

Introduction

This study brings together one category of drawings and prints in the collection formed by Richard Topham (1671-1730), now held in Eton College Library (**Figures 1.1-1.2**).

The Topham collection invariably attracts superlatives from specialists familiar with its contents. Louisa Connor Bulman, whose work on Topham is discussed in the next chapter, regarded it as ‘the largest, most comprehensive ... corpus outside Italy’, ‘one of the jewels of Eton College Library’, ‘a monument to the single-minded drive of this exceptional classical collector’, and ‘the gold standard for all other eighteenth century collections. For quality, quantity and coherence it is unrivalled.’¹ Macandrew described it as ‘certainly the finest collection of copies of classical sculpture to have survived from this or any period’.² It has also attracted praise from foreign scholars. For instance, Rodolfo Lanciani (1847-1929) regarded it as ‘la più preziosa per gli studî topografici ed archeologici romani, a me nota in Inghilterra’.³

The collection as a whole has been summarised as representing ‘a reconstruction on paper of the staggering collections of antique sculptures, reliefs, frescoes, and other classical remains to be found in early eighteenth-century Rome’.⁴

The idea of bringing together drawings of classical antiquities was not unique. It is probable that Topham was aware of the Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo (c.1588-1657) since it was widely known, featuring for instance in *Nota delli Musei ...*, an early guidebook to the museums, galleries and libraries of Rome.⁵ There is also a more personal link. One of Topham’s most prolific artists was Francesco Bartoli (1670-1733),⁶ the son of Pietro Santi Bartoli (1635-1700) who had worked for dal Pozzo. Francesco made many drawings of Roman mosaics and wall paintings for Topham and in some cases the subjects of his drawings were the same as those previously drawn by his father. Although Topham was not the first to have the idea of creating a paper museum, his collection is outstanding for its almost exclusively classical focus. It later became

a source for British Neo-Classicism, providing inspiration to Robert Adam (1728-1792), Charles Cameron (1745-1812) and other eighteenth-century architects.⁷

Throughout the collection, the drawings are remarkable for their varying artistic qualities. This suggests that the acquisition of a record of the antiquities was Topham’s overriding concern even if the standard of the work left something to be desired. It is not always easy to identify the artists or the sources from which they worked. Close analysis of the drawings can offer some clues.

Connor estimated that the Topham collection as a whole contains work by some 35 identifiable artists.⁸ Notable among them for the number of works they produced were Bernardino Ciferri (c.1684-1760) and Carlo Calderi (1681-?).⁹ Another major contributor was Giovanni Domenico Campiglia (1692-1775), one of whose bills is a unique survival from what must have been a large number of accounts rendered to Topham.¹⁰

A major highlight of the collection is the work of Pompeo Batoni (1708-1787) whose exquisite drawings are important records of sculptures in Rome. Macandrew has identified 53 such drawings ‘of great beauty and refinement’, of which nine are signed.¹¹ The quality of Batoni’s work is remarkable given his young age: he was only 19 when he arrived in Rome in 1727, three years before Topham died.¹² By contrast, the drawings by William Kent (c.1685-1748), one of the few British artists whose work is in the collection, are aptly described by Connor as ‘leaden’ and ‘stiff’.¹³ They have been overshadowed by Kent’s many later achievements, to the extent that Topham receives only two brief mentions in the recent magisterial work on Kent.¹⁴

¹ Connor Bulman 2001a, 343; Connor Bulman 2006, 330; Connor Bulman 2002a, 60, 61.

² Macandrew 1978, 133.

³ Lanciani 1894, 165. More recently, Almagno has described Topham as ‘uno dei più importanti collezionisti inglesi dei primi decenni del Settecento’ (2007, 457).

⁴ Aymonino with Gwynn and Modolo 2013, 5.

⁵ 1664, 46; Zocca 1976, 19-20; Whitehouse 2014, 277, n.33. This guidebook gives a general indication of well known collections in Rome but it does not appear that Topham owned a copy of it. The question of whether he ever visited Rome is addressed in the next chapter.

⁶ For Bartoli’s dates of birth and death, which are cited differently in various publications, see the detailed explanations in Almagno 2007, 454, 460-462.

⁷ Aymonino with Gwynn and Modolo 2013; Aymonino and Modolo 2020, 32-33. See also Joyce 1990, 355, n.36, 358; Connor 1993, 39; Connor Bulman 2001a, 346.

⁸ Connor 1993, 36. See also Pomponi 1994, 260-261.

⁹ For biographical notes on these previously little known artists, see Fabrèga-Dubert with Loisel 2020.

¹⁰ For these and other artists, see the numerous papers by Connor/Connor Bulman listed in the Bibliography. For Campiglia’s bill, which is filed with Bm.9:83, see Connor Bulman 2002b, 354; Connor Bulman 2006, 327, fig. 3; Connor Bulman 2008, 298.

¹¹ Macandrew 1978, 134.

¹² Macandrew 1978, 135; Clark 1985, 48-49, 388; Connor Bulman 2002a, 60; Bowron and Kerber 2008, 143-148.

