

***Epistolary Discourse
Letters and Letter Writing in Early
Modern Art***



Edited by Lilian H. Zirpolo

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Early Modern Art***

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Claudio Tolomei's Letter to Agostino de' Landi: A History of Misinterpretations*

Bernd Kulawik

In 1547, Claudio Tolomei, the Sienese humanist, philologist, author, politician, and later bishop, included a letter in his *De le lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei libri sette* (Fig. 1) he had sent in 1542 to Count Agostino de' Landi, then papal ambassador in Venice.¹ In it Tolomei describes in detail a vast program for the study and publication of material artifacts and theoretical texts related to ancient Roman architecture. The aim of this program was to

reawaken this noble study and lead it from the darkness in which it finds itself to a clearer light, hoping to open the way for many others to add to it even greater clarity and splendor.²

Tolomei lists twenty-four books he and a non-specified circle of learned individuals³ wished to publish in less than three years.⁴ Later scholars have qualified their program as too ambitious and, in principle, unachievable.⁵ Consequently, only a handful of books and sources (drawings

* For Professor Christof Thoenes (1928-2018), in memoriam.

¹ *De le lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei libri sette* (Venice: Gabriel Giolitti de Ferrari, 1547), cited here as Tolomei, *Lettere*. The letter is in fols. 81r-85r.

² "...suegliare nvouamente qvesto nobile stvdio, e... da le tenebre, ne le qvali si troua condvrlo a qualche piv chiara lvce, sperando aprir la uia a molti altri, di aggivgnerui poi maggior chiarezza, e splendore." Tolomei, *Lettere*, fol. 81r. All translations are by the author, with assistance from Edith Heintze and Horst Heintze, who are also assisting in the preparation of an annotated German translation from which the present study derives.

³ I am currently working on the circle to which Tolomei refers in his letter in the study mentioned in n. 2. In said study I describe that this network cannot be identified with the Accademie della Virtù, dello Sdegno, dei Vignaiuoli, dei Virtuosi al Pantheon, or the second Accademia Romana, but with the Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura. Some of the more than 150 individuals related to Tolomei's project were members of at least one of these academies.

⁴ "...non è dvbbio che'n manco di tre anni si condvrran tvtte a fine." Tolomei, *Lettere*, fol. 84v.

⁵ For instance, Arnold Nesselrath, director of the Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, writes in his *Der Zeichner und sein Buch: Die Darstellung der antiken Architektur im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. (Mainz: Philipp Rutzen; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014) 163: "Ebenso wie Ligorio sein Werk nie publizierte, so schaffte es auch die Akademie nie, ihr Programm zu realisieren – mit Ausnahme der Vitruv-Edition von Philandrier." ("Like Ligorio, who never published his work, the academy never realized its program, except for the edition of Vitruvius by Philandrier"). It is not clear if Nesselrath refers to Philandrier's annotated edition of Vitruvius, titled *M. Vitruvii Pollionis De Architectura Libri Decem... accesservnt Gulielmi Philandri... annotationes...* (Lyon: Tornaesivm, 1552), or only to his commentary, *Gvlielmi Philandri... In Decem Libros M. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura Annotationes* (Rome: Dossena, 1544), published without the full original text of *De architectura*. Nesselrath erroneously identifies Tolomei's circle with the Accademia della Virtù (as did I and many others in the past). But the Accademia della Virtù dealt almost exclusively with Neo-Latin poetry and the modernization of the Italian language, not with architecture, though many of its participants were also members of Tolomei's network and provided contributions to the realization of its program. This circle is only rarely called an academy by contemporaries, and, when they do, they describe it as an academy of architectural studies.

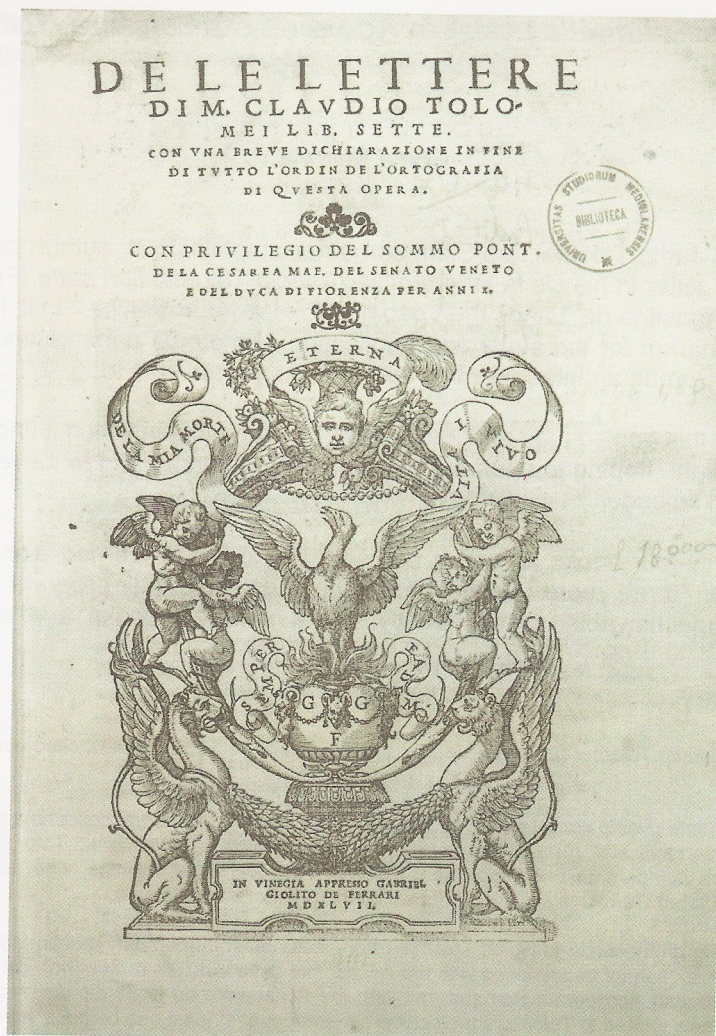


Fig. 1. Frontispiece, from *De le lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei lib. sette. Con vna breue dichiarazione in fine di tutto l'ordin de l'ortografia di questa opera* (Venice: appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1547) (Photo: Public Domain).

or manuscripts) have been related to Tolomei's project. The present study seeks to correct this view by demonstrating that a large group of understudied printed books and manuscripts, some the largest of their kind, are indeed the realized program of Tolomei and his associates. The information they provide may even lead to significant amendments to our understanding of Roman antiquity and its study during the Renaissance.

Unfortunately, replies to Tolomei's letter that relate specifically to the plan he describes have not surfaced. This may be the reason why scholars have not taken Tolomei at his word or

assessed his lengthy description of the projected publications more scrupulously.⁶ Another reason may be the disciplinary divide that exists in historical studies, despite recent calls for interdisciplinarity, a divide suggested in the sharing of the workload by members of Tolomei's circle in order to complete the projected publications.

Tolomei begins his letter with thoughts on the role of architecture, its importance for mankind, and the *magnificentia* of the virtuous prince. He then discusses the relationship between practice and theory in the arts, and especially architecture. The rest of the letter provides a long description of the planned books and reasons for their inclusion. This suggests that there must have been a clear multidisciplinary approach to the development of the program. It is possible that Tolomei's description of Books 1 to 11 derives from Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's *Proemio* to a new edition of Vitruvius' *De architectura libri decem*.⁷ In addition, there may be a connection to Raphael's famous plan to document the architecture of ancient Rome on a map.

Tolomei did not number his list and, therefore, one may find divergent information regarding the number of planned books and their content in the scholarly literature. However, reoccurring wording, such as "and then another book (*libbro*) or work (*opera*) will be added," leads to the most logical order of the books, as will be outlined below.

Book 1. Tolomei describes the first book as, "First a Latin book will be made where, by means of extensive annotations, all the difficult passages in Vitruvius are explained..."⁸ This book has been identified as Guillaume Philandrier's *Annotationes* to Vitruvius' text, first published in Rome in 1544. Several later versions exist (Fig. 2), some with Philandrier's text alone and others with the full text of Vitruvius' *De Architectura libri decem*. To this day, Philandrier's work is valued as one of the most compelling commentaries on Vitruvius and for its insight into the Renaissance interpretation of the ancient text.

Book 2. "And because Vitruvius' texts are many, those which are printed and also

⁶ Beside many short and general mentions of the letter in the literature on Vitruvius, Renaissance architecture, and studies of antiquity, the following texts list some of the books described by Tolomei or discuss the letter in greater detail: Giovanni Poleni, *Exercitationes Vitruvianæ* [...] (Padua: Manfrè, 1739); the transcription in *Scritti d'Arte del Cinquecento*, ed. Paola Barocchi, (Milan and Naples: Ricciardi, 1971), III: 3037–3046; Pier Nicola Pagliara, "Vitruvio da testo a canone," in *Memoria dell'Antico nell'Arte italiana*, ed. Salvatore Settis (Turin: Einaudi, 1984–1986), I: 3–85; Sandro Benedetti and Tommaso Scalesse, "Nota introduttiva," in *Trattati di Architettura*, ed. E. Bassi (Milan: Edizione di Polifilo, 1985), V, ii, 33–50; Margaret Daly Davis, "Wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung und Entwicklung einer Systematik: Archäologische und antiquarische Studien antiker Reste in der Accademia Vitruviana in Rom," in *Archäologie der Antike*, ed. Margaret Daly Davis (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 11–19; Peter Arnold Heuser, *Jean Matal. Humanistischer Jurist und europäischer Friedensdenker (um 1517–1597)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003); Rikke Lingsø Christensen, *Spaces of Conception: Italian Architecture between Archaeology and Appearance*. (PhD diss., Københavns Universitet: Det Humanistiske Fakultet, 2011); Rikke Lingsø Christensen, "The Text and the Detail. On methods of reading and systematizing Vitruvius in the Renaissance," *Kunsttexte.de* 3 (2014): 1–14, available at <https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/18452/8325/christensen.pdf> (accessed 8 May 2018).

