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1. Titel: *Captatio benevolentiae*: I want to thank the organizers for the chance to speak here today and at the same time beg their and your pardon for the massive amount of information I will try to present during the next 20 minutes.
 2. In 1547 the Siennese humanist, philologist, politician and, later, bishop Claudio Tolomei published a letter he had written in 1542 to count Agostino de' Landi.
 3. In this letter Tolomei describes a program developed by some *pellegrini ingegni* to publish a collection of 24 (or 25) books dedicated to the study of ancient Rome's architecture: It's aim was to *svogliare nuovamente questo nobile studio* and, by doing so, to lay the foundations for a or even *the* new architecture based theoretically as well as practically on the best examples from antiquity and modern experiences.
 4. Though Tolomei himself admits that it might seem to be impossible to reach this goal, he assures his readers that everything could be done in *less than three years* because the work would be shared among *molti belli ingegni*.
 5. Jacopo Strada, who attended the meetings of the *eruditissima academia* between 1553 and 1555 when he lived in Rome – like some other authors – reports only some of the names of the people involved.
 6. But he gives a list of 20 professions with at least 2 representatives of each participating in these sessions. So, because Strada uses the plural for the professionals we may assume that at least up to 40 people were meeting more or less regularly at the Palazzo Farnese during these years.
 7. In fact, some 80 persons known by their names can be related to this *Accademia* active between 1537 or earlier and 1555. In addition, some 65 anonymous draftsmen seem to have worked for the *Accademia* during these two decades — of course not all of them at the same time or over the entire period. (I highlighted some of the names we may encounter later in this paper.)
 8. This program lists 24 books (in one case, number 3, it is not clear if Tolomei did not intend a two-part book). – but modern research speaks of 20 or less, in one case even of only 8 topics the *Accademia* wanted to study. At the beginning of his letter Tolomei states that Architecture, as every other art, consists of theory and practice and, therefore, that it is necessary to combine both in the study of ancient architecture, too. So, his program begins with eleven books dedicated to the study, philological edition and 'exploitation' of the *Ten books on architecture* by Vitruvius, the only surviving book from Antiquity dedicated to architecture. Then it switches from theory to practice with the following books dedicated to the study of ancient buildings and any other artefact that may be helpful to understand certain buildings, their historical context and importance.

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9. One printed book has been accepted as stemming from this project since early on: Guillaume Philandrier's *Annotationes* to Vitruvius from 1544.
 10. In his book Philandrier, who had studied architecture with Serlio in Venice, explains 'dark passages' from Vitruvius by comparing them to similar passages in other Classical authors but also with the help of many practitioners and philologist he met in Rome. (It may seem quite unusual to start the list with this book, as Tolomei did, but that could be explained with regard to the fact, that Tolomei may not have wanted to pretend in 1547 that he already in 1542 would have known of the book coming out in 1544. But on the other hand, this prominent position of a book, already widely acclaimed by learned persons in 1547, may have served to underline that the described project already had made some progress ...)
 11. Of course, a combined edition of the original text and Philandrier's annotations would have been very useful, and therefore, in 1552 Philandrier published such a combined text in Lyon.
 12. But for the philologist Tolomei and his friends it would have been quite impossible to print just any version of the ancient text – therefore, they planned to publish a study comparing the surviving versions (manuscripts as well as modern prints) and to reconstruct something like an *Urtext* for their project: Book number 2.
 13. It seems plausible that Philandrier would have used such an emendated 'original text' for his publication in 1552 – and it seems, he did: The subtitle of his book claims exactly that: *omnibus omnium editionibus longè emendatiores, collats veteribus exemplis*. But it is still not know to which extent the book fulfills this claim.
 14. So, we may assume that at least a handwritten version of book 2 circulated in Tolomei's *Accademia* in Rome.
 15. In 1986 art historian Richard Harprath and archaeologist Henning Wrede published the so-called *Codex Coburgensis*, and assumed a relation to Tolomei's project.
 16. Margaret Daly Davis even suggested that this *Codex* and its sibling, the *Codex Pighianus* in Berlin contain in fact the preparatory materials for book 14 and 16.
 17. Another such collection of preparatory material are the six volumes with some 10,000 Latin inscriptions and additional sketches coordinated by Jean Matal and today in the Vatican Library. While the drawings of tombstones and reliefs show a remarkably 'archaeological' approach to their objects by representing them with all damages and without corrections, the same can be said of Jean Matal's codices: They also represent the inscriptions *as they are* separating them clearly from reconstructed portions of the text, interpretations or corrections. The first to realize

this feature and its importance was, as far as I know, Theodor Mommsen when he visited the Vatican Library in the early 1840s. This was the right material to start a project he had planned for some time already, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, still active today at the *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften*.

