

The ‘codex’ HDZ 4151 at the Kunstbibliothek Berlin was named after its last owner, the French architect Hyppolyte Destailleur, by Hermann Egger in his 1903 catalog of the *Albertina* drawings showing ancient Roman architecture. Egger also called the main draftsmen *Anonymous Destailleur* (Berlin) and *Copyist of the Anonymous Destailleur* (Vienna). But their relation must be characterised as close collaboration: Often, they worked together on one drawing at the same time. — In fact, at least 8 hands can be identified in the Berlin group; some of them appearing also in other collections together with even more draftsmen: Up to 30 may have been involved in the work of which the Berlin codex is the largest surviving result. — The codex originally consisted of 3 volumes with 119 sheets; not 120: folios 26 and 28 are one sheet. The counting error is due to a large folio created out of 4 – a common feature of the codex. — The original order of the sheets, destroyed after the codex came to Berlin, goes back to the main draftsman himself and can be reconstructed. It shows a consistent division into three groups: (1) contemporary buildings from the first half of the 16th century, mainly *St. Peter’s* and the *Palazzo Farnese*; (2) Temples, Arches, Bramante’s *Tempietto*; (3) Theatres and Imperial Baths. The codex has never been changed between its fixation around 1550 and its breakup in Berlin. Its whereabouts before 1855 is unknown: In 1882, engravings based on some of the drawings for *St. Peter’s* appeared in Letarouilly’s monumental publication on the Vatican. It can be assumed that these engravings were made before Letarouilly died in 1855. — Despite some attempts to date the codex after 1550, even after 1560, there is no one drawing requiring a date after 1548. And at least the drawings for Sangallo’s last project for *St. Peter’s* must have been made in the beginning of 1545, before alterations to the project and its wooden model happened. Based on the close relation of these drawings to the actual planning and building processes, the main draftsman, the *Anonymous Destailleur*, can be identified as a certain *Gulielmo franciosio* working at the *Fabbrica di San Pietro* between 1544 and 1547. He was a member of a group of French workers usually payed together and working one day per week less than others: Therefore, it may be assumed, that these are the French draftsmen appearing in the drawings and taking part in the survey measurements – usually on Saturdays and, presumably, paid by another employer. — Almost all of the drawings are originals, not copies, and have never been copied. Almost all of them even bear traces of having been made in field work. This can be said of most of the Vienna drawings, too, which are not simply copies of those in Berlin. The very few exceptions are a rather general survey of *Sant’Eligio degli Orefici* (the original being a drawing by Sallustio Peruzzi), and many of those for *St. Peter’s*, for which non-preserved drawings from the Sangallo / Labacco workshop at the *Fabbrica* must have been used. — Besides the 119 sheets in Berlin (containing more than 1’000 single drawings – from very large overviews to minute details) and 47 sheets in Vienna (Egger: 39), the draftsmen from the Berlin codex also appear in other collections: One is the now so-called Codex Destailleur A (= OS 109), Kunstbibliothek Berlin, an album created around 1700 by exploiting other collections: It contains at least 59 (parts of) sheets related to the draftsmen of the Codex Destailleur D. — Carolyn Yerkes identified a drawing in Berlin as being a complement to one of the Pantheon drawings in the *Goldschmidt* ‘scrapbook’ at the Metropolitan Museum: Therefore, the *Goldschmidt* drawings even may be (among) the first of the entire project. Drawings in Stockholm, London, Paris etc. also seem to belong to this group. — I suppose that (almost) all of these drawings – 300–500 folios with 2’000–3’000 single drawings – were made in a well-organized concerted action that must have lasted several years and involved more than the 8 draftsmen from Berlin. It seems obvious, that this project could not have been organized by French stonemasons and carpenters working at the *Fabbrica*: Instead, an organizing group of employers, including at least one trained architect (the hand of the preparatory chalk drawings), with a very systematic approach can be assumed – maybe the *Accademia della Virtù* involving Vignola, Palladio and Paciotto? This is reflected in many French and ‘Italian’ annotations made for persons who obviously did not participate in the field work. — The group of drawings around the Codex Destailleur D could, in my opinion, be regarded as the (by far) largest, most systematic and even most precise documentation of ancient (and some 16th-century) Roman architecture (not only) from the Renaissance. Therefore, it is an important source of – more or less – still unrecognized value for archaeology, architecture, scientific methodology – and their histories.