⁷ Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane, "Proemio," in *Scritti d'Arte del Cinquecento*, ed. Paola Barocchi, (Milan and Naples: Ricciardi, 1971), III: 3028–3031. That Sangallo took part in the meetings of Tolomei's circle is confirmed by the report of a discussion on architecture between Sangallo, his colleague Jacopo Melegghino, and others, among them Tolomei, in Girolamo Garimberto, *De regimenti publici de la città*. (Venice: Girolamo Scoto, 1544) fols. 1r–3r.

⁸ "Prima dvnque si farà vn libbro Latino, doue per medo di annotazioni distese si dichiararanno tvtti i lvoghi difficili di Vitruvio..." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 81v.

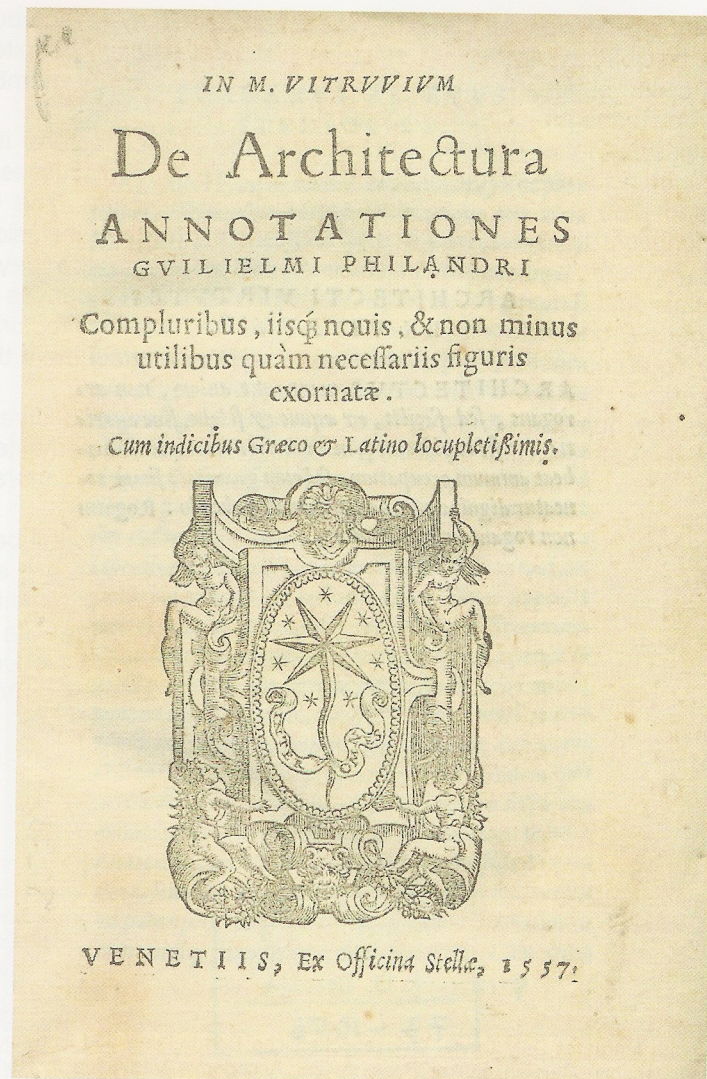


Fig. 2. Frontispiece, from Guillaume Philandrier, *De Architectura Annotationes* (Venice: Ex Officina Stelle, 1557) (Photo: Public Domain).

handwritten, which so often leads to confusion and obscurity... a work of annotations on the diversity of the texts will be made, highest in notable varieties and of some importance, with determinations as to which is the preferable reading..."⁹ It is likely that such a critical philological

⁹ "E perche i testi di Vitruvio son molto uarii, cosi gli stampati, come gli scritti a penna; onde spesso nasce confusione, e oscurrezza: però si farà vna opera d'annotazioni de la diuersità de testi, massime ne le uarietà notabili, e di qualche importanza, con le risoluzioni di qual lettura sia più piaciuta..." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 81v.

overview was produced in preparation for the printed editions and translations of Vitruvius that can be ascribed to members of Tolomei's network. However, Tolomei's Book 2 on the philological examination of Vitruvius' work and its different interpretations was likely never printed.

Book 3. "...planning on printing a Vitruvius according to these texts, which will be approved with good reason."¹⁰ A new Latin edition of Vitruvius would be printed taking into account the results of the second book and based on the finest versions and editions of the ancient text. Until now, this third book has not been identified, but there are two editions that seem to fit this description. The first is the aforementioned text by Philandrier.¹¹ This edition bears the subtitle "*omnibus omnium editionibus longè emendatiores, collatis veteribus exemplis*," which repeats Tolomei's description of the book in Latin, implying that Tolomei was the source for Philandrier's formulation. The second is Daniele Barbaro's (Fig. 3) annotated Latin edition of Vitruvius' text (Fig. 4), published in 1567.¹² Barbaro kept in contact with Giangiorgio Trissino, a member of the first Accademia Romana, which existed until 1527, and was part of Tolomei's Roman network in the 1530s and 1540s. He is mostly known as the mentor of Andrea Palladio, whom he took to Rome in the 1540s to study the ancient ruins. In these years, Palladio may have been a member of a group of draughtsmen who worked for Tolomei's circle.¹³ He applied the knowledge he acquired in Rome and as a stonemason to render the illustrations in Barbaro's text and provide the architectural information the latter needed to write his commentary. Since, as it seems, Barbaro had no interest in architectural theory before his collaboration with Palladio, it is possible that either the architect or Trissino informed Barbaro about Tolomei's project.

The copious illustrations intended for Tolomei's new edition of Vitruvius' *De architectura* were to include reconstructions of lost illustrations mentioned by the ancient writer, as well as new ones meant to function as corroborating material. Tolomei wrote, "In this way, they plan to recreate all the illustrations, drawing them with as much grace and subtlety as possible, improving upon those where [Fra Giovanni] Giocondo erred, and adding many others in various places, where they are currently missing"¹⁴ In all likelihood, these illustrations would be inserted

¹⁰ "... *havendo in animo stampar poi vn Vitruvio secondo qve testi, che saranno con ragione approuati*." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 81v.

¹¹ Guillaume Philandrier, *M. Vitruvii Pollionis de architectura libri decem* (Lyon: Tornaesium, 1552).

¹² Daniele Barbaro, *M. Vitruvii Pollionis De architectura libri decem: com commentariis Daniele Barbari...* (Venice: Franciscum Franciscum Senensem & Ioan. Crugher Germanum, 1567).

¹³ Heinz Spielmann, *Andrea Palladio und die Antike* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1966), points out that Palladio's drawings after ancient buildings are closely related to those in the Codex Destailleur D (Inv. Hdz 4151) at the Berlin Kunstbibliothek, which can now be ascribed to Tolomei's project (see Book 13). A preliminary catalogue of this codex is Bernd Kulawik, *Die Zeichnungen im Codex Destailleur D (Hdz 4151) der Kunstbibliothek Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz zum letzten Projekt Antonio da Sangallo des Jüngeren für den Neubau von St. Peter in Rom* (PhD diss., Berlin: TU Berlin, 2002), II, available at <https://depositonce.tu-berlin.de/handle/11303/796>.

¹⁴ "Da questo mossi costoro hanno animo rinouar tvtte le figvre, disegnandole con piv bella grazia, e finezza che sarà possibile, emendando quelle, doue hauesse errato Giocondo, a aggivgnendone in uarii lvoghi molte altre, c'hora non ui sono..." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 82r.

6 Epistolary Discourse



Fig. 3. Titian, *Portrait of Daniele Barbaro*, c. 1545, Madrid, Prado Museum (Photo: Public Domain).

