

TITLE: DID TOLOMEI LIE?

ABSTRACT

A letter by Claudio Tolomei — written 1542 and published 1547 — describes a vast publishing program of 24 books aiming at the restoration of the "noble study" and the foundation of a new architecture based on the ancient architectural theory according to Vitruvius and the best built examples from Rome's antiquity. To achieve this, an approach was chosen that encompassed the study and documentation of all ancient Roman artifacts relatable to architecture. It, therefore, can be called truly interdisciplinary. While modern research regarded this project as unfinished and even unfinishable, the article will demonstrate that the contrary can be supposed.

1. INTRODUCTION

In 1547 the Sieneese humanist, writer, politician and — later — bishop Claudio Tolomei (1492–1556) published a letter he had sent in 1542 to count Agostino de' Landi in Venice (c. 1500–55).¹ This often cited letter contains the description of a very ambitious publishing program aimed at a Renaissance of the study of ancient Roman architecture as the best paradigm for any contemporary and future architecture. To fully understand the ancient examples, the program proposes to document all cultural and historical contexts and all available material sources and artifacts, too.

While Tolomei's letter has been published and/or annotated in modern editions several times since the eighteenth century, it does not seem to have been read very carefully: For instance, some modern authors claim that the program consisted of twenty or less, even only eight, books, while Tolomei himself talks about twenty-four books (*libbri*) that he and an unspecified group of learned men planned to publish. He also claims that the entire project could be finished in less than three years: "To some it may seem that this [program] would be too big and a very

troublesome undertaking and that it would cover too many things that could never be brought to an end: Besides that there are some things too obscure that it will never be possible to illustrate them in any way. But if he knew that not only one but many good spirits have turned their attention to this noble attempt and how his particular work is assigned to everyone, one will not wonder more, I think, than one may wonder to see one hundred or more crafts work in a large city at the same time. In the same way, every very heavy weight can be made easy to carry by sharing it into many parts. By dividing these works among many learned men there is no doubt that all can be brought to an end in less than three years."²

This claim somehow supposes that preparatory materials for at least some of the books already had been collected or were even ready for print in 1542. Unfortunately, Tolomei does not give any names neither for the participants of this project nor for an institution that would unite them. It has usually been identified with the *Accademia della Virtù*, active in Rome from around 1537 onwards, of which Tolomei was a member. But, as Ambra Moroncini has shown convincingly,³ this Accademia focused on Neo-Latin and Italian poetry and the reformation of the Italian language to which Tolomei made important contributions as a philologist.

Modern scholars regarded Tolomei's project as unfinished and even as unfinishable. Did Tolomei simply overestimate the possibilities of his circle by supposing the program could be realised in "less than three years"? Or did he simply lie straight into the faces not only of Agostino de' Landi — whom he wanted to win as a supporter for the project — but also into those of his readers in 1547? Only one or two printed books⁴ and two volumes of drawings after reliefs of ancient Roman tombstones and sarcophagi⁵ have been regarded so far as results of the project described in Tolomei's program.

It is the aim of this article to show that there are many more printed books and manuscript sources from the ambit of the network Tolomei belonged to. These books and manuscripts were written or created by persons who either were members of Tolomei's network — at least for a

certain period — or stood in close contact to its members, or who inherited parts of this networks' preparatory materials and used them for their own publications. This even may lead to the conclusion that almost all parts of Tolomei's program had been realised in one way or the other. It will also help to reconstruct the wide-spanning network of antiquarians and of the materials they left or the objects they dealt with. The entire project may even be regarded as the first international and interdisciplinary research project in European history — and one of the most productive and influential, too.

2. TOLOMEI'S PUBLISHING PROGRAM

The program described by Tolomei comprises twenty-four books: Though he does not enumerate the books in his list, it is proposed here for easier referencing. These volumes may be summed up as follows:

1. a Latin commentary on the difficult passages in Vitruvius' (first century BCE) *De Architectura*;
2. a list of all known versions and editions of *De Architectura* and a critical, philological evaluation of their quality and reliability;
3. an edition of *De Architectura* based on this evaluation including reconstructions of all the illustrations mentioned by Vitruvius (but lost) and addition of new illustrations;
4. a Latin vocabulary of all Latin terms in *De Architectura*;
5. a Latin vocabulary of all Greek terms in *De Architectura*;
6. a critical commentary on Vitruvius' Latin in comparison to other classical authors;
7. a new edition of *De Architectura* in a better, more correct Latin;
8. a new translation of *De Architectura* into modern (Tuscan) Italian;
9. a Tuscan (i.e. Italian) vocabulary of all architectural terms in *De Architectura*;

10. a Tuscan (i.e. Italian) vocabulary of all tools and architectural parts;
11. an overview of the rules given by Vitruvius with examples including the differences between Vitruvius' rules and the built architecture and with attempts to explain these differences;
12. an annotated and illustrated chronology of Rome's urban development in antiquity;
13. annotated representations of all ancient buildings in (and some outside of) Rome with several illustrations showing the buildings in plans and cuts and their important details;
14. annotated representations of all tombstones and sarcophagi (*pili*);
15. annotated representations of all statues;
16. annotated representations of all friezes, reliefs etc.;
17. representations of detached surviving architectural ornaments and other elements;
18. representations of all vases and other similar decorative objects;
19. representations of all ancient tools and instruments;
20. an annotated collection of all known inscriptions;
21. a list of all surviving paintings;
22. an annotated list of all Roman medals and coins with illustrations;
23. reconstructions of ancient construction and other machines;
24. reconstructions of aqueducts and other installations for water supply.

This list is, in itself, already very interesting, because it seems to give the earliest known example of an interdisciplinary, carefully designed research and documentation project: Tolomei and his colleagues had realized that it was necessary to document any material source related to ancient Roman architecture to understand it entirely. Also to interpret and understand

Vitruvius correctly, interdisciplinary work would be needed bringing together philologists and practitioners of architecture.

It may be added that this project also seems to be the first example for an international collaboration coordinated to achieve a common aim: The more than one hundred persons involved over the period of almost twenty years (c. 1535 to c. 1555) came from Italy, France, the Netherlands and [modern] Belgium, Germany and Spain.⁶

The impressive project's aim was not to satisfy the curiosity of some overambitious antiquarians, but a very practical purpose in the best sense: to lay the foundations for a new architecture based on Vitruvius and the examples from ancient Rome — understood as the best available paradigm — and to "to re-awake the noble study" of architecture.⁷

In addition, the carefully composed, stringent structure of the list — with some minor, explainable deviations — gives a hint to the astonishingly modern methodological approach used by Tolomei and his colleagues: The list can easily be divided into two parts: the first (one to eleven) dealing with Vitruvius' *De Architectura* in a philological *tour de force* under almost every imaginable aspect — including even the rather curious translation of the text into better Latin. Obviously, the aim was — as a first step — a very comprehensive understanding of the ancient text to clarify notions and terms used by Vitruvius and develop new ones when no contemporary (modern) equivalent existed. The second part of the program (books twelve to twenty-four) may be regarded as the rather practical one: It contains a comparison of the text with the (surviving) built architecture as well as a documentation of every artifact that would be needed or useful to understand the ancient buildings, their history, usage and cultural as well as urban contexts.

3. BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPT SOURCES RELATABLE TO TOLOMEI'S PROGRAM

Most of the printed books listed here below were published after 1555 when the Accademia Romana — which can be identified with Tolomei's circle — seems to have dissolved with the death of pope Marcellus II three weeks after his election: As a cardinal Marcello Cervini (1501–55) had been an energetic and influential — though not financially strong — supporter of all studies of Roman antiquities, and foremost of architecture. Any hopes for a financial support of the entire project described by Tolomei must have vanished with Cervini's death, though other cardinals like Alessandro Farnese (1520–89), Rodolfo Pio da Carpi (1500–64), Federico Cesi (1500–65), George d'Armagnac (1501–85) or Antoine Perrenot the Granvelle (1517–86) supported at least several persons involved by employing them or financing the printing of their books. Many collaborators and participants seem to have used the material they had collected in preparation for this project for their own publications which, therefore, do not always correspond exactly — but still quite recognizable — to Tolomei's descriptions. The books and manuscript sources are listed below not chronologically but in accordance to Tolomei's program using the enumeration given above.

