

SANGALLO, TOLOMEI, AND THE PROGRAM OF THE
ACCADEMIA DE LO STUDIO DE L'ARCHITETTURA
ON VITRUVIUS AND ANCIENT ARCHITECTURE

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To Wolfgang Wolters, ciceroncin d'architettura

1 Introduction

The publishing project on Vitruvius and ancient Roman architecture described by Claudio Tolomei in his famous letter to Agostino de'Landi from 1542 (published in 1547)¹ has always been regarded by modern research as largely unrealized and indeed as far too ambitious to have ever been realized—or to even be realizable—at all.² Therefore, there has never been a thorough investigation to determine whether at least parts of the program or preparations for them have been executed or traces of them could be identified or even found. Recent research has shown that many unprinted and still unpublished sources—both manuscripts and drawings—as well as published prints and books from between ca. 1530 to after 1600 could or should now be seen as directly belonging to this project or as based on its results.³

It should be obvious that Tolomei—as a philologist, poet, politician, and cleric—did not compile the impressive program and develop its sophisticated methodology by himself alone, but that he had help from the large number of unnamed persons he mentions in the letter. One of these persons was Antonio da Sangallo the Younger («il Giovane»), then the leading architect in Rome. Since the early 1500s, Sangallo had studied antiquities

¹ Tolomei (1547b). Because Tolomei's collection of letters was republished more than 20 times, this letter must have been well known. That the philologist Tolomei does not deal with a fantastic research plan but with a well-thought-out and thoroughly reasoned publishing project is clear from his repeated statements, that all of the mentioned parts are books («libri») which were to be published and related in a consecutive order.

² For a short review of the most extensive mentions in modern research see Kulawik (2019).

³ For an overview of some of these sources and prints relatable to Tolomei's program, see Kulawik (2018). Since the publication of that article, several new items could be added. For a regularly updated list, please see the summaries in my web database <http://www.accademia-vitruviana.net/accademia>.

with his uncle Giuliano da Sangallo, his teacher Bramante, and his colleague Raphael when the latter became the leading architect at St Peter's in the Vatican and Sangallo his «coadiutore», i.e., (architectural) advisor. Sangallo did not only take part in Raphael's plan to document the entire Eternal City,⁴ but continued to study the ancient ruins after Raphael's early death in 1520, together with Baldassarre Peruzzi (who died in 1536), with a thoroughness that would make him the leading specialist in this field.

The possible relation of Tolomei's project to the quite similar but shorter program described by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger in his so-called «*proemio*» (1531/1539)⁵ (i.e. «foreword») has—as far as I know—never been investigated. Recent research shows that this relation seems to be quite close.⁶

It can now be firmly assumed that the almost forgotten, so-called «Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura»—as the humanist Dionigi Atanagi spells its name in 1565⁷—forms the common background for both versions of the project as well as for many surviving manuscript sources, drawings, prints, and books. This shared original context seems to have been veiled by the anonymity of most of the sources, their erroneous personal and temporal attribution, and/or by their late publication. Often, these publications appeared under the names of disciples or heirs of the *Accademia's* members, but not always with references to them in dedications, introductions or in their texts. The many relations among the more than 200 persons involved over several decades and their mutual references to each other in letters or dedications make it highly plausible that they did not just accidentally follow similar personal ideas when studying ancient texts, architecture and art. This is the image modern research still upholds: that is, the idea that the early «antiquarians» were rather individuals following their personal interests, which would distinguish them from later, academic or «real», systematically working archaeologists active in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. Instead, many of these sixteenth-century «antiquarians» collaborated and contributed to a larger project: the one sketched by Sangallo and described by Tolomei.⁸ This is also confirmed by the content, structure and

⁴ About the plan see Di Teodoro (2003 [1994]) and (2015). About Sangallo's and Peruzzi's involvement see Günther (1988). It should be mentioned here that there is—as far as I know—no indication that Raphael's letter was ever sent to the pope (Leo X) nor that the project to measure all antiquities ever left the status of a plan and was realized. Günther thinks many of the later drawings from the Sangallo-Peruzzi-circle can be seen as attempts to realize Raphael's project.

⁵ Sangallo (1531/1539). For a transcribed version see: <http://accademia-vitruviana.net/bibliography/sangallo-1539>.

⁶ Kulawik (2021a).

⁷ Atanagi (1565), fol LI2 *verso*–LI3 *recto*.

⁸ Among them was—at least between 1553 and 1555—Jacopo Strada who seems to have been the first modern person to call himself «archeologist», i.e., «archaiologos» on his Greek title pages for the volumes of drawings after Greek and Roman coins. «Archaiologos» is Strada's translation of his official title as the «Antiquarian of his Majesty the Emperor». About the much-too-often underestimated Strada, see now Dirk Jacob Jansen's impressive monograph (Jansen (2019)), which covers much more than just Strada's work for the Imperial Court. [addition: See also the publication resulting from Jansen's collaboration with Volker Heenes in a project funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG =

methodology of their manuscript contributions and printed books. For instance, many of these publications almost literally fulfill Tolomei's descriptions of the twenty-four books mentioned in his program as the parts of the project that he and a large group of learned men⁹—artists as well as scholars—intended to realize.