18. Because many of the names mentioned in the list of persons at the beginning show up in these codices as Matal's collaborators, we may assume that these materials were made in preparation for book 20.
19. Another large group of sourced could be added to these preparatory materials through recent research: the anonymous architectural drawings of the so-called *Codex Destailleur D* in Berlin and related drawings in at least 13 other collections from the 1540s: They measure the ancient monuments with more details and more precisely than any other earlier or later drawings. While this drawing of the Colosseum obviously is only meant to collect the measurement but not to give a perfect proportional representation of the building ...
20. this drawing from the same group demonstrates – for the first time – that the Colosseum is *not* a regular oval or ellipse: Otherwise, the lines starting from the central axis could not cross each other.
21. That this is indeed the fact can be easily observed today with the help of aerial views. But the first archaeological publication to demonstrate this fact stems – as far as I could find – from 1993, i. e. 450 years after this drawing was made. All the publications in between show the Colosseum's plan as a perfect oval ...
22. So, while I could talk for hours and hours about these fascinating architectural drawings, there are some 840 sheets with more than 3,400 drawings –, I simply add them to the list here under book 13 and go on.
23. But there is also a printed book that fits into Tolomei's description: It combines plans, cuts and views with details in measured illustrations and adds – as Tolomei requested – a historical and an architectural commentary: Palladio's fourth of his *Quattro Libri dell' Architettura* from 1570 which Palladio planned to extend with a book on the Roman baths and on triumphal arches. — The young stonemason Andrea di Pietro della Gondola was taken to Rome several times during the 1540s for longer periods by his mentor Giangiorgio Trissino, who gave him the name Palladio and obviously had him participate in the measurements of ancient buildings organizes by Tolomei's *Accademia* of which Trissino was a member.
24. So, we may add Palladio's Book IV under number 13 to the list as a sort of later work derived from material created by, in the service or in connection with Tolomei's *Accademia*.

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25. Among the many architectural drawings just mentioned there are hundreds that do not show entire buildings and their parts but single architectural elements that had been dismembered over time and dispersed all of the *city of the wandering stones*, as Rudolf Preimesberger once called Rome.
 26. These drawings obviously were made in preparation of book 17, which was intended to collect such examples of good Roman architectural practice that had lost their original context. — Tolomei and his friends had already realised that one of the most important sources to learn more about Roman history but also single buildings or the persons who had built them are coins and medals. Therefore, a book containing *all* medals with explanations was planned as number 22.
 27. Jacopo Strada's *Magnum ac Novum Opus* may – at least in part – be related to this part of the project. In 29 of originally 30 volumes it contains some 12,000 drawings after ancient coins, all in a similar style and mode, i.e.: The drawings do not show the edge of the coins and enlarge their images by a factor of almost 10. By doing so, Strada and his draftsmen could add much more information to their drawings than could be observed in the coins. Why this deviation from the method developed by the *Accademia* was used is still an open question, but it does not devalue his work, as it has been assumed by many numismatists since the 18th century. One example is this drawing of the Curia Iulia and a similar (not exactly the correct) coin: Both show clearly some sort of pergola in front of the Curia, which is clearly *not* a porch because there is no roof.
 28. But modern archaeology has been tempted to reconstruct a roof based on the holes in the façade of the building at the Forum.
 29. The results all look more or less like the example on the right.
 30. But in the 16th century there were no holes in the façade, as this drawing from the *Codex Destailleur D* shows. So, Strada's drawing is closer to the reality than modern archaeology, it seems . . . (My guess is that the pergola shown in the coin and Strada's drawing is not connected to the Curia at all but rather some sort of boundary to the ancient Comitium in front of the Curia – which would exactly look like Strada's drawing when seen from the Forum.
 31. So, besides Strada's *Epitome* but with even more right we may add his *Magnum ac Novum Opus* to Tolomei's list.
 32. Speaking of medals and coins, we have, of course, to add also one of the most important books on numismatics and epigraphy, written by Antonio Agustín, bishop and friend of his secretary Jean Matal with whom he – like several others in Tolomei's circle – had studied law with Alciato.