3.1 COMMENTARY ON THE DIFFICULT PASSAGES IN *DE ARCHITECTURA*

As already mentioned, Guillaume Philandrier's (1505–63) *Annotationes* to Vitruvius' *De Architectura* (1544) usually are regarded as one of the presumably very few results of the research done in relation to Tolomei's program and, more precisely, as the book corresponding to number 1 in his list. Because of its useful discussion of other Latin sources as well as information provided from contemporary architects like Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (c. 1484–1546) in relation to Vitruvius' text, it was reprinted several times and even still today may be regarded as one of the most helpful and important contributions to the understanding of Vitruvius and ancient architecture as well as their interpretation in the Renaissance. It should

be noted that this edition always required the reader to have a full version of *De Architectura* at hand.

3.2 EVALUATION OF EARLIER EDITIONS OF *DE ARCHITECTURA*

Though there is no printed book or manuscript material known (yet) which would correspond to this philological evaluation of all surviving manuscripts and modern editions of Vitruvius' *De Architectura*, it seems reasonable to assume that something alike must have existed: There are not only reports about the ongoing discussions in Tolomei's circle regarding the ancient text,⁸ and it is highly likely that the results were written down. But there is also the Philandrier edition of 1552 which claims on its title page to be based on such a work. Therefore, it seems possible that such a manuscript existed but did not survive or has not been found or identified yet.

3.3 EMENDATED AND ILLUSTRATED EDITION OF *DE ARCHITECTURA*

Because Philandrier's *Annotationes* always required the reader to have an edition of the original text of *De architectura* at hand, it must have been an idea immediately coming to mind and, therefore, realised already in 1550 by the Georg Messerschmidt (c. 1500–67) in Strasburg, to combine both in one print. But this first united edition does not seem to have involved Philandrier himself.⁹ His own edition from 1552¹⁰ contains an interesting self-description on its title page: "emendated extensively from all editions, collated from the old examples"¹¹ which can be understood as referring to a preceding comparison of all available manuscripts and editions. This echoes almost precisely the description given by Tolomei for book three: "[...] an edition of Vitruvius according to those texts that have been approved with reason."¹²

Another edition obviously based on a critical work with the text — but seemingly not yet examined in this regard — is Daniele Barbaro's (1514–70) extensively annotated edition of 1567 with its Italian translation published already 11 years earlier.¹³ Barbaro, the diplomat and learned theologian who became the patriarch of Aquileia, had not shown considerable interest or activity related to architecture before the publication of 1556 and, therefore, required some support by a practitioner: Andrea Palladio (1508–80), who had spent several years accompanying his mentor Giangiorgio Trissino (1487–1550) to Rome in the 1540s, contributed the illustrations in Barbaro's editions of Vitruvius and obviously also architectural expertise. Trissino was a participant in the academic life of Rome even already before the *Sacco di Roma* in 1527, and presumably one of the stimulators of Tolomei's project. Palladio must have taken part in the measurements in preparation for book thirteen. Therefore, it seems plausible, that Barbaro and Palladio took up the idea to publish an annotated and illustrated edition of Vitruvius from Tolomei's circle, mediated, presumably, by Trissino, cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) or Bernardino Maffei (1514–53) or others to whom Barbaro had personal contact.

3.4 A LATIN VOCABULARY OF ALL LATIN TERMS IN *DE ARCHITECTURA*

No such vocabulary is known (yet) but, like in the case of book two from Tolomei's list, it is highly plausible that it must have existed: Otherwise any advanced philological work on Vitruvius' text seems hardly to be possible. The learned readers would have to know and remember constantly which terminus appeared where in the text and how it should be understood. From Tolomei's description it is also clear that this should be a book — "a very rich vocabulary where all Latin vocables are explained in alphabetic order, and especially those that are doubtful or obscure."¹⁴ — and not just a short list of words or a simple index as some modern interpreters have understood it.¹⁵

3.5 A LATIN VOCABULARY OF ALL GREEK TERMS IN *DE ARCHITECTURA*

For this intended book the same holds true as for the previous book four. Again, no print or manuscript corresponding to its description is known, but the advanced knowledge of the classical Greek language that some members of Tolomei's circle possessed makes it again highly plausible that such a book existed and was in practical use during the work on Vitruvius' text. In the case of this book, Tolomei's description goes even further suggesting to include even explanations of the derivation and etymology of the ancient words.¹⁶

3.6 A CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON VITRUVIUS' LATIN

Like the second book in this list was meant to be the preparation for the third, so the sixth should serve as preparation for book seven. But books six and seven would have been hardly more than exercises for some overreaching philologists among Tolomei's collaborators and not of much use for other readers of Vitruvius who would have to turn back to the original, uncorrected text in cases of doubt. Therefore, it seems plausible that no hint for the preparation or existence of these two books exists.

3.7 NEW EDITION OF *DE ARCHITECTURA* IN A MORE CORRECT LATIN

Like book 6 or any preparatory material for it, book seven does not seem to have been realised.

3.8 NEW ITALIAN TRANSLATION OF *DE ARCHITECTURA*

While Daniele Barbaro's annotated and illustrated Italian translation from 1556, made with Palladio's help, has already been mentioned, there does not seem to be any other translation closely relatable to Tolomei's program. And the translation by the venetian Barbaro itself is clearly not written in the "beautiful Tuscan language."¹⁷

But there is an interesting earlier link to such a (planned) translation: Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's *proemio* to an Italian translation of Vitruvius from 1531/1539.¹⁸ In this foreword — which only survived in manuscript form — Sangallo describes an editorial project that comes close to the first half of Tolomei's program and would involve practitioners as well as philologist because — as Sangallo states at the beginning — all earlier editions would have suffered from the professional specialization of their editors lacking one or the other. Because of internal relational dates, this *proemio* can be dated to about 1531, but has been changed by Sangallo himself to a date around 1539. Therefore, it seems plausible that it may have served as a starting point for Tolomei's program itself.¹⁹

3.9 AN ITALIAN VOCABULARY OF ARCHITECTURAL TERMS IN VITRUVIUS

This book obviously was intended for a rather practical purpose to help modern users understand *De Architectura* without having to scroll forth and back through the full translation of the text: "This thing would be very useful for all of those who want to speak or write in the vernacular language about this art."²⁰ An interesting aspect of this book is that Tolomei proposes to invent new words in cases where there is no modern equivalent to an ancient term. The invention of new terms would be allowed to all artists in regard to their own art, he claims. Again, it may be assumed — like in the cases of books 4 and 5 — that such a vocabulary was prepared and in use for the discussions among Tolomei's collaborators who were not fluently in Latin like the architects and artists involved. But no such book — neither printed nor in manuscript form — seems to have survived.

3.10 AN ITALIAN VOCABULARY OF ALL TOOLS AND ARCHITECTURAL PARTS

For this book the same can be said as for book nine. But this book also would contain precise description how to make the architectural parts where "make" obviously rather relates to the measurements and proportions and not to the stonemasons craft.²¹ Though no known book can be related to this description directly, Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola's (1507–73) *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura* (c. 1562) seems to reflect at least a part of it containing such illustrations and the names of some of the architectural parts, but not of all. These were added in several of the many later editions. But they also appear in drawings preserved in the Vatican Library²² that seem to have been made before the plates for Vignola's book because they contain much more information and are less perfectly organized — something a copyist would hardly do if he had the plates or prints in front of himself.²³

3.11 AN OVERVIEW OF VITRUVIUS' RULES WITH COMPARISONS TO BUILDINGS

Book 11 can be seen as the end point and summary of the 'Vitruvian' part of the program because it was to contain a collection of all rules given by Vitruvius throughout (and somewhat scattered over) *De Architectura* and accompany them with comparisons to the built architecture including explanations were and — if possible — why there are differences at all.²⁴ This book explicitly was intended to serve the practicing architect and to unite theory and practice.²⁵

While Jean Bullant's (c. 1515–78) *Reigle generale d'architectvre* (1564) seems to correspond to this book in the closest manner, Vignola's *Regola* does so in a certain sense, too: Having observed that neither Vitruvius himself nor the built Roman architecture followed a consistent set of rules, Vignola developed his own one by systematizing not only every order — like Serlio had done, e.g. — but by uniting them in one modular system so that users could transfer and adopt them easily to their specific projects and achieve an appearance based on the best examples from antiquity. Therefore, it is important and obviously intended that Vignola uses the singular *Regola* for his system and not the plural *regole*. The success of Vignola's book over

the centuries confirms his decision and makes it to one of the most important books in the history of architectural theory and practice — clearly based on Vignola's experience of measuring all the antiquities in Rome for Tolomei's project.