¹³ Connor 1993, 34; Connor Bulman 2008, 295. For other references to Kent in the works of Connor Bulman, see 2002a, 60; 2002b, 351; 2003, 28; 2006, 328.

¹⁴ Edited by Susan Weber (2014, 99, 102). Mowl’s slightly earlier account of Kent’s life contains only one reference to Topham and appears to confuse him with a John Topham (no relation) (2007, 25 and entry in index).

For the drawings of mosaics, Topham's main artists were Francesco Bartoli and Gaetano Piccini (1681-1736).¹⁵ Their work is discussed in more detail in the following chapters, particularly Chapter 9 where the artists of the drawings of mosaics in Italy and Britain are considered.

As well as drawings and prints, the collection includes approximately 1,300 books, a large number of which are concerned with antiquities. They include major illustrated works and rare items.¹⁶ Perhaps stemming from his bibliographic interests, works on paper seem to have been Topham's main interest rather than collecting original pieces.

No portrait of Topham is known and virtually none of his private papers survive. This has led to him being described as a 'shadowy figure' and a 'discreet, single-minded man'.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the information that can be gleaned about him dispels much of the air of mystery. A more rounded, engaged person emerges, albeit one with an enduring passion which he had the money, and later the time, to pursue assiduously. Chapter 2 gives a detailed account of Topham, building on work done by others, adding new information gained from fresh research, and explaining how the collection came to be housed in Eton College Library after his death.¹⁸

Shortly after the collection arrived at Eton each item was stamped with a mark consisting of a small caduceus flanked by the letters RT.¹⁹ The whole collection was then catalogued by two Fellows of Eton College, Stephen Sleech (d.1765) and John Reynolds (1671-1758). It seems that they divided the work between them, with Reynolds dealing with the books and Sleech, who was the Bursar and later became the Provost of Eton, concentrating on the visual material: Finding Aid 4, a manuscript catalogue of the drawings and prints, appears to be in his handwriting (**Figure 1.3**).²⁰ Sleech annotated each item with the designation of the album in which it was filed, followed by the number of the drawing within that album.

An early visitor to the library was George Vertue (1684-1756), whose description in his notebook can still be recognised today:²¹

¹⁵ Connor Bulman discusses Bartoli in many of her papers, in particular 2001b, 222; 2006, 328-329. See also Almagno 2007. For Piccini, see Fileri 1991, 93; Fileri 2000, esp. 79-80; Connor Bulman 2001b.

¹⁶ For a breakdown of the subjects in Topham's library and an outline of some of the highlights, see the section on his books by Lucy Gwynn in Witts with Gwynn 2020, 72-75. See also Birley 1970, 37-38; Quarrie 1990; Quarrie 1993; Gwynn 2013, 6-7.

¹⁷ Connor 1993, 25; Connor Bulman 2002b, 343; Connor Bulman 2008, 287.

¹⁸ Photographs of the library are contained in Witts with Gwynn 2020, figs 23-24.

¹⁹ There are a few exceptions including Bn.13:26, Bn.13:42 and Bn.13:48. Their subject-matter is consistent with the nature of the Topham collection and they might simply have been overlooked. Bn.13:5 and Bn.13:76, on the other hand, relate to Mr Temple of Moor Park and appear to have no connection with Topham, perhaps being filed here by Eton for convenience.

²⁰ Witts with Gwynn 2020, 86. This Finding Aid, along with Finding Aids 1-3, is held in Eton College Library.

²¹ British Library Add. MS 23072, f.15 (original page 19); Vertue 1736-1741 [1936], 118-119.

'at Eaton to see M^r Tophams Collection of drawings From Italy now fixd in the library of Eaton Coll. for ever – to be viewd by the learned and Curious –

'the library finely adornd with pillars of wanscot. shelves. drawings book casses – 3 rooms. on the South side of the Quadrangle – with an upper story or range raild in with Iron for small books. the middle room a fine room. in two presses are the books of Drawings shut up with brass wire – securely. the other contains the manuscripts. and near them are large shelves for the books of prints gravings – or Sculpture.

'about 30 large Volummes of Drawings. put loose each between leaves of blew paper. the out sides of the Books. the names of the contents being roman Antiquities different Volumms. the palaces seperately in Vol^{ms}. what peices of Sculpture there is exactly and Skillfully drawn – most are chalk drawings redd or black – the antient paintings on Walls are in water colour by Santo Bartoli.²² – very beautifull and exact and laborious ...'

A summary of the contents of each album has recently been provided by Aymonino and Modolo to accompany an essay which provides useful context for the Topham collection.²³

Sleech calculated that there were 2,232 drawings and 703 prints, giving an overall total of 2,935 items.²⁴ There are some minor discrepancies between the subtotals for the different headings in Finding Aid 4 and the number of items listed under those headings. Overall, however, Sleech's figures are likely to be broadly correct. Arriving at a precise total is not entirely straightforward since some drawings and prints cover more than one object, some objects appear in more than one drawing or print, and in a few instances the size of the drawings is so great that they spread over sheets large enough to warrant two numbers.

