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Title: Sangallo, Vignola, Palladio and the Roman «Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura»

Introduction

In October 1544, the bishop Girolamo Garimberto, an important collector of antiquities, published a book about the «Public Regime of the City».¹ Before he starts to explain the importance of a constitution as the solid legal foundation for the legal system of a city-state, he reports a discussion which took place «less than a year earlier» in the house of Claudio Tolomei in Rome: After the group had visited the ruins on the Palatine hill, the talk dealt with the possibilities and conditions to reconstruct a ruined building from its remaining foundations. Antonio da Sangallo the Younger claims that this would be possible as long as the rules were known which the architect had observed while constructing the building. His opponent—in this discussion as well as professionally in real life at the *Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano*—Jacopo Melegghino, instead, points to the unsystematic structure of the Vatican Palace which could never be reconstructed in its entire appearance if only its foundations would be known. Of course, this argument in fact supports Sangallo's position—and it may be Garimberto's aim to achieve exactly this: The foundations as well as and together with strict rules for design and erection are as important for a building (and the full knowledge about it) as they are, metaphorically, for the creation, existence and understanding of a political entity like a state.

Sangallo's *Proemio* for an edition or translation of Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture*

Sangallo's position reported by Garimberto is well in tune with many remarks and even drawings left by Sangallo and his collaborators regarding his understanding of architecture and the importance and means to study ancient Roman architecture. They show that he thought the ruins of ancient buildings had to be studied and documented as precisely as possible, and the findings had to be compared to the surviving sources of ancient knowledge about architecture, its theory and practice. Of course, the main and almost single ancient source for this knowledge are the *De architectura libri decem* (the *Ten Books on Architecture*) by Vitruvius. But while there were several manuscripts and printed editions of this text available in Rome at Sangallo's time, none of them was—according to Sangallo (and, later, Tolomei)—satisfying: The problem with the manuscripts were the many errors presumably inserted by copyists and scribes; while the problems with the modern printed editions and translations were the lack of

¹ GARIMBERTO, G. I *Fondamenti pubblici della città*. Venice: G. Scotto, 1544. — Because all the participants mentioned in his report were still alive and in contact with each other when Garimberto published his book, it may be safely assumed that he reports the discussion and even the positions taken by the participants quite correctly, even though Garimberto obviously uses the topic of the architectural discussion as a metaphorical introduction to his own political topic.

philological knowledge among architects and the lack of architectural knowledge among philologists—both leading to errors and misconceptions making the results of their work almost useless.²

Therefore, Sangallo suggests in his text, a new edition and translation of Vitruvius would be needed which would have to take into account the following points:³

1. The establishment of an emendated text should involve persons knowing Latin (and Greek) very well.
2. On the other hand, architects and craftsmen should contribute their specific architectural knowledge.
3. The professional Greek and Latin terms used by Vitruvius needed to be understood correctly.
4. The errors in the manuscripts and editions needed to be corrected (by philological emendation).
5. To achieve this, the most ancient manuscripts would have to be consulted supposed they contained less errors. (This would, of course, require a thorough comparison of all available manuscripts.)
6. The words, especially professional terms, used by Vitruvius but not in use anymore needed to be understood and, presumably, exchanged with their modern counterparts or with modern, invented terms.
7. The most important point would be the reconstruction of the lost drawings mentioned by Vitruvius.⁴

Without numbering, Sangallo goes on to describe other requirements:

[8.] The first (or, in accordance with the numbers above: 8th) point would be to find the ancient sources, i.e. books, used by Vitruvius and

[9.] to compare the remaining buildings in Rome and Italy with the rules given by Vitruvius. This, together with architectural descriptions by other authors,⁵ would help to understand Vitruvius better.

[10.] At the end of his letter Sangallo admits that—although he had sufficient practical architectural knowledge and had studied ancient buildings since his youth—he did not have the knowledge of Greek and Latin needed and that he, therefore, frequently consulted in every case of obscurity his learned friends so that every question could be solved with the help of the specialists in the relative field.⁶

While Sangallo's text is always—and, because the term is established in modern research, also here—referred to as the foreword («*proemio*») to a new edition or translation of Vitruvius, the text itself lets

² SANGALLO, A. (il Giovane). [*Proemio*]. In: BAROCCHI, P. (ed.) *Scritti d'Arte del Cinquecento*. = *La Letteratura Italiana. Storia e Testi*. Volume 32, Tomo III, pp. 3028–3031, here: p. 3028. — Sangallo is not quite correct here, because the first illustrated edition of Vitruvius from 1511 was curated by Fra Giovanni Giocondo, who was an acclaimed engineer and architect as well as an epigrapher and philologist. Sangallo must have known him personally quite well because of Giocondo's involvement in the planning for St. Peter's during the years before his death in 1515. Sangallo's skip of Giocondo may have been a reason for Tolomei to include remarks on the insufficient illustrations of Giocondo's edition in his letter (see below).

³ Instead of citing Sangallo's unusual Italian or trying to translate it, I give my own interpretation of the main points mentioned in his *proemio*. A transcription following the edition cited above can be found under: <http://accademia-vitruviana.net/bibliography/sangallo-1539>. A digital facsimile of the original—as far as I know—is not available.

⁴ Sangallo even speculates that Vitruvius may not have handed the drawings over to Octavian with the manuscript of his book with the intention—to say it in modern words—so protect his intellectual property, see: SANGALLO, op. cit., p. 3029.

⁵ Sangallo surely may have had Pliny in mind here. See FANE-SAUNDERS, P. *Pliny the Elder and the Emergence of Renaissance Architecture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016, *passim*.

⁶ SANGALLO, A. (il Giovane). [*Proemio*]. p. 3031.

hardly any doubt, that Sangallo is speaking of both and even more: To achieve the perfect understanding of Vitruvius that he is aiming at, a collective of architects and craftsmen as well as Greek and Latin philologists would have to

- find and compare the different manuscripts of the *Ten Books*;
- create an emendated Latin edition of Vitruvius's text;
- compare Vitruvius's text with texts of other ancient authors;
- establish a vocabulary or lexicon of the specific terms used by Vitruvius but which were not in use anymore in modern times, so the group had, presumably, to create modern alternatives;
- reconstruct the lost illustrations mentioned by Vitruvius (and, presumably, create additional ones);
- survey and measure all available ancient buildings in Rome and (partly) in Italy and compare the results with the rules given by Vitruvius.

All of this could only be achieved by a close collaboration of specialists from the aforementioned fields, i.e. mostly architecture and Greek and Latin philology. It is also obvious that Sangallo has the *practical usability* of the new edition of Vitruvius in mind, or rather: a translation combining the results of an edition and the philological as well as the 'archaeological' work needed and to be done to establish it.

