Claudio Tolomei's Letter of 1542 Describing The Publishing Program of the Roman *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura* (c. 1535–1555)

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1   Introduction

In 1547 the Sienese humanist, philologist, politician, and—later—bishop Claudio Tolomei published a letter he had written to count Agostino de'Landi in 1542.[Tolomei 1547, 81r-85r] It contains a vast program of twenty-four books to be published by a network of learned men in Rome dealing with ancient Roman architecture, its theory, its contexts and meanings.[1]

Tolomei's collection of letters including this one has been published more than 10 times in the 16th century alone. It has also bee reprinted several times by modern research since the 1970s. And it has been referenced much more often in the scholarly literature. So, it can be said, that this letter is very well known at least among scholars of Italian Renaissance antiquarianism, but also of Renaissance architecture. Therefore, it is very astonishing that the letter has almost never been read carefully, and that Tolomei's words never have been taken for being worth to study them carefully. This seems to be the main reason why the project described in the letter has always been regarded as a phantasy and far too ambitious to have led to any results worth mentioning. For instance, Tolomei claims that the entire program could be finished in less than three years. However, modern research has accepted only *one* book and two groups of archaeological drawings after tombstones and sarcophagi as resulting from the work of Tolomei's network of scholars and practitioners.

Recent research instead suggests that Tolomei was right and that not only can large numbers of still understudied sources be traced to his network but also many of the famous early printed books on Roman antiquity can be as well. Following the systematic order of Tolomei's letter, this text will give a preliminary overview of those sources and books which can be attributed—even if still somewhat hypothetically—to Tolomei's network of artists and scholars, given that they fit so well into the program's descriptions. They should therefore be seen as concrete results of the project's realization. While it would take much more interdisciplinary research and, accordingly, a much longer book to confirm or reject the connections of all

these sources to the project, the existence of known personal connections among their authors and their subjects closely resembling those of the books described by Tolomei strongly suggests that they contributed to the realization of his program. If this hypothetical reconstruction is correct, Tolomei's project would no longer need to be regarded as unfinished but rather as almost finished. Indeed, due to the importance and influence of many of its results, we may even consider it complete and successful.

2 Intention and background of Tolomei's letter

In 1547 Claudio Tolomei published his *Delle lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei libri sette.*[Tolomei 1547] The collection includes a letter Tolomei had written in 1542 to Count Agostino de'Landi, then Papal Ambassador in Venice.[2] This letter describes a vast program regarding the study of ancient architecture and numerous other aspects of the material culture of ancient Rome. The reason why — according to Tolomei — so many other classes of artifacts would have to be documented in study is their usability as additional sources of information about architecture which was the main aim of the entire program. Because the letter starts with a long list of planned books concentrating on the only surviving ancient book on architecture, Vitruvius's *De architectura libri decem = Ten books on architecture*, the program has largely been discussed as a proposal to study *only* Vitruvius. Accordingly, Tolomei's network of friends and collaborators has been called provisionally the *«Accademia Vitruviana»* by modern researchers.[3] But Tolomei actually demands a comparison between Vitruvius's *Ten Books* and the still existing works of ancient architecture with this textual source. As a reason for this, Tolomei mentiones that the architects of his time long had realized that the ancient Roman architecture they had studied carefully did not comply to the rules given by Vitruvius. But even this interpretation is only one half of the truth, because the entire program consists of a plan to study, document, and annotate almost everything that could possibly help understand Vitruvius and ancient Roman architecture in its cultural, religious, historical and political contexts.

Therefore, the studies would have to include the urban development of the *Urbs Roma* in antiquity and all surviving or known buildings, artefacts — such as architectural ornaments, vases, statues, reliefs, inscriptions, coins, and paintings — that were used to embellish buildings or could help to identify and understand them. But even objects like machines (to be reconstructed from descriptions), instruments and tools, or aqueducts had to be studied, documented and compared — all of which could help to understand how architecture was constructed technically and how it was used. All these artefacts, buildings as well

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[2] [Tolomei 1547, 81r-85r] — A critical, comprehensively annotated edition of this letter with a translation into German is in preparation. An English version will follow as soon as possible. The collection of Tolomei's letters was reprinted at least twenty times in the sixteenth century by different publishers, among them his original publisher Gabriele Giolito de'Ferrari in Venice (1550, 1554, 1558, 1565) an other, mostly Venetian, publishers such as Domenico Giglio (1558), Domenico and Cornelio de'Nicolini (1559), Nicolo Bevilacqua (1563), Fabio and Agostino Zoppini (1582), Iacomo Cornetti (1585), Giovanni Griffio (1589), and others. But while the letter could have been very well known, no contemporary reactions to it are known so far. Giovanni Poleni, *Exercitationes Vitruvianæ Primæ* (Padova, 1739) = [Poleni 1739], gives a biography of Tolomei (pp. 50–59), discusses architectural studies in Rome during his lifetime (59–61), and provides a short overview of the letter's content (pp. 61–62). Only during the twentieth century did the letter gain some more attention among scholars and was republished in a lightly annotated transcription into modern Italian by Sandro Benedetti and Tommaso Scalesse in a collection of sources regarding architecture and other arts and sciences: *Trattati di architettura*, vol. 5, pt. 2 of *Classici italiani di scienze techniche arti* (Milan, 1985), 33–50 = [Benedetti / Scalesse 1985]. In addition, the letter was mentioned briefly with annotations to the described program several times, but only Margaret Daly Davis discussed it extensively in her catalog *Archäologie der Antike 1500–1700* (Wiesbaden, 1994) = [Daly Davis 1994.1] in her introduction titled «Wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung und Entwicklung einer Systematik: Archäologische und antiquarische Studien antiker Reste in der Accademia Vitruviana in Rom,» = [Daly Davis 1994.2]. This article could not have been written without this pioneering work.

[3] [Daly Davis 1994.2, 11-12] gives a comprehensive overview of Tolomei's network in her introduction. But like all other modern references to this network, this was only an initial attempt and therefore contains several errors and misinterpretations that often were copied by later authors. Her overview also cannot be regarded as complete. Ongoing research suggests that over 165 people were involved in the activities of this network around Marcello Cervini and Tolomei between ca. 1535 and 1555. For recent, up-to-date results, see http://www.accademia-vitruviana.net.

as works of art and other objects, should be documented and annotated with regard to their historical, mythological, architectural, and art historical contexts. This would be useful to date the objects and understand them in their specific historical context. So, even if nothing had come out of the project described by Tolomei, its astonishingly modern approach to historical objects — presumably derived from the methodology developed in philological studies since the 14th century — should have attracted more attention by modern scholarship.

Tolomei clearly states the aim of the program on the opening page:

> [. . .] svegliare nuovamente questo nobile studio, e [. . .] quasi da le tenebre, ne le quali si trova condurlo a qualche piu chiara luce, sperando aprir la via a molti altri, di aggiugnervi poi maggior chiarezza, e splendore.[Tolomei 1547, 81r]

> [. . .] to (re-) awake anew this noble study [of architecture], and [. . .] to lead it from the darkness in which it is found now to some more clear light, hoping to open the road to many others so that they may add even more clearity and splendour.

[Tolomei's text is always cited in its original spelling; only the letters u and v are changed to their modern usage for ease of reading.]

This can be understood as a systematic plan to launch a renaissance of ancient Roman architecture by reviving its study — understood here as a comprehensive reconstruction of any knowledge about ancient architectural theory and practice. The intention of this program is, therefore, not only to please the curiosity of some ambitious antiquarians, but to lay a solid foundation for any contemporary and future architecture. Tolomei seems to have known exactly how to achieve this aim:

> E perche quasi tutte l'arti, e principalmente l'Architettura son composte di teorica, e di pratica, è necessario per venire a qualche escellenza, non solo speculare, ma ancora porre in opera.[Tolomei 1547, 81r]

> And because almost all of the arts, but most of all architecture, are composed of theory and practice, it is necessary not only to speculate but also to put something into being to achieve a certain excellence.

The project thus had to combine theory with practice. In essence, that meant that those who understood the theoretical basis of architecture (e. g., Vitruvius's *Ten Books*) and cold read the Latin original would have to work together with practitioners who knew how to build, those who understood and could even possibly reconstruct the techniques and forms of ancient architecture. This might remind the modern reader of a short draft by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger from around 1531 (updated around 1539) for a preface («*Proemio*») to a new edition of Vitruvius in a manuscript at the *Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*; a modern edition is available in: *Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento*, edited by Paola Barocchi, 3 vols. (Milan and Naples, 1971–77) = [Scritti d'Arte (1971–1977)] in vol. 3, pp. 3028–3031. Sangallo explains that the modern editions of Vitruvius's *De Architectura libri decem* suffered from the fact that the philologists editing the text did not fully comprehend architectural practice — and that, on the other hand, practitioners had not mastered Latin well enough to understand Vitruvius correctly. Therefore, the ancient book often was regarded as dark and mysterious. Sangallo declares that his new edition of Vitruvius — of which we have no traces except his sketch of this *Proemio* — would overcome these obstacles because it would be published in close collaboration between practitioners like him (then the leading architect in Rome) and

learned men. Interestingly, his description of the work that had to be done or taken into consideration reads like a first draft for the first half of Tolomei's program. We know that Sangallo took part in the sessions of Tolomei's network in the 1540s, where Vitruvius's text as well as more fundamental matters were discussed. The bishop Girolamo Garimberto gives a good impression of such discussions in his *De' regimenti publici de la città* (Venice, 1544) = [Garimberto 1544]. To demonstrate the importance of a good legal constitution as the foundations for the legal system of a state, he gives as a comparison two opposint views from a discussion between Sangallo and Jacopo Meleghino, who was also working as an architect on the construction of St. Peter's in the Vatican: Sangallo declares, that based on the surving foundations an ancient Roman building could be reconstructed if its architect had followed the correct rules of proportion and decoration. Meleghino's conter, that no-one would be able to reconstruct the Vatican Palace if only its foundations would survive, indirectly supports Sangallo's view, because this palace had grown over centuries from some medieval nuclei with additions following very different concepts and styles. Therefore, a could not regarded as an example able to falsify Sangallo's view.