The majority of the illustrations are of ancient sculptures then in Rome. Macandrew usefully summarises their significance: 'The collection as a whole constitutes a magnificent (albeit incomplete) survey of those classical sculptures, both the famous and less well known pieces, contained in Roman collections of the period c.1725-30, and not only those sculptures which belonged to the great patrician families, but to the more obscure collections too. It is a unique visual record of the greatest importance, and of particular value in view not only of the imminent removal from Rome of some of the great collections, but also of the sale and dispersal of certain of the smaller ones which began in earnest shortly after this record was made.'²⁵ It is the drawings of sculptures that have so far received the most attention.

²² A misattribution as Topham did not have any original drawings by Pietro Santi Bartoli. His son Francesco must have been intended.

²³ Aymonino and Modolo 2020, 20-47 at 35-37.

²⁴ Finding Aid 4, 38; Witts with Gwynn 2020, fig. 21.

²⁵ Macandrew 1978, 134-135. For a recent example of the use of the Topham collection in this respect, see Enegren 2005.

The second largest category covers Roman wall paintings, mosaics and stuccoes.²⁶ Thomas Ashby (1874-1931) studied most of the albums with drawings of this material. His numbered entries suggest that a figure around 400 would be a reasonable estimate for the number of drawings in this category.²⁷ There are also drawings of architecture, figurines, jewellery, gems and coins. The subject index to an unpublished typescript catalogue by Jean Sampson held in Eton College Library indicates the full range of objects depicted in the drawings.²⁸

Historically, mosaics have not enjoyed the prestige of other types of antiquity but they often survive when images in more fragile media do not. Since the founding of AIEMA (l'Association internationale pour l'Étude de la Mosaïque antique) in 1963, mosaics have been recognised as worthy of study in their own right.

The drawings and prints of mosaics

Of the large number of items in the collection as a whole, 58 drawings and 15 prints definitely or possibly relate to mosaics. The total of 73 items covers 61 mosaics since some mosaics feature in more than one illustration, and the prints include four sheets together illustrating the Nile Mosaic of Palestrina along with a further sheet of text;²⁹ I treat this set as a single item for the purposes of the analysis in the remainder of this chapter.

A number of factors have enabled the drawings and prints of mosaics to be singled out. About a third of the illustrations have a caption referring to the medium such as 'musaico', 'pavimentum' or 'lithostroton'.³⁰ Most of these also contain an indication of tessellation, usually in the form of hatching or cross-hatching. Nearly half of the original mosaics still survive, enabling the medium to be identified even if there is no caption or hatching to assist. Evidence within the collection confirms that three of the drawings show mosaics because the same images are also depicted in prints that contain indications of tesserae.³¹ The evidence for identifying each drawing or print as depicting a mosaic is summarised in Appendix 1.

It is unclear whether five of the drawings – Bn.4:32, Bn.4:33, Bn.4:36, Bn.6:1, Bn.6:2 – show paintings or

mosaics. Although the designs in Bn.6:1 and Bn.6:2 might suggest ceiling decorations rather than mosaics, I have chosen to include them here in the hope that by making them better known to modern scholars more information might come to light.³²

Two of the drawings in this study show mosaics that are regarded as suspect: the unusual relief of Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides (Bn.3:31) is thought to be spurious, while it is doubtful whether the Bacchic mosaic shown in Bn.6:50 ever existed. One curiosity is Bn.5:43 which depicts a mosaic known from another source, although Ashby recognised that the Bacchic scene at the centre was taken from a decorative silver panel from the front of a wooden chest seen in a drawing at Holkham Hall.³³

As part of the process of identifying which drawings depict mosaics, I have searched Eton College Library's online catalogue³⁴ and have also looked systematically through the entire collection. As well as ensuring that nothing was missed, this gave a valuable feel for Topham's collecting interests. The items relating to mosaics represent fewer than 2.5% of the total and even those for the *Picturae Antiquae* as a whole are well under 15%. They are far from typical of the works Topham acquired and are likely to have been collected for the images they depict rather than because of an interest in the medium.

As a discrete subject for study, the illustrations of mosaics offer a body of work which is not so large that it becomes unmanageable but is sufficient to enable some conclusions to be drawn. As well as being of interest in their own right, these drawings make a contribution to our understanding of the collection as a whole and of Topham's approach to creating it.

³² Images of both drawings were published by Ashby (1914, pl. 15), but in black and white.

³³ Ashby 1914, 24-25; Ashby 1916, 38; Holkham I, 33.

³⁴ <http://collections.etoncollege.com/home>, accessed 10 November 2020. A general text search for 'mosaic' with 'Topham' under 'name' produces 73 results but in the entries for Bn.4:27, Bn.5:18 and Bn.5:57 the word 'mosaic' appears only in a note and does not indicate the nature of the item depicted. Most of the remaining 70 entries correspond with my analysis but the differences are:

(a) The search reveals three engravings of animals – Bn.12:61-Bn.12:63 – by Antonio Laferri (1512-1577), also referred to as Antoine Lafrery, which appear in his compilation entitled *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*. Although they are catalogued as 'mosaic or painting?', I exclude them as they are generally thought to depict wall paintings: see, for instance, the description in <http://speculum.lib.uchicago.edu/> for Chicago Numbers A129-A131, accessed 10 November 2020.