In fact, the opinion of modern researchers that Sangallo's text was meant as a foreword for a Latin edition or Italian translation of the *Ten Books*—or both—does not seem to be justified by his text. It rather sounds like a plan or outline for a large project that still would have to be done but was not finished nor even started yet, especially with regard to the mentioned careful studies of ancient buildings. Understood in this way, it would not make sense to search for a lost Vitruvius edition or translation by Sangallo. Instead, one should rather look for his activities possibly related to this project and to similar activities by those contemporaries that can be regarded as the learned friends mentioned by Sangallo.

Of course, this project could not be realised by a small group of 3-5 people consisting, e.g., of Sangallo and his brothers and cousins working with him at the *Fabbrica* together with one or two philologists: The surveys of (almost) all ancient architecture alone would require a large group of architects and helpers. And the search for manuscripts, the discussion of every obscure term used by Vitruvius and the comparison with all available ancient textual sources, again, would require a large group of philologists and other specialists like historians, epigraphers and numismatists. Though Sangallo does not mention the number (or even the names) of his friends with whom he wanted to realise the project, it may safely be assumed that this would have required some ten to twenty people, if not more—not counting the helpers needed for the measured surveys and the draughtsmen.

Modern research has always assumed that this edition and/or translation of Vitruvius never came into being or is lost. The fact, that Sangallo updates the relative dates given in his text from the year 1531 to 1539 (as it has been reconstructed by several authors like Giovannoni or Bruschi)⁷ indicates that not much happened regarding his project during the 1530s. While a possible relation to Tolomei's project

⁷ GIOVANNONI, G. Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane. (2 vols.) Rome: Tipografia Regionale, 1959; and: BRUSCHI, A. Cordini, Antonio detto Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane. In: Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani. Rome: 1983, vol. 29, pp. 3–23.

described below has been suggested by modern authors in very few occasions and only in the form of short mentions, no-one seems to have followed this idea more thoroughly, e.g., by comparing both texts and re-establishing the contexts and networks in Rome of which Sangallo and Tolomei were members. Though this article cannot provide such a vast research or its results, its intention is to collect some arguments to support the idea that such a project is a desideratum of contemporary research.

Tolomei's project on ancient Roman architecture, architectural knowledge and its contexts

Because of the meeting described by Garimberto, it is sure that Tolomei and Sangallo must have known each other quite well and undertook excursions and meetings together to pursue their common interests in ancient Roman architecture and Vitruvius. Therefore, it should not be surprising to find parallels between Sangallo's *Proemio* and the publication project described by Tolomei in a letter written in 1542 to count Agostino de' Landi and published in 1547 in Tolomei's collection of his own letters.⁸

Fig. 1a + 1b: TOLOMEI, Claudio. *De le lettere [...] libri sette*. Venice: Giolito, 1547: Title page and page 81 *recto* (begin of the letter to de' Landi).

This letter has often been cited and sometimes even shortly annotated by modern research.⁹ But, unfortunately, it has rarely been read carefully.¹⁰ Also, the program described in the letter has usually been attributed to Tolomei's *Accademia della Virtù*, active in Rome during the first half of the 1540s.

⁸ TOLOMEI, C. *De le lettere di M. Clavdio Tolomei libri sette*. Venice: G. Giolito de Ferrari, 1547, fol. 81v-85r. — This collection of letters by a modern author is one of the first of its kind: Only the first volumes of letters by Aretino appeared earlier (1538). Tolomei's very successful collection was reprinted 23 times before 1608. It stands at the beginning of a long row of similar collections by single or multiple authors in Italy. It seems to have not been investigated yet, but the close relations among the humanist authors and their learned publishers like Blado, Giolito, Tramezzino, Paolo Manuzio and his son Aldo as well as many others could suggest that their publications already constituted a sort of an early «republic of letters» to communicate information—not only—regarding their common interests, e.g. in antiquarian topics. Damiano Acciarino has started a project (ATRA = *Atlas of Renaissance Antiquarianism*) to find these relationships and the knowledge and ideas they transmitted.

⁹ E.g., TOLOMEI, C. *Lettere*, I. Al Conte Agostin de' Landi. In: BAROCCHI, P. (ed.) *La Letteratura Italiana. Storia e Testi*. Volume 32, Tomo III, pp. 3037-3048; and: DALY DAVIS, M. *Wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung und Entwicklung einer Systematik*. In: DALY DAVIS, M. (ed.) *Archäologie der Antike*. (exhibition catalogue: Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel 1994). Wiesbaden: 1994, pp. 11-19. Though Daly Davis does not reprint or translate the entire letter, her discussion of its content is the most precise contribution to its understanding, even if in parts erroneous, to its understanding, before KULAWIK, B. *Tolomei's Project for a Planned Renaissance – Unfinished?* In: *Unfinished Renaissances? = I Tatti Studies*, vol. 21,2 (2018), pp. 275-297. Daly Davis's article was obviously more often consulted than the original, which can be deduced from the fact that almost every later author—like Daly Davis—«counts» only 20 books or items as parts of the Tolomei's program while, in reality, he lists 24 books.

¹⁰ KULAWIK, B. *Claudio Tolomei's letter to Agostino de' Landi – a history of misinterpretations*. In: ZIRPOLO, L. (ed.) *Epistolary Discourse – Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern Art*. Ramsey/NJ: Zephyrus Publications, 2019, pp. 3-28.

But, as Ambra Moroncini has shown convincingly,¹¹ this academy was dedicated to philological topics like (neo) Latin poetry and the reformation of the Italian language.¹²

Fig. 2a+b: ATANAGI, Dionigi. *De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani, Libro primo*. Venice: Avanzo, 1565: Title page and page Ll 2 *recto*, citing of the academies active in Rome during the papacy of Paul III Farnese (i.e. 1534–1549).

Other academies active in Rome in the 1540s are also sometimes—erroneously—related to Tolomei's program, like the still existing (now papal) *Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon*, the *Accademia degli Sdegnati* or *dello Sdegno* and the *Accademia dei Vignaiuoli*. Sometimes even an *Accademia Vitruviana* is cited though there has never been one of this name in Rome or elsewhere: The name is rather a misleading modern invention meant to describe Tolomei's circle and than misunderstood by other authors as the proper name of an once existing real academy. This latter name seems to be derived from the misconception that the only or dominating topic of Tolomei's program and, therefore, the academy dedicated to it, was the study of the *Ten Books on Architecture* by Vitruvius: This misunderstanding could easily be proven wrong by reading Tolomei's letter, and it seems to go back to Poleni's concentration on Tolomei's Vitruvian studies.¹³ But even Vasari, who claims that there was an «academy dedicated to the study of Vitruvius», adds in the sentence following immediately, that this academy ordered Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola «to *measure* all the antiquities in Rome».¹⁴ (Fig. 3a+b)

¹¹ MORONCINI, A. The Accademia della Virtù and religious dissent. In: EVERSON, J. E.; REIDY, D. V.; SAMPSON, L. (eds.) *The Italian Academies 1525–1700*. Oxford: Legenda, 2016, pp. 88-101, and: MORONCINI, A. Il «Gioco de la Virtù»: un intreccio accademico tra 'Stravaganze' letterarie e suggestioni evangeliche. In: CHIUMMO, C.; GEREMICCA, A.; TOSINI, P. (eds.) *Intrecci virtuosi: Letterati, artisti e accademie tra Cinque e Seicento*. Rome: De Luca, 2017, pp. 101–110.

