A CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

Drawings and Prints
in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle,
the British Library, the British Museum,
the Institut de France and other Collections

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SERIES C ~ PRINTS

PART ONE

CEREMONIES, COSTUMES,
PORTRAITS AND GENRE

Mark McDonald

VOLUME ONE

The Depositi i Funerali, Processioni e Feste and
Charles III Cérémonies Funèbres albums in the British Library and the
Dutch Drolls album in the Royal Library

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Mark McDonald
THE PAPER MUSEUM OF CASSIANO DAL POZZO

Francis Haskell and Henrietta McBurney

CASSIANO DAL POZZO is celebrated today as one of the most important art patrons in seventeenth-century Italy (see fig. 1). He commissioned more than 40 paintings by Nicolas Poussin and owned many others by some of the finest artists of the day. A friend of Galileo and a correspondent of Petruscelli, Cassiano was closely concerned with developments in the political and intellectual life of his time. Yet contemporary scholars admired him above all for his learning in the fields of antiquities and natural history and for the extraordinarily ambitious project which grew out of these interests, a project that he described as his Museo Cartaceo, or 'Paper Museum'.

Born in Turin in 1588, Cassiano went as a young boy to Pisa, where he was placed in the care of his father's cousin, the Archbishop of Pisa, and received his university education in law. It was here in Tuscany that his interests in the worlds of art and science were nurtured, partly through his cousin's connections at the Medici court, and partly in the intellectual circles centred on the University of Pisa and its Botanic Gardens. In 1612, after briefly pursuing a legal career in Siena, he moved to Rome, where he was to remain for the rest of his life.

In 1622 Cassiano was elected to the first scientific society in Europe, the Accademia dei Lincei, in which he was to play a very active role. Soon afterwards, he entered the service of Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), who became a cardinal in 1621, the year of his uncle Maffeo's election as Pope Urban VIII. In 1624–6 Cassiano accompanied the cardinal on diplomatic missions to Paris and Madrid, in which cities he enriched his understanding of painting and developed a particular interest in the works of Leonardo da Vinci and the young Velázquez. On his return to Rome, Cassiano, together with his younger brother, Carlo Antonio (1608–89), began to build up a collection of paintings, books, medals and drawings. After the death of Prince Federico Cesi (1585–1639), founder of the Accademia dei Lincei, he acquired a large number of Cesi's books and scientific instruments.

Cassiano also conceived the ambitious project of employing artists—many of them young and unknown, but some of great distinction— to make copies for him of all surviving traces of Roman civilisation, from household items to manuscripts, sculpture and mosaics. This 'Paper Museum' was then classified thematically in order to build up as complete a record as possible of ancient religion, customs, dress, architecture, theatrical spectacles, and so on. Equally interested in the natural world as in antiquities, Cassiano also assembled a large number of drawings of geological specimens, citrus fruit, fungi, plants, fish and birds. In collaboration with such scholars as Giovanni Battista Ferrari and Federico Cesi, these natural history drawings were also classified, and in such a way that they anticipated modern systems of taxonomy.

Although largely unpublished, the Paper Museum was widely used in the seventeenth century as an instrument of study and research; scholars and dilettanti from all over Europe visited Cassiano in Rome, or wrote to him asking for information, and in return sent him reports of strange natural occurrences and local antiquarian investigations.

When Cassiano died in 1657, the Paper Museum passed to his younger brother Carlo Antonio, who not only added to the collection but also rearranged parts of it. On the latter's death in 1689, the collection passed to his son Gabriele (1654–91) and on Gabriele's death to his 11-year-old son Cosimo Antonio (1688–1760). While neither appears to have inherited the scholarly interests of Carlo Antonio and Cassiano, and it is unlikely that either of them added to the Paper Museum, Gabriele's widow, Anna Teresa Benzonì, applied a seal combining the dal Pozzo and Benzonì arms to the first page of many of the volumes. It was during Cosimo's nominal custodianship that the family collections began to be dispersed, mainly to pay off debts. The library, which included the Paper Museum, was the first to go: in 1703 it was sold for the sum of 4,000 scudi to Giovanni Francesco Albani, Pope Clement XI (reg. 1700–21); from whom, in 1714, it passed to his nephew, Alessandro Albani (1692–1779), for the same sum. The Paper Museum thus joined the important collection of drawings and prints already belonging to the Albani family. Under Albani ownership, large parts of the dal Pozzo collection were reorganised and some were amalgamated into other sequences of drawings in the family's possession.

In 1762 the greater part of [by then Cardinal!] Albani's collection of drawings and prints (about 200 folio volumes) was purchased for 14,000 scudi by George III, through the agency of the architect James Adam. It was brought back to London in 1763 and incorporated into the King's extensive library in Buckingham House. By the time an inventory of the collection was drawn up early in the nineteenth century (Inventory A), many of the dal Pozzo volumes had been reordered and re-bound. In some cases the drawings had been lifted from their original mount sheets, remounted on eighteenth-century paper and given wash borders.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, two volumes containing drawings of classical antiquities were separated from the main body of the material; these, known as the Franks volumes— after the last collector through whose hands they passed— are now in the British Museum. Another offshoot from the main collection is a group of six volumes of drawings now in Sir John Soane's Museum. These were perhaps separated from the Albani collection by the Adams brothers before it reached the library of George III, and were bought by Soane at the Adams' sale in 1818. The eight volumes of botanical and mycological drawings in the Institut de France, Paris, did not form part of the Albani sale to George III, and remained in Rome until their requisition by the French in 1798.

In 1823, when most of George III's library was given to the nation by his son, George IV, and transferred to the British Museum, a number of dal Pozzo volumes of prints (and at least one volume of the drawings) were further separated from the main corpus; these were rediscovered in the British Museum in the 1980s. However, the main body of the Paper Museum was retained in the Royal Collection and since 1854 has been housed (with the rest of the Royal Library) in Windsor.
CASTLE. Just after the First World War, a large part of the natural history material (probably 15 volumes) was dispersed from the Royal Library at the behest of the then Royal Librarian, Sir John Fortescue. The contents of these volumes, many of which were in the possession of the London art dealer Jacob Mendelson just before the Second World War, are now scattered among private and public collections in Europe and America. A number of these drawings have been returned to the Royal Collection since the 1970s, either through gift or purchase. Other drawings from the Paper Museum have appeared in salerooms: in September 1987 a group of 99 natural history drawings was sold at Sotheby's, New York, and in 1990 another collection of 319 drawings after the antique, previously owned by the Stirling Maxwell family, was sold at Phillips, London. Since then, other drawings and prints have gradually come to light.

The decision to produce the present catalogue has its own history. The Paper Museum remained in relative obscurity after it left Italy in the mid-eighteenth century until the late nineteenth century, when scholars began once more to consult Cassiano's drawings. It is to two German archaeologists - Friedrich Matt (1824–75), one of the founders of the great published corpus of Roman sarcophagus reliefs, and Adolph Michaelis (1835–1911) - that credit is due for the 'modern' revival of interest in the Paper Museum. Their work, and that of the British scholar, Thomas Ashby (1876–1911), provided the inspiration for the study by Cornelius Vermeule (1925–2008), who, in two major articles in the 1960s, catalogued the drawings of sarcophagi and reliefs in the Royal Library and the British Museum. In the same period Sheila Somers-Rinehart embarked on a comprehensive study of the Paper Museum, and in the 1970s Jean Goldman attempted a general artistic assessment of the drawings. The decision finally to produce a fully illustrated catalogue raconnete of the entire Paper Museum was made in the mid-1980s, when research brought international scholars to Windsor to inspect the visual counterparts of the documentary evidence for Cassiano's Museo Cartaceo.

It soon became clear, however, that it would be impossible to adopt the same principles as those used in the volumes devoted to the drawings of Leonardo, Holbein, Canaletto and other great masters belonging to Her Majesty The Queen. Despite Cassiano's well-informed love of art and the fact that he had access to distinguished artists, including Pietro Testa, Pietro da Cortona and others of real stature, it is clear that it was the documentary and not the artistic aspect of the enterprise that was important to him. The drawings and prints in the Paper Museum, therefore, are catalogued not by artist, but by subject matter. Viewed from this perspective the drawings readily divide into two categories: those concerned with Antiquities and Architecture (which we have called 'Series A') and those dealing with Natural History ('Series B'). The former group encompasses about 3,900 drawings and the latter more than 1,300. The prints, some 3,000 in number, form a third and more wide-ranging category ('Series C'), comprising maps, topography and architecture, portraits, religious processions and ceremonies, tombs, social subjects and costumes. The aim of this catalogue raconnete is to reconstruct in some measure the intellectual and artistic achievements embodied in Cassiano's Paper Museum.

This is a shorter version (with additional information on the print collection) of the full Introduction published in A. J. Mendelson, Ancient Mosaics and Wallpaintings, in 2002.
Cassiano dal Pozzo's print collection is a relatively unexplored aspect of his collecting activity. Although the prints have been mentioned in many publications, they have occupied a marginal position in relation to the drawings. Antony Griffiths was the first to examine the collection in detail, when his 1989 article announced its importance. He observed that 'although much has been written about the drawings in Cassiano's collection, the question has scarcely been raised as to whether it also contained prints. Yet one would prima facie expect this to have been so. After all, a paper museum in which a wide range of visual information on all manner of subjects was collected, could hardly fail to have contained prints.'

These observations opened the door for further investigation and, increasingly, the prints have become incorporated into the broader Cassiano narrative, revealing them to be a collection of singular importance, not only within the context of his Paper Museum but also for the history of print collecting itself.

From the early decades of the sixteenth century Rome – along with Venice, Paris, Antwerp and Amsterdam – developed into one of the most important centres of printmaking in Europe. As capital of the Papal States and the destination for large numbers of pilgrims, Rome was a religious, economic and cultural hub with a vibrant cosmopolitan character. Within this context, printmaking flourished. It is not surprising then that a collector with Cassiano's interests was attracted to prints. Prints played a vital role in the visual culture of the period, but they are sometimes overlooked – especially in the wider context of collecting – because they are regarded as primarily illustrative, reproductive or inferior to other artistic or cultural manifestations. These attitudes have inhibited our understanding of the nuanced roles prints played within broader collections. Drawings, for example, are often regarded as more significant because of the belief that they are original testaments of artistic intention. In the case of the dal Pozzo collections, given that so many of the drawings served primarily documentary purposes, such attitudes need to be reconsidered. For the knowledge they convey, both prints and drawings ostensibly served the same purpose within the dal Pozzo collection; but as the present catalogue demonstrates, their roles could potentially be very different.

For the number of prints Cassiano and his brother Carlo Antonio acquired and the principles and methods they devised for their organisation, the dal Pozzo collection is the most remarkable to survive

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"... in every research, physical or historical, he was preoccupied with the graphic representation of things ..."
from the seventeenth century. Furthermore, the material assembled before 1640 — typically in mounts here described as 'type A' (see below, p. 21) — is by far the most interesting of seventeenth-century print collections in general, and is the first evidence for treating prints in albums with painstaking care, the implications of which are discussed below. The presence of so many unusual, rare and even unique prints might be due to the fact that these were made in relatively few impressions (particularly if depicting an event in which interest quickly diminished), but in general it seems that contemporaries were not collecting such prints on a large scale. Other surviving collections from the period are much more modest (see p. 9). Our understanding of earlier print collecting must be treated with caution and some of the major print collections assembled in the sixteenth century reflect different aspirations. Nevertheless, Cassiano's innovation and ambition, and the attention he paid to mounting and arranging the prints, mark him as unique. The prints constituted an autonomous part of his library and 'museum' but they relate to both.3

The known corpus comprises more than 3,100 prints (etchings, engravings and woodcuts), to be catalogued here in two parts of the dal Pozzo catalogue raisonné. The first part includes genre prints, which might be described as anthropological in nature — broadly falling into the category 'scenas de moeurs' that was to become popular in the eighteenth century.6 These prints relate to human identity, social activity and commemoration: processions, costume, portraits, ceremonies, festivals and so on. The second part includes prints of architecture, topography, military history and cartography. Cataloguing the prints in this way does not imply homogeneity of subject, nor that Cassiano would have thought in such terms. Nevertheless, Cassiano organised prints into albums according to specific themes, a method that was followed by his brother and collaborator Carlo Antonio with less rigour after Cassiano's death in 1657. As such, the cataloguing of the print collection in this thematic way is validated by the dal Pozzo approach.