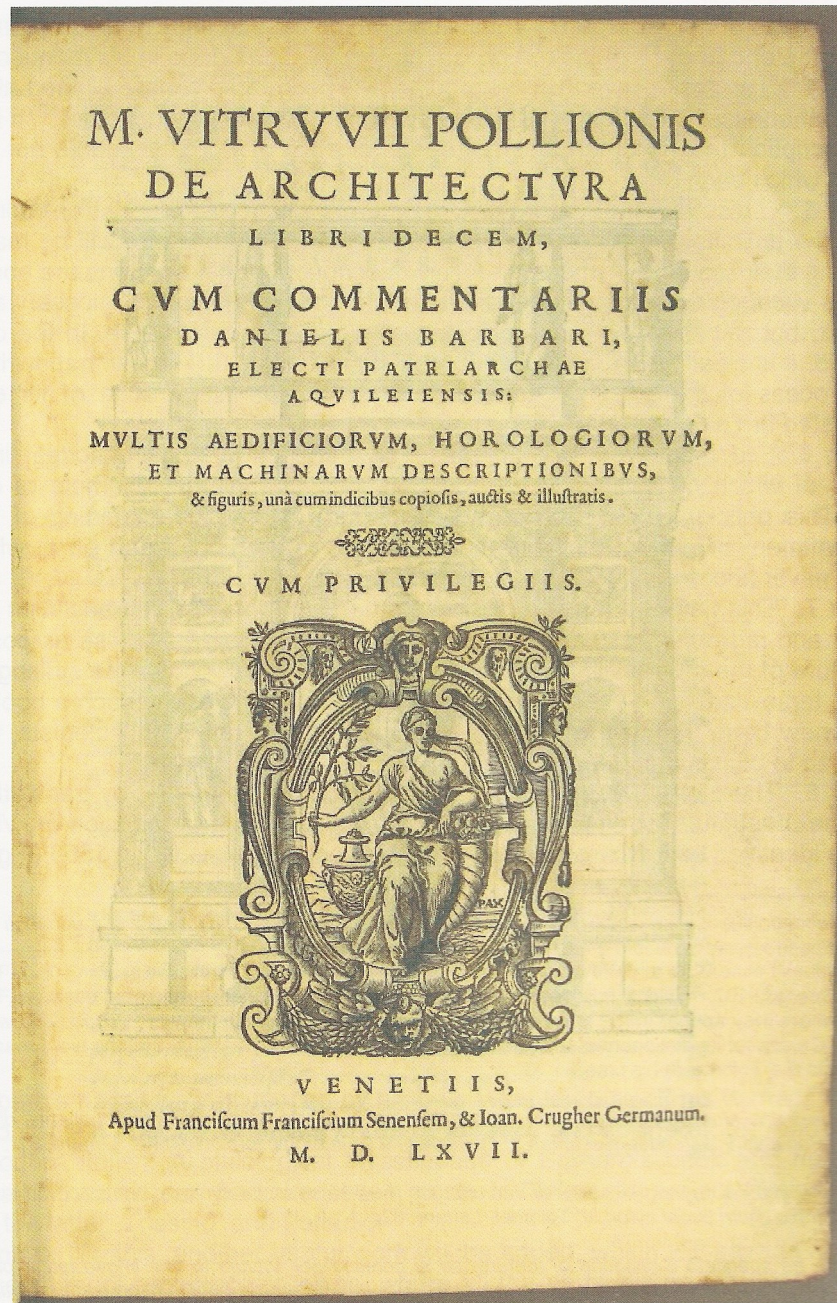


Fig. 4. Frontispiece, from Daniele Barbaro, *M. Vitruvii Pollionis De Architectura Libri Decem* (Venice: Franciscum Franciscum Senensem, & Ioan. Crugher Germanum, 1567) (Photo: Public Domain).

into the text, as was done in Barbaro's publication, which caused some difficulties in the printing process, or at the end of each of the ten books, as Vitruvius had done in his manuscript.

Book 4. "...an exhaustive Latin vocabulary will be created, where all the Latin terms will be included alphabetically, and especially those which are dubious or obscure."¹⁵ It is clear from this short description that Tolomei does not speak of a list of words or index, but rather of an entire book in which each term would be explained in detail.¹⁶

Book 5. "...also, another [book] of Greek terms will be produced, translating each into Latin; where the unlimited vocables of Vitruvius that now seem obscure will be made clear, at times indicating their root and etymology."¹⁷ This description further supports the above analysis that Tolomei's *vocabolario* (Book 4) cannot be understood as an index or glossary added at the end of a book, but rather as a lexicon or dictionary in the modern sense. In the case of both Books 4 and 5, it is clear that a similar work must have existed, at least in handwritten form, to aid in the process of interpreting Vitruvius' text and in the preparation of its editions and translations listed in Tolomei's letter.

Book 6. "...a Latin work will be made on Vitruvius' speaking modes, in which the abstruseness of which he is blamed can be defended through the example of other skillful authors..."¹⁸ This philological work does not contribute to the understanding of Vitruvius by architects, craftsmen, or patrons and therefore, like the translation based on it, which follows, was perhaps never accomplished.

Book 7. "This has awakened a desire to attempt, if possible, a [translation of] Vitruvius into a clearer and more purified Latin language, bringing the words as close as possible to the form and texture of the other skillful Latin writers. The resulting work will be striking, presenting the stern and terse Vitruvius as affable and simple."¹⁹ It is obvious why such a book was never published. A new Latin Vitruvius would have been of interest only to philologists, while others would have had to consult the Latin original.

Book 8. "Therefore, something useful to the world will be made by translating Vitruvius anew into the beautiful Tuscan language..."²⁰ This vernacular translation of Vitruvius' *Ten Books* can be identified as Barbaro's first commentary edition published in 1556 (Fig. 5).²¹ Even

¹⁵ "...si farà vn uocabolario Latino assai pieno, doue saranno per Alfabeto dichiarati tvtti i uocaboli Latini, e quelli massimamente c'hanno qvalche dvbbio e oscvrità." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 82r.

¹⁶ Christensen, *Spaces*, 107, mistook this description as an index in the modern sense of the word, pointing to the relevant places where they appear in the main text. Half a century after Tolomei, the word *vocabolario* was used by the Accademia della Crusca for its dictionary of the Italian language, and one may assume that the word meant the same to Tuscan philologists like Tolomei in his time.

¹⁷ "...peró se ne farà vno altro de uocaboli greci, isponendoli poi in parole latine; oue infiniti uocaboli di Vitruvio ch'hor paiono oscvri si faran chiari, distendendosi talora al diriuazioni, e l'etimologie loro." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 82r.

¹⁸ "...si farà vna opera latina de modi di parlar di Vitruvio; oue si uedrà se molte dvrezze, che s'accvsano in lvi si posson difendere per esempio d'altri bvoni avtori..." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 82r.

¹⁹ "...Questa cosa ha suegliato il disiderio di tentare, se si potesse por Vitruvio in vna lingva latina piv chiara, e piv pvrghata, auuicinandosi quanto é possibile a le parole, al filo, e a la tessitvra de gli altri bvoni scrittori latini: la qval cosa rivscendo sará bellissima, uedendo Vitruvio d'aspro, e scabbro, diuentar piaceuole, e piano." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 82r.

²⁰ "Farassi dvngve ancor questo vtile al mondo, tradvcendo nvouamente Vitruvio in bella lingva Toscana..." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 82v.

and factual names..."²² As in the case of Books 4 and 5, this vernacular vocabulary is a lexicon with explanations of the architectural terms and comparisons to their contemporary equivalents or newly invented alternatives, if no equivalent exists.

Book 10. "And for more clarity and expediency, another vernacular vocabulary will be produced on the orders of the [architectural] forms or components, take, for example, the column with its base, capital..."²³ In all likelihood, this *vocabolario* was to provide a practical manual for stone masons, architects, and patrons. To build a structure in the classical vocabulary, it is not sufficient to understand the proportions of the different parts of the orders. It is also necessary to know how the individual parts are connected and which tools are needed to carry out the task. In current scholarship, no text has been tied to Tolomei's Book 10, though, as will be discussed in the next section, it was perhaps realized with Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola's *Regola delli cinque ordini di Architettura* of c. 1562 (Fig. 6).

Book 11. "Then follows a compilation of Vitruvius' rules with examples of the works..."²⁴ This compilation, again in the vernacular, was intended to provide a simplified overview of Vitruvius' theoretical rules on the design and construction of buildings and their various components, particularly the architectural orders. This handbook would have saved Early Modern users from scrolling through the entire contents of the *Ten Books* in search of those rules. The published book that most closely resembles Tolomei's description is Vignola's *Regola delli cinque ordini di Architettura*, first published in 1562 or perhaps earlier, presumably printed in the same press as Antonio Labacco's *Libro appartenente all'architettura* (c. 1552), in the latter's house.²⁵

According to Giorgio Vasari and Egnatio Danti, Vignola measured all of the antiquities of Rome in the service of an Accademia di Architettura, headed by Marcello Cervini, who was part of Tolomei's circle.²⁶ This led Vignola to conclude that there are no consistent architectural

²² "Aggignerassi a questa vna altra vtile opera, facendo vn uocabolario Toscano per ordine d'Alfabeto de le cose de l'Architettura, accioche tutte le parti siano chiamate per lo suo comvne, e uero nome..." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 82v.

²³ "E per maggior chiarezza, ed utilità si farà vno altro uocabolario uolgare per ordine d'istrumenti o di parti, come per esempio, pigliando la colonna con la sua base, e'l suo capitello..." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 82v.

²⁴ "Segue poi vn collegamento de le regole di Vitruvio con gli esempi de l'opere..." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 82v.

²⁵ Iacomo Barozzio da Vignola, *Regola delli cinque ordini d'Architettura* (Rome: n.p., c. 1562); Antonio Labacco, *Libro d'Antonio Labacco appartenente a l'architettura nel qual si figvrano alcune notabili antiqvita di Roma* (Rome: Labacco, c. 1553). The latter was presumably intended as a collection of plates to be extended and as complement to Vignola's *Regola*. The publishing history of Vignola's book is complicated. See Christof Thoenes, "Per la storia editoriale della *Regola delli cinque ordini*," in *La Vita e le opere di Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola 1507–1573*, ed. J. P. Coolidge and Christof Thoenes (Vignola: Cassa di Risp. di Vignola, 1974) 179–189; Christof Thoenes, "Vignola's «Regola delli cinque ordini»," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 20 (1983): 346–376; Christof Thoenes, "La *Regola delli cinque ordini* del Vignola," in *Les traités d'architecture de la Renaissance. Actes du colloque tenu à Tours du 1er au 11 juillet 1981*, ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris: Picard, 1988), 269–276.

