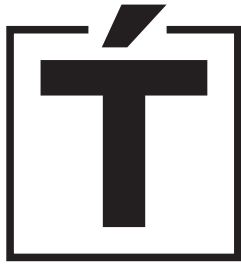


TEMPORÁNEA

Revista de Historia de la Arquitectura

#02 2021





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Revista de Historia de la Arquitectura

#02 2021



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ÍNDICE

Editorial

Editorial

Mar Loren-Méndez, Carlos Plaza y Daniel Pinzón-Ayala..... IX

atemporánea

¿Os recibimos con alegría? Il viaggio di Olga Raggio a Vélez Blanco nel 1959: l'itinerario, gli interlocutori, i rapporti fra il Metropolitan Museum e le istituzioni spagnole

¿Os recibimos con alegría? El viaje de Olga Raggio a Vélez Blanco en 1959: el itinerario, los interlocutores, las relaciones entre el Metropolitan Museum y las autoridades españolas

Tommaso Mozzati..... 2

La aljama cristianizada de Baeza en el siglo XIII, primera catedral de Andalucía

The Christianized Great Mosque of Baeza in the 13th century, the oldest Andalusian Cathedral

Luis Rueda Galán..... 24

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

Sangallo, Vignola, Palladio y la «Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura» romana

Bernd Kulawik..... 52

Italo Calvino y Aldo Rossi en diálogo. Representaciones del monumento en la ciudad

Italo Calvino and Aldo Rossi in dialogue. Representations of the monument in the city

Marc Fernández Cuyàs..... 80

contemporánea

Arquitectura de geometría variable

Architecture of variable geometry

Marta Pelegrín..... 106

Una nueva aportación a la historiografía arquitectónica de las Luces

A new contribution on Architectural Historiography of the Enlightenment

Juan Calatrava..... 110

El Plan General de Madrid de 1985 y la reorientación del urbanismo tras la última burbuja inmobiliaria: de la expansividad insostenible a la regeneración urbana integrada

The 1985 Madrid General Plan and the reorientation of urbanism after the last real estate bubble: from unsustainable expansion to integrated urban regeneration

Pedro Górgolas..... 116

Editorial. Editorial. https://dx.doi.org/10.12795/TEMPORANEA.2021.02.08	
Mar Loren-Méndez. https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1154-0526	
Carlos Plaza. https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5632-2111	
Daniel Pinzón-Ayala. https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2583-5077	IX

atemporánea

¿Os recibimos con alegría? Il viaggio di Olga Raggio a Vélez Blanco nel 1959: l'itinerario, gli interlocutori, i rapporti fra il Metropolitan Museum e le istituzioni spagnole. ¿Os recibimos con alegría? El viaje de Olga Raggio a Vélez Blanco en 1959: el itinerario, los interlocutores, las relaciones entre el Metropolitan Museum y las autoridades españolas. https://dx.doi.org/10.12795/TEMPORANEA.2021.02.01	
Tommaso Mozzati. https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3204-6463	2-23
La aljama cristianizada de Baeza en el siglo XIII, primera catedral de Andalucía. The Christianized Great Mosque of Baeza in the 13th century, the oldest Andalusian Cathedral. https://dx.doi.org/10.12795/TEMPORANEA.2021.02.02	
Luis Rueda Galán. https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9300-5764	24-51
Sangallo, Vignola, Palladio and the Roman «Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura». Sangallo, Vignola, Palladio y la «Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura» romana. https://dx.doi.org/10.12795/TEMPORANEA.2021.02.03	
Bernd Kulawik. https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2083-6118	52-79
Italo Calvino y Aldo Rossi en diálogo. Representaciones del monumento en la ciudad. Italo Calvino and Aldo Rossi in dialogue. Representations of the monument in the city. https://dx.doi.org/10.12795/TEMPORANEA.2021.02.04	
Marc Fernández Cuyàs. https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0080-9139	80-103

contemporánea

Arquitectura de geometría variable. Architecture of variable geometry. https://dx.doi.org/10.12795/TEMPORANEA.2021.02.05	
Marta Pelegrín. https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0881-1169	106-109
Una nueva aportación a la historiografía arquitectónica de las Luces. A new contribution on Architectural Historiography of the Enlightenment. https://dx.doi.org/10.12795/TEMPORANEA.2021.02.06	
Juan Calatrava. https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9401-9041	110-115
El Plan General de Madrid de 1985 y la reorientación del urbanismo tras la última burbuja inmobiliaria: de la expansividad insostenible a la regeneración urbana integrada. The 1985 Madrid General Plan and the reorientation of urbanism after the last real estate bubble: from unsustainable expansion to integrated urban regeneration. https://dx.doi.org/10.12795/TEMPORANEA.2021.02.07	
Pedro Górgolas. https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2178-875X	116-123

atemporánea

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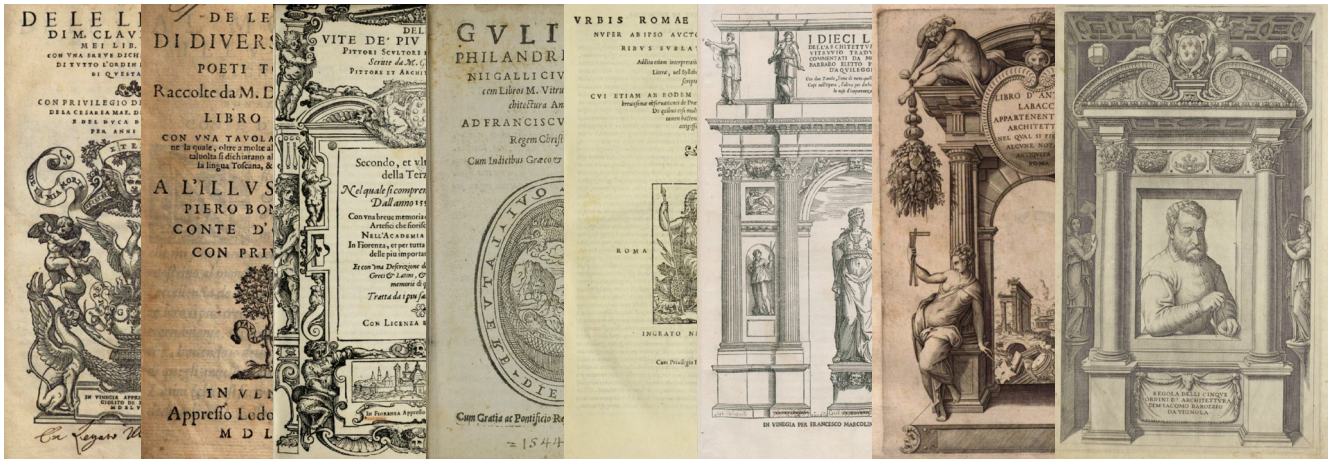
Bernd Kulawik is a trained marine engineer who studied physics, musicology and philosophy at the Technical Universities of Dresden and Berlin. MA thesis in 1996 about Monteverdi's «Seconda Pratica». PhD in 2002 with a dissertation about drawings in the Berlin «Codex Destailleur D» for Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's last project for St. Peter's in Rome. Since 1988 he worked in research libraries and institutes in Berlin, Rome, Berne, Einsiedeln and Zurich, mostly as developer for database projects. Since 2013 he could take up his research about the study of ancient architecture in Renaissance Rome which led to the rediscovery of the forgotten «Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura». This academy almost completely realised Claudio Tolomei's ambitious program from 1542 formerly believed to be unrealisable. Other research interests are the history of philosophy, Renaissance music and the epistemic and technical preconditions as well as long-time perspectives of the Digital Humanities.

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

Sangallo, Vignola, Palladio y la «Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura» romana

Bernd Kulawik

Abstract:

The three important Italian Renaissance architects (Sangallo, Vignola and Palladio) are not usually seen as closely related to each other. This article suggests that the theoretical and practical accomplishments by Vignola and Palladio are based on their early studies of ancient Roman architecture in the context of the forgotten *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura* (active in Rome c. 1530-1555). Their project to amend, edit and translate Vitruvius's Ten Books on Architecture and to document ancient Roman architecture, as well as all artefacts that are helpful in interpreting and understanding it (e.g., decoration, ornaments, reliefs, sculpture, inscriptions, coins, paintings, tools and machines), survives in a description written by Claudio Tolomei in 1542 and published in 1547. However, this programme is obviously based on an earlier project by Sangallo, formulated in c. 1531 and revised in 1539, respectively. Some of the numerous achievements by the many members of the *Accademia* are mentioned and put into relation to each other, providing a glimpse of one of the presumably earliest and surely largest of such projects in Europe's scholarly history of which there still remains evidence. The article, therefore, aims to create more awareness of this *Accademia*, its project and influence and the central role which the study of architecture, its history and theory played in the formation of the humanities.

