded by the Worcester College librarian Richard Anthony Sayce³⁴.

Mignard’s reputation as a talented draftsman makes it likely that he, not Blondel, would have been responsible for drawing the monuments they visited together on the 1671 trip³⁵. Even so,

the pair made this trip nearly two and a half decades after the tomb of Urban VIII had been completed. Primary evidence does not allow a direct comparison of Mignard’s draftsmanship to that of Ms B 2. 3 – his drawings of French antiquities are lost – which makes his and Blondel’s association with the manuscript purely circumstantial³⁶. Secondary evidence further undermines the attribution. After Blondel and Mignard returned from Rome, their efforts to measure the monuments were described at the meetings of the Académie Royale d’Architecture, but the buildings cited in the minutes do not appear in Ms B 2. 3³⁷. Moreover, the measurements of the Pantheon that Blondel published in his *Cours d’architecture* do not match those in the manuscript³⁸.

Five years after Blondel and Mignard’s trip, Antoine Desgodets (1653-1728) arrived in Rome in 1676 to make the preparatory drawings for *Les édifices antiques de Rome, dessinés et mesurés très exactement* (Paris 1682)³⁹. Since 1673, when Blondel’s rival Claude Perrault published a new French translation of Vitruvius, debates over the value of antique models for modern architects had escalated⁴⁰. An authoritative survey, it was hoped, might help settle some persistent questions about the details and proportions of the ancient monuments, and the young Desgodets was sent to draft one⁴¹. He was accompanied by Augustin-Charles d’Aviler (1653-1701), whose portfolio of drawings produced on this trip was examined by the Académie in 1680 and whose enormous plan of Saint Peter’s occupied a place of honor in its assembly hall until the Revolution⁴². Once again, timing excludes the pair from having made Ms B 2. 3 – the renovation of the Palazzo Barberini was already well underway by the time they reached Rome – and draftsmanship confirms the exclusion⁴³. Although two drawings of the Pantheon in Ms B 2. 3 bear remarkable similarities to illustrations published by Desgodets, each one can be traced instead to sheets in the Goldschmidt Scrapbook and Cronstedt Collection⁴⁴. In addition, Desgodets’ measurements of the Pantheon and the Colosseum differ from those in Ms B 2. 3⁴⁵. D’Aviler’s drafting style is closer to

that of Ms B 2. 3 than Desgodets' is, as evidenced by the preparatory drawings for the engravings of the Palazzo dei Conservatori that d'Aviler published in 1691⁴⁶. Yet the plan and elevation of that building in Ms B 2. 3 differ from those of d'Aviler's depictions of it, as they do from those of all other published engravings⁴⁷.

Although he was not an architect, Adrian Auzout (1622-1691) should be counted among the Frenchmen in Rome who studied the ancient architecture; his two periods of residence there bracketed Desgodets' trip⁴⁸. A prominent astronomer and mathematician, Auzout was one of the first members of the Académie des Sciences and was part of the entourage that escorted Christopher Wren around Paris during his visit in 1665⁴⁹. After a scandal at the academy three years later, Auzout left Paris for Italy and eventually settled in Rome, where he researched the ancient aqueducts with Raffaello Fabretti and worked on his own translation of Vitruvius; Auzout later let it be known that he had found more than three hundred errors in Perrault's version⁵⁰. Auzout returned to Paris in 1676 and traveled to England in 1682-1683, a trip that included a visit to Oxford. From 1685 until his death, Auzout once again made his home in Rome, where his interests in ancient architecture and explorations of the ruins were well known, as was his reconstruction of a missing inscription on the Arch of Septimius Severus. Auzout's antiquarian and architectural pursuits, his enthusiasm for Vitruvius, and his connection to Oxford are all intriguing biographical details in the context of Ms B 2. 3, but no evidence exists to link him to the manuscript, and no drawings by Auzout survive⁵¹.

Drawings do survive by Jean Sautereau, a sculptor and architect from Nevers, though considerably less is known of his life. Sautereau was active in Arles in the 1640s and 1650s, and most of his architectural drawings depict the Arc du Rhône in that city, a monument that has since been destroyed⁵². Sautereau used the Roman foot as the unit of measure in these drawings, which is the first indication that he might have traveled to Rome himself. A second indication is a plan of the Pantheon in the Nationalmuseum of Stockholm by Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654-1728): the plan is inscribed "Jan Sauterau F l'an 1649", indicating that it is a copy⁵³. There was a nearly identical Pantheon plan in the Houfe Album, formerly of Ampthill, where it was accompanied by a longitudinal section of the same building. The Houfe Album is now lost, so it is impossible to ascertain whether these two drawings were originals by Sautereau or whether they were also copies⁵⁴. Nevertheless the drawings of the Pantheon are pertinent to the current study because they indicate the presence of an-

other French architect in Rome in the 1640s, one who drew antiquities. Furthermore, the section through the Pantheon in the Houfe Album showed octagonal coffering on the surface of the interior vestibule's barrel vault, a detail included on few other representations of this building besides those in Ms B 2. 3⁵⁵.

A process of elimination does not produce a definitive attribution for Ms B 2. 3, but reviewing the list of potential authors does help situate the manuscript within the context of seventeenth-century French studies of Roman architecture. The process establishes the value of Ms B 2. 3 as a rare surviving dossier from the pre-academic period, one whose size and level of completeness are on a par with those of Desgodets' manuscript for *Les édifices antiques de Rome*. Of the five buildings depicted in Ms B 2. 3, only the Palazzo Barberini stands out as a less-than-obvious subject; as a recent work by some of the most famous architects in Rome, however, the choice is hardly idiosyncratic. The surveys of Saint Peter's and the Palazzo dei Conservatori confirm an interest in these symbolic centers of religious and civic life at a time when the French government sought to develop its own national style based on the rational architecture of antiquity⁵⁶.

If Ms B 2. 3 was made in the late 1630s and early 1640s, then the only surprising element of its content is the scaled comparison of orders at the back. Exhaustive analyses of this kind are difficult to find prior to the publication of Fréart's *Parallèle* in 1650. The format of the drawings, too, in its general emphasis on orthogonal measured drawings over perspective views, adheres to what might be expected from an architect on a study tour⁵⁷. The relatively straightforward content and format of Ms B 2. 3 belie the unusual procedure used to create it: a layering of information transferred from source drawings nearly a century old and updated with fresh observations.

Worcester College Ms B 2. 3 and its sources

A Frenchman working in the mid-seventeenth century, the draftsman of Ms B 2. 3 began his architectural survey by copying a series of drawings made by French and Italian draftsmen in the 1560s and 1570s. These sixteenth-century drawings are now divided between two important collections familiar to scholars of Renaissance architecture – the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Cronstedt Collection at the Stockholm Nationalmuseum – and the discovery of later copies of these drawings adds to the relatively sparse information we have about their history. At least twenty-nine of the forty-three drawings in Ms B 2. 3 devoted to the Pan-

theon, Saint Peter's, and the Palazzo dei Conservatori were generated in part from this source material, but the Worcester College draftsman did not simply copy the material outright. Instead, he reorganized details, changed their scale and added annotations, developed sketches into finished drawings, and, most significantly, grafted new information onto older representations. The resulting sheets therefore condense a broad chronological sweep into a single manuscript or even, in the case of Saint Peter's, into a single image.

More than half of the drawings in Ms B 2. 3 that can be identified as copies of other drawings are based on sheets in the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks at the Metropolitan Museum. In her 2001 study, Émilie d'Orgeix provided the first comprehensive introduction to these scrapbooks; previously their drawings had been studied only piecemeal⁵⁸. Now unbound, the drawings once belonged to an owner who divided them into two albums according to subject, with the Goldschmidt Scrapbook containing "sixty-eight sheets of Renaissance architectural drawings devoted to ancient Rome" and the Scholz Scrapbook containing "ninety-four sheets dedicated to Renaissance studies of contemporary Florentine and Roman buildings"⁵⁹. Michelangelo's architectural projects are a primary focus of the Scholz Scrapbook; the scrapbook also contains a series of drawings of Roman palaces, as well as some miscellaneous sheets. Although they once constituted a single group and now belong to the same museum, the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks came to the Metropolitan through different routes. The Goldschmidt Scrapbook, whose provenance can be traced to the nineteenth-century French collector Edmond Lechevallier-Chevignard (1825-1902), was purchased from Lucien Goldschmidt in 1968, whereas the Scholz Scrapbook was discovered by Charles de Tolnay in Paris in 1947 and given to the museum by Janos and Anne Bigelow Scholz in 1948⁶⁰.

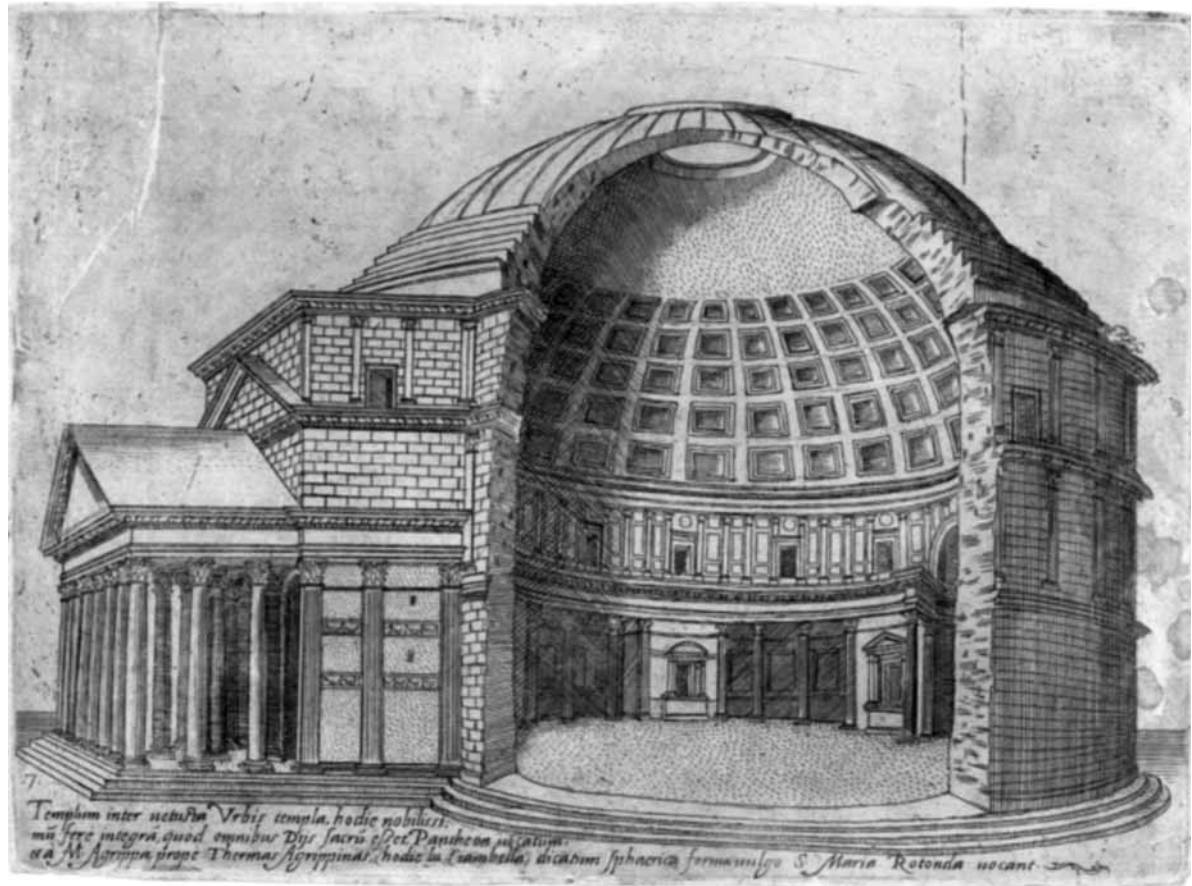
Other drawings in Ms B 2. 3 can be identified as copies after sheets belonging to the Cronstedt Collection at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm. Within this collection, named for the Swedish architect Carl Johan Cronstedt (1709-1777), who assembled it along with his son F.A.U. Cronstedt (1744-1829), is a group of about seventy drawings of ancient and modern Roman architecture⁶¹. These drawings seem to date from the 1560s to 1570s. This group has never been published in its entirety, though scholars have related individual sheets from it to drawings of modern Roman buildings in the Scholz Scrapbook. Drawings of the drum and dome of Saint Peter's were studied first by Rudolf Wittkower and then by Henry Millon

and Craig Hugh Smyth in connection with similar drawings in the Scholz Scrapbook; Millon and Smyth attributed this series to the circle of Etienne Dupérac⁶². Nine drawings of the Villa Giulia were published by Christoph Frommel, Fritz-Eugen Keller, and Georg Schelbert, who related them to another set of Scholz Scrapbook sheets⁶³. Meanwhile the drawings of antiquities contained in the Cronstedt group have remained virtually unstudied⁶⁴. Their subjects include, among others, the Theater of Marcellus, the Temple of Minerva, the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the Domus Aurea, various triumphal arches, the Baths of Diocletian, and, of course, the Pantheon.

The series of drawings devoted to the Pantheon that opens Ms B 2. 3 was copied partly from this Cronstedt Collection group and partly from the Goldschmidt Scrapbook – in fact, a few drawings contain information from both sources – and the manuscript's subsequent series devoted to Saint Peter's was copied from the Cronstedt group and the Scholz Scrapbook. Thus the draftsman of Ms B 2. 3, working in the mid-seventeenth century, had access both to the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks before they passed into separate hands and also, at the same time, to the Cronstedt Collection group. This reinforces the conclusion that the drawings now split between New York and Stockholm once belonged to a single collection, one that was likely formed in the late sixteenth century and that remained intact until at least the mid-seventeenth century, and possibly until as late as the nineteenth. Precisely when this collection was divided, and by whom, remains an open question. Why certain drawings passed to the Goldschmidt and Scholz group and others to the Cronstedt group is also difficult to say, although – this next assessment involves a degree of oversimplification – the Goldschmidt and Scholz group includes preparatory material, such as sketches and rough drafts made in many hands, whereas the Cronstedt group has a more cohesive character derived from its relatively homogenous style of draftsmanship, paper, and orderly presentation.

The origins of the Goldschmidt, Scholz, and Cronstedt drawings are even more complicated than their fate, because much of the material was copied from disparate sources. These sources can be summarized here only briefly. Ian Campbell identified a sheet of details of the Pantheon at Windsor Castle as related to Goldschmidt folio 68.769.1r, which has two views of the bronze roof structure that was removed from the portico in the 1620s⁶⁵. Part of Cassiano dal Pozzo's so-called Paper Museum, the Windsor Castle sheet is the work of an anonymous Portuguese draftsman who covered both sides with rough

3. Cutaway view of the Pantheon in the *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium*, Roma 1569. Engraving made by Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri after Giovanni Antonio Dosio. © Trustees of the British Museum.

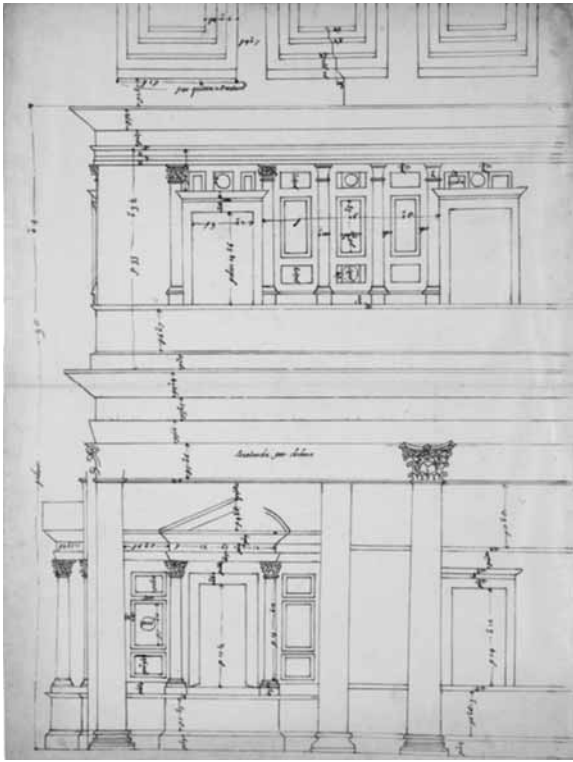


sketches of the building and annotated them with measurements and keymarks. In addition to the views of the portico roof, these sketched details relate to many other drawings of the Pantheon in the Goldschmidt Scrapbook; therefore it appears that both the anonymous Portuguese draftsman of the Windsor Castle sheet and the anonymous French draftsman of the Goldschmidt Pantheon sheets made their drawings using the same third source⁶⁶.

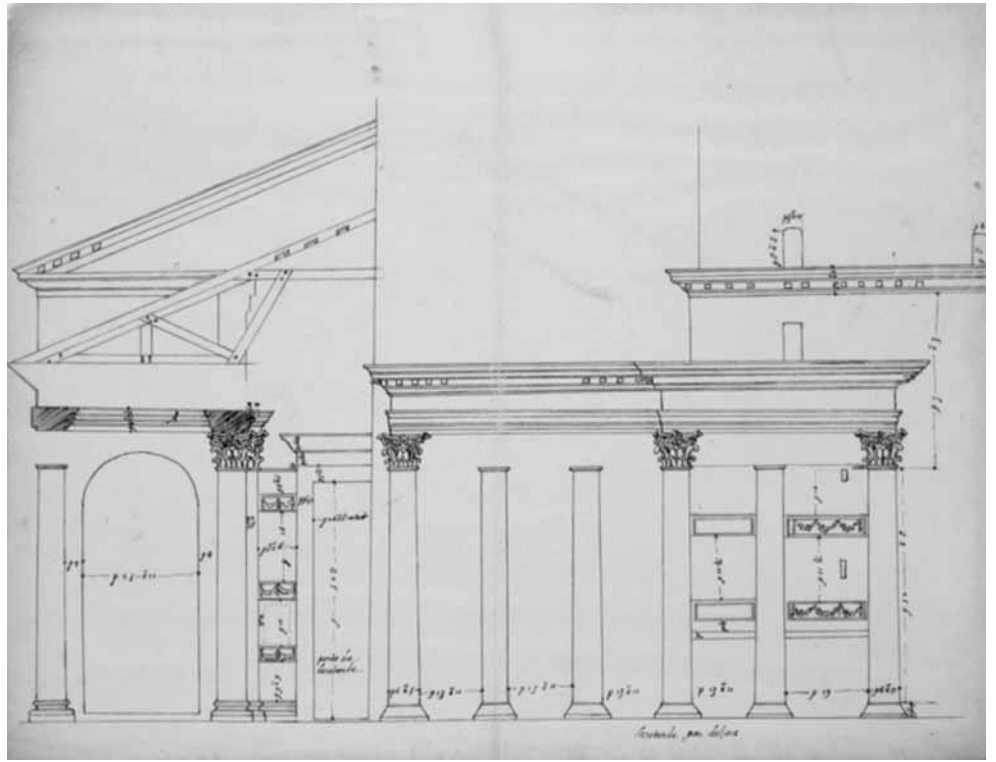
Campbell dated the Windsor Castle sheet to c. 1568-1570 because its draftsman wrote those years on other drawings he made of antique architecture in the vicinity of Rome. The watermarks of the Goldschmidt Pantheon series date to roughly the same time. Several efforts to survey the ancient monuments were ongoing in these years, but as Campbell pointed out, it is difficult to assign particular drawings to specific survey projects because the overlap between their subjects is great, the draftsmen often worked collaboratively, and drawings circulated through copies⁶⁷. Nevertheless, some preliminary attempts have been made. One hypothesis, put forward by Bernd Kulawik in his work on the codex in Berlin known as Destailleur D, is that the Goldschmidt Pantheon sheets constitute a missing part of that codex's series of drawings devoted to Roman monuments⁶⁸. Kulawik provided evidence that the Destailleur D drawings were made in the 1540s as part of a concerted effort – possibly coordinated by the Accademia

della Virtù – to record the entire ancient city on paper, and he noted that drawings of the Pantheon are conspicuously absent from the results.

The earlier date and provenance for the Goldschmidt Pantheon series suggested by Kulawik's work could explain its obvious dissimilarity from the Cronstedt Pantheon series, which relates closely to another codex also now in Germany, the Cod.Icon 209e at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Cod.Icon 209e contains various types of sixteenth-century drawings and prints almost certainly assembled by a later collector, including a series of measured drawings of the Pantheon derived, without a doubt, from the same source as the Cronstedt series⁶⁹. Dimensions are noted identically on both sets of drawings, and many of the depictions of the building are incomplete in the same places (e.g., missing capitals or schematically indicated moldings)⁷⁰. The relationships among all of these drawings and other well-known studies of the Pantheon, including the group at the Uffizi by Giovanni Antonio Dosio and the various albums in Vienna's Albertina, remain to be explored⁷¹. However, the similarities among them are close, and the Cronstedt Collection group contains other copies of drawings by Dosio, so a common provenance seems likely. Given the heterogeneous nature of the collections under discussion, it is entirely possible that the Goldschmidt Scrapbook's drawings of the Pantheon derive from one survey project (e.g., the project



4. Interior elevation of the Pantheon cella. Anonymous drawing in the Cronstedt Collection, CC1319. Courtesy of the Stockholm Nationalmuseum.



5. Section and elevation of the Pantheon portico. Anonymous drawing in the Cronstedt Collection, CC1320. Courtesy of the Stockholm Nationalmuseum.

sponsored by the Accademia della Virtù) and those of the Cronstedt Collection and Cod.Icon 209e derive from another (e.g., Dosio's).

Drawings of modern subjects in the Scholz Scrapbook and the Cronstedt Collection expand this web of relationships further. Carlo Bertocci and Charles Davis characterized the Scholz Scrapbook as “a body of drawings often based on prior graphic representations” and summarized the connections made by previous scholars⁷². For example, Charles de Tolnay, in one of the first articles on the Scholz Scrapbook, noted that seventeen of its drawings of Michelangelo's architectural projects in Florence are copies after Dosio's drawings in the Uffizi⁷³. Primarily these are measured details of the Laurentian Library, similar to a series in the Cronstedt Collection⁷⁴. Bertocci and Davis seconded Tolnay's opinion, and deemed the Scholz Scrapbook's elevation of the portal of Sant'Apollonia to be another copy after Dosio⁷⁵. The drawings devoted to Michelangelo's work at Saint Peter's, probably the best-known material of the group, have been related to various other preparatory drawings for and studies of that project⁷⁶. Much of this material depicts construction models and designs for the basilica rather than the building itself, and the reuse of these drawings by the Worcester College draftsman explains many of the anachronisms and curious misrepresentations found in his work, Ms B 2. 3.

In addition to the sources already mentioned for the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks and the Cronstedt Collection group, another seventeenth-century French manuscript contains drawings made after this material. At

the Louvre, the bound volume known as the Album François Derand (RF 2027) – named for an attribution, questioned by many, to the Parisian architect François Derand (c. 1588-1644) – features drawings of Michelangelo's architecture that are related to those in the Scholz and Cronstedt sheets⁷⁷. Charles Davis and Ludwig Wachler established this relationship when they associated one of the Album Derand's drawings, an elevation of the portal of Sant'Apollonia, with the aforementioned Scholz drawing⁷⁸. A recent Louvre catalog connects other drawings in the Album Derand – one sheet of details of the New Sacristy at San Lorenzo, eight sheets devoted to the Laurentian Library, an elevation of an interior window of Saint Peter's, and a section through the drum and dome of Saint Peter's – not only to the Scholz Scrapbook, but also to the related drawings by Dosio in the Uffizi⁷⁹.

Produced in the second decade of the seventeenth century by a French draftsman or draftsmen, the Album Derand has previously interested scholars for several reasons. For one, it includes a drawing of the 1606 model for the ciborium of Saint Peter's, and for another the album's series of partial elevations of doors and fireplaces has been interpreted as evidence of a Vignolesque moment in French architectural history⁸⁰. The Album Derand's provenance also intrigues. Acquired by the Louvre from the Destailleur sale of 1896, these drawings were once owned by the same collector, Hippolyte Destailleur, who owned the Berlin codex Destailleur D⁸¹. Annotations in the album state that the drawings that relate to the Scholz Scrapbook were made at

Blérancourt, with dates ranging from 1613 to 1616. This may explain why the sheets in the Album Derand that are devoted to Michelangelo's Roman and Florentine works are not augmented with any additional information from those buildings: the Album Derand draftsman made his copies in France⁸².

So France is where the Worcester College draftsman probably began his manuscript, too – albeit several decades later – by making copies from the same corpus of drawings. But the work did not end there. The draftsman then went on to Rome, where he filled the pages of Ms B 2. 3 with new drawings of his own. Thus the manuscript offers a view of ancient and modern Roman architecture surveyed, not at one moment,

but at many. Individual drawings reveal the various anachronisms that this copying process preserved, including, most notably, details of lost elements from the Pantheon and of stages in the construction history of Saint Peter's under Michelangelo. More generally, the manuscript offers an entry into a large body of related material that allows us to explore the circulation and use of architectural drawings after the rise of printing. Clearly, the Worcester College draftsman had doubts about the reliability of published architectural authorities, as he critically compared four of them at the end of Ms B 2. 3. Yet he remained unaware of the inconsistencies in his own manuscript that unpublished drawings had introduced.

The research for this article would not have been possible without the gracious assistance of Joanna Parker, Librarian of Worcester College, who provided me with access to manuscript B 2. 3 and shared with me her considerable expertise. Dr. Parker also coordinated the photography effort undertaken by John Gibbons of John Gibbons Studios, Uffington, who produced the illustrations for the catalog. I first learned of the Worcester College manuscript from my dissertation advisor, Hilary Ballon, and I am grateful for her unceasing support of my work on it since then. Francesco Benelli offered advice and encouragement at critical moments. Conversations with Anthony Gerbino and Christy Anderson, both of whom know the manuscript well, led to many insights, as did discussions with Marie-Noëlle Baudouin-Matuszek, Ian Campbell, Roger Gaskell, Sarah McPhee, Henry Millon, Arnold Nesselrath, Eleonora Pistis, Augusto Roca De Amicis, Geoffrey Taylor, Patricia Waddy, and Vitale Zanchettin. The eagle-eyed Michael Waters directed me to the Goldschmidt Scrapbook, and his knowledge of architectural drawings enriched my work in countless other ways. Grants from the Kress Foundation and the Sir John Soane's Museum Foundation enabled my travel to Oxford, and the staff of the Soane Museum gave me an inspiring place to work. My research on the related drawings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Nationalmuseum of Stockholm, the Louvre, and Windsor Castle would not have been possible without the assistance of the staff at these institutions. I also thank the two anonymous readers whose comments improved this article; the mistakes and shortcomings that remain are my own.

1. H.M. Colvin, *A catalogue of architectur-*

al drawings of the 18th and 19th centuries in the library of Worcester College, Oxford, Oxford 1964, p. xxv, note 2.

2. The only obvious exception to this uniformity, a section through Saint Peter's on folio 84r, is discussed in catalog entry 40. The possible exceptions of folios 24r, 28v-29r, and 32r are discussed in catalog entries 18, 19, and 20.

3. The measurements in Ms B 2. 3 are given in the French toise, and the annotations are written in French. The handwriting is consistent throughout, although the spelling is not.

4. Clarke's bookplate appears on the pastedown of Ms B 2. 3's front cover, below the bookplate of the Worcester College Library; Clarke's initials appear in the upper right corner of the first drawing, a plan of the Pantheon on folio 3r. For the Clarke collection see T. Clayton, *The print collection of George Clarke at Worcester College, Oxford*, in "Print Quarterly", IX, 2, 1992, pp. 122-141, and J. Harris, *Dr. George Clarke, in memoriam*, in "The Connoisseur", 156, 630, 1964, pp. 264-267.

5. G. Clarke, *Autobiography of Dr. George Clarke*, in *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report on the manuscripts of F.W. Leyborne-Popbam, Esq. of Littlecote, Co. Wilts*, Norwich 1899, p. 285. The possibility that Clarke acquired Ms B 2. 3 in Paris was first suggested by Alan Bean in his M.A. Report to the University of London, *The patronage and architectural activities of Dr. George Clarke (1661-1736)* (1972, p. 108), on deposit at the Worcester College Library. Clarke purchased many French architectural books during this trip, including works by Jacques Androuet de Cerceau, Roland Fréart de Chambray, and Daniel Marot.

6. H. Lemonnier (ed.), *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale d'architecture, 1671-1793*, I-IX, Paris 1911-1929.

7. G. Smith, *Architectural diplomacy: Rome and Paris in the late Baroque*, New York 1993. The *Concorsi Accademici* of 1694, for example, required students to draw a bay of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (pp. 150, 300-302).