(b) The search results are supplemented by six illustrations of mosaics which are not catalogued as such: Bn.3:31 ('Relief'), Bn.5:59 ('Painting'), Bn.6:13 ('Drawing of ancient ceiling'), Bn.7:96 ('Ceiling painting'), Bn.13:2 ('Painting in cupola') and Bn.13:16 ('Columbarium').

Also note Bn.6:8/1 ('Drawing of ancient ceiling'). Although it is not catalogued as depicting a mosaic, Joyce identifies it as showing the Late Republican ceiling mosaic from the cryptoporticus beneath the Library Court at Hadrian's Villa (1990, 353, n.25). Sear describes the ceiling as '...a big panel of mosaic... This highly complicated panel ... is composed of small white marble chips set into red, blue and green painted plaster. The painted zones form the actual patterns ...' (1977, 49). For Sear's full catalogue entry, see 48-50, no. 6, fig. 5, pl. 4, 1-3). As this is not the traditional use of mosaic seen in the other items, I have excluded this drawing from my totals and discussion.

²⁶ Connor 1993, 27. For the stuccoes, see Ling 1979 [1999].

²⁷ Ashby 1914. His numbers add up to 387 but some numbers appear more than once, some are missing, and there are also some additional drawings of paintings and mosaics in albums he did not study.

²⁸ See also Connor 1993, 26-28.

²⁹ The mosaics appearing more than once are shown in Bn.9:74 and Bn.5:42; Bm.9:75, Bm.9:82 and Bm.9:83; Bn.4:23, Bn.6:13 and Bn.13:9; Bn.4:24 and Bn.4:26; Bn.5:59 and Bn.13:15; Bn.7:96 and Bn.13:2. For the purposes of this book, I treat drawings of individual panels as separate items since this is how they were collected, although some panels might originally have come from the same mosaic. Examples include the Victorious Charioteers from the Massimi collection and the panels from the Aventine.

³⁰ For a discussion of the term 'lithostroton', which is used in the text with the Nile Mosaic prints (Bn.13:37), see Meyboom 1995, 15-16.

³¹ Bn.5:59 and Bn.13:15; Bn.6:13 and Bn.13:9; Bn.7:96 and Bn.13:2. The Pan and Eros mosaic in Bn.6:13 is also shown in another drawing (Bn.4:23) which has cross-hatching.

A number of considerations have a bearing on the importance and usefulness of the drawings: whether the original mosaic survives; whether the mosaic has been heavily restored in subsequent years; whether the drawing is accurate; and whether it is a unique record.

Looking at the drawings in detail offers an insight into how the different artists approached the task of depicting a mosaic. What format did they use: square, rectangular or circular? Did they attempt to evoke a tessellated surface? Did they show areas of damage or instead restore incomplete designs? Was any additional information provided, either visually or in writing, to indicate the context of the mosaic? What approach did they take to presenting their work, such as the addition of borders?

It is notable that the drawings are almost exclusively of figured mosaics, making them of particular interest not only from the perspective of iconography but also for how they shed light on what was regarded at the time as worth collecting.

In this book the drawings and prints of mosaics are described in detail. They are compared with the original mosaics where they survive, and with other drawings and prints of the same items. Comparison with drawings in other collections and with published images not only helps to identify the artists but sheds light on the significance of the collection and on Topham's primary interests.

The information written on the drawings is also considered, along with the subjects depicted and an assessment of whether the artists studied the original mosaics or based their work on drawings made by others. Close attention is paid to the way the mosaics are shown and to the borders around the drawings as these factors can suggest the likely artist where this information is otherwise unknown. The significance of the drawings as works of art and as an archaeological record is assessed: some of them are the only known records of mosaics that no longer survive.

Previous studies

The sheer quantity of drawings in the Topham collection probably explains why, despite its importance, no comprehensive catalogue raisonné has so far been produced. Sampson's helpful typescript catalogue covers much of the collection but excludes most of the drawings and prints of mosaics as these had already been catalogued by Ashby.

The first part of Ashby's paper on 'Drawings of Ancient Paintings in English Collections' was published in 1914 and covered the Topham drawings, which he described as being by far the most numerous collection.³⁵ Mosaics fell within his remit of 'ancient paintings', making his work an essential starting point for this aspect of the collection.

Although he did not study all the drawings in the collection, nor did he consider the prints, the majority of the drawings of mosaics are found within the albums he catalogued.

Ashby's paper was accompanied by 24 black and white plates, many of which contain more than one item. This was generous by the standards of the time and has led to those items being quoted in other works, notably by Reinach and Blake.³⁶ As Ashby himself made clear, however, his paper was only intended to be a preliminary study of the subjects depicted.³⁷ His descriptions were brief, often consisting of only a few words, but he usefully included references to comparative items in other collections where they were known to him.