Keywords: Renaissance antiquarianism; (history of) archeology; theory of architecture; history of architecture; history of the humanities; (history of) scholarly methodology.

Resumen:

Los importantes arquitectos italianos del Renacimiento Sangallo, Vignola y Palladio no suelen ser observados en estrecha relación unos con otros. Este artículo propone que los logros teóricos y prácticos de Vignola y Palladio se basaron en sus tempranos estudios de la antigua arquitectura romana en el contexto de la Accademia dello Studio de l'Architettura (activa en Roma ca. 1530-1555). Su proyecto de corregir, editar y traducir los Diez Libros de Arquitectura de Vitruvio y de documentar la arquitectura antigua de Roma, además de todos los artefactos que fuesen útiles para interpretarla y comprenderla (por ejemplo, decoraciones, ornamentos, relieves, esculturas, inscripciones, monedas, pinturas, herramientas y máquinas), sobrevive en descripciones escritas por Claudio Tolomei en 1542 y publicadas en 1547. Asimismo, este programa se basa en un temprano proyecto de Sangallo, formulado en 1531 ca. y revisado en 1539. Algunos de sus numerosos logros se debieron a los numerosos miembros de la Accademia, que son mencionados y puestos en relación con cada uno de ellos, arrojando luz sobre uno de los que presumiblemente sea uno entre los más tempranos y seguramente más amplios proyectos académicos de los que tenemos evidencias en Europa. El artículo, por lo tanto, tiene como objetivo crear una mayor consciencia de esta Accademia, de su proyecto y su influencia, así como del papel central que jugaron los estudios de arquitectura en la formación de las humanidades.

Palabras Clave: Cultura anticuaria en el Renacimiento; historia de la arqueología; historia de la arquitectura; historia de las humanidades; historia de la metodología científica.

Introduction

In October 1544, the bishop Girolamo Garimberto, an important collector of antiquities, published a book on the «*Public Regime of the City*»¹. In the book, before he starts to explain the importance of a constitution as the solid legal foundation for the legal system of a city-state, he reports a discussion which took place «less than a year earlier» in the house of Claudio Tolomei in Rome; after the group had visited the ruins on the Palatine hill, they talked about the possibility of and the conditions necessary to reconstruct a ruined building from its remaining foundations. Antonio da Sangallo the Younger claimed that this would be possible as long as the rules the architect had observed during its construction were known. In contrast, Jacopo Melegghino, his opponent in this discussion as well as in his professional life at the *Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano*, pointed to the unsystematic structure of the Vatican Palace which could never be reconstructed in its entirety if only its foundations were known. In fact, this argument supports Sangallo's position, and it may be Garimberto's aim to achieve exactly this: the foundations together with strict rules for design and erection are as important for a building (and the full knowledge about it) as they are, metaphorically, for the creation,

existence and understanding of a political entity such as a state.

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

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

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

to errors and misconceptions, making the results of their work almost useless².

Therefore, Sangallo suggests a new edition and translation of Vitruvius. These would have to take into account the following points:³

1. The establishment of an amended text should involve experts in Latin and Greek.
2. Architects and craftsmen should contribute their specific knowledge.
3. The professional Greek and Latin terms used by Vitruvius would need to be understood correctly.
4. The errors in the manuscripts and editions would need to be corrected through philological amendments.
5. To achieve this, the most ancient manuscripts would have to be consulted, because they supposedly contained fewer errors. This would, of course, require a thorough comparison of all available manuscripts.
6. The words, especially professional terms, used by Vitruvius but no longer in use would

need to be understood and, presumably, exchanged with their modern counterparts or with modern, newly invented terms.

7. The most important point would be the reconstruction of the lost drawings mentioned by Vitruvius⁴.

Without numbering them, Sangallo goes on to describe other requirements:

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

[9.] to compare the remaining buildings in Rome and Italy with the rules provided by Vitruvius. This, together with architectural descriptions by other authors⁵, would help us to understand Vitruvius better.

[10.] At the end of his letter Sangallo admits that although he had sufficient practical knowledge of and had studied ancient buildings since his youth, he did not have the required knowledge of Greek and Latin. Therefore, in every case of obscurity he frequently consulted his learned friends to

2 SANGALLO IL GIOVANE, Antonio da. Proemio [untitled]. In: BAROCCHI, Paola (ed.). *Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento*. La Letteratura Italiana, Storia e Testi. Milano-Napoli: R. Ricciardi, 1977, vol. 32, t. III, p. 3028. Sangallo is not quite correct here, because the first illustrated edition of Vitruvius from 1511 was curated by Fra Giovanni Giocondo, who was an acclaimed engineer and architect as well as an epigrapher and philologist. Sangallo must have known him quite well personally because of Giocondo's involvement in the planning for St. Peter's during the years before his death in 1515. Sangallo's skipping of Giocondo may have been a reason for Tolomei to include remarks on the insufficient illustrations of Giocondo's edition in his letter (see below).

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

4 Sangallo even speculates that Vitruvius may not have handed the drawings over to Octavian with the manuscript of his book. Vitruvius's intention may have been (in modern words) to protect his intellectual property, see SANGALLO IL GIOVANE, Antonio da. *Proemio*. Op. cit. (n. 2), p. 3029.

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

solve every question with the help of the specialists in the corresponding field⁶.

While Sangallo's text is always referred to as the «foreword» (*proemio*) to a new edition or translation of Vitruvius, the text itself leaves hardly any room for doubt that Sangallo is speaking of both. What is even more relevant is that to achieve the perfect understanding of Vitruvius that he is aiming at, a group of architects and craftsmen as well as Greek and Latin philologists would have to:

- find and compare the different manuscripts of the *Ten Books*;
- create an amended Latin edition of Vitruvius's text;
- compare Vitruvius's text with texts by other ancient authors;
- establish a vocabulary or lexicon of the specific terms used by Vitruvius but which were no longer in use in modern times. Therefore, the group presumably had to create alternative modern terms;
- reconstruct the lost illustrations mentioned by Vitruvius and presumably create additional ones;
- survey and measure all available ancient buildings in Rome and (some of those) in Italy and compare the results with the rules set out by Vitruvius or reconstruct the rules that guided their design and construction.

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

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

Of course, this project could not be carried out by a small group of 3-5 people consisting, for example, of Sangallo and his brothers and cousins working with him at the *Fabbrica* together with one or two philologists. The surveys of almost all ancient architecture

⁶ SANGALLO IL GIOVANE, Antonio da. Proemio. Op. cit. (n. 2). p. 3031.



Figure 1. Title page / Right: Page 81 recto (begin of the letter to de' Landi). In: TOLOMEI, Claudio. *De le lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei, libri sette*. Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1547.

alone would require a large group of architects and collaborators. In addition, the search for manuscripts, the discussion of every obscure term used by Vitruvius and the comparison with all available ancient textual sources, again, would require a large group of philologists and other specialists such as historians, epigraphers and numismatists. Though Sangallo does not mention the number or even the names of his learned friends with whom he wanted to carry out the project, it may safely be assumed that this would have required some ten to twenty people, if not more –not counting the collaborators needed for the measured surveys and the draughtsmen–.

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

occasions and only in the form of brief references, no one seems to have followed up on this idea more thoroughly, e.g. by comparing both texts and re-establishing the contexts and networks in Rome to which Sangallo and Tolomei belonged. Though this article cannot provide such vast research or results, its aim is to collect some arguments in support of the idea that such a reconstructive project would be a desideratum for contemporary research.

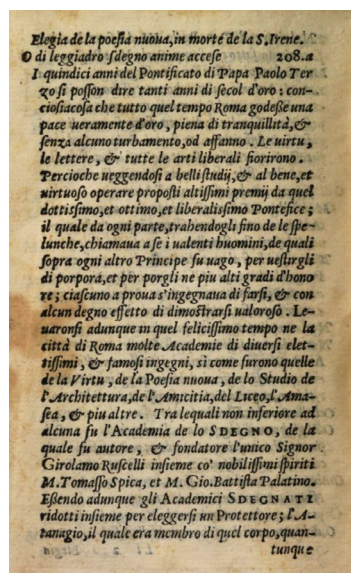
Tolomei's project on ancient Roman architecture, architectural knowledge and its framework

Because of the meeting described by Garimberto, it is certain that Tolomei and Sangallo knew each other quite well and undertook excursions and meetings together to pursue their common interests in ancient Roman architecture and Vitruvius. Therefore, it should not be surprising to find parallels between Sangallo's *Proemio* and the publication project described by Tolomei in a letter written in 1542 and published in 1547 in Tolomei's collection of his own letters⁸ (fig. 1).