¹² Luigi Sbaragli even says that the academy changed its name after the death of its first mentor, cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, into *Accademia della poesia nuova*, and later into [Accademia dello] *Studio dell'architettura* and even *Liceo*: SBARAGLI, L. Claudio Tolomei. *Umanista senese del cinquecento. La vita e le opere*. Siena: Accademia per le arte e per le lettere, 1939, p. 49. Sbaragli seems to confuse here the names of different academies mentioned in ATANAGI, D. (ed.) *De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani*. Venice: L. Avanzo, 1565, fol. 266v [uncounted] = Ll 2v-Ll3r, where Atanagi obviously mentions *different*, sometimes even competing academies that were, in part, contemporaneously active in Rome during the papacy of Paul III.

¹³ POLENI, G. *Exercitationes Vitruvianae primae*. Padua: I. Manfrè, 1739, pp. 50-62. — After a biographical sketch on Tolomei, an overview of the program is given on pp. 61-62, comprising 10 items related to Vitruvius and another 10 about the other artifacts and sources that would have to be documented to understand Roman architecture completely. The entire letter is translated into Latin on pp. 259-264. On page 59, Poleni quite correctly cites the Roman academy as an «Academia Architectonica» which extends its scope from Vitruvius alone to the broad field of (not even only ancient!) architecture.

¹⁴ VASARI, G. *Delle vite de' piv eccellenti Pittori, Scvltori et Architettori* [...] secondo, et vltimo Volume della Terza Parte. Florence: Giunti, 1568, p. 700. — In his own *vita* at the end of the book (p. 996) Vasari reports that the idea to his *Vite* was brought up in the 1540s by Paolo Giovio — who owned the famous museum of portraits of *huomini illustri* and published a book on their lives — in one of the daily evening meetings at cardinal Farnese's house, i.e. the then unfinished Palazzo Farnese, in which — among others — the cardinal, Giovio, Francesco Maria Molza, Annibal Caro and Tolomei took part, all of whom can be seen as central members of Tolomei's network in Rome and, therefore, maybe also of one or more of the academies.

Fig. 3a + b: VASARI, Giorgio: Delle vite de' piv eccellenti Pittor, Scvltori et Architettori. Florence: Giunti, 1568, 2nd part of the 3rd Volume: Title page and p. 700 (citing Vignola's work for the academy of architecture headed by cardinal Marcello Cervini).

This shows, quite obviously, that it was not just the study of Vitruvius's text alone but also that of the ancient ruins and, therefore, the comparison of both, that was the central part of the academy's activities of which the study of Vitruvius was one but not the only or largest part.

The program described (but surely not single-handedly developed) by Tolomei can now be related to the forgotten *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura*, as the humanist Dionigi Atanagi called it in a respective view on the Roman intellectual scene during the reign of pope Paul III in 1565.¹⁵ (Fig. 2a+b). Already in 1939, Tolomei's biographer Luigi Sbaragli had mentioned this academy, but it went unnoticed by architectural historians citing Tolomei's letter.¹⁶ Though many of this academy's members also met in other constellations, it should not be confused with these other, smaller circles active in Rome at the same time. And especially its activities should not be seen limited to the study of Vitruvius alone.

Because Tolomei orders the items of the program as a list of books («*libri*»), it should be clear that this is a *publishing program* not just a research project or a list of ideas that would or would not be realised. Tolomei clearly distinguishes two parts of the program and lets each of them start with the description of a book that was not printed but surely in preparation in 1542, when the letter was written, but had already been printed in 1547, when the letter was published: Both books somewhat disturb the otherwise very clean and clear systematic order of the program—and this aberration can hardly be understood as a simple error. The books described by Tolomei can be put in the following list:¹⁷

1. A book discussing and explaining the difficult passages in Vitruvius's text.
2. A philological comparison of the available manuscripts and prints of Vitruvius's text.
3. A new edition of the *Ten Books* with the addition of reconstructed and new illustrations.
4. An annotated Latin vocabulary or lexicon of the Latin terms used by Vitruvius.
5. An annotated and etymological Latin vocabulary or lexicon of the Greek terms used by Vitruvius.
6. A comparison of Vitruvius's Latin with the Latin of other, «better», «more classical» authors.

¹⁵ ATANAGI, D. (ed.) *De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani*. Venice: L. Auanzo, 1565, pp. LI 2v-LI 3r. — The *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura* is neither mentioned by MAYLENDER, M. *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*. 6 vols. Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1926-1930, nor in the new online DATABASE OF ITALIAN ACADEMIES. Any available information about this academy, its members, activities, publications as well as the manuscript sources (e.g. drawings) and secondary research literature is collected now in the online database <http://www.accademia-vitruviana.net>. Its misleading title should be corrected.

¹⁶ SBARAGLI, L. Claudio Tolomei ..., p. 49. — The information about Atanagi's citation comes from PROCACCIOLI, P. *Accademia come palestra e come tribuna*. In: EVERSON, J. E.; REIDY, D. V.; SAMPSON, L. (eds.) *The Italian Academies 1525–1700*. Oxford: Legenda / London; New York: Routledge, 2016, p. 217.

¹⁷ The numbers are my own addition, but Tolomei's re-accuring formulations like «then another book will be made about ...» clearly distinguish the single books in his description from each other and allows to count them in this way.

7. A translation of the *Ten Books* into a better, i.e. more «classical» Latin.
8. A translation of the *Ten Books* into modern, i.e. Tuscan, Italian.
9. An Italian dictionary of architectural terms used by Vitruvius (for practitioners).
10. An Italian vocabulary of all architectural parts and their composition according to Vitruvius.
11. A systematic overview of the rules given by Vitruvius including comparisons with buildings.
12. An overview of the historical urban development of ancient Rome to locate the buildings.
13. A complete documentation of all ancient buildings in Rome and of some from its environment.
14. An annotated and illustrated documentation of tombstones and reliefs.
15. An annotated and illustrated documentation of statues.
16. An annotated and illustrated documentation of other sculptural works (e.g., friezes, plates etc.).
17. An annotated and illustrated documentation of architectural elements (e.g., architraves, doors etc.)
18. An annotated and illustrated documentation of vases and similar ornamental objects.
19. An annotated and illustrated documentation of «instruments», i.e. tools.
20. An annotated (and possibly illustrated) documentation of inscriptions.
21. An annotated documentation of paintings, even of those lost but known from descriptions.
22. An annotated and illustrated documentation of coins and medals.
23. Reconstructions of building and hydraulic machines after ancient descriptions and images.
24. Reconstructions of the Roman aqueducts.