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33. Agostín's book was published in 1587 after he had returned to Spain, but in 1592 two translations appeared and formed the foundation for his later fame.
 34. Another publication by someone who must have been in Rome corresponds to Tolomei's description of book 11: Jean Bullant's *Reigle Generale d'Architecture*
 35. which compares the rules give by Vitruvius with built examples.
 36. So, even though there are no documents known yet connecting Bullant directly with the *Accademia*, we may tentatively add him to the list.
 37. But the next book does not only realize of Tolomei's description, its author is even known to have worked for the *Accademia*: Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola's *Regola delli cinque ordini* from 1562, reprinted over 100 times in the following centuries.
 38. By measuring *all the antiquities in Rome* Vignola had realized that there was no canonical system for the classical orders. So, his conclusion was to develop his own system based on the best ancient examples he knew but also unifying them so they could be used all together in one building with the same basic modul. This allowed him to proudly use the singular *regolA* – and whenever you encounter an architectural historian speaking or writing of Vignola's *regolE* – i.e. using the plural – and this happens quite often – you know that he did not understand one of the groundbreaking works of his field. . .
 39. So, Vignola's book, even though published several years after the *Accademia* seized to exist with the untimely death of Marcello Cervini, then Pope Marcellus II, in April 1555, surely may closely be related to Tolomei's book 11.
 40. There are two sources allowing us to do so: Vasari, who knew Vignola personally, as well as Vignola's biographer and editor of his psthumously published *Due regole della prospettiva prattica*, Egnatio Danti, report that Vignola measured *tutte l'antichità di Roma* in service of the *Accademia* headed by Cervini. (By the way: Why do we not have or know drawings made by Vignola documenting this work? My hypothesis is that he was the supervisor of the anonymous craftsmen who made the drawings of the *Codex Destailleur D* complex.)
 41. Another important book published after 1555 comes to mind when one thinks of Vitruvian studies: Daniele Barbaros extensively annotated edition of the classical text – first published in 1556 as translation into Italian, later, in 1567 also in Latin. How are these editions related to the *Accademia* when Barbaro seems never to have been in Rome and never showed an interest in architecture before? – He was a close friend of Giangiorgio Trissino, and Trissino's *protégé* Palladio provided Barbaro not only with the drawings for the illustrations of his edition, but also

with his practical knowledge as an architect and with his experiences from his studies in Rome. To me it seems as if Trissino, Palladio and Barbaro were trying to achieve one of the main aims of the *Accademia* after Cervini's death by publishing this edition of Vitruvius – regarded by many as one of the best ever made.

42. So, let's put Barbaro side by side to Philandrier's edition of 1552.
43. Tolomei knew and, therefore, put the corresponding book directly after Vitruvius in his list, that one has to understand the urban development of the *urbs Roma* in antiquity to identify and understand the place, role, function and importance of a building. A good starting point would have been the first edition of Bartolomeo Marliano's *Topographia antiquæ Romæ* from 1534, published almost simultaneously in Rome and Lyon (where no-one less than Rabelais was its editor on his way back from Rome). — So, the second edition of this important topographical and historical, even archaeological book in 1544 would be the best chance to be extended in something that could serve as book 12. The change of the title may have been motivated by the fact, that this edition was quite different from the first one in so far as it contains, for the first time, illustration, among the maps.
44. These rather simple, but nonetheless important early attempts show the legendary *Roma quadrata*, Rome in republican times and
45. Rome under the emperors. While this map may still look rather sketchy to modern eyes, it is remarkably correct. Marliano, by the way, acknowledges the help of some of the *Accademia's* members, among them one of the first specialists in calligraphy and typography, Giovanni Battista Palatino who signs responsible for this map – and whose name you find among the names of the typefaces on your computer.
46. So, let's add Marliano's book also to Tolomei's list.
47. We are allowed to do so not only by the collaborators from the *Accademia* mentioned by Marliano, but also by the imprint of his 1544 edition: Here the printers, the Dorico brothers, proudly claim to be *Accademiae Romanæ impressorum*. Taking into account that the original *Accademia Romana* founded by Pomponio Leto in 1464, seized to exist in 1527 with the *Sacco di Roma*, there is no reason to call yourself the printer of the Roman Academy 17 years later – if not for the reason that you expect to become the regular printer of the re-founded academy. Though the publications from this circle were printed later by several different print shops in Rome and Venice, the selection of the Dorico brothers in the first place could have been motivated by their experience as printers of complicated layout, namely music: If you are typesetting music yourself on your computer you may use a

program named „Dorico“ – and thereby have a daily connection to the Tolomei’s *Accademia Romana* even if you do not use *Palatino* for your texts. . .