3.12 CHRONOLOGY OF ROME'S URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN ANTIQUITY

Because of its three rather schematic but still astonishingly precise maps and Bartolomeo Marliano's (before 1500–c. 1560) cooperation with members of Tolomei's circle, the second — and first illustrated — edition of his topography of ancient Rome, published in 1544 under the new title *Topographia urbis Romae*²⁶ has been regarded — at least in part — as a result of Tolomei's project.²⁷ Though the book does not precisely correspond to Tolomei's description,²⁸ it may be seen as a first attempt in this direction which may have been planned to be extended later when more information had been gathered from other material and written sources encompassed by the program.

An interesting aspect of the 1544 edition is its imprint where the printers, the Dorico brothers, call themselves "printers of the Roman Academy."²⁹ Because it is not known that the Doricos would have worked for the first *Accademia Romana* which ceased to exist seventeen years earlier in the *Sacco di Roma* 1527, it seems plausible that the new or second *Accademia Romana* to which they refer here could be identified with the circle around Tolomei, Cervini and others. And Tolomei's letter may explain this in a way because it was written with the intention to receive (financial?) support from its addressee: The lack of such constant support, the complexity of the project, the numbers of people involved and of artifacts to be documented and other circumstances may have led to the result that this academy's research and output did not appear as a successful academic project and, therefore, is not mentioned in research on early modern academies.

It has still to be investigated if and how the different maps of (ancient) Rome printed after 1550 by persons related to Tolomei's network like Leonardo Bufalini (c. 1500–52), Pirro Ligorio (1524–83), Hugues Pinard (active around 1550), Francesco Paciotto (1521–91) or Nicolas Beatrizet (1515–1565) can be seen as contributions to the reconstruction of the ancient urban web of the *urbs Roma*.

3.13 ANNOTATED REPRESENTATIONS OF ALL ANCIENT BUILDINGS

This book certainly would have to consist of several volumes because, as Tolomei explains, it should contain plans, cuts and views together with all interesting details of *all* buildings that were still in place in and some outside of Rome.³⁰ These illustrations then would be accompanied by two commentaries: one on the history of the building and the other on its architectural characteristics.³¹

The book that corresponds almost exactly to this description is the fourth volume of Andrea Palladio's *Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* from 1570. But it only covers specific groups of ancient buildings while excluding others: Accordingly, Palladio had planned to publish to additional books on triumphal arches and on the imperial baths of Rome. It was mentioned above that Palladio had been in Rome several times together with Trissino during the 1540s, and it must have been these years when he studied and measured the ancient buildings to create the drawings that formed the foundation for his participation in Barbaro's editions of Vitruvius as well as his own fourth book. But could the young stonemason and becoming architect really have planned the measuring campaign and have organized and paid the team that was necessary to execute it?³² Unfortunately, only very few original drawings from these studies are left, but even Palladio's studio drawings based on them from around 1560–70 show a remarkable similarity to those of the so-called Anonymous Destailleur in the Codex Destailleur D (inv. no. Hdz 4151) at the Kunstbibliothek Berlin, as Heinz Spielmann already observed in 1966.³³

Beside drawings from Palladio's own hand with almost identical characteristics to those in this codex and its accompanying drawings in other collections, there are even several drawings by the French draughtsman and his collaborators among those attributed to Palladio.³⁴ Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that Palladio took part — at least from time to time — in the measuring campaign of which the Berlin codex is one result and that these drawings were made for Tolomei's project: Characteristics supporting this interpretation are the many inscriptions accompanying the drawings and obviously addressing commissioners in French and Italian. And the circle around Tolomei is the only group of persons in and around the 1540s in Rome that planned such a campaign and is known to have had it executed.³⁵

3.14 ANNOTATED REPRESENTATIONS OF SARCOPHAGI AND TOMB STONES

The following volumes described by Tolomei are mostly intended to provide additional information about the cultural contexts of Rome's architecture. The first of these was intended to collect the reliefs from sarcophagi and tombstones (*pili*), again with a historical and/or mythological as well as an 'art historical' explanation about the style and, based on that, the dating. Since 1986 the so-called Codex Coburgensis has been regarded as the remaining fragment of the preparation for this volume.³⁶ Dirk Jacob Jansen has pointed out that a letter by Jacopo Strada (c. 1507–88) to his patron Johann Jacob Fugger (1516–75), written in 1559, mentions a collection of drawings of *pili* (i.e. tombstones) acquired by Fugger which was made by Antoine Morillon (c. 1520–56) for cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle and to which a learned commentary existed still owned by Granvelle.³⁷ It is highly probable that the Codex Coburgensis can be identified with this volume.³⁸

3.15 ANNOTATED REPRESENTATION OF ALL STATUES

A book with the same major characteristics as the previous was planned regarding the statues: They could not only provide information about cultural, methodological or historical contexts but usually also served as decorations for buildings and, therefore, could help to identify their remaining ruins. The printed book that comes to mind first when reading Tolomei's description³⁹ may be Ulisse Aldovrandi's (1522–1605) *Delle Statue antiche* from 1556. But it does not contain illustrations, and the commentaries on the statues are rather short.⁴⁰ An unpublished volume by Jacopo Strada, on the contrary, contains 174 drawings of statues, in some cases from different positions, and is extended by a set of over 120 drawings of portrait busts.⁴¹ In addition, the painter (Giovanni) Battista Franco (c. 1510–61) went from Urbino (back) to Rome in 1547 to draw "un grande libro [delle statue],"⁴² of which at least forty-seven drawings remain.⁴³ Therefore, even if no book or its preparations could be identified as corresponding to Tolomei's description, there are good reasons to assume that they existed or still exist and only have to be related again to the Tolomei's project.

3.16 ANNOTATED REPRESENTATIONS OF ALL FRIEZES, RELIEFS ETC.

The preparations for this volume may have been or still are part of the aforementioned codices and collections of drawings; at least, Tolomei's own description reads quite similar and differentiates these sculptural works from those in book 14 only by their original purpose.⁴⁴ A source also relatable to this part of the project may be the set of drawings after the reliefs at the Column of Trajan presumably made by Jacopo Strada and his workshop around 1554 in Rome and not based on earlier depictions of the monument.⁴⁵

3.17 REPRESENTATION OF DETACHED ARCHITECTURAL ORNAMENTS

Because Rome may be called the "city of the wandering stones"⁴⁶ there are many architectural parts detached from their original contexts and impossible to relate to existing or known buildings. Nonetheless, these parts, of course, create a rich basis for additional knowledge about architecture and its decoration and, therefore, would have to be recorded likewise.⁴⁷ Though there is no special volume among the architectural drawings mentioned above in relation to book thirteen dedicated to architectural ornaments and elements alone, there are many drawings of such parts like bases, capitals, friezes, cornices, sometimes even systematically ordered on one sheet. Therefore, it may be assumed that the preparations for this book can be found among the other architectural drawings.

3.18 REPRESENTATIONS OF ALL VASES AND SIMILAR DECORATIVE OBJECTS

Speaking about the decoration of architecture, the idea for this book is a straight consequence, because it is known that many buildings were — and would have to be — decorated with vases and similar objects. Again, there is no book or collection of drawings that could be attributed directly to this volume as its preparations, but there are many prints created in Rome during the 1540s by artists like Enea Vico (1523–67) depicting objects from collections owned by the same cardinals and other collectors who maintained close relations to Tolomei's circle and supported it, e.g. by financing prints that then were dedicated to them. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that at least some of these ornamental prints of ancient vases and even yet understudied similar drawings can be identified with or interpreted as being based on preparatory materials for this volume. In addition, there is again another volume of drawings by Jacopo Strada, usually understood as pure fantasies by the man educated as a goldsmith in Giulio Romano's (1499–1546) workshop in Mantova, which depict vases and other vessels.⁴⁸

3.19 REPRESENTATIONS OF TOOLS AND INSTRUMENTS

Tolomei's description makes it clear that 'instruments' are understood here not as musical instruments but as tools and similar equipment.⁴⁹ Though, again, no specially dedicated volume or preparatory drawings could be identified yet, among the drawings of architectural details, of tomb stones and even among the epigraphical volumes created for Tolomei's project several illustrations show ancient instruments, e.g. depicted in friezes like the famous one from the cornice of the Temple of Vespasian, today at the Musei Capitolini in Rome.