The parallels to the program in Sangallo's *Proemio* described above should be obvious: In fact, Tolomei extends Sangallo's list to other artifacts like inscriptions, sculptures, coins or paintings that would be helpful to understand ancient Rome's architecture better in its contexts. The intended practical usability of the entire project is demonstrated through the planned reconstruction of technical knowledge.

Modern research has this immense program always regarded as far too ambitious to have ever been realised or to be realisable at all—even though Tolomei counters this very objection near the end of his letter: Without mentioning the academy or the names of the persons involved, he claims that because very many learned men would participate in the project and because the workload would be shared among them according to their specialisations, it would not take longer than three years [!] to bring it to an end.¹⁸ He compares this project to the hundreds of workshops active in a city at the same time, and one may think of Rome and New St. Peter's to which not only the *Fabbrica* but many local craftsmen and workshops contributed—something Tolomei certainly knew and may have had in mind here.

While the first book of the list has always been identified with Philandriers *Annotationes* from 1544,¹⁹ (Fig. 4a+b), book 12 may be identified with the third edition of Marliano's topographical description of ancient Rome.²⁰ (Fig. 5a+b)

¹⁸ TOLOMEI, C. De le lettere ... p. 84v: «[...] non è dvbbio che'n manco di tre anni si condvrran tvtte [fatiche] a fine.»

¹⁹ VITRUVIUS; PHILANDRIER, G. Gvlielmi Philandri [...] Annotationes, Rome: A. Blado for A. Dossena, 1544.

²⁰ MARLIANO, B. Urbis Romæ topographia. Rome: V. & A. Dorico, 1544. This is the first illustrated edition. The two earlier ones are the first edition published in Rome in May 1534, and the revised edition published in Lyon, October 1534, by Rabelais

Fig. 4a+b: PHILANDRIER, Guillaume: In decem Libros M. Viruuii Pollionis de Architectura Annotationes. Rome: Blado, 1544: Title page / PHILANDRIER, Guillaume: M. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura libri decem [...] omnibus omnium editionibus longè emendatiores, collatis veteribus exemplis. Lyon: Tournay, 1552: Title page

Fig. 5a+b: MARLIANO, Bartolomeo: Urbis Romae Topographia. Rome: Dorico, 1544: Title page and impressum

In 1986 art historian Richard Harprath and archaeologist Henning Wrede as well as Margaret Daly Davis suggested that the so-called *Codex Coburgensis* in Coburg, collections of the *Veste Coburg*, Germany, and its parallel *Codex Pighianus* in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, should be seen as the preparations for the book on tombstones, i.e. number 14 in the list.²¹ In the meantime, many more other printed books as well as manuscript sources and collections of drawings could be identified as contributions to Tolomei's program.²² In fact, only for the books 6 and 7—which may have been seen already by Tolomei's collaborators as a rather over-the-top philological *tour de force*—no preparations could be found or seem to have existed. For every other item in Tolomei's list there are printed books, manuscripts and (large collections of) drawings easily relatable to his according descriptions.

For instance, Philandrier's fully annotated edition of Vitruvius from 1552 bears the subtitle «*omnibus omnium editionibus longè emendatiores, collatis veteribus exemplis*» — resembling almost exactly Tolomei's description for book 2 and the full new edition of Vitruvius in book 3.²³ (Fig. 4b) But while the illustrations in Philandrier's 1552 edition are not of a very high quality, and his revised commentary only in part extends that from his 1544 *Annotationes*, the richly annotated edition by Daniele Barbaro

on his way back from Rome. It is very remarkable that the Dorico brothers call themselves «*Academiae Romanae Impressorum*» in the impressum at page 123 [uncounted]. (Fig. 5b) This shows that the academy understood itself as the heir of the *Academia Romana* founded by Pomponio Leto in 1464 and suspended after the Sack of Rome in 1527. Obviously, this original Roman Academy was not active anymore 17 years later, in 1544, but some of its last members during the 1520s like Marcello Cervini may have seen their activities as a succession. In 1486, Giovanni Sulpitio had published the first editions of Vitruvius's *Ten Books* for the *Academia Romana*. As he says in his preface, the wide margins of the book were intended for annotations by its readers. Antonio da Sangallo's brother Giovanni Battista used this space for elaborate drawings illustrating the text; his exemplar is kept at the *Biblioteca Corsiniana* in Rome and has been published by Ingrid Rowland: VITRUVIUS; ROWLAND, I. (ed.) *Ten Books on Architecture*. The Corsini Incunabulum. Roma: Edizione dell'Elefante / Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2002.

²¹ HARPRATH, R.; WREDE, H. Der Codex Coburgensis. Coburg: 1986, and DALY DAVIS, M. Zum Codex Coburgensis. In: HARPRATH, R.; WREDE, H. (eds.) *Antikenzeichnungen und Antikenstudium*. Mainz: 1989, pp. 185-199.

²² KULAWIK, B. Tolomei's Project for a Planned Renaissance – Unfinished? – In: *Unfinished Renaissances? = I Tatti Studies* vol. 21,2 (2018) pp. 275-297. A study of the many accomplishments related to the *Accademia's* program is in preparation; a regularly updated list of books, manuscripts and drawings is online under <http://accademia-vitruviana.net/accademia/akademie-projekt/anhang-2-publikationen> and [~anhang-3-manuskripte-und-zeichnungen](http://accademia-vitruviana.net/accademia/akademie-projekt/anhang-3-manuskripte-und-zeichnungen), respectively.

²³ VITRUVIUS; PHILANDRIER, G. M. Vitruvii Pollionis De architectura libri decem. Lyon: J. de Tournes, 1552, and TOLOMEI, C. De le lettere [...], p. 81v.

from 1567 as well as his Italian translation of 1556, illustrated with woodcuts based on drawings by Andrea Palladio, can still be regarded as the best Vitruvius edition and translation, respectively.²⁴ (Figs. 6a+b) The textual basis of Barbaro's publications seems to be provided by Philandrier's 1552 edition, the then obviously best source of an *emendated* text of the *Ten Books*.²⁵

Figs. 6a+b: VITRUVIUS; BARBARO, Daniele: I dieci libri dell'architettura. Venice: Marcolini, 1556: Title page / VITRUVIUS; BARBARO, Daniele: M. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura Libri Decem. Venice: Franceschi & Chrieger, 1567: Title page.