²⁶ Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piv eccellenti Pittori Scvltori et Architettori... Secondo, et vltimo Volume della Terza Parte* (Florence: Giunti, 1568), 700: "Ma dopo, essendo allhora in Roma un' Accademia di nobilissimi gentili' huomini, e signori, che attendeuan alla letione di Vitruuio: fra quali era M. Marcello Ceruini, che fu poi Papa, Monsig. Maffei, M. Alessandro Manzuoli, & altri, si diede il Vignuola per seruitio loro a misurare interamente tutte l'anticaglie di Roma, & fare alcune cose, secondo i loro capricci; la qual cosa gli fu di grandissimo giouamento nell'imparare, & nell'utile parimente." Egnatio Danti, "Vita di M. Iacomo Barozzi da Vignola, Architetto et prospettivo eccellentissimo." Iacomo Barozzi da Vignola, *Le Dve Regole della Prospettiva Pratica di M. Iacomo Barozzi da Vignola. Con i comentarij del R. P. M. Egnatio Danti...* ed. Egnatio Danti (Rome: Francesco Zanetti, 1583), n.p.: "In quel me[n]tre esse[n]do stata istituita da molti nobili spiriti vn' Accademia d'Architettura, della quale erano principali il Sig. Marcello Ceruini, che poi fu Papa,

rules in either Vitruvius' text or the extant ancient buildings. Thus, he developed his own system, which he based on the best examples from antiquity and ancient methods where all parts of a design are determined by the ratios and proportions of a single module, therefore, one rule or *regola*, hence the title of his text.

Another text that could be seen as a realization of Tolomei's Book 11 is Jean Bullant's *Reigle generale d'Architecture* from 1564.²⁷ Bullant also measured the ancient buildings in Rome. In his book, he explains Vitruvius' rules of the architectural orders, illustrating them with extant ancient examples. Though the date of Bullant's stay in Rome or his contacts there are unknown, it seems unlikely that he made the measurements on his own or that he had not been in contact with Tolomei's circle, which in the 1530s and 1540s was the most active of groups engaging in architectural studies. In fact, he may have been one of the anonymous French speaking draughtsmen from Tolomei's group, who sometimes may have operated under Vignola's supervision.

Book 12. "In surveying the buildings of Rome with respect to their architecture, another study will be made that will lack neither expediency nor beauty, to consider and [provide] full understanding of all the antiquities through histories, [and] where the ancient *Roma quadrata* [the original boundaries of the city of Rome] and the subsequent growth of Rome will be viewed hand in hand clearly..."²⁸ The next part of the sentence lists the different types of known and lost ancient buildings which, in this book, would be placed in their proper locations and urbanistic context.

With this volume, Tolomei's program leaves behind the theoretical discourse that focuses on Vitruvius and his *Ten Books* to turn to ancient architecture and urban planning. This and the following volumes were intended to determine the cultural milieu in which ancient Roman architecture was created by documenting all of its artifacts. To discuss the placement, size, function, and relation of the buildings, it made sense to begin with a topographical overview of Rome's early urban development. Bartolomeo Marliano's *Topographia Urbis Romæ*,²⁹ the second (and first illustrated) edition of his *Topographia Antiqvæ Romæ*, published in 1534 in Rome and Lyon,³⁰ was possibly the first step toward the production of Tolomei's Book 12. The 1544 edition includes three maps (Fig. 7) showing the development of the *Urbs Roma* from the *Roma quadrata* to *Roma sub Imperatoribus*, and finally the city's greatest growth during antiquity, marked by the confines of the Aurelian walls. These maps established a

Monsignor Maffei, & Signor Alessandro Manzuali; lasciò [Vignola] di nuouo la Pittura, & ogn'altra cosa, & riuolgendosi in tutto a quella nobile esercitatione, misurò, & ritrasse per seruitio di quei Signori tutte l'antichità di Roma: d'onde si parti poi l'anno 1537."

²⁷ Jean Bullant, *Reigle Generale d'Architectvre des cinq manieres de colonnes* (Paris: Marnef, Cauellat, 1564).

²⁸ "Nel ueder per rispetto de l'Architettvra gli edifizii di Roma, si farà vn altro stvdio non manco vtile ne manco bello, di considerare, ed intender bene tvtte l'anticaglie per via d'histoire; oue si uedrà distintamente, e la Roma qvadrata antica, e gli altri accrescimenti di Roma mano in mano..." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 82v-83r.

²⁹ Bartolomeo Marliano, *B. Marliani Topographiæ Urbis Romæ haec nvper adiecta* (Rome: Dorico, 1544).

³⁰ Bartolomeo Marliano, *Io. Bartholomei Marliani Patricii Mediolanen. Antiqvæ Romæ Topographia Libri Septem* (Rome: Blado, 1534); Bartolomeo Marliano, *Topographia Antiqvæ Romæ* (Lyon: Seb. Gryphim, 1534). The Lyon edition was edited by François Rabelais, who had been in Rome with Jean du Bellay and, therefore, in contact with Tolomei's circle.



Fig. 6. Frontispiece, from Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura* (Rome: Giovanni Battista de Rossi, 1562).

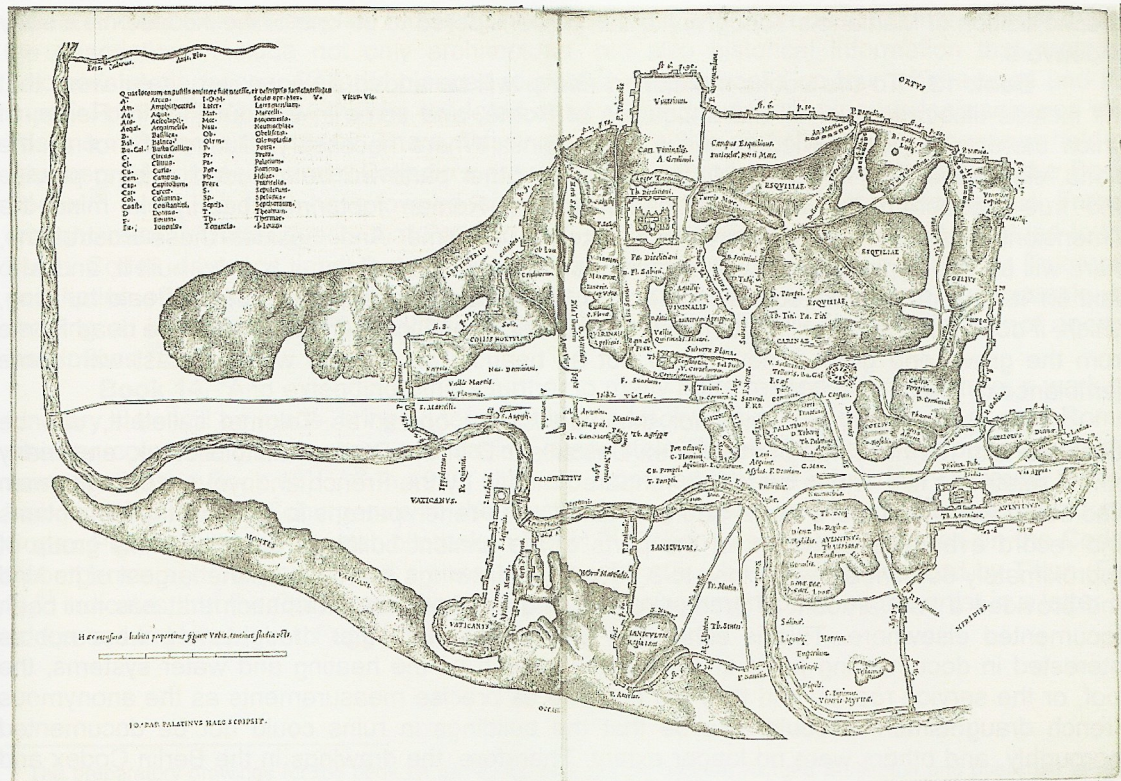


Fig. 7. Map No. 3 of the *Urbs Roma*, from Bartolomeo Marliano, *Topographia Urbis Romæ* (Rome: Valerio e Luigi Dorico, 1544), bef. fol. 14. (Photo: BNF Gallica Digital Library, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b2000135d/f4.item>).

long tradition of scientific and archaeological attempts to reconstruct ancient Rome, which continues to this day.³¹ They bear the signature *Palatinus haec scripsit*, believed to belong to Giovanni Battista Palatino, known for his design of Roman letters. All the other illustrations in Marliano's *Topographia* were seemingly taken from contemporary books.