⁷ GIOVANNONI, Gustavo. Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane. 2 vols. Rome: Tipografia Regionale, 1959; BRUSCHI, Arnaldo. Cordini, Antonio detto Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane. In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1983, vol. 29, pp. 3–23.

⁸ TOLOMEI, Claudio. *De le lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei, libri sette*. Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1547, fol. 81v–85r. This collection of letters by a modern author is one of the first of its kind; only the first volumes of letters by Aretino appeared earlier (1538). Tolomei's very successful collection was reprinted 23 times before 1608. It stands at the beginning of a long row of similar collections by single or multiple authors in Italy. It seems to have not yet been investigated, but the close relations among the humanist authors and their learned publishers like Blado, Giolito, Tramezzino, Paolo Manuzio and his son Aldo as well as many others could suggest that their publications already constituted a sort of early «republic of letters» to communicate information regarding their common interests, e.g. on antiquarian topics. Damiano Acciarino has started a project (*Atlas of Renaissance Antiquarianism*, ATRA) to find these relationships and the knowledge and ideas they transmitted: ACCIARINO, Damiano. *Atlas of Renaissance Antiquarianism*. (database project) Venice: Ca' Foscari University, 2017.

Figure 2. Left: Title page / Right: Page Ll 2 recto, citing the academies active in Rome during the papacy of Paul III Farnese (i.e., 1534-1549). In: ATANAGI, Dionigi. *De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani*. Venice: Avanzo, 1565.



This letter has often been cited and sometimes even briefly annotated in modern research⁹. But, unfortunately, it has rarely been read carefully¹⁰. Also, the programme described by Tolomei has usually been attributed to the *Accademia della Virtù*, founded by Tolomei and active in Rome during the first half of the 1540s. But, as Ambra Moroncini has shown convincingly¹¹, this academy was dedicated to philological topics such as (neo) Latin poetry and the reformation of the Italian language¹² (fig. 2).

Other academies active in Rome in the 1540s are also sometimes (erroneously) connected to Tolomei's programme. Among them the still existing (now papal) *Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon*, the *Accademia degli Sdegnati* or *dello Sdegno* and the *Accademia dei Vignaiuoli*. Sometimes even an *Accademia*

Vitruviana is cited, although there has never been one with this name in Rome or elsewhere; the name is rather a misleading modern invention meant to describe Tolomei's circle and then misunderstood as the proper name of an academy that once existed. This latter name seems to be derived from the misconception that the only or dominating topic of Tolomei's programme and, therefore, the academy dedicated to it, was the study of the *Ten Books on Architecture* by Vitruvius, but this misunderstanding could easily be proven wrong by reading Tolomei's letter, and it seems to go back to Poleni's focus on Tolomei's Vitruvian studies¹³. But even Vasari, who claims that there was an «academy dedicated to the study of Vitruvius», adds in the following sentence that this academy ordered Jacopo Barozzi

9 TOLOMEI, Claudio. Lettere. I. Al Conte Agostino de' Landi. In: BAROCCHI, Paola (ed.). *La Letteratura Italiana. Storia e Testi*. Volume 32, Tomo III, pp. 3037-3048; DALY DAVIS, Margaret. Wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung und Entwicklung einer Systematik: Archäologische und antiquarische Studien antiker Reste in der Accademia Vitruviana in Rom (Einleitung). In: DALY DAVIS, Margaret (ed.). *Archäologie der Antike: aus den Beständen der Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 1500-1700*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994, pp. 11-19. Though Daly Davis does not reprint or translate the entire letter, her discussion of its content is the most precise contribution to our understanding of it, even if in parts erroneous, before that by this author: KULAWIK, Bernd. Tolomei's Project for a Planned Renaissance – Unfinished? In: *Unfinished Renaissances? = I Tatti Studies*. 2018, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 275-297. Daly Davis's article was obviously more often consulted than the original, which can be deduced from the fact that almost every later author (like Daly Davis) 'counts' only 20 or fewer books or items as parts of Tolomei's programme while, in reality, he describes 24 books.

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

11 MORONCINI, Ambra. The Accademia della Virtù and religious dissent. In: EVERSON, Jane E.; REIDY, Denis V.; SAMPSON, Lisa (eds.). *The Italian Academies 1525-1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*. Legenda. London; New York: Routledge, 2016, pp. 88-101; MORONCINI, Ambra. Il 'Giuoco de la Virtù': un intreccio accademico tra 'Stravaganze' letterarie e suggestioni evangeliche. In: CHIUMMO, Carla; GEREMICCA, Antonio; TOSINI, Patrizia (eds.). *Intrecci virtuosi: Letterati, artisti e accademie tra Cinque e Seicento*. Roma: De Luca, 2017, pp. 101-110.

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

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

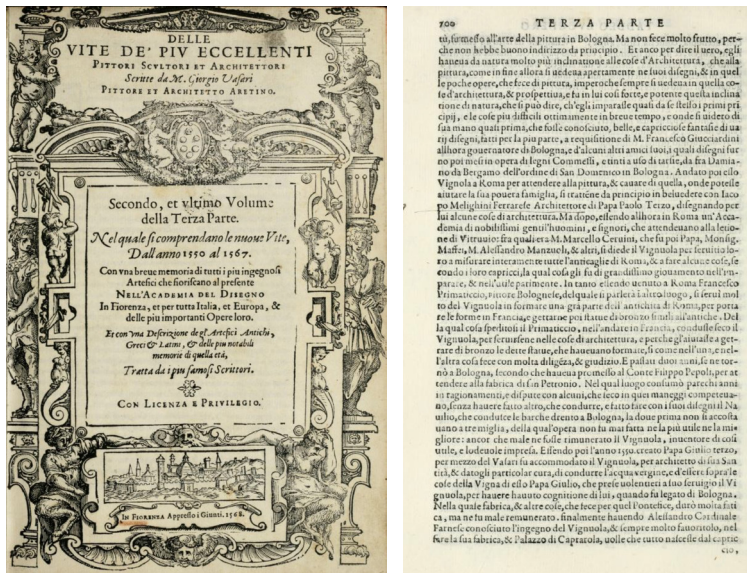


Figure 3. Left: Title page / Right: Page 700 of the 2nd part of the 3rd volume (citing Vignola's work for the academy of architecture headed by cardinal Marcello Cervini). In: VASARI, Giorgio. *Delle vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori, Scultori et Architettori*. Florence: Giunti, 1568.

da Vignola «to measure all the antiquities in Rome»¹⁴ (fig. 3).

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

The programme was described by Tolomei but was surely not developed single-handedly. It can now be related to the forgotten *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura*, as the humanist Dionigi Atanagi called it in a respective overview of the Roman intellectual scene during the reign of pope Paul III in 1565¹⁵ (fig. 2). Already in 1939, Tolomei's biographer Luigi Sbaragli had mentioned this academy, but it went unnoticed by architectural historians citing Tolomei's letter¹⁶. Though many of this academy's members also met in other groups, it should not be confused with these other, smaller circles active in Rome at the

same time. Also, in particular, its activities should not be seen to be limited to the study of Vitruvius alone.

Because Tolomei orders the items of the programme as an unnumbered list of books («*libri*»), it should be clear that this is a 'publishing programme' not just a research project or a list of ideas to be realised. Tolomei clearly distinguishes two parts of the programme, and both start with the description of a book that was not yet printed but surely in preparation in 1542. However, both books had already been printed in 1547 when the letter was published. They somewhat disturb the otherwise very clear systematic order of the programme and this aberration can hardly be understood as a simple error. Rather, this may result from Tolomei's attempt to mention them without faking knowledge of their publication in 1542. The books described by Tolomei can be set out in the following list¹⁷.

1. A book discussing and explaining the difficult passages of Vitruvius's text.

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

15 ATANAGI, Dionigi. *De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani*. Proemio. Op. cit. (n. 12), pp. Ll 2v-Ll 3r. The *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura* is neither mentioned by: MAYLENDER, Michele. *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*. 6 vols. Bologna: Cappelli, 1926-1930, nor in the new online Database of Italian Academies: <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies>. Any available information about this academy, its members, activities, publications as well as the manuscript sources (e.g. drawings) and secondary research literature is now collected in the online database <http://www.accademia-vitruviana.net>. Its misleading title will be corrected as soon as possible.