Palladio had studied the Roman antiquities during his visits in Rome together with his mentor Giangiorgio Trissino in the 1540s. Trissino not only was involved in a fierce philological debate about the reformation of the Italian language with Tolomei, but seems to have attended the academic meetings in Rome frequently. Palladio's own architectural drawings, on the other hand, have been related (largely unnoticed) to the so-called *Codex Destailleur D* at the Berlin Kunstbibliothek by Heinz Spielmann already in 1966.²⁶ This *Codex* can now safely be assumed as the collection of very carefully measured survey drawings made by mostly French draughtsmen for the *Accademia* and, therefore, as preparations for book 13 of Tolomei's program.²⁷ But the *Codex Destailleur D* itself only forms the largest and, therefore presumably, central (surviving) part of a much larger network of drawings in more than 19 other collections.²⁸ More than 4,500 single architectural drawings on more than 1,400 sheets are closely interrelated through the handwritings of their anonymous draughtsmen and their complex representations of ancient buildings through many detailed drawings interrelated via plans and overviews. It can now be assumed that this is by far the largest group of such drawings of ancient buildings, and that the archaeological survey leading to their production must even have been the largest *ever* undertaken (not only) in Rome.

Almost the same can be said about the epigraphic manuscripts left by Jean Matal, now in the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*: Matal did not only survey all existing epigraphic sylloges available to him as prints or manuscripts, but he also organised a network of more than 20 collaborators in Rome, Italy and

²⁴ VITRUVIUS; BARBARO, D (transl./comm.). I dieci libri dell' architettura. Venice: F. Marcolini, 1556, and: VITRUVIUS; BARBARO, D. (ed./comm.) M. Vitruvii Pollionis De architectura libri decem. Venice: F. Franceschi & J. Chrieger, 1567.

²⁵ LEMERLE, F. Les annotations de G. Philandrier sur le *De Architettura* de Vitruve, Livres I à IV. Paris: Picard, 2000, and: LEMERLE, F. G. Philandrier: Les annotations sur l'Architecture de Vitruve: Livres V à VII. Paris: Garnier, 2011.

²⁶ SPIELMANN, H. Andrea Palladio und die Antike. München: 1966. — Meanwhile, David Hemsoll has suggested in a private communication that in his opinion most of Palladio's drawings are not originals but have been copied after drawings by others. Among the drawings in the Palladio collection of the *Royal Institute of British Architects* are several drawings bearing the handwritings of draughtsmen known from the *Codex Destailleur D* and complementing their drawings in other collections.

²⁷ KULAWIK, B. Die Zeichnungen im Codex Destailleur D. Berlin: 2002, *passim*, and: KULAWIK, B. Wer ist der Anonymus Destailleur? In: Scholion, vol. 10 (2016 [2017]), pp. 229-238.

²⁸ See: <http://accademia-vitruviana.net/accademia/akademie-projekt/anhang-4-uebersicht-der-architekturzeichnungen>.

Western Europe who contributed ancient inscriptions, among them even Palladio in Vicenza. Whenever possible, Matal (had) checked the original inscriptions and documented them very carefully registering even their damages, original errors and the form of their letters. By doing so, his epigraphical method equals the methods of precise documentation of the ancient monuments used in the codices mentioned above. And by also recording who contributed what and (sometimes) when and (from) where, Matal developed the methodology that was used later by Theodor Mommsen for his project to document every ancient Latin inscription: the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* still active at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. This is no surprise, because the young Mommsen had studied Matal's codices in the *Vaticana* in the late 1840s.

A similar large collection of drawings relatable to the *Accademia* can be seen in Jacopo Strada's 29 volumes of his *Magnum ac novum opus* in the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Germany, and his related drawings in large volumes in other collections in London, Paris, Prague and Vienna: They contain some 12,000 drawings of ancient coins. To a certain degree they are complemented by two sets of 11 volumes of descriptions by Strada in Vienna and Prague, the so-called *Diaskeuè*. While Strada started to work on this monumental documentation of ancient coins in the 1540s—which does not exclude that he did not know already about the project ungoing in Rome before he went there in 1553 from Lyon—, they were created for the German banker from Augsburg, Johann Jakob Fugger, who commissioned Strada to acquire books and antiquities in France and Italy. Fugger's father Raimund already had financed an important epigraphic publication,²⁹ and Fugger himself—like Matal and other members of the *Accademia*—had studied with Alciato who left the first example of an illustrated sylloge observing already the same, almost modern archaeological and epigraphic methods used by Matal.³⁰

Besides the long chronology of its origin, another problem for the attribution of Strada's work to the *Accademia* lies in the style of his drawings: They do not precisely document the ancient coins with damages and mistakes, as the other drawings and Matal's sylloge do, but rather extend the drawings with many additions, at least in part based on knowledge about the historical persons and objects displayed and derived from other sources.³¹

²⁹ AMANTIUS, B.; APIANUS, P. *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*. Ingolstadt: P. Apianus, 1534.

³⁰ Alciato's manuscript with the title *Monumentum veterumque Inscriptionum* is now kept in Dresden, Germany, State and University Library, under the signature Mscr. Dresd. F 82 b [online: <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/53844/>]. This sylloge is dated to 1508 in a handwritten entry, but because Alciato was only 16 years old then, the date may have to be corrected to the 1520s to which also the illustrations of the reliefs in a Lombardic drawings style of that decade point. (Kind communication of Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Elizabeth Pilliod during a workshop organised by Dirk Jansen in Gotha 2018.)

³¹ For instance, Strada's depiction of ancient architecture seems to take into account then recent findings from the draughtsmen working for the *Accademia* in Rome, see: KULAWIK, B. *Rom in Gotha – Architektur in Stradas Münzzeichnungen*. Gotha: 2020 [forthcoming]. Strada's entire project to document all ancient coins is still subject to ongoing discussions and interpretations with Dirk Jansen and Volker Heenes, working in the DFG project on Strada in Gotha.

Three other books published in relation to the academy's program have to be mentioned and shortly characterised here in the following.

Labacco's «*Libro appartenente a l'architettura*» (c. 1552)

The first, chronologically, is Antonio Labacco's *Libro [...] appartenente a l'architettura*, the first book to use large copper plate prints for the most precise documentation of architecture. (Fig. 7a) It contains detailed prints of important ancient Roman buildings, in some cases annotated with short descriptions and, therefore, resembles quite well, even if only *in nuce*, Tolomei's description of book 13.

Figs. 7a+b: LABACCO, Antonio: *Libro appartenente a l'Architettvra*. Rome: Labacco, 1552: Title page / PALLADIO, Andrea: *Il Quarto Libro dell'Architettvra*. Venice: Franceschi, 1570: Title page

It is quite possible, as Christof Thoenes suggested, that the many different «editions» of the book counted by Thomas Ashby are in fact the result of a publication of the prints as single collectable items—the same scheme used later by Antonio Lafreri (Antoine Lafréry) in his *Speculum Romanæ Magnificentiae*.³² In his early years in Rome, Lafreri had bought the plates from Antonio Salamanca with whom Labacco had collaborated earlier for his large engravings of Sangallo's project for St. Peter's. And it is known that Lafreri and his compatriot Matal, together with others, had studied the Roman ruins. Labacco had printed the plates for his book in his own house on a press obviously exclusively installed there for this purpose. This costly undertaking suggests that he may have planned to publish many more plates than those surviving today in the different «editions» of his book. For these prints, he could have used his many own studies of ancient buildings as well as those of his master Antoino da Sangallo the Younger done over decades in Rome.

Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola's «*Regola delli cinque ordini d'Architettura*» (c. 1562)

Christof Thoenes observed, furthermore, that the copper plate prints of Vignola's *Regola* also seem to have been printed on the same press and, therefore, prove a collaboration between the two architects.³³ (Figs. 8a, 9a+b).

Fig. 8a+b: BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, Giacomo: *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettvra*. [Rome: Labacco, 1562]: Title page / BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, Giacomo; DANTI, Egnatio: *Le dve regole della prospettiva pratica*. Rome: Zanetti, 1582: Title page.

³² ASHBY, Th. *Il libro d'Antonio Labacco appartenente all'Architettura*. In: *La Bibliofilia* vol. 16,5 (1914-1915) pp. 289–309; for Lafreri see: HÜLSEN, C. *Das Speculum Romanæ Magnificentiae* des Antonio Lafreri. In: BERTALOT, L.; BERTONI, G. (eds.) *Collectanea variæ doctrinæ Leonis S. Olschki*. München/Berlin: Rosenthal, 1921, pp. 121–170, and recently: RUBACH, B. *Ant. Lafreri Formis Romæ*. Berlin: Lukas, 2016.

³³ Private communication about BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, J. *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettvra*. [Rome, c. 1563].

Fig. 9a+b: BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, Giacomo: *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura*. [Rome: Labacco, 1562]: plate XIII: Doric order from the Theatre of Marcellus, Rome / plate XIII: modular Doric order designed by Vignola «after fragments from antiquity».

This collaboration could further be confirmed through an unstudied volume of drawings in the *Vaticana* containing drawings made for Vignola's *Regola* and drawings by Labacco and Strada.³⁴ Vignola states in his very short text that he had worked on his book for a long time; and in the depiction of his Doric order he mentions that it is derived from the best examples of this order he had found in Rome.

It is well known that Vignola did not simply print a special set of ancient examples for the classical orders or columns but rather created his own versions carefully coordinated into a common system using the same module. (Fig. 9a+b) By doing so, he realised book 11 from Tolomei's list in a certain way. Because after the disillusioning insight that there was no single coherent system of the orders in ancient Roman architecture, he established the very successful first modular and, therefore, universally applicable system of the orders of columns in architectural history. The foundation for Vignola's ability to achieve this had been laid when he had «measured all the antiquities in Rome» in the service of the academy headed by Cervini, as Vasari and Vignola's biographer Egnatio Danti report in 1568 and 1583, respectively.³⁵ (Figs. 3b and 10a+b).

Figs. 10a+b: BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, Giacomo; DANTI, Egnatio: *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica*. Rome: Zanetti, 1583: uncounted pages 1 & 2 from the «Vita»

Both knew Vignola personally, so their claims seem to be trustworthy. Like Sangallo, Vignola designed a villa (or a complete reconstruction of the already existing villa) for cardinal Marcello Cervini.³⁶ If one takes into account the hundreds of reprints of Vignola's *Regola* which were studied by almost every Western architect (at least) up to the early 20th century, and regards the several recurrences of a «classical» or «classicist» version of the orders of columns in different historical phases of Western architecture since the late 16th century, the influence of Vignola's *Regola* and, therefore, its roots in the program and the activities of the *Accademia* can hardly be overestimated.

Andrea Palladio's «*Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*» (1570)

³⁴ Dirk Jansen pointed me to this very interesting volume: *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Cod. Ross. 618. The drawings related to Vignola's *Regola* are larger and contain more information than the prints in the *Regola* and, therefore, can be dated earlier than the (undated) print of which an item was sent to cardinal Alessandro Farnese by Vignola's son in 1562. An article on this important codex and its complex network of relations and indications is in preparation.

³⁵ VASARI, G. *Delle Vite* [...], p. 700, and BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, J.; DANTI, E. *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica*. Rome: F. Zanetti, 1583, p. 3 [unnumbered] in Danti's description of Vignola's life at the beginning of this book.

³⁶ Vignola's drawings are kept in the Kunstbibliothek – SMB, Berlin, Germany. Signature: HDZ 1979.6 AOZ.

As mentioned above, Palladio's relation to the academic network in Rome can and should now be regarded as firmly established. It should, therefore, be no wonder to find traces of this relation not only in his drawings but also in his books. While his book on Roman antiquities certainly is a forgery,³⁷ his famous, more important and most influential *Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* from 1570 seem to realise different aspects of Tolomei's program: While book one contains Palladio's own version of a system of the classical orders that, too, uses a modular structure like Vignola's system before and differs from it only in rather marginal parts, Palladio's fourth book (Fig. 7b & 11) almost perfectly—and, therefore, much better than Labacco's—fulfills the description of book 13 in Tolomei's program: As outlined by Tolomei, Palladio here combines full representations of ancient temples and theatres³⁸ in ground plans, elevations and sections including all details necessary to understand the buildings with two, still rather short commentaries: one about the historical circumstances and one about its architectural characteristics.

Fig. 11: PALLADIO, Andrea: Il Quarto Libro dell'Architettura. Venice: Franceschi, 1570: pp. 31-31.

Though Palladio's books have not been reprinted as often as Vignola's plates, combined with his iconic architecture, their impact on the history of Western architecture also can hardly be overestimated.

Consequences of the *Accademia's* achievements for the history of architecture

As already mentioned, the influence especially of Vignola's and Palladio's works—books as well as buildings—on the history of Western architecture are of the highest grade and can hardly be overestimated. They did not only dominate the application of the classical orders of columns brought into a teachable, coherent system and used in authoritative examples by themselves—which could have led to a decline of their importance with the avoidance of any classicist architectural language (at least) since the *Bauhaus* and the rise of architectural modernity. Instead, their influence lingers on: While Vignola seems to have been the first and surely the most influential architectural theorist to introduce *systematic* thinking and modularity not necessarily connected to any special (type of) building into Western architecture, Palladio remains exemplary beyond his classicism because of his clear thinking about the structure of buildings and their overall proportions, independent of their concrete appearance and regardless to their ornaments. But Palladio may also be seen as the first who introduced historical thinking into architectural understanding of buildings in an influential printed work—and, therefore, as the founder of architectural history: His short but quite profound descriptions of the historical circumstances under which a building was created (e.g., Fig. 11), by whom and for what purposes—obviously inspired by the *Accademia's* program—, can be regarded as the first *systematic* attempt to a historical approach to architecture: Even though his descriptions do not (yet) follow a chronological

³⁷ DALY DAVIS, M. Andrea Palladio's «L'Antichità di Roma» of 1554. In: Pegasus, vol. 9 (2007), pp. 151-192.