In the *Topographia*, Marliano mentions several individuals from Tolomei's circle among his collaborators. The second edition was published by the brothers Valerio and Luigi Dorico who dubbed themselves *Accademiae Romanæ Impressorum*. They adopted the name in spite of the fact that they were not active in Rome when the first Accademia Romana, founded by Pomponio Leto in 1464, still functioned (it closed due to the Sack of Rome in 1527). The circle of Tolomei and Cervini was referenced as an *accademia* by Vasari in 1568 and Danti in 1583, which suggests that they reestablished the Accademia Romana at around 1542 or earlier. The

³¹ Andrea Carandini, ed., *The Atlas of Ancient Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017) is the latest effort in a long and impressive list of such attempts, including the large woodcut map by Marliano's contemporary Leonardo Bufalini, Giambattista Nollis' map, the *Forma urbis* by R. Lanciani (1893), and the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romæ* (1993).

salient ancient Roman temples, including measurements and short descriptions. In most cases, the descriptions include not only architectural, but also historical information that matches Tolomei's explanations. Palladio planned to publish similar books on triumphal arches and the imperial baths.³⁵ We know that he rendered most of the drawings during his long sojourns with Trissino in Rome in the 1540s. There, Trissino was an active participant in the meetings held by members of Tolomei's circle. Palladio's drawings present many parallels to those in the Berlin Codex.³⁶ Also, he may have owned some drawings rendered by the anonymous French draughtsmen.³⁷ This suggests that Palladio took part in the measuring campaign that led to the Berlin Codex drawings, and that the idea of publishing his book was inspired by Tolomei's description of Book 13. Palladio kept his connection to this network in Rome, for example, by sending an inscription via Pirro Ligorio to Jean Matal who added it to his collection of ancient inscriptions.³⁸

Book 14. "And extending others further to many parts related to architecture, a work on funerary stele will be made, bringing together in one book all the stele that are in or near Rome, whether complete or in pieces, and beside every stele two explanations will be given in the same way [as in Book 13]..."³⁹ In 1986, scholars proposed that the preparatory material for this book are the Codex Coburgensis in the Veste Coburg Castle in Coburg, Germany, and the Codex Pighianus in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.⁴⁰ Eleven years later, research on the Codex Coburgensis and the painter and architect Jacopo Strada, who was immortalized by Titian (Fig. 8),⁴¹ indicates that the Codex may be the book of drawings mentioned by the artist in a letter he addressed to Hans Jakob Fugger on 6 June 1559.⁴²

³⁵ The preparatory drawings for the book on the baths were bought by Lord Richard Burlington and published several times in the eighteenth century. An example is Andrea Palladio, *Fabbriche Antiche disegnate da Andrea Palladio Vicentino e date in luce da Riccardo Conte di Burlington* (London: Royal Institute of British Architects, 1730).

³⁶ See, for example, Heinz Spielmann, *Andrea Palladio und die Antike* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1966), 69.

³⁷ For instance, sheet XI/21 in the Palladio collection at the Royal Institute of British Architects, London, was rendered by the group of French draughtsmen. It is, however, possible that the sheet entered the collection later.

³⁸ Bibl. Apost. Vaticana, Vat. lat. 6039, 163v. I am grateful to Margaret Daly Davis for providing this information.

³⁹ "E allargandosi piv oltre a molte parti congnvnte con l'Architettvra, si farà vna opera de pili, ritraendo in vn libbro tvtti i pili che sono in Roma, o intorno a Roma, o interi, o spezzati che siano, e appresso di ciascvn pilo ui si faranno similmente dve isposizioni..." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 83r.

⁴⁰ Margaret Daly Davis, "Zum Codex Coburgensis: frühe Archäologie und Humanismus im Kreis des Marcello Cervini," in *Antikenzeichnung und Antikenstudium in Renaissance und Frühbarock*, ed. Richard Harprath and Henning Wrede (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1989), esp. 185-199.

⁴¹ Henning Wrede, "Antoine Morillon and Eduard Gerhard: Archäologie der Spätrenaissance und der Romantik im Vergleich," in *Dem Archäologen Eduard Gerhard 1795-1867 zu seinem 200. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Wrede (Berlin, Arenhövel, 1997), 62-72.

⁴² The letter is discussed by Dirk Jacob Jansen, "Antonio Agustín and Jacopo Strada," in *Antonio Agustín Between Renaissance and Counter-Reform*, ed. M. H. Crawford (London: Warburg Institute and University of London, 1993), 211-245. A full transcription can be found in Dirk Jacob Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada* (Maastricht: Jansen, 2015), 681-683.



Fig. 8. Titian, *Portrait of Jacopo Strada*, 1567-1568, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Photo: Public Domain).

Book 15. "In the same way, another work will be made of the statues, compiling them in one book, [and] explaining near each which statue it is and the reasons, signs, authority, or conclusions for how it should be understood."⁴³ Following the book on stelae, it is only logical to produce a similar book on the statues that adorned the ancient buildings to enrich readers' understanding of the religious or political contexts in which they were created. Recent

⁴³ "Così ancora si farà vna altra opera de le statue, ritraendole tutte in vn libro, dichiarandoui appresso, prima che statua ella sia, e perche ragioni, o segni, o autorità, o conietture si comprenda." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 83v.

research⁴⁴ indicates that in 1547 the painter Giovanni Battista Franco planned to draw *un gran libro delle statue*, perhaps inspired by Tolomei's description of Book 15. Franco worked in Rome for Cardinal Federico Cesi, who was part of Tolomei's circle and owned a garden filled with antiquities. Ulisse Aldrovandi's book describing the ancient statues in Roman collections⁴⁵ (without illustrations) can also be seen as part of the preparations for Tolomei's Book 15.⁴⁶ A set of 174 drawings by the aforementioned Strada bearing the title *Antiquarvm statvarvm tam deorvm, quam dearvm herorvm et eorvm conivgvm* may represent preparatory material for Tolomei's book as well. Strada's drawings form the second volume of the Codex Miniatus 21 at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna and show the ancient statues in proper proportions and, in some cases, from two different viewpoints. In addition, the third volume of the same Codex contains a few drawings of damaged statues and some 120 of portrait busts of Roman emperors and their family members.⁴⁷ From 1553 to 1555 Strada participated in meetings of an *accademia eruditissima* at the Palazzo Farnese in Rome that included representatives of twenty professions, among them Antonio Agostín, another member of Tolomei's circle.⁴⁸

Book 16. "And because there are many other sculptures in friezes, on tablets, and other broken pieces, another work will be made with images of all of these objects in the same order, noting in particular the history of each, and then the quality or lack thereof of the art piece."⁴⁹ Though no specific printed volume or collection of drawings fits this description, we can presume that they may be among the materials in the Coburgensis and Pighianus codices. It would have been difficult for curators to divide or classify these drawings during the process of their documentation. It is also possible that other collections of drawings existed and were lost, or have not been identified.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ The late Fritz Eugen Keller (†2018) in his presentation regarding a drawing by Franco in honor of Arnold Nesselrath on 3 November 2017. Keller mentioned that some 67 drawings by Franco show ancient statues and, therefore, could be related to Tolomei's project.

⁴⁵ Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Delle statue antiche che per tutta Roma in diversi luoghi et case si veggono*. First published as an addendum to Lucio Mauro, *Le Antichità della città di Roma* (Venice: Giordano Ziletti, 1556).

⁴⁶ For a vivid description of how statues were discussed in Tolomei's circle by Pighius, Agostín, Matal, and Morillon, see Stephanus Pighius, *Themis Dea, seu de lege divina* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1588).

⁴⁷ Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Wien, Codex Miniatus 21,1–3. A similar collection of drawings after portrait busts by Strada is preserved at the Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek in Dresden (inv. App 187 / KA). Its old signature, Ca 73, relates it to volumes Ca 74 and Ca 75 at the local Kupferstichkabinett.

⁴⁸ Onofrio Panvinio, *Epitome Pontificvm Romanorvm...*, ed. Jacopo Strada (Venice: Strada, 1557), n.p.

⁴⁹ "E perche in Roma sono molte altre scoltvre in fregi, in tauole, e altre cose spezzate, si farà vna altra opera di ritratti di tvtte queste altre cose col medesimo ordine, dichiarando particolarmente a ciascvna la sva historia, e appresso la bontà, o mancamento de l'arte." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 83v.

⁵⁰ For instance, there are two precise drawings of reliefs from the Column of Trajan in a private German collection that closely resemble the renderings in the mentioned codices, especially the Coburgensis and Destailleur D. Their style and technique also tie them to Strada's workshop. See Volker Heenes, "Zu den Kopien der Reliefs der Trajanssäule im 16. Jahrhundert: Zwei neue Zeichnungen eines unbekannten Rotulus," in *Columna Traiani – Trajanssäule. Siegesmonument und Kriegsbericht in Bildern*, ed. Fritz Mitthof and Günther Schörner (Vienna: Holzhausen, 2017), 271–278. Other drawings from the Destailleur group in the Albertina collection document the architecture of the column in the detailed manner typical of this circle. See Hermann Egger, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Sammlung architektonischer Handzeichnungen der K. K. Hof-Bibliothek. 1. Teil. Nr. 1–331: Aufnahmen der antiken Baudenkmäler*

Book 17. "Another work follows that will depict all of the ancient trims that have been found, such as doors, friezes, architraves, and similar things, which is highly needed by every architect, since in them one can identify, for example, all of their measurements and rules, how they should be made, [and] their orders, indicated in this work below [the illustration of] each trim."⁵¹ Again, no printed book or separate set of drawings can be associated with this description, but among the architectural drawings in the Codex Destailleur D Group are many depicting such architectural details. These may not have been attributable to any buildings in the sixteenth century, but were regarded as worthy of being recorded.

Book 18. "A small work will be added on ancient vases, such as those called *Labri* and others, bringing them together similarly in images and describing the material of which they are made, their form, use, and current location."⁵² Though there are some prints and drawings of vases by Enea Vico (Fig. 9), Strada, and others, it is not clear if they can be identified as part of the preparations for Book 18. Yet, they should not be excluded without further investigation.