This group has usually been identified with the *Accademia della Virtù*, founded by Tolomei in Rome and working until ca. 1545, when Tolomei left Rome for three years. But this academy was dedicated to Latin and Neo-Latin poetry and the reformation and systematization of the Italian language to make it into a substitute for Latin as the *lingua franca* of European intellectuals.¹⁰ Therefore, and because the academic activities did not stop in 1545, another academy active in Rome at the time has to be taken into consideration. We know from reports by Giorgio Vasari¹¹ and Egnatio Danti¹² about the life of the architect Jacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–1573),¹³ that an academy in Rome ordered him to «measure all the antiquities in Rome» in the 1530s. But because both writers do not mention the name of this academy, it has been simply assumed to be the *Accademia della Virtù*. At least, Vasari says that this academy of «noble men» had turned their attention to the reading of Vitruvius («attendevano alle letione di Vitruvio»)—but the mentioned instruction to Vignola to measure all the ancient buildings in Rome proves that this academy did not limit its activities only to the reading of Vitruvius.

If one looks for another academy or similar institution active in Rome in the 1540s, several may seem to fit: the *Accademia dei Virtuosi* (still active today as a papal institution and often confused with the *Accademia della Virtù* because of the name and personal overlap)¹⁴, the *Accademia dello Sdegno* or *degli Sdegnati*,¹⁵ or the *Accademia dei Vignaiuoli*, etc.¹⁶ But all of them were rather smaller circles, surely not capable of realizing Tolomei's program.

German Research Foundation): «*Jacopo Strada's Magnum ac Novum Opus. A Sixteenth-Century Corpus of Ancient Numismatics*». (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2022).

⁹ Tolomei calls them «pellegrini ingegni» (Tolomei (1547) fol 81 recto), i.e., «pilgrim spirits» and «dotti huomini» (Tolomei (1547) fol 84 verso), i.e., «learned men». If and how a woman, Faustina Mancini, was involved in the *Accademia* is still unclear.

¹⁰ See Moroncini (2016) and (2017).

¹¹ Vasari (1568): 700.

¹² Barozzi / Danti (1583): [unnumbered 3rd page of the introductory *Vita*].

¹³ Because his name was Jacomo Barozzi while «Vignola» is the place of his birth, he was often simply called «il Vignola», but never—as some modern researchers misinterpreted his name—«Jacomo/Jacopo Vignola».

¹⁴ Antonio da Sangallo the Younger as well as his disciple and collaborator Antonio Labacco belonged to this academy, among many other architects and artists.

¹⁵ The «anger» («*sdegno*») of these «angry men» («*sdegnati*») was caused by the plundering of their beloved ancient ruins especially by foreign cardinals who—on the other hand—employed many of the artists and craftsmen to document the very same artifacts and buildings as part of the *Accademia's* project or supported the publication of its results. (Cooper (2013)).

¹⁶ Atanagi (1565) fol LI2 verso, mentions, in addition, also the *Accademia de la Poesia Nuova*, the *Accademia de l'Amicitia*, the *Accademia del Liceo*, the *Accademia l'Amasea*, but he also concludes with «*& piu altre*», i.e., «and others more»—so there have been several more academies active in Rome during the papacy of Paul III to which Atanagi refers here.

Among the known academies active in Rome before, in and after the 1540s, the *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura* seems to be the only one with the intention and the means to develop and execute Tolomei's vast program—even if it seems to have not been as strictly organized as the Siennese *Accademia degli Intronati* (started in 1525 and certainly well known to Tolomei and Cervini) or the later *Accademia Veneziana* founded by Paolo Manuzio and others, who was well acquainted with the academic activities in Rome.¹⁷

It seems that the activities of the *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura* were halted after the untimely death of its *spiritus rector*, cardinal Marcello Cervini, who died in 1555 after a three-week papacy as Marcellus II. After that, only some of the *Accademia's* collaborators or their disciples and heirs were able to publish the results of their work or parts thereof—a fact presumably linked to the strengthening counter-reformation.

The possible reconstruction of the entire project and the publication of its results put back into their overall original context have the potential to revolutionize not only our knowledge about Vitruvian studies in and the architectural history of the Renaissance but also would unveil many since-forgotten or understudied documentations of ancient artifacts which are now lost or in worse condition than they were in the middle of the 16th century.

Also in 1544, Girolamo Garimberto—a collector of antiquities and bishop—published a small book about the (importance of the) legal foundations for a (city) state. As an introduction he reports a discussion held in Tolomei's house «less than a year ago».¹⁸ Its topic was the question if an ancient building could be reconstructed when only its foundations had survived. Antonio da Sangallo the Younger—then the leading architect in Rome and principal architect in the construction of the new St Peter's basilica in the Vatican—argued that this would be possible as long as the ancient architect had followed strict rules and these rules were known to the individual reconstructing that work. By contrast, his opponent, the architect Jacopo Melegghino argued that one could never reconstruct, for example, the Vatican Palace if only its ground walls were known. Of course, this position obviously supports Sangallo's claim indirectly, because the Vatican Palace had grown during the medieval centuries without observing any clear set of architectural rules or even an overall plan.

¹⁷ It should be mentioned here that one of the first publications from this circle, Marliano's *Topographia* (Marliano (1544)), bears the impressum: «*Romæ in edibus Valerij, dorici, & Aloisy fratris, Academiæ Romanæ impreßorum*». I suppose that the Dorico brothers are not referring here to the *Accademia Romana* founded by Pomponio Leto in 1464 and seized in or shortly after the Sack of Rome in 1527 (i.e., 17 years before the publication of the *Topographia*), but that the new academy saw itself as a resurrection of the first one, because several of its founding members like Cervini had already been among the last members of the earlier academy in the 1520s. But this hypothesis still needs further confirmation. [addition: The confirmation may consist in the close relationship between Cervini and Angelo Colocci as described by Vittorio Fanelli, *Ricerche su Angelo Colocci e sulla Roma cinquecentesca*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1979.]