³⁸ Palladio prepared the corresponding books on triumphal arches and imperial baths but could not finish them before his death.

order, they can be easily rearranged and read in this way. Therefore, they allow to locate a single building in a historical context and sequence—something suggested already by Raphael in his famous (draft of a) «letter» to Pope Leo X about Roman antiquities but rather for works of sculpture.

Now, these achievements of both architects and authors can be related to the *Accademia's* project as described by Tolomei. Tolomei goes even further in his demands for the entire project: In book 12, the urban structure of ancient Rome and its historical changes should have been described in detail to locate the single buildings in their respective historical and urban environment.³⁹

So, one may quite safely assume that not only do Vignola's and Palladio's influential works have their roots in the *Accademia's* program, but that even the basic idea for their systematic and historical approaches generated from this project in the same way as their knowledge about ancient architecture which allowed them to achieve their highly influential accomplishments in books as well as in built architecture. It may, therefore, be claimed that the presumably «unrealised», even «unrealisable» *Accademia* project as described by Tolomei had a still unrecognised influence on the history of Western architecture and even modern World architecture that has not been surpassed yet by any other similar project or architectural ideal, model or paradigm.

Interdisciplinary consequences of the *Accademia's* project and its achievements

But the projects, ideas, methods and achievements of the *Accademia* also reached far into other fields of historical research: The methodological foundation of Mommsen's *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, one of the beacons of (assumed original) methodological scholarly thinking and academic research of the 19th and still extending into the 21st century has already been mentioned. But it could easily be shown that this was not due to a rather circumstantial encounter of a 19th-century researcher with 16th-century sources. Instead, the first sylloge of widely acclaimed scholarly methodology, the *Inscriptionum antiquarum [...] liber* by Martin Smet(ius), a close collaborator of Matal, can be characterised as a partial publication of Matal's collection carefully observing its methodological achievements.⁴⁰ All later

³⁹ Marliano's quite early *Topographia* (Figs. 5a+b), made with the help of at least three academicians, only in part fulfills these requirements, which may be due to its early publication. It seems reasonable to assume that the *Accademia* was hoping for a more in-depth reconstruction of Rome's ancient structure in another book or later edition of Marliano's once more studies would have been done. At least, several maps of Rome published by members of the academic network (Bufalini, Pinard/Bos, Ligorio, Paciotto, Dupérac and Panvinio) may be seen as late results of such an overall attempt that never was finished mainly due to financial reasons. — Ian Verstegen has discovered that at least topographical survey maps from the Sangallo circle (which included Bufalini) used only three different scales and, therefore, can be considered as results of a sort of standard applied to surveys and their representation which, obviously, would be another argument supporting the view on antiquarian work in Rome in the 1540s as a rather coordinated approach then just a cluster of simple coincidences.

⁴⁰ SMETIUS, M.; LIPSIUS, J. (ed.) *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae passim per Europam, liber*. Antwerp: Plantin, 1588. — As William Stenhouse has shown recently (private communication; his article is in print), the erroneous attribution of this sylloge to Lipsius granted Lipsius the fame of the first modern epigrapher even though Lipsius earlier or later in his life did not show any remarkable interest in epigraphy and his role as Smet's publisher is due to his work for cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, a student of Alciato, too, and an important central figure in the European network of the *Accademia*.

editions of ancient inscriptions, most prominently those of Gruterius, are heavily based on Smetius's and can be seen as its extension, and, therefore, *in nuce* go back to Matal's work related to the *Accademia*.⁴¹

Similarly, the origins of scholarly numismatics have at least some of their most important roots in the *Accademia*'s work: While Strada's drawings were highly estimated still in the 18th century, their style of a somewhat «free interpretation» of the ancient original coins came out of fashion later, even so that the entire work, despite its undeniable qualities, was almost completely forgotten, *the—again—seminal* numismatic work was written by another member of the *Accademia*: Antonio Agustín's *Dialogues* on coins and inscriptions were first published in Spanish, but soon translated into Italian and reprinted several times in the 17th and 18th centuries.⁴² Agustín was a close friend of Matal with whom he did not only study law with Alciato. For several years before 1545, they also worked collaboratively on a new edition of the *Codex Iustinianus*, the central collection of Roman law, observing Alciato's philological and historical principles. When Agustín was called to Rome in 1545 to become a member of the *Tribunale della Rota Romana*, the papal court of appellations, both left their project in Florence and dedicated all their work in Rome to epigraphy and numismatics instead of the history of Roman law.

One may also count here Strada's own history of the Roman emperors illustrated with images after coins⁴³ and also Sebastiano Erizzo's book on ancient coins.⁴⁴ Strada's book may be taken into consideration because it is known that he left Lyon for Rome immediately after it was printed. In Rome he became a member of the «eruditissima academia» meeting in the Palazzo Farnese.⁴⁵ And Erizzo's small but important numismatic contribution from Venice may also be seen in some relation to the *Accademia* because he obviously was not only well informed about its work through his contacts to

⁴¹ GRUTERIUS, J. *Inscriptiones antiquæ totius urbis Romani*. Heidelberg: Commelin, 1602, often reprinted and extended.

⁴² AGUSTÍN, A. *Dialogos de la medallas, inscripciones y otras antiguedades*. Madrid: F. Mei, 1587. Italian translations: AGUSTÍN, A. *Dialoghi di Don Antonio Agostini Arcivescovo di Tarracona intorno alle medaglie inscrittioni et altre antichita*. Rome: G. Faciotto, 1592, and: AGUSTÍN, A.: *I Discorsi del S. Don Antonio Agostini sopra le medaglie et altre anticaglie*. Rome: A. & G. Donangeli, 1592.

⁴³ STRADA, J. *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum*. Lyon: J. de Tournes (for J. Strada), 1553.

⁴⁴ ERIZZO, S. *Discorso di M. Sebastiano Erizzo sopra le medaglie degli antichi*. Venice: Bottega Valgrisiana, 1559.