48. Speaking about maps: The first topographical map of Rome by Leonardo Bufalini from 1551 does not mention the *Accademia* and may not have been made for it, but its author was a close collaborator of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, then, until his death in 1546 the most important architect in Rome and regular attendant of the *Accademia*’s meetings. And it seems quite plausible that the measurement needed to make Bufalini’s map were taken during Sangallo’s works for the renovation of the ancient walls, the straightening of the Tiber banks and other similar projects requiring the survey and mensuration of larger parts of the city.
49. Therefore, I think we may see Bufalini’s map (and almost all those made in the 1550’s by Paciotto and Beatrizet, by Ligorio and Pinard) as related to Tolomei’s *Accademia*. — But there are still some lacunae in Tolomei’s list.
50. Jacopo Strada left a volume now in Vienna containing some 174 drawings of ancient statues, and, as the title page says: this was only volume one. As far as I know there is no comparable work of drawings, let alone prints, before the end of the 16th century. Though the drawings do not look as beautiful as those by other artists and not as archaeological as those from the Codices Coburgensis and Pighianus, they seem to have been made in Rome while Strada lived there and could easily accompany Ulisse Aldovrandi’s famous book *Di tutte le statue antichi* from 1556. Aldovrandi, at least, mentions that he was granted generous access to the private gardens and galleries of the collectors, among them some of the leading members of the *Accademia*.
51. As long as a connection between Strada’s volume and the *Accademia* cannot be excluded, we may include it into our list as preparatory material for book 15.
52. But Strada was even more productive – you remember the 12’000 numismatic drawings? He also left several volumes of drawings showing machines, of which his grandson Ottavio published first 50 and later 100 in printed books.
53. As far as I know no-one ever investigated if Strada’s other drawings show reconstructions of ancient machines according to Tolomei’s book 23.
54. And the same can be said about Strada’s hundreds of drawings of vases. They are usually regarded as pure fantasies or design concepts for potential purchasers, especially because Strada was trained in Giulio Romanos workshop as a goldsmith. But Strada himself claims on the title page of one of these volumes that they all were made after ancient originals or their depictions in reliefs. Maybe it would be worth to investigate this material, too?

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55. Vases are used to contain fluids, mostly water. And water was brought into the *urbs* through the famous aqueducts, only a few of which survived in conditions that allowed their reconstruction in the Renaissance. While I do not know of any drawings corresponding to Tolomei's description of book 24, a book on the courses and technique of Roman aqueducts, there are at least some traces in the measured architectural drawings for instance of the *Porta Maggiore* which bears several major Roman aqueducts.
56. Only recently I learned that the Vatican librarian, cardinal Agostino Steuco, in 1545 took a few months off from his office to study the Roman aqueducts and look for possibilities to restore them. Steuco was heavily engaged in fighting Protestantism – but also a close friend of his successor Cervini. I do not know yet of any of his material (maps, written descriptions etc.) survived, but that he must have left something is proven by the fact that his materials were used in the years before 1570 to restore the Aqua Virgo, which feeds the famous *Fontana di Trevi* since then and, later, also the fountains in *Piazza Navona*. So, if you visit these famous fountains – which you should do even if there are too many tourists – you are seeing one possible practical result of the *Accademia's* work ...
57. Finally, I would suggest that for many of the works mentioned above the vocabularies listed by Tolomei would have been an indispensable basis and, therefore, prepared for the *Accademia*. Without such preparations it surely would have been almost impossible to establish Philandrier's the emendated text from 1552 or to annotate Barbaro's – so we may assume that these materials existed.
58. Coming back to the persons related to the *Accademia* I would like to list all the printed book mentioned and some more that could be related to the *Accademia* via personal relations among their authors or dedicees:
59. Though the relations of these books to the *Accademia* have yet to be proven, it is – from my point of view – at least plausible to set them into this context.
60. In addition, here's a short list of the manuscript materials mentioned. And if someone should think all of this work has been more or less in vain ... look around in any western city: The architects of almost every building using classicist forms and built after 1570 may have been influenced by Vignola and / or Palladio and, therefore, somehow realized the Tolomei's program.— I am convinced: if the materials mentioned above and related or relatable to the *Accademia* would be examined as thoroughly as, e. g., Matal's collection of inscriptions were used by the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, we may expect lots of
61. ... news from ancient Rome. – Thank you!