The print albums were kept together with books and albums of drawings in the dal Pozzo library (see pp. 44–45) but they had a different role. Cassiano did not on the whole commission prints as he did drawings, where his interaction with the artists he employed to some degree controlled the outcome. His print collection was shaped largely by what was available on the market.7 The implications of selecting from a competitive and burgeoning print market raise important questions relating to the development and character of the collection (see p. 43). Prints represented many aspects of knowledge, from human relations to dress, architecture, maps and botanical illustration, and the wealth of such material is reflected in the dal Pozzo print collection through what has survived and what is known through documentary evidence. A greater range of subjects is represented through the prints in Cassiano's collection than through the drawings. Broadly, this reflects the response of print publishers to the needs of the market, for buyers wanted images of many subjects that prints were uniquely able to fulfil. Cassiano should not, however, be cast in the role of someone who collected only prints that came his way and had no involvement in their selection or in the genesis of the prints themselves. He chose carefully, paying attention to the quality of impressions (at least in the early years), and he arranged for prints to be made for publications in which he was involved (see pp. 9–10).

The large parts of the dal Pozzo print collection that remain intact provide unparalleled evidence for determining how it was structured, managed, manipulated and even viewed. To what extent did collectors like Cassiano affect the content and use of prints during the period? Is it possible to ask this of Cassiano given his links with the printmaking world and those within it who courted him. How did the print market influence Cassiano's collecting practices and how might it have influenced his choice of subject and the way he tailored what he bought to create the albums? Do certain subjects better lend themselves to creating sequences of prints than others, and what can be gained by placing certain prints next to each other? Did Cassiano regard the prints simply as illustrative and documentary, or did he see them as offering different interpretative possibilities arising from what they represented or their visual relation to each other? Who might the audience for the print collection have been and how might the prints have been viewed by Cassiano's circle? What can prints do that drawings cannot? These matters are explored in the essays in Parts I and II of the prints catalogue. The second essay in this volume addresses the genre prints, with particular emphasis on their 'sociability' (their uses and the contexts in which they were viewed) and how certain arrangements of prints might have been interpreted. It should be remembered that the questions addressed in these essays pertain largely to the aspirations of Cassiano and not Carlo Antonio. This is not to diminish the important role played by Carlo Antonio — who after his brother died continued to augment the collections — but a distinction needs to be drawn between the original shape and aims of the collection, which were driven by Cassiano, and how it was maintained and later managed.7

The intellectual, social and artistic world in which Cassiano lived is key to understanding his interest in prints, what he collected and how they were organised. It is wrong to think that collections during the early modern period were consistently unified in their purpose.6 Collections were characterised by the aspirations and particular interests of their collectors. The Kunstkabinett and Wunderkammern that emerged in the sixteenth century provide an important point of departure for discussing Cassiano and his collections.1 The Wunderkammern (chambers of wonders) were encyclopaedic collections of objects, sometimes regarded as a microcosm or a theatre of the world, whose categorical boundaries were not well defined.12 Cassiano's broader collection of objects typical of a Wunderkammer was complemented by the many drawings he commissioned and collected to form the Paper Museum that included depictions of animals, flowers, fruit, fungi, ancient mosaics, wallpaintings, architecture, fossils, marbles, inscriptions and other subjects.13 These drawings relate closely to fields of contemporary scholarly interest. Representing such an array of objects and arranging the images into sequences is an act of 'miniaturisation' and 'domestication'.12 No matter how large or diverse in character the object represented, it could be contained and managed in the format of an album by being scaled up or down (or rendered life-size) as required, while different views allowed its various elements to be understood. This process of domestication is just the first stage of a trajectory in which the images then enter the viewers' realm to be examined and interpreted, thus taking on new life beyond their initial production.

The primary organising principle in most of the albums (of both prints and drawings) was grouping subjects by type, sometimes sequenced hierarchically. For example, the album of prints now entitled Depositi e Funerali (BL, 134.g.9) begins with images of tombs, from those of saints descending to those of the nobility; then catafalques divided in a similar way, ending with funeral processions. Analogous groupings occur within the albums of architectural prints: Templo Divino (BL, Maps 1.3,Tab.34) begins with churches in Rome, starting with St John Lateran (the papal basilica) followed by a selection of
Roman churches, then others from elsewhere in Italy before moving to Spain and France and ending, strikingly, with a view of a mosque. The portraits were arranged by hierarchy and chronology: the George III inventory of prints listing the contents of Cassiano’s album of French royal portraits begins with kings (Henri III, Henri IV, Louis XIII, Louis XIV, etc.), followed by consorts, members of their family and other nobles (see p. 622). When grouping by hierarchy was not the best guide, other principles such as chronology might have informed the arrangement. The collection of military material in the Royal Collection, now removed from the original albums, may have been organised according to the date of the event depicted, earliest to latest.

This concern for system and order was addressed in publications from the period. For example, Samuel Quickeberg’s Inscriptiones vel tituli theatris amplissimi ... (Munich 1565) recommends divisions within a museum and gives particular advice for prints. In his Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque (Paris 1627) Gabriel Naudé writes at length on the organisation of a library, and John Evelyn in his Numismata: A discourse of medals (London 1697) discusses how best to organise a collection of such material. Perhaps the most revealing is Giulio Mancini, who in his Considerazioni sulla pittura, written between 1617 and 1621, briefly describes what needs to be taken into account when assembling a print collection. Although unpublished, the number of manuscript copies of this work that have survived suggests it was widely read and admired. Mancini advised that prints be mounted in albums and classified by subject matter and then by period, size, school and technique, and that they should be kept away from the general circulation of the house so that the owner might be in a position to control access to them.

Cassiano’s organisation of his print collection agrees with some aspects of Mancini’s advice but the differences are just as compelling. Mancini’s secondary criteria seem of little concern to Cassiano, who was more interested in the subject of his prints and (at least with regard to the albums containing prints with ‘type A’ mounts described below) the quality of the impressions, their visual relationships and presentation. Order and system were at the heart of the collections as a whole and Cassiano’s practices reflect wider preoccupations, but hierarchical presentation is only one aspect of the print collection that affects its organisation; another is what happens when images are viewed together in a sequence (see pp. 73–92).

Recognising Cassiano’s method of compiling albums of images (both drawings and prints) is important for understanding the structure of the collections as well as the roles images played within them. The place of the drawings in the extensive scholarly literature is discussed below (p. 53). The subject of prints and print culture has up to now been peripheral to Cassiano studies but increasingly it is being introduced to discussions of the use of images during the early modern period. The aim of the present discussion is to identify the connectedness of Cassiano’s printed images and link them to the broader questions of the role of images during the period. The print albums require close scrutiny for us to assess how images form a different language when placed in relation to each other or when accompanied by printed text. This is particularly the case with the type of prints discussed in the next essay. There is significant evidence to show that Cassiano arranged prints to achieve particular effects, to allow and to provoke different readings of the material, to create links through visual association or to impart different types of information. This is entirely in keeping with the use of images in printed books, which in the previous century had reached a level of extraordinary sophistication, often conveying a complexity of meaning that text alone failed to convey.

In the wider context, printed images complemented the ambitions of the ‘Republic of Letters’, the network of scholars across Europe – in which Cassiano was an active participant – who disseminated information through letters, books, prints and drawings (see p. 16). Printed images were a principal means of communication within these circles. An important distinction must, however, be made between prints used for purposes of communicating information and their organisation in albums to promote additional interpretation across the realms of fact, fantasy, humour and allusion.

Not all prints allow for the same interpretative possibilities. Cassiano’s architectural prints, for example, record churches, the urban renovations and accomplishments of a particular pontiff, residences of the nobility and so on. They were primarily documentary but in the albums they are not ordered randomly, and where possible adhere to a hierarchy of architectural priority. We sometimes glimpse juxtapositions that are more typical of the genre images discussed in the next essay. For example, the final print in an album devoted to architecture, Tempia Diversa (Maps 3, Tab. 34, fol. 103), shows designs for a cross at the top of the mosque of Pyale Pasha in Istanbul (Constantinople). The inclusion of a Muslim subject in this album of Christian temples has been described as a convenient way to complete an album that is centrifugally organised, starring in Rome and moving outwards. The last line of text on the print identifies the Turkish admiral Pyale Pasha and the miraculous appearance of the Cross in the sky above the mosque that forestalled the doom awaiting the Ottoman Empire. This information is key to understanding the print’s position in the album. If the intention was merely to end the album with an Islamic subject then the print’s small size and relatively obscure theme would not have made it the most compelling choice. Many other prints could have achieved this end more forcibly. Instead the diminutive image functions as a sort of epilogue that might be understood as representing the triumph of the Church over the Turks. Another album of procession, Processioni e Feste (BL, 135 g.1), similarly opens with a Christian image and closes with a pagan subject; see below, p. 82.

Prints provided Cassiano with the opportunity to augment the intellectual interests of the Paper Museum while operating in a different way to the drawings. This is not to suggest that there was no overlap or that prints could not be viewed in the same way as drawings, but that the print albums enabled a different viewing experience because of qualities particular to their facture. Prints allowed for a different sort of intellectual engagement and one not exclusively driven by the need for documentation and information. It is interesting that Cassiano kept prints and drawings separate (see p. 48), suggesting that his interest was not solely in the thing depicted. There is no known album comprising comparable quantities of both prints and drawings. Ian Campbell and others have observed that the apparent lacunae in the coverage of the albums of architectural drawings may be accounted for by prints already present among the dal Pozzo holdings. Whereas the suggestion is no doubt substantially correct, the assumption of co-dependency and that the prints acted as alternatives to drawings is problematic. It assumes a priori that Cassiano did not have drawings of particular monuments because they were to be found in prints. However, drawings that once existed might no longer survive, or the collection might not have contained drawings of those subjects at all. Scholars have observed that the drawings albums do not aim for complete coverage but provide a representative survey of subjects. Equally, this applies to the prints: for example, Tempia Diversa moves from Rome to northern Italy, Spain and France and does not include more than a selection of monuments from each. Each section
in the album *Depositi e Funerari* (see above) is small and there was evidently no intention to include particular individuals because of their specific ecclesiastic significance. Why one saint or pope and not another? The contents of these albums might imply that their arrangement was stimulated not by an overarching didactic or documentary impulse, but rather to capture different examples of subjects, and through recognition to prompt cognitive extrapolation. The examples of types of monuments, tombs or processions could allow the viewer to fill gaps with his own knowledge of such things, prompted by visual similarities. As such, the print albums fit with early modern cultural endeavours, expressed through the establishment of private collections, whose dual aim was to preserve and display knowledge to audiences who were characterised by a willingness to engage with the different levels at which the collection operated.23

It is fortuitous that the print collection is being published after so much work has been done on Cassiano as a collector of drawings. Essays by scholars in Series A and B of the Catalogue Raisonné in addition to many other publications have addressed Cassiano’s intellectual and artistic interests and those of the world in which he lived. It is fitting that prints – which were ubiquitous in Rome during the seventeenth century and sought after by individuals from all walks of society for very different purposes – should have formed part of the collection of Cassiano dal Pozzo, one of the most cultivated of all Italian patrons. The approach to the material catalogued here has been to conceive of the entries for each print or series as having a distinct purpose. They explain what the print is and the significance of what it depicts, as a basis for discussing the overarching questions that relate to print culture, what the prints meant in the context of Cassiano’s collection, and how they might have been seen by an individual or by a community of viewers. The essays aim to interrogate how Cassiano, as a leading figure of his time, conceived of prints, positioning them in relation to the drawings in order to understand their role within the collections and the broader world of printmaking.