⁴⁵ Strada reports his participation in the meetings on page 3 of his unpaginated Latin introduction to: PANVINIO, O.; STRADA, J. (ed.) *Epitome Pontificvm Romanorvm*. Venice: Strada, 1557. — Strada's edition contained binding errors, mistakes and additions so that Panvinio, after some mediation by Agustín, published a new version. According to Stefan Bauer it can be regarded as the foundation stone of the scholarly history of the popes and the papacy: BAUER, St. *The invention of papal history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020. But because Panvinio saw himself as a disciple of Matal without whom he would not have achieved anything, and because he dedicated most of his systematic historic-methodological work to ancient history, even Panvinio's works, generating from a close collaboration with Agustín and Fulvio Orsini, the librarian of cardinal Alessandro Farnese, may be regarded as consequences of the *Accademia*'s project though they lie outside of its original scope.

publishers and scholars like Manuzio in Venice, but also had dedicated his first scholarly publication in 1554 to Marcello Cervini.⁴⁶

Another interesting influence of the *Accademia*'s program and methodology, though not related directly to architecture, may be seen in the first modern edition of a short but comprehensive ancient book on Greek mythology. Harprath and Wrede had already called the *Codex Coburgensis* «the first systematic book of archaeology» because they could reconstruct an original order of the drawings according to the mythological chronology of the scenes depicted in reliefs on sarcophagi and tombstones.⁴⁷ The foundation for this order was established by Benedetto Egio's first edition and translation of the *Bibliothéké*—erroneously attributed to Apollodoros of Athens—, a chronological mythology of the ancient Greek gods.⁴⁸ Most interestingly, this book is not dedicated to some cardinal or other person of a higher social rank, but to Egio's close friend Jean Matal. And it was printed in 1555 in Rome by Blado who published several other books by the academicians (like Philandrier's *Annotationes*) and even Bufalini's map of Rome in 1551.

How the academicians collaboratively and «interdisciplinarily» worked to join their forces in the attempt to understand ancient Roman artifacts is very well described by Stephan Pighius—the owner and commissioner of the *Codex Pighianus*—in his small book *Themis Dea*, dedicated to cardinal Granvelle whose secretary Pighius became after the death of Marcello Cervini and before Lipsius.⁴⁹ In it, Pighius reports a dialogue dated to 1555 in the garden of cardinal Cesi in Rome who had just acquired an ancient herm. The participants are Pighius, Agustín, Matal and Antoine Morillon, the agent and advisor of cardinal Granvelle, who was buying books and antiquities for him in Italy. The four participants join all their knowledge about ancient sources like mythological texts, images of gods and other figures from reliefs and statues as well as coins and medals to solve the riddle which the herm presented to them. They come to the conclusion that it was a representation of the goddess Themis, but—as Henning Wrede has shown—albeit of all their learned efforts, this interpretation is unfortunately wrong.⁵⁰

It would lead too far and require an article of its own to describe the importance and influences of the academicians' several early editions of the *Fasti Capitolini* found on the Forum Romanum in 1546: It seems as if the finding of the important ancient chronic created a footrace to come up with the first and/or most comprehensive edition. But there is hardly any important «archaeological» publication after 1544 that cannot be related to the *Accademia* and its wide and vivid network of scholars and practioners *and* that had a long-lasting impact on the history of the early humanities and, later, even other fields, too.

⁴⁶ ERIZZO, S. Trattato di M. Sebastiano Erizzo dell'istrumento et via inventrice de gli antichi. Venice: P. Pietrasanta, 1554.

⁴⁷ HARPRATH, R.; WREDE, H. Der Codex Coburgensis [...] 1986.

⁴⁸ APOLLODORUS of Athens; EGIO, B. (ed./transl.) Apollodori Atheniensis Bibliothecae. Antwerp: G. Silvius, 1550.

⁴⁹ PIGHIUS, S. Themis Dea seu de lege divina. Antwerp: Plantin, 1568.

⁵⁰ WREDE, H. Die Themis Dea des S. V. Pighius. In: CRAWFORD, M. H. (ed.) Antonio Agustín between Renaissance and Counter-Reformation. London: Warburg Institute, 1993, pp. 189–201.

Many more examples could be mentioned here which would show the influences of the *Accademia*'s project and its program described by Tolomei reaching far beyond the study of ancient buildings and other monuments and the beginnings of a scholarly, systematic theory and history of architecture. Most of these sources are still un- oder understudied, even unpublished (like the thousands of architectural drawings), and most of the books have never been seen in their common historical and methodological background which may be regarded as the begin of scholarly-scientific research in general. It is even possible that the methodological approach developed by the *Accademia* based on earlier philology, Alciato's historical-critical method and the first project to entirely document ancient Rome and its architecture by Raphael and his advisors and helpers (among them Sangallo) had a seminal influence on the beginnings of the early natural sciences in the late 16th century: There are personal connections between the late academicians or their close disciples and the early natural scientists that are surely worth to be investigated further. A central person of the *Accademia*, Jean Matal, even had an important influence on the early geographers like Ortelius after he had left Rome on a diplomatic mission to England together with Agustín in 1555. But he never came back to the Eternal City and left all of his rich materials behind.

It should be obvious that it would be worth to start another international and interdisciplinary project—like the one of the *Accademia* itself—to reunite all the surviving source materials like manuscripts and drawings and the books and prints directly or indirectly related through the far-reaching personal networks of the *Accademia* to fully understand and appreciate its accomplishments and the methodologies it developed and applied systematically to understand ancient architecture and its historical, cultural, political, social and religious contexts. This would have finally resulted in a social and cultural history of the ancient Roman culture, and it is exactly this what Onofrio Panvinio tried to realise: The *Vaticana* preserves extensive lists and preparations for a description of ancient Rome in more than 100 volumes! But Panvinio's early death at the age for 38 left his project in its early state and only small parts of it were published postumously.

It should be underlined here, that the final aim of the entire project of the *Accademia* was *not* to satisfy the curiosity of a few overreaching and too ambitious antiquarians but to create a basis for any good, even the best architecture in the future which—if the project would have been finished successfully—could be based on a systematic foundation grounded in the—as it was presumed—best historical form of architecture, that of the Roman empire, and derived from it with systematic and, therefore, teachable, «eternal» rules for any good architecture. Even though the *Accademia*'s project was not realised in some sort of a multi-volume series of closely intertwined publications like the encyclopedic (but also unfinished) German *Handbuch der Architektur (Handbook of Architecture)*,⁵¹ the above examples from its achievements and their influences should allow to state that the aim of the *Accademia* in a certain way *was*, in fact, *accomplished*: Its main results influenced not only the history or architecture and its

⁵¹ DURM, J. et al. *Handbuch der Architektur*. Stuttgart: 1880–1927.

theory for centuries, but also other fields of historical research and their methodologies. It may even be said that this could have been the most influential scholarly and cultural project in European history—coining the characteristics of our cities until today. These should be more good reasons than needed to reconstruct, regain and study the *Accademia's* project and its results—not least, because the still not exploited sources left by the *Accademia*, like the architectural drawings, contain an immense amount of precise and comprehensive information that cannot be found in the buildings themselves anymore because of their progressing destruction since the Renaissance.

The *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura*, its interdisciplinary program and its results achieved in international collaboration may, should and certainly will teach us many new things not only about ancient Rome as well as the emergence of modern architecture, its theory and practice, but also about the early history, systematic development and application of the scientific and scholarly methods used to study and understand the cultural heritage and history of Europe and, therefore, its contributions to the common culture of our world.

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