¹⁸ Garimberto (1544), fols. I *recto*–III *recto*.

This discussion is used by Garimberto in a metaphorical way to support his claim that the legal foundations of a state consist in its constitution and a set of firm and clear rules to derive special laws from this constitution. Because all the participants mentioned by Garimberto were still alive in 1544 and would meet each other regularly, we may safely assume that his report and even the positions taken by the discussants reflect a real situation and are not just Garimberto's rhetorical invention.

For modern researchers, the very interesting aspect in this report is the fact that it proves Sangallo's and Tolomei's participation and common interest in an architecture guided by clear rules and, therefore, capable of serving as a model. To both—and many of their friends and colleagues in Rome, too—it was clear that the reconstruction of the Roman buildings should and hopefully would be possible by measuring their ruins very carefully *and* by reconstructing the rules used in their construction. The most important source for such rules, obviously, were Vitruvius' *Ten Books on Architecture*. And both Sangallo and Tolomei had each described a program of how to achieve a new edition, a translation, and generally a better understanding of this crucial ancient text.

2 Sangallo's «*proemio*» as a Publishing Project

In 1531 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger wrote a short text which he updated in 1539 and which is known to modern research as his so-called «*proemio*», a foreword, to a presumably planned or even executed—but now lost—edition and/or translation of Vitruvius.¹⁹ In fact, the text describes a plan or program of what needs to be done and by whom in preparation of such an edition and a subsequent translation. Because not all of Sangallo's formulations are clear about the status of the text—as a plan to a project or as a foreword to its result—modern research has always assumed the latter and, consequently, tried to find other traces of the seemingly «lost» edition and/or translation of Vitruvius' *Ten books*. But nothing comparable has been found yet, not even mentioned among the many notes left by Sangallo and the vast circle of his collaborators—some of them his close relatives. And the many important drawings illustrating the Sulpizio edition of Vitruvius from 1486/87—the so-called *Corsiniani* manuscript—executed by Sangallo's brother Giovanni Battista and published by Ingrid Rowland, cannot be understood as the book envisioned by Antonio da Sangallo. They rather form another part of the preparations for a new, illustrated edition of Vitruvius—especially because the drawings often try to reconstruct from the text what Vitruvius may have had in mind but do not show known ancient buildings which could be related to the text.

¹⁹ Sangallo (1531/1539). The dates are not directly given in Sangallo's text but have been reconstructed by modern researchers based on the events and persons mentioned by Sangallo; see Giovannoni (1959) and Bruschi (1983). Because of some mistakes by Sangallo, the dates cannot be taken for sure but may have a margin of error of one to two years.

In addition, we have many measured survey drawings of ancient buildings from Sangallo and his circle.²⁰ In addition, there are even many more of them from a group of ca. twenty (mostly French) draftsmen, of whom at least a few worked for Sangallo and his representative Antonio Labacco at the *Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano*.²¹ In his so-called «*proemio*» Sangallo explains why all the earlier editions have failed and what should be done for a suitable new effort to understand, edit and translate Vitruvius' text into an edition useful for learned persons as well as architects and artists.

Sangallo enumerates seven requirements deduced from the deficits of earlier editions and manuscripts. In my understanding of Sangallo's rather crude Italian, these are:

1. The primary deficit of previous editions is that several were made by artists and craftsmen who did not possess a mastery of the ancient languages and, therefore, misunderstood the text.
2. The second problem is that editions made by scholars lack the practical knowledge of architects, artists, and craftsmen. Obviously, Sangallo wants the new edition to be prepared in a collaboration between scholars and practitioners, between theory and practice.
3. The third problem arises from the many Greek and other terms used by Vitruvius because they were generally common at his time but are uncommon and «obscure» today, in Sangallo's time. Therefore, they need to be explained.
4. The fourth problem arises from the corruption of the text, which was copied over centuries by scribes who did not comprehend it and who, therefore, inserted their own errors and mistakes. Obviously, the solution to this problem would require the comparison and emendation of ideally all available manuscripts to reconstruct the original *Urtext* of Vitruvius' *Ten Books* or, at least, one as faithful to the original as possible.
5. The fifth problem is similar to the fourth: Many earlier editors tried to correct the Vitruvian text but, instead, ruined it by inserting their own mistakes and misunderstandings. Because of that, Sangallo claims to have tried to find the oldest books (obviously manuscripts) to come as close as possible to a less corrupt version of the *Ten Books*.

Points 4 and 5 obviously repeat what a good philologist since Petrarch's times would have done to reconstruct an ancient text. Therefore, the methodological impact of (classical) philology on the newly developed methodology of the entire project should not be underestimated.

6. Because Vitruvius tried to be concise and somehow obscure in his writings and never expected the basic architectural knowledge of his time to vanish, the understanding of his text is hampered by the many «scholarly» terms he used. To solve this problem, it would

²⁰ Frommel/Adams (1994/2000); the third volume is published in 2023.

²¹ See Kulawik (2002) 262–266, and Kulawik (2016).

be necessary to find similar words and phrases in the works of other authors in order to reconstruct the original meanings of these words and phrases.