**Cassiano and print culture in Rome**

Prints are a defining element of early modern visual culture and they were at the heart of the world in which Cassiano lived. He was involved with them through his associations with printmakers and publishers, as a buyer and collector, through prints dedicated to him, his correspondence with friends and colleagues in which prints were discussed, and the book projects which he sponsored or supervised. Cassiano lived in one of the great centres of print production but in the absence of other collectors with whom to compare him – and not even being able to identify anyone with comparable dedication – it is difficult to gauge how exceptional Cassiano’s interest in prints was.24 This is not to say that there were no other collections contemporary with Cassiano’s but none, it seems, that were so extensive or paid so much attention to works on paper. Because of what survives from his collection, Cassiano can be considered a pivotal figure for early modern print culture, the circulation of prints around him reflecting different facets of their complex economy.25

We do not know when or where Cassiano first encountered prints, or more interestingly when he began to recognise their value, but we can identify some early points of contact. In 1608, when Cassiano was 20 years old, Grand Duke Ferdinando I de’ Medici (b. 1549, reg. 1587–1609) appointed him a judge in Siena, a post he retained until the end of August 1611, moving to Rome in the following year.26 In Siena, a Dominican friar, Bartolomeo della Torre (Turriano), dedicated a thesis print to Cassiano and the lawyer and judge Stefano Cavalleri, titled *Conclusione theologicae de sacrosanto adorandissimae trinitatis mysterio* (Fig. 2). The print was designed by Rutilio Manetti (1571–1619) and engraved by Giovanni Florini (fl. 1600–35).27 The handsome engraving depicts two composite allegorical figures flanking the dal Pozzo coat of arms which rests on a pedestal, beneath which is a large sheet of letterpress carrying a dedication and encomium to Cassiano. This public recognition of Cassiano demonstrates how prints were already associated with him at an early point in his career. The sheet combines engraving with letterpress and there are many examples in Cassiano’s surviving print collection where the letterpress accompanying an image is carefully preserved, thus acknowledging the importance of both.

It is not unreasonable to assume that in such a small city as Siena, Cassiano would have been aware of the activity of those involved in the print trade. Giovanni Florini, the engraver of the thesis print, was the son of Matteo Florini (fl. 1581, d. 1613), the only book and print publisher in Siena.28 Cassiano owned another print engraved by Giovanni, depicting the *Catalalogue for the exquesys for Francesco Piccolomini in S. Francesco, Siena* (57), that he might have acquired there. Matteo Florini commissioned talented engravers from outside Siena to work for him, including two of the most prominent printmakers working in Rome during the early seventeenth century, Philippe Thomassin (1562–1622) and Francesco Villamena (c.1565–1624). Cassiano possibly encountered these engravers in Siena,29 and he may well have known other individuals in the city who were interested in printmaking such as Delfino Mancini, the brother of the Siennese physician, connoisseur and collector Giudio Mancini (see p. 4); both of them knew Thomassin.30 Soon after he moved to Rome in 1611, Cassiano formed a close friendship with Villamena.

According to his biographer Carlo Dati (1609–76), upon arriving in Rome, Cassiano immersed himself in the study of the ancient world.31 As the centre for the rediscovery of classical civilisation Rome was the best place to find prints of antiquities, a fact reflected by the numbers that survive from Cassiano’s collections and others that are documented through the inventories of the dal Pozzo library (see pp. 45–6). During the first half of the sixteenth century, Rome had become an international centre of printmaking serving the needs of pilgrims, tourists and local residents.32 Prints made in the city predominantly recorded antiquities,
inscriptions, reconstructions of ancient monuments and so on and these subjects continued to be sought after in the following century. For example, in the year that Cassiano arrived in Rome, Giacomo Lauro published the *Antiquae urbis splendor*, a compilation of prints of Roman architecture, monuments and spectacles.

The closing decades of the sixteenth century witnessed the expansion of printmaking into other subject areas, mainly religious and devotional prints. The shift can be demonstrated by comparing the 1573 list of prints for sale by the leading Roman publisher Antonio Laferri with the 1614 list of another, Lorenzo Vaccari.23 A high proportion of Laferri's stockist records antiques, while Vaccari has a wider range of material, including religious subjects. Laferri primarily records the subjects of prints, not the names of printmakers, whereas Vaccari uses the names of the engravers to identify the plates. This has led scholars to identify an emerging appreciation of printmakers and their status, as reflected by the relationships that Cassiano formed with printmakers in Rome and the attention they paid to cultivating his patronage.24 Villamena, for example, formed a close friendship with Cassiano and another collector, Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564-1567). Both men stood as godparents for the engraver's children in 1614.25 Many years later Carlo Antonio described Villamena as amongst Cassiano's artist friends (see p. 16).

The proliferation of print publishers in Rome during the seventeenth century provided increased professional opportunities for engravers and transformed what was available on the market. The most organised and ambitious firm was the publishing dynasty begun by Giuseppe de' Rossi (1560-1639), who obtained permission to open a print shop in the city some time around 1616.26 The de' Rossi came to dominate print publishing in Rome during the century. They published prints by artists who worked for Cassiano - Antonio Tempesta (1555-1650) and Pietro Testa (1612-50), for example - and were adept at cultivating new clients, dedicating prints to eminent individuals such as Cassiano and his brother Carlo Antonio (see p. 12).27

This brief outline of Cassiano's early contact with the printmaking industry in Siena and Rome provides a context for his growing interest in prints. Additional evidence comes from knowing with whom he associated and who might have encouraged his ambitions. Although interests shared amongst like-minded individuals will no doubt have been a powerful incentive, we must consider whether Cassiano was himself the prime mover in engaging with prints to the extent he did. The ambition and range of his Paper Museum and the place of prints within it, as well as his involvement in different publications, suggests this to be the case; he uniquely exploited their potential and availability. However, the interest in prints displayed by Cassiano's contemporaries in certain respects parallels his own.

During Cassiano's first years in Rome he became a member of a literary society, the Accademia degli Umoristi, where he mixed with antiquaries, erudite men of letters, members of the church and noble families.28 Amongst those he encountered were Cardinal Maffeo Barberini (1568-1644) and his nephew Francesco. Cassiano developed a close and lasting friendship with Francesco. In 1633 - the year Maffeo was elected Pope Urban VIII - Cassiano was appointed to the Barberini household, and in 1655 and 1656 he accompanied Francesco on diplomatic missions to France and Spain.29 They were both interested in prints and books and clearly consulted each other on matters relating to publishing projects and print collecting.30 The Barberini's extensive patronage of the visual and theatrical arts in Rome during the seventeenth century has been well studied.31 They sponsored books and prints to embellish their family name.32 Francesco took great interest in printmaking and even considered establishing a printing facility in his palace.33 He also assembled a print collection. The 1649 inventory of his prints and drawings reveals his collection to be more modest than Cassiano's, but it contained prints of a similar range of subjects, including genealogies, portraits, architecture and a large number of military sieges.34 Barberini's collection included at least one printed portrait of the Cavalieri dal Pozzo;35 conversely, Cassiano owned a portrait of the Cardinal on silk (1598).

There are several cases of both men owning impressions of the same prints, which is not surprising given they were collecting at the same time and presumably from the same sources. For example, in each collection we find Stefano della Bella's set of six prints [depicting] the entry of the Polish Ambassador in 1653 (134-139).36 Many entries in the Barberini inventory are insuffciently precise to identify specific prints but they often describe the same subject as prints in the dal Pozzo collection. Several of Cassiano's prints, for example, relate to the 1638 siege of Casale (Part II, RCINs 722072-722083). In the Barberini inventory we read 'A print of the siege of Casale by [Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba y Figueroa, Spanish governor of Milan] height and width about five palmi.'37 A fuller analysis of Francesco's collection of prints and drawings is required to better understand how it compared with Cassiano's.

An important aspect of both Cassiano's and Francesco Barberini's patronage is their commissioning and sponsorship of books on subjects that reflected their personal interests. Carlo Datio describes a number of the publications in which Cassiano was involved.38 In the case of Francesco, the books he sponsored include Giovanni Battista Ferraris' *De florum cultura* (Rome 1633)39 and Francesco Stefutti's *Trattato del legno fosile minerale* (Rome 1657),40 an edition of Francesco da Barberini's *Documenti dì amore* (Rome 1640) and the 1642 edition of the *Aedes Barberinae* by Giuliano Tezzi.41 Cassiano was also involved in some of these projects, overseeing the production of Ferraris' and Stefutti's treatises. These publications are notable for their superb engraved illustration.42 De *florum cultura*, for example, was richly illustrated with plants from Francesco's private botanical garden, engraved by Johann Friedrich Greuter (1590/1605-1666), Claude Mellan (1598-1688) and (1605-92) after designs by leading artists of the time who included Guido Reni (1575-1642) and Pietro da Cortona (1596-1669). Amongst the dal Pozzo papers in the Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Médecine in Montpellier we find a manuscript list of the engraved plates for the *Aedes Barberinae*.43 Cassiano's interest in these prints is suggested by a letter from Pietro da Cortona to Cassiano (17 August 1641), where the artist observes that because he had not consulted about the prints in the *Aedes*, he was concerned about the quality of the engravers and the consistency of the illustration. 'I understand that Greuter, who is good, will make one [engraving]. I do not know how the others have been allocated, so as to give uniformity to the whole work.'44 The significance of the Montpellier list is, however, not entirely clear. It records the subjects of single sheet impressions from the *Aedes*, separated from the text. Might the list record impressions that Cassiano had bought, or wanted to buy and add to his collection? This seems most likely given the relationship of the list to the others written in the same hand relating to print purchases discussed later (see p. 30).