8. J.-M. Pérouse de Montclos, "Les Prix de Rome": *concours de l'Académie royale d'architecture au XVIII^e siècle, inventaire général des monuments et des richesses artistiques de la France*, Paris 1984.

9. R. Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: the sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, III ed., Ithaca, NY, 1981, pp. 198-199. Wittkower established the chronology of the tomb working in part from documents published by O. Pollak, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII. Bd. II.: Die Peterskirche in Rom*, Wien 1931, pp. 590-610. See also T. Montanari, *Il monumento funebre (1627-1647) di Urbano VIII (1623-1644)*, in A. Pinelli (ed.), *La basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano*, Modena 2000, pp. 630-634. Note that in the Ms B 2. 3 drawing the figure of Charity is shown with her left breast exposed; this has since been covered with stucco, perhaps in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century (Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini...*, cit., p. 199). The engraving of the tomb in F. Buonanni's *Numismata summorum pontificum Templi Vaticani fabricam indicantia* (Roma 1696, p. 112, tab. 34) shows Charity without the stucco covering.

10. The statue of Urban VIII does not appear in the drawing either, but the break in the inked lines denoting the contours of the molding on the rear wall of the

niche indicates that the draftsman left the space open to add the figure; that is, the statue of Urban VIII was probably already in place when the draftsman made the tomb elevation. The panels behind Justice are drawn in ink, suggesting that when the drawing was made, the statue had not yet been installed.

11. P. Waddy, *Seventeenth-century Roman palaces: use and the art of the plan*, New York 1990, pp. 246-247.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 256-257.

13. These stairs are visible in an engraving of the east façade published in Gerolamo Teti's *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem* in 1642.

14. S. McPhee, *Bernini and the bell towers: architecture and politics at the Vatican*, New Haven, CT-London 2002, pp. 165ff.

15. Note also that although the plan of the northwest quadrant of Saint Peter's on folios 59v-60r shows Bernini's *bal-dacchino* (1624-1633) and the staircases in the crossing piers that were finished in 1640, this plan does not show Bernini's *Cathedra Petri* for the apse (1657-1665) – but in fairness the plan does not include the tombs of Paul III and Urban VIII, which are located on either side.

16. I am grateful to Augusto Roca De Amicis for suggesting a connection between this drawing and Sant'Eustachio. For the renovation projects see C. Varagnoli, *Progetti e controversie intorno al 'ristoramento' della chiesa di S. Eustachio in Roma*, in "Quaderni del Dipartimento Patrimonio Architettonico e Urbanistico", 3, 1992, pp. 51-72. For the history of the church see C. Appetiti, *S. Eustachio*, Roma 1964.

17. For example, the twin side entrances and the four columns across the narthex appear only on folios 28v-29r.

18. For one thing, the drawings on folios 24r, 28v-29r, and 32r differ from the rest of the manuscript in medium (no ink) and technique (heavier line-work and denser hatching). For another, the arrangement of the plan on folios 28v-29r suggests that it was drawn after the paper was bound into the manuscript, whereas all of the other drawings appear to have been made before the sheets were bound. Rather than orient the longitudinal plan horizontally so that it might fit lengthwise on the oblong sheet, the draftsman avoided the gutter by orienting the plan vertically. This required breaking the plan in half, with the rear of the building on the left folio (28v) and the entrance portion on the right (29r), an awkward layout that does not occur anywhere else in the manuscript but that could be explained as a retrofit arrangement chosen to accommodate the binding. If this is the case, then the speculative date of the late 1630s to early 1640s is still plausible for the rest of the manuscript, with these three rough drawings added at the end of the century.

19. By comparison, the list of seventeenth-century French architects who did not travel to Rome, compiled by Claude Mignot in *Palladio et l'architecture française du XVII^e siècle, une admiration critique* ("Annali di architettura", 12, 2000, p. 115, note 8), is long: Salomon de Brosse, Pierre Le Muet, François Mansart, Louis Le Vau, François Le Vau, Libéral Bruand, Claude Perrault, Jules Hardouin-Mansart, and Pierre Bullet never made the trip. Robert de Cotte got as far as Venice and Vicenza, but no farther. For a general introduction to the subject see J. Thuillier, "Il se rendit en Italie...": notes sur le voyage à Rome des artistes français au XVII^e siècle, in "Il se rendit en Italie": études offertes à André Chastel, Paris 1987, pp. 321-336.

20. A. Gady, *Jacques Lemercier, architecte et ingénieur du Roi*, Paris 2005, pp. 19-26, and A. Avon, *La biblioteca, gli strumenti scientifici, le collezioni di antichità e opere d'arte di un architetto del XVII secolo, Jacques Le Mercier (1585-1654)*, in "Annali di architettura", 8, 1996, p. 184.

21. Le Duc's drawing of the Porta Pia is now in the Bibliothèque de l'École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris (Collection Masson, O 131), where it survives along with two illustrations of the Doric and Ionic orders. A handwritten list of other studies made by Le Duc in Rome accompanies the drawings, but most of the drawings on the list are now lost. This group was catalogued in *La collection Chennevières: quatre siècles de dessins français*, exhibition catalog (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 8 March-7 June 2007), eds. L.-A. Prat and L. Lhinares, Paris 2007, p. 266. C. Mignot reproduced the drawing of the Porta Pia in *Michel-Ange et la France: libertinage architectural et classicisme*, in "Il se rendit en Italie"... , cit. [cf. note 19], p. 534, fig. 2.

22. "M. d'Orbay a apporté un mémoire de plusieurs mesures d'attiques, qu'il a prises en différents endroits des plus consid-

érables de Paris, et mesme à Rome à l'église de Saint Pierre. Il doit les faire dessigner pour en avoir les différentes mesures, sur quoy la Compagnie pourra prendre quelques résolutions pour la véritable proportion qu'on pourra leur donner". Lemonnier (ed.), *Procès-verbaux...*, cit. [cf. note 6], II, p. 151.

23. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie, B. II Réserve, fol. 29; reproduced in A. Laprade, *François d'Orbay: architecte de Louis XIV*, Paris 1960, p. 111.

24. Along with his brother Paul Fréart de Chantelou, Fréart de Chambray was sent to Rome in 1640 on a mission from François Sublet de Noyers to convince the artist Nicolas Poussin to return to Paris and to make plaster casts of ancient and modern sculptures. Charles Errard was already in Rome at that time, sent by Sublet in 1638 or 1639 to perfect his skills in painting. See J. Thuillier, *Propositions pour I. Charles Errard, peintre*, in "Revue de l'Art", 40-41, 1978, p. 153. For the Fréart brothers see A. Le Pas de Sécheval, *Les missions romaines de Paul Fréart de Chantelou en 1640 et 1642: à propos des moulages d'antiques commandés par Louis XIII*, in "Dix-Septième Siècle", 172, 1991, pp. 259-274.

25. For Fréart's comparisons of the orders see F. Lemerle, *Fréart de Chambray ou les enjeux du Parallèle*, in "Dix-Septième Siècle", 196, 1997, pp. 419-453.

26. On the general practice of copying in the circle of Fréart and Errard, see M. Franken, "Pour mon honneur et pour votre contentement": Nicolas Poussin, Paul Fréart de Chantelou and the making and collecting of copies, in *The learned eye: regarding art, theory, and the artist's reputation: essays for Ernst van de Wetering*, eds. M. van den Doel, et al., Amsterdam 2005, pp. 181-189.

27. D.L. Sparti, *Cassiano Dal Pozzo, Poussin and the making and publication of Leonardo's "Trattato"*, in "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes", 66, 2003, pp. 143-188.

28. A. Avon, *Su alcuni esempi di scultura e architettura antiche nel "Parallèle" (1650) di Roland Fréart de Chambray e Charles Errard*, in "Annali di architettura", 13, 2001, pp. 111-119. Fréart mentions Ligorio in the *Parallèle* in part II, chapter IV, p. 99. See also F. Lemerle-Pauwels, M. Stani, *Introduction générale*, in Roland Fréart de Chambray, *Parallèle de l'architecture antique avec la moderne suivi de Idée de la perfection de la peinture*, Paris 2005, pp. 23-24. In his doctoral dissertation (*Charles Errard, ou l'ambition du décor*, Université de Paris IV Sorbonne, 2004), Emmanuel Coquery identified a set of drawings in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie, as copies of Ligorio's Codex Destailleur A made by Errard.

29. I. Pantin, *Les Fréart de Chantelou: une famille d'amateurs au XVII^e siècle entre Le Mans, Paris et Rome*, Le Mans 1999, p. 79; Sparti, *Cassiano dal Pozzo...*, cit. [cf. note 27], p. 79; Thuillier, *Propositions...*, cit. [cf. note 24].

30. It is also difficult to associate Ms

B 2. 3 with either Fréart or Errard on the basis of draftsmanship. Fréart is not known to have made any architectural drawings, and his handwriting in the *Album Chambray* – studies that he and Errard made of Roman sculptures in 1640, now at the Bibliothèque de l'École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris (Ms 12, PC 6415) – does not match the handwriting in Ms B 2.3. The two folio manuscripts of measured drawings at the Institut de France that are attributed to Errard (Mss 1029-1030) do not resemble Ms B 2. 3 either in content – the Institut drawings focus on Roman doors, reliefs, and sculptures – or in appearance. See E. Coquery, *La poésie ornementale de Charles Errard*, in Id. (ed.), *Rinceaux & figures: l'ornement en France au XVII^e siècle*, Paris 2005, pp. 29-43.

31. Blondel had made the journey to Rome at least once before, on a diplomatic mission in 1655. See C. Lucas, *Voyages et missions de François Blondel, sieur des Croisettes et de Gallardon, dans le milieu du XVII^e siècle*, in "Bulletin de Géographie Historique et Descriptive", 1894, p. 203. A. Gerbino, in his doctoral dissertation (*François Blondel (1616-1686): architecture, erudition, and early modern science*, Columbia University, New York 2002, pp. 151, 240 note 51), describes these two visits to Rome and adds that Blondel made a third trip to Italy in 1668.

32. Colbert's assignment for Mignard is preserved in a marginal note on his instructions to Seignelay: "Depuis, j'ai estimé à propos de joindre le sieur Mignard au sieur Blondel: ce premier sait fort bien dessiner." See P. Clément (ed.), *L'Italie en 1671: relation d'un voyage du Marquis de Seignelay, suivie de lettres inédites à Vivonne, du Quesne, Tourville, Fénelon, et précédée d'une étude historique*, Paris 1867, p. 103, note 1. The *Comptes des bâtiments du roi sous le règne de Louis XIV*, edited by J. Guiffrey (I: *Colbert, 1664-1680*, Paris 1881), record two payments to Mignard for his drafting services that also attest to these skills: 28 September 1670, "pour la dépense du voyage qu'il doit faire en Provence, Languedoc et autres provinces de ce royaume pour y dessiner et lever le plan des bastimens antiques qui s'y trouveront remarquables pour leur belle architecture" (I, col. 366), and 18 December 1670, "pour le travail qu'il a fait des plans et eslevations des beaux bastimens antiques en divers endroits de la France, et pour les frais de treize mois de son voyage" (I, col. 481).

33. Clément (ed.), *L'Italie en 1671...*, cit. [cf. note 32], pp. 140-147.

34. Sayce recorded the pencil inscription on the first folio of Ms B 2. 3 (see the introduction to the catalog). Colvin cited Blunt's attribution in his catalog note on the manuscript [cf. note 1].

35. A.-N. Dézallier d'Argenville (*Vies des fameux architectes depuis la Renaissance des arts, avec la description de leurs ouvrages*, Paris 1787, I, p. 410) wrote of Mignard: "[il] voyagea long-temps en France & en Italie: il y levait très-exactement les plans d'une partie des édifices antiques, & les dessina avec pureté & précision".

36. For Mignard's lost drawings of

French antiquities see L.H. Labande, *Les dessins des antiquités de la France méridionale par l'architecte Pierre Mignard*, in "La Correspondance Historique et Archéologique", 1898, p. 372, and 1900, p. 144; Id., *Notice sur les dessins des antiquités de la France méridionale exécutés par Pierre Mignard et sur leur publication projetée par le Comte de Caylus*, in "Revue du Midi", 14, 1900, pp. 271-298; and F. Fossier, *Les dessins du Fonds Robert de Cotte de la Bibliothèque nationale de France: architecture et décor*, Paris-Roma 1997, p. 34. Examples of Blondel's military fortification drawings, reproduced in A. Gerbino, *François Blondel: architecture, erudition, and the scientific revolution*, London-New York 2010, do not resemble anything in the manuscript.

37. Lemonnier (ed.), *Procès-verbaux...*, cit. [cf. note 6], I, pp. 63, 65; cited in W. Herrmann, *Antoine Desgodets and the Académie royale d'architecture*, in "The Art Bulletin", 40, 1, 1958, p. 26 n. 24. See also H. Millon, *The French Academy of Architecture*, in J.E. Hargrove (ed.), *The French Academy: classicism and its antagonists*, Newark, DE, 1990, p. 72.

38. Blondel published measurements of the exterior stories of the Pantheon in his *Cours d'architecture*, Paris 1675-1683, v, p. 782; these are cited in Herrmann, *Antoine Desgodets...*, cit. [cf. note 37], p. 29, note 42. Besides the differences in the measurements of each story, Blondel's observations of the Pantheon diverge from the representation on folios 4v-5r of Ms B 2. 3 in another obvious way: Blondel describes three orders of pilasters on the rotunda exterior (*Cours d'architecture*, III, p. 263), the drawing in Ms B 2. 3 shows only two – and the building had none.

39. Desgodets's manuscript drawings were published by Louis Cellaurio and Gilbert Richaud in *Antoine Desgodets: les édifices antiques de Rome, edizione in facsimile dell'inedito manoscritto 2718 dell'Istituto di France con trascrizione e apparati scientifici e riproduzione delle tavole del volume edito nel 1682*, Roma 2008, superseding H. Lemonnier, *Les dessins originaux de Desgodetz pour "Les édifices antiques de Rome" (1676-1677)*, in "Revue Archéologique", VI, 1917, pp. 213-230. For Desgodets's published volume see the recent facsimile, *Les édifices antiques de Rome: dessinés et mesurés très-exactement, par Antoine Desgodets*, Paris 2008, with a preface by P. Gros and additional notes by H. Rousteau-Chambon.

40. Claude Perrault, *Les dix livres d'architecture de Vitruve*, Paris 1673.

41. On the subject of these debates see, for example, A. Picon, *Claude Perrault, 1613-1688, ou, La curiosité d'un classique*, Paris 1988.

42. T. Verdier, *Augustin-Charles d'Aviler: architecte du roi en Languedoc 1653-1701*, Montpellier 2003, pp. 85-86, 106-107; N. Felkay, *Nouveaux documents sur l'Académie d'Architecture sous Louis XIV*, in "Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France", 112, 1985, p. 279.

43. Waddy, *Seventeenth-century Roman palaces...*, cit. [cf. note 11], pp. 253-254.

44. These are the elevation of the rotunda interior on folios 6v-7r and the elevation of the portico on folios 8v-9r; see catalog entries 3 and 4.
45. For the significance of Desgodets's measurements see Herrmann, *Antoine Desgodets...*, cit. [cf. note 37], pp. 23-53.
46. D'Aviler published engravings of the Palazzo dei Conservatori in his *Cours d'architecture*, Paris 1691. The preparatory drawings for these, now at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, were reproduced in Verdier, *Augustin-Charles d'Aviler...*, cit. [cf. note 42], pp. 82-83.
47. The elevation and section of the Palazzo dei Conservatori published by C. Buirette le Jeune in 1649 come the closest to the drawings of the building in Ms B.2.3 (folios 95v-96r, 97v-98r, and 99v-100r; see catalog entries 46-48), and yet the differences between the prints and the drawings are such that they do not appear to be related. Interestingly, several of the scale figures in these prints are shown with sketchpads in hand, drawing the building. Copies of the Buirette engravings, which are rare, can be found in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la photographie (vb. 93, P58438-P58440; cited in R.-A. Weigert, *Inventaire du fonds français: graveurs du XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1951, II, p. 177). The copy of the section that is (partially) reproduced in A. Bedon, *Il Campidoglio: storia di un monumento civile nella Roma papale*, Milano 2008, fig. 287, is in the Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte in Rome.
48. The main source of biographical information on Auzout is R. McKeon, *Etablissement de l'astronomie de précision et œuvre de Adrian Auzout*, Université de Paris IV Sorbonne, Paris 1965, especially pp. 289-313. See also H. Brown, *Scientific organizations in seventeenth century France (1620-1680)*, Baltimore 1934, pp. 138-145, and J. Connors, L. Rice, *Specchio di Roma barocca: una guida inedita del XVII secolo*, Roma 1991, pp. xxviii-xxix.
49. A. Tinniswood, *His invention so fertile: a life of Christopher Wren*, Oxford-New York 2001, pp. 122-130.
50. H.B. Evans, *Acqueduct hunting in the seventeenth century: Raffaello Fabretti's De aquis et aquaeductibus veteris Romae*, Ann Arbor, MI, 2002.
51. The handwriting on an autograph document by Auzout from 1665, reproduced in McKeon, *Etablissement de l'astronomie...*, cit. [cf. note 48], fig. 6, does not match. Martin Lister (c. 1638-1712), who described Auzout's architectural interests in *A journey to Paris in the year 1698*, London 1699, pp. 30, 101-102, looked for Auzout's papers in Paris and found none.
52. F. Benoît, *Dessins d'antiquaires Arlésiens des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, in "Gazette des Beaux-Arts", 17, 1937, pp. 65-74; C. Picard, *Bulletin archéologique*, in "Revue des Études Grecques", LI, 239, 1938, pp. 119-120; Id., *Manuel d'archéologie grecque. 3: Période classique, IV^e siècle*, Paris 1948, II, pp. 462-476; Almut von Gladiss, *L'Arc du Rhone von Arles*, in "Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts", 79, 1972, pp. 17-87; *Le goût de l'antique: quatre siècles d'archéologie Arlésienne*, exhibition catalog (Arles, Espace Van Gogh, 20 October 1990-6 January 1991), Arles 1990, pp. 73-79; B. Fornasier, *Les fragments architecturaux des arcs triomphaux en Gaule romaine*, Besançon 2003, pp. 179-182; F. Lemerle, *La Renaissance et les antiquités de la Gaule: l'architecture gallo-romaine vue par les architectes, antiquaires et voyageurs des guerres d'Italie à la Fronde*, Turnhout 2005, pp. 89-91. Sautereau's drawings of the Arc du Rhône are kept at the Museon Arlaten of Arles (*Portefeuille Natoire*, Ms 31) and at the Arles Médiathèque (*Recueil Raybaud*, Ms 796).
53. NM H Cels 262. M. Olin, L. Henriksson (eds.), *Architectural Drawings I: Ecclesiastical and Garden Architecture*, Stockholm 2004, p. 44, no. 19.
54. Once in the collection of Simon Houfe and then of Sir A.E. Richardson, the whereabouts of the Houfe Album today are unknown. For this study, I examined photographs of the drawings from the Bibliotheca Hertziana, courtesy of Michael Waters. The Houfe Album has fifty-three sheets of drawings by the same early-sixteenth-century hand, many of which have been identified as copies after Francesco di Giorgio Martini. The two drawings of the Pantheon, a plan and a section, are by a different hand and do not appear to be related to the rest of the album. See A. Nesselrath, *I libri di disegni di antichità: tentativo di una tipologia*, in S. Settis (ed.), *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*. III: *Dalla tradizione all'archeologia*, Torino 1986, pp. 103-104; G. Scaglia, *Drawings of Roman antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and in the Album Houfe*, *Amphill*, in "Annali di architettura", IV-V, 1992-1993, pp. 9-21; G. Scaglia, *Drawings of 'Roma Antica' in a Vitruvius edition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, part III*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana", 30, 1995, p. 198, no. 300; I. Campbell, *Ancient Roman topography and architecture*, London 2004, I, pp. 86, 88.
55. Ms B.2.3 has drawings of the octagonal coffering on folios 4v-5r (catalog entry 2) and folios 12v-13r (catalog entry 9).
56. See H. Ballou, *Constructions of the Bourbon state: classical architecture in seventeenth-century France*, in *Cultural differentiation and cultural identity in the visual arts*, proceedings of the symposium (Washington, 13-14 March 1987), eds. S.J. Barnes and W.S. Melion, Washington, D.C., 1989, pp. 135-148.
57. The statutes of the Académie de France à Rome made this emphasis official in 1666, with the regulation that architectural students should produce "les plans et les élévations de tous les beaux palais et édifices, tant de Rome que des environs". See A. de Montaignon, J. Guiffrey (eds.), *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les surintendants des bâtiments. I: 1666-1694*, Paris 1887, p. 10.
58. É. 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. 169-206. See also G. Taylor, *Euclid's Bacolo and Tholos' Compaso: architectural survey in the Scholz and Goldschmidt Scrapbooks*, dissertation, Harvard Design School, Cambridge, MA, 2004, for an expanded catalog of the drawings.
59. D'Orgeix, *The Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks...*, cit. [cf. note 58], p. 169. In addition to the ninety-four sheets counted by d'Orgeix, the Scholz Scrapbook includes another forty-one French drawings, purchased from Janos Scholz by the Metropolitan in 1949 – drawings of tombs, fountains, and ornament – that will not be discussed here. D'Orgeix discussed five of these additional sheets in her study; many of the others were published by J. Byrne in a series of articles: *A coronation drawing*, in "The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin", 13, 5, 1955, pp. 167-176; *Design for a tomb*, in "The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin", 15, 6, 1957, pp. 155-164; *Monuments on paper*, in "The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin", 25, 1, 1966, pp. 24-29; and *Some sixteenth-century designs for tombs and fountains in the Metropolitan Museum*, in "Master Drawings", 21, 3, 1983, pp. 263-270. G. Taylor clarifies the acquisition history of the *Scholz Scrapbook in Euclid's Bacolo and Tholos' Compaso...*, cit. [cf. note 58], p. 2.
60. D'Orgeix, *The Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks...*, cit. [cf. note 58], p. 169, and C. de Tolnay, *Newly discovered drawings related to Michelangelo: the Scholz Scrapbook in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, in *Stil- und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes*, proceedings of the XXI. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte (Bonn, 1964), Berlin 1967, pp. 64-68.
61. The Cronstedt Collection remained in the Cronstedt family's possession at the Fullerömansion until 1941, when it came to the Nationalmuseum as a gift of Eric Langenskiöld. There is no single overview of the collection, but Langenskiöld published an exhibition catalog of some of its contents in *Arkitekturritningar, planer och teckningar ur Carl Johan Cronstedts Fullerösamling*, Nationalmusei Utställningskatalog 79, eds. E. Langenskiöld and C.D. Moselius, Stockholm 1942. See also C.D. Moselius, *Carl Johan Och F.A.U. Cronstedts Samlingar på det Gamla Fullerö*, in "Nationalmusei Årsbok", n.s., 12, 1942-1943, pp. 39-105; E. Langenskiöld, *Italienska arkitekturritningar i Cronstedtsamlingen på Nationalmuseum*, in "Nationalmusei Årsbok", n.s., 16, 1946, pp. 44-82; C.D. Moselius, *La Collection Cronstedt, in Dessins du Nationalmuseum de Stockholm, Collections Tessin & Cronstedt. I: Claude Audran, 1658-1734, II: Dessins d'architecture et d'ornements*, exhibition catalog (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1950), Paris 1950, pp. x-xx; and R. Strandberg, *La réception de Carl Johan Cronstedt à la Société des Arts et des Sciences à Paris*, in "Konsthistorisk Tidskrift", xxxi, 3-4, 1962, pp. 95-104. I am grateful to Wolfgang Nittnaus of the Nationalmuseum for discussing the collection with me and for the gracious assistance I received from the prints and drawings room staff.
62. R. Wittkower, *Michelangelo's dome of St. Peter's*, in Id., *Idea and image: studies in the Italian Renaissance*, New York 1978, pp. 73-89; H. Millon, C.H. Smyth, *Michelangelo, architect: the façade of San Lorenzo and the drum and dome of St. Peter's*, Milano 1988; *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: the representation of architecture*, exhibition catalog (Venezia, Palazzo Grassi, 1 April-6 November 1994), eds. H. Millon and V. Magnago Lampugnani, Milano 1994. The drawings of Saint Peter's in the Cronstedt Collection that relate to the Scholz Scrapbook mentioned by Wittkower, Millon, and Smyth are CC 1305, 1353, and 1375; the catalog entries for Ms B.2.3 point out many others. On the relationship between the Scholz Scrapbook and Cronstedt Collection drawings see A. Bedon, *Le incisioni di Du Pérac per S. Pietro*, in "Il Disegno di Architettura", 12, 1995, pp. 4-11, for Saint Peter's, and A. Bedon, *Il Campidoglio...*, cit. [cf. note 47], pp. 171-203, for the Campidoglio.
63. C.L. Frommel, *Villa Giulia a Roma*, in R. Tuttle (ed.), *Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola*, Milano 2002, pp. 163-195. See Cronstedt Collection nos. 1306, 1331, 1356, 1358, 1367, 1380, 1381, 1412, and 1413.
64. This lacuna may soon be filled by Anna Bortolozzi Olin, who is preparing a catalog of the Italian architectural drawings within the Cronstedt Collection. I am indebted to Henry Millon for bringing the drawings of the Pantheon to my attention and for supplying me with many reproductions of them.
65. Campbell reproduced both sides of the Windsor Castle sheet, folio 23 of the album known as *Architectura Civile* (RL 10376) in Cassiano dal Pozzo's *Paper Museum*, in Campbell, *Ancient Roman topography...*, cit. [cf. note 54], pp. 405-416, where the Goldschmidt drawing is identified as "a lost sketch of the roof trusses ascribed to Philibert de l'Orme" (p. 405). Based on a tip from Geoffrey Taylor, Campbell clarified the connection between the two drawings in *Some drawings from the "Paper Museum" of Cassiano dal Pozzo and the Berlin Codex Destailleur "D"*, in "Pegasus. Berliner Beiträge zum Nachleben der Antike", 6, 2004, pp. 23-45. For the Goldschmidt drawing see also C. Nizet, *Les dessins de Philibert de l'Orme de la Collection Lecchevalier-Chevignard*, in "L'Architecture", 15, 1902, pp. 268-270, and A. Nesselrath, *Impressionen zum Pantheon in der Renaissance*, in "Pegasus. Berliner Beiträge zum Nachleben der Antike", 10, 2008, fig. 23.
66. The Anonymous Portuguese draftsman also produced a plan and a section of the Osteria di Centocelle (folio 26r-v of *Architectura Civile*, RL 10379) that are similar to the drawings of the same subject in the Goldschmidt Scrapbook (folio 68.769.49, *recto* for the plan and *verso* for the section), but as with the Pantheon studies, the Goldschmidt drawings are not exact copies. For the Windsor Castle drawings see Campbell, *Ancient Roman topography...*, cit. [cf. note 54], pp. 421-425, and G. Zander, *Le invenzioni architettoniche di Giovanni Battista Montano Milanese (1534-1621)*, in "Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura", 30, 1958, pp. 1-21, and for the Gold-

schmidt drawings see D'Orgeix, *The Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks...*, cit. [cf. note 58], p. 179.

67. Campbell, *Some drawings...*, cit. [cf. note 65], p. 42.

68. B. Kulawik, *The Berlin Codex Destailleur D: an important source for archaeology and its history*, in *Common ground: archaeology, art, science, and humanities*, proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology (Boston, 23-26 August 2003), eds. C. Mattusch and A. Brauer, Oxford 2006, pp. 410-412. J. Ackerman first hypothesized a Destailleur provenance for the Scholz Scrapbook and thus a connection to the Berlin codex in his review of C.L. Frommel, *Die Farnesina und Peruzzis architektonisches Frühwerk* in "The Art Bulletin", 44, 3, 1962, p. 243.

69. The drawings of the Pantheon in Cod.Icon 209e are not related to the prints in the same codex cited by A. Nesselrath, *I libri di disegni di antichità: tentativo di una tipologia*, in Settis (ed.), *Memoria dell'antico...*, cit. [cf. note 54], p. 140, note 32.

70. The drawings of the Arch of Septimius Severus in Cod.Icon 209e relate to sheets in the Cronstedt Collection as well. The codex can be viewed online at the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

71. See F. Borsi, et al., *Roma antica e i disegni di architettura agli Uffizi. Giovanni Antonio Dosio*, Roma 1976, and S. Valori, *Disegni di antichità dell'Albertina di Vien-*

na, Roma 1985. The drawings of various triumphal arches in the Goldschmidt Scrapbook and the Cronstedt Collection, all reminiscent of copies [pace D'Orgeix, *The Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks...*, cit. (cf. note 58), pp. 173-175], provide additional grist for this mill.