7. The most important problem, as Sangallo sees it, derives from the lack of the illustrations mentioned by Vitruvius throughout his text. Sangallo suspects that they were lost over time or that Vitruvius did not include them in the original manuscript because he wanted to protect his «intellectual property» and demonstrate to Octavian (Augustus) that he had a better knowledge of the things he wrote about than his contemporaries. (One may assume that Sangallo refers here, somehow, to his own experience with competing architects . . .)

Because of that, Sangallo suggests, one would have to go back to other Greek and Latin authors as well as to study the ancient buildings in Rome and elsewhere (in Italy). Because most of them were built after Vitruvius' lifetime, one could learn from them if their architects observed his rules.²² By doing so one could hope to find the rules from Vitruvius' lost drawings preserved in the architecture built by his successors.

Obviously, this would not only require Sangallo and his collaborators to reconstruct the rules from Vitruvius' text, mostly dispersed all over his *Ten Books* and not always commensurable to each other. It would also require the measuring of all—or at least, most—of these buildings and the reconstruction of their basic modules and proportions from these measurements. Though Sangallo seems to presume that most of these ancient buildings obey Vitruvius' rules, there are examples of survey drawings where he noted discrepancies between the objects and the rules given by Vitruvius for their execution. To solve this problem, it would therefore also be necessary to date the buildings with the help of external sources, such as inscriptions, coins, calendars etc.

To sum up: Sangallo realized that, in order to prepare a new edition and translation of Vitruvius' *Ten Books*, a lot of strictly philological work would have to be done about the text and its available versions to eliminate mistakes and errors. And to understand «obscure» phrases, other ancient authors would have to be consulted as well, so that Vitruvius' intentions could be understood. But there was also undeniably practical work to be done: the careful survey and exact measuring of all available buildings to reconstruct their proportions and construction characteristics. Sangallo seems to have been aware that it would be necessary to apply a similar methodology to the buildings as to the text itself in order to regain the lost theoretical as well as practical knowledge about architecture.

It should be obvious that Sangallo's text is hardly a «*proemio*», a foreword to a planned or finished work reconstructing the text of Vitruvius' *Ten Books*. Rather, it is a methodological plan for the philological as well as architectural research needed to be done in preparation of such a work.

²² It should be mentioned here that many early modern architects, maybe already Brunelleschi and Alberti, had realized the differences between Vitruvius' text and the built architecture. Sangallo was surely aware of this problem.

3 Tolomei's Publishing Project and Its Relation to Sangallo's «*Proemio*»

Like Sangallo's text, Tolomei's program has usually been misunderstood in its general intention as a plan for a research project far too ambitious to ever be realized.²³ In fact, near the end of his letter, Tolomei counters this possible misinterpretation among his future readers with the claim that very many learned men and specialists from numerous fields would collaborate and share the workload among each other like a hundred workshops working simultaneously in a big city: He may have had in mind here St Peter's in the Vatican which, besides the *Fabbrica di San Pietro* itself, involved literally hundreds of workshops and craftsmen in and around Rome.²⁴ If the readers who doubt the realizability of the project described in his letter would know about this large group of collaborators, they would not wonder that «everything could be finished in less than three years»!²⁵

Tolomei mentions 24 books («libri») which would comprise the entire project. Only the first eleven of them would be dedicated to Vitruvius. The remaining thirteen would deal with almost all practical aspects needed to understand ancient Rome's architecture and its many contexts. By doing so, Tolomei extends Sangallo's sketch remarkably. But the main points regarding Vitruvius are still the same. Of course, for Tolomei it is also indispensable to unite the knowledge of the scholars and philologists with the practical experience of the architects and artist in a close, «interdisciplinary» collaboration.²⁶ And by doing so, they would be able to join the «prescriptions» of the ancient authors with the built examples.²⁷ The vicinity to Sangallo's ideas is obvious.

According to Tolomei, the project would not start immediately with a new edition of Vitruvius, but with a first book about the obscure passages which would be explained with the help of other ancient authors and through explications from modern practitioners like architects. In 1542, when the letter was written, this book was already in preparation, and it was published in 1544. So Tolomei could hardly mention the book in his letter printed in 1547 without faking foreknowledge in 1542. But its prominent and somewhat irregular position in his list seems to be justified by the fact that it was already published and well received in 1547. Modern scholars correctly identified it with Guillaume Philandrier's

²³ See Kulawik (2018), (2019) and (2021) for a more detailed discussion of the letter. An extensive commentary is in preparation.

²⁴ The *Fabbrica*, in fact, was much more than a medieval «Bauhütte». It was an institution with its own jurisprudence, owning hundreds of bequeathed properties all over the Catholic world. It should, therefore, rather be seen as the (presumably) first international, even world-wide acting trust-like corporation, presumably more than the contemporary banks.

²⁵ Tolomei (1547) fol. 84 *verso*: «non è dubbio che'n manco di tre anni si condurrann tutte [fatiche] a fine».

²⁶ Tolomei (1547) fol 81 *recto*: «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».

²⁷ Tolomei (1547) fol 81 *recto*: «congiugnendo i precetti de gli scrittori con gli esempi.»