16 SBARAGLI, Luigi. Claudio Tolomei. Op. cit. (n. 12), p. 49. The information about Atanagi's citation comes from PROCACCIOLI, Paolo. *Accademia come palestra e come tribuna*: Girolamo Ruscelli sdegnato, ardente, dubbioso frateggiano in EVERSON, Jane E.; REIDY, Denis V.; SAMPSON, Lisa (eds.). *The Italian Academies 1525-1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*. Legenda. London; New York: Routledge, 2016, p. 217.

17 The numbers are my own addition, but Tolomei's recurring formulations such as «then another book will be made about» clearly distinguish the single books in his description from each other and allow them to be counted in this way.

2. A philological comparison of the available manuscripts and prints of Vitruvius's text.
3. A new edition of Vitruvius's *Ten Books* with the addition of reconstructed and new illustrations.
4. An annotated Latin vocabulary or lexicon of the Latin terms used by Vitruvius.
5. An annotated and etymological Latin vocabulary or lexicon of the Greek terms used by Vitruvius.
6. A comparison of Vitruvius's Latin with the Latin of other, 'better', 'more classical' authors.
7. A translation of the *Ten Books* into a better, i.e. more 'classical', Latin.
8. A translation of the *Ten Books* into modern, i.e. Tuscan, Italian.
9. An Italian dictionary of architectural terms used by Vitruvius (for practitioners).
10. An Italian dictionary of all architectural parts and their composition according to Vitruvius.
11. A systematic overview of the rules set out by Vitruvius including comparisons with ancient buildings.
12. An overview of the historical urban development of ancient Rome to locate the buildings and their connections.
13. An annotated and illustrated survey of all ancient buildings in Rome and its surroundings.
14. An annotated and illustrated list of tombstones and reliefs.
15. An annotated and illustrated list of statues.
16. An annotated and illustrated list of other sculptural works (friezes, plaques etc.).
17. An annotated and illustrated list of architectural elements (architraves, doors etc.).
18. An annotated and illustrated list of vases and similar ornamental objects.
19. An annotated and illustrated list of «instruments», i.e. tools.
20. An annotated (and possibly illustrated) list of inscriptions.
21. An annotated list of paintings, even of those lost but known from descriptions.
22. An annotated and illustrated list of coins and medals.
23. Reconstructions of building and hydraulic machines based on ancient descriptions and images.
24. Reconstructions of the Roman aqueducts.

The parallels with the programme in Sangallo's *Proemio* described above should be obvious. In fact, Tolomei extends Sangallo's list to other artefacts such as inscriptions, sculptures, coins or paintings that would

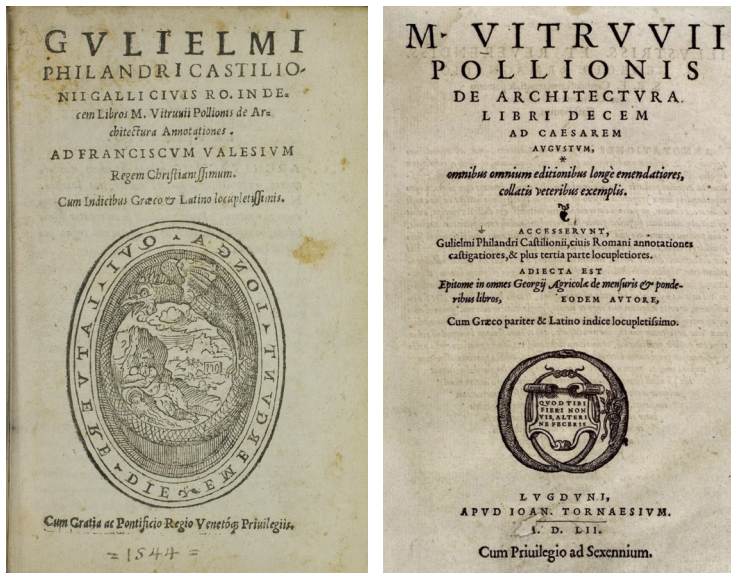


Figure 4. Left: Title page. In: VITRUVIUS. In decem libros M. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura Annotationes. PHILANDRIER, Guillaume (comm.). Rome: Andream Dossena Thaurineñ, 1544 / Right: Title page. In: VITRUVIUS. M. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura libri decem ad Caesarem Augustum: omnibus omnium editionibus longè emendatiores, collatis veteribus exemplis. PHILANDRIER, Guillaume (comm.). Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1552.

be helpful for a better understanding of ancient Rome's architecture in context. The intended practical usability of the entire project is demonstrated through the planned reconstruction of technical knowledge.

Modern research always regarded this immense programme as far too ambitious to have ever been carried out or to be at all realisable, even though Tolomei counters this very objection near the end of his letter; without mentioning the academy or the names of the persons involved, he claims that very many learned men would participate in the project and share the workload according to their specialisations. Therefore, it would not take longer than three years [!] to bring it to an end¹⁸. He compares this project to the hundreds of workshops active in a city at the same time in a parallel effort, and one may think of Rome and New St. Peter's Basilica, to which not only the *Fabbrica* but many local craftsmen and workshops contributed,

something Tolomei certainly knew and may have had in mind here.

The first book of this list has always been identified with Philandrier's *Annotationes* from 1544¹⁹ (fig. 4), Book 12 may be identified with the third edition of Marliano's topographical description of ancient Rome²⁰ (fig. 5).

In 1986 art historian Richard Harprath and archaeologist Henning Wrede, as well as art historian Margaret Daly Davis, suggested that the so-called *Codex Coburgensis* in Coburg, collections of the *Veste Coburg*, Germany, and its parallel *Codex Pighianus* in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, should be seen as the preparations for the book on tombstones, i.e., number 14 on the list²¹. In the meantime, many more printed books as well as manuscript sources and collections of drawings could be identified as contributions to Tolomei's programme.²² In fact, only for books 6 and 7 could no

18 TOLOMEI, Claudio. Op. cit. (n. 8), p. 84v: «non è dybbio che'n manco di tre anni si condvrran tvtte [fatiche] a fine».

19 VITRUVIUS. In decem libros M. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura Annotationes. PHILANDRIER, Guillaume (comm.). Rome: Apud Io. Andream Dossena Thaurineñ [& Antonio Blado], 1544.

20 MARLIANO, Bartolomeo. *Urbis Romæ topographia*. Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico, 1544. This is the first illustrated edition. The two earlier ones are the first edition published in Rome in May 1534, and the revised edition published in Lyon, October 1534, by Rabelais on his way back from Rome. It is very remarkable that the Dorico brothers call themselves *Accademia Romanæ Impressorum* in the impressum on page 123 [uncounted] (fig. 5). This shows that the academy understood itself as the heir of the *Accademia Romana* founded by Pomponio Leto in 1464 and suspended after the Sack of Rome in 1527. Obviously, this original Roman Academy was not active anymore 17 years later, in 1544, but some of its last members during the 1520s like Marcello Cervini may have seen their activities as a succession. In 1486, Giovanni Sulpitio had published one of the first editions of Vitruvius's *Ten Books* for the *Accademia Romana*. As he says in his preface, the wide margins of the book were intended for annotations by its readers. Antonio da Sangallo's brother Giovanni Battista used this space for elaborate drawings illustrating the text; his exemplar is kept at the *Biblioteca Corsiniana* in Rome and has been published by Ingrid Rowland: VITRUVIUS. *Ten Books on Architecture. The Corsini Incunabulum* (with the Annotations Drawings of Giovanni Battista Da Sangallo). ROWLAND, Ingrid D. (ed.). Roma: Edizione dell'Elefante; Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2002.

21 HARPRATH, Richard; WREDE, Henning. *Der Codex Coburgensis: Das erste systematische Archäologiebuch. Römische Antiken-Nachzeichnungen aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Coburg: Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, 1986; DALY DAVIS, Margaret. Zum Codex Coburgensis: Frühe Archäologie und Humanismus im Kreis des Marcello Cervini. In: HARPRATH, Richard; WREDE, Henning (eds.). *Antikenzeichnung und Antikenstudium in Renaissance und Frühbarock. Akten des Internationalen Symposiums*. 8-10 September 1986 in Coburg. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1989, pp. 185-199.