3   The *Accademia*'s program according to Tolomei's letter

The following paragraphs provide a list of books — each one dedicated to a special topic — that Tolomei felt necessary to the success of his program. Where it is possible, a short overview of the Renaissance sources — manuscripts and books — that could or even should be seen as related to Tolomei's program.

Tolomei's large network of artists, intellectuals, and draftsmen has been called «*Accademia Vitruviana*» by modern research, but, given recent work, it might be identified with a certain «*Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura*» mentioned by Dionigi Atanagi in 1565 = [Atanagi 1565, Ll2v-Ll3r]. Over the course of some twenty years, between 1535 and 1555, more than 165 persons seem to have been members of this network, loosely connected to several academies active in Rome during this time. Among the members were cardinals such as Marcello Cervini, Alessandro Farnese, Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, Federico Cesi or Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, bishops such as Bernardino Maffei, humanists—often in the service of the church—such as Guillaume Philandrier and Stephanus Pighius, noblemen such as Giangiorgio Trissino, and architects such as Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, and Andrea Palladio.

Marcello Cervini may be regarded as the *spiritus rector* of the entire project: Born in 1501 in a rather modest family from Macerata, he was appraised by contemporaries for his mathematical studies, became the cardinal of *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme*, was the teacher of Alessandro Farnese and librarion for the Farnese family before he became the first cardinal librarian of the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*. He was presumably one of the most learned men of his time, not only started a publishing project of Greek theological literature but also headed the Council of Trent as the Papal Representative for several years. He was closely related to the Farnese household, and was surely one of the best scholars on ancient architecture of his time. He is often mentioned in connection with studies of ancient Roman remains as of the 1530s. He died in April 1555, three weeks after his election as Pope Marcellus II. Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* is dedicated to him. For more information, see Giampiero Brunelli, «Marcello II» in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Maria Caravale (Rome, 2007), vol. 69; also available online: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/papa-marcello-ii_(Dizionario-Biografico) = [Brunelli 2007]. Unfortunately, modern biographical literature on Cervini almost exclusively focusses on his many important activities within the catholic church, but his cultural activities still deserve much more research.

Tolomei's network, the *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura* employed about thirty-five draughtsmen

taking part in the architectural surveys. Working in smaller groups, they shared the workload between measuring, drawing first survey sketches, and more elaborate overview drawings based on those as well as preparing orthogonal and in-scale drawings as templates for prints. The same pattern of working in smaller groups whose results were then united and ordered systematically can be observed in other groups of draughtsmen documenting other special classes of artifacts, e. g. reliefs, sarcophagi, inscriptions, coins etc. Of course, it cannot be excluded that some of these draughtsmen worked in different roles and for different sub-projects of the *Accademia.*

Tolomei's network has usually been identified with the so-called *Accademia della Virtù*, established around 1537 and dedicated to Neo-Latin poetry and the modernization of Italian to make it suitable as a substitute to Latin. But as Ambra Moroncini has convincingly shown [Moroncini 2016, Moroncini 2017], this academy concentrated its work on these philological fields. Because Tolomei as well as other participants of his wide network were members of several academies at the same time and «academies» were not fixed, established institutions, they may have collaborated on similar projects in different circumstances and on different occasions. But the *Accademia della Virtù* is not know to have developed a special interest in ancient Roman architecture besides its philological work, even though modern research always has drawn this seemingly too-fast conclusion from the participation of Tolomei — who himself should rather be regarded as a philologist than as a student of architecture. This is also a reason to not regard him as the leading author of the program described in his letter but rather as a leading member of this network who happened to play some administrative and coordinating role.

Though this academic network never seemes to have reached the stable status of a formal institution, this essay will presume that while Tolomei's *Accademia* may have overlapped with the A*ccademia della Virtù*, it should rather be regarded as the reestablishment of the famous *Accademia Romana* founded in 1464 by Pomponio Leto and active in Rome until the *Sacco di Roma* in 1527. The fact that several late members of this (first) Roman *Accademia*, such as Trissino and Cervini, became leading members of the new one is a strong indication for a continuity between the two academies. This interpretation may also be supported by the fact that the Dorico printers, the brothers Valerio and Luigi (Aloisius) proudly called themsevles «*Accademiæ Romanæ Impressorum*» in the imprint of the first illustrated edition of Bartolomeo Marliano's *Topographia* = [Marliano 1544, (unnumbered page 123)]. Obviously, it would make no sense to claim to be the publisher of Leto's academy which had ceased to exist some 17 years before this book came out, especially when one takes into regard that the Dorico brothers had just arrived in Rome in 1527 and set up their workshop but are not known to have published antiquarian literature in their first years in Rome.

Because Tolomei did not give numbers to the books he listed in his letter, I added them here for easier reference. Even though some passages could be interpreted in a different way, this numbers and the according books hopefully will not to have be changed in the future. The absence of a numeration of the books (or «items», as some scholars preferred to call them even though Tolomei clearly speaks of «books») has led to several confusing descriptions of the list in recent scholarship, with the number of items ranging from eight to twenty. It is hoped that the interpretation of Tolomei's letter given here is convincing — at least with regard to the numbers.

3.1 Book 1: Difficult passages in Vitruvius

The first book in Tolomei's list would be dedicated to the passages in Vitruvius *Ten Books* that proved difficult to be understand. This book, therefore, would establish some sort of a short commentary one would expect to be published only after or together with a full new edition of the *Ten Books* themselves:

> Prima dunque si farà un libbro Latino, dove per modo di annotazoni distese si dichiararanno tutti i luoghi difficili di Vitruvio possibili ad intendersi; e massi- mamente quelli, che appartengono a le regole d'Architettura, disegnando le figure, ove fusseno necessarie per maggior chiarezza di que luoghi.[Tolomei 1547, 81v]

> First, therefore, a Latin book will be made where — in the form of annotations — all the difficult places in Vitruvius are explained hoping to understand them better; and especially those [will be treated] which relate to the rules of Architecture, and illustrations will be drawn for better clearity of these places.

The position of this book at the top of the list may be explained by the fact that, by the time the letter was published in 1547, this book alreadỳ had been printed in the form of Guillaume Philandrier's *[. . .] In decem Libros M. Vitruuii Pollionis de Architectura Annonationes (* Rome, 1544) = [Philandrier 1544]. The connection between Philandrier's book and Tolomei's program has been observed several times, e. g. by, Margaret Daly Davis [Daly Davis 1994.2, 16] But the philologist Tolomei would have had to «falsify» his own letter if he had mentioned the book explicitly in the list presumably written in 1542. This may be the reason why it is only indirectly cited. Any contemporary scholar with interests in this field would have recognized anyway what Tolomei was referring to: a book that became quite famous and was reprinted several times in the following years. It is still one of the most valuable tools for understanding Vitruvius *and* how he was interpreted in the Renaissance by leading antiquarians and architects.

3.2 Book 2: Philological overview and comparison of the known versions of Vitruvius's text

> E perche i testi di Vitruvio son molto varii, cosi gli stampati, come gli scritti a penna; onde spesso nasce confusione, e oscurezza: però si farà una opera d'annotazioni de la diversità de testi, massime ne le varietà notabili, e di qualche importanza, con le risoluzioni di qual lettura sia piu piaciuta, e per quali ragioni [. . .] [Tolomei 1547, 81v]

> And because the text [versions] of Vitruvius are very different, the printed as well as those written in manuscript, this creates some confusion and obscurity. Therefore, a work of annotations about the diversity of the texts will be made, especially regarding the notable differences, and of some importance with resolutions which lecture [= interpretation] would be the most appropriate, and for which reasons.

The second book of the project would compare the known manuscripts as well as the already printed editions of Vitruvius's *Ten Books* to establish and in preparation of a reliable text. A book corresponding to this description could be seen in the republication of Philandrier's *Annotationes* of 1552 uniting it with the complete text of Vitruvius's *Ten Books* in a corrected version, as its subtitle reads:

> omnibus omnium editionibus longè emendatiores, collatis veteribus exemplis [Vitruvius / Philandrier 1552]

> carefully corrected according to all old editions [i. e. prints and, presumably, also manuscripts] and following the oldest examples [obviously of manuscripts].

It is obvious that the resulting book would establish something like a phillogical foundation for a new edition by creating some sort of an «Urtext», i. e. a text version that eliminates as many mistakes like

scribes' errors as possible and establishes a text that would be as close as possible to the presumed original. Though it is known today that all of the surviving medieval and Early modern manuscripts of Vitruvius's *Ten Books* seem to go back to one caroligian example, such a comparative study as well as a reliable text based on it still seem to be missing.

Philandrier's editions have been the object of studies and editions by Frédérique Lemerle [Lemerle 1994, Lemerle 2000/2011, Lemerle 2009]. She has mentioned several manuscripts owned by Cervini and others in Rome that were or may have been used by Philandrier. But even though she knows about the activities of the Roman academy around Tolomei and Philandrier's personal relation to many of its members, she does not see his work as related to the program described by Tolomei or other possible results.