Annotationes,²⁸ published in Rome in 1544 by Antonio Blado, who later published several other works related to the *Accademia*. In his *Annotationes*, Philandrier—who had studied architecture with Sebastiano Serlio in Venice while on his way to Rome with his employer cardinal Georges d’Armagnac²⁹—does not only mention other ancient authors regarding the difficult passages in the *Ten Books*, but he also frequently cites the architects with whom he stood in close contact in Rome, most prominently Sangallo.

The second book in Tolomei’s list still would not be a full new edition of the *Ten Books*, but a philological comparison of the available manuscripts (and, presumably, prints) needed to establish a reliable text. Again, a point that seems to come directly from Sangallo’s «*proemio*». This book does not seem to have appeared separately, but when Philandrier published an extended version of his *Annotationes* in 1552 in Lyon after his return from Rome, comprising the full text of the *Ten Books* with his reworked and new commentaries, the subtitle of this publication explicitly states that the text is derived from all the available and most ancient sources and emended.³⁰ Of course, Philandrier could hardly have constituted this text alone while back in France. Instead, we can safely assume that he used the manuscripts and early prints of the *Ten Books* collected in Rome by the members and mentors of the *Accademia* like cardinals Cervini, Farnese, Cesi, Pio da Carpi, and others during his preparations. Cervini alone seems to have owned four different manuscripts of Vitruvius’ *Ten Books*, and also bought some for the Vatican Library which he headed as the first cardinal-librarian, extending its treasures through a constant and very intentional purchasing strategy.

Only with the third book on his list and after these two preparatory volumes, Tolomei arrives at a new edition of Vitruvius’ *Ten Books*. This one would present the reconstructed text and contain reconstructions of the lost drawings as well as new illustrations wherever they were thought to be helpful to the readers. Of course, Philandrier’s first *Annotationes* already contained simple illustrations to explain certain points, and his 1552 edition even more so. But these illustrations were comparably raw and not of the standard that was achieved in Rome by then. This may be due to the limited resources Philandrier had at hand when publishing his volume in France in 1552. But another publication, finished only four years later in 1556, did not only rely remarkably on the amended text provided by Philandrier, but also contained illustrations which even today are regarded by many still as the best. The draftsman who provided them, together with his advice to the author as a practicing architect, was Andrea Palladio, and the edition in question is the Italian

²⁸ Philandrier (1544).

²⁹ Both had been painted by Titian in Venice in a double portrait now in the Louvre. This painting is part of a remarkably long list of other Titian portraits of members and/or supporters of the Roman academy which—as far as I know—have not been seen in this context yet. Among them are Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, cardinals Pietro Bembo, Alessandro and Ranuccio Farnese, Paul III (Alessandro Farnese), Jacopo Strada, and perhaps several of Titian’s anonymous portraits, too.

³⁰ Philandrier (1552), title page: «omnibus omnium editionibus longè emendatiores, collatis veteris exemplis».

translation by Daniele Barbaro with his extensive commentaries, still often regarded as the best.³¹

The fourth book in Tolomei's list is an annotated Latin vocabulary or lexicon of the Latin terms used by Vitruvius. Some modern scholars misunderstood this as a simple index list as it is provided in Barbaro's translation and edition. But from his description it is very clear that Tolomei is referring here to a dictionary with extensive explanations to make the difficult terms used by Vitruvius comprehensible.³² While there are no books known that would coincide with Tolomei's description, we may safely assume that the academicians had such a manuscript at hand when discussing Vitruvius' text almost daily. Otherwise, it would have been difficult to turn back and forth in the text every time a difficult word would appear and needed explanation based on other occurrences in the text or elsewhere.

The same may be assumed for the fifth book in Tolomei's list: another dictionary but this time containing the Greek words used by Vitruvius. But to understand them, the book would even explain their «derivation» and etymology.³³

The sixth book in Tolomei's list is another example that can be related closely to Sangallo's description: it was intended to contain a comparison of Vitruvius's Latin with that of

³¹ Barbaro (1556). Though the Latin version came out only in 1567—presumably, because that by Philandrier was already on the market—, Barbaro stated that the work on edition and translation started at the same time, i.e., in the early 1550s. Modern research—as far as I know—has never tried to explain why a learned cleric like Barbaro, the then-elected Patriarch of Aquileia, a person usually dealing with philosophers like Aristotle or commenting on early Christian writers, felt the need to publish an illustrated and annotated translation and an edition of Vitruvius' *Ten Books*, a work by an architect-engineer dealing with very practical but hardly philosophical topics. Because Barbaro had visited Rome in the early 1550s together with Palladio, it seems very reasonable to assume that they contacted the members of the *Accademia* there which was still meeting regularly at the Palazzo Farnese as Jacopo Strada reports in his dedications in Panvinio/Strada (1557a and 1557b). Palladio had participated in the architectural surveys for the *Accademia* in the 1540s when he was three times for a few weeks or months in Rome together with his mentor Giangiorgio Trissino. Therefore, the idea to publish this translation may have been born during or in relation to Barbaro's visits with Palladio in Rome and maybe as an improved but not directly competing edition to Philandrier's. Interestingly, the translation of 1556 is dedicated to Ippolito II d'Este, the owner of the Villa d'Este in Tivoli and important supporter of antiquarian-archaeological research in Rome, especially as employer of Pirro Ligorio who belonged to the *Accademia's* network. Barbaro's edition of 1567 is dedicated to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, another supporter of the *Accademia's* activities and employer of several of its members.

³² Tolomei (1547) fol 82 *recto*: «... one will make a vocabulary in Latin, very rich, where in alphabetic order all the Latin words are explained, and especially those where there is some doubt and obscurity.» («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.»)