CV (see also: <http://www.bibliothek-oechslin.ch/stiftung/team/kulawik>)

Education

- ▶ 1997–2002 Technische Universität Berlin: PhD: Art History: Die Zeichnungen im Codex Destailleur D (HDZ 4151) der Kunstbibliothek Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz zum letzten Projekt Antonio da Sangallos des Jüngeren für den Neubau von St. Peter in Rom [Bd. 1: Text und Quellen / Bd. 2: Katalog der Zeichnungen in HZD 4151] [PDF online]
- ▶ 1990–1996 Technische Universität Berlin: M.A.: Musicology: *Seconda prattica*: Stylistic diversity in the Italian madrigal
- ▶ 1986–1988 Technische Universität Dresden: Physics (4 semesters)

Professional experience

- ▶ since 2013 ETH Zurich / Bibliothek Oechslin: SNF research project: *Studium antiker Architektur in Rom um 1550*
- ▶ 2012–2013 ETH Zurich, research project *Fritz Haller*: compilation of the catalog of Haller's works
- ▶ since 2010 Bibliothek Werner Oechslin, Einsiedeln: architectural historian, IT and website CMS administration
- ▶ 2008–2010 Universität Bern: Institute for Theoretical Physics & university IT department: IT / CMS support
- ▶ 2006–2008 Universität Bern: Karman Center for Advanced Studies in the Humanities: administration / IT / website CMS and databases; contributions to the *Berne Digital Pantheon Project*
- ▶ 2004–2006 independent scholar and software developer
- ▶ 2001–2004 Bibliotheca Hertziana (Max Planck Institute for Art History), Rome: database design and development for *Lineamenta*, database of Italian architectural drawings from the Baroque, and other projects
- ▶ 2001 Humboldt Universität, Berlin: member of the project group for the *Prometheus* digital image database
- ▶ 2000–2001 Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, Berlin: assistant for a music print database project
- ▶ 1994–1997 Technische Universität Berlin, Institute for Musicology: tutor, librarian, IT support
- ▶ 1988–1990 Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden, Music Department: assistant to the director
- ▶ 1983–1986 Army service: ship machinist

Publications (selected)

- ▶ Wissenschaftliche Begriffsbildung im Kreis der *Accademia della Virtù* in Rom um 1550. In: *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 38 (2015), S. 1–13. [in print]
- ▶ Werkverzeichnis. — In: *Fritz Haller. Architekt und Forscher*. Zurich: gta Verlag, 2015 [in print]
- ▶ Hallers kleine Kugel und das Großraumbüro: das USM Haller Möbelsystem. In: *Papers of the conference The Office as Interieur – at the Swiss Federal Archives*, Berne, 2013. [in print]
- ▶ From Top-Down to Network: Long-time Perspectives of Scientific Publication. In: www.kunstgeschichte-ejournal.net (2010) [Papers of the EU-COST conference *Networked Humanities*]
- ▶ A Distributed Web-Portal for World-Wide Collaboration Among Architectural Archives and Historians. In: *Papers of the Conference Hybrid Architectural Archives*, NAI Nederlands Architectuurinstituut (2010)
- ▶ Der Codex Destailleur D – Bauaufnahmen antiker Monumente durch französische Zeichner. In: *Zentren und Wirkungsräume der Antikerezeption* (Festschrift für Henning Wrede), Hrsg. K. Schade et al. 2007.
- ▶ Archaeology in Rome (1538–1546): The Berlin Codex Destailleur D. In: *Papers of the XVI International AIAC Conference Common Ground: Archaeology, Art, Science, and Humanities*. Boston 2003. [publ. 2006]
- ▶ Wagnerkritik als Kulturkritik der Moderne bei Nietzsche und Adorno. In: *Nietzscherforschung* 5/6, Berlin 2000, S. 305–317.
- ▶ „... ich nehme, aus drei Gründen, Wagner's Siegfried-Idyll aus ...” In: *Nietzscherforschung* 2, Berlin 1995, S. 205–217.
- ▶ Nietzsches Jugendkompositionen aus der Pfortenser Zeit (gemeinsam mit Thomas Ahrend, Martin Albrecht und Jan Hemming). In: *Nietzscherforschung* 1, Berlin 1994, S. 313–334.
- ▶ Nietzsche und der Kynismus. In: *Jahresschrift der Förder- und Forschungsgemeinschaft Friedrich Nietzsche e.V.*, Band III 1992/1993, S. 125–140.