Both Cassiano's and Francesco's involvement with the Accademia dei Lincei is well understood.45 Cassiano was admitted to the Academy in 1662 and Francesco a year later.46 As his admission piece
Cassiano offered a copy of Giovanni Pietro Olina's Uccelliera over discorso della natura, e propriety di diversi uccelli (Rome 1632), a work dedicated by Olina to Cassiano — though in fact Cassiano himself was at least its co-author — and illustrated by plates of Giovanni Maggi (1566–1621 or after), Antonio Tempesta and Francesco Villamena.\(^{39}\) This case of Cassiano's collaboration with printmakers is not isolated and we have occasionally more detailed evidence for how artists came to be employed by him. The Sienese artist Bernardino Capitelli (1590–1639) moved to Rome in 1636 for three years to work as a draughtsman and engraver for Cassiano. The painter Giovanni Battista Giustammanini (fl. 1609–26) wrote to Cassiano from Siena introducing Capitelli, referring to the success the artist had achieved in his etchings and recommending him to Cassiano's protection.\(^{40}\) The etching Capitelli made for Cassiano after a drawing by Pietro da Cortona while in his employ is discussed below (p. 38). Capitelli also dedicated prints to Cassiano and members of his family and continued to make prints copying Cassiano's drawings after he returned to Siena.\(^{41}\) An album of drawings by Theodoro Galle (1571–1633) in the Vatican Library that reproduces the collection of portraits of illustrious men belonging to Fulvio Orsini has a dal Pozzo provenance.\(^{42}\) The album once belonged to Cassiano's friend and fellow member of the Accademia dei Lincei Johann Faber (1574–1629) and has in it a manuscript note in Cassiano's hand indicating that between 1625 and 1629 they planned to publish an enlarged and corrected edition of Orsini's work with engravings by Galle, though this never came to fruition.\(^{43}\)

Cassiano's interest in print publishing extended beyond projects in which he was personally involved. For example, an ambitious publication supervised by Joachim von Sandrart (1606–88) containing engravings of the Giustiniani family collections, the Galleria Giustiniana (Rome c.1651–6), was well known to Cassiano and seems to have aroused in him some envy [Fig. 3].\(^{44}\) In 1655 Cassiano observed that Vincenzo Giustiniani was so rich that he had had an artist as famous as Giovanni Lanfranco (1582–1647) make drawings for his prints and even had the large sheets of paper used for the series made in his own palace (though it is more likely that this refers to the printing of plates in the palace, not the production of paper there).\(^{45}\) Inspired by the Galleria — no doubt because of its concept, ambition and high-quality engravings — Cassiano wanted to publish his own collection, but probably because of the expense involved this came to nothing. Letters dated February and June 1634 his friend and correspondent Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), who lived in France, encouraged Cassiano to follow Giustiniani's example and publish his collection.\(^{46}\) Two years later in a letter to Peiresc (15 April 1636), Cassiano again referred to the Galleria when he described meeting Francesco Barberini, who wanted to send a copy to Peiresc.\(^{47}\) Printmaking undertakings on this scale were clearly beyond Cassiano's resources,\(^{48}\) although he employed some of the artists who worked for Giustiniani — Pietro Testa, Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) and Anna Maria Vaiani (fl. 1626–33).\(^{49}\) The Galleria Giustiniana illustrates the position occupied by prints in Cassiano's world where, fundamental to the exchange of knowledge, they were admired and sought after.

The examples discussed above show how prints were produced in different contexts: to record a collection of antiquities or events, or as illustration to a text. Cassiano evidently did not regard all prints in the same way: they served different purposes and had different functions. With regard to the engravings in De florum cultura, for example, the scenes with human figures, although small and complex, are painstakingly engraved, with clear perspective, well-rendered bodies, draperies and three-dimensional forms [Fig. 4]. The engravings of the flowers are very different, but notable for their accuracy and close-up detail which allows the viewer to examine each element of the flower to understand how it relates to the plant as a whole [Fig. 5]. Given Cassiano's interest in the natural world and his considerable efforts to have artists record it, he must have greatly appreciated the accuracy engraving could achieve. Here, the quality of the engraved line is at the service of precisely rendering its subject and Cassiano chose engravers who were recognised for their skill in such work. In contrast to the engravings, the letterpress text in De florum cultura is rudimentary, a quality that would not have been lost on the viewer. The value placed on the documentary precision of engraving is further demonstrated by its juxtaposition

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Fig. 4. J.F. Grotere after P da Cortona, The metamorphosis of Flora and Melissa, from G.B. Ferrari, De florum cultura, 1653, p. 519. Engraving, 100 x 143 mm

Fig. 5. C. Bloemaert, Helianthus, from G.B. Ferrari, De florum cultura, 1653, p. 199. Engraving, 300 x 144 mm

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Fig. 3. C. Mellan, Statute of a beardless Heracles, 1631, from Galleria Giustiniana, c. 1651–6, pl. 11. Engraving, 411 x 335 mm

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Fig. 3. C. Mellan, Statute of a beardless Heracles, 1631, from Galleria Giustiniana, c. 1651–6, pl. 11. Engraving, 411 x 335 mm
with drawing in certain compilations, where the two media were clearly seen as complementary (see p. 53). It was also possible for etching to achieve similar accuracy while suggesting rich surface effects. One example is the remarkable illustrations in Stelluti’s Trattato del legno fossile minerale [Fig. 6], where the etchings combine minute detail with a sense of the dense layers and fractured character of the fossil wood.

The considerable number of prints dedicated to Cassiano during his lifetime demonstrates a different sort of relationship with printmakers and publishers. It is not clear in every case if the dedication came after he was consulted, if it implies that Cassiano sponsored the print or if the dedication was intended to attract his attention as a form of flattery and possibly to secure his patronage. As Michael Bury explains, “the dedication placed the person dedicating in the position of client and honoured the dedicatee because it was a public acknowledgement of his name and worthiness to be a patron. The work that carried the dedication was thus a tribute to and, at the same time, an advertisement of the importance of the dedicatee.” Cassiano’s sponsorship of prints is suggested by his close relationships with printmakers and publishers in Rome and beyond. His friendship with Francesco Villamena has been mentioned. In 1633, Villamena dedicated to Cassiano an engraving of Giovanni Aten (Giovanni Alto) – standing on the Quirinal hill and gesturing to the city behind him – that shows recognizable monuments [Fig. 7]. Aten was an officer of the Papal Swiss Guard and a guide to the antiquities of Rome, and thus the prints subject closely coincided with Cassiano’s interests. In the same year, the title page to a new edition of Book 1 of Giovanni Battista de’ Cavalieri’s Antiquae statuae urbis Romae – the most extensive compilation of engravings of sculpture published in the sixteenth century – carried a dedication to Cassiano, further evidence for his prevailing areas of study.

Prints with very different subjects carry dedications to Cassiano. One of the earliest prints dedicated by Philippe Thomassin, the Triumph of Galatea, can be dated to around 1612–20 [Fig. 8]. Most are dated later, when Cassiano was avidly building his collection. The heirs of Cherubino Alberti (1533–1615) dedicated Fama sounding a trumpet to Cassiano in 1628, and in the same year, the publisher Giuseppe de’ Rossi dedicated a title page for a set of frontispieces by Luca Cambiaso (fl. 1559–1611) after Polidoro Giambari (fl. c.1560–d. 1610) [Fig. 9]. F. Brusventura’s Blas Holy Family with SS. Elizabeth and John the Baptist (1561) was dedicated by the printmaker, and the 1636 print by Giovanni Andrea Podestà (1568–c.1574) after Titian’s Worship of Venus was again dedicated by

Giuseppe de’ Rossi [Fig. 10], and Pietro Testa’s Dream of Joseph from around 1634–7 was dedicated by the artist, who was employed by Cassiano. Bernardino Capitolini dedicated prints to Cassiano, including his etching of a Bacchus sarcophagus in Fontainebleau [Fig. 11], and to members of his family including his nephew, Ferdinando dal Pozzo, his brother Carlo Antonio and Carlo’s wife Teodora. Dedications also came from beyond Italy. An edition of a map of Lazio from around 1640 that was published in Joan Blaeu’s Theatrum orbis terrarum carries a dedication from Cornelis Blaeu [Fig. 12]. There can be little doubt that Cassiano once owned impressions of these dedicated prints but none appear in the existing collections other than an anonymous print of Nine pilgrim churches (Part II, Popish Ceremonies II, BL, 134.g.11, fol. 39). It is notable that for the majority, their subjects do not correspond with his collecting interests as we understand them; prints reproducing contemporary works of art are largely absent from his surviving collection.

In light of their involvement in the print world, Cassiano and his brother must have been aware of prints that reproduced artworks they owned even when the print did not carry a dedication to them. For example, etched in 1635 and republished by Giovanni Giacomo de’ Rossi in 1649, Fabrizio Chiari’s Mars and Venus is based on Nicolas Poussin’s painting from around 1630 that Cassiano probably owned. Books dedicated to Cassiano and containing prints, such as Cavalieri’s Antiquae statuae urbis Romae, Olima’s Uccelliera and Pietro Castelli’s Hysena altarfera (Messina 1628), should also be mentioned.

Fig. 6. Fossil wood, from F. Stelluti, Trattato del legno fossile minerale, 1637, pl. 10. Etching, 225 x 168 mm
the exception of the title page, the individual prints they contain do not carry dedications to him in the same way single-sheet prints do, but as part of the book they should be connected with the same intention.

Also important to this discussion are the printed portraits of Cassiano. Known in one impression, a striking engraving by Pierre de Bruyn (fl. c.1650–59) after a drawing by Jan van den Hoecke (1611–31) made during Cassiano’s lifetime shows him wearing the Cross of Santo Stefano and is accompanied by a lengthy description along the bottom (see Fig. 1). As revealed by the George III inventory of his portrait prints (see p. 622), Cassiano owned impressions in both proof and finished states that are untraced. The better known engraved portrait of Cassiano, also after van den Hoecke’s drawing, was commissioned from the printmaker Pietro Anichini (1610–after 1659) by Dati to serve as the frontispiece to his funerary oration published in 1664 (Fig. 13).82

Dedications provide one type of evidence for Cassiano’s involvement with prints while those prints he owned by engravers working for him illustrate another. The names of Tempesta, Maggi and Villamena have been noted above and the many prints by them that he owned are catalogued in this publication. Cassiano had at least 12 prints by Claude Mellan, one of the leading seventeenth-century printmakers. Peiresc was Mellan’s patron, and when the artist passed through Aix-en-Provence in 1624 on his way to Rome, Peiresc gave him a letter to hand on to Cardinal Girolamo Aleandro asking him to introduce Mellan to Villamena.84 Mellan is thought to have been one of the artists responsible for producing drawings for Cassiano’s Paper Museum.85 Peiresc commissioned Mellan to engrave a portrait of his

Fig. 10. G.A. Podestà after Titian, The Worship of Venus, 1636. Etching, 354 x 389 mm
Fig. 11. B. Capitelli, Bacchic sarcophages in Fontainebleau, 1607–9. Etching, 191 x 353 mm

Fig. 12. Map of Lazio from J. Blaeu, Theatrum orbis terrarum, c.1640. Engraving, with hand-colouring, 395 x 503 mm

Fig. 13. P. Anichini after J. van den Hoecke, Portrait of Cassiano dal Pozzo, frontispiece to Dati 1664. Engraving, 225 x 165 mm
friend John Barclay, who had died in 1621, and an impression of this is pasted to the verso of the title page of Cassiano’s own copy of Barclay’s *Parthenes is ad sectarios* (Rome 1657; 1658). The title page to the book carries a dedication from Barclay to Cassiano that recognises their friendship formed in Rome.