3.20 ANNOTATED COLLECTIONS OF ALL KNOWN INSCRIPTIONS

The first printed book easily relatable to this part of Tolomei's program may be the *Inscriptionum antiquarum [...] liber*, published in 1588 by Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) in Leyden.⁵⁰ But Lipsius only edited and extended the original book that was prepared by Martin(us) (de) Smet(ius) (c. 1525–c. 78). It has been regarded as the first printed sylloge corresponding to modern epigraphic conventions, in fact even establishing them. But Smet's collection itself is rather only an extract of the (at least) six volumes edited by Jean Matal (c. 1517–1597) in Rome with whom Smet collaborated closely while staying there.⁵¹ Other collaborators of Matal and/or contributors to his collection were — among many others — Antonio Agustín (1517–86), Stephanus Vinandus Pighius (1520–1604), Guillaume Philandrier, Antoine Morillon, Ludovico (Louis) Budé (c. 1520–51)⁵², Paulo Manutio (1512–74)⁵³, Benedetto Egio (unknown–c. 1570), Pirro Ligorio, even Palladio. Matal started to work on his sylloge when he arrived in Rome 1545 to work as the secretary of his close friend Agustín with whom he had almost finished but abruptly stopped to work on an edition of the Codex Pisanus in Florence. The clear, almost modern methodological and systematic approach recognizable in Matal's work impressed Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903) and convinced him to start his — still ongoing — academic project of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.⁵⁴ In addition to Matal's many collaborators two were to become important figures thought to stand at the

beginning of modern antiquarian and archaeological research: Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600) and Onofrio Panvinio (1530–68) — but both inherited much of their source material and received their methodological education from Matal.⁵⁵ It is hardly an exaggeration to see in Matal's work done for and with the help of Tolomei's circle one of the most important sources of historical studies on ancient Roman culture.

3.21 A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF ALL KNOWN PAINTINGS

Again, there is no surviving manuscript or printed book corresponding directly to this part of Tolomei's program,⁵⁶ but it may be assumed that this could have existed in some handwritten form especially when one takes into regard the enormous knowledge of ancient literature with its many descriptions of famous paintings and the involvement of artists like Strada and his young workshop collaborators like Giovanni Battista Armenini (1530–1609) and Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533–1611). That Tolomei did not have much hope to find many paintings may be reflected in his use of the word *operetta* (i.e. a little work).

There are two graffiti in Nero's Domus Aurea in Rome which seem to confirm that Agustín and Matal visited the then underground rooms (*grotte*) like Raffaello Santi from Urbino (1483–1520) and other artists and antiquarians had done before leading them to the recreation of the phantastic mural painting style today known as *grotesche*. That the draughtsmen working for Tolomei's project were interested in or ordered to record such paintings may be deduced from their drawings of stucco and other ancient decorations they encountered while measuring ancient buildings.

3.22 ANNOTATED REPRESENTATIONS OF COINS AND MEDALS

Like inscriptions, coins and medals could serve as valuable sources for information on ancient Roman architecture and its cultural contexts, and not only when they depicted Roman buildings or were minted for their inauguration or restoration.⁵⁷ Several printed books may be regarded as results of this part of the project, the first of which could be Jacopo Strada's *Epitome* published by himself in Lyon before his arrival in Rome in 1553.⁵⁸ Though it is rather a typical *Bildnisvitenbuch* with biographies of the Roman Emperors and their wives, Strada already knew about the project being pursued in Rome before his arrival. Fugger, for whom Strada had been working and on whose appointment Strada may have visited Rome already since the early 1540s, had studied law with Andrea Alciato (1492–1550) together with Granvelle and others from the Roman circle, e.g. Alessandro Farnese or Agustín and Matal, or he knew them through the wide-spanning professional network of his family's bank and his private antiquarian interests, too. Another book possibly related to this volume of Tolomei's program is Sebastiano Erizzo's (1525–85) *Discorso sopra le medaglie antiche*, following his *Trattato dell'istrumento et via inventrice de gli antichi* dedicated to Marcello Cervini.⁵⁹ Another printed book from Tolomei's circle and most influential in regard to the history of numismatics is Agustín's dialogue explaining the understanding of coins and medals as well as inscriptions,⁶⁰ even though Agustín's book may rather reflect his lifelong experience in the interpretation of ancient material sources than be regarded as a contribution to the project in a strict sense. Again, Jacopo Strada plays an underestimated role in this context: He lived in Rome between 1553 and 1555 and was invited, as he proudly claims, to take part in the meetings of the "eruditissima academia" (i.e. most learned academy) in the Palazzo Farnese where Agustín and several representatives from 20 disciplines and professions met.⁶¹ Already before he came to Rome he had started to work on a vast set of large representations of ancient Roman coins and medals, later called the *Magnum ac Novum Opus*. It consisted of thirty volumes (with some 10,000 drawings), twenty-nine of them preserved today in the Forschungsbibliothek at Castle

Friedenstein in Gotha, Germany).⁶² In addition, Strada left some 20 volumes of a similar undertaking, mostly regarding the coinage of the Roman republic, today in Vienna, Paris and London. More than half of the drawings are made on Italian paper which may suggest that they were made in Italy where Strada employed lots of young artists to have these and other drawings made in a very homogeneous way. These altogether more than 12,000 drawings are accompanied by two sets of eleven volumes containing minute descriptions of the coins, the objects and persons depicted as well as information about the state and place of the original coin used by Strada.⁶³

Though Strada's numismatic project was begun before he arrived in Rome and went on for two decades after he had left the Eternal City, it may, at least in parts, be regarded as related to Tolomei's project, especially when one keeps in mind that Strada was closely connected to many of its members.

3.23 RECONSTRUCTIONS OF ANCIENT BUILDING AND OTHER MACHINES

The last two books of Tolomei's program turn back to more practical reasons: The first, number twenty-three, would depict reconstructions of the machines described by Vitruvius and other ancient authors.⁶⁴ One may think that such reconstructions would not have been very useful more than 1,500 years after Vitruvius because of the technical progress, but it should be remembered that, e.g., the transportation of the Vatican obelisk in 1586 under the direction of Domenico Fontana (1543–1607) over a distance of some 300 meters was one of the major technical achievements of its time — while the obelisk had been brought to Rome in antiquity from Egypt over a distance of some 2,000 kilometers.

Again, no book or preparatory material corresponding to Tolomei's description is known yet, but there are several volumes with drawings of machines by Jacopo Strada in Vienna, Florence and private collections that have never been investigated for a possible relation to ancient

technical descriptions: The volume at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek⁶⁵ closely resembles the book printed by Strada's grandson Ottavio in 1617 (and extended, in 1623),⁶⁶ showing water mills and similar machines. Ottavio claims that his grandfather wanted to print these illustrations himself but did not live long enough. Therefore, these depictions may represent machines invented or used by Strada and his contemporaries and not ancient ones — but that does not mean that other, still unpublished and unstudied drawings by Strada may not be related to Tolomei's project.

3.24 RECONSTRUCTIONS OF AQUEDUCTS

The final volume was to be dedicated to the reconstruction of the ancient Roman aqueducts, a technical project that had been in the minds of Roman municipal and papal administrators for more than a century. The first successful reconstruction was that of the Aqua Virgo in 1570, feeding the famous Fontana di Trevi and — later — Bernini's fountains in Piazza Navona. It was based on investigations undertaken by the papal librarian and bishop Agostino Steuco (1496/97–1548) since 1545.⁶⁷ Steuco is rather known for his fierce attacks against protestantism but not for any technical interests. He was a close friend of Marcello Cervini, though, who followed him in the position as head of the Vatican Library. Therefore, it seems plausible that Steuco not by accident took three months off his duties in 1545 to search for and document the remains of aqueducts in the Roman Campagna. That his undertaking was at least in some respect successful is proven by the fact that his materials were used for the reconstruction of the Aqua Virgo. But it is not known yet if there is more of Steuco's material preserved, presumably in the Vatican.