72. C. Bertocci, C. Davis, *A leaf from the Scholz Scrapbook*, in "The Metropolitan Museum Journal", 12, 1997, p. 94.

73. De Tolnay, *Newly discovered drawings...*, cit. [cf. note 60]. See Valori, *Disegni di antichità...*, cit. [cf. note 71], for the Dosio drawings.

74. In addition to the drawings of Saint Peter's and the Campidoglio that have already been mentioned, drawings of Michelangelo's projects in Rome that appear in both the Scholz Scrapbook and the Cronstedt Collection include studies of the Palazzo Farnese and the Porta Pia. For the drawings of the Palazzo Farnese see A. Blunt, *Two unpublished plans of the Farnese Palace*, in "The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin", 19, 1, 1960, pp. 15-17, and R. Tuttle, *Palazzo Farnese a Roma*, in Id. (ed.), *Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola*, cit. [cf. note 63], pp. 196-198.

75. Bertocci, Davis, *A leaf from the Scholz Scrapbook*, cit. [cf. n. 72], pp. 93-100.

76. In addition to the previously mentioned studies of the Scholz Scrapbook, see J. Ackerman, *The architecture of Michelangelo*, New York 1964; R. Wittkower, *La cupola di San Pietro di Michelangelo: riesame critico delle testimonianze contemporanee*, Firenze 1964; H. Mil-

lon, C.H. Smyth, *Michelangelo and St Peter's. 1: notes on a plan of the attic as originally built on the south hemicycle*, in "The Burlington Magazine", CXI, 797, 1969, pp. 484-501; F.-E. Keller, *Zur Planung am Bau der römischen Peterskirche im Jahre 1564-1565*, in "Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen", 18, 1976, pp. 24-56; H. Milon, C.H. Smyth, *Michelangelo and St. Peter's: observations on the interior of the apses, a model of the apse vault, and related drawings*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", 16, 1976, pp. 137-206; G. Argan, B. Contardi, et al., *Michelangelo architetto*, Milano 1990.

77. For reproductions of the Album Derand drawings see J. Guiffrey, P. Marcel, *Inventaire général des dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles: Ecole française*, Paris 1910, v, pp. 8-19. The drawings are now also included in the Louvre's online collection database.

78. L. Wachler, *Giovannantonio Dosio: Ein Architekt des Späten Cinquecento*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", 4, 1940, pp. 184-185; C. Davis, *Cosimo Bartoli and the portal of Sant'Apollonia by Michelangelo*, in "Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz", 19, 2, 1975, p. 264.

79. P. Joannides, V. Goarin, et al., *Michel-Ange, élèves et copistes*, Paris 2003, pp. 374-386.

80. For the drawing of the ciborium model see I. Lavin, *Bernini and the crossing of Saint Peter's*, New York 1968, pp. 42, 47,

and fig. 28a; and H. Hibbard, *Carlo Maderno and Roman architecture, 1580-1630*, University Park, PA, 1971, p. 166 and fig. 72b. For the doors and other drawings see H. Geymüller, *Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Frankreich*, Stuttgart 1898, pp. 309-310; R. Coope, *Salomon de Brosse and the development of the classical style in French architecture from 1565 to 1630*, University Park, PA, 1972, pp. 78-79, 204-205, fig. 85-86; *Dessins d'architecture du XV^e au XIX^e siècle dans les collections du Musée du Louvre*, exhibition catalog (Paris, Louvre, 20 March-5 June 1972), ed. G-Monnier, Paris 1972, p. 15; A. Braham, P.R. Smith, *François Mansart*, London 1973, p. 14, note 6; and C. Mignot, *Vignola e Vignolismo in Francia nel sei e settecento*, in *Vignola e i Farnese*, proceedings of the conference (Piacenza, 18-20 April 2002), eds. C.L. Frommel, M. Ricci, and R. J. Tuttle, Milano 2003, pp. 354-374.

81. H. Destailleur, *Catalogue de dessins et tableaux provenant de la collection de feu M. Hippolyte Destailleur*, Paris 1896, p. 22.

82. Bertocci and Davis concluded that the drawings of the Laurentian Library found in the Scholz Scrapbook were copied from originals by Dosio, and that in all likelihood these copies were produced within the confines of Dosio's Roman studio. If the Album Derand draftsman copied directly from the *Scholz Scrapbook* and not from an unknown third source, this adds another degree of separation between him and the building he reproduced. See Bertocci, Davis, *A leaf from the Scholz Scrapbook*, cit. [cf. note 72], p. 99.

Entries by subject

Pantheon	1-17
Preparatory drawings	18-20
Saint Peter's	21-43
Colosseum	44-45
Palazzo dei Conservatori	46-48
Palazzo Barberini	49
Comparison of orders	50-54

The name of Ms B 2. 3 at Worcester College, Oxford, comes from its shelf mark, which is written in ink on the manuscript's front pastedown just below

Cat. 1 Fol. 3r

Plan of the Pantheon; eastern half of the ground floor (left) and western half of the attic of the intermediate block and northern portion of the cella (right).

324 × 440 mm.

Watermark: A.

Tipped into binding along left edge; trimmed at bottom edge.

Pen and dark brown and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing¹.

Annotations: *GC* (top right); *Toutte la longueur du diametre dan oeuvre* (center left); *Corniche* (bottom right); *Tour* (x4, bottom right); *Plan du dessus du Rez de Chaussée* (bottom right); various dimensions.

Related drawings: Windsor Castle, RL 10376r-v; Goldschmidt Scrapbook, MMA 68.769.1v, 68.769.5r, 68.769.6v, 68.769.8r-v; Cronstedt Collection CC 1322².

Like the chapters on the Pantheon in the treatises of Serlio and Palladio, Worcester College Ms B 2. 3 opens with a plan. Contemporary details in this plan that are no longer present in the building include the furnishings of the central niche opposite the main entrance and of the rectangular niche to its left. In front of the central niche, five stairs between the two projecting columns (there are seven stairs between the column and the wall) lead to a rectangular table or altar; in the adjacent niche are similar altars at three of the alcoves, and a balustrade encloses the alcove on the right wall. The keymark O in the central niche refers to the detail of its architrave on folio 19r.

At the center of the plan, the annotation

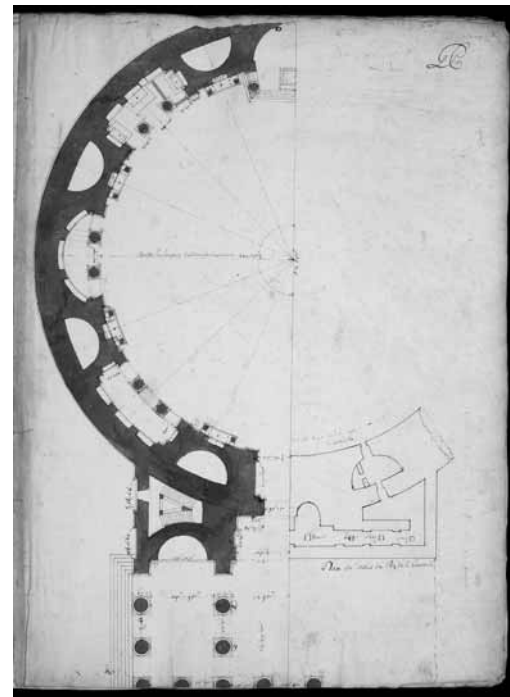
the bookplates of the Worcester College Library and of George Clarke, the library's founder. The seventeenth-century mottled calf binding has double gilt file borders to sides and spine compartments; the spine has seven raised bands with a lozenge-shaped gilt ornament at the center of each compartment. The front cover measures 335 × 454 mm. Inside, the *recto* of the first leaf bears a pencil inscription by Richard Anthony Sayce (1917-1977), Fellow Librarian and French Tutor of Worcester College, that reads, "These drawings are probably the work of François Blondel / RAS. / fols. 1-113 / 56 w loose". Sayce also may have added the manu-

"*Toutte la longueur du diametre dan oeuvre*" refers to the measurement of the cella diameter taken through the centerpoint of the cella floor to the innermost edge of the column pedestal of the eastern semicircular niche, a distance given as *21 toise, 5 pied ½*. This is shorter than the diameter recorded by Desgodets, who measured to the edges of the columns, not the pedestals. Desgodets measured the diameter at twelve different points around the cella, each time recording a slightly different dimension, whereas the draftsman of Ms B 2. 3 measured only once.

The annotation at the bottom right, "*Plan du dessus du Rez de Chaussée*", refers to the plan of the attic of the intermediate block and its connection to the cella. This plan shows the area inside the block as being divided into four sections separated by wall projections, although Desgodets, folio 68.769.8r of the Goldschmidt Scrapbook, and folio 1322 of the Cronstedt Collection all indicate only three such divisions within the space. Perhaps the draftsman of Ms B 2. 3 never visited this part of the building, which would explain why the squares at the center of each divided section are labeled "Tour" when in fact they represent openings in the overhead vaults. The interior elevation of this area inside the intermediate block on Goldschmidt 68.769.8r includes a perspective view of one of these spaces³.

Goldschmidt 68.769.1v, 68.769.5r, 68.769.6v, and 68.769.8r-v have sketched plans of different areas of the Pantheon, several details of which are related to studies on Windsor Castle, RL 10376. Cronstedt Collection CC 1322 is a finished plan showing the entire building at two levels, with a partial plan of the oculus and an enlarged detail of

script's leaf numbers, which appear in pencil at the top right corner of each *recto*, beginning with the first; the first drawing appears on the *recto* of the third leaf. The numbering sequence continues on every leaf, including those that are blank. Because the manuscript contains sheets that have been folded in half and tipped or sewn into the binding, a drawing that fills an entire side of a sheet may be identified in the catalog by two leaf numbers (e.g., 4v-5r). When a folded sheet contains separate drawings on opposite sides of the fold, the measurements refer to the individual half-sheet, or leaf, with the width first followed by the height.



Cat. 1

an aedicule. The draftsman of Ms B 2. 3 may have used the Goldschmidt and Cronstedt drawings as preparatory material for folio 3r, but details like the furnishing of the niches probably derive from personal observation.

At the top right corner, the initials "GC" belong to George Clarke (1661-1736), who gave Ms B 2. 3 to Worcester College.

Cat. 2 Fols. 4v-5r

Longitudinal section through the Pantheon.

620 × 432 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 5r).

Tipped into binding at center fold; trimmed at right edge; scale at bottom left.

Pen and dark brown and black ink with gray and blue-green wash and graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *28 parquet entout la circonference* (center right, above first ring of coffers); *Tboises de Roy* (bottom left, near scale); various dimensions.

Related drawings: Windsor Castle, RL 10376r-v; Goldschmidt Scrapbook, MMA 68.769.4v, 68.769.6r, 68.769.7r-v, 68.769.9r; 68.769.68v; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Icon 209e fols. 20r-v, 21r-v.

To create this split-perspective section through the

portico and cella of the Pantheon, the Worcester College draftsman could have relied on two published sources in addition to the related drawings. On the right, the view into the cella with a cutaway section through the outer wall probably derives from a print made after a drawing by Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533-c. 1609), published in his *Verbis Romae aedificiorum illustriorum* of 1569 (ill. 3, p. 121). In addition to the viewing angle, the drawing takes from the plate the depiction of Corinthian pilasters on the upper two stories of the cella, ornamentation that was not present on the building. Exterior Corinthian pilasters also appear in Palladio's illustrations of the Pantheon in the *Quattro Libri*, book IV, chapter XX; the Worcester College draftsman may have used one of these illustrations as the basis for the left side of the drawing, the section through the portico and intermediate block. Details copied from Palladio that would not have been observed

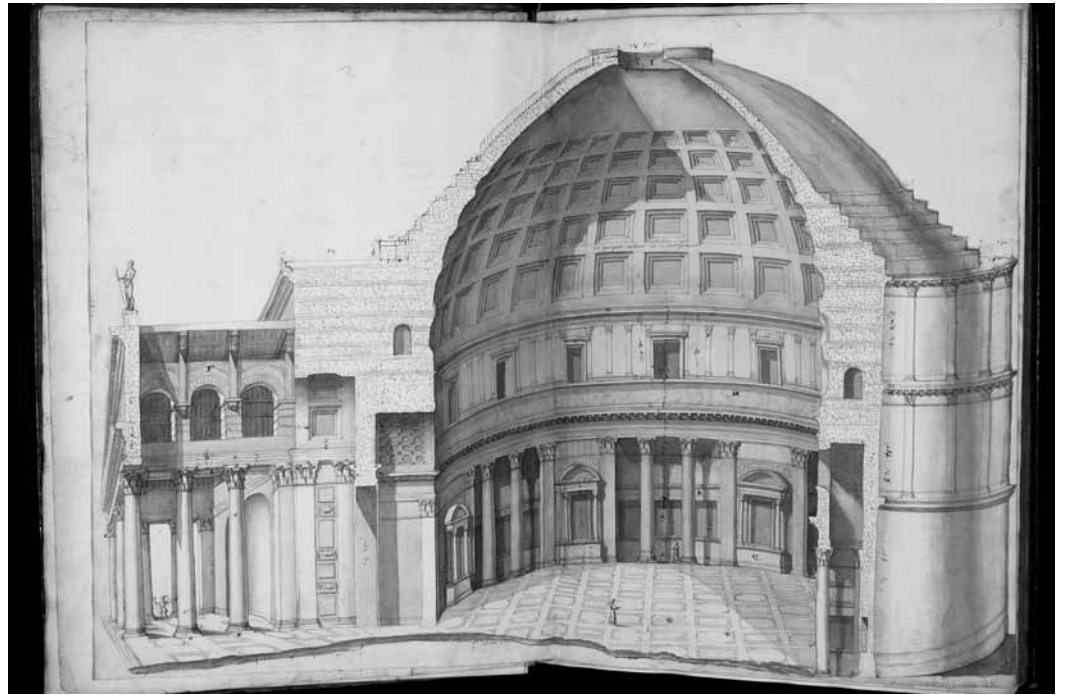
on the building include the statue atop the portico pediment and the representation of the passageway in the intermediate block.

Like the Worcester College section, Palladio's illustration also shows octagonal coffering covering the barrel vault of the main entrance's interior vestibule. This coffering, now gone, rarely appears in representations of the building. In the Goldschmidt Scrapbook, the view of the vestibule on folio 68.769.4v shows the coffers in a diagonal arrangement, three to a row, along with a measured detail. The Worcester College draftsman copied those details on folios 12v-13r of Ms B 2. 3, but in this section drawing he reproduced the arrangement of the coffers differently, showing them in horizontal rows of four. (Palladio has the coffers in horizontal rows of three.) I am aware of only three other representations of this coffering. The first is in the Codex Destailleur A of the Berlin Kunstbi-

bliothek (Oz 109), one of a series of five sheets of drawings of the Pantheon made by an anonymous draftsman in the second half of the sixteenth century⁴. The second is Pirro Ligorio's section in the Archivio di Stato of Turin, based on a drawing by Baldassare Peruzzi, which indicates the coffers schematically⁵. Finally, there is the section in the Houfe Album made by an anonymous draftsman, possibly the seventeenth-century French architect Jean Sautereau, which has the coffers in an arrangement similar to the one in Palladio's illustration⁶.

The section on folios 4v-5r has thirteen key-marks identifying the locations of details on subsequent drawings; these will be identified in the catalog entries for those drawings. The annotation in the center of the dome, "28 parquet entout la circonference", refers to the number of coffers in each ring.

Another section through the Pantheon, this one drawn in orthographic projection, appears on folios 20r-v and 21r-v of Cod.Icon 209e. Although the drawing is incomplete and seems not to have been used by the Worcester College draftsman, it is notable for its attempt to represent the portico, the intermediate block, and the cella in a single section along the longitudinal axis.



Cat. 2

Cat. 3 Fols. 6v-7r

Partial interior elevation of the Pantheon from the floor to the lowest ring of coffers.

652 x 444 mm.

Watermark: B (fol. 6v).

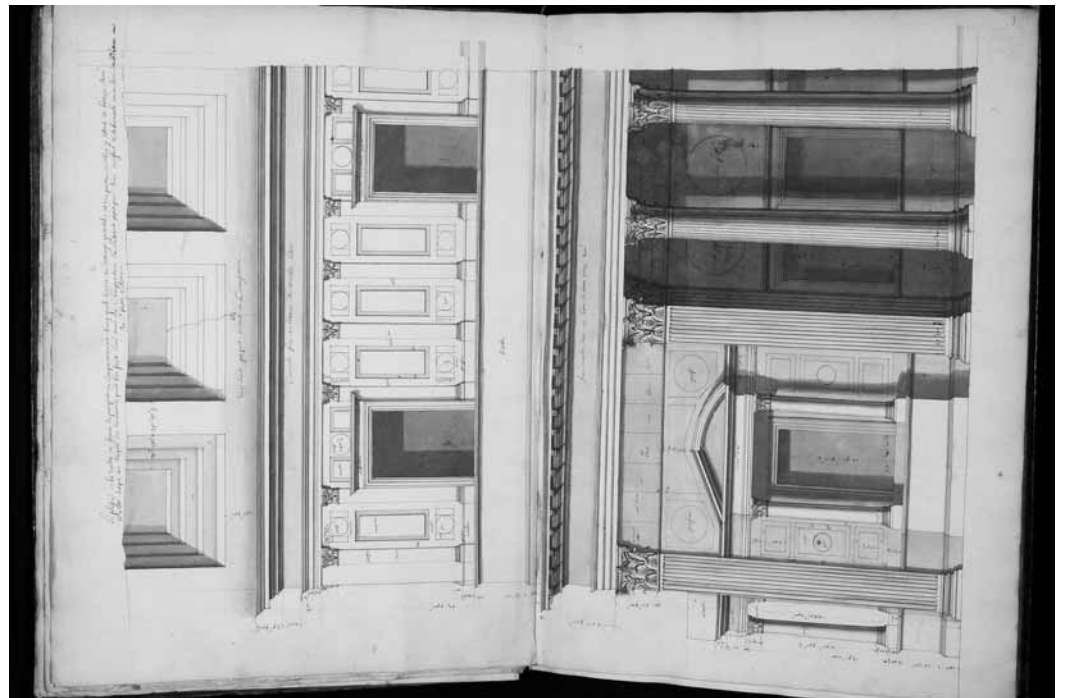
Sewn into binding at center fold; drawing oriented top to left.

Pen and dark brown and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *La plafond de la voulte en forme de parquet ou compartiment ainy quil se voit au dessingt general, et une partie en luy y estoit de bronze doré et a esté jusque au raigman des barberins; quilz l'on fait levé avec la charpenterie de l'avant portique dont en esfait le tabernacle au milieu de Domme de de S' Pierre a Rome* (top center, above coffers); *vingt-huit parquet entout la circonference* (top center, below coffers); *corniche frize architrave de marbre blanc* (top center, attic story and coffers); *frize marbre noir et peintre de ~~en~~ bronze doré* (center, on frieze above first story); various labels for materials and dimensions.

Related drawings: Goldschmidt Scrapbook, MMA 68.769.7v, 68.769.68v; Cronstedt Collection CC 1319.

The Worcester College draftsman used Cronstedt Collection CC 1319 as the basis for this interior elevation, filling out the copy with more detailed representations of cornices, alcoves, and other elements that are rendered schematically in the source drawing (ill. 4, p. 122). The elevation indicates both types of pediments, segmental and triangular, that appear on the aedicules, and includes a profile of a tabernacle on the left side of the drawing. The labels of the surface materials may have been borrowed from the annotations on Goldschmidt 68.769.7v, which includes two partial elevations of the attic; Goldschmidt 68.769.68v, a perspective view into one of the rectangular alcoves, could have supplied additional information, particularly about the alcove interior.



Cat. 3

The long note at the top of the drawing refers to the bronze portico roof structure and surfacing of the dome that were removed from the Pantheon by Urban VIII in the 1620s; the bronze was long believed to have been melted down for reuse in Bernini's *baldacchino*⁷. The note below this one, "vingt-huict parquet entour la circonference", refers to the number of coffers in each ring of the vault. The remaining annotations are labels of materials (e.g., "marbre", "serpentine", and "porfire"). The limits of the drawings are similar to the elevation of the cella interior that Serlio included in his third book on antiquities.

Cat. 4 Fols. 8v-9r

Exterior elevation of the Pantheon portico and its connection to the cella, with a sketch of pilaster fluting.

614 × 440 mm.

Watermark: B (fol. 8v).

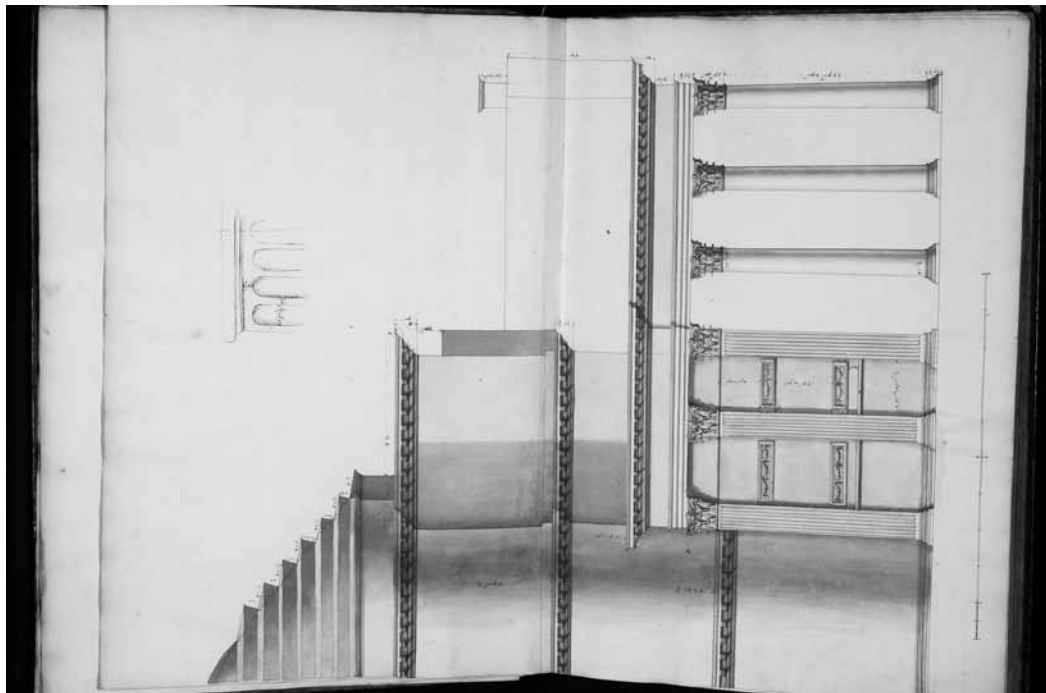
Tipped into binding at center fold; drawing oriented top to left; scale at bottom center; paper repair patched onto reverse of fol. 9r.

Pen and black ink with gray and blue washes and graphite underdrawing.

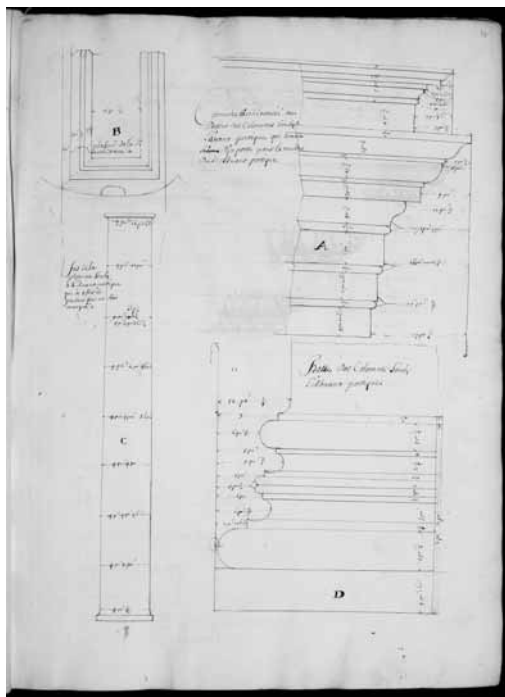
Annotations: various dimensions.

Related drawings: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.Icon 209e fols. 18v-19r; Cronstedt Collection CC 1320.

As with the interior elevation on folios 6v-7r, the Worcester College draftsman based this exterior elevation of the portico and its connection to the cella on a drawing in the Cronstedt Collection, CC 1320, and furnished the copy with additional details and shading absent from the original (ill. 5, p. 122). The Worcester College drawing includes a greater portion of the cella than the Cronstedt drawing does – the Worcester College drawing shows the rings at the base of the dome and a profile of the stairs to the oculus – but it omits the three openings in the upper levels of the intermediate block. The Worcester College draftsman also did not reproduce the Cronstedt drawing's inclusion of a lateral section through the portico. The Cronstedt drawing is either a close copy of Cod.Icon 209e's folios 18v-19r, which includes the section and elevation, or else both drawings are copies of a lost original.



Cat. 4



Cat. 5

Cat. 5 Fol. 10r

Details of four elements from the Pantheon portico.

328 × 443 mm.

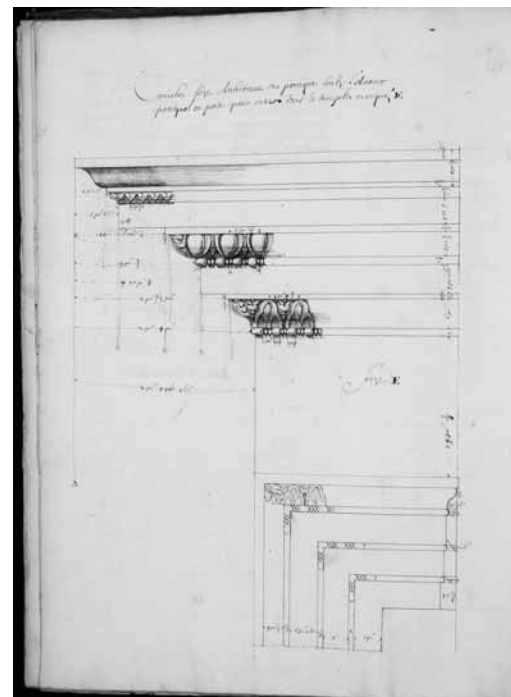
Watermark: A.

Fols. 10r-v and 11r-v are a single sheet, sewn into binding at center fold.

Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing.

Annotations (beginning at top right with detail "A" and proceeding counter-clockwise): [A] *Corniche Architravée au dessus des colonnes soubz l'avant portique qui servoit d'aposte pour la voûtes du d' avant portique*; [B] *plafond de la d' archtrave A*; [C] *Fus de la colonne soubz de l'avant portique qui à 8 fois la grosseur par en bas marqué C*; [D] *Basse des colonne soubz l'avant portique*; various dimensions.

Related drawings: Goldschmidt Scrapbook, MMA 68.769.1r, 68.769.4r; Cronstedt Collection CC 1317, CC 1408.



Cat. 6

Cat. 6 Fol. 10v

Detail of cornice, frieze, and architrave from the exterior of the main entrance to the Pantheon.

326 × 443 mm.

Watermark: A.

Fols. 10r-v and 11r-v are a single sheet, sewn into binding at center fold.

Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing and red chalk. Annotations: *Corniche frize Architrave du portique soubz l'avant portique ou porte pour entrere dans le temple marqué E* (top center); *frize E* (center); various dimensions.

Related drawings: Windsor Castle, RL 10376r; Goldschmidt Scrapbook, MMA 68.769.2v; Cronstedt Collection CC 1317, CC 1408.

The keymark E refers to the location of this element on folios 4v-5r.

Cat. 7 Fol. 11r

View of the roof structure of the Pantheon portico.

326 × 443 mm.

Fols. 10r-v and 11r-v are a single sheet, sewn into binding at center fold.

Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *Charpenterie de l'Avant portique de la Rotonde a Rome qui estoit de autre fois de Bronze*; various dimensions.

Related drawings: Windsor Castle, RL 10376v; Goldschmidt Scrapbook, MMA 68.769.1r.

This drawing and the one following on folio 11v were copied from the Goldschmidt Scrapbook's folio 68.769.1r, a sheet of drawings of the bronze structure that once supported the Pantheon portico.

tico roof. The bronze beams of this structure were removed from the building in the 1620s by Urban VIII – a circumstance alluded to in the inscription on this drawing – so the Worcester College draftsman would have had to rely on older drawings to represent them (see catalog entry 3). The Goldschmidt Scrapbook drawing is a more detailed version of a sketch that appears on Windsor Castle, RL 10376v; both drawings probably derive from the same source. The bronze beams are shown from a different angle in a section drawing through the portico in Munich Cod.Icon 209e, folios 18v-19r, and in a related drawing in the Cronstedt Collection, CC 1320 (see catalog entry 4). Other architects who drew the trusses before their removal include Peruzzi, Serlio, Palladio, Dosio, and Borromini⁸.