Conference Papers (selected)

- ▶ From Hierarchy to Network: The Internet's Development 'Back to the Future' and its Meaning for Administrations and Archives. – Conference *ICT@admin*, Swiss Federal Archives, Berne, 2015.
- ▶ Josquins *Miserere* – ein Requiem für Savonarola? [Tagung *in memoriam* Girolamo Savonarola, Berliner Renaissance-Gesellschaft e.V.] (1998)

THE BERLIN CODEx DESTAILLEUR D – ITS HISTORY AND RELATION TO THE ALBERTINA DRAWINGS, THE GOLDSCHMIDT SCRAPBOOK AND (PRESUMABLY) OTHER COLLECTIONS

The originally three volumes of drawings together with 5'000 others from the collection of Hyppolyte Destailleur came to Berlin in 1875 and were named “Codex Destailleur” by Hermann Egger in 1903 in his catalogue of drawings after the Antique in the Vienna Albertina. Following this suggestion, other codices in Berlin and Saint-Petersburg have been named accordingly, therefore, this Berlin codex now bears the letter “D”. The official signature of the Kunstbibliothek Berlin is “Hdz 4151”, folios 1 to 120.

In my dissertation (since 2002 available [online here](#)) regarding the largest group of drawings from this codex (i.e. fol. 76 to 93 and some separated sketches on other sheets), those for Antonio da Sangallo's last project for Saint Peter's in Rome, I was able to identify the main (French) draftsman as a certain “Gulielmo franciosio” who worked at the *Fabbrica di San Pietro*. This identification is based on differences between these drawings and other ones from the Sangallo circle as well as the wooden model built by Sangallo's assistant Labacco and the working progress on the basilica itself: The Berlin drawings reflect the situation of the entire project and its preparations from the beginning of 1545, when *Gulielmo franciosio* worked for a few weeks in the carpenters' workshop led by Labacco. This would have been the only time that he could have had access to the model in its unfinished state, other drawings (which he obviously copied) and the building itself. Because the drawings do not show any changes made later than 1546 to the model, the project or the construction process at Saint Peter's, they are the only ones giving a clear indication for the date of the codex.

An additional *terminus ante quem* may be deduced from the drawings on fol. 104 recto and verso showing Michelangelo's monument for pope Julius II in San Pietro in Vincoli: Because these drawings must have been made before Michelangelo's last statues were set up there in 1548.

As far as I can see, none of the drawings in this codex requires a date after 1548, so we may take this date as the time when work on the drawings was finished and / or the main draftsman left Rome – which seems plausible to me, because none of these drawings seems to have been copied or used, e.g. for prints, in Rome after 1548. – The drawings only reappear in Letarouilly's book on the Vatican where parts of Sangallo's model are shown in prints that could only have been based on those from our Berlin Codex.

Besides the drawings of 16th-century monuments and buildings, the biggest part of the collection shows ancient buildings. The corresponding group of drawings in the Albertina, besides drawings for the Palazzo Farnese, even show *only* drawings after ancient Roman buildings. While Hermann Egger thought that the drawings in Vienna had all been copies after (in some cases: lost) drawings from Berlin, it is clear that both main draftsmen, the – as Egger called them – *Anonymous Destailleur* and the *Kopist des Anonymous Destailleur* have been working at the same time and in many cases together on the same drawings. So, their relation has to be seen as one of collaborators instead of being “original draftsman” and “copyist”. – In addition to Egger, I could identify some 20 other drawings in Vienna to come from the group around the *Anonymous Destailleur* and his collaborator. All of them show buildings missing from the Berlin codex.