4. WHICH ACADEMY?

What could be said about the structure and the name of the 'network' around Tolomei working on the realization of the publishing project described in his letter for almost twenty years? It has been supposed that Tolomei's circle was identical with the so-called Accademia della Virtù, founded around or shortly before 1537 in Rome. But, as Ambra Moroncini has shown convincingly, this academy was mostly dealing with modern (Neo-) Latin and Italian poetry as well as the reformation and unification of the Italian language as a new or even the future means for poetry and scientific literature.⁶⁸ Because Tolomei — like several other persons involved in the publishing project — was a member of this academy, it has been supposed that his network was identical with it, and furthermore, that this Accademia was the one Giorgio Vasari (1511–74) and Egnatio Danti (1536–86) later also referred to in their short biographies of Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola. But in fact, there seems to be no mentioning in letters or books after 1540 where the references to Tolomei's "archaeological" network of learned men is identified with Accademia della Virtù.⁶⁹ Therefore, it seems to be a misleading denomination.

The identification of the same group as an — or the — Accademia vitruviana seems to go back to Vasari's note on Vignola's activity for it:

"But later, there was at the same time in Rome an academy of noble gentlemen and lords who attended the study of Vitruvius; among them was Marcello Cervini, who later became Pope, Monsignor Maffei, Alessandro Manzuoli and others, they employed Vignola for their service to measure entirely all the antiquities of Rome and make some things according to their caprices, which was of greatest benefit in his progress and later advantage."⁷⁰

Those deriving the name Accademia vitruviana from this passage by forgetting that there is no other source for this name also seem to forget that Vignola's measuring surveys reported here go far beyond the textual study of Vitruvius. Therefore, and because it is nowhere else mentioned or described with these words, the name Accademia vitruviana should be abandoned.

Two other academies active in Rome around 1540–50 also have been regarded as being the group of many learned men Tolomei was talking about: The first is the Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon, founded by craftsmen and artists around Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and still existing today as a papal institution: Here, the (maybe not incidental) similarity between *Virtuosi* and *Virtù* may have led to the common misconception to identify these two academies. The Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon later acquired considerable fame when their members discussed theoretical problems related to their arts and developed concepts that today are regarded as foundations of the Baroque.

The other one is the so-called Accademia degli Sdegnati (i.e. Academy of the Angry) or dello Sdegno (of Anger) whose members were artists and antiquarians like Pirro Ligorio who seem to have been outraged (*sdegnati*) over the plundering of Roman antiquities especially by foreigners like the French and other cardinals who exported some very prestigious findings to their home countries. Because some of the Sdegnati as well as the cardinals were both connected to Tolomei's circle this may give a hint to some dissent causing the split-up of this network and/or its final breakup as well as the seemingly non-realization of its program.

In Egnatio Danti's description of the same period of Vignola's life already mentioned by Vasari, he gives a more general and also more precise characterization of this so far nameless Accademia:

"In this time an academy of architecture was founded by many noble spirits, of which Signor Marcello Cervini, who later became Pope, Monsignor Maffei, and Signor Alessandro Manzuoli were the principals; Vignola again left the art of painting and every other occupation and turned wholeheartedly to the noble study [of architecture], he measured and drew in the service of these Signori all the antiquities in Rome: Then he left accompanying the abbot Primaticcio, an excellent painter [...]."⁷¹

It seems reasonable — especially with regard to Tolomei's project — to adopt the name given by Danti to this circle and call it the — or rather an — Accademia d'Architettura even though Danti, writing in (or shortly before) 1583, i.e. about forty years after Tolomei, is a very distant source and can hardly have been personally involved with the Accademia before its presumable dissolution in 1555. But that he must have known about its efforts and results seems highly probable, because he was involved in activities around the construction and decoration of the Cappella Gregoriana in St. Peter's which broad him in contact with persons who had worked for the Tolomei's project like Vignola himself or inherited material from such persons: This regards especially the decoration with marble and other stone incrustation following the models of ancient buildings where remains of such decoration could still be found in the 1540s and were documented by the Anonymous Destailleur and other draughtsmen working for the Accademia.⁷²

Another possibility would be to call Tolomei's circle simply the second or refounded Accademia Romana because — as mentioned above — the second edition of Marliano's *Topographia urbis Romae* from 1544 was printed by the Dorico brothers calling themselves "Academiae Romanae Impreßorum" in their imprint. In addition, Jacopo Strada who was invited to participate in this circle when he lived in Rome between 1553 and 1555 also simply calls it *Academia* in his Latin introduction to Panvinio's *Epitome Pontificorum Romanorum* (1557) as if there had not been any other academic institution in Rome in his time. He even adds the epitheton *eruditissima* to this Academia.

Therefore, it seems to be correct to identify Tolomei's group of learned men active in Rome between 1542 (or even 1537, when it seems to have started inside or as part of the Accademia della Virtù) and 1555, when the untimely death of Marcello Cervini seems to have caused its suspension, simply with the name "Accademia" or "Accademia Romana".

Its separation into several groups working on specific areas of study (numismatics, epigraphy, architecture, history of ancient art and technology etc.) may have led to its 'disappearance' in the reception of later research — divided into disciplines according to the separation developed by this very academy itself — , even though the close relations among these groups and their members have or could have been always visible through their letters, dedications, cooperations and their employments. Altogether, some 137 persons could be identified who were more or less directly involved in Tolomei's project or inherited and edited materials collected by the Accademia's members as their disciples. In addition, some thirty-five still anonymous draughtsmen — except for *Guielmo francioso*, but who cannot be related to any French architect known later — seem to have worked for the Accademia, but some of them may be identical with those contributors whose names are known.

That Tolomei's circle was an 'interdisciplinary' one — long before the antiquarian or rather archaeological and historical studies differentiated into the modern disciplines — is also proven by Strada's report which lists among the Accademia's members "theologists, philosophers, astronomers, geometers, mathematicians, arithmeticians, historians, poets, physicians, lawyers, philologists, architects, sculptors [of reliefs], painters, sculptors [of statues], antiquarians, cameo makers, goldsmiths, and men of military and other arts that serve in war or peace."⁷³ Even though some of these professions may be counted today as belonging to one field, it is remarkable that Strada always uses the plural, suggesting that at least two representatives of each field belonged to the circle. Likewise it is important that he lists artists together with studied persons proving, thereby, that the aims of the Accademia could only be achieved by uniting theoretical and practical aims — exactly what Tolomei says in his letter. The reason was that the overall aim of the Accademia was a practical one, too: To reconstruct the knowledge of ancient architecture, unite it with the best contemporary achievements and, by

doing so, to lay the foundations for the best future architecture obviously required just that: an 'interdisciplinary' cooperation *avant la lettre*.

5. OTHER BOOKS AND SOURCES RELATABLE TO TOLOMEI'S ACADEMY

In addition to the books and manuscript sources mentioned above, there are many more by authors closely related to Tolomei's network and the program of his publication project. Up to now, some fifty-five publications by these persons could be identified (including those mentioned) dealing with archaeological topics in the broadest sense. The manuscript sources literally encompass several thousand pages with thousands of drawings and tens of thousands of inscriptions and other materials related to this research project.

6. DID TOLOMEI LIE?

It is clear that — maybe mainly because of the lack of a stable financing from a potent sponsor — Tolomei's program was not realized in perfect accordance to his description. But this article should also have made it clear that even the 'unfinished' project produced many more results than have been identified as such by later research. Though some — but only very few — sources have been rediscovered and extensively used during the last 170 years — namely the collection of Latin inscriptions by Jean Matal in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* — most of these materials still await their rediscovery and scientific evaluation: It should be obvious by now that this would be a very promising project, allowing to reconstruct lost and forgotten artifacts and knowledge from and about ancient Rome. And likewise, it should be obvious that such a rediscovery requires an international interdisciplinary network of researchers similar to that around Tolomei (even if not of the same size).

So: Did Tolomei lie when he promised that this program could be finished in "less than three years"? Not quite so, it just took more time than he had expected supposing that Landi or

another potent sponsor would finance the printing of the twenty-four books for which preparations must already have been finished to some considerable extent. And the answer should also be "no" because Tolomei's project was almost completely realized — even if it took some 50 years to publish some of its results and the largest part is still unpublished.

But was it a successful project? Definitely yes, because it influenced or even started not only the scientific rediscovery of the Roman antiquity and the formation of the modern disciplines related — in their origins — to Rome, but it also influenced heavily the development of modern architectural theory and practice: the importance of Vignola's and Palladio's books and buildings alone on Western architecture can hardly be overestimated. And both — like many others of later fame — have their roots in the project of the Roman Accademia described by Tolomei.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agustín, Antonio: *Diálogos de las medallas, inscripciones y otras antigüedades*. Tarragona: Mey, 1587.