Ashby's work followed that of Lanciani, who drew attention to the Topham collection in papers published in the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* towards the end of the nineteenth century. His first paper, published in 1894, gave a brief introduction to Eton College and to the collection. He then grouped most of the material alphabetically, palazzo by palazzo, briefly summarising the contents of the album(s) relevant to each location. There are few references to mosaics.³⁸ Lanciani did, however, cover what is now known as album Bm.9 in some detail, listing the drawings and prints of Romano-British mosaics. He also paid particular attention to folio 74 in this album, the drawing of the mosaic from the Baths of Caracalla, regarding this as so important that he included a plate showing a sketch of part of it.³⁹

Lanciani's second paper, published in 1895, was on the subject of the *Picturae Antiquae Cryptarum Romanarum*. This covered a variety of collections and catalogued the drawings topographically, making specific mention of a number of the Topham drawings of mosaics.⁴⁰ A curiosity of Lanciani's paper is that he often cited the numbers of the drawings incorrectly, although the items to which he was intending to refer can be identified from his descriptions. It is unclear how this error arose as the numbers are clearly visible on the original drawings. Where the mistake occurs, Lanciani has generally used the number immediately preceding the correct number, although Bn.7:94 is further adrift and is intended to relate to Bn.7:98.

Since Lanciani's and Ashby's time, the Topham drawings of mosaics have been mentioned in studies of other collections⁴¹ or of particular subjects,⁴² but have otherwise received little attention.

³⁵ Ashby 1914, 2.

³⁶ Reinach 1922; Blake 1936; Blake 1940.

³⁷ Ashby 1914, 6.

³⁸ Exceptions are Sir Andrew Fountaine's relief (Bn.3:31) on page 175, although not mentioning its use of mosaic, and the Rape of Europa (Bn.9:4), discussed in relation to the Palazzo Barberini on page 182.

³⁹ Lanciani 1894, 181-182, pl. IX. On page 183 he tentatively referred to a drawing (Bn.9:36) of another possible mosaic, commenting 'Rilievo? mosaico?'. I have excluded it from this study as there is nothing to suggest that it showed a mosaic.

⁴⁰ Lanciani 1895, 170 (for the Topham collection in the list of collections) and 171-192 (for references to individual drawings).

⁴¹ Especially Pace 1979; Fileri 2000; Whitehouse 2001; Modolo 2016.

⁴² For instance, Wattel-de Croizant 1995.

Both Lanciani and Ashby referred to the Topham albums in a way that does not relate to the main album numbers now in use. This owes its origin to Sleafch's approach when he catalogued the drawings after their arrival at Eton: in addition to the usual designation of Bm or Bn for each album, which refers to its place on the library shelves, Sleafch numbered the albums of *Picturae Antiquae* from I to V. He went on to describe the items that followed as a 'Mahogany Box on the Table in the Room B' and an album 'Lettered Miscellanea', which became known as numbers VI and VII. To assist with reading the older works, the following short table relates the Roman numerals to the album numbers in the main sequence used at Eton today:⁴³

Number/description for <i>Picturae Antiquae</i>	Main album numbers
I	Bn.4
II	Bn.5
III	Bn.6
IV	Bn.7
V	Bn.8
Mahogany Box/VI	TP
Miscellanea/VII	Bn.9

'TP' is an abbreviation for 'Topham Portfolio' and contains particularly large items formerly in the mahogany box.

Information given on the drawings and prints

Many of the drawings are unsigned but some bear the signature of the artist, in most cases Francesco Bartoli; Topham also added Bartoli's name to further drawings. Several prints bear the artist's name or initials. The location of the mosaic, either given by the artist or added by Topham, appears on most of the drawings although, as will be seen, this information is not always correct. About a third of the drawings have a caption indicating that the object illustrated was a mosaic. A few drawings and prints contain additional information such as the date of discovery of the mosaic or its measurements. The information on the drawings is brought together in the Appendices.

It is probable that Topham knew far more about the subjects of the drawings than is apparent today. Numbers appearing on some drawings relate to other records, such as Topham's addition of 'No. 138' to Bn.9:4. This example is easy to decipher since it refers to the entry numbered 138 for Palazzo Barberini in Finding Aid 2, a manuscript list in Topham's hand of antiquities in palazzi in Rome and elsewhere in Italy.⁴⁴ Numbers on other drawings hint at further lists

that no longer survive. For instance, drawings of the Santa Costanza vault mosaics have 'N^o. 22' added in what appears to be Bartoli's hand. In album Bn.5 a consecutive run of drawings bear the numbers I to VI prominently below each scene (Bn.5:35-Bn.5:40). As these drawings show mosaics from two different locations found at different times, the numbering in this instance does not relate to the location but perhaps to the artist's catalogue.

Ashby noted that drawings belonging to a set, such as those depicting the wall paintings on the four sides of a room, often have their own numbering.⁴⁵ The numbers 1 to 10 on a run of drawings from Bn.4:31 to Bn.4:40 possibly link them in a similar way, since some of the preceding drawings in this album bear captions showing their association with one another as images from or of the same tomb.