Book 19. "The ancients used many instruments, of which there is some information partly given by the writers, and partly by the sculptures and medals, where they can be seen. And therefore a beautiful book will be made where first all the ancient instruments are depicted from which one may gain clarity, beginning with those of religion, and then those of the military, then the agricultural instruments, and those for the home, and thusly step by step, all the others; with an explanation accompanying each instrument, what it was, what it was called, and what use it fulfilled, which authors mention it and where they can be seen today among the ancient things."⁵³ For this book, no extant drawings or prints have been found. However, among the drawings of reliefs, sculptures, and medals there are many that could have been used as sources of information, as Tolomei describes. Some drawings of ancient Roman measurements and instruments are, for example, interspersed in Matal's sylloge, now at the Vatican, which consists of at least six volumes with roughly ten thousand inscriptions.

Book 20. "With the aforementioned [books], another book will be added with all the inscriptions of Rome and around Rome, those of laws, and those used as ornaments, and from sepulchers, and other memorials, bringing them together as they were in antiquity, not only the

aus dem XV.–XVIII. Jahrhunderte. (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1903), 31, n. 83. These drawings are related to a group in the Archivio Storico Comunale, Ferrara. See Francesca Mattei, "»1551 ali 17 magio in Roma«. Disegni di Antichità Romane nella collezione di Alfonso Rossetti," *Pegasus* 16 (2014): 317–362. The dating of the latter drawings (1551) suggests that they document a measuring campaign that took place in Rome in or before 1551.

⁵¹ "Segue appresso vna altra fatica di ritrar tvtte le Modenatre antiche, che si trouano come di porte, fregi, architraui, e simil cose, le quali ad ogni Architetto son sommamente necessarie, perche in quelle si conoscon per esempio le misvre, e le regole di tvtte, come si debbian formare, li quali ordini saranno in questa opera dichiarati appresso di ciascno Modenatra." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 83v.

⁵² "Vna altra operetta s'aggivnerà de i uasi antichi, così di quelli che chiamauan Labri, come de gli altri, ritraendoli similmente in figvra, e dichiarando di cha materia sono, qual sia la lor forma, e a che vso servisseno, e doue al presente se ne troui." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 83v.

⁵³ "Molti istrvmenti vsano gli antichi, de li quali s'ha notizia parte per li scrittori, e parte per le scoltvre, e Medaglie, doue si ueggono. E però si farà vn bellissimo libro, doue saranno primamente disegnati tvtti li strvmenti antichi, di che si possono hauer chiarezza, incominciando da quelli de la religione, e di poi quelli de la milizia; qvindi li strvmenti de l'agricoltvra, e quelli de la casa, e di mano in mano tvtti gli altri; con vna dichiarazione appresso di ciascno istrvmento, che cosa egli fvsse, come si chiamasse, a che vso seruissse, quali scrittori ne faccian menzione, e doue si ueda hoggidi ne le cose antiche." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 83v.



Fig. 9. Enea Vico, *Vase after the Antique*, late sixteenth century, New York: Metropolitan Museum, Bequest of Phyllis Massar, 2011, 2012.136.400.1 (Photo: Metropolitan Museum, Open Access).

public, but also the private.”⁵⁴ Matal's sylloge may be the first collection of materials prepared for Tolomei's project and is central to the ongoing project of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.⁵⁵ However, it has only been studied as a source of ancient inscriptions and not for its

⁵⁴ "Con li sopradetti si congivnerà vno altro libro de tvtte le iscrizioni, che siano in Roma, o intorno a Roma, così di leggi, come d'ornamenti, e di sepolcri, e d'altre memorie, ritraendole appvnto come / stanno ne l'antico, non solo le pvvbliche, ma ancor le priuate." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 83v–84r.

⁵⁵ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 6034, 6036–6040. There are more codices in the Biblioteca Apostolica, which seem to contain material from this collection prepared by a number of authors under Matal's supervision. Matal's

systematic approach, and as the presumably first collaborative collection of inscriptions in the Renaissance. Many contributions were known from other contexts, such as Philandrier or Ligorio in architecture; Morillon and Pighius for their drawings of reliefs; Martinus de Smetius and Justus Lipsius for inscriptions; and Fulvio Orsini, Aldo Manuzio the Younger, and Onofrio Panvinio for the studies of ancient culture. Their relation to Matal's codices and connection to Tolomei's network, of which all of these individuals were members, has not been fully investigated.

Book 21. "Among the ancient objects time has damaged, the art of painting seems to have been ravaged the most... to preserve as much as possible the memory of said antiquities, a small work will be produced with information regarding the location and style of each painting."⁵⁶ Such a book or its preparatory materials have not yet been identified. Again, since Tolomei speaks of an *operetta*, it is possible that this was a small manuscript that is no longer extant. That the *grottesche* from Nero's Domus Aurea and other ancient examples were known and copied in Raphael's time and beyond⁵⁷ indicates that Tolomei and his circle must have known about them. This and the accounts in ancient texts known to humanists of the era in which Greek and Roman paintings are described would have facilitated production of Book 21.

Book 22. "There is no doubt that the memory of many men and of many customs is preserved through medals... Therefore, a book of the medals will be made with all diligence..."⁵⁸ Since Petrarch's time, ancient medals and coins were seen as important sources of knowledge regarding antiquity. Andrea Alciato, the teacher of Agostín, Matal, and others from Tolomei's network, advocated their usage for this purpose. Not surprisingly, there are several books produced by individuals from their circle that could be regarded as related to this part of the project.⁵⁹ Among them is Strada's *Magnum ac Novum Opus*,⁶⁰ consisting of some 12,000 drawings after ancient coins in thirty volumes (one is lost), now at the Forschungsbibliothek in

codices were used by Theodor Mommsen as a foundation for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL), begun in 1847 and still maintained today by the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.

⁵⁶ "Tra le cose antiche, c'hanno riceuvta ingivria dal tempo la pittvra piv di tvtte l'altre pare che sia stata oltraggiata: [...] per conseruar qvanto si pvo la memoria di qvella antichita si ritrarranno in vna operetta con l'auuertenza de lvoghi, doue elle sono, e de la maniera de la pittvra." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 84r.

⁵⁷ There are colored drawings by Jacopo Strada of Raphael's Loggia in the Vatican Palace, now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Codex Miniatus 33), which means that *grottesche all'antica* were well known in Tolomei's circle, at least from 1553.

⁵⁸ The full text reads: "Non é dubbio, che per le medaglie s'é conseruata la memoria di molti hvomini, e di molte vsanze... Onde, con ogni diligenza si farà vna opera de le medaglie, distingvendole per li tempi, e per i lvoghi, e per le qvalità de gli hvomini, dichiarando a pieno la persona e l'accosion di far la medaglia. e di piv il riuercio con tvtte le cose, ch'appartenesseno a qvalche bella, o riposta dottrina." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 84v.

⁵⁹ Jacopo Strada, *Epitome Thesavri Antiquitatum* (Lyon: Strada & Thomas Gverinvs, 1553; reprint Zurich: Gesner, 1557); Sebastiano Erizzo, *Discorso di M. Sebastiano Erizzo, sopra le medaglie antiche* (Venice: Bottega Valgrisiana, 1559); Antonio Agostín, *Diálogos de las medallas, inscripciones y otras antigüedades* (Tarragona: Mey, 1587). There are two Italian translations of Agostín's book from 1592 and several reprints produced in the seventeenth century. It is regarded as one of the foundations of numismatics.

⁶⁰ This work is thoroughly investigated by Dirk Jacob Jansen and Volker Heenes in a project funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgesellschaft since 2015.

Gotha, Germany. Two sets of eleven volumes with descriptions of the depicted coins⁶¹ accompany the Gotha drawings and several volumes in other collections in Vienna, London, Prague, and Paris, with additional drawings, extracts, or addenda. Though it is known that Strada began the work on this collection for the German banker Johann Jacob Fugger in the 1540s before traveling to Lyon and Rome, by then he must have known about Tolomei's project. When Tolomei's network dissolved after the death of Cervini in 1555, Strada continued with his project for Fugger, which later went to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, becoming the highest valued item in the duke's collection of antiquities and books.⁶² Therefore, even though there is no particular book that fulfills Tolomei's description, there are several works that can be related to it, but which may have shifted their focus after 1555.

Book 23. "Of the three parts of which architecture is fashioned, one is the section on machines, which is very useful... In said book, not only the machines described by Vitruvius will be laid out, but all those one can learn about from other Greek and Latin authors."⁶³ Though there is no known text that could be strictly related to this planned book, there are several volumes with drawings of machines by Strada.⁶⁴ His grandson Ottavio published an excerpt of fifty drawings in 1617 and an extended version with one hundred illustrations in 1623.⁶⁵ While Ottavio's compilations focus on mills and fountains, it is possible that the unpublished drawings include reconstructions of machines after ancient descriptions.

Book 24. "Knowledge of the aqueducts deserves notice for being so marvelous to observe, and of such greatness that reaches beyond human reasoning. Besides, they are useful to bringing and providing humans with an element as necessary as water."⁶⁶ Tolomei goes on to say that, even though the ancient book on aqueducts by Julius Frontinus is well known, it is important to reiterate this knowledge to rediscover the ancient Roman aqueducts and understand how they functioned so they can be reconstructed. It has already been mentioned above that the architectural drawings also record water supply systems in the imperial baths. Therefore, it is safe to assume that there was a general interest in technical installations in Tolomei's circle.

In 1545, Cardinal Agostino Steuco, then the head of the Vatican Library, a friend of Cervini, his successor, and a staunch enemy of the Protestant Reformation, took three months

⁶¹ One version of this *Diaskeuê*, as it is called, is housed at the Vienna Universitätsbibliothek. Another is at the Prague National Library.