³³ Tolomei (1547) fol 82 *recto*: «And because this author is rich of Greek words, for instance in the orders [of columns] and the rules of Greek architecture, another book will be made containing the Greek words, explaining them in Latin words . . . their derivation and etymology.» («E perché questo autore è pieno di vocaboli Greci, si come ancora de gli ordini, e regole de l'Architettura greca, però si farà uno altro [libro] de vocaboli greci, isponendoli poi in parole latine; . . . dichiarar le dirivazione, e l'etimologie loro.») As an example of how these two latter books may have been intended, one could refer to Aldo Manuzio's (the Younger) *Orthographiæ Ratio* from 1566 = Manuzio (1566). His father Paolo was in close contact with the Roman academy and published several books relatable to this circle. And several of Aldo's manuscripts in the Vatican Library seem to incorporate parts of Jean Matal's preparatory work for a complete sylloge of ancient Latin inscriptions.

other, better, more classical authors. It would serve as the preparation for the seventh book, a translation of Vitruvius' *Ten Books* into a better, more classical Latin. Obviously, this was not a priority for the entire project and, therefore, does not seem to have been realized or even begun at all.

The eighth book would be a translation into modern (i.e., Tuscan) Italian, which was regarded among philologists as the superior and best-established Italian dialect at the time. Of course, the translation provided by the Venetian Daniele Barbaro, published fourteen years after Tolomei's letter was written, does not seem to use the Tuscan dialect but an Italian close to it. And because of its commentaries, Palladio's illustrations and its profound textual basis, it was and is understandable to any Italian at the time and today.

The ninth book would be an Italian dictionary of all the architectural terms used by Vitruvius: and so—more or less—an Italian translation of books 4 and 5, accompanying the translation in the same way as those books would do to the Latin edition. Interestingly, Tolomei mentions that these words would have to be translated into those in use in his time. But where this was impossible, new terms would have to be invented—which would be justified by the artistic practice to do so regularly. This would facilitate the modern oral or written discourse on architecture generally. Tolomei may refer here to special parts, for instance, of the decoration of architraves, but the overall idea and willingness to invent new technical terms is remarkable.

The tenth book in Tolomei's list would be a dictionary of all instruments and tools, architectural parts, and their production and composition according to Vitruvius. Again, no such book—or preparations for this book—are known yet, but it seems possible that traces of it found its way into the first of Palladio's *Quattro Libri* (1570) which is dedicated to the very practical aspects of architecture and especially the processes of construction and its preparation.

The last book in Tolomei's list dedicated to Vitruvius' *Ten Books* is the eleventh. It would give a systematic overview of all rules provided by Vitruvius and scattered over different books, and compare them with the built architecture of ancient Rome, again a perfect—or rather elaborated—match with Sangallo's aims. During the process of the measuring which took ca. twenty-five years and involved dozens of draftsmen and several architects such as Vignola, Palladio and—presumably—De L'Orme, Bullant³⁴ and others, it must have become clear that there is no coherent system of ancient architecture (especially, but not only, regarding the orders of columns) neither in Vitruvius nor among the surviving buildings.

The logical consequence would be to propose a newly invented but coherent system based on the best examples from antiquity and easily applicable to modern architecture. And

³⁴ De L'Orme (1567) fol 131 *recto*, mentions that he met Marcello Cervini in Rome, and Bullant claims to have measured ancient buildings in Rome, too, though it is not clear, when he was there.

this is exactly what Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola provides for the orders in his *Regola delli Cinque Ordini d'Architettura* from ca. 1562!³⁵ Together with Vasari's and Danti's information that Vignola measured «all the antiquities in Rome» and Vignola's own claim (at least for his *Dorica*) that he based his modular designs on the best examples from antiquity, there can be hardly any doubt that his famous and most influential book has to be seen as a result of the *Accademia's* project as it is described by Tolomei.

But there is still more material which can now be attributed to the *Accademia's* project and survived but has been largely ignored, or at least not been seen in its original context.³⁶ Book 12 obviously was intended to serve as the «opener» to the second part of the program in a similar way as Philandrier's *Annotationes* served for the first part on Vitruvius' *Ten Books*. The second part would focus on the practical aspects and contexts needed to understand Roman architecture. Instead of starting with a survey of all surviving buildings in measured documentations, the logical first step would be to define the topographical framework of these buildings which had to be documented. Like Philandrier's *Annotationes*, this book appeared in 1544 and has been mentioned above: it is the third edition of Bartolomeo Marliano's³⁷ *Topographia Urbis Romae*³⁸ which includes—for the first time—illustrations, among them the first maps of the three early stages of Rome. These maps include the legendary *Roma quadrata* founded by Romulus and Remus, the republican Rome circumscribed by the Servian Walls, and Imperial Rome inside the Aurelian Walls. While these maps are still rather rough and not precisely topographic maps in the modern sense, they—especially the third one—are astonishingly correct.³⁹

The next, the thirteenth book in Tolomei's list would present «all the antiquities in Rome»⁴⁰ with plans, sections, elevations, and all the architectural details needed to understand a building. These images would be accompanied by two commentaries: one about the building's purpose and the historical circumstances which led to its construction; the other about its architectural characteristics. It is exactly this which Palladio's *Fourth*

³⁵ A similar approach may be seen in parts of Palladio's *Libro Primo* and in Bullant (1564).