In other cases the significance of the annotations is not readily apparent. For instance, some of the drawings bear upper case or lower case letters and a few contain Topham's initials.⁴⁶ They might have been added by the artist or agent and could relate to the batches in which the drawings were sent to Topham rather than having any relevance to the drawings themselves.

Assessing the drawings and prints

In the main chapters the drawings are grouped by artist as this has proved to be more useful than a numerical approach. In some cases it can enable the probable source to be identified where close scrutiny suggests that one drawing has been based on another. It can also point to the identity of the artist where this is otherwise unknown. For convenience, the entries in the Catalogue at the rear of this book contain the page numbers where the main discussion of each drawing can be found.

Following Chapter 2, which focuses on Topham himself, Chapter 3 covers sets of drawings by Francesco Bartoli of mosaics displayed in Rome that were already well known in Topham's time: the two small *emblemata* in Santa Maria in Trastevere, the mosaics in the Massimi collection, and the Santa Costanza vault mosaics. They represent early discoveries and most had previously been drawn by Pietro Santi Bartoli. This raises the question of whether Francesco simply copied his father's work. Unlike the later discoveries which have in many cases been lost, most of the early discoveries still survive, enabling comparisons to be made with the original mosaics.

The next two chapters deal with drawings of mosaics discovered, or probably discovered, in Italy during Topham's lifetime. Chapter 4 discusses the drawings by Francesco Bartoli of finds from the Vigna Moroni, the Aventine, the Via Appia and – allegedly – Hadrian's Villa. Chapter 5

⁴³ Carinci provides a full concordance between the Eton volume numbers and those used by Lanciani and Ashby (1982, 91-92).

⁴⁴ The numbers of Finding Aids 2 and 3 were transposed at some point, probably during rebinding. Finding Aid 3 still bears the title 'Finding Aid 2' on the spine. In some papers – such as Carinci 1982, which has a focus on the drawings of items in Palazzo Mattei – 'Finding Aid 3' refers to what is now known as Finding Aid 2. The Finding Aids are discussed further in Witts with Gwynn 2020, in which fig. 22 illustrates the title page of Finding Aid 2. See also Dubard and Fabrèga-Dubert 2020, 104-106, figs 33-35.

⁴⁵ Ashby 1914, 6. In his catalogue he provides this type of information in brackets after the folio number.

⁴⁶ For instance, 'RT III' appears in pencil on Bn.6:50.

turns to the drawings made by Gaetano Piccini, mainly of mosaics from the Vigna Moroni and other vineyards.

Chapter 6 rounds up mosaics from Italy not covered by the previous chapters, namely the lion and leopard mosaic from Gubbio now at Holkham Hall, the Europa mosaics from Palestrina and the Baths of Caracalla, the Cavalieri mosaic, and the curious relief mosaic from the collection of Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676-1753).

Chapter 7 covers the drawings of Romano-British mosaics. For some of these items little information is available, while others generate substantial discussion.

Chapter 8 turns to the prints of mosaics, ranging from famous discoveries to some rare items. Most are filed in one of the albums devoted to prints (Bn.13) but those relating to Romano-British mosaics are filed in the same miscellaneous album as the drawings (Bm.9).

Chapter 9 provides an overall discussion of the material, considering how the mosaics were depicted and the drawings presented, as well as touching upon the subjects shown and the artists involved. An evaluation of the drawings as works of art and as archaeological records compares them with drawings of mosaics in other collections. The chapter concludes with a discussion of what the drawings of mosaics can tell us about Topham's approach to collecting.

Within each chapter the mosaics are considered in the order in which they were discovered. For ease of reference, each of the chapters is followed by illustrations of the items discussed in that chapter. As some of the drawings are small in relation to the sheet, the illustrations omit the blank areas in order to give prominence to the images. This does, however, mean that some of the captions are not included. To give an example, Figure 9.1 reproduces the sheet with Bn.7:3 – the Holkham lion and leopard mosaic – in its entirety. This not only shows the drawn image but also the Topham collection stamp appended at Eton which overlaps the lower part of the drawing, Sleech's designation of the drawing number towards the bottom of the sheet, and Topham's caption 'Musaico antico nel Palazzo Mignanelli' below that. Smaller sheets were used for some of the drawings of Romano-British mosaics, and Topham's captions can be seen in Figures 7.1, 7.3 and 7.10.

Full details of all captions, signatures and other annotations, including those on the back of the drawings, can be found in the Eton online catalogue. The captions and annotations are also included in the discussions of the drawings in the relevant chapter.

The Catalogue lists the drawings and prints of mosaics in the order in which they are filed at Eton.⁴⁷ Each entry

⁴⁷ Throughout this book, the format used for citing the drawings follows that used in the Eton online catalogue, employing a colon to separate the drawing number from the album number.

begins with details of the artist, captions/annotations, and where applicable a description of any hatching used in the drawing. The location of the original mosaic is noted if it survives. It is not the aim of the Catalogue to duplicate the material in the Eton online catalogue but to provide a succinct summary of the images on the drawings and a select bibliography for each drawing, any comparative drawings, and the mosaic itself. The bibliographies focus on material that is either contemporary with the drawings or represents recent scholarship, with other publications included only where they are significant to the understanding of the drawings.