3.3   Book 3: New Latin edition of Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture*

> havendo in animo stampar poi un Vitruvio secondo que testi, che saranno con ragione approvati.[Tolomei 1547, 81v]

> [We] are planning to print then a Vitruvius [i. e. a ne edition of the *Ten Books*] according to these texts [i. e. the different texts compared] which are approved with reason.

The logical step following the philological preparations in book 2 and the explanations of difficult passages in book 1 would be a new edition of Vitruvius's *Ten Books*. This would establish a kind of reliable «Urtext» for any future references to the work and also a basis for the next books planned according to Tolomei's program.

But several references in Vitruvius's text point to drawings he had added to explain complex matters to his readers. These drawings have been lost, and thus would have to be reconstructed:

> E cosa certa che Vitruvio fece molte figure, perche s'intendessen meglio alcuni luoghi de la sua opera, le quali pose nel fine di ciascun libbro; si come esso ne sa piu volte testimonianza. Ma come infiniti altri libbri antichi si son perduti, cosi queste ancora non si trovano.[Tolomei 1547, 81v]

> It is a certain thing that Vitruvius made many illustrations/figures, because with their help one could understand several passages of his work better. He put them a the end of each book as one knows from many references. But like uncountable other ancient books have been lost, so these cannot be found anymore.

Tolomei mentions that Fra Giovanni Giocondo from Verona, the acclaimed architect, engineer, and antiquarian, was the first to add illustrations to his edition of Vitruvius [Vitruvius / Giocondo 1511]. But this and several following edition contained some errors, and the list of illustrations cannot be regarded as complete in comparison to Vitruvius's own references to the drawings added to his original manuscript. A new set of illustrations would thus have to be made.

> Da questo mossi costoro hanno animo rinovar tutte le figure, disegnandole con piu bella grazia, e finezza che sarà possibile, emendando quelle, dove havesse errato Giocondo, e aggiugnendone in varii luoghi molte altre, c'hora non vi sono; le quali cose porgon grande aiuto a l'intendimento di questo autore. [Tolomei 1547, 82r]

> Moved by this it is planned to renew all the figures, to draw them with as much grace and finesse as possible, to improve those where Giocondo has erred, and to add many more in different places, where they are not now; this will provide big help to the understanding of this author.

It is not quite clear if Tolomei wanted these illustrations to be part of the text or if he thought they should be printed separately.

Vitruvius had added them at the end of each of his ten books, and it may therefore be assumed that Tolomei planned something similar, perhaps even a separate volume that could be used easily side by side with the text. If so, this would have added an additional volume to the list.

3.4 Annotated Latin vocabulary of Latin terms used by Vitruvius

> In Vitruvio sono infiniti vocaboli Greci, e Latini, li quali a l'orecchie altrui paiono nuovi, e rare volte uditi. Però per utilità di coloro che studiano questo libbro, si farà un vocabolario Latino assai pieno, dove saranno per Alfabeto dichiarati tutti i vocaboli Latini, e quelli massimamente c'hanno qualche dubbio, e oscurità.[Tolomei 1547, 82r]

> There is an infinite number of Greek and Latin words in Vitruvius [i. e., in the *Ten Books on Architecture*] which seem to be new to the ear or rarely used. Therefore, for the use of those who study this book, a rich Latin vocabulary will be made where all the Latin terms will be explained, and most of all those of dubious or obscure character.

No printed book or manuscript edition of this vocabulary — or rather dictionary — has been found. But it can be assumed that an annotated list of reoccurring difficult words and notions may have existed in manuscript form to aid Tolomei and his friends during their discussions over the interpretation of the ancient text. Only with such a list at hand it would have been possible to keep an overview and to clarify the significance and meanings of such difficult terms used by Vitruvius.

As is clear from Tolomei's description, this *vocabolario* could not have been intended to be just a list of words like an index, but rather must have been planned as a lexicon with full explanations of the words. While the modern term vocabulary in English or vocabolario in Italian usually refers to simple lists of words with very short descriptions or translations, the Italian usage in the 16th century could have been different: For instance, the first dictionary of the (Tuscan) Italian language is the famous *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* printed in 1612, but presumably prepared since the foundation of the *Accademia della Crusca* in 1583 [Vocabolario (1612)]. The length of its explanations reaches from a few lines to half columns and even more. And with its subtitle announcing «tre indici delle voci, locuzioni, e proverbi latini, e greci» = three indices of the words, the places, and Latin and Greek proverbs» it is clear, that a *vocabolario* cannot have meant a sort of simple index list of words.

A similar book, even closer to the Roman *Accademia* can be seen in Aldo Manuzio's *Orthographiæ Ratio* from 1566 [Manuzio 1566]. It contains Latin explanations of Latin words with references to places in ancient texts or inscriptions for their interpretation. Aldo Manuzio (the Younger) had been a productive contributor to Jean Matal's *sylloge* kept in the Vatican Library. The press of his father Paulo and his famous grandfather Aldo (the Elder) published several of the books by members of Tolomei's academic Roman network.

So, with *vocabolario* Tolomei seems to have meant a similar book containing longer explanations for the strange Latin terms used by Vitruvius and not just an index or list of words as, e. g., Rikke Lingsø

Christensen [Lingsø Christensen 2011] wants to understand it by comparing the *vocabulario* mentioned by Tolomei with the index lists in Barbaro's edition and translation of Vitruvius.

3.5 Annotated Latin vocabulary of Greek terms used by Vitruvius

The first dictionary just described would have to be complemented by another one explaining the ancient Greek words used by Vitruvius, usually in connection with parts of the classical, that is, Greek, orders of the columns or technical terms connected to and stemming from Greek architecture:

> E perche questo autore è pieno di vocaboli Greci, si come ancora de gli ordini, e regole de l'Archtettura greca, però se ne farà uno altro de vocaboli greci, isponendoli poi in parole latine; ove infiniti vocaboli di Vitruvio ch'hor paiono oscuri si faran chiari, distendendosi talora al dichiarar le dirivazioni, e l'etimologie loro.[Tolomei 1547, 82r]

> And because this author [i.e. Vitruvius] is full of Greek words, as they are used in the orders and the rules of Greek architecture, another [vocabulary] will be made for the Greek words, explaining them in Latin words, where [= in this vocabulary] an infinite number of words from Vitruvius which appear obscure today will be made clear by explaining their derivation and etymologie.

It is remarkable that this second dictionary would explain not only the meaning of the relevant words but also their etymology, an early attempt to approach ancient (architectural) theory in this philological way. No trace has been found yet of such a book, but it seems impossible to believe that there would not have been something similar in manuscript form available to the members of Tolomei's circle during their discussions and in preparation for their edition and translation of Vitruvius. This book may even more have looked like Aldo Manuzio's *Orthographiæ ratio* mentioned above.

3.6 Comparison of Vitruvius's Latin with those of other classical authors

Still other obstacles present themselves when one tries to read Vitruvius:

> Pare ad alcuni spesse volte strano il modo del parlar di Vitruvio; essendo molto lontano da quello ch'usano Cesare, e Cicerone, e gli altri buoni scrittori Romani; onde si farà una opera latina de modi di parlar di Vitruvio, ove si vedrà se molte durezze, che s'accusano in lui si posson difendere per esempio d'altri buoni autori, e quelle che non haveranno questo scudo, si notaranno, come proprio, e particolar suo idioma.[Tolomei 1547, 82r]

> To some [people] Vitruvius's mode of speaking seems to be strange and to be fra from the that used by Caesar, Cicero and the other good Roman authors; therefore one will make a Latin work about the speakings modes of Vitruvius where one will see if many of the harshnesses, of which he is accused, could be defended, e.g., with examples from other good authors, and for those which do not have such an excuse it will be noted as his own, particular idiom.

This planned volume seems to be motivated by the dissatisfaction that philologists of classical Latin may have felt when reading the text of the Roman engineer and architect whose «way of speaking» obviously did not meet their standards. Again, no trace of such a study has been identified yet — but in this special

case one may doubt that such a book really existed or ever reached some considerable state of preparation because it would not have been necessary to understand Vituvius and therefore may not have been seen as a crucial aim for the project in general. But it is possible that at least similar preparations were made, e. g., for the publication of Philandrier's book. This may also be true for the next book.

3.7 Translation of Vitruvius's *Ten Books* into better Latin

> Questa cosa ha svegliato il desiderio di tentare, se si potesse por Vituvio in una lingua latina piu chiara, e piu purgata, avvicinandosi quanto è possibile a le parole, al filo, e a la tessitura de gli altri buoni scrittori latini: la qual cosa riuscendo sará bellissima, vedendo Vitruvio d'aspro, e scabbro, diventar piacevole, e piano. [Tolomei 1547, 82r]

> This [the strange Latin used by Vitruvius mentioned above] has awakened the desire to try, if possible, to translate Vitruvius into a more clear and purified Latin language, by approximating to the words, the lines and the textual structure of the good Latin authors: This would result in a beautiful thing to see Vitruvius changed from dark and harsh to pleasing and smooth.

It seems quite possible that this philological dream of a translation of Vitruvius into a better Latin [!] did not meet the interests of the other participants in the project and, therefore, never came into being. After all, every modern reader of Vitruvius would have to go back to the original text in questions of doubt or for earnest studies of ancient architecture and its theory.