There are several other draftsmen in both groups from Berlin and Vienna that can be identified as having worked with the main two draftsmen. Many of these only appear on a very few sheets or only once. This observation corresponds to the fact, that *Gulielmo franciosio* appears in the documents from the *Fabbrica di San Pietro* between 1545 and 1547 usually not as member of the carpenter group but together with a group of French *manovali* who used to work one day less per week than their Italian colleagues. This could be explained by supposing that these Frenchmen are also the draftsmen of the drawings in Berlin and Vienna and have been working for the measurements only one day per week.

One exceptional building is missing from the two groups: the Pantheon. Already in 2001 I assumed that the Pantheon drawings in the Goldschmidt scrapbook, since 1968 in possession of the Metropolitan Museum New

York and closely connected to the Scholz scrapbook, also there since 1949, could be the Pantheon drawings missing from the group in Berlin and Vienna: The main features of the drawings, executed by a French draftsman, too, to me seemed almost identical. Carolyn Yerkes in her article on these drawings published in 2013 found out, that one drawing in Berlin on fol. 38 shows the same room in the Pantheon's *intermediate block* as a drawing on fol. 8verso from the Goldschmidt. This drawing has originally attributed by Hülsen to (or to presumably today missing parts of) the Baths of Caracalla. Because the Berlin drawing includes only those measurements and parts (the roof openings) that the New York drawing is *missing*, it seems to me more than plausible that it was made to complement the Goldschmidt Pantheon group. (I may add that also the triangular staircase on the recto of the same fol. 38 in Berlin may be one from the Pantheon – which is also missing in New York.) So, my suggestion is, that the Pantheon drawings in the Goldschmidt were made among the first drawings from the entire Berlin / Vienna / New York group or – equally possible – came into the hands of their draftsmen, and someone realised that they had to be completed. This does not exclude that the Pantheon drawings later were copied (in parts, as it seems) by Ian Campbell's Anonymous Portuguese draftsman, especially when we take into account that they – the Pantheon drawings in the Goldschmidt – stood in Rome until the late 16th century to become part of the Goldschmidt / Scholz ensemble (from which we are still missing a whole third volume, as reconstructed by Émily d'Orgeix).

The fact that the Berlin Pantheon drawing was inserted by the draftsman himself into the Berlin group showing the Baths of Caracalla suggests that they were made at the same time. These drawings seem to have been made around 1546–1547, when a group of workers from the *Fabbrica di San Pietro* was spoliating the Baths for materials to be used in Saint Peter's and the Palazzo Farnese – among these workers always was the group of French workers who possibly used the situation to make their measurements before the buildings were brought to that deplorable state we now are facing. – Interestingly, there is a letter by Claudio Tolomei from the beginning of 1548 asking Francesco Paciotti to draw the entire Baths of Caracalla for him – if he should not have done so already.

And here I come to my attribution of the Codex Destailleur D and the surrounding drawings to the *Accademia della Virtù*. In 1547 Tolomei published his letter to Antonio de' Landi from 1542 laying out a publishing program of 24 (or, depending on how you count: 23) books regarding Vitruvius and almost all aspects of the material culture of ancient Rome – among them a very large volume showing all buildings and explaining them:

Congiugnerassi a libri sopradetti una vaghissima, e utilissima opera, ponendo in disegno *tutte l'antichità di Roma*, e alcune ancora che son fuor di Roma, de le quali s'habbia qualche luce per le reliquie loro. Ove si mostreranno in figura tutte le piante, i profili, e li scorci, e molte altre parti secondo che sarà necessario, aggiugnendovi le misure giuste, e vere secondo la misura del pie Romano, con l'avvertimento de la proporzione, ch'e gli ha con le misure de nostri tempi. E appresso a le dette figure si faranno due dichiarazioni; l'una per via d'histoire, mostrando che edificio fosse quello, e da chi, e perche conto fatto. E l'altra per via d' Architettura, isponendo le ragioni, e le regole, e gli ordini di quello edificio; la qual cosa fatta diligentemente oltre ch'ella sarà utile a tutti li Architettori, ella in un certo modo trarrà del sepolcro la già morta Roma, e riduralla in nuova vita, se non come prima bella, almeno con qualche sembianza o imagine di bellezza.