Beyond knowing the names of printmakers who worked for Cassiano and the prints they executed for him (and others he bought), direct evidence for his assessment of their ability is hard to come by. A letter written by his brother Carlo Antonio to Dati (17 May 1659) lists Cassiano’s friends (amorevoli), including the printmakers Tempesta, Testa, Villamena and Jacques Callot (1592–1635). Villamena and Callot are the only artists specifically identified as ‘engravers in copper’ (intagliatori in rame), presumably because they were known only for their prints. The letter ends with what seems to be a reference to scattered prints dedicated to Cassiano that Carlo Antonio was to try to gather together: ‘I will seek out those loose [prints] that were made in his honour’.86

A revealing source of information regarding how prints were valued is the correspondence among Cassiano’s widespread circle of friends and colleagues. Antony Griffiths has described this as showing ‘how much they knew about the art of engraving and how naturally engravers fitted into their world’.87 These men formed part of the Republic of Letters mentioned earlier, a network for the exchange of information across Europe among people who had not necessarily met. In the extensive correspondence they occasionally discuss the subjects, purpose, function and quality of engraving.88 At the heart of the network was Peiresc, who corresponded on a regular basis with both Cassiano and Francesco Barberini.89 Peiresc’s letters to Cassiano in which he encouraged him to publish prints recording his collection were noted earlier. Their friendship had begun in 1653 when they met in France. In 1627 Cassiano had an etching made by Bernardino Capitelli after a drawing by Pietro da Cortona of the ancient wallpainting known as the Aldobrandini Wedding. The print was published to celebrate the marriage of Taddeo Barberini (1602–47) and Anna Colonna in October the same year.90 Peiresc was sent an impression, but in a letter (3 June 1627) he complained to Cassiano that because the image was reversed through the printing, the actions of those depicted made no sense and he asked to be sent two counterproofs pulled from freshly printed impressions, one of which he was going to have coloured and the other preserved to keep virgin in its own beauty and neatness of the printing.91 Peiresc was delighted when he received the counterproofs and thanked Cassiano profusely (28 February 1629), promising never to let go of them so they could not be pirated and thus defraud Cassiano.92 The point about fraud is interesting, for it implies that Cassiano controlled access to the plate and the impressions pulled from it and that he had established a contractual relationship with the artist and the publisher. Ten years later, Peiresc was similarly engaged in obtaining engravings after Van Dyck’s portrait of Charles I for Cassiano that do not appear in the existing collections.93 Other letters make reference to prints and the market. In 1653 Cassiano wrote to Giovanni Filippo Marucelli, a Florentine canon and secretary of state to the Medici Grand Duke Ferdinando II (reg 1621–70), who visited him in Rome. Marucelli’s interest in Cassiano’s library provided a context for their discussion of books and prints.94 Cassiano writes (12 April 1653) of his interest in finding out what the publisher Giovanni Domenico de’ Rossi had in stock and describes the Galleria Giustiniana, identifying the engravers who worked on the project.95

These various transactions involving prints reveal a world in which they were highly visible. For Cassiano, prints presented different possibilities and served many different purposes and he was actively engaged not only in collecting them, but in some cases in their production. A unique manifestation of print culture, they were organised in his collection in ways that reflect their abundance and are complementary to the universal aims expressed through his Paper Museum.

### The surviving dal Pozzo print collection

In his 1899 article on Cassiano’s print collection, Antony Griffiths described six albums of miscellaneous prints, one album of drawings containing plans of fortified palaces (BL, 118.c.18) and Giovanni Battista Pala’s *Palazzi di Roma* II (BL, Maps 7.Tab.48), pointing out that these were probably part of a much larger print collection that had been dispersed.96 Since this original group was described, further discoveries of prints have been made. In 1995 Griffiths identified another album in the British Library, Charles III’s *Cérémonies Funèbres*; Martin Clayton found two more albums in the same institution (*Templa Diversa Romae*, BL, 54.r.7; *Templa Diversa*, BL, Maps 3.Tab.34); and Ian Campbell one (*Antiquitates Romanar*, BL, Maps 7.Tab.49). While preparing this catalogue the present author found another three albums, again in the British Library (*Palazzi di Genova*, BL, 54.r.13; *Palazzi di Roma I*, BL, 5.Tab.65; and the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, BL, Maps 7.Tab.1).97 All volumes of dal Pozzo prints in the British Library identified to date, 13 in total, are shown in Fig. 14. Additionally, a large number of prints at (and formerly at) Windsor Castle have been identified as from the dal Pozzo collection by Henrietta McBurney and Martin Clayton. This material includes hundreds of portraits and a remarkable collection of prints relating to military history, all of which were removed from albums to be integrated with the collections of similar material owned by George III. To the list can be added about a hundred prints integrated with King George III’s *Topographical Collection*, now housed in the British Library, and a number of single sheets in the British Museum and other collections, some of which have been published; other prints continue to emerge.

Whereas the detailed George III inventory of the portraits reveals the original arrangement of that part of the collection (see pp. 621–9), the same cannot be determined for the military or topographical material. At least certain clues allow us to trace the provenance of dal Pozzo material. Traces of the red wax seal bearing the arms of Anna Teresa Benzonii on a print indicate it was the first in an album (see p. 13),98 for example, *Linea Vicis’s print Charles V crossing the Elbe with his army at the battle of Mühlberg* carries the remains of the seal, suggesting it introduced an album that was possibly devoted to battles in which Charles was involved (Part II, RGN 721016; see also 1, 74, 246, 998).99

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Fig. 14. The albums of dal Pozzo prints in the British Library
different printmakers. The first volume comprises 47 prints and the second 66 prints. Superficially, the mounts in these bindings resemble type A, with two brown ink lines ruled around each print (Fig. 16). However, with verified type A mounts, the inner border line is placed a little beyond the edge of the print: on the prints in Rome, the inner line is drawn immediately against the edge of the print and often on the print itself and the lines are often thick and carelessly drawn. Furthermore, very few prints are trimmed to the edge of the image, none are burnished on the verso and the paste is often hastily applied. In many cases, a window has not been cut and the print has been pasted directly to the backing sheet. It is safe to conclude that these prints do not come from the dal Pozzo collection but that their method of framing and mounting was probably inspired by type A.125

Were it not for the fact that framing lines are drawn directly onto the edges of two prints by Giulio Bonasone in New York, Terms of Hercules and Desanita and Terms of a nymph and Silvanus,126 they would have been included in the dal Pozzo corpus. The subjects are precisely what we would expect Cassiano to have collected, the prints are carefully window mounted and the type of brown ink is the same colour that we encounter on many type A prints. On both prints there may have been a second outer framing line that was removed when the mounts were trimmed. The mounts of three etchings published by Solinas and Annalisa Crescimbeni, also in the Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, one by Cherubino Alberti and two by Francesco Villamena, closely resemble type A but they cannot share the same provenance.127 The ink frames are around 3 mm apart, considerably less than the consistent range of 8–13 mm found on Cassiano prints. The sheets are not cut down and the framing lines are drawn on the print itself and not on the mount. The prints are window mounted but the paste has been hastily applied and there is no green tinting on the cut edges of the mount sheets. Other prints bound in the same volume as these engravings have the same characteristics and are pasted directly to the backing sheet. Cassiano’s type A mounts clearly prompted imitations within his Roman circle.128 Similar characteristics can also be found on prints in collections beyond Rome and it is evident that framing prints with ink lines was a widespread practice throughout Europe.129

A cautious approach has been adopted here and a number of prints have been excluded from the corpus because the evidence for their provenance is not sufficiently compelling. These are cases where there are traces of burnishing on the verso but the print has been too severely trimmed to allow provenance to be positively determined. Many prints from the King’s Topographical Collection in the British Library fall into this category and the uncertainty is exacerbated by the fact they have been backed with linen, although the shadow created by the remains of paste can sometimes be seen by projecting light through the mount from the back. Verifying the provenance of dispersed type B prints is almost impossible without corroborative evidence, as in the case of the Speculum, because the generally more rudimentary mounting procedure described earlier is difficult to differentiate from similar methods employed by other collectors during the seventeenth century. Peter Barber, for example, regards the large number of sixteenth-century Italian printed maps in the King’s Topographical Collection as very probably from the dal Pozzo collection, but they have lost all physical trace of provenance.130 A group of prints depicting icons of the Virgin from the Ducaude collection and now in Oxford are housed in the same folder as the type A prints of the same subject (see p. 21). The prints are window mounted in the type B manner, several to a page, and the fore-edge of the mount is stained green.131 Although a dal Pozzo provenance is likely the evidence is not conclusive enough for them to be catalogued here.

Housing the collections

In September 1697, the dal Pozzo brothers leased a small palazzo in Rome commonly attributed to the architect Baldassare Peruzzi, at what is now via dei Chiavari 6.132 A home for their collections must have been uppermost in their mind when they were searching for accommodation. From that time, their ambitions for the collections seem to have grown alongside efforts at organising them. We have no record or testament from Cassiano describing how he originally arranged the collections,133 but an assessment of the physical space of the palazzo together with descriptions by visitors provide a reasonably good idea of its layout, organisation and reputation. The different sorts of available evidence — letters, inventories and other documents — point to wider intellectual and artistic activities and connections complemented by the collections, which informed the aspirations and knowledge of those who visited and worked at the palazzo.134

The palazzo has been described as a ‘multi-functional organism’ that had a didactic emphasis and concern with connoisseurship, and as a sort of laboratory or officina.135 From around 1630 to around 1645 more than 30 artists are mentioned as working for Cassiano, from 1637 at the palazzo, collecting and making drawings for the Paper Museum.136 The Florentine biographer Filippo Baldinucci, citing another biographer, Giovanni Pietro Bellori, writes that Nicolas Poussin ‘used to say that he had been trained up in his art in the house and museum of the Cavaliere dal Pozzo’.137 Cassiano owned and lent to Poussin manuscripts on optics and colour and the effects of light and shade, demonstrating the sort of exchanges that operated amongst those in their circle.138 But the collection did provide resource material that was of more direct use to artists. In a letter from Pietro Testa to Cassiano (9 September 1673) the artist writes how he used tracing paper (lucidi) to copy some rare old prints in the collection.139

Inventories of 1689 and 1695 that list the collections in situ room-by-room provide a sense of how the
palazzo was arranged. Donatella Spariti has identified four broad categories of objects that were displayed in the museum. They include artificialia (the picture collection), antiquaria (busts, reliefs, gems, etc.), naturalia (the natural history collection) and curiosa (objects of ethnographic or anthropological interest including elephant teeth and ostrich eggs that were typically found in Wanderkammern). Cassiano is also known to have owned a collection of live birds. The division of objects into these particular subject areas developed from practices established during the sixteenth century and expressed through the empirical antiquarianism of figures such as Ferrante Imperato (c.1535–c.1609) and Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605). The well-known print of Imperato’s museum in Naples [Fig. 17] shows figures discussing the collections while a guide at the left seems to be pointing out the animals on the ceiling. There are various objects in cupboards and fixed to surfaces, books shelved at the left and one open on a flat surface in the background. The assembly of such heterogeneous items seems to have continued well into the seventeenth century. A later engraving of Ole Worm’s museum at Copenhagen [Fig. 18] shows a greater array of objects that are more carefully organised, with shelves clearly labelled to indicate their contents, but no visitors: the social context of such a collection is not visualised. It is unlikely that the dal Pozzo residence resembled closely the rooms replete with objects shown in these prints but the element of intellectual sociability and exchange within a context of wondrous objects is a quality they share with his own museum. In the seventeenth century, a new archaeological method developed of which Cassiano was at the forefront, as reflected by his active engagement in research as well as collecting (see p. 57). His Paper Museum is an expression of these preoccupations.

For the purposes of this discussion, the dal Pozzo library is of greatest interest. It housed the Paper Museum and complemented the wider collections. Amongst those in Rome with whom Cassiano had close contact was the bibliophile Gabriel Naudé (1600–53), who in 1627 published his guide for constructing and organising a library, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (see p. 4). The book is regarded as a foundation text for library science. Given their close contact, and Naudé’s expertise, he might well have advised Cassiano in the early years of setting up the library. In the 1689 inventory of the library (see below, ‘Later inventories of the dal Pozzo library’), Naudé’s name appears in the sub-section Bibliothèque (‘bibliography’), although there it refers to his annotated bibliography on the subject of political science (1653). The category Bibliothèque contained catalogues of books in print, showing how attentive the dal Pozzo brothers were to keeping abreast of available publications and sourcing works in their areas of interest.