Cat. 8 Fol. 11v

View of the roof structure of the Pantheon portico.

326 × 443 mm.

Fols. 10r-v and 11r-v are a single sheet, sewn into binding at center fold.

Pen and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

Related drawings: Windsor Castle, RL 10376v; Goldschmidt Scrapbook, MMA 68.769.1r.

Keymarks A, B, C, and F refer to the location of these elements on the section drawing on folios 4v-5r; C also appears on folios 10r and 20r. See catalog entry 7 for further discussion of the roof structure and the source drawings.

Cat. 9 Fols. 12v-13r

Profiles and details of two entablatures from the interior vestibule of the main entrance to the Pantheon, with two details of the coffering of the vestibule barrel vault.

616 × 443 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 13r).

Tipped into binding at center fold; drawing oriented top to right.

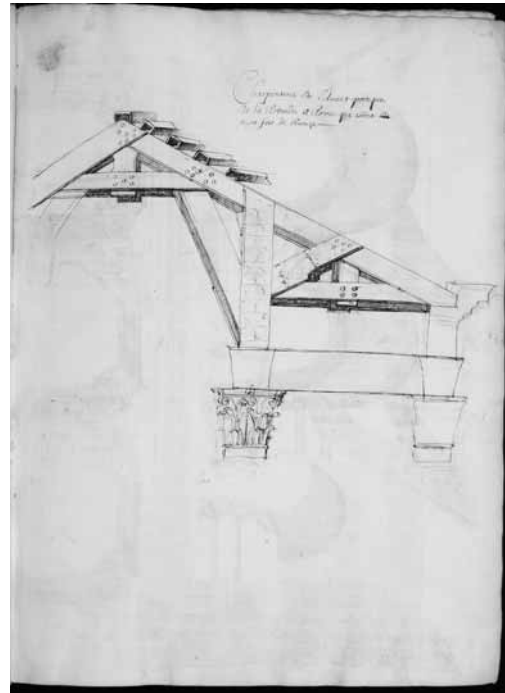
Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *Corniche frize & Architrave de l'ordre corinte du dedans de la Rotonde avec La corniche frize architrave de la porte en dedans de la d' Rotonde marquez avec deux G.* (bottom center); various dimensions.

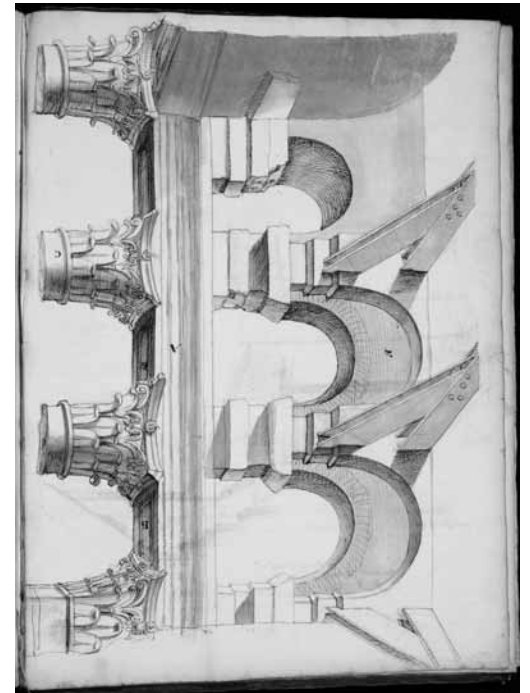
Related drawings: Goldschmidt Scrapbook, MMA 68.769.4v; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.Icon 209e fols. 16v-17r; Cronstedt Collection CC 1316.

The overlapping entablatures shown in profile and partial elevation in this drawing reflect the corner condition inside the the main entrance to the Pantheon, where the entablature over the door (top) intersects with the entablature that wraps around the cella above the first order (bottom). At the bottom left corner of the sheet are two details from the lower entablature; these are a side elevation of its modillion and floral coffer and a plan of that coffer. Similar drawings of the intersecting entablatures, with the accompanying details of the modillion and coffer, appear on Cod.Icon 209e, folios 16v-17r, and on Cronstedt Collection CC 1316.

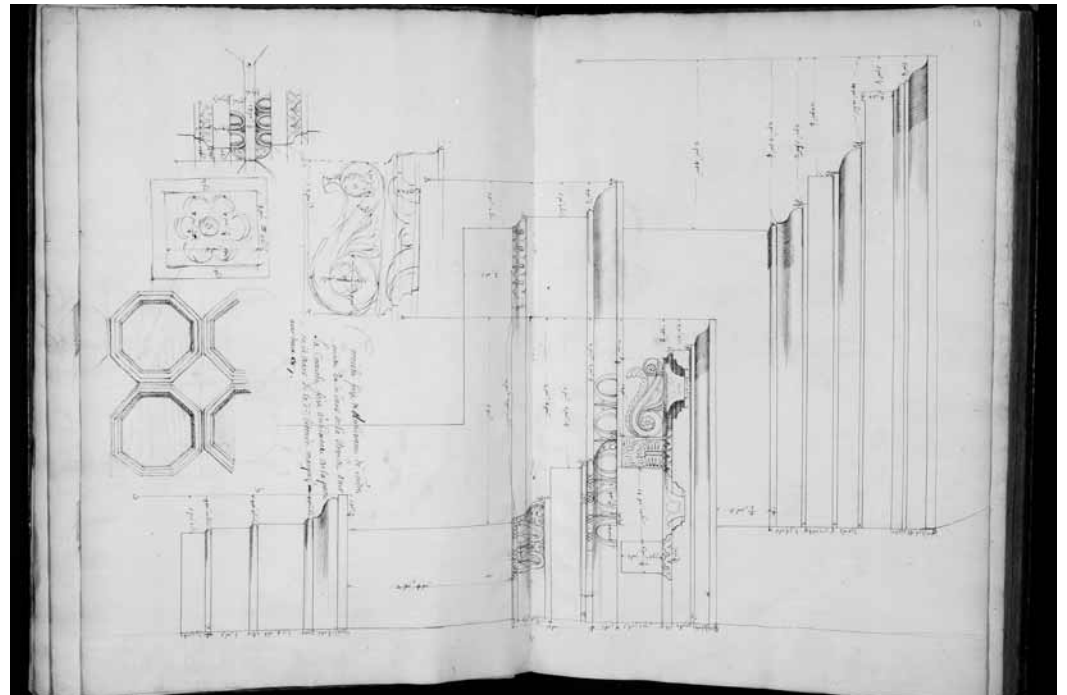
The location of this corner in the building is indicated with two G's on the section drawing on folios 4v-5r, and shown in the perspective view of the entrance on Goldschmidt 68.769.4v. The Goldschmidt sheet includes details of the octagonal coffering – no longer present in the building – of the barrel vault over the interior vestibule of the main entrance (see catalog entry 2). Two details of these coffers appear at the bottom of the Worcester College sheet. These are an elevation of five adjoining octagonal coffers (two complete, three partial), and a partial elevation and profile of the relief where the sides of two coffers meet. The latter detail, which has dimensions in *toise*, is a more finished version of the drawing of the same element on the Goldschmidt sheet.



Cat. 7



Cat. 8



Cat. 9

Cat. 10 Fol. 14r

Elevation of an attic pilaster capital, profile of a tabernacle pedestal, and profile of an attic pilaster base of the Pantheon.

318 x 443 mm.

Watermark: A (upside-down).

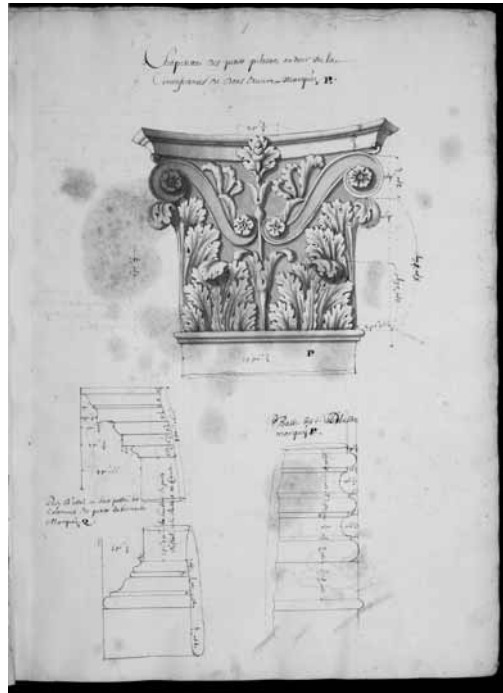
Fols. 14r-v and 15r-v are a single sheet, inserted into binding at center fold.

Pen and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

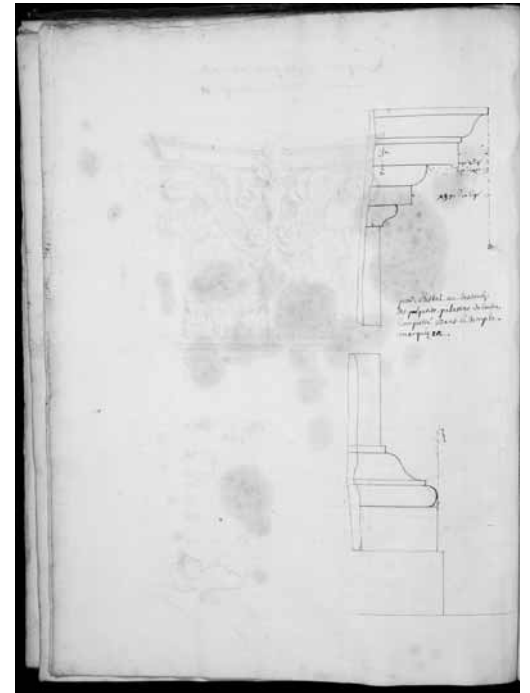
Annotations: *Chapiteau des petits pilastre autour de la Circonférence dedans oeuvre marqué P.* (top center); *Piedz D'estal ou sont posséz les colonnes des petits tabernacle marqué Q.* (bottom left); *la hauteur du pied d'estal de la Basse a la Cimesse.* (bottom left, sideways); *Basse des d' Pilastre marqué P.* (bottom right); various dimensions.

Related drawings: Goldschmidt Scrapbook, MMA 68.769.7v, 68.769.8r.

The capital shown in shaded elevation at the top of the drawing and the base shown in profile at the bottom right belong to a pilaster from the attic story of the Pantheon⁹. The Goldschmidt Scrapbook has a similar elevation of the pilaster capital on folio 68.769.7v and a profile of the pilaster base on folio 68.769.8r. The keymark P identifies the location of these pilasters on the section of the Pantheon on folios 4v-5r. The keymark Q identifies the profile of the pedestal from a tabernacle, shown at the bottom left of folio 14r.



Cat. 10



Cat. 11

Cat. 11 Fol. 14v

Profile of the zone between the first story and the attic of the Pantheon.

318 x 443 mm.

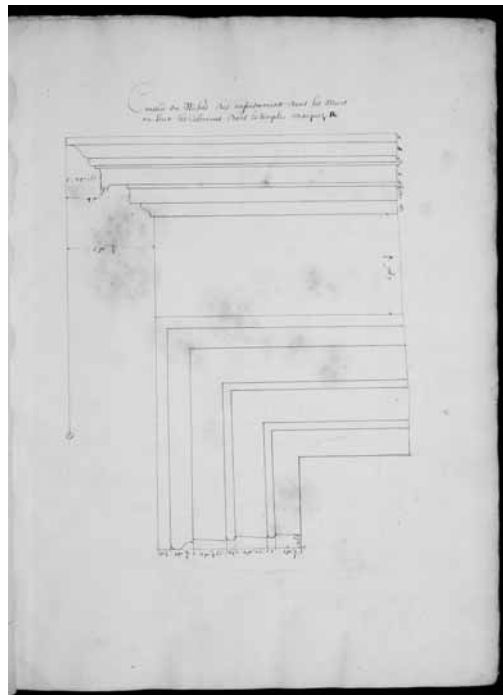
Watermark: A (upside-down).

Fols. 14r-v and 15r-v are a single sheet, inserted into binding at center fold.

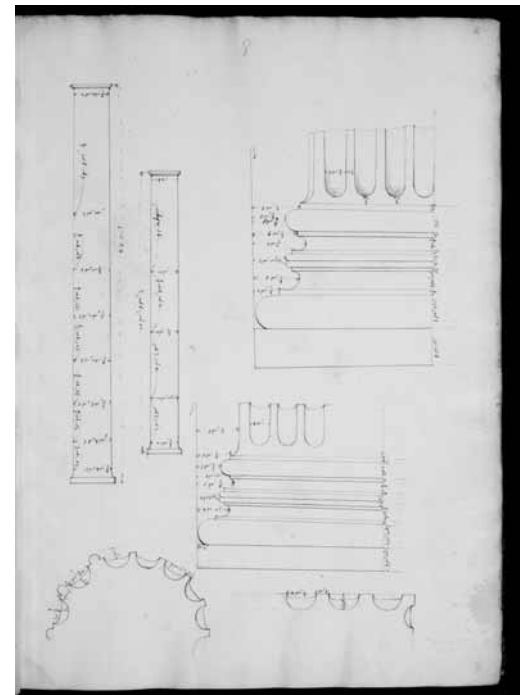
Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *piez D'estal au dessoubz des petits pilastres de l'ordre composé dans le temple marqué M;* various dimensions.

This profile of the zone between the cornice of the lower order and the base of the attic is identified by the keymark M on the section drawing on folios 4v-5r. A similar profile appears on folio 68.769.7v of the Goldschmidt Scrapbook.



Cat. 12



Cat. 13

Cat. 12 Fol. 15r

Detail of interior alcove of the Pantheon cella.

328 x 443 mm.

Fols. 14r-v and 15r-v are a single sheet, inserted into binding at center fold.

Pen and black ink.

Annotations: *Crossés ou Niches des enfondrement dans les murs ou sont les colonnes dans le temple marquez R;* various dimensions.

This partial elevation shows the molding and entablature of a niche in the rear wall of an alcove of the Pantheon's cella, identified by the keymark R on the section drawing on folios 4v-5r.

Cat. 13 Fol. 16r

Details of columns and pilasters from the Pantheon.

327 x 443 mm.

Watermark: A.

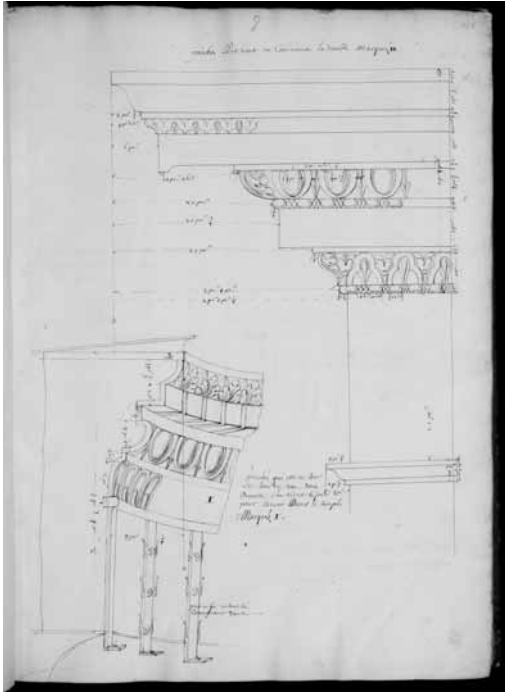
Fols. 16r-v and 17r-v are a single sheet, inserted into binding at center fold; 16v and 17r-v are blank.

Pen and black ink and graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: various dimensions.

The six details of columns and pilasters on this sheet contain no identifying keymarks or annotations. Given their relative sizes, the two column shafts shown in elevation at left appear to belong to the main order of the cella interior (left) and a taberna-

cle (right). At the bottom of the sheet are plans of a fluted column (left) and a fluted pilaster (right); these may belong to the main order of the cella interior as well. On the right side of the sheet, the two bases shown in profile at the top belong to fluted pilasters, the top possibly from the corner of an alcove.



Cat. 14

Cat. 14 Fol. 18r

Profile of the attic cornice and perspective section through the oculus of the Pantheon.

327 × 443 mm.

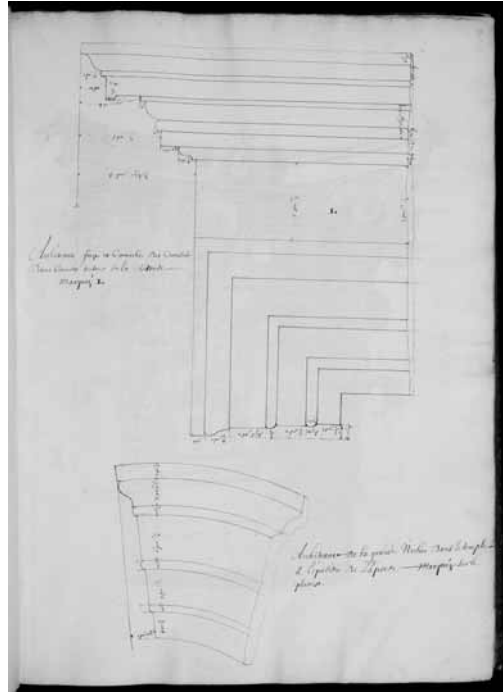
Fols. 18r-v and 19r-v are a single sheet, inserted into binding at center fold; 18v and 19v are blank.

Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing and red chalk.

Annotations: *Corniche D'en haut ou Commence la voulte Marquéz H* (top center); *Corniche qui est au tour du Rond ou trou dans Oeuvre; d'ou vient le tour pour esclever Dans le temple Marquéz I.* (bottom center); *pieds de fer entour la circonference trante* (bottom left); various dimensions.

Related drawings: Windsor Castle, RL 10376r; Goldschmidt Scrapbook, MMA 68.769.7r-v.

The cornice shown in profile at the top of the page is from the Pantheon attic, just below the first ring of coffers; the keymark H identifies its location on the section drawing on folios 4v-5r. Goldschmidt 68.769.7v, a sheet of studies of the attic, includes a similar profile. At the bottom of the page, a detail of the oculus identified by the keymark I shows the cornice at the upper rim and the vertical bars beneath it – referred to in the annotation as “pieds de fer” – that may have once supported a frieze. Drawn in perspective profile, the oculus detail was copied from Goldschmidt 68.769.7r at an enlarged scale, with the copy almost twice the size of the source drawing¹⁰. Another version of this detail appears on the recto of the Windsor Castle sheet.



Cat. 15

Cat. 15 Fol. 19r

Details of the openings in the attic and the central niche opposite the main entrance of the Pantheon.

327 × 440 mm.

Watermark: A.

Fols. 18r-v and 19r-v are a single sheet, inserted into binding at center fold; 18v and 19v are blank.

Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *Architrave frize et Corniche des Croissés dans Oeuvres autour de la Rotonde marquéz L* (center left); *Architrave de la grande Niche dans le temple a l'opposite de la porte marquéz sur le plan: O.* (bottom right); various dimensions.

Related drawing: Goldschmidt Scrapbook, MMA 68.769.7r-v.

At the top of the page, the openings in the attic story of the Pantheon are shown in partial elevation and profile. This detail, identified by the keymark L on the section drawing on folios 4v-5r, also appears on Goldschmidt 68.769.7v. At the bottom of the page, the curved architrave of the central niche, identified by the keymark O on the plan on folio 3r, is shown in partial elevation and profile. This detail also appears on Goldschmidt 68.769.7r.



Cat. 16

Cat. 16 Fol. 20r

Elevation of a capital from the portico of the Pantheon.

315 × 439 mm.

Watermark: C.

Pen and brown and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing; horizontal crease at center.

Annotations: *Chapeau des Collommes de l'avant Portique Marquéz C*; various dimensions.

Related drawings: Goldschmidt Scrapbook, MMA 68.769.4r; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.Icon 209e fol. 12r-v.

The keymark C refers to the location of the portico column capital on the section drawing on folios 4v-5r, to the elevation of the portico column shaft on folio 10r, and to the view of the portico roof structure on folio 11v. Cod.Icon 209e, folio 12r, has a similar drawing of the capital, executed in ink, with annotations and dimensions in the same positions (although on the left side of the capital instead of on the right). The reverse of this folio has a sketch of the capital in graphite. The capital on Goldschmidt 68.769.4r is drawn free-hand and in partial perspective but does include dimensions.

Cat. 17 Fols. 21v-22r

Partial elevation and details of a tabernacle in the Pantheon cella.

616 × 438 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 22r).

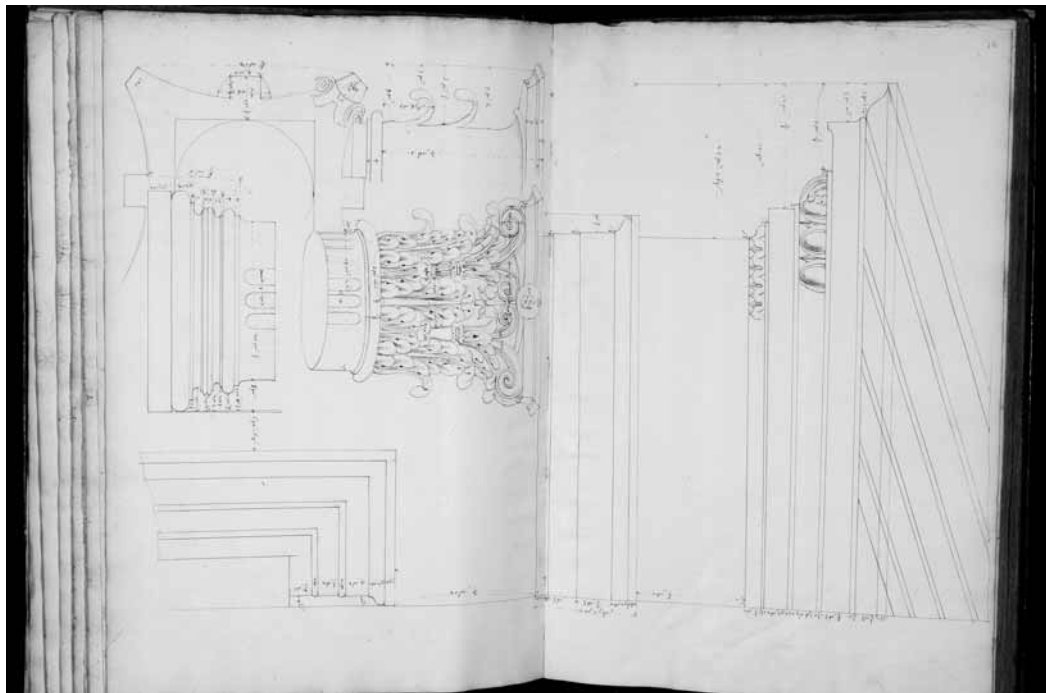
Tipped into binding on reverse at center fold; drawing oriented top to right.

Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing.

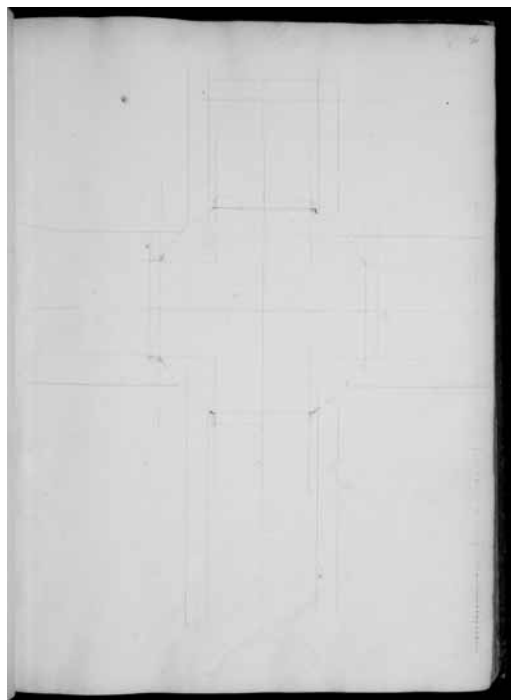
Annotations: various dimensions.

Related drawing: Cronstedt Collection CC 1315.

This study of a tabernacle from the Pantheon includes partial elevations of the pediment, entablature, capital, shaft, base, and moldings on the rear wall of the alcove, as well as a partial profile and plan of the capital. The same drawing appears on Cronstedt Collection CC 1315. Similar to these is another pair of drawings – Cod.Icon 209e, folio 13r, and Cronstedt Collection CC 1416 – that show the capital and base of a fluted column in elevation and plan. The larger dimensions inscribed on these elements indicate that they probably belong to the main order rather than to a tabernacle.



Cat. 17



Cat. 18

Cat. 18 Fol. 24r

Sketch of an unidentified building with a cruciform plan (?).

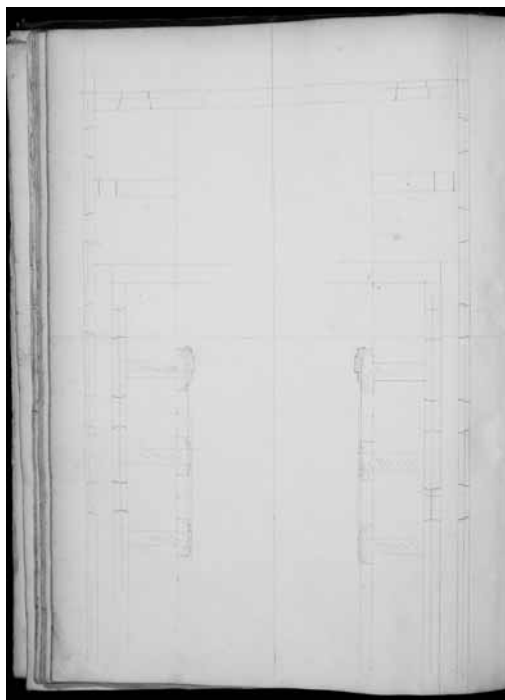
324 × 443 mm.

Watermark: B.

Graphite.

Annotations: *Plan* (top center; possibly modern hand).

Ruled lines form a cruciform shape with a circle at its center, perhaps meant to be used as the underdrawing, or guidelines, for the plan of a building. There are divider marks at the lower right. This drawing, along with those described in catalog entries 19 and 20, may have been added to the manuscript by a later draftsman, after the sheets were bound.



Cat. 19

Cat. 19 Fols. 28v-29r

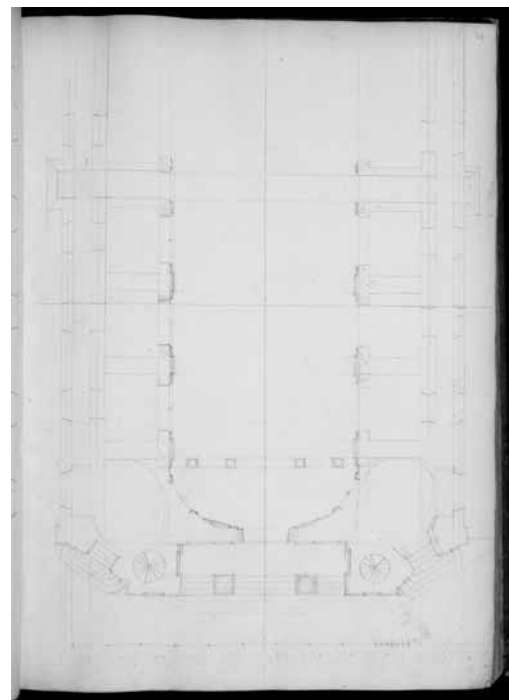
Partial plan of a longitudinal building; possibly a project for Sant'Eustachio in Rome.

648 × 443 mm.

Graphite.

Scale at bottom right.

Although this preparatory drawing bears no identifying annotations, the building plan features several distinctive elements that associate it with projects put forth by Bernardo Borromini and others for the renovation of the Roman church of Sant'Eustachio in the last decade of the seventeenth and the first decade of the eighteenth century. These elements include the recessed central portico with two columns and the ambulatory in the narrow space



between the exterior walls and the side aisles. Other features, however, such as the stepped entrances on either side of the central portico and the four columns across the narthex, do not appear in any of the other proposals for the church or in the renovated building. It is possible that this drawing, like the ones described in catalog entries 18 and 20, was added to the manuscript by a later draftsman, after the sheets had been bound. One indication of this is the awkward layout of the longitudinal plan, split in half and arranged vertically on opposite sides of the gutter. Another indication is the difference in technique between these three drawings and the rest of the manuscript's drawings: the linework is heavier on these drawings, with dense hatching, and unlike the rest of the manuscript's drawings, these have not been finished in ink.

Cat. 20 [Not pictured] Fol. 32r
Ruled lines with scale.