_____. *Discorsi del S. Don Antonio Agostini sopra le medaglie et altre anticaglie*. Rome: Donangeli, 1592.

_____. *Dialoghi di Don Antonio Agostini [...] intorno alle medaglie inscrittioni et altre antichita*. Rome: Faciotti, 1592.

Aldovrandi, Ulisse: *Delle statve antiche, che per tvtta Roma in diuersi luoghi & case si veggono*. [printed together with Mauro, 1556, as pages 115–316]. Venezia: Ziletti, 1556.

Barbaro, Daniele. *I dieci libri dell'architettvra di M. Vitrvvio tradvtti et commentati da Monsignor Barbaro*. Venice: Marcolini, 1556.

____. *M. Vitruvii Pollionis de architectura libri decem, cum commentariis Danielis Barbari*. Venice: Francischi & Crugher, 1567.

Barocchi, Paola, ed. *Scritti d'Arte del Cinquecento*. Three volumes. Milan: Ricciardi, 1971–77.

Barozzi [Barozzio] da Vignola, Jacopo [Iacomo]. *Regola delli cinque ordini di architettura*. Rome: [without printer name], c. 1562.

Benedetti, Sandro, and Tommaso Scalesse. "Claudio Tolomei. Lettera al conte Agostino de' Landi." In *Trattati di Architettura*. Milano: Polifilo, 1985, V,2:33–50.

Bullant, Jean. *Reigle generale d'architecture des cinq manieres des colonnes*. Paris: Marnef & Cavellat, 1564.

Contile, Luca. *Delle lettere Lvca Contile primo volvme diviso in dve Libri*. Pavia: Bartoli, 1564.

Daly Davis, Margaret. "Zum Codex Coburgensis: Frühe Archäologie und Humanismus im Kreis des Marcello Cervini" In *Antikenzeichnung und Antikenstudium in Renaissance und Frühbarock. Akten des Internationalen Symposions 8.–10. September 1986 in Coburg*, Ed. Richard Harprath and Henning Wrede, 185–99. Mainz: Zabern, 1989.

____. *Archäologie der Antike: Aus den Beständen der Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 1500–1700*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994.

Danti, Egnazio. *Le due regole della Prospettiva pratica di M. Iacomo Barozzi da Vignola*. Roma: Zannetti, 1583.

De L'Orme, Philibert. *Premier tome d'architecture*. Paris: Morel, 1567.

Egger, Hermann: *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Sammlung architektonischer Handzeichnungen der K. K. Hof-Bibliothek. 1. Teil: Nr. 1–331: Aufnahmen der antiken Baudenkmäler aus dem XV.–XVII. Jahrhunderte*. Wien: K. K. Hofdruckerei, 1903.

Erizzo, Sebastiano. *Trattato di Messer Sebastiano Erizzo dell'istrvmento et via inventrice de gli antichi*. Venice: Pietrasanta, 1554.

_____. *Discorso di M. Sebastiano Erizzo sopra le medaglie antiche*. Venice: Bottega Valgrisiana, 1559.

Garimberto, Girolamo. *De regimenti publici de la città*. Venice: Scoto, 1544.

Harprath, Richard und Henning Wrede: *Der Codex Coburgensis: Das erste systematische Archäologiebuch*. Coburg: Kunstsammlungen, 1986.

Heenes, Volker. *Antike in Bildern: Illustrationen in antiquarischen Werken des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Stendal: Winckelmann-Gesellschaft, 2003.

_____. "Zu den Kopien der Reliefs der Trajanssäule im 16. Jahrhundert: Zwei neue Zeichnungen eines unbekanntes Rotulus" In *Columna Traiani – Trajanssäule. Siegesmonument und Kriegsbericht in Bildern*. Ed. by Fritz Mitthoff and Günther Schörner, 271–78. Wien: Holzhausen, 2017.

Heuser, Peter Arnold. *Jean Matal. Humanistischer Jurist und europäischer Friedensdenker (um 1517–1597)*. Weimar: Böhlau, 2003.

Jansen, Dirk Jacob. "Antonio Agustín and Jacopo Strada" In *Antonio Agustín between Renaissance and Counter Reformation*, ed. by Michael H. Crawford, 213–45. London: Warburg, 1993.

_____. *Urbanissime Strada. Jacopo Strada and Cultural Patronage at the Imperial Court*. PhD thesis, University of Leiden, Netherlands. Maastricht: Jansen, 2015.

Kulawik, Bernd. *Die Zeichnungen im Codex Destailleur D (Hdz 4151) der Berliner Kunstbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz zum letzten Projekt Antonio da Sangallos d. J. für den Neubau von St. Peter in Rom*. PhD dissertation, 2 vols., TU Berlin 2002 [online].

_____. "Wissenschaftliche Begriffsbildung im Humanistenkreis der interdisziplinären Accademia della Virtù in Rom." *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 38 (2014): 140–52.

____. "Establishing Normes For a New Architecture: The Project of the Accademia della Virtù, Its Aims and Results." In *À la recherche de la norme – Arts et lettres dans l'Italie de la Renaissance* (Liège: Université, in print, to appear in 2018)

____. "Wer ist der Anonymus Destailleur?" *Scholion* 10 (2016): 229–38

Lemerle, Frédérique. *Les annotations de Guillaume Philandrier sur le De Architectura de Vitruve, Livres I à IV*. Paris: Picard, 2000.

____. *Les annotations sur l'Architecture de Vitruve: Livres V à VII*. Paris: Garnier, 2011.

Lingsø Christensen, Rikke. *Spaces of Conception. Italian Architecture between Archaeology and Appearance*. PhD thesis, København University, 2011.

____. *The Text and The Detail. On Reading and Systematizing Vitruvius in the Renaissance*. – In *kunsttexte* 3 (2014): 1–14 [online journal].

Marliano, Bartolomeo. *Io. Barholomei Marliani Patricii Mediolanen. Antiquae Romae Topographia Libri Septem*. Rome: Blado, 1534.

____. *Topographiae antiquae Romae*. Lyon: Gryphius, 1534.

____. *B. Marliani Topographiae Urbis Romae*. Rome: Dorico, 1544.

Mauro, Lucio. *Le antichità della città di Roma*. Venice: Ziletti, 1556.

Moroncini, Ambra. "The Accademia della Virtù and religious dissent." In *The Italian Academies 1525–1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, ed. Jane E. Everson and Denis V. Reidy, 88–101. Oxford: Legenda, 2016.

____. "Il 'Giuocco de la Virtù': un intreccio accademico tra 'Stravaganze' letterarie e suggestioni evangeliche" In: *Intrecci virtuosi: Letterati, artisti e accademie tra Cinque e Seicento*. Ed. by Carla Chiummo, 101–10. Roma: De Luca, 2017.

Palladio, Andrea. *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*. Venice: Franceschi, 1570.

Panvinio, Onofrio. *Epitome pontificum romanorum*. Ed. by Jacopo Strada. Venice: Strada, 1557a.

_____. *Fasti et triumphum rom. a Romulo rege usque ad Carolum V. Caes. Aug.* Ed. by Jacopo Strada. Venice: Strada, 1557b.

Philandrier, Guillaume. *Gvlielmi Philandri castilionii galli civis ro. in decem Libros M. Vitruuui Pollionis de Architectura Annotationes*. Rome: Dossena, 1544.

_____. *M. Vitruvii Pollionis [...] de architectura libri decem [...] Adjunctis nunc primum Gvlielmi Philandri [...] castigationibus atque annotationibus [...]* Strasburg: Messerschmidt, 1550.

_____. *M. Vitruvii Pollionis de architectura libr decem [...] Accesserunt, Gvlielmi Philandri [...] annotationes castigatiores, & plus tertia parte locupletiores*. Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1552.

Pighius, Stephanus V.: *Themis dea seu de lege divina. Stephani Pighii Campensis*. Antwerpen: 1568.

Sangallo, Antonio da (the Younger): Proemio [to an Italian translation of Vitruvius], reprinted in: Barocchi, 3:3028–31.

Smetius, Martin and Justus Lipsius. *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae passim per Europam liber*. Leyden: Plantin, 1588.

Strada, Jacopo. *Epitome Thesavri Antiquitatum*. Lyon: Strada, 1553.