The main Bibliography is followed by a series of Appendices. Appendix 1 covers the criteria for including the drawings in this study. Appendix 2 explores monetary figures from various documents, comparing them with one another as well as offering a rough indication of their current values. Drawings of the Woodchester mosaic found in other collections are detailed in Appendix 3, to supplement the discussion in Chapter 7. Appendices 4-8 summarise various aspects of the discussion chapters: subjects, artists, comparisons with other drawings, and discovery dates of the mosaics.

Other collections

Throughout this book reference is made, where they exist, to drawings of the same mosaics in other collections, in particular the dal Pozzo drawings, the Glasgow volume, the Holkham drawings and the RIBA collections which are all now held in Britain.

The dal Pozzo drawings of ancient mosaics and wall paintings were part of the Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo and are now in the Royal Library at Windsor. They have been handsomely published with colour illustrations by Whitehouse.⁴⁸

The Glasgow volume is a large and sumptuous album of drawings by Pietro Santi Bartoli showing ancient mosaics and wall paintings. The title page bears the date of 1674 and contains a dedication to Cardinal Camillo Massimi (1620-1677) whose coat of arms features on the binding. The volume is now held in Glasgow University Library and its contents have been discussed, catalogued and partly illustrated in black and white by Pace.⁴⁹

The Holkham material consists of drawings and sketches of ancient mosaics and wall paintings by Pietro Santi Bartoli and Francesco Bartoli. Now in two volumes at Holkham Hall in Norfolk, the material was originally acquired by Thomas Coke (1697-1759) in Rome in 1714

⁴⁸ Whitehouse 2001, who cites the Royal Library (RL) numbers in use at the time. The records have since been computerised and are now cited as 6-digit Royal Collection Inventory Numbers (RCIN). These are based on the RL numbers with the addition of '9' at the start of RL 5-digit, or '90' at the start of RL 4-digit, numbers.

⁴⁹ HX110, formerly MS General 1496; Pace 1979; Aymonino and Modolo 2020, 38-39.

as a single book.⁵⁰ The Holkham drawings have been listed and described by Ashby and, more recently, by Aymonino and Modolo.⁵¹ Black and white photographs are held in the Warburg Institute Iconographic Database.⁵²

The RIBA collections held at the Victoria and Albert Museum contain a number of drawings of ancient mosaics and wall paintings. Some – but not all – belong to a collection which is now divided between London and the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. A full account with colour illustrations has recently been published by Ortona and Modolo.⁵³

Other significant comparative material is contained in the Corsini and Capponi codices in Rome, mostly in Corsini codex 158 I 5 held at the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica which has been published in black and white by Engelmann and Fileri,⁵⁴ and Capponi codex 284 held at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Unless the text states otherwise, references in this book to ‘the Corsini codex’ or to the ‘Capponi codex’ refer respectively to these codices.

Some of the collections referred to in this book have been digitised in colour. Where this is the case, links are contained in the relevant footnotes to the chapters and in the Catalogue. All web links were correct at the time of writing.

Terminology

For simplicity I describe all the original items in this study as drawings although most also include watercolour. Colours are only mentioned in the text where they are significant. The Eton online catalogue contains information about dimensions, materials and techniques; following its wording, I refer to the ‘front’ and ‘back’ of the drawings rather than ‘recto’ and ‘verso’.

The words ‘top’, ‘bottom’, ‘left’ and ‘right’, when used in relation to the whole drawing, assume that the subject at the centre is being viewed from the appropriate direction. If an isolated image is being discussed, ‘left’ and ‘right’ assumes that the image itself is being viewed from the correct way. For instance, if a figure is ‘facing left’ the head is to the left.

A special note of explanation needs to be given about dates. This particularly affects information in Chapter 2

and the discovery dates of some of the Romano-British mosaics. Until 1752, Lady Day (25 March) was regarded as the start of the year in England. This is known as Old Style dating and for dates between 1 January and 24 March it can cause confusion for the unwary. Many contemporary writers gave both years but there is no consistency of approach with later writers: some retain the Old Style year while others convert dates to the New Style, often without explaining that this is what they have done. For clarity, throughout this book I use double dating for dates falling between 1 January and 24 March. For example, the discovery date of the Stonesfield mosaic is given as 25 January 1711/12, which would equate to 25 January 1712 in modern (New Style) dating.

This is also an appropriate place to mention that no official birth records were kept in Topham’s time. Instead, it is usually necessary to rely on the dates of baptisms which were recorded in parish registers. It is generally thought that baptism took place shortly after birth although the age at baptism increased during the eighteenth century and there was, in any event, considerable variation.⁵⁵

The Abbreviations at the beginning of this book cover the abbreviations used when referring to other collections of drawings as well as those appearing in the Bibliography.