³⁶ For an extended version of the following descriptions, please see Kulawik (2018) and (2019). In several cases my research and new information from colleagues have pointed to further potentially relevant materials.

³⁷ The man's name in Italian was Marliano, not «Marliani», which is the Latin genitive of his name mistaken by modern readers as its nominative.

³⁸ The first edition was published by Blado in Rome in May 1534; the second, already with corrections, was published only four months later, in September of the same year, by Rabelais on his way back from Rome in Lyon with Sebastian Gryphius.

³⁹ It should be mentioned that this map, inserted between pages 11 and 14, was drawn by Giovanni Battista Palatino, usually known for his books on writing and ancient «typefaces» and eponym of the modern typeface installed on almost every computer. Palatino's involvement may demonstrate the «interdisciplinary» approach of the *Accademia*. [addition: For his creation of an *antiqua*, Palatino used the same approach as Vignola for his orders of columns: He did not simply copy one ancient example regarded as the best, but created a new one based on the best examples from antiquity.]

⁴⁰ Tolomei (1547) fol 83 *recto*: «tutte le antichità di Roma.»

Book of 1570 presents to the reader—excluding the triumphal arches and the baths, which Palladio planned to publish separately.⁴¹ But there is another printed work that may be seen as a first attempt to realize such a book: Antonio Labacco's *Libro appartenente a l'architettura* from 1552.⁴² It, too, contains remarkably precise illustrations and—albeit very short—descriptions of the buildings depicted.⁴³ That much more was planned and in preparation is obvious from the thousands of surviving drawings of ancient buildings with very complete and precise measurements. The central—or, at least, largest surviving—part of this still understudied complex seems to be the Berlin *Codex Destailleur D*.⁴⁴

Like the obviously *very* large planned book about the buildings, all of the following books in Tolomei's list were intended to contain depictions as well as descriptions and commentaries about the objects themselves and their dating as well as their artistic quality. One aim, for instance, was to identify the different artists or workshops.

The following Books 14–17 in Tolomei's list would be dedicated to reliefs, tombstones, sarcophagi, statues, and other sculptural works such as friezes and ornaments, but also vases and other objects used as decoration. Already in 1986, Richard Harprath and Henning Wrede pointed to the *Codex Coburgensis* kept at the castle *Veste Coburg* in Germany as the remains of preparations for this «first systematic archaeological book». ⁴⁵ The codex consists mostly of very precise drawings after reliefs showing them «as they are» or were—i.e., with all damages—and has a sibling in the *Codex Pighianus*, now in Berlin. The drawings seem to have been organized according to the mythological history of the depicted scenes, which—of course—requires a reconstruction of this history from ancient sources.⁴⁶ This is exactly what some members of the *Accademia* attempted in 1555, when they met in the famous statue garden of cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi who had just acquired a mysterious herm. Antonio Agustín, his friend and secretary Jean Matal,

⁴¹ As far as I know, this seemingly obvious connection between Palladio's *Fourth Book* and Tolomei's thirteenth description has not been seen by modern research, less even investigated.

⁴² Labacco's book exists in many different versions which do not all contain all of his prints (see Ashby (1915)). This seems to indicate that they were intended as collectable single prints in the same way that Lafreri—who took over Salamanca's workshop and with it, presumably, Labacco's plates, too—later adopted for his *Speculum Romæ Magnificentiæ*. About the latter see Hülsen (1921).

⁴³ My venerated teacher, the late Christof Thoenes, a specialist—among many other topics—of Vignola's *Regola*, suggested in a private communication that the *Regola* was printed on the same press installed in Labacco's house as the «*libro*» itself. It should be mentioned that Labacco cooperated closely with or even instructed the (mostly French) draftsmen responsible for the *Codex Destailleur D* and the ca. 4,100 single drawings on ca. 1,450 sheets, which now can be related to the *Accademia*'s project.

⁴⁴ For a first attempt to a catalog see vol. II of Kulawik (2002). A first overview of the other drawings presumably belonging to this complex, extending largely the first observations by Hermann Egger (1903), is given in <http://www.accademia-vitruviana.net/accademia>.

⁴⁵ Harprath / Wrede (1986) and (1989).

⁴⁶ The first such history of the gods published in modern times was the *Bibliothéké* by (Pseudo) Apollodoros from Athens in a Greek edition and Latin translation by Benedetto Egio (1555), dedicated to his friend Jean Matal. Therefore, even though this book is not represented by one item in Tolomei's list, it is clearly a necessary accompanying work that should be seen in the context of the *Accademia*—if not as a genuine publication of this network—like several others that seem to owe their existence to the need to fill a gap in the *Accademia*'s program.

Granvelle's agent Antoine Morillon, and Stephan Pighius, who reported this meeting,⁴⁷ tried to interpret the sculpture with the help of all available textual as well as pictorial sources including coins. But their conclusion that the herm would represent the ancient goddess Themis is, unfortunately, wrong, as Henning Wrede demonstrated.⁴⁸ Even so, this small book, dedicated to Pighius's new employer Granvelle (after Cervini had died), shows quite convincingly the «interdisciplinary» nature of collaboration amongst these early archeologists. It should be mentioned that comparable meetings, with even more persons, took place almost daily in private houses such as Tolomei's or Agustín's, the Palazzo Farnese, several gardens, and other locations in Rome.