⁶² On Jacopo Strada, see Dirk Jacob Jansen, *Urbanissime Strada. Jacopo Strada and Cultural Patronage at the Imperial Court* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

⁶³ "De le tre parti, oue s'affatica l'Architettvra, vna é la parte de le Machine, la qvale é molto vtile, [...] Nel qval libro non sol si stenderanno le machine poste da Vitruvio, ma tvtte qvelle, che da altri avtori Grechi, e Latini si potranno imparare." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 84v.

⁶⁴ For instance, at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

⁶⁵ Ottavio Strada, *Kunstlicher Abriß allerhand Wasser-, Wind-, Roß- und Handt Mühlen* (Frankfurt: Strada, 1617); Ottavio Strada, *Künstlicher Abriß allerhandt Wasserkünsten, auch Wind- Roß Handt- unnd Wasser-Mühlen* (Cologne: Grevenbruch, 1623).

⁶⁶ "La dottrica de gli aqvadotti é degna di partico auuertimento, per esser qvelli tanto marauigliosi a uedere, e di tanta grandezza, che trapassano ogni pensiero hvmano. Oltre che sono vtilissimi per condurre, e donare a gli hvomini così necessario elemento come é l'acqua." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 84r.

off his duties to study the course of the ancient aqueducts in and around Rome.⁶⁷ Steuco's achievement was used to reconstruct the *Aqua Virgo* sometime before 1570. There is documentation left by Steuco on his investigations at the Vatican and other archives. His work was part of a long history of efforts in the Renaissance to improve the fresh water supply in Rome.

Current Research on Tolomei's Program. As mentioned, Tolomei's program was so exhaustive that modern scholars have regarded it as a reflection of his unfeasible ambition. Tolomei was well aware that his program would be deemed impossible to achieve and he addressed this toward the end of his letter. He wrote,

To some it may appear that this may be an extensive and difficult undertaking, that it comprises too many things, which will be impossible to complete; to others that there are some obscure things that may never be explained by any means. But if they knew that not one, but many beautiful minds are involved in this noble undertaking, and how each is assigned his particular work, I think that they will no longer wonder, as one would wonder when seeing hundreds of crafts or more in a big city at the same time... There is no doubt that if the heavy load of this task can be lessened by dividing it into many assignments they will all be brought to completion in less than three years.⁶⁸

As the present study illustrates, for many of the *libbri* or *opere* Tolomei suggested in his letter, there are manuscripts or printed books that can be traced back to members of his network, which, between c. 1537 and 1555, comprised some one-hundred and seventy known persons and about thirty-five anonymous draughtsmen. It seems that many of the men who shared the work load, as Tolomei describes (separating the drawings of architectural decorations from inscriptions and reliefs found in the same buildings, and so on), reworked their texts after Cervini's death and published them independently during the next few decades.⁶⁹ These constitute the first international interdisciplinary research and documentation project, and perhaps also the most successful and comprehensive compilation of its kind. Some of the books that stemmed from Tolomei's project became the foundation for modern disciplines, including numismatics, epigraphy, and architectural theory and history. In addition, these materials contain a sizable amount of information on ancient artifacts either barely examined or still unknown to modern archaeology and its sister disciplines.

⁶⁷ Pamela O. Long, "Cartography, Engineering, and Antiquity in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome," conference presentation at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in Chicago, 31 March 2017; Chiara Bariviera and Pamela O. Long, "English Translation of Steuco's *De Aqua Virgine in Urbem Revocanda* (Lyon: Gryphius, 1547)," *The Waters of Rome* 8 (2015): 1-17.

⁶⁸ "A qvalcuno parerà forse che qvesta sia troppo grande, e troppo malageuole impresa, e ch'ella abbracci troppe cose, le quali non sia mai possibile condurre a fine: oltre che ce ne saranno alcune così oscure, che non si potran mai per modo alcuno illustrare. Ma s'egli saprà come non vn solo, ma molti belli ingegni si son uolti a qvesta nobile impresa, e come a ciascvno é assegnata la sva patricolar fatica, non piv si marauigliará, credo, che si marauigli uedendo in vna grossa città lauorar di cento arti o piv in vn medesimo tempo... Concio sia cosa, ch'ogni grandissimo peso col partirlo in molte fatiche, non é dvbbio che'n manco di tre anni si condurrán tutte a fine." Tolomei, *Lettere*, 84v.

⁶⁹ Cervini was elected Pope Marcellus II in 9 April 1555. He died three weeks later.



Fig. 10. Antonio Calcagni, *Portrait Bust of Annibale Caro*, c. 1566-1572, London: Victoria and Albert Museum (Photo: Public Domain).

Not only are there no known contemporary letters that discuss the details of Tolomei's program, but discourse on the subject in current scholarship occurs only randomly. Giovanni Poleni's chronological overview of Vitruvian studies provides a detailed biography of Tolomei, a list of some of the members and activities of the academy headed by Cervini, and another of most of the books mentioned in the program.⁷⁰ For Poleni, the vocabularies described by Tolomei must be understood as books, not word lists and therefore his list of the first eleven books dealing with Vitruvius' text and their interpretation, is complete. He disregards Book 12 on the urban development of Rome, moving onto Book 13 on all the buildings with annotated illustrations. Poleni then combines Books 14 to 17 into one, *de sculptis, aut caelatis operibus*.⁷¹ This may be due to the fact that his interests lie in the Renaissance studies on Vitruvius' text.

In 1985, Sandro Benedetti and Tommaso Scalesse ascribed Tolomei's program and Vitruvian studies by members of his circle to the Accademia della Virtù. This academy was co-founded by Tolomei, where some individuals from his antiquarian network, who were also interested in poetry and the reformation of the Italian language, were members.⁷² Among them was Annibale Caro (Fig. 10), whose letters regarding the activities of this academy between 1538 to 1544 do not mention any studies on Vitruvius.⁷³ Benedetti and Scalesse's overview of Tolomei's program and its structure is cursive,⁷⁴ and their annotations to Tolomei's letter do not highlight the planned books.

The literato Luca Contile reported on the regular meetings of the Accademia della Virtù. However, like Caro, he did not mention architectural studies. Contile wrote to Sigismondo d'Este from Rome on 18 July 1541 that he went "every day to the house of Monsignor Tolomei where he attended the Accademia della Virtù, which is not only rich in all the languages, but also encompasses all the sciences."⁷⁵ By 1547, the efforts of Tolomei's circle had ended. As Tolomei himself explained, he diverted from those studies due to his absence from Rome.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Poleni, *Exercitationes Vitruviane*, 50–62.

⁷¹ Poleni, *Exercitationes Vitruviane*, 61.

⁷² For a discussion of these philological activities and their theological implications, see Ambra Moroncini, "The Accademia della Virtù and Religious Dissent," in *The Italian Academies 1525–1700. Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, ed. Jane E. Everson, Denis V. Reidy, and Lisa Sampson (Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association; New York: Routledge, 2016), 87–101.

⁷³ Benedetti and Scalesse, "Nota introduttiva," 35–36, n. 2: "Annibal Caro, in varie lettere tra il 1538 e il 1544, scrive delle attività dell'Accademia, senza menzionare studi vitruviani..."

⁷⁴ Benedetti and Scalesse, "Nota introduttiva," 40.

⁷⁵ Benedetti and Scalesse, "Nota introduttiva," 36, n. 2: "Luca Contile (Siena 1505 ca.–1574) scrive a Sigismondo d'Este (da Roma, 18 luglio 1541) che se reca «ogni giorno in casa di Monsignor Tolomei, cove frequenta l'Accademia della Virtù, la quale oltra che sia ricca di tutte le lingue, possiede anco tutte le scienze." This description accords with the one given by Strada counting some twenty disciplines. See Panvinio, *Epitome Pontificvm*.

⁷⁶ Benedetti and Scalesse, "Nota introduttiva," 39–40: "Gli studi / su Vitruvio sono stati dunque abbandonati: per la mancanza di un mecenate in primo luogo e poi per la partenza da Roma di molti degli ingegni più interessanti, non ultimo il Tolomei stesso,..." The accompanying footnote reads: "[...] Non posso dunque virtuosissimo M. Francesco dichiarare a voi quel che non intendo già io: che non solo per questa cagione, ma per essermi già quattro anni disviato da cotali studii, non sono atto ad esser in ciò buon discepolo, non che maestro." That Tolomei asked Francesco Paciotto in a letter from 1548 to measure the baths of Caracalla proves his connections to the Roman circle. See Dionisi Atagani and Giacomo Ruscelli, eds., *Lettere di XIII. Hvomini illvstri* (Venice: Trino di Monferrato, 1559), 410–412.