⁵⁰ Connor Bulman 1999, 208, 216, n.22; Connor Bulman 2001a, 343, 347, n.3. See also Michaelis 1882, 323.

⁵¹ Ashby 1916, 35-48; Aymonino and Modolo 2020, 40-41.

⁵² https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC_search/results_basic_search.php?p=3&var_1=bartoli&var_2=holkham for the first volume, and https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/vpc/VPC_search/results_basic_search.php?p=1&var_1=bartoli&var_2=holkham&var_3=2&var_4=&var_5= for the second volume.

⁵³ Ortona and Modolo 2016. For the BnF section, see also Caylus and Mariette 1757 and Engelmann 1909.

⁵⁴ Engelmann 1909; Fileri 2000. Another Corsini codex, 158 HI 5, contains two comparative drawings and has been published in black and white by the same authors (Engelmann 1909; Fileri 1991).

⁵⁵ See Berry and Schofield 1971.



Figure 1.1 – Eton College



Figure 1.2 – Eton College Library

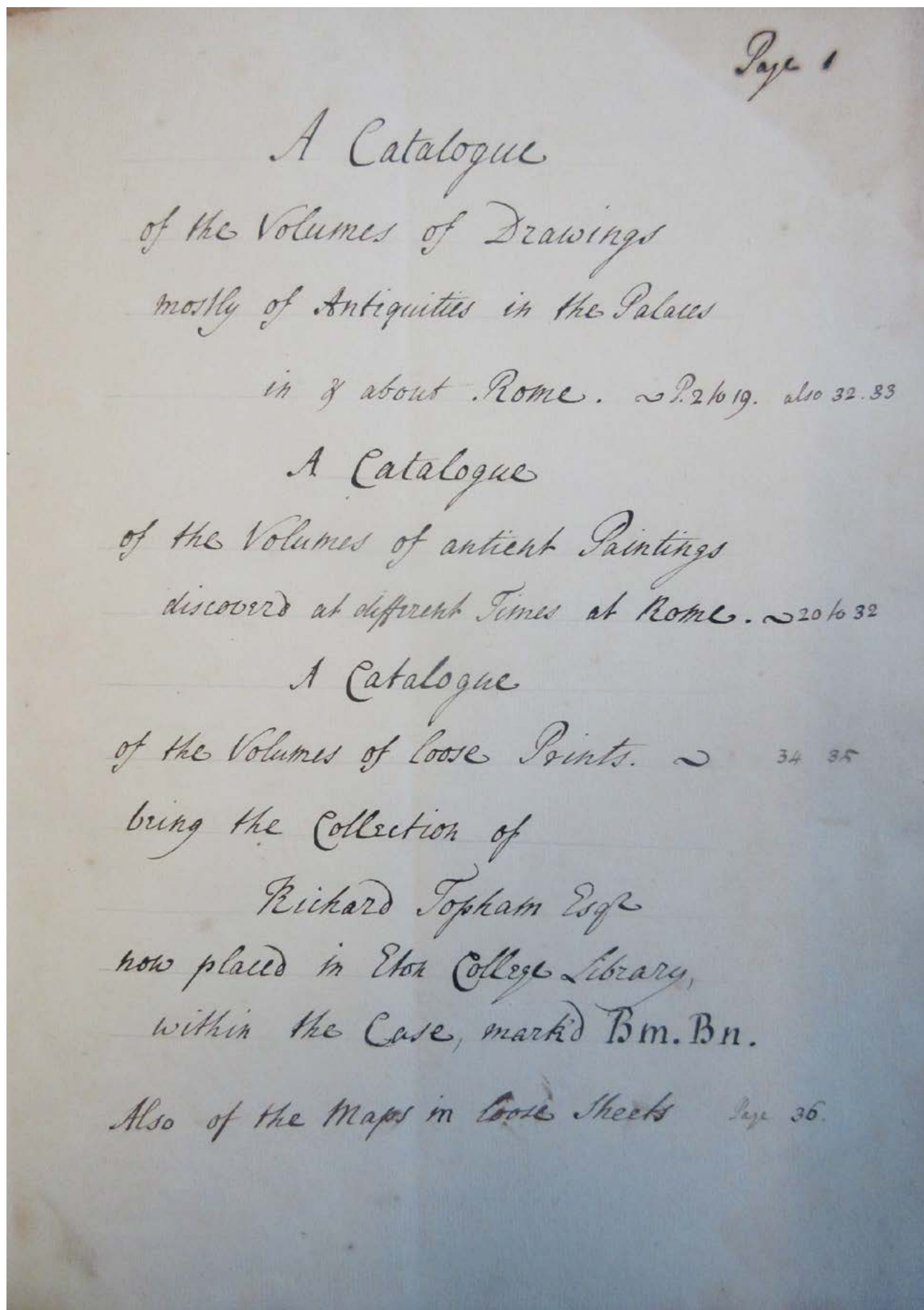


Figure 1.3 – Finding Aid 4, title page