The library inventories demonstrate the range of books amassed, around 5,000 in total by the time of Carlo Antonio’s death. Such an impressive collection attracted distinguished visitors from across Europe, for there was the expectation that such collections would be ‘open’ to interested parties. Amongst these was the English traveller and writer Philip Skippon (1641–91), who was in Rome from September 1664 until January the following year, when he visited different collections. Skippon seems to have been particularly impressed by the dal Pozzo collection and, in his account of his travels, described it in more detail than others he saw. He noted the framed portraits, a number of the volumes of drawings—mentioning many of their subjects—and books of portraits (possibly including the engravings now in the Royal Collection at Windsor), all of which Carlo Antonio had ‘inherited at his uncle’s [sic] Cassiano dal Pozzo’s death. Skippon describes the study as having an octagonal table in the centre and walls lined with books. Four years later in 1668, Carlo Antonio guided the archivist Carlo Cartari (1614–97) around the collections. In his account, Cartari describes the different rooms of the palazzo:
The extent of the dal Pozzo print collection

Different types of evidence indicate that there once existed a far larger dal Pozzo print collection, with different sorts of prints, than has survived. Information comes from lists of prints that were for sale, library inventories and comments in Cassiano’s correspondence where prints and printmakers are discussed (for example, see p. 16). The documents examined below provide a clear view of the character of the print collection from the mid- to the later seventeenth century.

Several of these documents can be found in volumes of miscellaneous papers in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples and the Bibliothèque de l’École de Médecine, Montpellier. One document in Naples is an undated numbered list of 48 Roman monuments that has been understood as an itinerary beginning on the Via Nomentana and ending on the Via Appia.153 No known drawings correspond to the subjects in the list and its structure and content suggest that it refers to prints, either single sheets or a series. The entries all refer to complete monuments rather than individual architectural details and several views (vedute) are described. The recurring use of the term pittoresco (the principal subject – for example the Baths of Caracalla – suggests a number of views or plans of the same complex. Series of prints that follow a similar visual arrangement can be identified in Cassiano’s Speculum album, for example Hieronymus Cock’s Baths of Diocletian (Part II, Speculum, BL, Maps 7: Tab.1, fols 17a–23), the amphitheatres (fols 5–10) or columns (fols 68–82).154 Monuments recorded in the Naples list can be identified in other prints from the dal Pozzo collection outside the Speculum, but because the descriptions are so perfunctory we cannot determine if they describe other impressions or different prints showing the same subject.

An itinerary of Roman monuments was a popular subject in prints from the sixteenth century, especially for tourists and pilgrims to the Holy City. Giacomo Gherardi’s Seven pilgrim churches of Rome (Part II, Tempia Diversa, BL, Maps 3: Tab.3a, fol. 47) and an anonymous etching of nine churches, dedicated to Cassiano (Part II, Popish Ceremonies II, BL, 134 g:11, fol. 39), are two examples. The Naples list seems to follow a similar progression around sites, albeit through several prints. That the list presents an itinerary is also in keeping with Cassiano’s methodological research into the antiquities of Rome, exemplified by another manuscript titled Notitie di varie antichità, con un tratto di Marmi (A notice of various antiquities, with an illustration of marbles), a topographical inventory of ancient finds where he describes what needs to be examined and drawn for his Paper Museum.157 The systematic approach is manifest also in Cassiano’s method for organising his prints in albums, discussed earlier (see p. 3). Smaller groups representing itineraries or ordered sequences can be identified in type A albums and in even in others that subsequent to their creation have been re-bound, thereby disrupting some of their original order. For example, in the album Popish Ceremonies II, folios 17–19 bear three related prints by different printmakers, an overall view of Piazza del Popolo in Rome followed by detailed prints of the churches in the piazza, S. Maria in Montesanto and S. Maria del Miracoli. The question remains as to what the Naples list represents. Is it a list of prints for sale, an index to an album of prints that no longer survives, a working plan for the arrangement of such an album, or an inventory of prints of the type that might have been planned for all the dal Pozzo compilations?

The second group of documents, in Montpellier, comprises three lists describing prints written in the same hand (Tables 1–3; Fig. 19).158 That the lists were found amongst dal Pozzo papers indicates they must relate to material that was in the brothers’ possession. First described by Salinas and Crescimbini, they were discussed by Campbell and relate directly to the formation of the print collection.159 They concern the purchase of individual impressions and sets of prints (possibly stitched together) and not the bound compilations that the term libri/ libri (‘book/ s’) used in the lists might today imply.160 The documents record transactions probably from the mid-1650s to the early 1660s: most of the listed items date before 1660 – a few might be a little later – and they all come from the de’ Rossi publishing house in Rome.161 The connection between the de’ Rossi publishers and the dal Pozzo brothers has been noted earlier (p. 12). It seems they acted as agents sourcing prints. In a letter to Cassiano (24 May 1654) Giuseppe de’ Rossi mentions having found for him prints of Clement VIII’s entry into Ferrara but was not yet able to find prints of the entry of Marcantonio Colonna; he was also sorry he had not been able to secure a print collection in Parma valued at 300 scudi because Cardinal Santacroce had intercepted it in Bologna and kept it for himself.162

As revealed by the heading, the first list is a ‘Note of things that are being ordered’ (Nota delle robo, che si domandano; Table 1) and the second, a ‘Note of what is sent for viewing’ (Nota di quello, che si manda per mostrare; Table 2), that is, prints that had been sent on approval to be examined. The prints are priced in scudi.163 The third list with no prices would have been put together in response to the first two documents (Table 3); here the publishers laid out which of the items requested were in stock. All the items in this list appear in one or other of the first two and presumably those prints were then bought, given the earlier interest in them expressed by the dal Pozzo.

In the following tables, where possible, a reference is given to the inventory (dated 22 August 1648) of copper plates and impressions of prints from the estate of Giuseppe de’ Rossi and to the posthumous inventory (dated 4 September 1653) of the estate of his brother Giovanni Domenico de’ Rossi. The references to prints in the published stocklists are often vague, and in many cases the match between those in the Montpellier lists and the de’ Rossi inventories cannot be certain.164
from the library of Cavalier dal Pozzo, 104 books and as above, 109. Many entries use the term stampati together with figurati or figure, to refer to illustrated books or compilations of prints. Several examples demonstrate the consistent use of these terms: ‘Other books from the Library of Cavalier dal Pozzo taken from the said winter rooms, medium and small [books] with printed illustrations, 120’ (Altri libri della Libreria del Cavaliere dal Pozzo presi dalle sudette stanza d’inverno, mezzani e piccoli con figure stampate, no. 120, fol. 10r). ‘Other books from the same Library, medium and small with printed illustrations, 48’ (Altri libri della medesima Libreria, mezzani e piccoli stampati con varie figure, no. 48: fol. 101r). ‘On the same day [22 Sept. 1713] were taken from the library of Cavalier dal Pozzo, where they were found mixed among the prints, 11 manuscript books, 23 books with printed illustrations’ (Nell’ultimo giorno [22 Sept. 1713] furono trasportati dalla libreria del Cavaliere dal Pozzo, dove si trovavano frammiuniti tra i stampati, manoscritti libri uedivi, stampati figurati libri vetriuti, fol. 112v). Taken from the dal Pozzo library 3 books with printed illustrations’ (Furono trasportati dalla libreria del Pozzo libri cinque stampati figurati, no. 5, fol. 117v). Other entries allow us to identify the actual publications for example, ‘Item: a book [set] of the trades by Carracci … (Item un libro delle arti del Carracci, fol. 119v) refers to Annibale Carracci’s series of prints depicting itinerant tradesmen and market workers published in Rome in 1646, which appears in the Monopoli list of prints sent on approval (Table 2) and in the library inventories. The second part of the same entry, ‘… that were loose in the dal Pozzo library’ (… che erano scolto nella Libreria del Pozzo), tells of their physical state. It is possible that other items were similarly left loose with the intention of binding them as a set or into thematic albums at some point.

Books are also identified, for example, ‘from the dal Pozzo Library Polidoro Virgili’s De rerum inventorumibus in Latin to be placed among the Urbino material’ (Dalla Libreria del Pozzo Polidoro Virg. de rerum inventorumibus in latino da mettersi intorno Urbinate, fol. 154v), referring to Polidoro Vergiliòs De rerum inventorioibus (1546). ‘Item a large book entitled Hortus Eystettensis belonging to the dal Pozzo Library returned by Monsignor Lancisi’ (Item un libro grande intitolato Hortus Eystettensis appartenente alla Libreria del Pozzo restituito da Monsignor Lancisi, fol. 113v) records the Hortus Eystettensis (Eichstatt 1613), the largest and most magnificent illustrated botanical treatise ever made, though the entry does not mention the images. (Giovanni Maria Lancisi (1564–1720) was a scholar and physician to Francesco Albani who had evidently borrowed the book). Could this lead us to conclude that all the items described as libri di figure stampati and without an author or a clear subject must be albums of miscellaneous prints or of series of prints (mounted or unmounted), rather than illustrated books?

The different phases of the dispersal of the dal Pozzo collection are described by Francis Haskell and Henrietta McBirney in the introduction to this volume (see pp. ix–x), but specific information regarding what was moved and when is lacking. The books became separated from the prints and drawings when the latter were bought from the Albani for George III in 1760.292 The prints are mentioned in a letter (8 May 1760) from James Adam to his brother Robert, who seems to have discussed the dal Pozzo collection with George III the year before.293 Together with the artists Charles-Louis Clerisseau (1721–1802) and Antonio Zucchi (1726–96), James had studied the collection when it was in the possession of Cardinal Alessandro Albani.294 He observed that ‘we were all three of the opinion that the reputation of this collection was really well founded and that its extent was immense, containing nearly, but not drawings and prints, 200 volumes in folio.295 The 200 volumes were added to the collections at Buckingham House but there is no way of knowing how many of them had belonged to Cassiano.

Dispersal of the Cassiano prints that had reached the British Royal Collection might have begun in the late eighteenth century. George III’s librarian Richard Dalton – who was also an adviser and dealer to other art collectors – is known to have dispersed works from the collection. There were three recorded Dalton estate sales, at Christies, Gerard’s and Greenwood’s in 1791. All the items sold on the 4th day of the sale at Greenwoods (19 May 1791) were listed as ‘Books of prints’296 but it is not possible to determine which prints the books contained, or if they had any direct relation to the Royal Collection at all.

Connections between the prints and drawings

How the prints related to the wider collections and what purposes they served for those who used them are complex matters to address. Overlapping themes and images of the same subject appear in both prints and drawings. The surviving collections correspond mainly in the areas of architecture and antiquity but the inventories described above show that the collection also contained prints of flora and fauna, for example. Fourteen drawings by the antiquary Piero Ligorio (1513–83) and three after him survive in the dal Pozzo collection. Most of this material relates to Ligorio’s ambitious encyclopedia of antiquity.297 Ligorio’s perspective elevation of the Septizodium in Rome and another sheet depicting the Temple of Portunus are complemented by prints of the same subjects in the Speculum album (see Part II, Ill, Maps 7, Tab. 5, nos 82 and 386, for the drawings, see A.IX.61 and 63). Other architectural subjects appear in both prints and drawings. The Doric temple in the Forum Holitorium is represented in drawings by Antonio Labacco (A.IX.59 and 30) and in an engraving in the Speculum that came from Labacco’s Libra ... appartenente a l’architettura (Part II, Ill, Maps 7, Tab. 5, fol. 49).