22 KULAWIK, Bernd. Op. cit. (n. 9). A study of the many accomplishments related to the *Accademia's* programme is being prepared; a regularly updated list of books, manuscripts and drawings is available online under <http://accademia-vitruviana.net/accademia/akademie-projekt/anhang-2-publikationen> and [anhang-3-manuskripte-und-zeichnungen](http://accademia-vitruviana.net/accademia/akademie-projekt/anhang-3-manuskripte-und-zeichnungen), respectively.

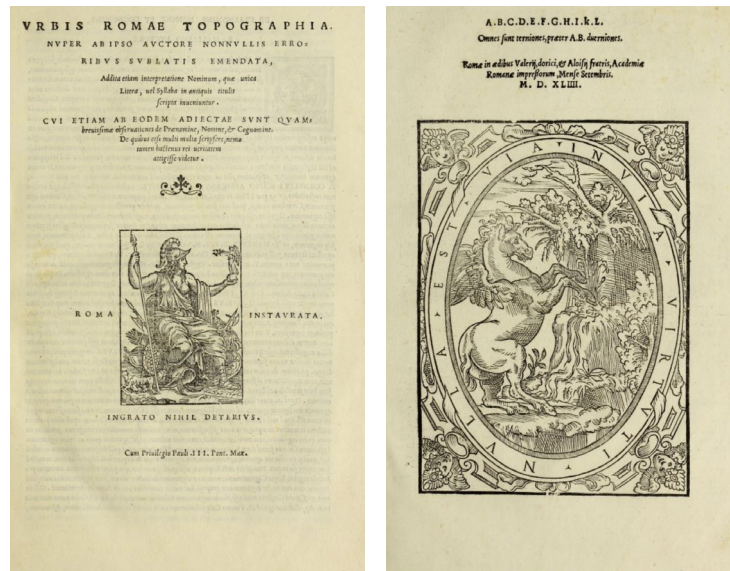


Figure 5. Left: Title page / Right: *Impressum*. In: MARLIANO, Bartolomeo. *Urbis Romae topographia*. Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico, 1544.

preparations be found. They may have been seen by Tolomei's collaborators as a rather over-the-top philological *tour de force* and therefore may not have been seen as priorities. For every other item in Tolomei's list there are printed books, manuscripts and (large collections of) drawings easily relatable to his corresponding descriptions.

For instance, Philandrier's fully annotated edition of Vitruvius from 1552 bears the subtitle «omnibus omnium editionibus longè emendiores, collatis veteribus exemplis» and resembles almost exactly Tolomei's description for book 2 and the complete new edition of Vitruvius in book 3²³ (fig. 4). But the illustrations in Philandrier's 1552 edition are not of a very high quality, and his revised commentary only partially extends that from his 1544 *Annotations*. Therefore, the richly annotated edition by Daniele Barbaro from 1567 as well as his Italian translation of 1556, illustrated with woodcuts based on drawings by Andrea Palladio, can still be regarded as the best edition and translation of Vitruvius's *Ten Books*, respectively²⁴ (fig. 6). They, too, can now be related to the Roman academy. The textual basis for Barbaro's publications seems to be provided by Philandrier's 1552 edition, obviously the best source of an *amended* text of the *Ten Books*²⁵ at that

time. Philandrier's 1552 edition may be seen as the best source not only because the philological learned Barbaro used it, but because many specialists from different fields or disciplines had already contributed to Philandrier's first edition of his *Annotations* published in Rome 1544. After he returned to France in 1550, he must have continued to work on the text, as his many additions show. Therefore, before 1555, Philandrier's edition must have been the most reliable source of Vitruvius's text available. The close connections of Philandrier as well as Barbaro to the Roman Accademia –even in different periods– adds another plausible reason why Barbaro must have known of Philandrier's work and chose it as the foundation for his commentary and translation.

Palladio had studied the Roman antiquities during his visits to Rome together with his mentor Giangiorgio Trissino in the 1540s. Trissino was not only involved in a fiercely philological debate with Tolomei about the reformation of the Italian language but also seems to have frequently attended the academic meetings in Rome. Palladio's own architectural drawings, on the other hand, were related (largely unnoticed) to the so-called *Codex Destailleur D* at the Berlin *Kunstbibliothek* by Heinz Spielmann as early

23 VITRUVIUS. *M. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura libri decem ad Caesarem Augustum: omnibus omnium editionibus longè emendiores, collatis veteribus exemplis*. PHILANDRIER, Guillaume (comms). Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1552; TOLOMEI, Claudio. Op. cit. (n. 8), p. 81v.

24 VITRUVIUS. *I dieci libri dell'architettura di m. Vitruvio tradutti et commentate da monsignor Barbaro eletto patriarca d'aquileggia*. BARBARO, Daniele (transl.; comm.). Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1556; VITRUVIUS. *M. Vitruvii Pollionis De architectura libri decem*. BARBARO, Daniele (ed./comm.). Venice: Francesco de Franceschi; Johann Chrieger, 1567.

25 LEMERLE, Frédérique. *Les annotations de Guillaume Philandrier sur le De Architectura de Vitruve, Livres I à IV*. Paris: Picard, 2000; LEMERLE, Frédérique. *Guillaume Philandrier: Les annotations sur l'Architecture de Vitruve: Livres V à VII*. Paris: Garnier, 2011.

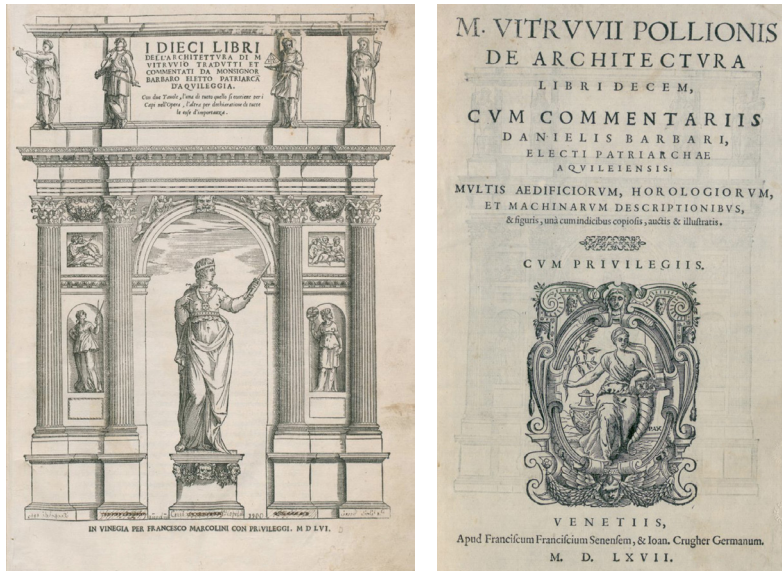


Figure 6. Left: Title page. In: *VITRUVIUS. I dieci libri dell'architettura*. BARBARO, Daniele (transl.; comm.). Venice: Marcolini, 1556 / Right: Title page. In: *VITRUVIUS. M. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura Libri Decem*. BARBARO, Daniele (ed.; comm.). Venice: Franceschi & Chrieger, 1567.

as 1966²⁶. This *Codex* can now safely be assumed to be the collection of very carefully measured survey drawings made by mostly French draughtsmen for the *Accademia* and, therefore, as preparations for book 13 of Tolomei's programme²⁷. But the *Codex Destailleur D* itself forms only the largest and, therefore presumably, central (surviving) part of a much larger network of drawings in at least 25 other collections²⁸. More than 4500 single architectural drawings on more than 1400 pages are closely interrelated through the handwriting of their draughtsmen and the complex representations of ancient buildings with the help of many detailed drawings that are interrelated via plans and overviews. It can now be assumed that this is by far the largest group of such drawings of ancient buildings, and that the archaeological survey leading to their production must even have been the largest ever undertaken (not only) in Rome.

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

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

A similar large collection of drawings that can be connected to the Roman academy can be seen in Jacopo Strada's 29 volumes of his *Magnum ac novum opus* in the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Germany, and his related numismatic drawings in large volumes in other collections in London, Paris, Prague and Vienna. They contain around 12,000 drawings of ancient coins. To a certain degree they are complemented

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

27 KULAWIK, Bernd. *Die Zeichnungen im Codex Destailleur D (HdZ 4151) der Berliner Kunstbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz zum letzten Projekt Antonio da Sangallos des Jüngeren für den Neubau von St. Peter in Rom*. PhD Thesis. TU Berlin, 2002; KULAWIK, Bernd. Wer ist der Anonymous Destailleur? In: *Scholion*. 2016, vol. 10, pp. 229–238.