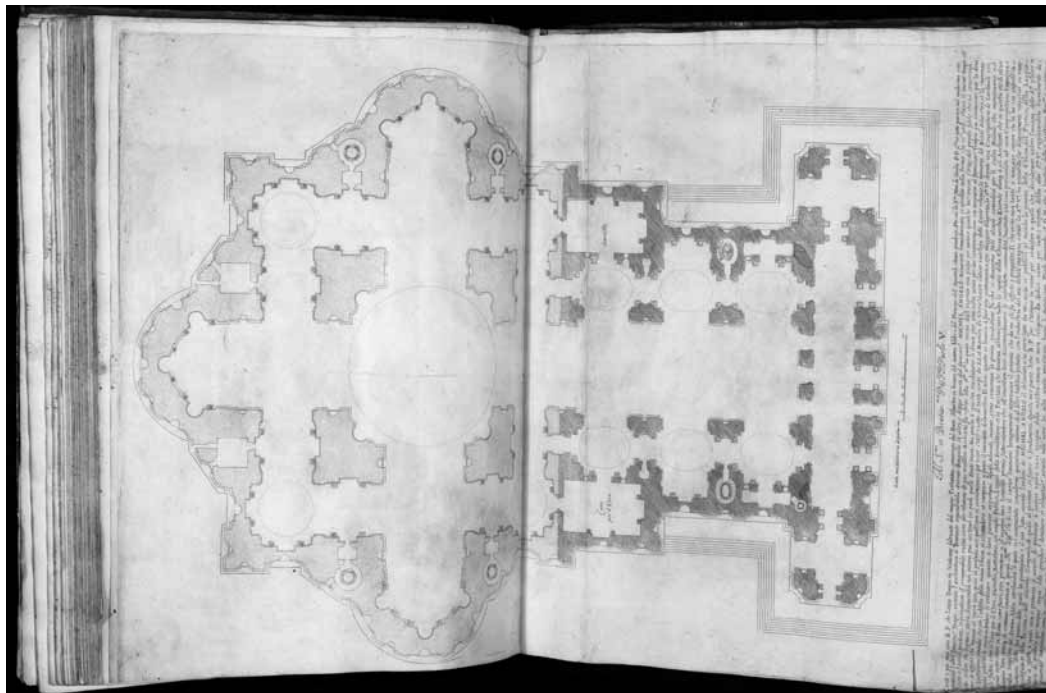
324 × 443 mm.
Watermark: D.
Graphite.
Scale at bottom.

This drawing contains a few ruled graphite lines and a set of divider marks. Along with the drawings described in catalog entries 19 and 20, it seems to have been added to the manuscript by a later draftsman.

Cat. 21 Fols. 55v-56r
Plan of Saint Peter's by Matthæus Greuter.

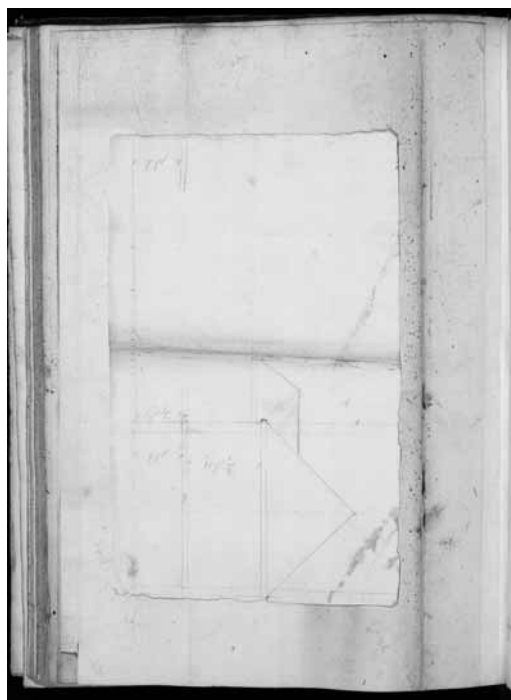
700 × 444 mm.
Watermark: similar to A, but with different proportions (fol. 55v, upside-down).
Tipped into binding at center fold; trimmed at bottom and folded at right.
Engraving.

The Greuter plan of Saint Peter's, published in 1613, is the only printed material bound into the manuscript. Michelangelo's plan for the crossing appears on the left, with Maderno's design for the nave and façade on the right, a modified version of which was completed under Paul V. The copy of the plan in Ms B 2. 3 is ink-splattered on the



Cat. 21

reverse and creased, indications that it may have been used in the field by the Worcester College draftsman as he measured and sketched the building.

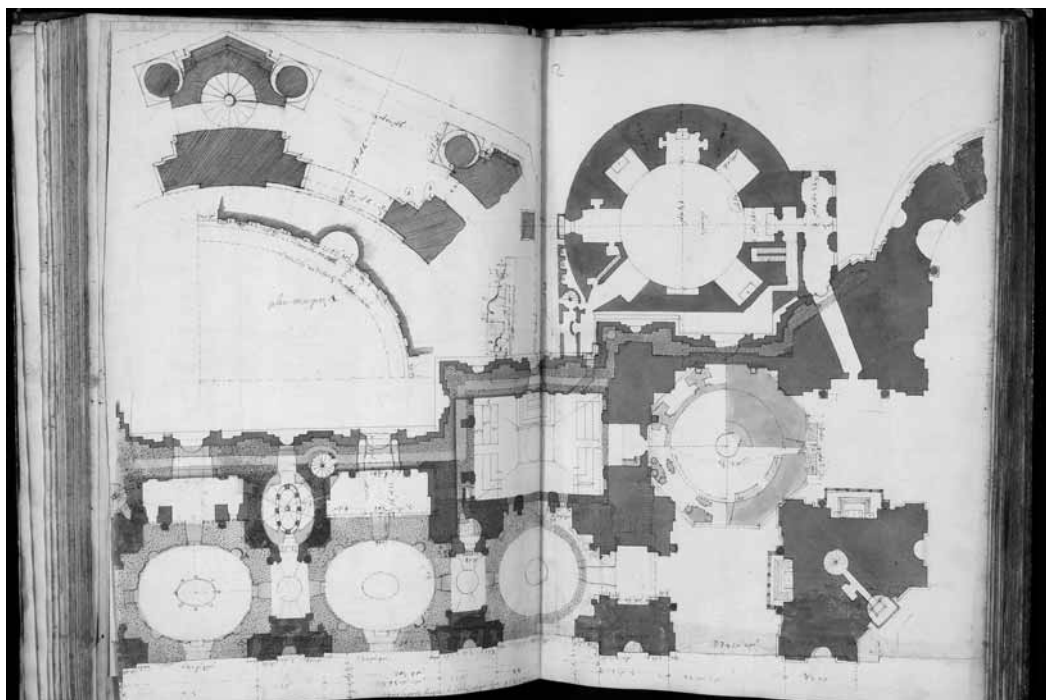


Cat. 22

Cat. 22 Fol. 56a
Sketch of unidentified building.

326 × 194 mm.
Loose sheet inserted between folio 56v and folio 57r;
creased at center; scale at bottom.
Graphite.
Annotations: various dimensions.

This ruled graphite drawing of a two-story building has no apparent connection to the rest of the manuscript. It is not bound into the volume.



Cat. 23

Cat. 23 Fols. 57v-58r
Plan of Saint Peter's; southern half of the ground floor from the first bay of the nave to the crossing, with details of minor domes and plan of Santa Maria della Febbre.

614 × 445 mm.
Watermark: A (fol. 58r).
Tipped into binding at center fold; trimmed at top, left, and bottom edges; paper additions to bottom edge; scale at center.
Pen and dark brown and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.
Annotations: *Corniche de socle* [?] (top left); *Corniche au de*

souz du socle [?](top left); *Plan marquez A* (top left); *Moulur de la porte qui entre en la grand chappelles marquez B* (center, sideways); *Tboise* (center near scale, sideways); *Sacristi* (center right); *de puis la portes Jusque a l'hotel major il y a 93 tz 5 pd.* (bottom left); various dimensions.

In addition to the southern half of the nave – indicated in dark gray wash – this plan includes information from the roof level, including the minor dome and the cupolas over the side chapels, indicated in light gray wash. The plan fragment at the top left, hatched in brown ink over a gray wash, is an enlarged detail of the minor dome. Below that,

a detail of the cupola over the first bay of the nave has the keymark A to mark its location on the plan. Other details on the plan include the depiction of the interior wall corridors, which appear on some engraved plans of the church (such as Ferra-

bosco's) but not all; the plan of Santa Maria della Febbre, labeled "Sacristi"; and the furnishings of several altars and chapels, such as the choir chapel at the third bay of the nave and the altars in the crossing pier.

Cat. 24 Fols. 59v-60r

Plan of Saint Peter's; northwest quadrant of the ground floor with details from other levels.

620 x 420 mm.

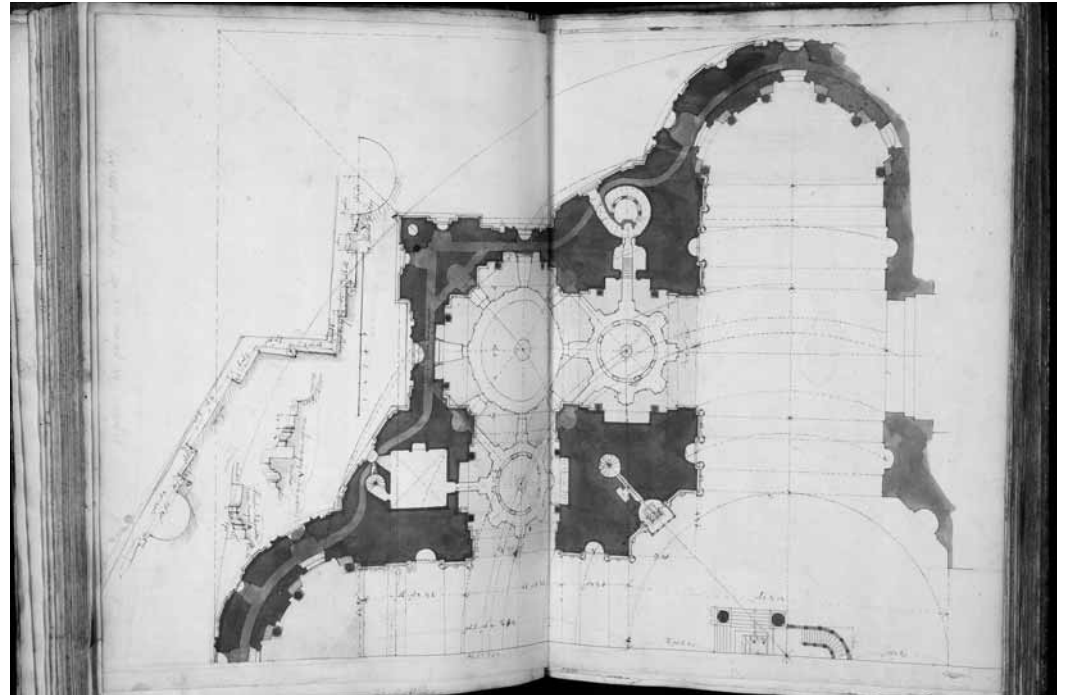
Watermark: A (fol. 60r).

Tipped into binding at center fold; trimmed at left edge; scale at center left.

Pen and dark brown ink with yellow and gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *Thoises de Roy* (left center, near scale); *colidor qui tourne tout autoure* (center left, sideways); *demy pilastre* (left center); *niche* (left center); *moulur marqué A de la grande niches* (lower left center); *pilastre* (left center); *Moulur de la petites niche marque B* (lower left center); *pilastre* (lower left center); *Niche* (lower left center); *marbre pied* (lower right, on baldacchino); various dimensions.

This plan shows the area of the crossing between the western and northern apses, with information from several levels superimposed. Its orientation, with the northern apse at the top of the page, is opposite to that of the previous plan. On the right side of the drawing, an enlarged detail of the exterior of the western apse identifies the locations of the major niches ("moulur marqué A de la grande niches"), the minor niches ("Moulur de la petites niche marque B"), and various other moldings. On the crossing plan, the corridor inside the exterior walls is labeled "colidor qui tourne tout autoure", and Bernini's *baldacchino* appears in a partial plan at the center.



Cat. 24

Cat. 25

Fols. 61v-62r

Plan of Saint Peter's; northwest quadrant of the attic, drum, dome, and cupola.

598 x 420 mm.

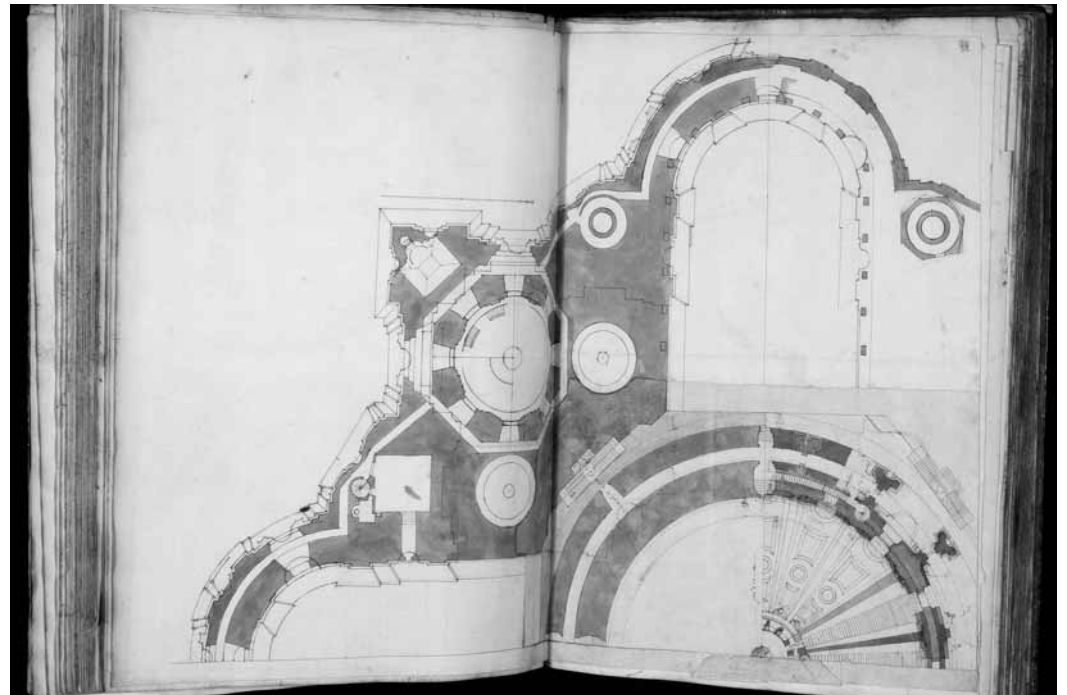
Watermark: A (fol. 61v, upside-down).

Tipped into binding at center fold; trimmed at bottom and right edges; paper additions to bottom right corner and to bottom edge; scale at top left.

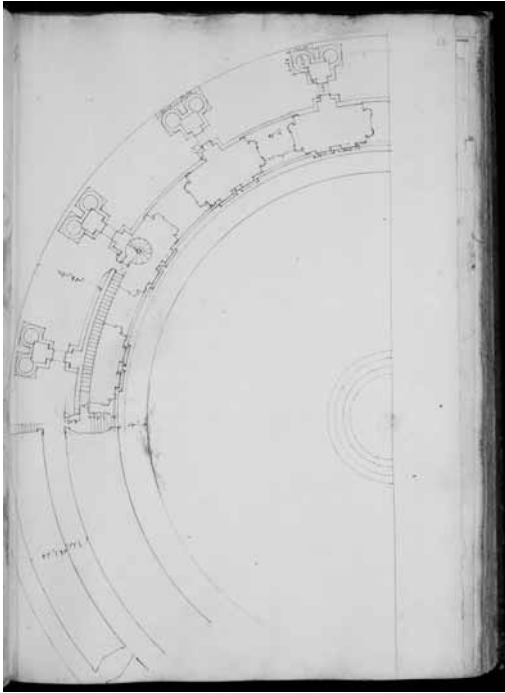
Pen and dark brown ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: various dimensions.

As on the manuscript's other plans of Saint Peter's, different levels of the building are indicated by variations in the washes. The plan includes information from the attic (light and medium gray wash), the drum (dark gray wash), and the dome and cupola (dark gray wash and brown ink).



Cat. 25



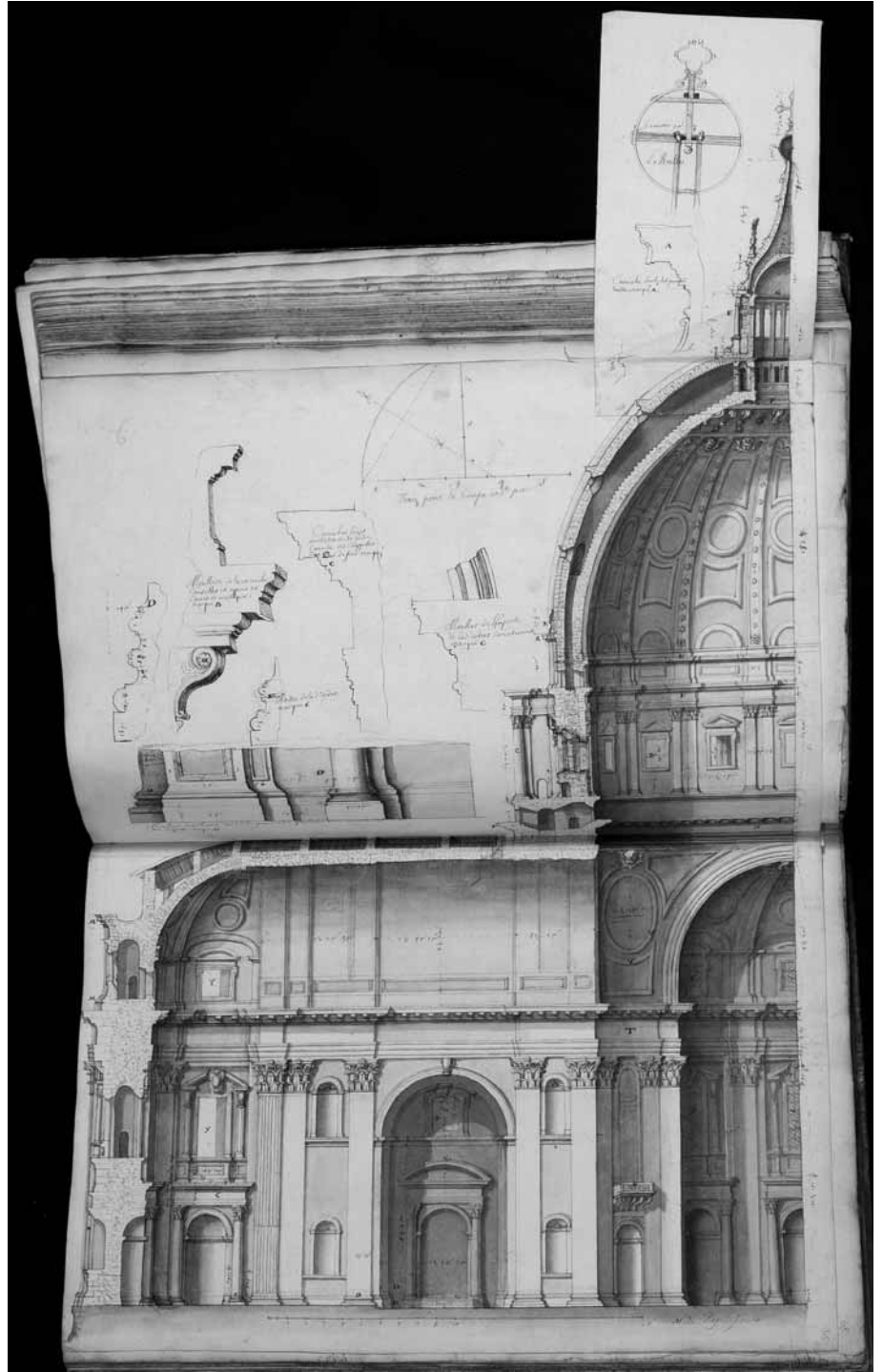
Cat. 26

Cat. 26 Fol. 63r
Partial plan of drum of Saint Peter's.

300 × 443 mm.
 Watermark: A (upside-down).
 Trimmed at bottom edge.
 Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing.
 Annotations: various dimensions.

Related drawings: Scholz Scrapbook, MMA 49.92.62r, 49.92.63r; Cronstedt Collection CC 1337.

This plan shows one quarter of the drum at the level of the paired columns, the beginning of another quarter at the level of the base of the dome, and the location of the cupola indicated with dashed lines. The drawing appears to be an incomplete copy of the plans in the Scholz Scrapbook and the Cronstedt Collection, all of which show the complete circumference of the drum with information from the level of the dome¹¹. The Worcester College plan does not have a scale, but it includes measurements given in French *pieds* and *pouces*. The Scholz and Cronstedt plans have measurements in Roman *palmi* and *canne*, with French inscriptions on Scholz 49.92.63r and Cronstedt Collection CC 1337.



Cat. 27

Cat. 27 Fols. 64v-65r
Section through Saint Peter's with details and curvature diagram.

602 × 430 mm; additional flap, 212 × 119 mm
 Watermark: A (fol. 65r, upside-down)
 Tipped into binding at center fold; trimmed at left and bottom edges; extra paper added to left edge; drawing oriented top to left; scale at bottom right. Pen and dark brown and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.
 Annotations: *diamestre* (top, on flap); *La Boule* (top, on flap); *Corniche souz les premie basse marqué A* (top, on flap); *Traiz pour la coupe de S' pierre* (top center); *Corniches frizes architrave de l'ordre Corintien des chappelles des Cul de four marqué C* (top center); *Moullure de la corniche consolles et appuis des coeurs de mussiques marque B* (top center); *Moullur de l'imposte de la d' ordres corintiens marqué C* (top center); *Basses de la d' ordre marque C* (top

center); *profile du pilastre de la grand ordre* (center left); *Moullur des Bases dans de la grand ordre que de la d' ordre corintiens des chappelle maque D* (center); *4 tz 15 po du diamestre dans oeuvre* (center right); *Thoise de Roy de frances* (bottom right); various dimensions.

Related drawings: Scholz Scrapbook, MMA 49.92.15v, 49.92.17r, 49.92.18v, 49.92.20v, 49.92.45r, 49.92.91r; Cronstedt Collection CC 1353; Album Derand, RF 2027 fol. 21r.

This section through the basilica contains several inconsistencies with the drawings in the related collections and with the building itself. First is the depiction of the apse vaults. The vaults shown in the section drawing on folios 64v-65r correspond to an earlier design by Michelangelo for the apses, a design that was not built¹². In this earlier design, the arch of the molding over the windows springs from

a point slightly above the top of the window frame rather than from the lower springing point that can be seen in the vaults today. Ms B 2. 3 has a partial elevation of this earlier design for the vault (see folio 75r, catalog entry 33), but the window frame in that drawing has a triangular pediment rather than the segmental pediment shown in the section drawing here. Therefore the Worcester College draftsman may have had another source of information for Michelangelo's unbuilt design for the apses in addition to the source used for folio 75r.

An additional source might explain other problems in the depiction of the apses on folios 64v-65r. The section through the exterior wall of the apse differs both from the section through the lower part of the basilica in the Scholz Scrapbook (49.92.15v) and from the building itself. The most obvious difference is that the Worcester College drawing shows the interior and exterior cornices level with each

other, when the interior cornice should appear well below that of the exterior. Just inside the apse wall, underneath the attic vault, the second-story window frame falls too low in the Worcester College drawing; its top and bottom do not align with the capitals of the adjacent Corinthian pilasters as they do in Scholz 49.92.45r, a partial interior elevation of the apse, and in the building today. As a result of the lowering of the window frame, the molding at the top of the window's pedestal does not align with the molding at the base of the adjacent niche. This breaks the horizontal continuity that can be seen in Scholz 49.92.91r, another partial interior elevation, and in Ferrabosco's engravings.

Lower pedestals for the second-story window frames also appear in the drawing – now in Naples, Ms XII.D.74, folio 22v – of Michelangelo's project for the basilica¹³. This drawing, which Keller linked to the Scholz Scrapbook drawings, could explain some of the idiosyncracies in the Worcester College drawing, including the depiction of the second-story windows and of the apse vaults, but not all of them. The Worcester College draftsman may have produced his section

through the exterior wall from personal observation and not by copying from a source, with the errors in the alignment of the cornices and the schematic representation of the roof the natural consequences of the particular difficulty of drawing this area of the building. In the rendering of the pediments over the windows in the drum, on the other hand, the draftsman seems merely sloppy or confused¹⁴.

On the section through the drum, edits made in ink on top of the wash suggest that the draftsman visited this spot after having finished a draft of the drawing. The additions include the staircases that lead down to the lower roof, a revision of the section through the windows, and the spiral staircase used to access the space between the shells of the dome. The resulting drawing does not match the sections through the drum and dome in the related collections – these are Scholz 49.92.18v and 49.92.20v, Cronstedt Collection CC 1353, and Album Derand, folio 21r – because it depicts the dome with the raised profile attributed to Giacomo della Porta, a change made after the Scholz and Cronstedt drawings were made from Michelan-

gelo's wooden drum and dome model.

Eighteen keymarks identify the location of details on the section and on other drawings: A refers to the profile of the cornice on the additional flap; B to the balconies of the crossing, with the shaded profile at left; C to the base of the columns on the ground floor, with the profile at left; D to the bases and moldings of the ground floor's major order, with the detail elevation at left; E, F, and G to the details of the cupola on folios 77v-78r; M to the moldings on the attic exterior; N to the interior moldings at the base of the dome on folio 85v; O to the drum windows on folio 66v; P to the exterior cornice at the base of the drum; Q to the exterior cornice of the drum on folios 66v-67r; R to the exterior details of the base of the dome on folio 85v; S to the interior cornice of the drum on folios 81v-82r and 85v; T to the interior cornice of the attic on folios 83r and 85v; V to the circular molding at the attic of the crossing on folio 85v; Y to the major order of the exterior and the interior windows of the attic on folios 68v-69r, 74r, 75r, and 79v-80r; and + to the upper window of the chapel on the ground floor on folio 85v.

Cat. 28 Fols. 66v-67r

South elevation of the nave and partial section through the narthex of Saint Peter's with details.

663 × 418 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 66v, upside-down).

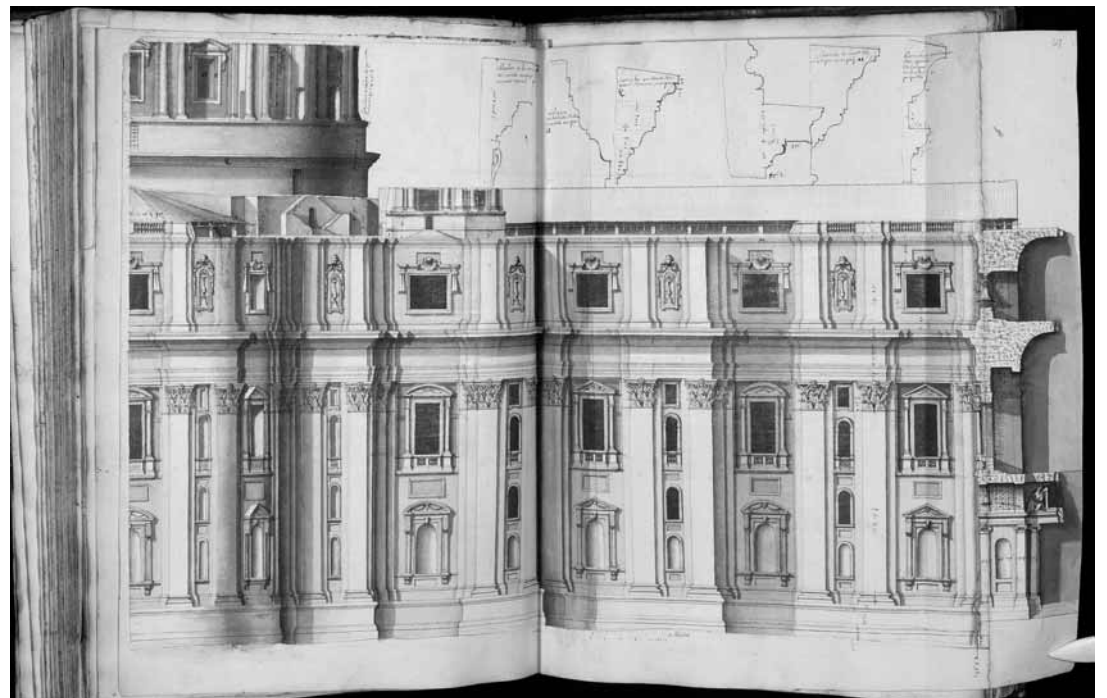
Tipped into binding at center fold; paper added to right edge; scale at bottom center.