3.8 Translation of Vitruvius's *Ten Books* into modern (Tuscan) Italian

However, for this next book there surely would have been a much wider audience interest:

> Le cose d'Architettura son disiderate assai, e praticate hoggidi da huomini che non hanno molta intelligenza di lingua latina, si come scoltori, dipintori, maestri di legname, e Architettori volgari. Per la qual cosa insino a questi tempi Vitruvio è stato tradotto almen tre volte di latino in volgare, ma cosi stranamente, e con parole, e costruzzioni cosi aspre, ed intrigate, che senza dubbio manco assai s'intende in volgare, che non sa in latino. Il che è avvenuto per non haver quei traducitori le vere regole, e la vera forma di trasferire una lingva in una altra; oltre che molti luoghi come difficili non sono stati da loro intesi. Farassi dunque ancor questo utile al mondo, traducendo nuovamente Vitruvio in bella lingua Toscana, ingegnandosi fare in tal modo, che s'egli é cosi difficile per la sottigliezza de la materia, non sia almen ruvido per l'asprezza, e intrigamento de le parole.[Tolomei 1547, 82r-82v]

> The architectural things are desired and practiced today by men who do not understand the Latin language very well, like sculptors, painters, carpenters or common architects. Because of this reason up to our times Vitruvius has been translated at least three times from Latin into Italian, but in such a strange way, and with dark and intricate words and [grammatical] constructions, that without any doubt one can hardly understand them in Italian who does not know Latin, too. This resulted from the fact that those translators did not know the true rules and the true form how to translate one language into another; even more, many difficult places [in Vitruvius's text] have not been understood correctly [by these translators]. Therefore, something very useful to the world will be done by trandlating anew Vitruvius into the beautiful

Tuscan language, and it is planned to do this in a way that where he is difficult to understand because of the difficultie of the subject matter, he / the text will not be harsh due to the darkness and intricacy of the words.

With this *desideratum*, a wide audience would be presented with a trustworthy new translation of Vitruvius into the Tuscan dialect, which had been regarded as the best Italian dialect since Dante Alighieri's time. Therefore, it could be expected that this part of the project was promoted with some effort. And there is even a well-known candidate for a published version of this book:

In April 1555 the *spiritus rector* of Tolomei's network and widely acclaimed scholar of mathematics, architecture and Greek literature, Marcello Cervini, died three weeks after his election as Pope Marcellus II. The following year, Daniele Barbaro published his annotated Italian translation of Vitruvius's *Ten Books*.[Vitruvius / Barbaro 1556] Its subtitle mentions:

due Tavole, l'una di tutto quello si contiene per i Capi nell'Opera, l'altra per dechiaratione di tutte le cose d'importanza.[Vitruvius / Barbaro 1556, title page]

two tables, one with everything contained in this work according to the chapter titles, the other one with a declaration of all the important topics.

Looking back over the planned volumes already mentioned by Tolomei, this should sound quite familiar. This edition seems to resemble the translation described by Tolomei quite closely. It seems as if it has never been investigated why Barbaro, the learned churchman from a family with a long tradition in theological, philosophical and humanist studies, turned to architecture and Vitruvius at all in the 1550s. His earlier studies and books do not give any hint as to why he developed an interest in architecture. Perhaps his close collaboration with the young architect Andrea Palladio in this publication came into being through their common friend, Palladio's mentor Giangiorgio Trissino. Trissino had discovered the talented young stonemason Andrea di Pietro della Gondola, taken him to Rome to study the ancient ruins, and given him the classical name «Palladio».

Although Trissino was involved in a controversy with Tolomei about the correct form of letters to be used in the modernized Italian that both of them attempted to develop, he took part in the meetings of the antiquarian network around Tolomei and Cervini — and in fact he had been a member of the original *Accademia Romana* before its dissolution in the *Sacco di Roma* , i. e. the *Sack of Rome* in 1527. Could it be possible that Barbaro took up the idea from this new Roman network to publish an annotated and illustrated edition of Vitruvius in Latin and Italian after Cervini's death — an event that must have ruined the dreams of the academicians to realize the project Tolomei described with the help of papal money and influence? Barbaro had visited Rome together with Palladio in the early 1550s to study the ancient ruins, and it would be difficult to imagine that they both would not have met with members of the *Accademia*, even though Trissino himself had died already in 1550: The lack of further information about the origins of Barbaro's interest in architecture and his collaboration with Palladio may have led modern researchers to concentrate their investigations into these important topics on Palladio's and Barbaro's common background in the Veneto. For the moment, the parallels in the chronology and between the aims of Tolomei's project and the printed results of Barbaro's Vitruvian studies may seem interesting enough to encourage further research on additional sources or connections — for example, personal contacts between Barbaro and Tolomei or Cervini.

3.9 Italian dictionary of architectural terms

In Tolomei's program the following step seems quite obvious: Along with the Latin editions and dictionaries and an Italian edition of the text for a broader audience, an Italian dictionary would be the next volume:

> Aggiungerassi a questa una altra utile opera, facendo un vocabolario Toscano per ordine d'Alfabeto de le cose de l'Architettura, accioche tutte le parti siano chiamate per lo suo comune, e vero nome: e ove in volgare a qualche cosa non vi fosse nome, egli vi s'aggiugnerà, e si formarà di comune consentimento, havendo riguardo di tirarlo da buone origine, e con buone forme.[Tolomei 1547, 82v]

> To this [i. e., the aforementioned books] another useful work will be added by creating a Tuscan [Italian] vocabulary in alphabetic order of all the things in architecture, i. e how all the parts are called with their common and real name. And where there is no such name for some thing in Italian, it will be added, formed according to the common sense by deriving it from a good source, and with a good form.

This dictionary would not only explain the same technical terms and strange Greek or Latin words used by Vitruvius, but everything that could be useful for practitioners and patrons of architecture:

> La qual cosa è lecita a tutti gli artefici ne vocaboli, che son de l'arte propria. E in questo modo si vedrá largamente, come i vocaboli greci, e latini d'Architettura si rappresentino commodamente in lingua Toscana. Questa fatica sarà molto utile a coloro che voranno o parlare o scriver volgarmente di questa arte.[Tolomei 1547, 82v]

> This thing [i. e., this book] would be legitimate for all craftsmen regarding the words that belong to their own art. And in this mode one will see clearly, how the Greek and Latin words of architecture will represent themselves nicely in the Tuscan language. This work will be of great use to all who want speak or write in the Italian language about this art [i. e. architecture].

Of special interest is Tolomei's explanation that this book might contain new words coined in accordance with the practice of modern craftsmen or artists who were allowed to invent new terms as needed because of their specialized knowledge in their respective field. This, again, would help modern authors talk and write about architectural topics using a modern, common set of terms while correlating them with their ancient counterparts.

3.10 Italian vocabulary of all architectural parts and their composition

Even more directly addressing the needs and interests of contemporary and future practitioners would be this following book:

> E per maggior chiarezza, ed utilità si farà uno altro vocabolario volgare 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 dichiararanno a parte a parte tutti i suoi membri; come il zocco, la luna, il tondello, il collarino, e oltre di mano in mano.[Tolomei 1547, 82v]

> And for even more clarity and usefulness, another Italian vocabulary will be made according to the order of the «instruments» or parts, for instance, how to make a column with its base and

its capital, and by showing them in figure all its parts will be explained step by step; like the *zocco* [socle, pedestal], the *moon* [decorative part of the capital], the *tondello* [i. e. little *tondo*], the *collarino* [top part of the column under the capital] and so on and so on.

This second vernacular dictionary would present the rules and methods for constructing the classical orders of columns and other elements of architecture in general. One could see book 1 of Palladio's *Quattro libri dell'architettura* from 1570 [Palladio 1570]— with its explanation of basic terms, notions, and practices of architecture as well as the proportions for the classical orders of columns — as a publication quite comparable to Tolomei's description.

3.11   Systematic overview of the rules given by Vitruvius incl. comparisons

But how would these elements of architecture have to be put together and organized in a single building? Vitrivius provides a great deal of information regarding these questions, but his remarks are occasionally contradictory and tend to be scattered throughout the *Ten Books*. Therefore, some sort of abstract in the length of a separate book would be needed and very useful:

> Segue poi un collegamento de le regole di Vitruvio con gli esempii de l'opere, il qual libbro sarà molto utile, e bello, perche dove Vitruvio porrà una regola, o vero uno ordine d'Architettura in questo libbro si discorrerà in qual luogo ne li edifizii antichi sia osservato tal ordine, e trovando che in qualche altro edifizio l'Architettor sene sia partito l'avvertirà, discorrendo la ragione, perche in quel luogo non si siano osservate le regole date da Vitruvio: cosi si congiugnerà in un certo modo la pratica con la teorica, e si scenderà in belle, e utile contemplazioni.[Tolomei 1547, 82v]

> It follows then a collection of the rules given by Vitruvius together with examples from [built] works; which book would be very useful and beautiful, because wherever Vitruvius gives one rule or, to be true, an order for architecture, in this book one will discover where among the ancient buildings this order has been observerd, and one will also find if an architect in some other building has left this rule, and the reason will be explained why in this case the rules given by Vitruvius have not been observed: By doing so, one will unite in a certain mode the practice with the theory, and come to useful contemplations.

While comparing Vitruvius's rules with examples from surviving architecture that seem to contradict those rules, the authors would try to explain such deviations — and presumably come to conclusions helpful to practitioners as well as more theoretically engaged readers.