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

Figure 7. Left: Title page. In: LABACCO, Antonio. *Libro d'Antonio Labacco appartenente a l'architettura*. Rome: Antonio Labacco, c. 1552 / Right: Title page. In: PALLADIO, Andrea. *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*. Venice: Dominico de' Franceschi, 1570.



by two sets of 11 volumes of descriptions by Strada in Vienna and Prague, the so-called *Diaskeuè*. While Strada started to work on this monumental documenting of ancient coins in the 1540s, which does not exclude the possibility that he already knew about the ongoing project in Rome before he went there in 1553 from Lyon, they were created for the German banker from Augsburg, Johann Jakob Fugger, who commissioned Strada to acquire books and antiquities in France and Italy. Fugger's father Raimund had already financed an important epigraphic publication²⁹, and Fugger himself (like Matal and other members of the *Accademia*) had studied with Alciato, the founder of the historical-critical method. He left the first example of an illustrated sylloge already observing the same, almost modern archaeological and epigraphic methods used by Matal³⁰.

Besides the long chronology of its origin, another problem for the attribution of Strada's work to the *Accademia* lies in the style of his drawings. They do not precisely document the ancient coins with damage and mistakes, as the other drawings and Matal's

sylloge do, but rather extend the drawings with many additions, at least in part based on knowledge about the historical persons and objects displayed and derived from other sources³¹.

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

Labacco's *Libro appartenente a l'architettura*, c. 1552

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

It is quite possible, as Christof Thoenes suggested, that the many different 'editions' of the book counted by Thomas Ashby are in fact the result of the publication of the prints as single collectable sheets, the same scheme used later by Antonio Lafreri (Antoine Lafréry) in his *Speculum Romanæ*

29 AMANTIUS, Bartholomeus; APIANUS, Petrus. *Inscriptiones sacrosanctæ vetustatis*. Ingolstadt: Petrus Apianus, 1534.

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

31 For instance, Strada's depiction of ancient architecture seems to take into account the then recent findings from the draughtsmen working for the *Accademia* in Rome, see: KULAWIK, Bernd. *Rom in Gotha – Architektur in Jacopo Strada's Münzzeichnungen*. Gotha: 2021. Strada's entire project to document all ancient coins is still subject to ongoing discussions and interpretations with Dirk Jansen and Volker Heenes, working on the DFG project on Strada in Gotha.



Figure 8. Left: Title page. In: BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, Jacopo. *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura*. Rome: Labacco, c. 1563. / Right: Title page. In: BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, Giacomo; DANTI, Egnatio. *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica*. Rome: Zanetti, 1583.

*Magnificentia*³². In his early years in Rome, Lafreri had bought the plates from Antonio Salamanca with whom Labacco had collaborated earlier for the large engravings of Sangallo's last project for St. Peter's. And it is known that Lafreri and his compatriot Matal, together with others, had studied the Roman ruins. Labacco had printed the plates for his book in his own house on a press installed there for this purpose. This costly undertaking suggests that he may have planned to publish many more plates than those surviving today in the different 'editions' of his book. For these prints, he could have used his many own studies of ancient buildings as well as those of his master Antonio da Sangallo the Younger which were carried out over multiple decades in Rome.

Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola's *Regola delli cinque ordini d'Architettura*, c. 1562

Christof Thoenes observed, furthermore, that the copper plate prints of Vignola's *Regola* also seem to have been printed on the same press and, therefore, prove a collaboration between the two architects³³ (figs. 8-9).

This collaboration could further be confirmed through an unstudied volume of drawings in the *Vaticana*. It contains drawings made for Vignola's *Regola* and drawings by Labacco and Strada³⁴. Vignola states in his very short introduction that he had worked on this book for a long time, and, in the depiction of his Doric order, he mentions that it is derived from the best examples of this order he had found in Rome.

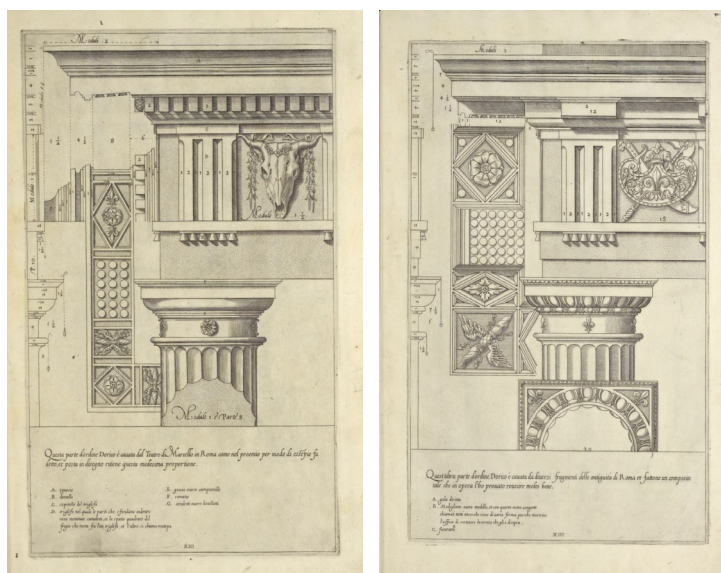
It is well known that Vignola did not simply print a special set of ancient examples for the classical orders of columns but rather created his own versions carefully coordinated into a system using a common module (fig. 9). By doing so, his book carries out number 11 from Tolomei's description. After the disillusioning insight that there was no single coherent system for the orders in ancient Roman architecture, he established the first very successful modular and, therefore, universally applicable system for the orders in architectural history. The foundation for Vignola's ability to achieve this had been laid when he had «measured all the antiquities in Rome» in the service of the academy headed by Cervini, as Vasari and Vignola's

32 ASHBY, Thomas. Il libro d'Antonio Labacco appartenente all'Architettura. In: *La Bibliofilia*. 1914, vol. 16, nos. 7-8, pp. 289-309; for Lafreri see: HÜLSEN, Christian. *Das Speculum Romanæ Magnificentiae* des Antonio Lafreri. In: BERTALOT, Ludwig; BERTONI, Giulio (eds.). *Collectanea variae doctrinae Leonis S. Olschki*. Munich; Berlin: J. Rosenthal, 1921, pp. 121-170; RUBACH, Birte. *Ant. Lafreri Formis Romae*. Berlin: Lukas, 2016.

33 Private communication about: BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, Jacopo. *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura*. Rome: Labacco, c. 1563.

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

Figure 9. Left: Plate XIII. Doric order from the Theatre of Marcellus, Rome / Right: Plate XIII. Modular Doric order designed by Vignola «after fragments from antiquity». In: BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, Jacopo. *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura*. Rome: Labacco, c. 1562.



biographer Egnatio Danti report in 1568 and 1583, respectively³⁵ (figs. 3, 10).

Both knew Vignola personally, so their claims seem to be trustworthy. Like Sangallo, Vignola designed a villa (or a complete reconstruction of the already existing villa) for cardinal Marcello Cervini³⁶. If one takes into account the hundreds of reprints of Vignola's *Regola* which were studied by almost every Western architect (at least) up to the early 20th century and regards the several recurrences of a 'classical' or 'classicist' version of the orders of columns in different historical phases of Western architecture since the late 16th century, the influence of Vignola's *Regola* and, therefore, its roots in the programme and activities of the *Accademia* can hardly be overestimated.

Andrea Palladio's *Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*, 1570

As mentioned above, Palladio's connection to the academic network in Rome should now be regarded as firmly established. It should, therefore, be no surprise to find traces of this connection not only in his drawings but also in his books. While his book on Roman antiquities is certainly a forgery³⁷, his famous, more important and most influential *Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* books from 1570 seem to fulfil different aspects of Tolomei's programme; while book

one contains Palladio's own version of a system of the classical orders that also uses a modular structure like Vignola's system before, and differs from it only in rather marginal parts, Palladio's fourth book (fig. 11) almost perfectly (and, therefore, much better than Labacco's) fulfils the description of book 13 in Tolomei's programme. As outlined by Tolomei, Palladio here combines full representations of ancient temples and theatres³⁸ in ground plans, elevations and sections including all details necessary to understand the buildings with two still rather short commentaries: one about the building's historical circumstances and one about its architectural characteristics.