Much like Benedetti and Scalesse, Pier Nicola Pagliara connects the program directly to the Accademia della Virtù, even though neither this nor any other Roman academy of the era is mentioned by Tolomei in his letter.⁷⁷ For Pagliara, the program was to contain only seventeen books,⁷⁸ and he only details some of their contents. It is not clear how Pagliara arrived at this number, and he contends that the supposed lack of financial support caused the group around Tolomei to limit itself to a minimal program, the collective address of Vitruvius' *Ten Books*.⁷⁹ As he believes Tolomei to have been the driving force behind the circle's activities, Pagliara dates the end of their meetings to 1545, when Tolomei left Rome for Parma and remained there for almost three years.⁸⁰ In Pagliara's view, the ambitious program was never completed.⁸¹

Margaret Daly Davis discussed Tolomei's letter more extensively than any other scholar in the introduction to her catalogue dealing with the first archeological publications of the Renaissance.⁸² In the overview in her introduction, she counted only twenty books. In her view, Books 2 and 3 (Books 4 and 5 in the list given above) are the vocabularies, while her Book 4 is the new Latin edition. Therefore, Tolomei's Book 2, the philological overview of different editions that necessarily precedes the constitution of the emendated text, is missing. The following abbreviated comparison shows the differences between both lists. The first number of each book is the one given by Davis,⁸³ followed by its number in brackets according to the list given above:

1. [2.] Annotations to dark passages in Vitruvius' text
- 2., 3. [4., 5.] Latin and Greek dictionaries
4. [3.] new Latin edition of Vitruvius' *De architectura libri decem*
5. [8.] new Italian translation

⁷⁷ Pagliara, "Vitruvio da testo a canone," 67: "All'inizio degli anni quaranta del Cinquecento lo studio di Vitruvio diviene l'attività principale dell'Accademia della Virtù, che si riunisce a Roma nell'abitazione dell'umanista senese Claudio Tolomei." As mentioned, according to the sources in letters and reports, this academy explicitly dealt with poetry and the renovation of the Italian language. Also, the meetings of this academy took place in different locations, such as cardinals' palaces and gardens, including the garden of the Palazzo Farnese. The same is true regarding Tolomei's circle. Some members of the Accademia della Virtù also participated, focusing on the realization of the program and not, as is often mentioned, on only the study of Vitruvius.

⁷⁸ Pagliara, "Vitruvio," 71: "Il programma contemplava la preparazione di diciassette opere, che secondo Tolomei potevano essere terminate in meno di tre anni grazie alla collaborazione di molti dotti già impegnati nell'impresa."

⁷⁹ Pagliara, "Vitruvio," 71, n. 22: "Mancato il sostegno dei principi, agli studiosi riuniti intorno al Tolomei non restò che completare con le proprie forze il programma minimo: una lettura collettiva del *De architectura* attraverso la quale prendere dimestichezza col testo prima di proseguire le ricerche." To prove his point, Pagliara cites a passage from Tolomei's letter (Tolomei, *Lettere*, 84v-85r) indicating what the circle would do if no support was available. This does not mean that no such support was given after 1542.

⁸⁰ Pagliara, "Vitruvio," 73: "L'attività del circolo riunito intorno al Tolomei dovette cessare definitivamente al più tardi a seguito della partenza da Roma del promotore, avvenuta nel 1545." It seems that Tolomei was a secretary and only one of the leading persons in the project. That he wrote down the program in the letter to Landi does not necessarily imply that he was the main or only author.

⁸¹ Pagliara, "Vitruvio," 73: "Rimasto irrealizzato il programma più ambizioso..."

⁸² Daly Davis, "Wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung," 11-19.

⁸³ Daly Davis, "Wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung," 11-13.

6. [9., 10.] Italian dictionary
7. [11.] illustrated dictionary on the architectural orders
8. [11.] comparison between the monuments and Vitruvius' rules
9. [12.] Rome's urbanistic development during antiquity
10. [13.] annotated representation of all ancient buildings
11. [14.] annotated representation of funerary reliefs
12. [15.] annotated representation of statues
13. [16.] remaining reliefs (friezes, tables)
14. [17.] architectural elements
15. [18.] vases
16. [19.] instruments and tools
17. [20.] inscriptions
18. [21.] paintings
19. [22.] medals and coins
20. [23., 24.] machines and aqueducts

Tolomei's letter is usually cited by later authors as comprising only twenty books, which means that they did not examine the letter and instead relied on Davis' text. Davis' book is commendable in that she is the first modern scholar to closely follow Tolomei's description and list most of the books in his project by authors with personal relations to Tolomei. Unfortunately, like other modern researchers (including myself in earlier publications), she erroneously associates them with the Accademia della Virtù.

Among the scholars influenced by Davis is Peter Arnold Heuser. His biography of Matal describes the network of humanists in Rome and other parts of Europe after Matal left the papal city with Agostín in 1555.⁸⁴ His main focus is Matal's long sojourn in Cologne, Germany, and his activities there as cartographer, cosmographer, and irenic philosopher. He also focuses on Matal's studies with Alciato alongside Agostín and other members of Tolomei's network, and especially on his collaboration with Agostín and others in Florence and Rome from 1545 onwards. This sheds new light on the motivation, methodology, achievements, and wide interdisciplinary approach of this network. But the author separates the Roman circle of Cervini, Tolomei, and the astrologer and mathematician Stephanus Winandus Pighius from that of Agostín and Matal, though he mentions that these circles worked close enough together to be seen as one.

The latest scholar among those who dedicated more than a few lines to Tolomei's program worthy of mention is Rikke Lingsø Christensen.⁸⁵ Christensen also connects Tolomei's program to the Accademia della Virtù,⁸⁶ and she also concludes that Tolomei's program did not achieve much. She wrote,

⁸⁴ Heuser, *Jean Matal*, 118.

⁸⁵ Christensen, *Spaces of Conception*; Rikke Lingsø Christensen, "The Text and the Detail," 1-14.

⁸⁶ Christensen, *Spaces of Conception*, 107: "The Accademia della Virtù, a Rome-based circle of humanists, cardinals, painters, and architects, had originally been established in the 1530's with an overall philological intention to transfer and implement literary forms, grammar, and words from classical Latin to modern Italian. From around 1539, the scope of the academy was limited to Vitruvius' *De architectura*."

Although the Vitruvian project of the academy was never realized completely (the Latin edition of Vitruvius's treatise with Guillaume Philandrier's commentary published in 1552 is what survives from the project) the letter is essential because it sets forth the methods and procedures that the academy members intended to employ in their aspiration to create a reliably Vitruvius edition.⁸⁷

The limited interest in the edition of Vitruvius' *De architectura* lead Christensen to make the somewhat strange claim that "[t]he programme comprises eight assignments."⁸⁸ Though it may seem at first glance that these would be the eight volumes which Davis interpreted as the part of the program dedicated to Vitruvius, Christensen's ordering is different:

The first assignment concerns a commentary in Latin of the difficult sections in Vitruvius's text to be supplied with figures. The second issue is the making of a critical Vitruvius-edition substantially illustrated. The third and fourth assignments are two word lists containing the Latin and Greek terms from Vitruvius's text...The fifth aspect of the academy's project is a rewrite of Vitruvius's books into a purer and better Latin and it leads to the next part of the project, which concerns a translation of Vitruvius into Tuscan with two additional word lists ... The seventh assignment is the making of a book, which collects all the Vitruvian principles and compares these with examples from ancient architecture in order to explicate discrepancies between textual source and ruin fragments. The final part of the academy's programme is a study of ancient buildings in Rome intended to comprise historical and architectural descriptions and illustrations for the so-called marble plan, the remains of the city's buildings as well as those structures, which have completely vanished.⁸⁹

One could say that Christensen's restricting of the program to "eight assignments" is the result of her interest in the Vitruvian text alone. She does however contend that the final section of the program is derived from Tolomei's description of Book 13 in the list presented above and, therefore, from the second half of the project that is not dedicated to Vitruvius, but to ancient artifacts. Why she does not mention the rest of the program and deems the vocabularies to be simple lists of words is perplexing. It is also perplexing that she translates Tolomei's *libbro* and *opera* as respectively, "assignments," "aspects," and "issues."

⁸⁷ Christensen, *Spaces of Conception*, 107. It is obvious from Tolomei's letter that the new edition of Vitruvius was only one of the aims of the project. By contrast, Christensen writes: "The project never fully materialised, and all that survives is Guillaume Philandrier's extensive Latin Vitruvius-edition from 1544." Christensen, "The Text and the Detail," 7. There is no edition by Philandrier from 1544. Christensen is confusing the *Annotationes* from 1544 (without the full text of the *Ten Books*) with Philandrier's edition from 1552, which includes both the text and annotations.

⁸⁸ Christensen, "The Text and the Detail," 7. Similarly in Christensen, *Spaces of Conception*, 107, she writes: "The Vitruvius-programme which Tolomei outlines covers eight assignments."

⁸⁹ Christensen, "The Text and the Detail," 7. In the 1540s, the ancient marble plan of Rome was unknown to Tolomei or others. The first fragments were discovered in 1562 by Giovanni Antonio Dosio, who, as a young man in Jacopo Strada's service, contributed to the academy's project.

Conclusion. Comprehensive discussions of Tolomei's letter and the program to be carried out by members of his circle have not been offered, and neither has there been an attempt to identify later discourse among these men regarding the letter's content. The present study on the list of planned books described in Tolomei's letter provides a more thorough treatment.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the interrelations among members of Tolomei's circle of learned individuals and artists deserve further investigation, as do the materials documenting their efforts to record ancient artifacts following Tolomei's prescriptions, for instance, Matal's sylloge.

The many publications and illustrations by members of Tolomei's network, some of which are regarded as the foundation stones of certain modern disciplines, also deserve closer examination regarding their possible relationship, among them Martinus Smetius' printed sylloge edited by Justus Lipsius and closely related to Matal's manuscripts in the Vatican, and many other lesser known works. Further investigation may shed new light on our understanding of the Renaissance attempt to revive ancient Roman architecture and the lost remains documented during the era. Tolomei's project is likely the root of many later developments, especially architectural. Indeed his project prompted the realization of two of the most influential books in the history of architecture: Vignola's *Regola* and Palladio's *Quattro Libri*.



⁹⁰ A forthcoming book by the author will provide an extensive annotated edition and translation of Tolomei's letter.