As mentioned earlier, prints were sometimes included to complement drawings in albums. For example, an etching of a fantasy palace by Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau (c.1555–83), a miscellaneous acquisition, was placed at the end of an album of architectural drawings (A.I.399). Two prints of ancient inscriptions were included in the Franks albums (A.VII.171 and 181) and a print of Christ from the ape of S. Maria in Monticelli (A.II.186) is mounted on the same folio as a drawing of Christ from S. Urbano alla Caffarella (A.II.185), presumably because of the similarity between the two heads. All the prints that appear in the dal Pozzo drawing albums have type B mounts and therefore are not from the first albums compiled before 1640 under Cassiano’s direction. Although the earliest albums did not combine prints with drawings, there were precedents for this of which Cassiano would have been aware, for example, in Federico Cesi’s botanical manuscripts, which Cassiano purchased in 1633 to add to his Paper Museum. In one miscellaneous manuscript (Paris, Institut de France, ms 978) prints are included alongside drawings of stones, plants and other subjects. On page 150, for example, there are three images, at top left an engraving of algae and at right, a drawing of a marine organism in two views and another of fungi which is very close to an engraving to be found on the following page (B.VII.687–688, Fig. 27, 28). On another folio, a print provides a view of a branch of common savin (juniper) showing female flowers and is accompanied by a smaller pen-and-ink sketch of an Italian Cypress showing male and female flowers.
on the same branch (B.VII.239). Other prints can be found elsewhere throughout the manuscript. It is important to emphasise that their placement was not decided by Cassiano—he purchased it in this form—but in a sense he curated it by having all of Cesii's annotations transcribed legibly and added indexes to identify what was shown. It is notable how many of the pen-and-ink drawings of the natural world in the dal Pozzo collection so closely resembled the appearance of engraving, with carefully controlled line, hatching and shading, demonstrating the symbiosis between the media.

One of the largest sections of genre prints in the dal Pozzo collection is devoted to costume (see Collection of Dresses) and Cassiano's interest in the study of human history through dress is also apparent in his drawings of ancient costume. To these he applied the same observational principles he developed in his study of natural history. In the drawings from antique sources, for example the classical manuscript illuminations, costumes are carefully rendered even though this aspect is secondary to the main subject: examples are the watercolour drawings by the so-called Vergilius Colour Copyist in the Vatican Terence (A.VI.125-145). In other drawings, the subject takes precedence, for example in the two sheets attributed to Pietro da Cortona depicting a statue known as the 'Togatus Barberini'. The statue was owned by Francesco Barberini and the particular form of toga was the subject of much discussion in his circle. The main focus of interest in the drawing of a Statue of a eunuch priest of Cybele is the figure's costume and its elaborate decoration. The same kind of relationship between drawings and prints can be identified in other parts of the collection, such as that concerned with military history. The siege of Ponte on the Lago of 1644, recorded in an anonymous pen-and-ink drawing (A.X.156), is represented in no less than five prints (Part II, R.CI.273037-373057). Similarly, the 1647 battle of Slabnik is recorded both in a drawing (A.X.270) and an etching (Part II, R.CI.273076).

The dal Pozzo collection contained drawings that were originally preparatory for prints (having been incised for transfer) and others that were later copied by engravers. Cherubino Alberti's wash drawing after Pollodoro da Caravaggio (c.1499-1543) of a panel with a battle scene for a Roman palace façade was part of the dal Pozzo collection (A.X.270). In it the composition is reversed. There is no impression of the print it was made for in the surviving collection but one might have been included in one of the bound volumes of prints that are no longer traceable. Battista di Pietra Santa's c.1555 pen-and-ink drawing of anacanthus scrollwork with butterfly, cicada, bird and snail (A.X.158) was engraved by Diana Sculitori (1535-87). Certain elements of the drawing were used as a basis for the print rather than being directly preparatory for it (see Part II, Speculum, B.I., Maps 7, Tab.1, fol. 94).

A document amongst those in Montpellier shows another way in which prints and drawings are closely related within the collections. It is a list titled 'Note of the fish that remain to be coloured in Saviani's Nota dei Pesci che restano da colorare nel Saviano' that identifies 23 species of fish and then refers to drawn copies of the engravings from Ippolito Salviati's Aquatilium animalium historiae (Rome 1554) that Cassiano was having coloured. The 81 magnificent engravings represent aquatic creatures that Salviati purportedly collected from the fish markets of Rome during the early 1550s (Fig. 29). The drawings copied them in reverse. It is significant that Cassiano wanted coloured versions, evidently to represent the known variations in each species (Fig. 30). In the 1689 library inventory, Salviati's name occurs under the sub-division Ad Natum et Historiam, which must refer to an intact copy of the Aquatilium animalium. Skippon describes seeing 'Salviatius's fishes done to life in miniature' when he visited Carlo Antonio in 1662 (Miniature refers to the fact that the images were hand-coloured). He also records seeing 'Matthiolius curiously painted. These books are painted very exactly, the heads, legs and other parts of animals being distinctly drawn.' Skippon's reference
must be to the 1565 edition of Pietro Andrea Mattioli’s commentary on Dioscorides’ De materia medica (I discorsi ... nelli sei libri di Pedacio Dioscoride Anazarbeo della materia medicina, Venice 1544), which contained over a thousand woodcut illustrations of plants. In the 1565 Latin edition, animals were included. Although editions of the commentary were published with coloured illustrations and Skippon presumably knew of these, his phrase ‘curiously painted’ suggests something out of the ordinary, and is corroborated by the mention of ‘two illuminated volumes of Mattioli’ (due tomi del Mattioli miniati) in the deed of sale of the dal Pozzo library to Cardinal Albani in 1714. That the commentary was something exceptional is made clear in a letter Johann Faber wrote to Cassiano in Spain (13 April 1626) after visiting Carlo Antonio: ‘I saw to my great joy the illuminated Mattioli of your most illustrious excellency, truly a most worthy and curious work, the like of which I am certain you won’t find in Europe. The engravings are made with such finesse and the plants coloured with such naturalism ...’ The deed of sale records another copy of a book ‘likewise illuminated’ (l’Aldrovando de Piscibus partimente miniato), that is, Ulisse Aldrovandi’s De piscibus (Bologna 1613). Whereas we cannot be certain if coloured prints or coloured drawings based on prints are described here, it is likely to have been the latter and that an artist in Cassiano’s employ was engaged in this work.

Prints relate to Cassiano’s interests in more general ways. His interest in the pictorial arts is made clear through the diaries he kept of his visits to France and Spain in 1625 and 1626 (see p. 62), and also by his patronage of Nicolas Poussin, who painted a large number of works for him including the first Seven Sacraments (1656–62). Impressions of prints by peintres-graveurs (i.e. artists’ prints) are entirely absent from the surviving collection, but the Montpellier lists described earlier record that Cassiano owned prints by artists including Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione and Pietro Testa, amongst them Testa’s magnificent School of Painting [Fig. 31]. These prints had artistic rather than documentary value and point to a different side of Cassiano’s engagement with prints.

The descriptions by those who visited the dal Pozzo palazzo testify to the breadth and quality of the collections but, we have little direct information of how they were used. The evidence for Pietro Testa...
drawing. Other materials provide evidence of Cassiano’s painstaking research methods. For example, the
topographical inventory mentioned above (see p. 31) notes by Cassiano relating to ancient
remains that his draughtsmen were to copy, and other observations on material already drawn.314 The
subsequent basis for understanding the organisation of Cassiano’s collections comes from the synopsis
of the drawings of antique subjects that the Florentine antiquary Carlo Dati published in 1664, as an
appendix to his eulogy to Cassiano.315 But Dati’s synopsis reflects only some of Cassiano’s choices. As
explained by Francesco Solinas and Anna Nicolò, Dati’s schematic categorisation cancels out the subtle
and extensive fabric of interests represented in the museum and thus limits our understanding of it.316

Determining how images were viewed, independently and with others, and how visual connections
might have been forged across different parts of the collection presents a challenge. Some progress has
been made in the next essay on the genre prints with type A mounts, where the proximity of images in
an album allows us to identify patterns and associations more easily. Identifying links across the wider
collection is more difficult, but there must have been the intention to enable or foster connections
given the comparative scientific methods that underpinned the production of drawings and the spirit
of investigation in Cassiano’s circle. The prints and drawings that have the same subject provide one
example of potential connection, and the dal Pozzo numbering system on drawings another (p. 25).

Overarching links might become clearer once the contents of the library are better known. There is
the possibility that documents might emerge regarding the programme of the library in its earliest days until
then, some preliminary observations can be made.

The meaning of images was constantly discussed in Cassiano’s circles. The discovery in 1680 of the
Roman wallpainting known as the Aldobrandini Wedding gave rise to considerable speculation about
its symbolism and the attempts at interpretation of scholars in the Barberini entourage were closely
followed by Pietro, among others.317 Cassiano commissioned five drawings of it and requested from
his friend the poet Marzio Milevi (1570–1637) his own interpretation of its symbolism.318 In 1650 the
antiquary and philologist Lorenzo Pignoria (1571–1631) published a pamphlet on its meaning that
was dedicated to Cassiano.319 Cassiano also had Bernadino Capители make an engraving of his
Aldobrandini drawing by Pietro da Cortona (A.1.53) (see p. 10). In another case in the late 1660s, when
Cassiano was employed by the Barberini family, a fresco of a pastoral landscape was uncovered in the
grounds of their palace at Quattrro Fontane, and Cassiano had it copied in a watercolour.320 The ensuing
controversy over the fresco’s meaning is recorded in the correspondence between Cassiano, Pietro,
and others. The symbolic interpretations of the landscape have been discussed by later scholars.321

There is exuberance and similarity to prints of anthropomorphic landscapes (see p. 40) can also be noted, although
there is no evidence for Cassiano or his circle making this specific connection.

The link is the familiarity with the meaning of dissonant forms, which arose from the same
intellectual aspirations that informed the Wunderkammern. Material from across the collections invited
the possibility of visual comparison, the recognition of resemblance and difference.322 Sheila McTighe
observes that in a general sense Cassiano was creating parallel taxonomies within the realms of classical
history and natural history in a way that puzzles us now.323 For example, she discusses drawings that
include a frog embedded in amber and Florentine ‘ruin marble’ with a pattern that resembles the towers
of crumbling buildings [Fig. 32] to illustrate how the taxonomies of history and nature intersected in
sixteenth-century mythographies. There was not the same division between areas of knowledge that we
encounter today. These examples reveal a fascination with how images blur boundaries between nature
and the representation of nature. Objects that embodied these qualities could be found in Wunderkammern.

As Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park observe, ‘Not only did the Wunderkammern display artificialia
and naturalia side by side; they featured objects that combined art and nature in form and matter, or that
subverted the distinction by making art and nature indistinguishable.’324 Again, the anthropomorphic
landscapes in prints after Arcimboldo provide a good example of this process.

Inherent in these works are parallel desires – for instruction in natural history and for aesthetic
delight. Admittedly, very few of the prints that have survived from the dal Pozzo collection depict the
natural world, but the principle of interrogating images in relation to others equally applies to those
that have come down to us. This subject is taken up in the next essay, where the visual echoes that can
be identified within albums and in sequences and juxtaposition of images can create for the viewer a
narrative trajectory of surprise, enjoyment and erudition.

Precedents for the dal Pozzo print collection

Any assessment of Cassiano’s print collection needs to consider earlier collections that, although
assembled in different places and informed by different intentions, are linked by their aspiration to
bring together printed images. Three collections are discussed here, two briefly and one in greater
depth. The earliest is that of Ferdinando Columbus, who was collecting at a time when print publishing
was in its infancy. The second is the collection of Philip II, King of Spain, at the Escorial, formed in
the second half of the sixteenth century when print publishing had developed into a highly organised industry. The third is that of Philip's cousin Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol, formerly at Schloss Ambras and now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, formed around the same time. Philip and Ferdinand's print collections are the only two from the sixteenth century to have survived relatively intact. Of these, that at the Escorial bears the closest resemblance to Cassiano's and, for reasons that will become evident, probably influenced his decision to embark on his own collection of prints.

The collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539), the illegitimate son of Christopher Columbus, is known through an inventory in the Columbus archive and library in Seville.222 The inventory describes in detail 3,200 prints bought by Ferdinand during his travels around Europe, mainly on diplomatic missions for the Spanish Habsburgs. The prints are arranged in the inventory according to size, subject and number of elements, for example, *Quarto de a de santos vestidos* (a quarto-size sheet of four clothed male saints) and *Otavo de 15 hombres vestidos* (an octavo-size sheet of 15 clothed men).223 It is the only known surviving inventory for a print collection from the first half of the sixteenth century and works by many of the major European printmakers including Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach, Hans Wechtlin, Lucas van Leyden, Urs Graf, Marcantonio Raimondi, Giovanni Battista Palumba and others have been identified and published on the basis of it. Ferdinand himself seems to have been little concerned with the authorship of his prints. The exception is Albrecht Dürer, who is singled out repeatedly in the inventory, no doubt because of his fame as a printmaker; Ferdinand possibly even met the artist during his travels.222 Broadly speaking, Ferdinand's print collection seems to have comprised whatever he could lay his hands on, including partial sets of prints and occasionally two impressions of a print published in different formats. His voracity seems to have been driven by the constraints imposed through his travels: he could only briefly visit the main European publishing centres during his itinerary before returning to Seville, where there was no print-publishing industry. Ferdinand's prodigious print buying should not imply he bought indiscriminately, with no eye for quality. It suggests rather his enthusiasm for prints at a time when they were first being collected in their own right. Availability was a determining factor, but his collection contained many prints intended for the upper end of the market - artists' prints rather than cheaply produced devotional prints, for example. Because the Columbus collection no longer survives, little can be said about its organisation except that the prints seem to have been stored in chests and, given the structure of the cataloguing system as revealed by the inventory, were arranged in divisions according to size.223

The collection of Philip II (b. 1527, reg. 1556–98) at the Escorial consists of almost 7,000 prints, mostly engravings but also including a small number of etchings and woodcuts, which are contained in 36 albums.229 It was formed in the latter part of the sixteenth century for Philip's library. He was very aware of the importance of prints, his travels having exposed him to the highly organised printmaking industry in various European countries.30 At the Escorial its librarian, Benito Arias Montano (1537–98), played an important role in the formation of the collection.31 Before Montano took up his appointment at the Escorial in 1576, he acted as Philip's agent in Antwerp, where he spent seven years between 1568 and 1575. He knew many of the printmakers there, for example developing a strong personal and professional relationship with Philips Galle,337 and was no doubt responsible for the large number of Netherlandish print in the Escorial albums. As there is no suggestion of other individuals being directly involved in buying prints for the collection, it is probable that he was also responsible for organising the purchase of prints from Roman publishers. He was in Rome first in 1572 and again in 1579. Montano also bought large numbers of books for Philip's library, on his second visit to Rome he bought 3,000.333 Montano kept on buying foreign prints long after he returned to Spain. A document dated 8 April 1585, for example, informs us that he was still ordering prints from Antwerp.334

Montano was a meticulous scholar who, as recorded by José de Sigüenza in his description of the foundation of the monastery (1600–05), established the classification system for books in the Escorial library.335 The books were arranged into 74 disciplines and further divided by language and subject. Montano also probably devised the original order of the prints, all of which arrived in Spain loose before being bound into albums at the Escorial. From their current arrangement, it seems that this was disturbed when the prints were bound (a characteristic that we also see with some of Cassiano's albums) but that a more coherent arrangement once existed.336 It is evident that subject was the determining principle: the prints can be divided between religious and secular subjects and reflect what was available to Montano at the time he was buying.

The library is the first in Spain of which we have physical evidence for prints as a distinct section within a collection,337 but there is no record of their original location in the library. Montano classified the library books according to discipline (Architectura, Antiquariarum, Fabulae, Historia, etc.) and these prints are inscribed in ink on the fore-edge of their pages: the same practice was applied to the prints albums, which are marked *figurae bibliae, architecturiae, grotescos et satis*. With the exception of 36 pattern-books all the albums are leather bound with the grille of Saint Lawrence (to whom the monastery was dedicated) stamped on the front and these bindings are consistent with those of many books in the library, most of which were bound in the late sixteenth or at the beginning of the seventeenth century.338 This consistency of presentation indicates that the print albums were assimilated into the same general classification as the books, which goes some way to explaining the absence of specific reference to them. However, the albums were not interspersed with the books in the library but were kept separately (their storage cupboards were not completed until 1593–4, after Montano had retired), and today they are all shelved together according to size.339

Within the albums there is much evidence for grouping prints by subject,340 but further analysis of these groupings is needed to identify specific sequences, visual narratives and so on.341 For example, Album 28 II 1 contains 271 prints of Old and New Testament subjects. Some of the prints are arranged to tell a story, such as the life of the Virgin or of Christ, regardless of printmaker, a characteristic that we find in other albums with prints of biblical subjects, such as 28 II 2. An album with scenes of Rome (28 I 15) opens with the frontispiece of the *Speculum Romanum Magnificiue*, followed by a plan of Rome, another plan with monuments and then various views and prints by different engravers. In an album of ornament prints (28 II 9) some of the works are arranged according to the architectural order they represent; for example, folios 177–179 show Corinthian capitals engraved by different printmakers. Grouping prints by maker is less common, but in album 28 I 19 there are 12 prints of different subjects by Antonio Fantuzzi. These patterns of organisation identified throughout the Escorial print albums demonstrate the care taken in their arrangement. Other evidence of how the collection was conceived
can also be found. Throughout the albums there are many blank pages, suggesting that space was left for later additions but that after the initial campaign of buying and arranging, the programme of expansion was aborted.

The only comparable print collection to the Escorial was that of Archduke Ferdinand (b. 1529, reg. 1564-95), who accumulated 5,000 prints in 34 albums at the Schloss Ambras.342 The most noticeable difference between the two collections is that at the Schloss Ambras qualitative criteria played a greater role in the collecting process.343 Ferdinand had three albums dedicated to Albrecht Dürer, which included some drawings, reflecting the fame of the artist that had been recognised since the time Ferdinand Columbus began collecting earlier in the century.344 The prints overall include religious subjects, portraits, topography, architecture, pattern-books and ornament, battles and other scenes. Iconographic and pictorial organisation is evident in some of the albums:345 a pattern-book (669x) including discrete sequences of biblical narratives in landscapes, scenes with equestrian figures, embracing couples and so on demonstrates careful arrangement of prints for both their iconographic and formal qualities. However, it is not known who was responsible for these arrangements and earlier owners might well have compiled some of the albums. For example, an album devoted to architecture (663x) might document a trip through Italy by a member of the court.346

The acquisition of prints at Schloss Ambras seems to have been largely unsystematic and the collection has none of the coherence of the Escorial albums, the contents of which were bought during a relatively short space of time. The graphic collections were kept with Ferdinand's most lavish books, manuscripts and scrolls away from the main library, in order to complement the displays in the Kunstkammer, a division of material we see in the dal Pozzo library.347 They were shelved by size and subject and in some of the albums, there is evidence of re-ordering when the prints were bound.

**Cassiano, Spain and the Escorial**

In 1656 Cassiano accompanied Cardinal Francesco Barberini on a diplomatic mission to Philip IV in Madrid with the aim of restoring relations between the Holy See, France and Spain. A year earlier, he had accompanied the Cardinal to France. Both journeys are very well documented, thanks to diaries Cassiano kept in which he describes the various individuals he met, ceremonies, customs and dress. The Spanish diary provides a particularly vivid account of court life in Madrid and its environs.348 The delegation for Spain set out from Rome on 31 January, spending almost three months in and around Madrid (24 May - 11 August), before arriving back in Rome on 27 October the same year. Cassiano's account is also revealing for his descriptions of the art works he saw in the royal and private collections. He mentions unrecorded portraits by Diego Velázquez (1599-1660), one of which, a portrait of the Count Duke of Olivares, he did not think particularly good, describing it as 'melancholy and severe'.349 In addition to providing a detailed account of official engagements, the diary is also a record of what interested Cassiano personally. With Cardinal Barberini, for example, he visited the botanical garden of Diego Cortesía y Sanabria, apothecary to the King, when the Cardinal was presented with the Aztec herbal that Cassiano later had copied.350 And he acquired drawings while in Spain, proving that he had begun collecting before his return to Italy, and that the formation of his own collections was never far from his thoughts. Dated 1656, one of the drawings is an elevation and partial plan of the Plaza Mayor in Madrid, probably by Miguel Gómez de Mora (A.X.63).351

Cassiano was at the Escorial from 28 June until 1 July.352 His account testifies to his admiration for the monastery and its collections. He describes the burial pantheon, the tabernacle upon the high altar and other spaces, and refers to paintings by Titian, Dürer, Juan Fernández Navarrete 'el Muldo' and others, and frescoes by Pellegrino Tibaldi, including those in the library, which he likens to the Sistine Chapel. The day after they arrived, the Cardinal and his retinue were taken around the library by his librarian Andrés de los Reyes and shown printed books and manuscripts. This was clearly a high point for Cassiano. He describes Francisco Hernández's manuscript Historia plantarum Novae Hispaniae and other treasures, remarking on their superb illustration: 'you would not believe the precision and beauty of the colours'.353 He refers also to the many printed books, mentioning individual titles of interest and their arrangement under subject, observing that 'there were innumerable distinguished books in the classes of dialectic rhetoric, philosophy, natural history and astrology, all very well bound and well looked after, also in this place the tables for the convenience of students.'354 From its completion in the late sixteenth century, the monastery and its library had been regarded as a 'wonder of the world' and its collections renowned for their range and richness.355 For Cassiano, with his broad interests, seeing the Escorial collections must have been a remarkable experience and unlike anything he had previously encountered.

In his diary, Cassiano does not describe the print collection, but it is reasonable to assume that he saw it. In the absence of direct testimony, the points of similarity between the Escorial albums and his own merit discussion. Haskell and McBurney observe that after Cassiano returned to Rome from Spain he began to build up a collection of paintings, books, medals and drawings with his brother Carlo Antonio (see p. viii).356 The acquisition of prints must also have been part of this collecting activity, inspired by what Cassiano had seen during his travels to France and Spain. This is not to suggest that the visit to Spain was Cassiano's first contact with prints; quite the opposite is the case. His knowledge of prints and their purposes can be traced to well before this time (see above, p. 7) but the concentration of prints and their organisation at the Escorial within the context of the library must have encouraged Cassiano to form his own collection. The Escorial was Philip IV's personal project, the King supervising every detail of its construction and decoration. He wanted to broadcast its form as widely as possible, and given his recognition of prints as an effective medium for disseminating information, it is not surprising that his ambition gave rise to a set of engravings of the Escorial that are among the most striking architectural prints of the sixteenth century.357 Pedro (Pieter) Perret's 17 engravings on 11 plates, and the accompanying notebook, the Sumario y breve declaracion de los diseños y estampas de la Fabrica de San Lorenzo el Real del Escorial, were published together in 1589. Cassiano owned a pristine set of these prints along with the Sumario, which he must have acquired while in Spain and are now mounted in his album Templo Diversa (see Part II, Ill, Maps 3, Tab.34, Fols 80-92b). The Escorial engravings are the only prints of a Spanish building in this album of prints with type A mounts, which was amongst the earliest assembled. In his diary description of the tabernacle on the high altar of the Escorial, where he likens its form to Bramante's...