As for the classical orders of columns, at least a part of this planned book seems to have been realized with Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola's *Regola delli cinque ordini di architettura*, publishe in or shortly before 1562.[Vignola (1562)] It presents the five classical orders — including composite, which did not yet exist in Vitruvius's lifetime — in a systematic way. By uniting them through a common module so that they could be used in the same building without much effort and calculation to achieve the appropriate proportions, Vignola adds a crucial new element that did not exist in antiquity. His motivation was to overcome the nonsystematic usage of orders in antiquity by deriving a new (and first) complete system from the best examples among all those he had studied. In fact, Vasari [Vasari 1568, vol. III,2; p. 700] and Egnatio Danti — Vignola's biographer, son of Vignola's collaborator, the architect Giulio Danti and editor of his *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica* [Vignola / Danti 1583, unnumbered pp. 2-3] — inform us that

Vignola measured «tutte l'anticaglie» = «all the antiquities» in Rome in the service of the *Accademia* led by Marcello Cervini:

Though it is known from Vasari's and Danti's reports that Vignola worked for the *Accademia*, the lack of architectural drawings by Vignola attributable to this part of his work may have prevented the search for drawings by other draughtsmen related to it, e.g. by working under the supervision of Vignola. It is striking that no one has ever argued before that Vignola's *Regola* may be related to Tolomei's program, even though Vignola mentions that at least parts of his designs for the *Regola* are based on his careful studies of ancient architecture. And Vasari reports that the early studies in the service of the *Accademia* were very useful for Vignola's later development [Vasari 1568, vol. III,2; p. 700]. The lack of relevant drawings and biographical information from other sources may have discouraged further investigations into the early history of Vignola's *Regola* and its possible relation to Tolomei's program as well as for Vignola's work for the *Accademia*.

3.12   Overview of the urban history of Rome in antiquity

With this connection of theory and practice, Tolomei leaves the realm of more or less pure architectural theory based on Vitruvius and enters the world of practical (ancient) architecture and artifacts helpful for understanding it. But to understand the situation and environment of any single building, the urban structure and development of ancient Rome had to be reconstructed first:

> Nel veder per rispetto de l'Architettura gli edifizii di Roma, si farà un altro studio non manco utile ne manco bello, di considerare, et indender bene tutte l'anticaglie per via d'historie, ove si vedrà distintamente, e la Roma quadrata antica, e gli altri accrescimenti di Roma di mano in mano; ricercando, e le porte, e le vie di che si puo haver notizia, e di piu i tempii, i portichi, i teatri, e gli Amfiteatri, le cune, le Basiliche, gli archi, le terme, i circi, i ponti, e ogni altra sorte di edifizio di che rimanga vestigio alcuno; dando luce ancora di molti altri che sono spenti del tutto, insegnando dove erano.[Tolomei 1547, 82v-83r]

> With regard to the architecture [and/of] the buildings in Rome, another study will be made, which will not lack usefullness nor beauty, where one will attempt to understand well all the antiquities in a historical way and where one will see clearly the ancient *Roma quadrata*, and all the other extensions of Rome step by step, searching for the gates and the streets of which one can have notice, and even more of the temples, the porticos, the theatres and amphitheatres, the meeting places and basilicas, the [triumphal] arches, the baths, the circuses, the bridges and every other sort of building of which remains any rest; this will also shed light on many other [lost buildings] which are completely lost by giving hints where they have been.

In 1544, Bartolomeo Marliano published the first illustrated edition of his *Antiqvæ Romæ Topographia libri septem* ([Marliano 1534.1] and [Marliano 1534.2]) under the new title *B. Marliani Topographiæ Urbis Romæ haec nuper adiecta* [Marliano 1544]. While many of these illustrations were taken from other publications, the most famous ones are the three reconstructed states of Rome's urban map in antiquity: the so-called *Roma quadrata*, that is, the mythical first urban form of Rome, which has been identified since antiquity with the first state of Rome established by Romulus and Remus at the Palatine hill and surrounded by a wall which was said to have formed a square or rectangle. Then, the subsequent stages in Rome's development during the late republic and the early imperators are shown up to the construction of the Aurelian Walls, that is, 282 CE.

These early, astonishingly accurate maps and the updated text by Marliano do not fulfill what could be expected from Tolomei's description, but they could be seen as a first step in this direction. We know at least that some of Marliano's assistants — although perhaps not Marliano himself — were members of Tolomei's *Accademia*. It should also be noted that this edition was printed by the Dorico brothers in Rome, who proudly call themselves *Accademiæ Romanæ Impressorum* in the imprint at the end of the book: Because Valerio Dorico had started his activities in Rome not before 1526 and the original *Accademia* had dissolved in 1527 with the *Sacco di Roma*, it is unlikely that he was drawing on an association with this *Accademia* when he came up with such an ambitious title for his print shop. Therefore, it rather seems that he saw himself as the printer of the refounded *Accademia* seventeen years after the *Sacco*.

3.13 Annotated documentation of all ancient buildings with their parts

After these preparations, the presumably most important book of the entire program would be printed:

> Coniugnerassi a libbri sopradetti una vaghissima, e utilissima opera, ponendo in disegno tutte l'antichità di Roma, e alcune che son fuor di Roma, de la quali s'habbio qualche luce per le reliquio loro.[Tolomei 1547, 83r]

> To the books mentioned above a very large and most useful work will be added, showing in illustrations all the ancient buildings of Rome, and some which are outside of Rome, of which there is some knowlegde through their remains.

It is striking, although perhaps not conclusive, that Tolomei's phrase «tutte l'antichità di Roma» will later be echoed almost exactly by Vasari («tutte l'anticaglie di Roma») and Danti («tutte l'antichità di Roma») to characterize the extent of Jacopo Barrozi da Vignola's part in the *Accademia*'s program.

This book would not only include images of these buildings, maybe in reconstructions, but plans, cuts, perspective views, and even details, as well as historical and architectural com- mentaries to make the buildings fully comprehensible:

> Ove si mostraranno in figura tutte le piante, i profili, e li scorci, e molte altre parti secondo che sarà necessario, aggiugnendovi le misure giuste, e vere secondo la misura del piè Romano, con l'avvertimento de la proporzione, ch'egli ha con le misure de nostri tempi. E appresso a le dette figure si faranno due dichiarazioni, l'una per via d'historie, mostrando che edifizio fosse quello, a da chi, e perche conto fatto. E l'altra per via d'Architettura, isponendo le ragioni, e le regole, e gli ordini di quello edifizio . . .[Tolomei 1547, 83r]

> There will be illustrated all the plans, the profiles [maybe also meaning: cuts], the perspective views and many more parts as far as they are necessary [to understand the building]; the right measures will be added according to the Roman foot with a hint to the proportion which it has with regard to the measures of our time. And besides every illustration there will be two explanations, one about the history of the building, explaining which building it was and by whom and why it was made. And the other will explain the architecture and the reasons, the roles and the orders used in this building...

The words regarding the correct measures and proportions may remind modern readers of Philibert De L'Orme's famous report of his encounter with Marcello Cervini, then cardinal of *Santa Croce in*

Gerusalemme, and other learned men while the young French architect was excavating and measuring ancient Roman architecture in 1536 [Orme 1567, 131r]: The cardinal advised the young architect to use the ancient Roman foot to measure the buildings because by doing so he would easily discern the original proportions. A few years later Cervini would have learned that there never was a uniform Roman foot, but that the surviving examples could range between 27 and 33 modern centimeters, as their depictions in their original sizes in Jean Matal's codices collected in the early 1540s (see below) demonstrate.

Palladio's descriptions and illustrations of ancient buildings in Book IV of his *Quattro libri* from 1570 seem to reflect, even if in a somewhat limited way, Tolomei's description of this book as part of the program. Many of Palladio's texts accompanying the illustrations do not only describe the architecture of the buildings but also provide information about their history. We know that Palladio acquired his vast knowledge of ancient Roman architecture mainly while he visited the *Urbs* several times with Trissino during the 1540s. A large number of drawings from his hand or workshop survive, although in most cases they were final drawings made in the 1560s in preparation for his *Quattro libri* and — according to David Hemsoll — presumably not based on Palladio's own measuring survey but on drawings by others. Because Book IV focusses on temples, Palladio even planned to publish at least two additional books — one about the imperial baths and one about triumphal arches. It has to be kept in mind, that Palladio could not have measured all these buildings alone, and it seems quite implausible that a young stonemason during his years of training and studies to become an architect would have had the (financial) means to pay others to assist him. How, then, did Palladio generate all of the drawings that he later used to create the surviving revised final drawings?

In 1966 Heinz Spielmann observed that the only group of drawings that come close to Palladio's are found in the so-called C*odex Destailleur D* (Hdz 4151) in Berlin. [Spielmann 1966] — As in the case of Vignola, it is surprising that Palladio's probable relation to the *Accademia* has not encouraged further investigations. Again, the lack of sources may be one reason. But Palladio's sojourns in Rome in the 1540s were well known for centuries, even though their exact date and duration has only recently been reconstructed by Guido Beltrami in his contribution «Palladio e i viaggi a Roma: cronologia e esiti progettuali» to the 29° *Seminario di storia dell'architettura*, «Palladio e la Roma di Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane» in the *Centro Palladio* at Vicenza on June 16, 2016.

The drawings in the Berlin *Codex Destailleur D* and related collections in other places look very much like Palladio's but are even more accurate and precise, including, for example, the systems for heating and water supply or plans of the roofs.[Kulawik 2002] A closer comparison of Palladio's drawings with those from the Berlin codex reveals that they do not correspond exactly, but that there are some resemblances and accordances that hardly can be explained by chance. It is also the case that among Palladio's drawings in London and Vicenza are a few that were made by the same anonymous French draftsmen who were working on the Berlin codex. Finally, the Berlin codex, with its 120 sheets containing some 1,000 single drawings, could recently be shown to form the central group of a very large number of anonymous drawings comprising altogether at least some 850 sheets with more than 3,500 single drawings, scattered today over Europe and northern America in at least fourteen collections. Almost all of them have been made by anonymous French draftsmen, of whom only one has been identified as a certain *«Guielmo franciosio»* working for the *Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano* in the 1540s [Kulawik 2016].