Though Palladio's books have not been reprinted as often as Vignola's plates, combined with his iconic architecture, their impact on Western architecture and, therefore, again that of the *Accademia*'s project, can also hardly be overestimated.

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

As already mentioned, the influence of especially Vignola's and Palladio's works (their books as well as their buildings) on the history of Western architecture are of the highest grade and can hardly be overestimated. They not only dominated

35 VASARI, Giorgio. *Delle vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori Scultori et Architettori*. Op. cit. (n. 14); BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, Giacomo; DANTI, Egnatio. *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica*. Rome: Francesco Zanetti, 1583, p. 3 [unnumbered] in Danti's description of Vignola's life at the beginning of this book.

36 Vignola's drawings are kept in the Kunstbibliothek – SMB, Berlin, Germany. Signature: HDZ 1979.6 A0Z.

37 DALY DAVIS, Margaret. Andrea Palladio's "L'Antichità di Roma" of 1554. In: *Pegasus*. 2007, vol. 9, pp. 151-192.

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

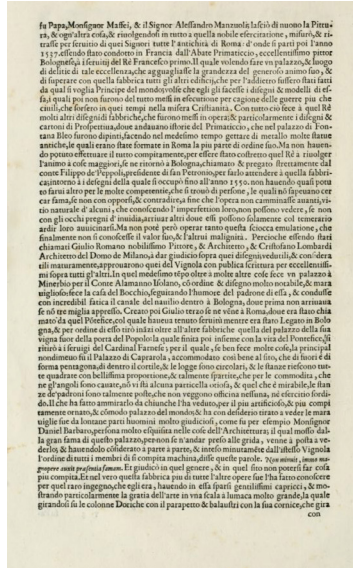
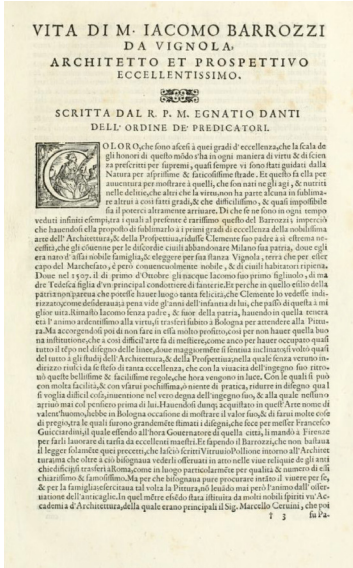


Figure 10. Left: Unaccounted page 1 from the «Vita» / Right: Unaccounted page 2 from the «Vita». In: BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, Giacomo; DANTI, Egnatio. *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica*. Rome: Zanetti, 1583.

the application of the classical orders of columns brought into a teachable, coherent system and used in authoritative examples by themselves, but this could have led to a decline in their importance with the avoidance of any classicist architectural language (at least) since the *Bauhaus* and the rise of architectural modernity. Instead, their influence lingers on. Vignola was the first and surely the most influential architectural theorist to introduce ‘systematic’ thinking and modularity not necessarily connected to any special (type of) building into Western architecture. In addition, Palladio remains exemplary beyond his classicism because of his clear thinking about the structure of buildings and their overall proportions, regardless of their concrete appearance and of their decoration. But Palladio may also be seen as the first person who introduced historical thinking into the architectural understanding of buildings in an influential printed work and, therefore, as the founder of architectural history. His short but quite profound descriptions of the individual circumstances under which an ancient Roman building was created (fig. 11), by whom and for what purposes was obviously inspired by the *Accademia’s* programme. It can also be regarded as the first *systematic* attempt

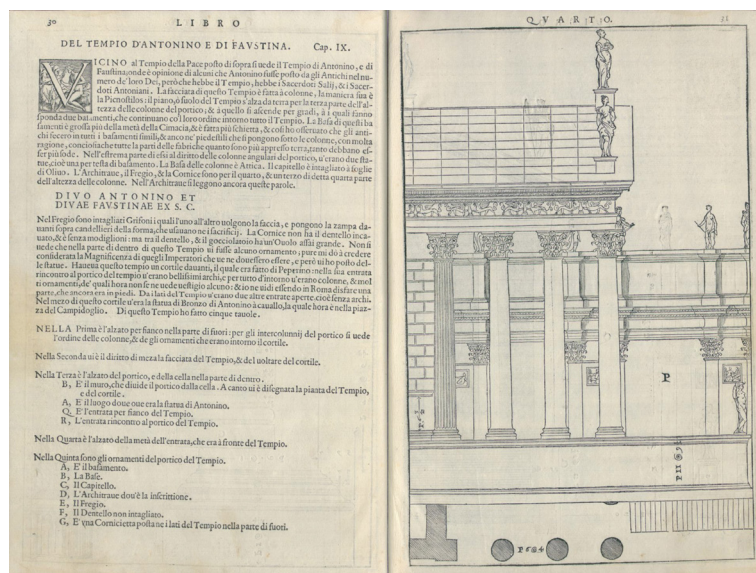
at a historical approach to architecture. Even though his descriptions do not yet follow a chronological order, they can be easily rearranged and read in this way. Therefore, they allow us to locate a single building in a historical context and sequence, something already suggested by Raphael in his famous draft of a letter to Pope Leo X about Roman antiquities.

Now, these achievements of both architects and authors can be related to the *Accademia’s* project as described by Tolomei. Tolomei goes even further in his demands for the entire project. In book 12, the urban structure of ancient Rome and its historical changes should have been described in detail to locate the individual buildings in their respective historical and urban environment and relationships³⁹.

So, one may quite safely assume that Vignola’s and Palladio’s influential works do not only have their roots in the *Accademia’s* programme, but that even the basic idea for their systematic and historical approaches was generated from this project in the same way as their knowledge about ancient architecture which allowed them to achieve their highly influential accomplishments in books as well as in architectural constructions. It may,

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

Figure 11. Page 30, 31. In: PALLADIO, Andrea. *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*. Venice: Dominico de' Franceschi, 1570.



TEMPORANEA

therefore, be claimed that the presumably «not carried out», even «impossible» *Accademia* project as described by Tolomei had a still unrecognised influence on the history of Western architecture and even modern world architecture that has not been surpassed yet by any other similar project or architectural ideal, model or paradigm.

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

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

its methodological achievements⁴⁰. All later editions of ancient inscriptions, most prominently those of Gruterius, are heavily based on Smetius's and can be seen as its extension, and, therefore, *in nuce* go back to Matal's work for the *Accademia*⁴¹.

Similarly, the origins of scholarly numismatics have at least some of their most important roots in the *Accademia's* work. Strada's previously mentioned drawings were still highly regarded in the 18th century, but their style of a somewhat free interpretation of the ancient coins later went out of fashion, even to the extent that the entire work, despite its undeniable qualities, was almost completely forgotten. But the seminal printed numismatic work was written by another member of the *Accademia*. Antonio Agustín's *Dialogues* on coins and inscriptions were first published in Spanish, but soon translated into Italian and reprinted several times in the 17th and 18th centuries⁴². Agustín, a close friend of Matal and his employer in Rome, had also studied law with Alciato. For several years before 1545, they also worked collaboratively on a new edition of the *Codex Iustinianus*, the central collection of Roman law, observing Alciato's philological and historical principles. When Agustín was

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

41 GRUTERUS, Janus. *Inscriptiones antiquae totius urbis Romani*. Heidelberg: Commelin, 1603, often reprinted and extended.

42 AGUSTÍN, Antonio. *Dialogos de medallas, inscripciones y otras antiguedades*. Tarragona: Felipe Mey, 1587. Italian translations: AGUSTÍN, Antonio. *Dialoghi di Don Antonio Agostini Arcivescovo di Tarracona intorno alle medaglie inscriptions et altre antichità*. Rome: Guglielmo Faciotto, 1592; AGUSTÍN, Antonio. *I Discorsi del S. Don Antonio Agostini sopra la medaglie et altre anticaglie*. Rome: Ascanio and Girolamo Donangeli, 1592.

called to Rome in 1545 to become a member of the *Tribunale della Rota Romana*, the papal court of appellations, both left their project in Florence and dedicated all their work in Rome to epigraphy and numismatics instead of the history of Roman law.

One may also include here Strada's own history of the Roman emperors illustrated with images based on coins⁴³ and also Sebastiano Erizzo's book on ancient coins⁴⁴. Strada's book may be taken into consideration because it is known that he left Lyon for Rome immediately after it was printed. In Rome he became a member of the *eruditissima academia* meeting in the Palazzo Farnese⁴⁵. And Erizzo's small but important numismatic contribution from Venice may also be seen to be in some way related to the *Accademia* because he was obviously not only well informed about its work through his contact with publishers and scholars like Manuzio in Venice, but also had dedicated his first scholarly publication in 1554 to Marcello Cervini⁴⁶.