Pen and dark brown and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *la hauteur de l'ordre jusque dessus la corniche 6 pz 2 p' ½* (top left); *Moulure de la corniche des croissés marquez O au grand domme* (top center); *architrave au toure des dictes croissés marque O* (top center); *Corniche au toure du grand domme marque Q* (top center); *Corniche du bault de Latique marquez M* (top right); *Corniche et architrave des croissés de latique ou sont les quoquille* (top right); *10 thoises* (bottom right, near scale); various dimensions.

There are at least two differences between this drawing of the exterior nave and the existing basilica. First, the segmental and triangular pediments over the second-story windows alternate in the opposite order in the drawing – i.e., the window at the center of the south apse should have a triangular pediment, the one next to it a segmental pediment, and so on. Second, the Ionic capitals on the small columns flanking these windows should be lower than, not level with, the adjacent Corinthian capitals of the major order, and the window frames underneath the segmental arches should have arched tops, not the rectilinear ones shown here (see catalog entry 30). The fact that the drawing ends halfway through the narthex and just below its roof level suggests that this area of the basilica was still in flux when the draftsman made the elevation; construction on the narthex and bell tower occurred throughout the early 1640s.

At the top of the page, the profiles are identified by the keymarks O for the cornice and base of the drum windows, Q for the exterior cornice of the drum, and M for the exterior moldings of the attic story. The keymarks refer to the location of these elements on the section drawing on folios 64v-65r.



Cat. 28

Cat. 29 Fols. 68v-69r

Partial elevation, section, and details of an exterior and profile of exterior niche entablature of Saint Peter's.

612 × 443 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 69r, upside-down).

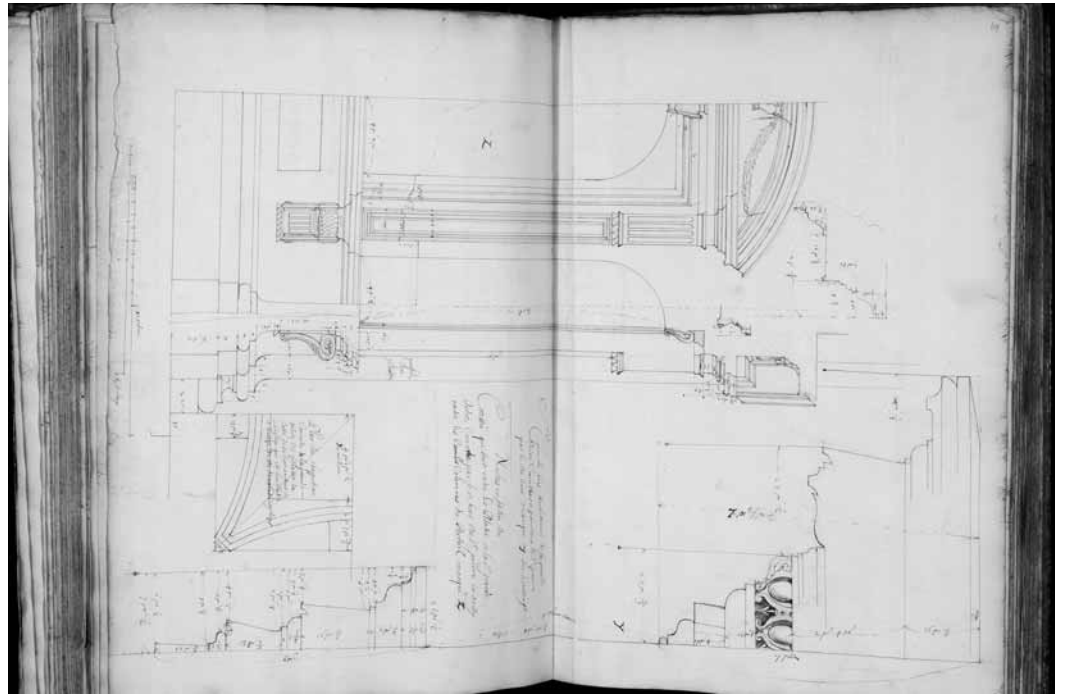
Tipped into binding at center fold; drawing oriented top to right; scale at bottom center.

Pen and dark brown ink with graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *frize* (center right); *Corniche frize architrave de la grande Ordre Corinthe au pour tous de S^t pierre par le de hors marque Y sur le dessingt* (center right); *Niches en fason de Croissée qui sont entre les Pilastr de la d^e grande Ordre Corinthe par le de hors de S^t pierre et aussy entre les ~~Colonne~~ Colomnes du Portail marqué Z* (center right); *frizes* (center right); *8 palme romin* (center right); *profil du pilastr* (bottom center); *4 pd 1 po¹ 1/2 du milieu* (bottom right); *Plan du chappitiau corinte de la grande ordre des pilastr de costé de dehors autour de lesglise qui est semblable a ceux de de dans la d^e esglizes* (bottom right); *20 palme* (bottom center, near scale); *2 tz de Roy* (bottom center, near scale); various dimensions.

Related drawings: Scholz Scrapbook, MMA 49.92.12r-v, 49.92.14r, 49.92.42r-v; Cronstedt Collection CC 1354r.

On the left, the drawing of a first-floor niche identified with the keymark Z is the first in a series of studies of elements from the basilica exterior that continues over the next three folios. This drawing compiles onto a single page details that are spread over two sheets in the Scholz Scrapbook (folios 49.92.12r-v and 49.92.42r-v). On the



Cat. 29

right, the profile of the exterior entablature is another version of the drawing that appears on folio 74r. The keymark Y identifies this entablature on that folio and on the section drawing on folios 64v-65r.

Cat. 30 Fols. 70v-71r

Partial elevation, section, plan, and details of an exterior window of Saint Peter's.

618 × 443 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 70v).

Tipped into binding at center fold; drawing oriented top to left.

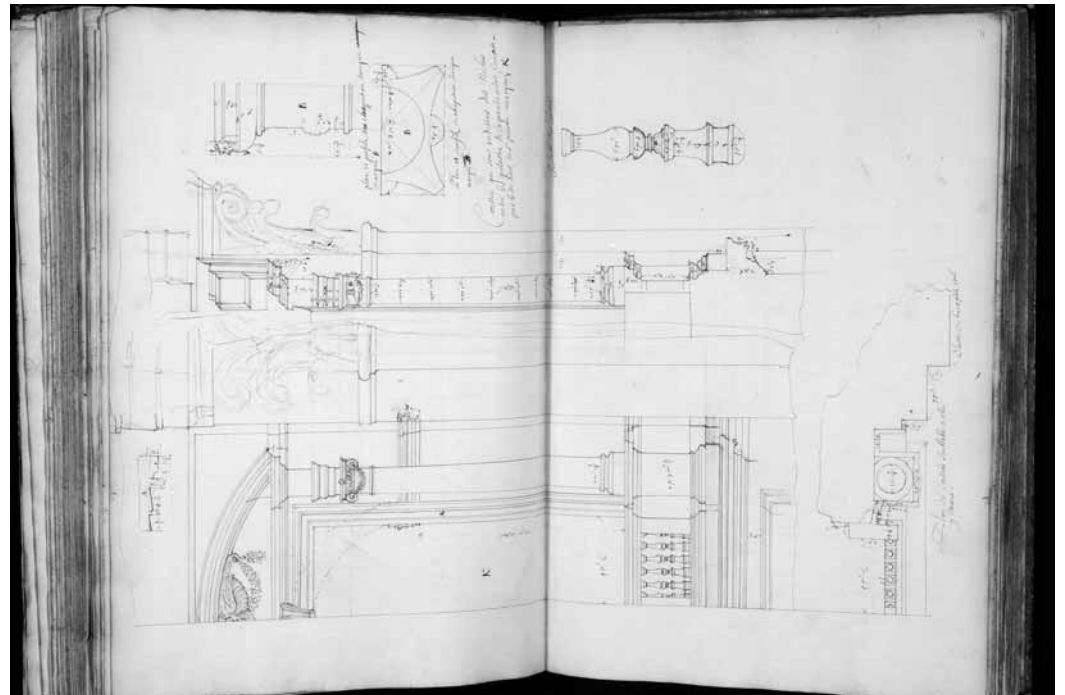
Pen and dark brown and black ink with graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *plan et profils des chappitiau Ionique marqué marqué B* (center right); *Plan et profils du chapitiau Ionique marqué B* (center right); *Croissée qui sont au dessus des niches entre les pilastr de la grande ordre Corinthe par le de hors de S^t pierre marqué K* (center right); *Balustre des croissée* (center right); *Plan des Croissées semblable a celle y dessus C* (bottom left); *Pilastr de huit pied 3 po¹.* (bottom center); various dimensions.

Related drawings: Scholz Scrapbook, MMA 49.92.13r-v.

This study of a second-story exterior window contains an anomaly that also appears on the nave elevation on folios 66v-67r. The Ionic capitals of the columns flanking the window are shown aligned with the bottom of the Corinthian capitals of the pilaster order adjacent, whereas on the building, the Ionic capitals sit well below the Corinthian capitals. Furthermore, on the building, segmental pediments appear over the windows that have arched frames; the rectilinear window frame on this Worcester College drawing includes, however, a dashed line to indicate the correction.

The elevation of this window on Scholz folio 49.92.13v shows the Ionic column capitals in the correct position relative to the adjacent pilasters and features an arched window frame under the segmental pediment. The Ionic capitals are rendered more accurately in the Scholz drawing



Cat. 30

than they are in the Worcester College elevation of the same window, where the volutes are too small. Thus although the Worcester College and Scholz drawings of the exterior window are highly similar, the former is not an exact copy of the latter.

The keymarks used to identify elements in the Worcester College drawing are A for the inner molding of the window frame, B for the details of the Ionic column capital and entablature, and K for the window itself.

Cat. 31 Fol. 72r

Partial elevation of an exterior attic window (left) and profile of the drum cornice (right) of Saint Peter's.

314 × 438 mm.

Drawing oriented top to left.

Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing.

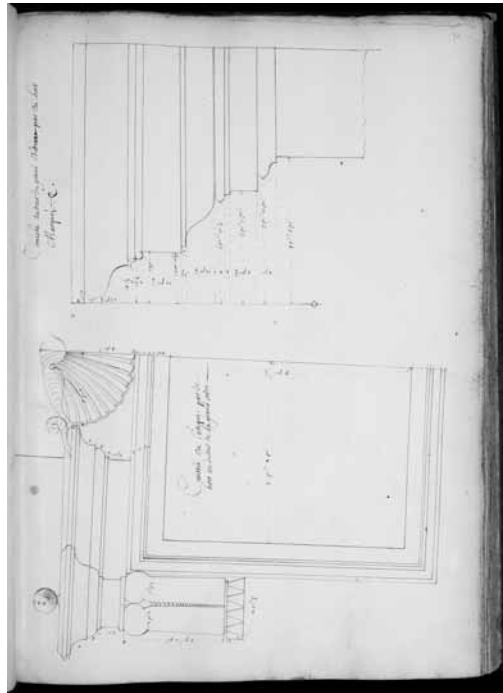
Annotations: *Croissée de l'attique par de hors au dessus de la grand ordre* (center left); *Corniche autour du grand domme par de hors* Marquéz Q. (top right); various dimensions.

Related drawings: Scholz Scrapbook, MMA 49.92.22r; Cronstedt Collection CC 1354v.

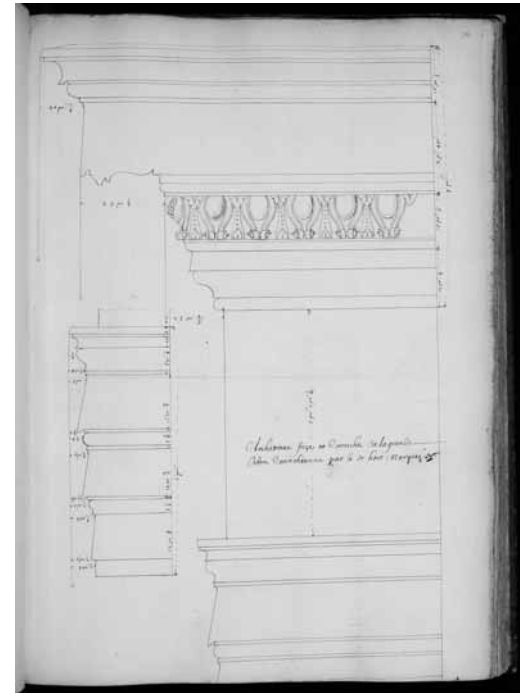
Scholars interested in determining Michelangelo's intentions for the exterior ornamentation of Saint Peter's have focused on the window frames of the attic¹⁵. On the left, the Worcester College drawing shows one of the two types of frames that now cover the large arched openings originally constructed above the cornice of the major order. These openings appear in engravings of the basilica from the 1560s, such as those by Dupérac and Luchino, and Millon and Smyth, among others, have argued that the openings were part of Michelangelo's final design for the decoration of the basilica. According to this argument, the current window frames – like the one shown in this drawing – resulted from a design change made after the architect's death in 1564.

The Worcester College drawing of the attic window frame, which is a partial elevation, may have been copied from the full elevation of the frame on Scholz 49.92.22r. Alternatively, both drawings may derive from a third source. Cronstedt Collection CC 1354v is another partial elevation of the frame, one that includes even less of the element than the Worcester College version does; it may derive from the Scholz drawing or from the third source as well. The presence of a complete elevation of the attic window frame in the Scholz Scrapbook is significant, because that collection contains a corpus of drawings devoted exclusively to Michelangelo's architectural projects. The inclusion of the attic window frame among that corpus lends credence to the idea put forth by Burns and Hirst that Michelangelo designed these frames himself, one of the last alterations that the architect planned for the basilica before he died¹⁶.

On the right side of the sheet, the keymark Q identifies the location of the drum cornice on folios 66v-67r, a drawing that contains another profile of the element.



Cat. 31



Cat. 32

Cat. 32 Fol. 74r

Profile of exterior entablature of Saint Peter's.

318 × 443 mm.

Watermark: C.

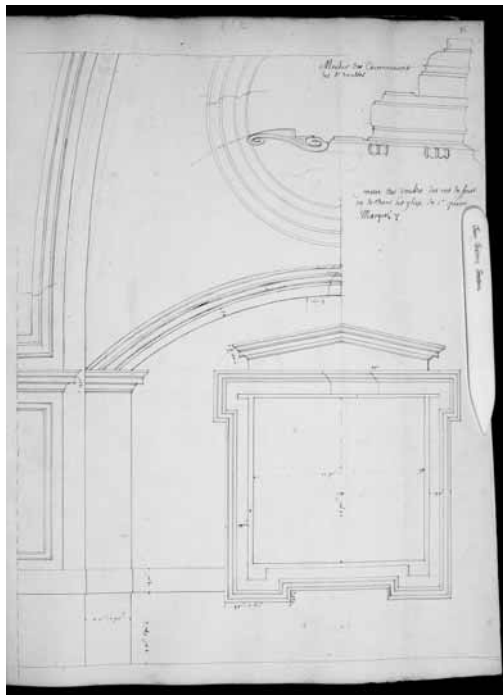
Trimmed at bottom edge.

Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *Arbitrative frize et Corniche de la grande Ordre Corinthienne par le de hors marquéz Y.* (center); various dimensions.

Related drawings: Scholz Scrapbook, MMA 49.92.14r; Cronstedt Collection CC 1354r.

The keymark Y refers to the location of this element on folios 68v-69r. Although the Scholz and Cronstedt drawings show the profile of the exterior cornice with dimensions, unlike the Worcester College drawing they do not include the entire architrave.



Cat. 33

Cat. 33 Fol. 75r

Partial elevation and details of interior apse vault of Saint Peter's.

332 × 443 mm.

Fols. 75r-v and 76r-v are a single sheet, tipped into binding at center fold; fol. 75r folded on right side.

Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *Moulur des Couronnement des d' vaultes* (top right); *Croissée des vaultes des cul de fours en dedans les glize de S' pierre Marqué Y* (top right); various dimensions.

Related drawing: Scholz Scrapbook, MMA 49.92.89r.

This drawing of an apse vault, viewed from the interior, shows Michelangelo's design for the vault, a design that predates the version in the building today. In their analysis of the Scholz Scrapbook's drawing of this vault, Millon and Smyth hypothesize that folio 49.92.89r depicts a construction model for a project to replace the southern apse vault that had been dismantled because of a construction error¹⁷. The Worcester College drawing supports this hypothesis, because it includes information that is not present on the Scholz sheet, such as the tondo above the window frame, the scroll brackets at the top of the vault, the rib above the

left pier, and an additional measurement. This additional information suggests that the Worcester College draftsman had access either to the vault model itself, now lost, or to another drawing of that model that was more complete than the Scholz drawing. Another model for the vault, discovered inside the wooden model of Antonio da Sangallo's project for the basilica, does not correspond exactly to either the Scholz drawing or the Worcester College drawing, and probably represents a different stage in the design process¹⁸. The keymark Y refers to the location of this window on folios 64v-65r.

Cat. 34 Fols. 75v-76r

Plan, section, and details of the dome of Saint Peter's.

642 × 443 mm.

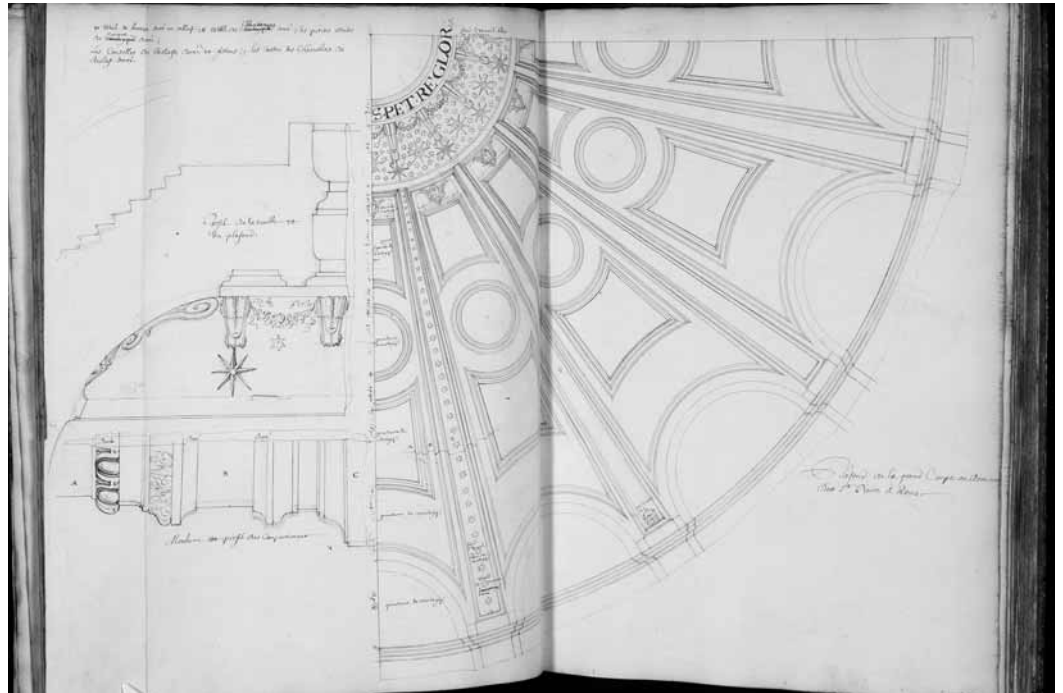
Watermark: B (fol. 76r).

Fols. 75r-v and 76r-v are a single sheet, tipped into binding at center fold; fol. 75v is folded on left side.

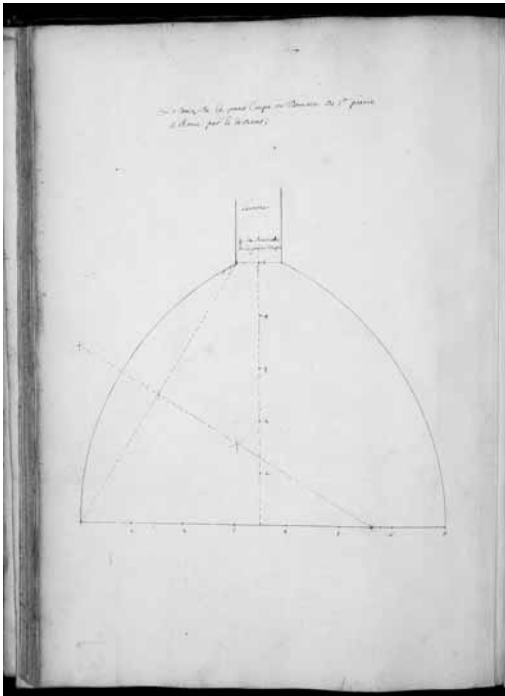
Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *D* Estoil de bronze doré en reslief; *E* Estoil de ~~mosayque~~ Mosayque doré; les petites estoiles de ~~mosayque~~ cuivre doré; Les Consolles de Resliesfe dorée et festons; les testes des cherubins de reslief doré (top left); *Profil de la voulte et du plafond.* (center left); *Doré* (x3; center left); *Moulure et profile des compartiment* (bottom left); *fond d'esmail bleu en mosayque* (top center); *fond de mosayque* (center); *pintre figure de mosayque p.* (center); *pinturre de mosayq.* (x4; center); *fond d'esmail bleu en mosayq.* (bottom center); *estails de cuivre d~~mosayq.~~ dorée* (bottom center); *teste de lions doré* (bottom right); *Plafond de la grand Coupe ou Domme Des S^t Pierre a Rome* (bottom right); various dimensions.

On the plan of the dome at the right of the drawing, the draftsman used annotations rather than shading or hatching to indicate colors and materials. He also did this for the interior elevation of the Pantheon cella on folios 6v-7r (see catalog entry 3).



Cat. 34



Cat. 35

Cat. 35 Fol. 76v

Diagram of the dome of Saint Peter's.

310 × 443 mm.

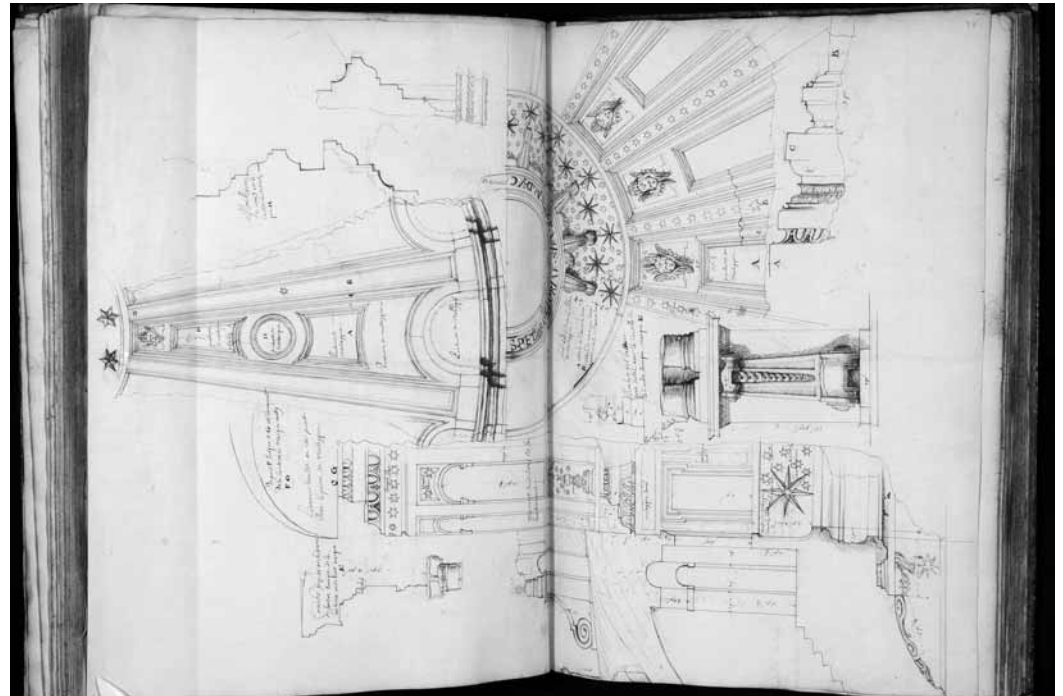
Watermark: B.

Fols. 75r-v and 76r-v are a single sheet, tipped into binding at center fold.

Pen and black ink.

Annotations: *Le traiz* [?] *de la grand Coupe ou Domme de S^t pierre a Rome par le dedans;* (top center); *Lanterne* (center); *1/8 du diametre de la grand coupe* (center).

A smaller version of this diagram appears on folios 64v-65r, partially cut off by the trimming of the sheet.



Cat. 36

Cat. 36 Fols. 77v-78r

Section through the cupola and partial plans and details of the dome of Saint Peter's.

635 × 443 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 78r, upside-down).

Tipped into binding at center fold; fol. 77v folded on left side.

Pen and dark brown and black ink with graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *Moullurre du rond et le carre au dessus mar-que H* (top right); *pinturre de mosaïque H* (x2; top center); *pinturre de mosaïque A* (center); *pinturre de mosayque* (center); *pinturre de mosayque* (center); *depuis F jusque a G est lornement de la lanternes marque aussy FG* (center left); *Corniche frize et architrave de lordre Ionique de la lanterne en dehors marque E* (center left); *La dernier*

voulte ou est pint Dieu le perre de mosayque G (center left); *esmail bleu* (x2; center left); *ornement du dedans de la lanternant* (center); *fond d'esmail bleu de mosayque* (center); *A estoil du cuivre doré* (center); *B estoil de mosaique doré petit estoil de cuivre doré* (center); *mosayque pinturre* (center left); *mosayque doré* (x2; center left); *Moulure des basses et piedz destal avec la Consolle de la d^e ordre Ionique marque E* (center); *pinturre de mosayque* (center right); *fond de mosayque d'esmail bleu; mosayque doré; grand estoil; cuivre doré* (bottom left); various dimensions.

Keymarks A, B, C, and H indicate details of the dome found on this sheet; E, F, and G indicate details of the cupola on folios 64v-65r. The section through the cupola at left is similar to the section on folios 75v-76r, but the one here is drawn at a larger scale and with additional details.

Cat. 37 Fols. 79v-80r

Partial elevation (left) and profiles (right) of the interior windows of the second story of Saint Peter's.

650 × 443 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 79v).

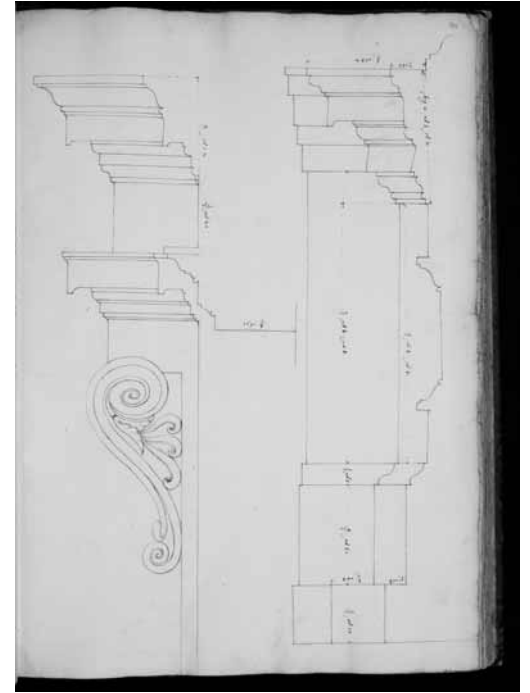
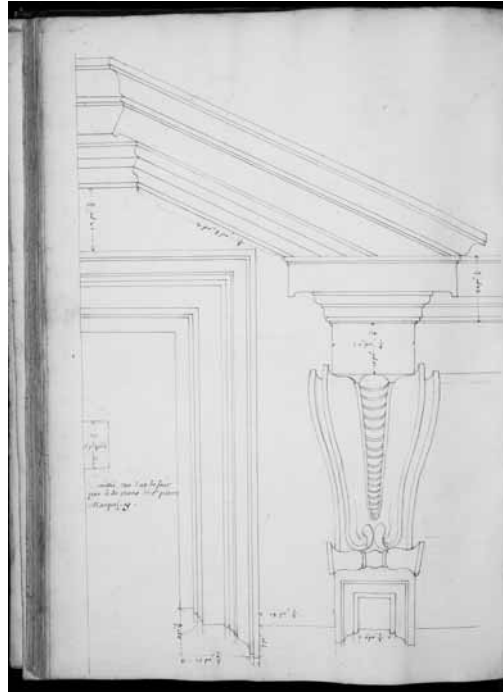
Inserted into binding at center fold.

Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing.