Because it seems to be impossible that an unskilled worker employed as a low-paid helper at the *Fabbrica* could have invented the entire project and carried it out with some of his friends over the course of almost two decades, and because of annotations in Italian and French addressing readers of an obviously higher social rank, this large corpus of drawings *must* have been made for Tolomei's *Accademia* — perhaps in part

under Vignola's supervision. It seems to be the largest, most precise, and most comprehensive corpus of measured drawings *ever* made of ancient Roman architecture and the best examples of contemporary early modern architecture. Only less than a quarter of these drawings could be examined in detail yet, but those seen thus far support these hypotheses.

3.14   Annotated documentation of tombstones and reliefs

The next volume in Tolomei's program is the first to document non-architectural material sources necessary for learning more about the buildings themselves and for understanding their religious, historical, political, economic, and technical contexts:

> E allargandosi piu oltre a molte parti congiunte con l'Architettura, si farà una opera de pili, ritraendo in un libbro tutti i pili che sono in Roma, o intorno a Roma, o interi, o spezzati che siano, e appresso di ciascun pilo vi si faranno simil mente due isposizioni; l'una via d'historia dichiarando che Favola, o historia vi sia scolpita, e a che proposito, e quel che significhi la tal figura, o la tale [Tolomei 1547, 83r].

> And adding more parts related to architecture, a work on reliefs will be made, depicting in a book all the reliefs that are found in or around Rome, be their complete or broken, and besides every one in a similar way [like in book 13] two declarations will be given: one about the history or story explaining the myth depicted or the historical episode shown, and to which purpose, and what that depictions means.

Such a book documenting and explaining reliefs from tombstones and memorial stones obviously would be helpful for understanding not only Roman architecture but also classical authors and texts.

In 1986 it was suggested that the so-called *Codex Coburgensis* could represent the preparatory material for this book: [Daly Davis 1989] and [Coburg (1986)] — a suggestion that has since been confirmed.[4] It might also reliably be extended to the Berlin *Codex Pighianus* as well because of its many parallels with the *Coburgensis*, along with drawings of Roman coins and statues from the workshop of Jacopo Strada, on which more will be said below.

3.15   Annotated documentation of all statues

The next book in Tolomei's list consequently would be dedicated to statues, which were often used to embellish buildings but which also provide information about mythical or historical persons and their relation to certain buildings, such as temples or palaces:

> Cosi ancora si farà una altra opera de le statue, ritraendole tutte in un libbro, dichiarandovi appresso, prima che statua ella sia, e perche ragioni, o segni, o autoritá, o conietture si comprenda [Tolomei 1547, 83v].

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[4] Personal communication from Henning Wrede in 2017. — Prof. Wrede is working on a comprehensive catalogue of this codex, while the cataloging work on the parallel *Codex Pighianus* in Berlin by Kathrin Schade has regrettably been discontinued. Both codices are closely related and can now undoubtedly be traced back to Tolomei's network. There are some remarkable parallels between these drawings and the architectural drawings from the *Codex Destailleur D* group and drawings by the workshop of Jacopo Strada (see below) that could have been made by the same draftsmen; therefore, further investigation is needed here, too.

In the same way another work will be made on statues showing all of them in a book and explaining, first, which statue it is and for which reasons or signs or authority or conjections it is understood.

The *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* in Vienna owns a codex with 174 systematically arranged and uniformly made drawings of ancient statues from the hand or workshop of Jacopo Strada, who was documented as an active member of the Roman *Accademia* between 1553 and 1555.[5] In addition, Friedrich Eugen Keller recently suggested that some 67 drawings after ancient statues by painter Giovanni Battista Franco may be related to the *Accademia*'s project.[6] While Tolomei does not mention portrait busts explicitly, it should be observed that Strada also left several volumes of systematically arranged and uniformly depicted busts of emperors and their families, many if not all of these after ancient prototypes, comprising examples of some 200 sculptures.[7] Stephan Pighius describes how the interpretation of objects such as statues and reliefs was discussed among the members of the *Accademia* in a vivid dialogue in his *Themis Dea*, where Antonio Agustín, Jean Matal (Metellus), and Antoine Morillon discuss the interpretation of a damaged herme in the garden of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi [Pighius 1568]. The book is dedicated to Cardinal Granvelle, who took over Pighius as his secretary after the death of his Roman employer, Marcello Cervini in 1555 and, later, also employed Justus Lipsius. The dialogue reported by Pighius gives an impressive account of the intense work connected with at least some of the artifacts documented by the *Accademia*, even though their interpretation of the ancient object in this special case is wrong, as was shown by Wrede [Wrede 1993].

3.16   Annotated documentation of other sculptural works

The next logical step after documenting tombstones and statues would be to record all remaining sculptural work — and, accordingly, Tolomei's description of the next volume explains exactly that:

E perche in Roma sono molte altre scolture in fregi, in tavole, e altre cose spezzate, si farà una opera di ritratti di tutte queste altre cose col medesimo ordine, dichiarando particolarmente a ciascuna la sua historia, e appresso la bontá, o mancamento de l'arte [Tolomei 1547, 83v].

And because there are many other sculpture in friezes or tables and other broken objects, a work will be made depicting all these other things in the same way explaining in particular the history [or depicted story] of each one, and also its artistic quality or lack thereof.

Needless to say, these objects would have been drawn by the same working group of draftsmen who documented the tombstones. Significant portions of the codices Coburgensis and Pighianus seem to contain the material for this volume as well.

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[5] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), Codex Miniatus 21, 2. On Strada's many activities as antiquarian, publisher, collector, author, and architect, see Dirk Jacob Jansen, Urbanissime Strada: Jacopo Strada and Cultural Patronage at the Imperial Court (Maastricht, 2015) = [Jansen 2015]. A revised edition of this dissertation is now available from Brill publishers: [Jansen 2019]. — Strada may already have been in Rome in the 1540s and could have been in contact with the *Accademia* because his main employer, banker Johann «Hans» Jakob Fugger, knew some of its members from his studies with Andrea Alciato. Strada mentions his contacts with the *Accademia* and gives short characterizations in his dedications of two books by Onofrio Panvinio, which Strada published in Venice in 1557, the *Fasti et triumphi rom[anorum]* [Panvinio 1557.1, unnumbered p. 2] and the *Epitome pontificum Romanorum* [Panvinio 1557.2, unnumbered p. 3].

[6] Keller (†April 7, 2018) presented this convincing hypothesis in his contribution about Franco to the colloquium in honor of Arnold Nesselrath, held in Berlin on November 3, 2017.

[7] Vienna, ÖNB, Codex Miniatus 21, 3 (in part) and several codices at Dresden (Kupferstichkabinett and Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek).

3.17 Annotated documentation of architectural elements

> Segue appresso una altra fatica di ritrar tutte le Modenature antiche, che si trovano come di porte, fregi, architravi, e simil cose, le quali ad ogni Architettore son sommamente necessarie, perche in quelle si conoscon per esempio le misure, e le regole di tutte, come si debbian formare, li quali ordini saranno in questa opera dichiarati appresso di ciascuna Modenatura [Tolomei 1547, 83v].

> It follows another work to display all the ancient architectural parts which can be found like doors, friezes, architraves and similar things which are of highest importance for every architect because one can learn the measures and rules of all of these, how they have to be made; these orders or rules of these will be explained in this work beside every piece.

One would think that these architectural elements would have to be recorded together with the buildings in book 13 described above, but in Rome many architectural pieces have been dispersed over time and removed from their original context, But nonetheless they would be worthy of being documented for Tolomei's project. Accordingly, many drawings of such isolated architectural elements can be found in the large group related to the Berlin *Codex Destailleur D* mentioned above.

3.18 Annotated documentation of vases

> Una altra operetta s'aggiugnerà de i vasi antichi, cosi di quelli che chiamavan Labri, come de gli altri, ritraendoli similmente in figura, e dichiarando di che ma- teria sono, qual sia la lor forma, e a che uso servisseno, e dove al presente se ne trovi [Tolomei 1547, 83v].

> Another small work will be added about the ancient vases, those which are called *Labri* as well as the others, showing them in the same way in pictures and explaining of which material they are, which is their form and to which use the served, also where they can be found today.

Several volumes of drawings by Jacopo Strada and his workshop depict hundreds of vases, which have been regarded as collections of pure fantasy, designed by Strada who was trained as a goldsmith, for festivities or potential customers. However, Strada himself claims on the title pages that all of these drawings were made after Roman originals or copied from reliefs and sculptures. This material has also not been studied comprehensively yet. In addtion, there are also prints depicting vases e. g. by the engraver Enea Vico, who may have been in contact with Tolomei's *Accademia*.[8]

3.19 Annotated documentation of tools and instruments

> Molti istrumenti usano gli antichi, de li quali s'ha notizia parte per li scrittori, e parte per le scolture, e Medaglie, dove si veggono. E però si farà un bellissimo libbro, dove saranno primamente disegnati tutti li strumenti antichi, di che si possa haver chiarezza, [...] con una dichiarazione appresso di ciascuno istrumento, che cosa egli fusse, come si chiamasse, a che uso servisse, quali scrittori ne faccian menzione, e dove si veda hoggidi ne le cose antiche [Tolomei 1547, 83v].

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[8] Enea Vico (1523–67) was an important and productive engraver who published a series of prints depicting ancient vases while active in Rome in 1543. In 1558 he also published his *Discorsi di M. Enea Vico Parmegiano sopra le medaglie degli antichi* in Venice = [Vico 1558], which could be the result of knowledge acquired by him through his presumed connections with Tolomei's circle.

The ancient used many instruments / tools of which there is some information from the writers and some from the sculptures, the mdeals where they are shown. And so a beautiful book will be made where all the ancient instruments will be shown, about which one has some knowledge. [...] with an explaination beside each instrument what it was, how it was called, for which use it served, which authors mention it and where it can bes seen today among the ancient things.