Strada, Ottavio. *Kunstliche Abriß allerhand Wasser- Wind- Roß- und Handt Muehlen*. Frankfurt (Main): Jacobi & Strada, 1617.

_____. *Kuenstliche Abriß allerhandt Wasserkünsten, auch Wind- Ross- Handt- und Wasser-Mühlen*. Cologne: Greuenbruch, 1623.

Tolomei, Claudio. *De le lettere di M. Clavdio Tolomei lib. sette*. Venice: Gioliti, 1547.

Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori*. Three volumes. Florence: Giunti, 1568.

Zollikofer, Kaspar. *Die Cappella Gregoriana. Die Anfänge der Innenausstattung von Neu-Sankt-Peter*. Basel: Schwabe, 2016.

¹ Tolomei, 81^r – 85^r, modern editions: Barocchi 3:3037–46, and Benedetti and Scalesse (1985).

² Tolomei, 84^v: "A qvalcvno parerà forse che qvesta sia troppo grande, e troppo malageuole impresa, e ch'ella abbracci troppe cose, le qvali non sia mai possibile condvrrre a fine: oltre che ce ne saranno alcune così oscvre, che non si potran mai per modo alcuno illvstrare. Ma s'egli saprà come non vn solo, ma molti belli ingegni si son uolti a qvesta nobile impresa, e come a ciascvno è assegnata la sva particolar fatica, non piv si marauigliarà, 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 parti si fa leggiero. Così partendosi tra tanti dotti hvomini qveste fatiche, non è dvbbio che'n manco di tre anni si condvrran tvtte a fine."

³ Moroncini, 2016, and 2017.

⁴ Usually, Philandrier's *Annotationes* and their reprint together with Vitruvius' full text in Philandrier, 1552, are regarded as the only realized parts of the program. Three members of Tolomei's circle also contributed to the second — and first illustrated — edition of Marliano's *Topographia* of ancient Rome from 1544, as some commentators of Tolomei's letter have already observed, e.g. Daly Davis, 1994, 43, who mentions Ludovico Lucena, and who relates Marliano's book to the ninth book (in her counting) of Tolomei's program. According to the new counting proposed here, this would be book twelve.

⁵ The so-called Codices Coburgensis (collections of the Veste Coburg, Germany, and Pighianus (Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany). Regarding these codices see: Harprath/Wrede, 1986, and Daly Davis, 1989.

⁶ Anthony Grafton proposed to regard the so-called Magdeburg Centuries — the first history of the christian church written from a protestant point of view — as the first example of international scholarly cooperation at the *Scientiae* conference in Toronto, 2015, under the title "Manus multiae, cor unum? Collaborative scholarship in early modern Europe", and at the *History of the Humanities* conference in Baltimore, 2016, under the title "Christianity and Philology: Blood Wedding?" But the work on the Magdeburg Centuries started in 1555.

⁷ Tolomei, 81^r: "[...] suegliare nrouamente qvesto nobile stvdio [di architettura] [...]."

⁸ For instance, on June 8, 1543, Tolomei writes to Alessandro Manzuoli (active c. 1500–1550) about the progress of the work while Manzuoli was away from Rome: see Tolomei, 184^v.

⁹ Philandrier, 1550.

¹⁰ Philandrier, 1552; see the annotated edition by Lemerle, 2000, and 2011.

¹¹ Philandrier, 1552, title page: "omnium omnibus editionibus longè emendatiores, collatis veteribus exemplis."

¹² Tolomei, 83^v: "[...] vn Vitruuio secondo qve testi che saranno con ragione approuati."

¹³ Barbaro, 1567, and 1556.

¹⁴ Tolomei, 82^r: "[...] vn uocabolario Latino assai pieno, doue saranno per Alfabeto dichiarati tvtti i uocaboli Latini, e qvelli massimamente c'hanno qualche dvbbio, e oscvrita."

¹⁵ For instance, Lingsø Christensen, 2011, and 2014.

¹⁶ Tolomei, 82^r: "E perche qvesto avtore è pieno di uocaboli Greci, si come ancora de gli ordini, e regole de l'Architettvra greca, però se ne farà vno altro de uocaboli greci, isponendoli poi in parole latine; oue infiniti uocaboli di Vitruuio ch'hor paiono oscvri si faran chiari, distendendosi talora al dichiarar le diriuazioni, e l'etimologie loro."

¹⁷ Tolomei, 82^v: "traducendo nuovamente Vitruvio in bella lingua Toscana"

¹⁸ See Sangallo, 3028.

¹⁹ It seems worthwhile to investigate this *proemio*'s relation to Tolomei's letter and Sangallo's involvement in the publishing project which lasted until 1544, at least.

²⁰ Tolomei, 82^v: "Questa fatica sarà molto utile a coloro che uoranno o parlare o scriuer uolgame di questa arte."

²¹ Ibid.: "vno altro uocabolario per ordine d'istrumenti o di parti, come per esempio pigliando la colonna con la sua base, e'l suo capitello; e ponendola in figura si dichiareranno a parte a parte tutti i suoi membri; [...] It tal modo che ponendo la figura dinanzi a gli occhi subito si conoscerà come si domandi ciascuna sua parte."

²² Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Ross. 618.

²³ This volume, also containing drawings by Antonio Labacco and Jacopo Strada, deserves further investigation, and will be examined by the author as soon as possible.

²⁴ Tolomei, 82^v: "Segue poi un collegamento de le regole di Vitruvio con gli esempi de l'opere, [...] perche doue Vitruvio porrà una regola, o uiero uno ordine d'Architettura in questo libro si discorrerà in qual luogo ne li edificii antichi sia osservato tal ordine, e trouando che in qualche altro edificio l'Architetto sene sia osservate le regole date da Vitruvio"

²⁵ Ibid.: "così si congiungerà in un certo modo la pratica con la teorica."

²⁶ Marliano, 1544, 3–13.

²⁷ Daly Davis, 1994, 42–44.

²⁸ Tolomei, 82^v–83^r: "[...] un altro studio [...] oue si uedrà distintamente, e la Roma quadrata antica, e gli altri accrescimenti di Roma di mano in mano [...]."

²⁹ Marliano, 1544, unnumbered page after page 122: "Impreſorum Academiae Romanae".

³⁰ Tolomei, 83^r: "[...] vna uaghissima, e vtilissima opera, ponendo in disegno tvtte l'antichità di Roma, e alcve ancora che son fvor di Roma, de le qvali s'habbia qualche lvce per le reliqvie loro. Oue si mostraranno in figvra tvtte le piante, i profili, e li scorci, e molte altre parti secondo che sarà necessario, aggivgnendoui le misvre givste, e uere secondo la misvre del pie Romano, con l'auuertimento de la proporzione, ch'e gli ha con le misvre de nostri tempi."

³¹ Ibid.: "[...] dve dichiarazioni; l'vno per uia d'histoire, mostrando che edificio fosse quello, e da chi, e perche conto fatto. E l'altra per uia d'Architettvra, isponendo le regioni, e le regole, e gli ordini di quello edificio."

³² Philibert de L'Orme (c. 1514–70) describes in a famous passage in his *Premier tome d'architecture* (1567), folio 131^r, that he employed several assistants to measure the ancient Roman buildings — and that he met cardinal Cervini (then cardinal of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome) in Rome in 1537 who advised him to use the ancient Roman foot for his measurements to easily reconstruct the original proportions. Later, Cervini must have learned that no such thing as an universal Roman foot existed: In Jean Matal's codices are at least twelve different representations of different Roman feet in their original sizes taken from ancient tombstones and other monuments.

³³ Spielmann, 69, 72, 74, 75, 123. — About the Berlin Codex Destailleur D see Kulawik, 2002; about the identity of the main draughtsman, a certain Guielmo francioso, see Kulawik, 2016.

³⁴ A publication summing up these results and many more new, supporting findings is in preparation. Beside the 120 sheets of the Berlin codex and some 100 sheets with drawings in the Viennese Albertina — of which Egger had identified already thirty-nine — there are altogether at least c. 850 sheets with more than 3,500 single drawings in thirteen collections identifiable as related to the same background. They form presumably the result of the largest

such campaign ever undertaken (not only) in Rome. The precision of the measurements as well as their comprehensiveness with regard to the buildings, including roofs and systems for heating and water supply still deserves to be rediscovered and used by archaeology and architectural history.