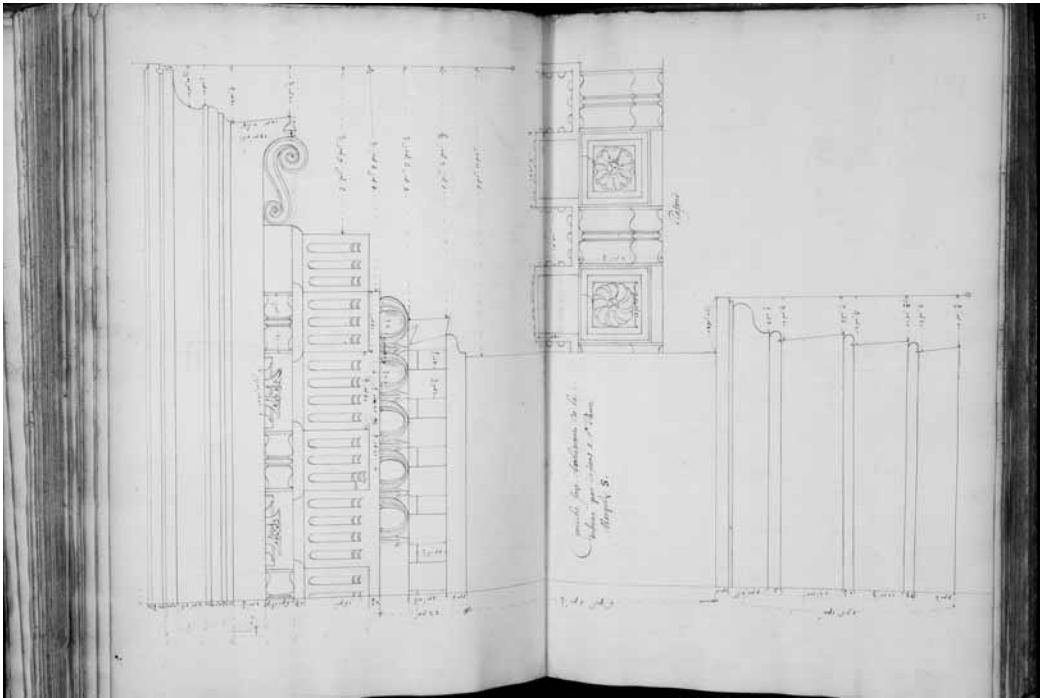
Annotations: *Croissée des cul de four par le de dans de S' pierre marqué Y.* (bottom left); various dimensions.

Related drawings: Scholz Scrapbook, MMA 49.92.45r, 49.92.91r.

This drawing shows a second-story interior window in a measured partial on the left, with section profiles of its frame on the right. The keymark Y indicates the location of these windows on folios 64v-65r. The two Scholz Scrapbook drawings show the entire window in partial elevations of the basilica interior.



Cat. 37



Cat. 38

Cat. 38 Fols. 81v-82r

Profile and plan detail of the interior entablature of the drum of Saint Peter's.

616 × 443 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 81v).

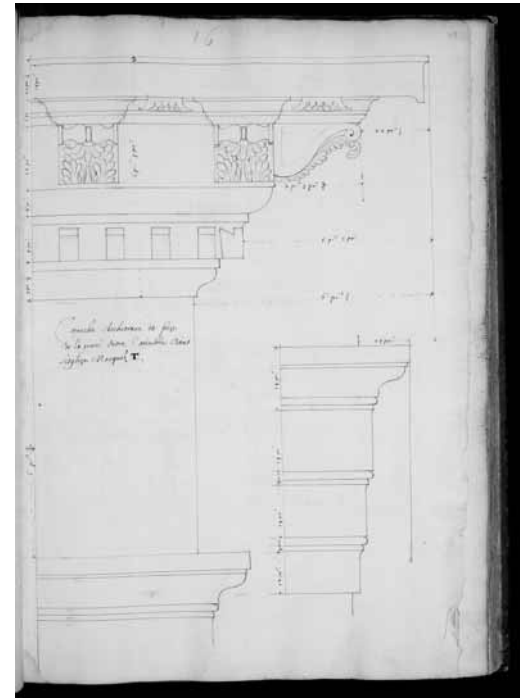
Tipped into binding at center fold; drawing oriented top to left.

Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *Corniche frize Architrave de la tribune par dedans a S' Pierre Marquéz S.* (center left); *Plafond* (center right); various dimensions.

Related drawings: Scholz Scrapbook, MMA 49.92.20r, 49.92.21v; Cronstedt Collection CC 1347, CC 1355.

This drawing shows in profile the interior entablature at the base of the drum, identified on folios 64v-65r and 85v by the keymark S. The profile elevation and plan detail of its soffit are similar to the drawings of the same on Scholz 49.92.20r, Scholz 49.92.21v, and Cronstedt Collection CC 1355. These three drawings are nearly identical to each other except that 49.92.20r does not have the additional details of the pedestal and base molding profiles that are on the right sides of the other two drawings. Cronstedt Collection CC 1347 shows the same drum cornice in a shaded perspective elevation on the left, with a profile of the architrave on the right.



Cat. 39

Cat. 39 Fol. 83r

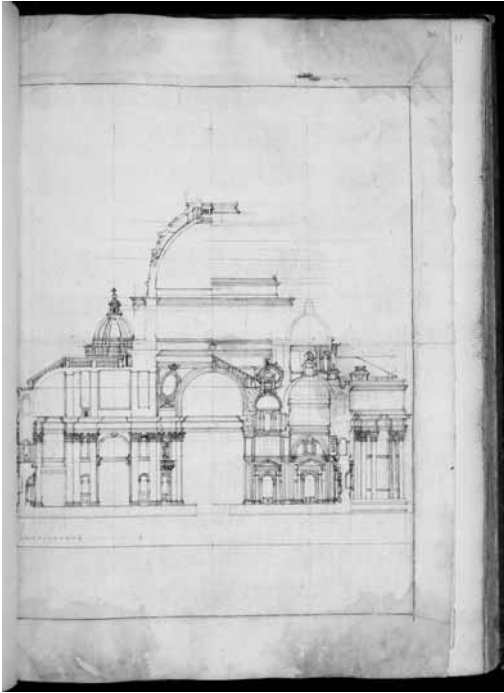
Profile of the interior entablature of the attic of Saint Peter's.

315 × 443 mm.

Pen and black ink with graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *Corniche Architrave et frize de la grand ordre Corinthe dans Lesglize Marqué T.* (center left); various dimensions.

The location of this entablature above the major Corinthian order is identified by the keymark T on folios 64v-65r and in a detail on folio 85v.



Cat. 40

Cat. 40 Fol. 84r
Partial section through Saint Peter's.

300 × 443 mm.
 Watermark: E.
 Scale at bottom left; crease at center with brown ink stains at bottom and on reverse.
 Pen and brown and black ink and graphite underdrawing.

This section through Saint Peter's appears to be the work of a different draftsman than that of the rest of the Worcester College manuscript. The unique watermark on the paper (Roman, c. 1620s), the sketched quality of the lines, and the ruled border at the edge distinguish this sheet from the others. Although the drawing is incomplete, several details indicate that it may be a copy of an earlier project for the basilica – or a pastiche of various projects – rather than a survey of the existing building. Such details include the lower profile of the dome, the wider base of the lantern, and the presence of minor domes both behind and in front of the major dome.



Cat. 41

Cat. 41 Fols. 85v-86r
Detail from the exterior (left) and partial interior elevation and details of the narthex (right) of Saint Peter's.

606 × 415 mm.
 Watermark: A (fol. 85v).
 Inserted into binding at center fold; trimmed at bottom edge; paper addition at left (niche detail).
 Pen and dark brown and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *La premier architrave frize et corniche qui est au dessus de la d^e corniche T autour du grand domme* marquez S (top left); *corniche* (top left); *Corniche frize et architrave de la grande ordre corinte du dedans de les eglise* marque sur le profil T (top center); *corniche* (center); *Corniche du do* [?] (center); *frize* (center left); *Corniche frize architrave de l'ordre corinte au dessus de la d^e corniche S avec la corniche du sorte* [?] *au dessus ou piedz destaux ou come a voulte la grand voultas* marquez N (center left); *frize* (center); *architrave* (x2; center); *Croissée au dessus des contretable des aultre les* marqué + (center); *Moulur du piedz destal qui est Dessus l'ordre Corinte au de hors du grand Dosme ou commencer le cintre de la grande coupe* marquez R (center left); *architrave autour des grande arcades* (bottom center); *Corniche et imposte des grand arcades dans lesglise* marquez [?] (bottom center); *La faces de dedans le vestibule ou avent portail* (top right); *tout la lageur de la porte* 11 piedz ¼; various dimensions.

On folio 85v, the locations of the exterior details are identified by the keymarks A, B, and + (profile of a window from the second story of a side chapel); N (entablature at the base of the dome on folios 64v-65r); R (exterior details at the base of the dome on folios 64v-65r); S (entablature at the base of the drum on folios 64v-65r and 81v-82r); T (interior entablature below the attic on folios 64v-65r and 83r); and V (molding at the attic of the crossing on folios 64v-65r). On folio 86r, details of the interior of the narthex are identified by the keymarks A (entablature above the doors), B (segmental pediment over the left door), C (base of pilaster flanking the right door), D (pedestal and base of pilaster flanking the left door), and E (pilaster between the doors).



Cat. 42 Fols. 87v-88r

Partial elevation of the tomb of Urban VIII at Saint Peter's.

624 × 443 mm.

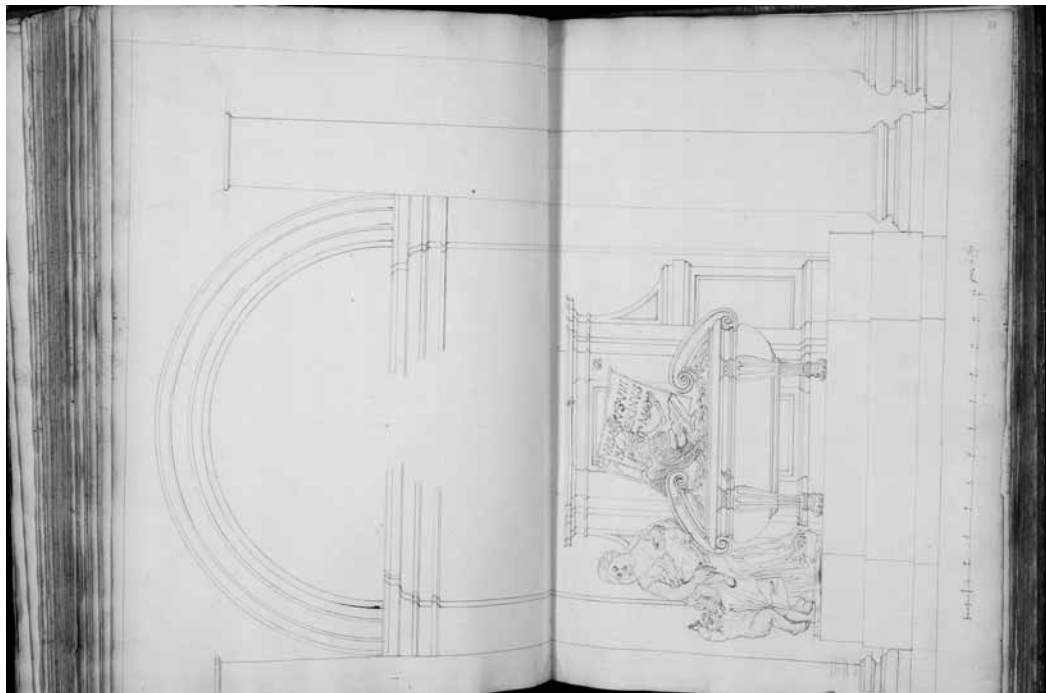
Watermark: A (fol. 87v, upside-down).

Tipped into binding at center fold; drawing oriented top to left; scale at bottom.

Pen and dark brown ink with graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *pieds de Roy* (bottom right, near scale).

Two figures are missing from this elevation of the tomb of Urban VIII: the marble statue of Justice on the right and the bronze statue of the pope at the center. Although the draftsman reserved a space for the figure of Urban VIII by indicating in graphite the molding at the rear of the niche behind the statue, the section of the pedestal behind the statue of Justice has been drawn in ink. This implies that when the draftsman began the elevation, the statue of Justice had not yet been installed, indicating a date for the drawing sometime between September 1644, when the bronze sarcophagus was completed, and the end of 1646, when work on the tomb concluded. The exposed breast of the nursing Charity, on the left, was later covered by stucco. Alessandro Specchi's 1699 engraving of the tomb shows the breast as it is in the drawing.



Cat. 42

Cat. 43 Fols. 89v-90r

Partial elevation of the tomb of Paul III at Saint Peter's.

612 × 443 mm.

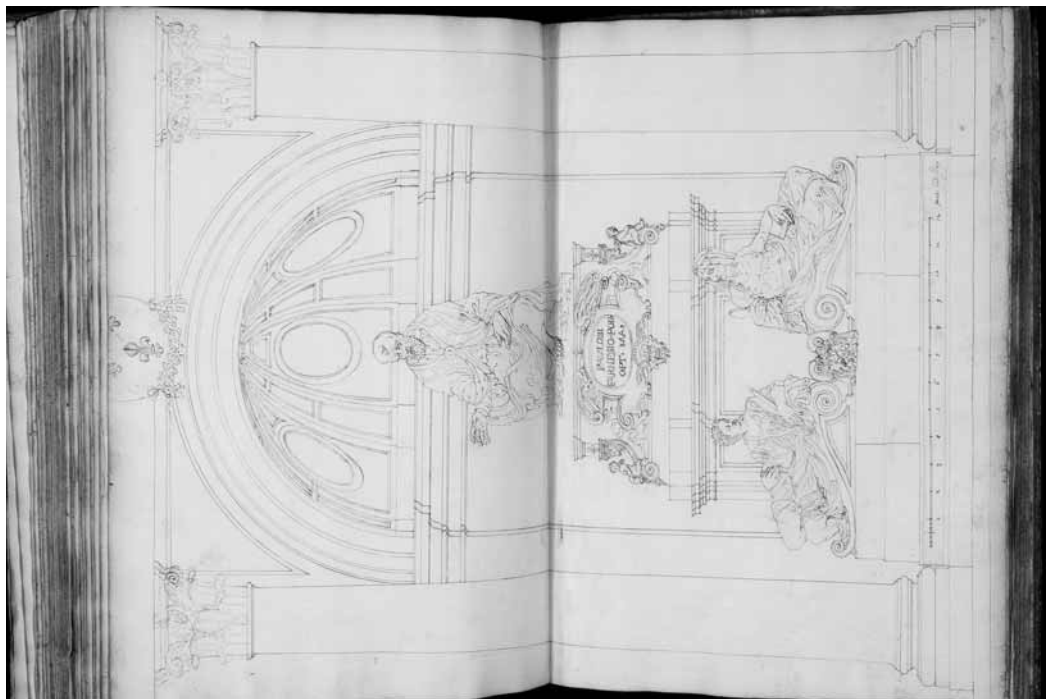
Watermark: A (fol. 90r).

Tipped into binding at center fold; drawing oriented top to left; scale at bottom.

Pen and dark brown ink with graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *pieds de Roy* (bottom right, near scale).

The tombs of Paul III and Urban VIII are located on opposite sides of the western apse of Saint Peter's. They are the only tombs represented in Ms B 2. 3.



Cat. 43

Cat. 44 Fols. 91v-92r

Partial plan of the Colosseum at four levels.

655 × 443 mm.

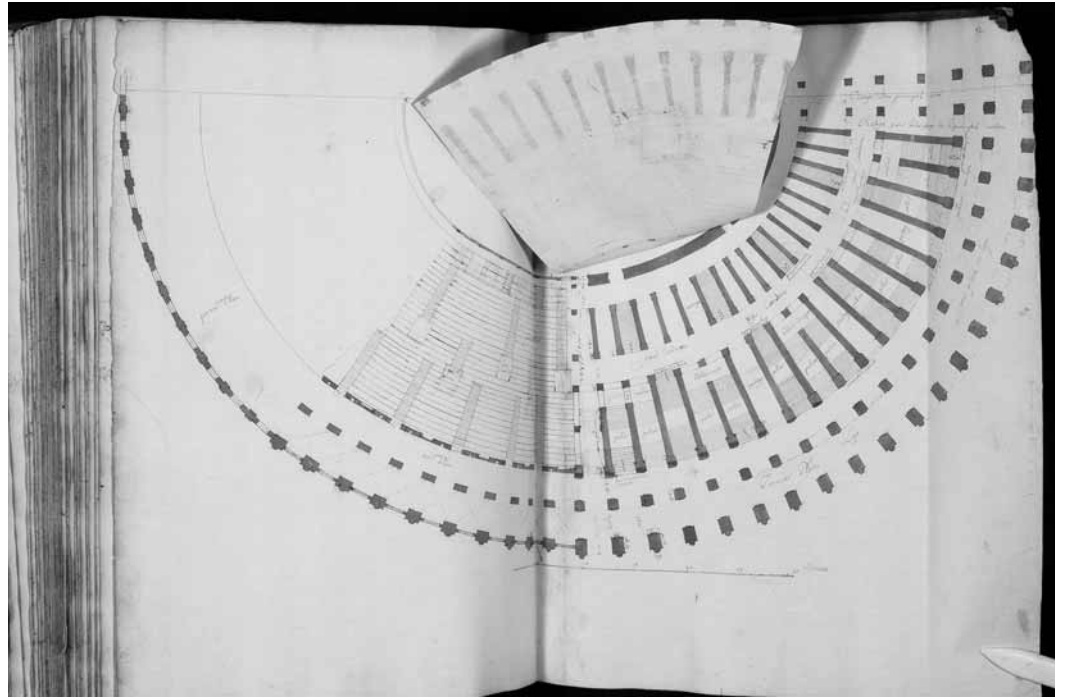
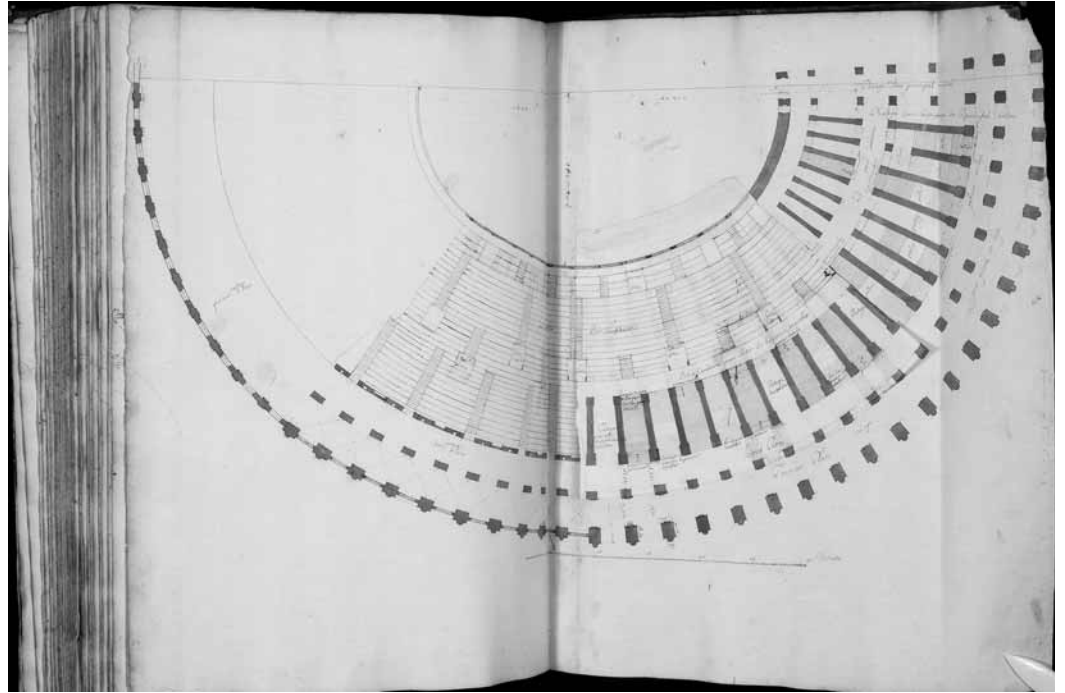
Watermark: A (fol. 91v, upside-down).

Tipped into binding at center fold; folded at right; extra paper added as flap to fol. 92r; scale at bottom.

Pen and dark brown and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *quatrième Plan* (center left); *troisième Plan* (center left); *Second Plan* (center right); *Premier Plan* (center right); *Thoises* (bottom right, near scale); *Passage d'une principale entrée* (top right); *Passage pour la descharge de la principale entrée* (top right); *Grand galerie ou loge* (center right); *Petit Corridorre pour sortir sur les grande marches* (center right, on flap); *Passage pour aler au petit Corridorre Corridorre* (center, on flap); various short annotations to label entrances, exits, etc.; various dimensions.

The plan of the second level appears on an extra flap of paper attached to the right side of the sheet, on top of the corresponding section of the first level. The third and fourth levels are drawn on the left side of the sheet.



Cat. 44

Cat. 45 Fols. 93v-94r

Section through the Colosseum with details.

646 × 443 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 94v, upside-down).

Tipped into binding at center fold; trimmed at top edge; folded at right; scale at bottom.

Pen and dark brown ink with light and dark gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

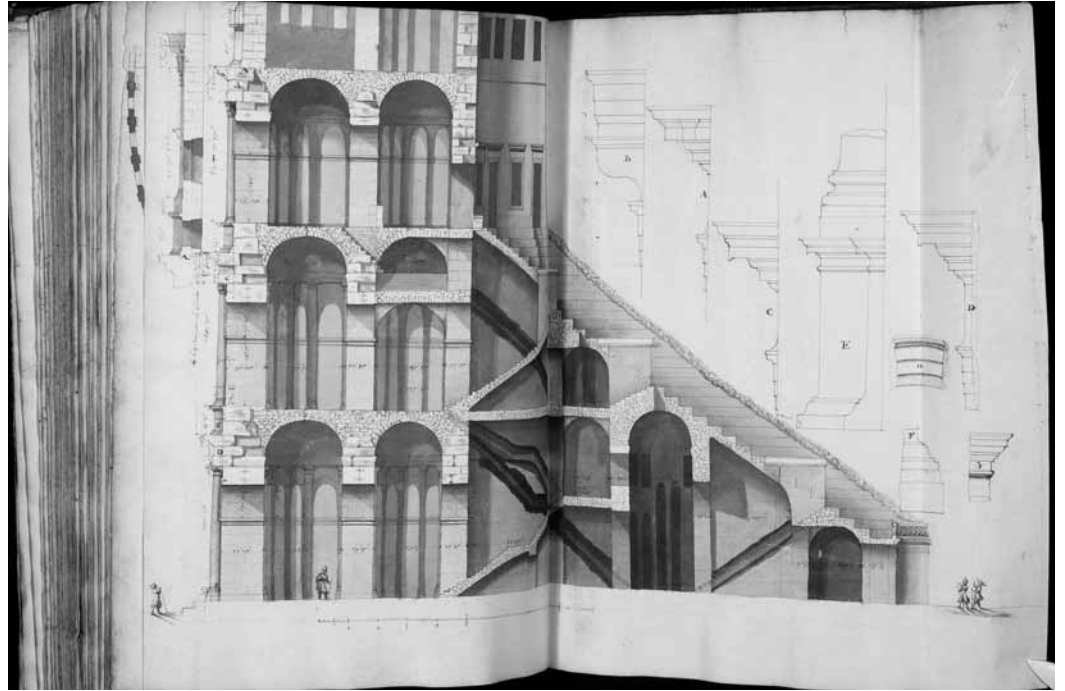
Annotations: *6 tz d'une cornice a lautre* (center left);

2/3 de colonne (center left); *Corridore* (center);

Pallier (center); *10 Thoises* (bottom right, near scale);

various dimensions.

On the right side of the page, the details from the section through the Colosseum appear to be copies of woodcuts from Serlio's third book on antiquities. In the drawings, these details are identified by the keymarks A (entablature between third and fourth stories), B (entablature above fourth story), C (entablature between second and third stories), D (entablature between first and second stories), E (pedestal and base of second-story order), F (base of first-story order), G (capital of first-story order), and H (architrave over first-story entrance).



Cat. 45

Cat. 46 Fols. 95v-96r

Plan of the Palazzo dei Conservatori with detail of the portico ceiling.

656 × 440 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 95v, upside-down).

Tipped into binding at center fold; trimmed at top edge; folded at right; scale at center.

Pen and dark brown ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *25 pd 1/2 le tout milieu de la court* (top left);

Plafond C (top right); *Plafond B* (top right); *Thoises*

(center, near scale); *Librairie au dessus* (center left);

Chappelle au dessus (center right); *Chambre au dessus*

(center right); *Salle au dessus* (bottom left); *Antichambre*

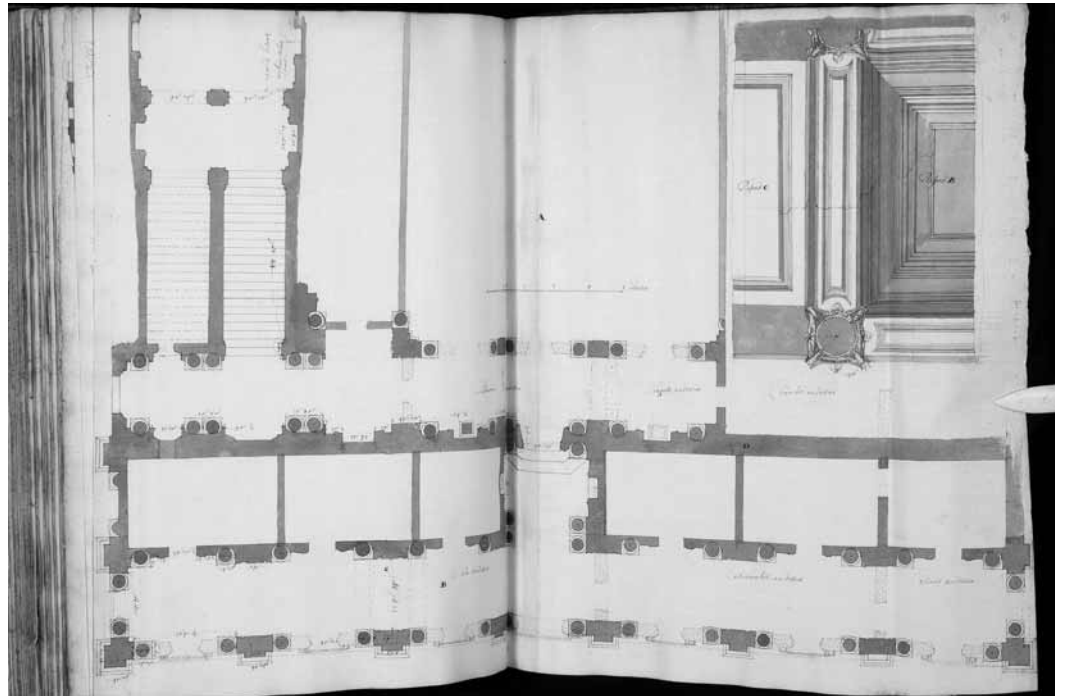
au dessus (bottom right); *Cabinet au dessus* (bottom right);

various dimensions.

Related drawings: Scholz Scrapbook, MMA 49.92.27r, 49.92.64r.

The plan of the Palazzo dei Conservatori superimposes information from the first and second stories. Four keymarks are used: A for the central courtyard, B and C for the detail of the portico ceiling at top right, and D for the rear wall of the entrance block.

In the Scholz Scrapbook, folio 49.92.64r contains a partial plan of the first story and folio 49.92.27r contains a partial plan of the second.



Cat. 46

Cat. 47 Fols. 97v-98r

Partial elevation and details of façade (left) and interior niche (right) of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

628 × 443 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 97v).

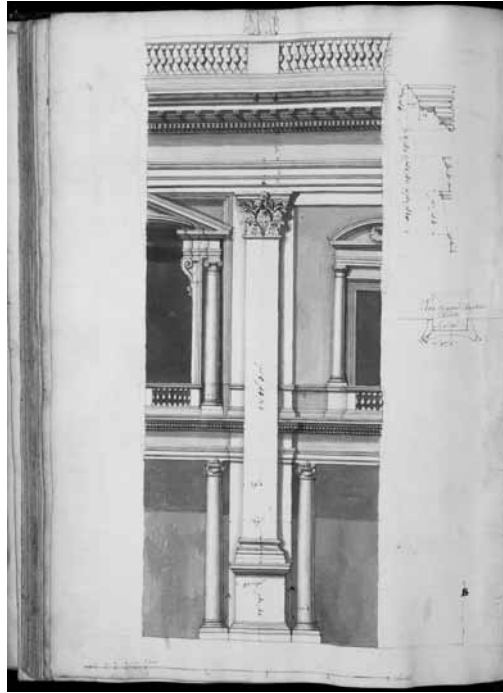
Tipped into binding at center fold; trimmed at top edge; scale at bottom left.

Pen and dark brown ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *Plan du grand Chapiteau Corinte* (center); *Thoises* (bottom center, near scale); *3 p^o 9 p^o la largeur de tout l'ouvertur*; various dimensions.