No known printed book corresponds to this description exactly, and no codex collecting such drawings has been discovered yet.[9] But there are some drawings of this kind along with their inscriptions collected by Jean Matal in his Vatican codices, as will be detailed in the following example regarding a book dedicated entirely to inscriptions.[10]

3.20   Annotated documentation of all inscriptions

Con li sopradetti si congiugnerà uno altro libbro di tutte le iscrizzioni, che siano in Roma, o intorno a Roma, cosi di leggi, come d'ornamenti, e di sepolchri, e d'altre memorie, ritraendole appunto come stanno ne l'antico, non solo le pubbliche, ma ancor le private. Distinguendole per ordine di tempi, e di materie, e aggiugnendovi appresso le figure che vi si trovasseno con la dichiarazione ancora di alcuni dubbii, che vi nascesseno, o per conto d'historia, o per conto d'esser posto in quella iscrizzione lettera per parte [Tolomei 1547, 83v–84r]

With those [books] mentioned above, another book will be united of all the inscriptions in or around Rome, those regarding the laws, those serving as decorations, from tombs and other memorial monuments, showing them exactly as the have been in antiquity, not only the public but also the private ones. Distinguishing them by the order of time and subject, and adding a depiction of how they are found today [i.e. with damages] with the explanation of possible doubts that arise, be it because of the history or because there are inserted in this inscription certain special letters.

In his Roman years (1545–1555), Jean Matal coordinated the collection of thousands of inscriptions now in — at least — six codices in the Vatican Library. Humanists and artists such as Guillaume Philandrier, Stephanus Pighius, Pirro Ligorio, Onofrio Panvinio, Fulvio Orsini, Martin Smet(ius), Antoine Morillon, Louis Budé (son of the humanist Guillaume), Aldo Manuzio the Younger, and even Andrea Palladio are mentioned among his collaborators.[11]

Matal's work is characterized by a very clear distinction between the original text of any inscription and his own additions and painstaking corrections. Almost the exact same method was used by the draftsmen who

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[9] The title of Sebastiano Erizzo's book *Trattato* [...] *dell'istrumento et via inventrice de gli antichi* (Venice, 1554) = [Erizzo 1554] seems to point to such a book, but it contains a history and theory about the *scientific methods* of the ancient Romans. Given its dedication to Marcello Cervini, it, too, deserves a closer inspection as a possible contribution or extension to the *Accademia*'s project.

[10] Jean Matal (ca. 1517–97), like Fugger or Granvelle, studied with Alciato and became the secretary of his fellow student and friend Antonio Agustín in Rome, where he coordinated the collaborative collection of several volumes containing tens of thousands of inscriptions (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, codices Vat. lat. 6034, 6036–6040, and presumably even more, because many other codices attributed to Matal's disciples and collaborators Onofrio Panvinio, Fulvio Orsini or Aldo Manzio the Younger contain snippets in the handwriting of Matal). On Matal, see the comprehensive study by Peter Arnold Heuser, Jean Matal. Humanistischer Jurist und europäischer Friedensdenker (um 1517– 1597) (Cologne, 2003) = [Heuser 2003].

[11] Matal's codices impressed Theodor Mommsen during his sojourn in Rome in the 1840s because of their precision and advanced methodology and were therefore used by Mommsen as the basis for the still ongoing project *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* at the *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften*. A reflection on the intended appearance of Matal's codices in print is contained in Martin Smet's book, published posthumously by Justus Lipsius in the *Inscriptionum antiquarum quæ passim per Europam liber* (Leiden, 1588) = [Smet / Lipsius 1588].

documented the buildings and architectural elements, the tombstones, reliefs, sculptures, and — to some extent — the statues. This method seems to have been derived from the methodological approach already established at that time in Latin philology to record every available version of a textual source «as is» before adding interpretations or emendations, always clearly distinguishing the original from any addition.

3.21 Annotated documentation of all known paintings

Tolomei and his collaborators were well aware that paintings are among the best sources for determining the original appearance and decoration of ancient buildings, but most of them had been lost or as of yet unrecovered:

> Tra le cose antiche, c'hanno ricevuta ingiuria dal tempo la pittura piu di tutte l'altre par che sia stata oltraggiata: la quale come piu debile, manco ha potuto resistere a l'ira del tempo, e de gli huomini. Nondimeno se ne son pur mantenute ancore alcune poche reliquie, parte in figure, e parte in grottesche, le quali accio che'n tutto non si perdano, per conservar quanto si puo la memoria de quella antichita si ritraranno in una operetta con l'avvertenza de luoghi, dove elle sono, e de la maniera de la pittura [Tolomei 1547, 84r].

> Among the ancient things that have been hurt by time, painting has been mistreated more than any other: It is so delicate that it lacked the power to resist the ire of time and humans. Nontheless even if there are left only very few remains, partly in figures, partly in grotesque decorations which are not entirely lost, to conserve as much as possible the memory of these antiquities it will be depicted in a little work with care the place where they are and the style (or maniera) of the painting.

Even though the traces of ancient paintings were few and far between, they had to be collected too. It does not seem that any material for this book survived, but given that the rising interest in Christian archaeology since the 1560s led to extensive records of paintings in the catacombs and elsewhere, one may assume that such material was already collected for Tolomei's project in the 1540s.

3.22 Annotated documentation of medals and coins

Another important source in regard to architecture and its historical as well as other contexts are medals and coins:

> Non è dubbio, che per le medaglie s'è conservata la memoria di molti huomini, e di molte usanze, e che in quelle vi sono varie cose di bella dottrina, cosi ne le Greche, come ne le Romane. Onde con ogni diligenza si fará una opera de le medaglie, distinguendole per li tempi, e per i luoghi, e per le qualitá de gli huomini, dichiarando a pieno la persona e l'occasion di far la medaglia, e di piu il rivercio con tutte le cose, ch'appartenesseno a qualche bella, o riposta dottrina [Tolomei 1547, 84r].

> There is no doubt that through the medals the memory of many men is preserved, and of many usages, and that in these there are different things of great knowledge, in the Greek as well as in the Roman ones. Therefore, with all diligence, a work on medals will be made, distinguinshing them by time and place and quality of the men (depicted), explaining the person and the

occasion to mint this medal, and in addition also the reverse of all things that belong to such a beautiful and hidden doctrine.

Before Jacopo Strada left Lyon for Rome in 1553, he had printed his «*Bildnisvitenbuch*» about Roman emperors and their families and used coins for his depictions in Latin and France = [Strada 1553.1] and went immediately to Rome when the book was printed. In Lyon he had also bought Sebastiano Serlio's preparatory material for Serlio's seventh book of his architectural treatise (published for the first time in 1575 by Strada = [Serlio 1575]) and collaborated with Guillaume Du Choul.[12]

But before 1550, Strada had already started a project titled *Magnum ac Novum Opus*, which was to contain all medals and coins from antiquity up to the present (through the early modern emperors of the Holy Roman Empire). Every coin was drawn on a large scale of almost one *palmo* (ca. 22 cm) in diameter on a single folio sheet of good paper and accompanied by a detailed description. Twenty-nine of the original thirty volumes with about 12,000 drawings survive at the *Forschungsbibliothek Gotha*, Germany, and about 2,000 more drawings can be found in Vienna, Paris, London, and Prague.[13] They are accompanied by two sets of eleven volumes each in Vienna and Prague containing descriptions of most of the coins and information about the collections, such as where Strada had seen various coins and which items were best preserved.

Though Strada's numismatic drawings, together with their written explanations, were highly regarded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (listed as the first item in the spectacular library of Fugger later sold to Count Albrecht V of Bavaria), since the eighteenth century they have been largely disregarded. The seemingly excessive details — far more than could be seen on the original coins — have led scholars to consider them Strada's creations. However, some of his drawings of medals depicting Roman buildings are clearly based on recent surveys of these buildings done in the service of Tolomei's *Accademia*. One remarkable instance is Strada's drawing after a coin showing the *Curia Iulia* at the *Forum Romanum*, which is *more* accurate with regard to archaeological findings then most of its modern reconstructions.[14] In addition, there are at least two printed books regarding coins and medals and stemming from members of Tolomei's network: Sebastiano Erizzo's *Discorso sopra le medaglie antiche* = [Erizzo 1554] and Antonio Agostín's *Diáloghi* or *Discorsi* = [Agustín 1592.1] and [Agustín 1592.2], the concurrent Italian translations of his original Spanish *Dialogos* = [Agustín 1587] — one of the most important early studies in numismatics and epigraphy.

3.23   Reconstructions of building and hydraulic machines

But Tolomei's program is not yet finished:

> De le tre parti, ove s'affatica l'Architettura, una e la parte de le Machine, la quale è molto utile, e molto malagevole; a la qual voltando lo studio, si tentarà se si puo ritrovar la vera forma de le machine antiche, prima de l'acque, di poi de tormenti, e ultimamente del muovere i pesi, ponendo distintamente le figure loro, e l'ordine in che modo elle si fanno, con la ragione

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[12] Strada provided some information on and drawings of Roman buildings (based on ancient coins) for Guillaume Du Choul's *Discours de la religion des anciens romains* (Lyon, 1556) = [Du Choul 1556].

[13] These drawings are examined and analysed for the first time by Dirk Jakob Jansen and Volker Heenes in their project begun in late 2015 and supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), the German national fund for research.