³⁵ The lack of drawings clearly attributable to Vignola who "measured all the antiquities of Rome" in the service of the academy headed by Cervini, Manzuoli and others (i.e.: Tolomei's circle) can be explained with the procedures used to create such drawings: Vignola, as the team leader, would not draw himself but supervise the entire process. At least, there are underdrawings for many drawings that must have been made by a remarkably trained hand very different from those hands usually executing the drawings.

³⁶ Harprath and Wrede, 1986; Daly Davis, 1989.

³⁷ Jansen, 1993, 224. The letter is part of manuscript codex Clm 9216 at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, folio 3^v. — About Strada's relation to many members of Tolomei's circle see Heuser, 214–218; on Strada in general with many new information, see Jansen, 2015.

³⁸ Morillon's colleague and collaborator, Stephanus Vinandus Pighius [Latin for Pigge], (had) made numerous copies from the Codex Coburgensis which are preserved today together with other material as the Codex Pighianus at the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

³⁹ Tolomei, 83^v: "Cosi ancora si farà vna altra opera de le statve, ritraendole tvtte in vn libro, [...]."

⁴⁰ See Aldovrandi.

⁴¹ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. HAD Codex Miniatus 21,2 and 3.

⁴² Vasari, 3:591: "Ma è ben vero, che Battista allora non era in Urbino, ma in Roma, doue atte[n]deua a disegnare non solo le statue, ma tutte le cose antiche di quella Città, p[er] farne, come fece, vn gran libro, che fu opera lodeuole." — While in Rome, Battista Franco worked

for persons related to Tolomei's circle like cardinal Cesi. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that his "gran libro" was related to their antiquarian interests and to Tolomei's project.

⁴³ According to a paper presented by Fritz-Eugen Keller at a colloquium in honor of Arnold Nesselrath, Berlin, 3 November 2017.

⁴⁴ Tolomei, 83^v: "E perche in Roma sono molte altre scoltvre in fregi, in tauole, e altre cose spezzate, si farà vna latra opera di ritratti di tvtte qveste altre cose col medesimo ordine, dichiarando particolarmente a ciascvna la sva historia, a appresso la bontà, o mancamento de l'arte."

⁴⁵ The drawings are preserved in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, HAD cod. 9410. Regarding these and other drawings of the column's reliefs see Heenes (2017). On early archaeological representations of ancient artifacts in general, see Heenes (2003).

⁴⁶ This characterization goes back to art historian Rudolf Preimesberger.

⁴⁷ Tolomei, 83^v: "Segve appresso vna fatica di ritrar tvtte le Modenatre antiche, che si trouanno come di porte, fregi, architraui, e simil cose, le qvali ad ogni Architetto son sommamente necessarie, perche in quelle si conoscon per esempio le misvre, e le regole di tvtte, come si debbian formare, il qvali ordini saranno in questa opera dichiarati appresso di ciascvna Modenatra."

⁴⁸ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. HAD Codex Miniatus 21,3. Again, this volume should be examined especially in relation to Strada's claim that the depicted objects would represent ancient originals or their depictions.

⁴⁹ Tolomei, 83^v: "E però si farà vn bellissimo libro, doue saranno primamenten designati tvtti li strvmenti antichi, di che si possa hauoer chiarezza, incominciando da quelli de la religione, e di poi quelle de la milizia; quindi li strvmenti de l'agricoltvra, e quelli de la casa, e di mano in mano tvtti gli altri; con vna dichiarazione appresso di ciascvno istrvmento, che cosa egli fvsse,

come si chiamasse, e che vso seruisse, qvali scrittori ne faccian menzione, e doue si ueda hoggidi ne le cose antiche."

⁵⁰ Smetius and Lipsius.

⁵¹ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 6034, 6036–40.

⁵² Son of the famous humanist Guillaume Budé (1468–1540).

⁵³ Son of the famous printer Aldo Manutio.

⁵⁴ Still maintained at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, Germany.

⁵⁵ Peter Arnold Heuser's biographical monograph from 2003 is the first to explore Matal's impressive life and tireless work and its importance. Like its subject, it deserves wider attention. — Among the many Vatican codices attributed to Orsini and Panvinio, but also Aldo Manuzio the Younger (1547–97) there are many which contain snippets with handwritings very close to that of Jean Matal and, therefore, maybe originally by Matal himself.

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

⁵⁷ Ibid.: "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'occasion di far la medaglia. E di piv il riuercio con tvtte le cose, ch'appartenesseno a qualche bella, o risposta dottrina."

⁵⁸ Strada, 1553.

⁵⁹ Erizzo, 1559, and 1554.

⁶⁰ Agustín, 1587, which appeared in two Italian translations already in 1592.

⁶¹ Panvinio, 1557a, unnumbered third page of the dedication, gives a list of the disciplines and professions; Panvinio, 1557b, unnumbered second page of the dedication, lists a few of the participants.

⁶² Dirk Jacop Jansen and Volker Heenes are working on a catalogue and overview of this magnificent work since late 2015.

⁶³ The two sets of the so-called *Diaskeue* are preserved today at the library of the university in Vienna and in Prague.

⁶⁴ Tolomei, 84^r: "De le tre parti, oue s'affatica l'Architettvra, vna e la parte de le Machine, la quale è molto vtile, e molto malageuole; a la qual uoltando lo stvdio, si tenterà se si pvo ritrouar la uera forma de le machine antiche, prima de l'acqve, di poi de tormenti, e vltimamente del mouere i pesi; ponendo distintamente le figvre loro, e l'ordine in che modo elle si fanno, con la ragione di ciascuna sva proporzione dichiarata. Nel qual libro non sol si stenderanno le machine poste da Vitruuio, ma tvtte quelle, che da altri avtori Grechi, e Latini, si potranno imparare."

⁶⁵ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, HAD, cod. 10846.

⁶⁶ These two volumes — Strada, 1617, and 1623 — are explicitly dedicated to contemporary usages, therefore it seems reasonable that ancient machines are not depicted.

⁶⁷ This information is based on a paper presented by Pamela O. Long at the Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, Chicago, March 31, 2017, under the title: "Cartography, Engineering, and Antiquity in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome."

⁶⁸ Moroncini, 2016, and 2017.

⁶⁹ The sometimes cited report given by Luca Contile (1505–74) in a letter to Sigismonde d'Este (1500–79) — Contile, 1564, 19^v–20^v, dated Rome, 18 July 1541 — refers to daily meetings of the Accademia della Virtù in Tolomei's house where the guest dealt with poetry. Only two times per week they met to discuss Vitruvius: Therefore, one may conclude, that the *Accademia della*

Virtù and the 'vitruvian' academy were not or only in some persons congruent even already in 1541. That Tolomei himself does not give a certain name for his circle confirms this interpretation: The circle reading Vitruvius had not been an established *Accademia* (yet) but rather in informal network of persons interested in the ancient author's work.

⁷⁰ Vasari, 3:700: "Ma dopo, essendo allhora in Roma un'Accademia di nobilissimi gentil'huomini, e signori, che attendevano 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, & a fare alcune cose, secondo i loro capricci, la qual cosa gli fu di grandissimo giouamento nell'imparare, & nell'utile parimente."

⁷¹ Danti, unnumbered second page of his introductory biography of Vignola: "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, Monsignore Maffei, & il Signor Alessandro Manzuoli; [Vignloa] lasciò di nuouo la Pittura, & ogn'altra cosa, & riuolgendosi in tutto a quella nobile esercitatione, misurò, & ritrasse per seruiti di quei Signori tutte l'antichità di Roma: d'onde si partì essendo stato condotto in Francia dall'Abate Primaticcio, eccellentissimo pittor [...]."

⁷² About the Cappella Gregoriana and its rich network of architectural references see Zollikofer: The later widespread reception of its decoration in St. Peter's itself as well as in baroque architecture in general but especially in Jesuit churches, can be seen as another result from Tolomei's project.

⁷³ Panvinio, 1557b, third unnumbered page of Strada's dedication: "Theologos, Philosophos, Astronomos, Geometras, Mathematicos, Arithmeticos, Hystoricos, Poëtas, Medicos, Iureconsultos, cultiorum linguarum peritos, Architectos, Sculptores, Pictores, Statuarios,

Antiquarios, gemmarios, Aurifices, militares enam viros, arteis denique omneis, & belli & pacis tempore oportunas, & salutareis."