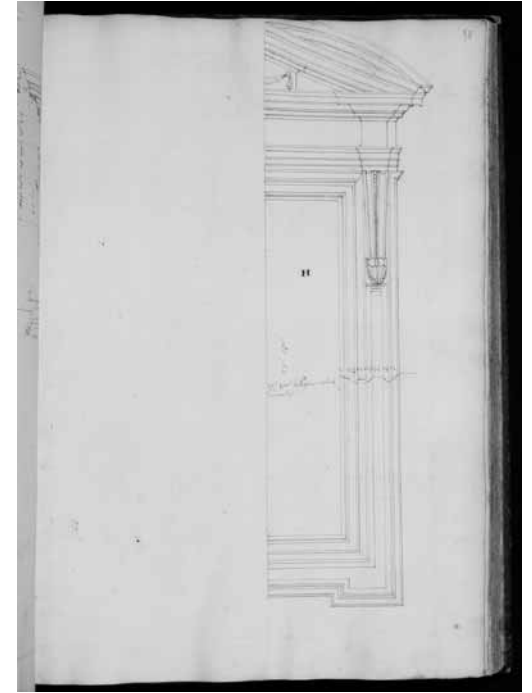
Related drawings: Scholz Scrapbook, MMA 49.92.11r; Cronstedt Collection CC 1349.

This partial elevation of the façade of the Palazzo dei Conservatori shows one half of the central bay designed by Giacomo della Porta, who added the second-story window after Michelangelo's death, and one half of the bay to its right. The frame shown in partial elevation on the right side of the sheet belongs to the niche on the landing of the interior stair, identified by the keymark H on the section through the Palazzo on folios 99v-100r; the keymarks A and B refer to details of the portico. On the façade elevation, the depiction of the roof balustrade does not match the roof balustrade on the building today, which has a series of small piers interspersed between the balusters. The elevations of a second-story window from the Palazzo on Scholz 49.92.11r and Cronstedt Collection CC 1349 contain another anomaly not present on the



Cat. 47

building or on the Worcester College drawing: they show the engaged columns on either side of the window with Ionic capitals rather than Doric. On the Scholz drawing, the shell underneath the segmental pediment has ornamental ribbons that also do not appear on the façade.



Cat. 48 Fols. 99v-100r

Section and details of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

628 × 443 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 99v, upside-down).

Tipped into binding at center fold; trimmed at top edge; scale at bottom left.

Pen and dark brown ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *Corniche 18 p^o* (top right); *profil du pilastre* (top right); *Coullonne* (center right); *Coullomnes* (bottom right); various dimensions.

Related drawing: Scholz Scrapbook, MMA 49.92.27r.

This section through the Palazzo dei Conservatori has a layout similar to that of an engraving published in 1640 by C. Buirette le Jeune, but the drawing does not appear to be a copy of the print because they differ in several details, such as the depiction of the roof and of the central stairs. On the drawing, the details at the top center and right of the page are identified by the keymarks A for the entablature above the first story of the façade (also on Scholz 49.92.27r), B for the pedestal of the second story, C for the column base and shaft of the first story, D for the pedestal and base of the colossal order (also on Scholz 49.92.27r), and G for a molding near the rear of the entrance block. E refers to what appears to be a partial elevation of the wall at the rear of the entrance block, F refers to an unidentified entablature, and H refers to the niche on the stair landing that appears in elevation on folio 98r.



Cat. 48

Cat. 49 Fols. 101v-102r

Plan of the piano nobile of the Palazzo Barberini with details of the site and the interior.

620 x 437 mm.

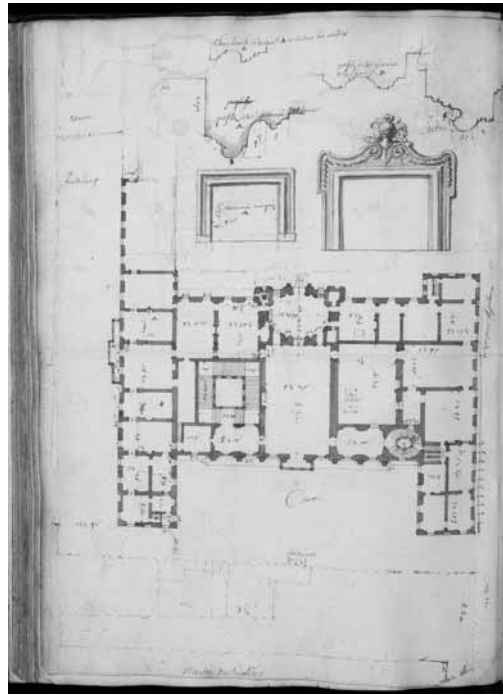
Watermark: A (fol. 102r, upside-down).

Tipped into binding at center fold; creased at center; trimmed at top edge; scale at center.

Pen and brown and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

Annotations: *Chambrante de la chamb. A et de tous les autres* (top left); *profilz de la cheminée de la chamb B* (top center); *feu* (top center); *profilz de la d^e cheminée A* (top center); *Cheminée marqué A* (center left); *Jardin* (top center); *Escurie* (top left); *Basse court* (top left); *Court* (bottom left); *fontaines* (bottom left); *Maison particuliers* (bottom left); *pour le plan* (center, near scale); *Rue* (bottom right); *6 piedz ~~de~~ des feminée* (center right); *Rue* (center right); *place des quatre fonta-* (bottom right); various dimensions.

The annotation *escurie* at the upper left indicates a stable building that was demolished in 1638, thus suggesting a *terminus ante quem* for the drawing. The renovations of the 1670s, when a porch was built outside the oval salon on the west front to cover the new road underneath the Palazzo, are not shown. The keymarks A and B refer to profiles of the chimneys in the south wing.

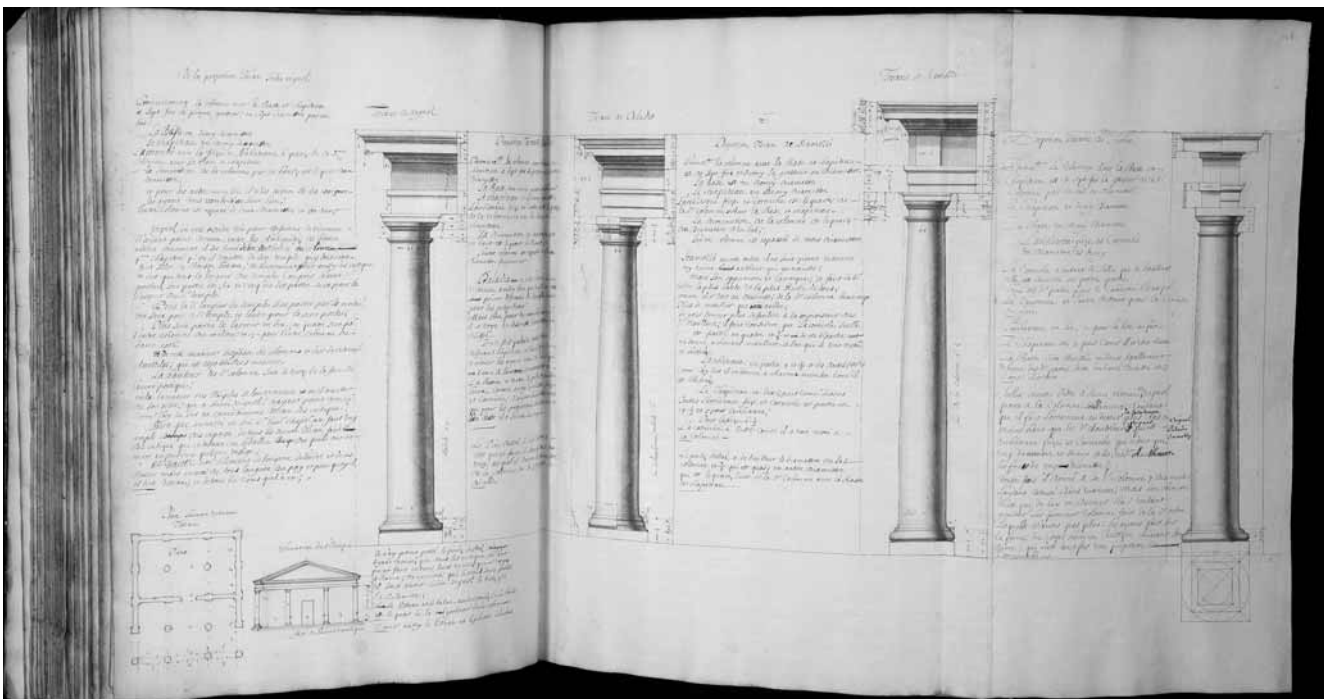


Cat. 49

Cats. 50-54

The five sheets devoted to the orders contain summaries of the analyses presented in the treatises of Vignola, Palladio, Scamozzi, and Serlio; an illustration of the order accompanies each summary. Drawn at the same scale along a shared baseline, the

illustrations feature measurements given in fractions of a common module, and the summaries quote frequently from the treatises, with references to specific books and chapters. A full transcription of the text, too long to reproduce here, will be included in my dissertation on deposit at Columbia University.



Cat. 50

Cat. 50 Fols. 103v-104r

Comparison of the Tuscan orders according to Vignola, Palladio, Scamozzi, and Serlio.

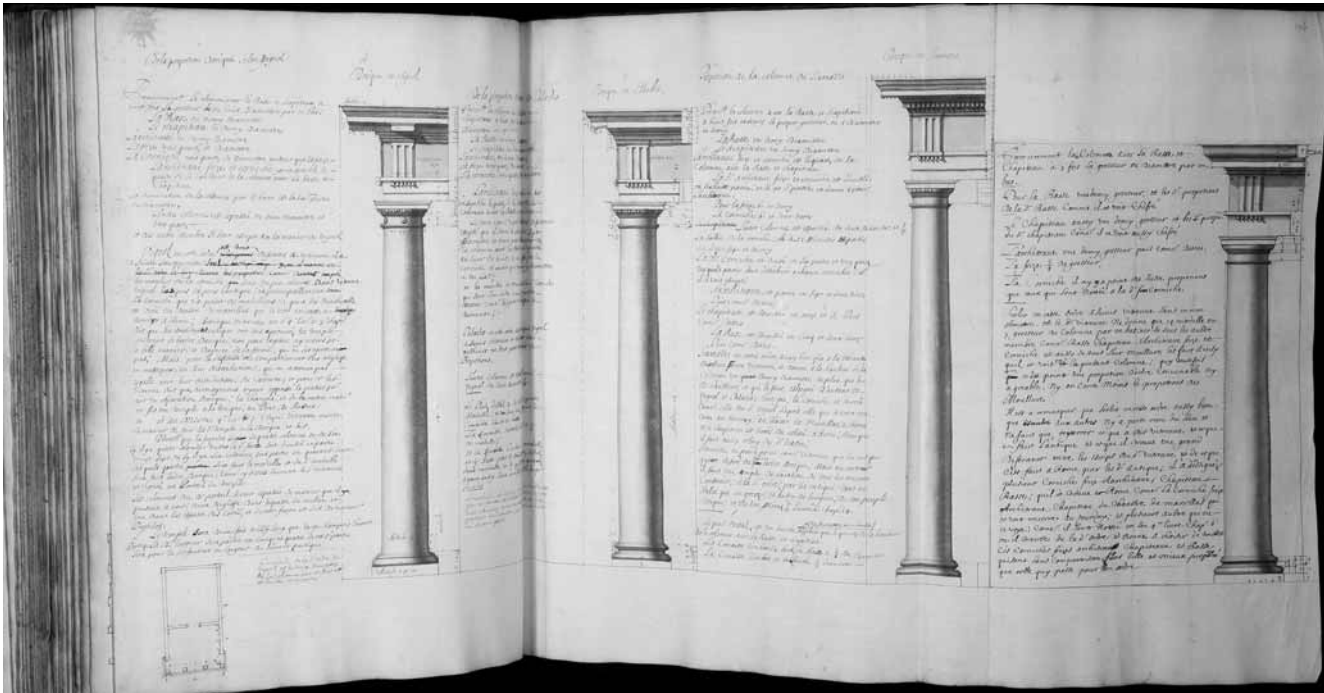
847 x 439 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 103v).

Tipped into binding at center fold; additional paper attached to right edge; folded at right.

Pen and brown and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

At the bottom left of the page, the draftsman included a plan and elevation of a Tuscan temple "suivent Vitreuve." These drawings, as well as the plan of a Doric temple on the following folio, appear to be copies of the illustrations that first appeared in Daniele Barbaro's 1567 editions of Vitruvius.



Cat. 51

Cat. 51 Fols. 105v-106r
Comparison of the Doric orders according to Vignola, Palladio, Scamozzi, and Serlio.

866 x 439 mm.

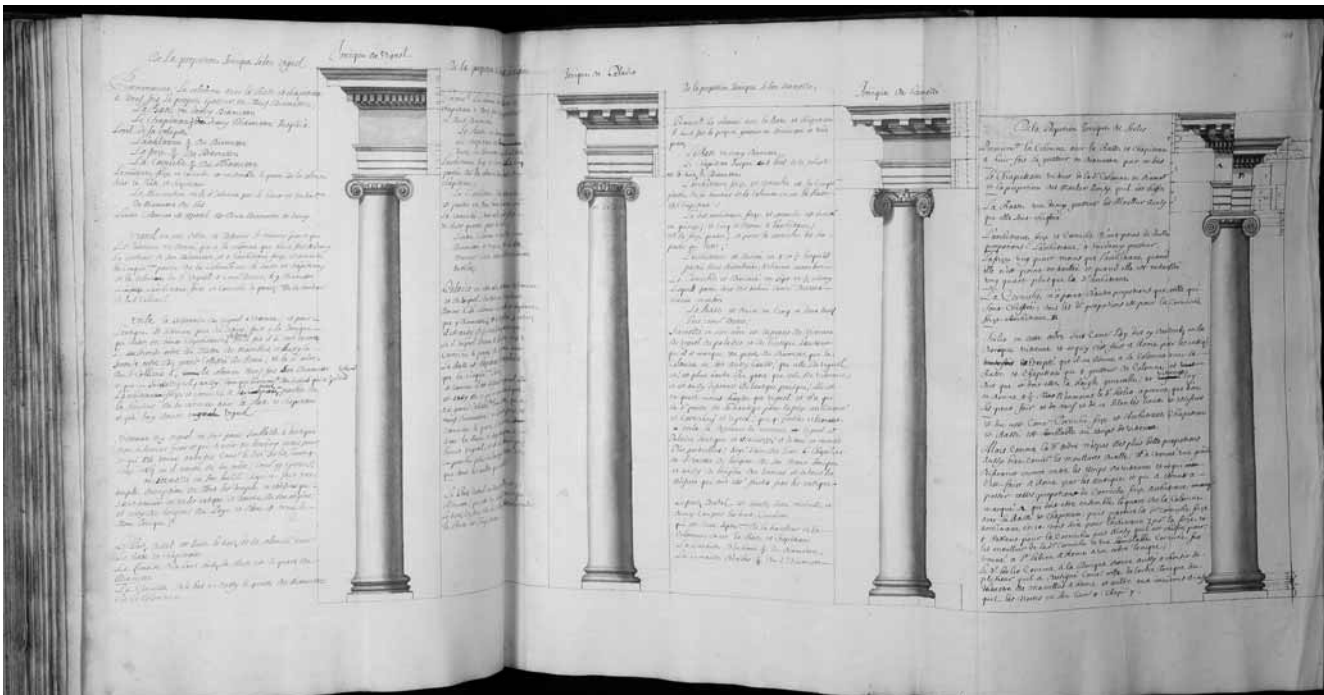
Watermark: A (fol. 105v).

Tipped into binding at center fold; additional paper

attached to right edge; folded at right.

Pen and brown and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

As with the sheet comparing the Tuscan orders, this sheet includes the plan of a Doric temple in the bottom left corner.



Cat. 52

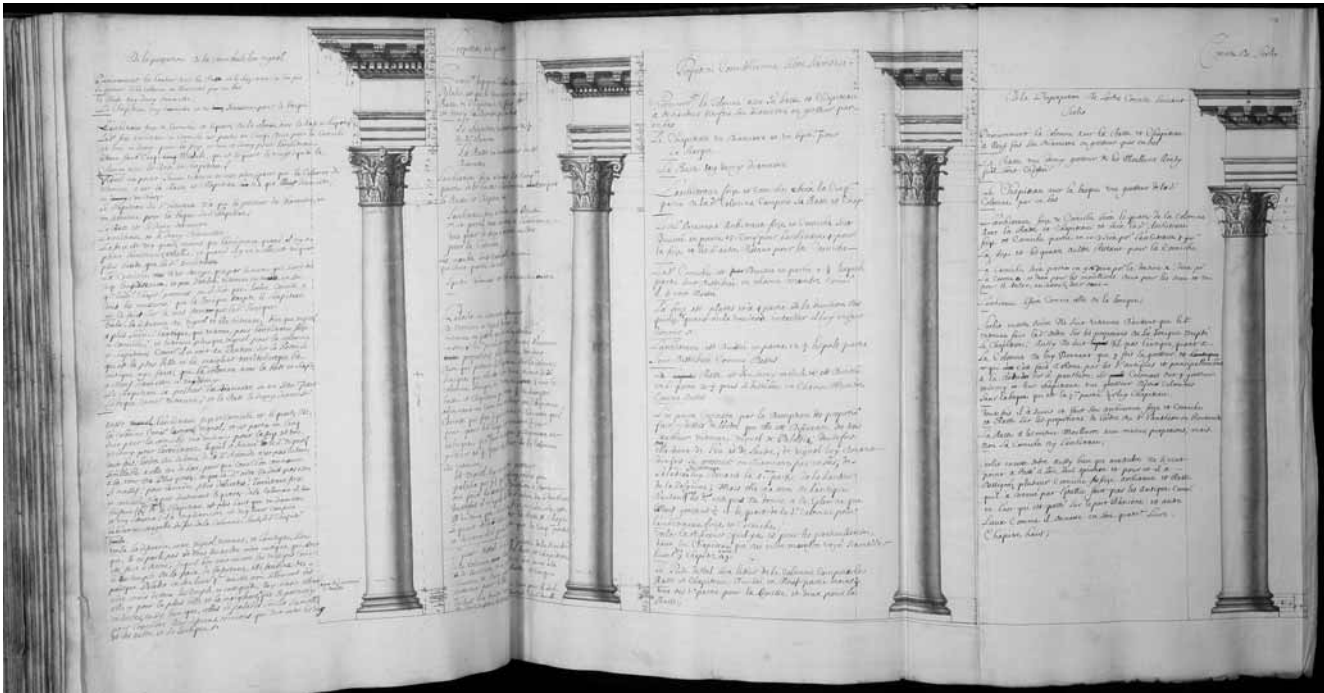
Cat. 52 Fols. 107v-108r
Comparison of the Ionic orders according to Vignola, Palladio, Scamozzi, and Serlio.

887 x 439 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 107v) and B (fol. 108r, additional flap).

Tipped into binding at center fold; additional paper attached to right edge; folded at right.

Pen and brown and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.



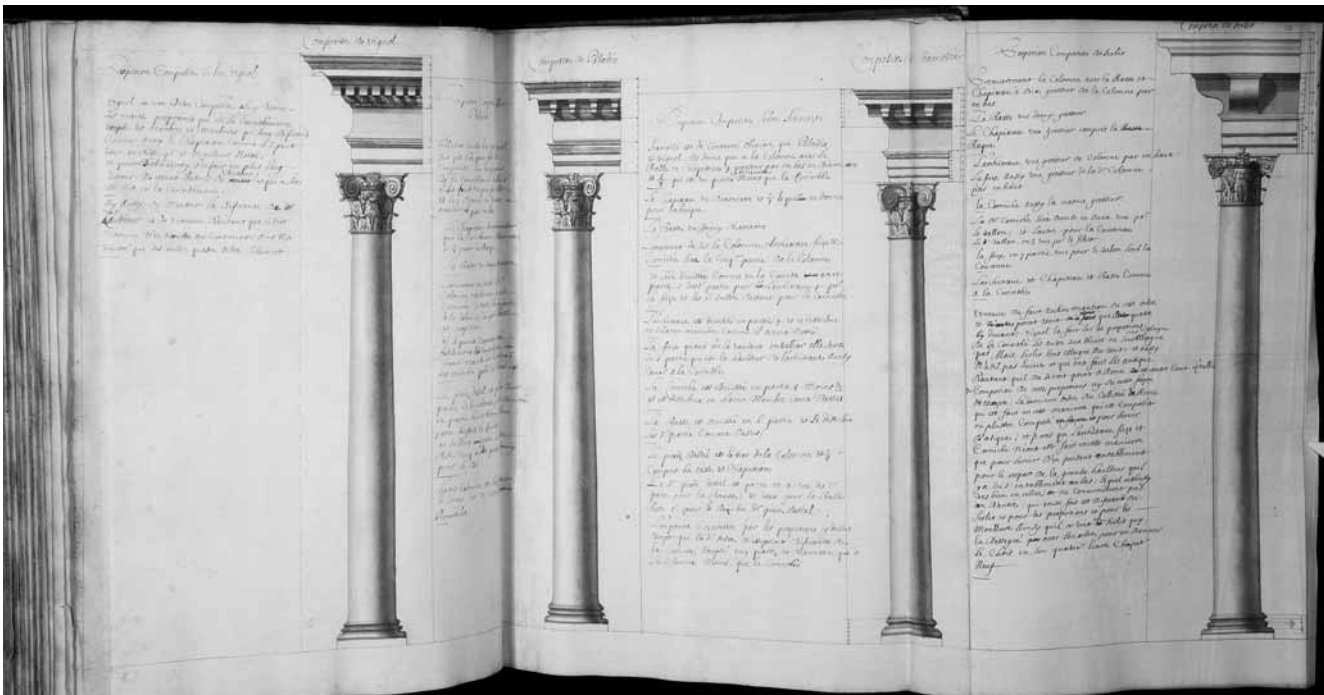
Cat. 53

Cat. 53 Fols. 109v-110r
Comparison of the Corinthian orders according to Vignola, Palladio, Scamozzi, and Serlio.

875 x 439 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 110r) and C (fol. 110r, additional flap).

Tipped into binding at center fold; additional paper attached to right edge; folded at right.
 Pen and brown and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.



Cat. 54

Cat. 54 Fols. 111v-112r
Comparison of the Composite orders according to Vignola, Palladio, Scamozzi, and Serlio.

871 x 439 mm.

Watermark: A (fol. 112r) and C (fol. 112r, additional flap).

Tipped into binding at center fold; additional paper attached to right edge; folded at right.
 Pen and brown and black ink with gray wash and graphite underdrawing.

1. Preparatory underdrawing is visible on this and on most other drawings in the manuscript, but because the marks are faint and mainly have been covered by ink and wash, their medium is difficult to determine. Given the weight and softness of the lines, graphite seems the most likely candidate: by the mid-seventeenth century, it was commonly used in Europe. See J. Watrous, *The craft of old-master drawings*, Madison, WI, 1957, pp. 138-142.
2. All the drawings in the Goldschmidt and Scholz Scrapbooks are in the online collection database of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Because the drawings are no longer bound, *recto-verso* assignments for the sheets vary across publications. This catalog uses the *recto-verso* assignments given by d'Orgeix, as hers is the only publication that includes all of the drawings, although these assignments occasionally conflict with those in the Metropolitan's database. See É. 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. 169-206.
3. The vaults also can be seen in plan and section on a drawing in the Albertina by the Anonymous Italian "G," published by H. Egger in *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Sammlung architektonischer Handzeichnungen der K. K. Hof-Bibliothek*, Wien 1903, I, no. 128. See also S. Valori, *Disegni di antichità dell'Albertina di Vienna*, Rome 1985, pp. 179-182, and I. Campbell, *Ancient Roman topography and architecture*, London 2004, I, pp. 412-413.
4. An elevation and a section of the octagonal coffer are on the right of folio 3r, a sheet that has four other details of elements from the Pantheon entrance vestibule. Folios 2r-v, 3v, 4r-v, 5r-v, and 6r have drawings of the Pantheon by the same sixteenth-century draftsman. Codex Destailleur A, which contains drawings from several sources, was given to the Berlin Kunstbibliothek by Hippolyte Destailleur in 1879. Images and bibliographic information are available on the *Census of antique works of art and architecture known in the Renaissance*.
5. H. Burns, *A Peruzzi drawing in Ferrara*, in "Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz", III-IV, 12, 1966, pp. 245-270; see fig. 13.
6. See note 54 of the article text.
7. Recent research has established that the bronze was used for cannons. See L. Rice, *Bernini and the Pantheon bronze*, in *Sankt Peter in Rom, 1506-2006: Beiträge der Internationalen Tagung vom 22-25 Februar 2006 in Bonn*, eds. G. Satzinger and S. Schütze, München 2006, pp. 337-352, and *Urbano VIII e il dilemma del portico del Pantheon*, in "Bollettino d'Arte", 143, 2008, pp. 93-110.
8. See K. De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda in Rome: a study of Hadrian's Pantheon*, Copenhagen 1968, pp. 48-59.
9. Removed from the building in the eighteenth century, fragments of this pilaster order are preserved in the British Museum, the Royal Academy, Sir John Soane's Museum, and the Vatican Museums. See De Fine Licht, *The Rotunda in Rome...*, cit. [cf. note 8], pp. 119 and 270, note 10, and A. Nesselrath, *Il Pantheon*, in *La Roma di Leon Battista Alberti: umanisti, architetti e artisti alla scoperta dell'antico nella città del Quattrocento*, exhibition catalog (Roma, Musei Capitolini, 24 June-16 October 2005), eds. F.P. Fiore and A. Nesselrath, Milano 2005, p. 194.
10. H. Geymüller published a reproduction of Goldschmidt 68.769.7r in *Documents inédits sur les Thermes d'Agrippa, le Panthéon, et les Thermes de Dioclétien*, Lausanne 1883, fig. 5.
11. These three drawings are discussed in *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: the representation of architecture*, exhibition catalog (Venezia, Palazzo Grassi, 1 April-6 November 1994), eds. H. Millon and V. Magnago Lampugnani, Milan 1994, cat. no. 441, which cites three additional plans of the drum and dome in the Uffizi (2031Av and 2032A) and at the Royal Institute of British Architects (VII/5-1959). See also R. Wittkower, *Michelangelo's dome of St. Peter's*, in Id., *Idea and image: studies in the Italian Renaissance*, New York 1978, pp. 73-89.
12. A slightly different version of this design appears in Étienne Dupérac's engravings of Michelangelo's project for Saint Peter's from c. 1569. For a full discussion of the various projects for the apses, see H. Millon, C.H. Smyth, *Michelangelo and St. Peter's: observations on the interior of the apses, a model of the apse vault, and related drawings*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", 16, 1976, pp. 137-206.
13. F.-E. Keller, *Zur Planung am Bau der römischen Peterskirche im Jahre 1564-1565*, in "Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen", 18, 1976, pp. 24-56.
14. The first three windows have triangular pediments, followed by a fourth window with a segmental pediment. Contrast this to Michelangelo's wooden model of the dome, which has only segmental pediments over the interior windows, and the existing building, which has the alternating segmental and triangular pediments that appear on the elevation of the drum in Scholz 49.92.17r.
15. See M. Hirst, *A note on Michelangelo and the attic of St Peter's*, in "The Burlington Magazine", 116, 860, 1974, pp. 662-665; H. Burns, *Building against time: renaissance strategies to secure large churches against changes to their design*, in *L'Eglise dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*, proceedings of a colloquium (Tours, 28-31 May 1990), ed. J. Guillaume, Paris 1995, pp. 107-131; and H. Millon, C.H. Smyth, *A design by Michelangelo for a city gate: further notes on the Lille sketch*, in "The Burlington Magazine", 117, 864, 1975, pp. 162-166, and Id., *Ligorio, Michelangelo, and St. Peter's*, in R.W. Gaston (ed.), *Pirro Ligorio, artist and antiquarian*, Cinisello Balsamo (Milano) 1988, pp. 216-286.
16. Further to this point, the Scholz Scrapbook also contains a drawing with a measured detail of an ornamental niche from the attic story, folio 49.92.3r.
17. H. Millon, C.H. Smyth, *Michelangelo and St. Peter's...*, cit. [cf. note 12], and *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo...*, cit. [cf. note 11], cat. no. 381. See also A. Brodini, *Michelangelo e la volta della cappella del re di Francia in San Pietro*, in "Annali di architettura", 17, 2005, pp. 115-126.
18. For this model, see *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo...*, cit. [cf. note 11], cat. no. 371, and *Michelangelo architetto a Roma*, exhibition catalog (Roma, Musei Capitolini, 6 October 2009-7 February 2010), ed. M. Mussolin, Roma 2009, cat. no. 54.