Another interesting influence of the *Accademia's* programme and methodology, though not related directly to architecture,

may be seen in the first modern edition of a short but comprehensive ancient book on Greek mythology. Harprath and Wrede had already called the *Codex Coburgensis* «the first systematic book of archaeology» because they could reconstruct an original order of the drawings according to the mythological chronology of the scenes depicted in reliefs on sarcophagi and tombstones⁴⁷. The foundation for this order was established by Benedetto Egio's first edition and translation of the *Bibliothèque* erroneously attributed to Apollodoros of Athens, a chronological mythology of the ancient Greek gods⁴⁸. Most interestingly, this book is not dedicated to some cardinal or other person of a higher social rank, but to Egio's close friend Jean Matal. It was printed in 1555 in Rome by Antonio Blado who published several books by other academicians like Philandrier's *Annotationes* and even Bufalini's map of Rome in 1551. Together with Cervini, Blado founded a printshop for ancient Greek texts, too.

The way in which the academicians worked collaboratively and with 'interdisciplinarity' to join forces in the attempt to understand

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

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

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

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

47 HARPRATH, Richard; WREDE, Henning. *Der Codex Coburgensis*. Op. cit. (n. 21).

48 APOLLODORUS OF ATHENS; *Apollodori Atheniensis Bibliothecae*. EGIO, Benedetto (ed.; transl.). Rome: Antonio Blado, 1555.

ancient Roman artefacts is very well described by Stephan Pighius (the owner and commissioner of the *Codex Pighianus*) in his small book *Themis Dea*, dedicated to cardinal Granvelle whose secretary Pighius became after the death of Marcello Cervini and before Lipsius⁴⁹. Pighius's book reports a dialogue dated 1555 in the garden of cardinal Cesi in Rome who had just acquired an ancient herm. The participants are Pighius, Agustín, Matal and Antoine Morillon, the agent and advisor of cardinal Granvelle, who was buying books and antiquities for him in Italy. The four participants pooled all their knowledge about ancient sources such as mythological texts, images of gods and other figures from reliefs and statues as well as coins, medals and inscriptions to solve the riddle which the herm presented to them. They came to the conclusion that it was a representation of the goddess Themis, but, as Henning Wrede has shown, despite all their learned efforts, this identification is, unfortunately, wrong⁵⁰.

It would lead too far and require an article of its own to describe the importance and influence of the academicians' several early editions of the *Fasti Capitolini* found on the Forum Romanum in 1546. It seems as if the finding of the important ancient chronology created a footrace to come up with the first and/or most comprehensive

edition. But there are hardly any important 'archaeological' publications after 1544 that cannot be related to the *Accademia* and its wide and vivid network of scholars and practitioners *and* that had a long-lasting impact on the history of the early humanities and, later, even on other fields, too.

Many more examples could be mentioned here which would show the influence of the *Accademia's* project described by Tolomei and reaching far beyond the study of ancient buildings and other monuments. They all mark the beginning of a scholarly, systematic theory and history of architecture. Most of these sources are still understudied, even unpublished (like the thousands of architectural drawings), and most of the books have never been seen in their common historical and methodological background, although it may be regarded as the beginning of scholarly research in general.

It is even possible that the methodological approach developed by the *Accademia* and based on earlier philology, Alciato's historical-critical method and the first project to entirely document ancient Rome and its architecture by Raphael and his advisors and collaborators (among them Sangallo) had a seminal influence on the beginnings of the early natural sciences in the late 16th century. There are personal connections between the late academicians or their close disciples

49 PIGHIUS, Stephanus Vinandus. *Themis Dea seu de lege divina*. Antwerp: Christophori Plantini, 1568.

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

and the early natural scientists that are surely worth investigating further.

A central figure of the *Accademia*, Jean Matal, even had an important influence on the early geographers like Ortelius after he had left Rome on a diplomatic mission to England together with Agustín in 1555. But he never came back to the Eternal City and left all of his rich materials behind.

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

It should be underlined here that the final aim of the entire project of the *Accademia* was not to satisfy the curiosity of a few overreaching and too ambitious antiquarians but to create a basis for any good, even the best architecture in the future which, if the entire project had been successfully finished, could be based on a systematic foundation. This foundation would be grounded in (what was presumed to be) the best historical form of architecture, that of the Roman empire. And it would be derived from the systematic and, therefore, teachable, 'eternal' rules for any good architecture. Even though the *Accademia's* project was not carried out in the planned version of a multi-volume series of closely intertwined publications such as, for example, the encyclopaedic (but also unfinished) German *Handbuch der Architektur (Handbook of Architecture)*⁵¹, the above examples from its achievements and their influences should allow it to be stated that the aim of the *Accademia* in a certain way *was*, in fact, *accomplished*. Its main results influenced not only history and architecture and its theory for centuries, but also other fields of historical research and their methodologies. It may even be said that this could have been the most influential scholarly and cultural project in European history, influencing the characteristics of our cities even today. These should be more good reasons than needed to reconstruct, regain and study the *Accademia's* project and its results, not least because

51 DURM, Josef; ENDE, Hermann; WAGNER, Heinrich; SCHMITT, Eduard (eds.). *Handbuch der Architektur*. Stuttgart: 1880-1927.

the as-yet unexploited sources left by the *Accademia*, like the architectural drawings, contain an immense amount of precise and comprehensive information that cannot be found in the buildings themselves anymore because of their progressive destruction since the Renaissance.

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

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Figure 1. Left: Title page / Right: Page 81 recto (begin of the letter to de' Landi). In: TOLOMEI, Claudio. *De le lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei, libri sette*. Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1547.

Figure 2. Left: Title page / Right: Page Ll 2 recto, citing the academies active in Rome during the papacy of Paul III Farnese (i.e., 1534-1549). In: ATANAGI, Dionigi. *De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani*. Venice: Avanzo, 1565.

Figure 3. Left: Title page / Right: Page 700 of the 2nd part of the 3rd volume (citing Vignola's work for the academy of architecture headed by cardinal Marcello Cervini). In: VASARI, Giorgio. *Delle vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori, Scultori et Architettori*. Florence: Giunti, 1568.

Figure 4. Left: Title page. In: VITRUVIUS. *In decem libros M. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura Annotationes*, PHILANDRIER, Guillaume (comm.). Rome: Andream Dossena Thaurineñ, 1544 / Right: Title page. In: VITRUVIUS. *M. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura libri decem ad Caesarem Avgvstum: omnibus omnium editionibus longè emendatiores, collatis veteribus exemplis*. PHILANDRIER, Guillaume (comm.). Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1552.

Figure 5. Left: Title page / Right: Impressum. In: MARLIANO, Bartolomeo. *Urbis Romæ topographia*. Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico, 1544.

Figure 6. Left: Title page. In: VITRUVIUS. *I dieci libri dell'architettura*, BARBARO, Daniele (transl.; comm.). Venice: Marcolini, 1556 / Right: Title page. In: VITRUVIUS. *M. Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura Libri Decem*. BARBARO, Daniele (ed.; comm.). Venice: Franceschi & Chrieger, 1567.

Figure 7. Left: Title page. In: LABACCO, Antonio. *Libro d'Antonio Labacco appartenente a l'architettura*. Rome: Antonio Labacco, c. 1552 / Right: Title page. In: PALLADIO, Andrea. *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*. Venice: Dominico de' Franceschi, 1570.

Figure 8. Left: Title page. In: BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, Jacopo. *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura*. Rome: Labacco, c. 1563. / Right: Title page. In: BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, Giacomo; DANTI, Egnatio. *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica*. Rome: Zanetti, 1583.

Figure 9. Left: Plate XIII. Doric order from the Theatre of Marcellus, Rome / Right: Plate XIII. Modular Doric order designed by Vignola «after fragments from antiquity». In: BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, Jacopo. *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura*. Rome: Labacco, c. 1562.

Figure 10. Left: Uncounted page 1 from the «Vita» / Right: Uncounted page 2 from the «Vita». In: BAROZZI DA VIGNOLA, Giacomo; DANTI, Egnatio. *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica*. Rome: Zanetti, 1583.

Figure 11. Page 30, 31. In: PALLADIO, Andrea. *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*. Venice: Dominico de' Franceschi, 1570.



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