Remarkable is the usage of the expression “tutte l'antichità di Roma” because it almost resembles the one used by Vasari to describe the work done by Vignola for the *Accademia*:

Ma dopo, essendo allhora in Roma un'Accademia di nobilissimi gentil'huomini, e signori, che attendevano alla letione di Vitruvio: fra quali era *M. Marcello Cervini, che fu poi Papa, Monsig. Maffe, M. Alessandro Manzuali, & altri, si diede il Vignuola per servitio loro a misurare interamente*

tutte l'anticaglie di Roma, & fare alcune cose, secondo i loro capricci; la qual cosa gli fu di grandissimo giovamento nell'imparare, % nell'utile parimente.

And, obviously following Vasari, Egnazio Danti, editor of Vignola's left *Due regole della prospettiva pratica* in his *Vita* used the same formula:

Et sapendo il Barrozzi, che non bastava il legger solame[n]te quei precetti, che lasciò scritti Vitruvio Pollione intorno all'Architettura; ma che oltre à ciò bisognava vederli osservati in atto nelle vive reliquie de gli antichi edificij; si trasferì à Roma, come in luogo particolare[n]te per qualità & numero di essi chiarissimo & famosissimo. Ma per che bisognava pure procurare inta[n]to il vivere per se, & per la famiglia; esercutava tal volta la Pittura, no[n] leva[n]do mai però l'animo dall'osservatione dell'anticaglie. In quel mentre essendo stata istituita da molti nobili spiriti un'Accademia d'Architettura, della quale erano principali *il Sig. Marcello Cervini, che poi fu Papa, Monsignor Maffei, & il Signor Alessandro Manzoli*; [Vignola] lasciò di nuovo la Pittura, & ogn'altra cosa, & rivolgendosi in tutto a quella nobile esercitatione, misurò, & ritrasse per servizio di quei Signori *tutte l'antichità di Roma*: d'onde si partì l'anno 1537.

[But Vignola returned to Rome in the 1540s few times, and therefore then may have been working again for the *Accademia*.]

I suppose that we can believe these sources – and that we did not lose all those Vignola drawings but that Vignola was not alone in measuring all the ancient buildings of Rome. In fact, this cannot be done by a single person, not even with a modern laser scanner. Instead, Vignola's rôle may have been that of the supervisor of the group.

Among the inscriptions on the drawings from the – if I may call it so: – Codex Destailleur D circle are some obviously addressing other people who may have had the rôle of employers: In one example the main draftsman of the Berlin codex asks in French for more work; in another he states in very bad Italian that the Dorica at the Theatre of Marcellus does really not have any base: I don't think that one would make such an annotation in a foreign language for himself – especially not, when he must have known from his own work that there is no base there. But he could have known this fact from Serlio's *Libro Terzo* published for the first time in 1540 – if the drawing should not have been made earlier. I think that the draftsman as a stone mason and carpenter did not have access to Serlio's book and therefore thought he should make an annotation about his finding in Italian for his employer who was not in place but surely could have known this fact.

Finally, I would like to make two remarks: First: As far as I know for none of the buildings and complexes shown in the Codex Destailleur D group are there any other drawings that show as many details and are measured with a comparable precision. And secondly: If there are such drawings, they surely do not form such a large group. At the moment I can ascribe about 300 sheets with some 2'000 drawings to this group – and there are some 200 sheets or 1'000 drawings more that may have some relation to this group.

Therefore, in my humble opinion, the Codex Destailleur D group seems to represent the largest, most comprehensive, most precise and methodologically most advanced survey of Roman antiquities ever undertaken – at least according to the surviving remains. In this, it very well fullfills one part of the *Accademia's* program and, therefore, comparable to others like the codices Coburgensis and Pighianus or the collections of inscriptions by Jean Matal. And there is some evidence, that not only Vignola but also Palladio may have been involved in this project ... but that's another story.