[14] An article regarding Strada's depictions of ancient architecture in his drawings of ancient Roman medals and coins is in preparation and was presented in a first draft on January 10, 2017, at the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha under the title «Rom in Gotha. Antike Architektur in Zeichnungen der Renaissance.» The coin showing the *Curia* will be discussed in a volume collecting first results from the DFG project in Gotha.

di ciascuna sua proporzione dichiarata. Nel qual libbro non sol si stenderanno le machine poste da Vitruvio, ma tutte quelle, che da altri autori Grechi, e Latini si potranno imparare [Tolomei 1547, 84r].

Of the three parts, of which Architecture deals, one is the part of the machines, which is very useful but also troublesome. To this part the study will turn and try if the real form of the ancient machines could be retrieved, first of those for water and then those turning and finally those to move heavy pieces, showing distinctively their images and order [construction] and how they were made, with explanation of every reason for their proportion. In this book not only the machines described by Vitruvius will be explained, but also those described by other Greek or Latin authors as far as they can be understood.

No volume of such drawings has come to light yet, but in 1617 Jacopo Strada's grandson Ottavio published a volume on water mills — that is, «machine de l'acque» — containing fifty illustrations = [Strada 1617], which he republished with fifty additional pictures in 1623 = [Strada 1623]. Ottavio Strada claimes that these are based on drawings by his grandfather Jacopo, who wanted to publish them himself but died before he could do so, in 1588. Ottavio's publication clearly addresses contemporary patrons — such as the dedicatee, the council of Nuremberg — engineers, and architects, and it therefore does not explicitly mention machines that may be derived from ancient descriptions. Nonetheless, several surviving volumes with machine drawings by Jacopo Strada himself still need to be investigated to determine if their content corresponds to Tolomei's description of this book.

3.24 Reconstruction of the Roman aqueducts

Even more important than the aforementioned machines for ancient Rome to grow and survive would have been the aqueducts:

La dottrina de gli aquedotti é degna di particolare avvertimento, per esser quelli tanto maravigliosi a vedere, e di tanta grandezza, che trapassano ogni pensiero humano. Oltre che sono utilissimi per condurre, a donare a gli huomini cosi necessario elemento come è l'acqua. . . . e in oltre ponendone in figura qualche parte, per mostrare il modo come essi procedevano: discorrendovi apresso, dove al presente siano sviate quelle acque, le quali per questi aquedotti si conducevano a Roma [Tolomei 1547, 84r-84v].

The doctrine of the aqueducts deserves special attention, because they are marvellous to see and of all greatness, that surpasses any human thinking. In addition they are very useful for transporting and bringing to the humans a so important element like water [. . .] and one will put in pictures some parts to demonstrate the way how they worked, explaining where they are to be found the sourcess from which the aqueducts were running to Rome.

In 1545, bishop Agostino Steuco, head of the Vatican Library, friend of Marcello Cervini, and usually known for his fierce polemical works against the rise of Protestantism, took a few months off from his duties to search for traces of the Roman aqueducts in the surrounding campagna.[15] It is still not known if his project was successful, but there must have been at least some results — except for the three small water-related volumes Steuco had printed = [Steuco 1547.1, 2, 3] — because they were used later in the 1560s for the

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[15] Reported by Pamela O. Long in her paper «Cartography, Engineering, and Antiquity in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome» presented at the 2017 annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in Chicago, March 31, 2017.

reconstruction of the *Aqua Virgo* or *Acqua Vergine*, feeding the world-famous *Fontana di Trevi*. Taking into account Steuco's seemingly nonexistent relationship to ancient engineering before 1545, his closeness to Cervini and, therefore, to the network around him, and his partially successful work on aqueducts, we may be allowed to assume that Steuco was presumably gathering information for this part of Tolomei's project.

4 Closing Remarks

4.1 Where is the music?

But did Tolomei miss something in his project — such as music? Since Vitruvius, all authors writing on architectural theory had mentioned music. From antiquity through roughly 1600, the *ars musica* was primarily understood as the theory of (mathematical) proportions, and audible music as only one of its manifestations. Because proportion is obviously of great importance to any kind of architecture, but especially to that of the ancient classical Greek and Roman cultures, one would expect to see a book on «music» as the theory of proportion among those listed by Tolomei. Why then is there no plan for a book on ancient music theory in Tolomei's list? For instance, the third earliest edition of Vitruvius from 1497 contained not only an introduction to the Greek theory of harmony (then thought to be by a certain «Cleonides») but also Frontinus's text on aqueducts = [Vitruvius / Valla 1497].

One possible answer to this question could be the fact that such a book on music theory would not have been needed at all, because the *contemporary* music theory of Tolomei's time was still largely based on the ancient Greek and Roman examples and derived largely from Boëthius. Thus whoever wanted to know more about the theory of proportion and music in general would have had several books by contemporary theoreticians available at hand around 1550.[16]

4.2 A 'megalomaniac' project – finishable in «less than three years»?

This long though still short overview of the project formulated by Tolomei and of (some of) the printed books and manuscript sources that may be related to it should now support his claim that by dividing the work among many learned men the entire enterprise could be finished in less than three years:

> A qualcuno parerà forse che questa sia troppo grande, e troppo malagevole impresa, e ch'ella abbracci troppe cose, le quali non sia mai possibile condurre a fine [. . .] Concio sia cosa, ch'ogni grandissimo peso col partirlo in molte parti si fa leggiero. Cosi partendosi tra tanti dotti huomini queste fatiche, non é dubbio che'n manco di tre anni si condurran tutte a fine [Tolomei 1547, 84v].

> To someone it may appear that this would be a too big and too troublesome enterprise, and that it regards too many things which will never be never be brought to an end. [. . .] Be it as it may, but every heavy weight can be made light by dividing it into many parts. By dividing

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[16] Among the most prominent works on music theory based on ancient concepts are Franchino Gaffuri (or Gaffori), *Theorica musicae* (Milan, 1492) and *Practica musicae* (Milan, 1496); Henricus Glareanus, *Glareani Dodekachordon* (Basel, 1547); Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome, 1555); Gioseffo [or Giuseppe] Zarlino, *Le istitutione harmoniche* (Venice, 1558). I have not yet had the opportunity to examine a manuscript by Daniele Barbaro in Bologna containing a commentary on music theory, but for the text and an analysis of it, see the dissertation by Orsolina Gnan, «*Il Trattato Della Musica attribuito a Monsignor Daniele Barbaro*» (Bologna, Università degli Studi, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, 2000).

the work among many learned men, this work, there is no doubt, will not take more than three years to be brought to an end.

In fact, there are now at least 168 persons known who directly or indirectly contributed to the project and/or were members of Tolomei's academic network, among them cardinals and bishops, philologists and poets, doctors and engineers, architects and artists and even printers and publishers. Together, they are responsible for ca. 80 publications — books as well as maps — which came out betwenn 1544 and 1623. And in addition, they left immense amounts of manuscript materials as well as drawings, most of which have not been studied yet or not put into their context: Tolomei's *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura.*

Therefore, and even there still has to be done a lot of work to regain the results of the project described by Tolomei, it can safely be assumed already by now that this project was not only the first to deserve the characterization of «international» and «interdisciplinary». But with regard of the immense influence of such works as the books by Vignola and Palladio on the development of European and Western architecture, one may even say that Tolomei's project, even though almost forgotten, achieved its aims.

4.3 Tolomei's project: Unfinished?

This overview may be extended by considering the consequences of the program, some of which are well known but not in relation to their common background. For instance, the influence of Vignola's *Regola,* reprinted and expanded *several hundred times* since 1562, on architectural theory and education can hardly be overestimated. And to appreciate Palladio's influence, one would only have to walk around neighborhoods built after the mid-sixteenth century in almost any European city or place under Western (not always colonial) influence since then. There is no revival of «*Classicism*» after 1570 that did not heavily rely on Palladio's books and buildings, which soon after his death were regarded as the epitome of good architecture and have been copied through today.[17]

The importance of Barbaro's annotated Latin and Italian editions of Vitruvius, still regarded by many as the best ever made, is also indisputable. Much the same can be said about the groundbreaking works of Agustín, Smet, Philandrier and others from Tolomei's *Accademia.* The systematically and methodologically planned Renaissance of ancient Roman architecture, developed in the project described by Tolomei — in opposition to the still prevailing conviction of modern research — may thus not have been unfinished at all. But our rediscovery of it surely is. To regain the vast amount of invaluable materials (manuscripts, drawings, prints, and books) and to reconstruct the complex interdependencies of this — presumably — first international interdisciplinary research network would require a new coordinated interdisciplinary network of researchers. Establishing a detailed overview of the sources and books possibly related to Tolomei's program — a collaborative project among archaeologists, architectural and art historians, philologists, epigraphers, numismatists, historians of science and academies, and scholars from other fields such as diplomacy — offers a place to begin, however. Jean Matal's codices in the Vatican Library are the only known group of sources from Tolomei's project that have been already fully exploited, for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL). However, in the CIL they only serve as sources for the ancient inscriptions themselves and not as evidence for their own historical importance.

In short, Tolomei's letter and its impressive impact could show that the new information that can be expected from such a project may not only change the date for the beginnings and our picture of the history

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[17] For example, «Villa A.» by German architect Hans Kollhoff, built near Zurich: http://www .kollhoff.de/de/PROJEKTE/Bauten/28/Villa-A.html.

of academic archaeology based on a scientific methodology, which is usually thought to have started only in the 1700s. The same may be true for the research regarding the history and theory of architecture as well as many humanistic fields more generally. In addition, regaining very precise Renaissance documentations of artefacts lost or damaged since the sixteenth century could change our picture of ancient Rome itself and its material culture. That would include, but is certainly not limited to, its remarkable and highly influential architecture — an architecture that can arguably be seen at the core of the developments we call *the Renaissance.*

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