In addition to the *Codices Coburgensis* and *Pighianus*, there seem to be other drawings documenting the aforementioned sculptural and decorative objects.⁴⁹ One may also assume that Enea Vico's publication of a series of prints after ancient vases was not his own idea but could have its background in the *Accademia*, several members of which Vico knew quite well. If so, Vico's series of prints could be seen in relation to Tolomei's description of Book 18. It is very likely, then, that many such drawings and prints exist which have not yet been studied but which could be linked to the *Accademia*'s project.

Book 19 in Tolomei's list would document «instruments» («strumenti») which may cover craftsmens' tools as well as tools and medical instruments. We find drawings of both among the sylloge collected by and under the supervision of Jean Matal.⁵⁰ This undertaking—presumably the preparations for Tolomei's book 20: an annotated collection of all ancient inscriptions—is one of the most remarkable from the context of the *Accademia*, because it involved some 20 collaborators, several of whom were living in France and Spain. Matal mentions them and their role in relation to almost all of the inscription they had provided in their original transcription or they had checked in comparison to earlier transcriptions. Another, equally remarkable feature of Matal's sylloge is the clear separation between the original inscription with all its damages, and the commentary, reconstructions, interpretations, etc. When the young Theodor Mommsen saw this sylloge in Rome in the 1840s, he may have found the model for his project of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* which is still working at the *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Parts of Matal's sylloge were printed in the *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae passim per Europam, liber*, prepared by Matal's close collaborator Martin (de) Smet(ius) but published by Justus Lipsius.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Pighius (1568).

⁴⁸ Wrede (1993).

⁴⁹ E.g., Sinclair W. Bell recently pointed me to an interesting article by Marco Brunetti (2020) dealing with drawings after ancient decorations that seems to have been parts of a larger project to document such items in Rome in the 1540s.

⁵⁰ While several volumes at the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* can clearly be ascribed to Matal, several others, attributed to his younger colleagues like Onofrio Panvinio or Fulvio Orsini, seem to contain material from Matal's collection too.

⁵¹ Smet/Lipsius (1588). Ironically, while Smet suffered from many drawbacks in the preparation

The twenty-first volume in Tolomei's program would contain a list of all known ancient paintings. Because most of them had been destroyed, the list would also contain those only known from ancient descriptions. In any case these would be important for understanding the decoration of ancient buildings as well as—in the surviving paintings—the forms of ancient buildings depicted. To my knowledge, there is no surviving book or other evidence of preparations for this book in the form of drawings and descriptions, but that does not mean that such a work did not exist or may even still exist.

Another important source for the history of ancient architecture as well as its appearance were medals and coins. It is, therefore, no wonder that a book on these numismatic objects was planned as number 22. Several contemporary but rather simple books may be related to the *Accademia*, but the idea is tempting that the twenty-nine (of originally thirty) volumes of Jacopo Strada's *Magnum ac Novum Opus* now in the *Forschungsbibliothek Gotha*, Germany, together with the eleven volumes of descriptions by Strada surviving in two sets in Vienna and Prague, could have their roots in the *Accademia's* project.⁵² After all, Strada took part in the academic meetings between 1553 and 1555 in Rome, where he went from Lyon immediately after his *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* (Strada (1553)) was printed.

Book 23 was intended to reconstruct ancient construction and hydraulic machines based on descriptions and depictions, while Book 24 was to document the Roman aqueducts as a preparation for their reconstruction to improve public health in the Eternal City. Agostino Steuco, papal librarian before Cervini and his friend, seems to have started this part of the project in 1545, laying the foundation for the later reconstruction of the *Acqua virgo/Aqua vergine*, which even today supplies the famous *Fontana di Trevi* and other fountains in Rome.

and—almost finished—publication of this very influential volume, it was Lipsius—because he brought the book to print after Smet's death—who received the fame as the first «scientific» or «academic» and systematic epigrapher—even though he later never showed any considerable interest in epigraphy (friendly communication by William Stenhouse). One may find almost exact copies of ancient inscriptions in later publications by Gruterius and others, but their original, methodological template is rather Matal's, not Smet's sylloge. [addition: Matal seems to have used Andrea Alciato's sylloge of inscriptions from Milan—dated (presumably erroneously) to 1508—as his example: Alciato's *Monumentorum veterumque Inscriptionum quae cum Mediol. tum in eius agro adhuc extant collectanea libri II.* documents the inscriptions together with sculptural elements and damages, and separates them from Alciato's commentary in the same way as Matal later did. It is now kept in the Saxonian State and University Library (Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek), Dresden, under the signature Mscr.Dresd.F.82.b and available online. Matal as well as Agustín and several members and mentors of the later *Accademia* had studied with Alciato.]

⁵² Strada's extremely large *Magnum ac Novum Opus* is under investigation only since 2015 by Dirk Jacob Jansen and Volker Heenes in a project funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*. See my small book *Rom in Gotha* (Kulawik (2021b)), which is the product of many stimulating talks with them and a stipendium for a three-month stay by the *Freundeskreis der Forschungsbibliothek Gotha e.V.* in 2016/17. But it gives only a first and very small impression of the topic. [addition: The first results from Jansen's and Heenes' research are now published in the volume mentioned above in footnote 8.]

4 Conclusion

Especially the last point seems to have been set by Tolomei very carefully. For he explains several times that the entire project is not simply the hyperbolic fancy of some overambitious antiquarians but that its purpose is a very practical one, aiming at the improvement of architecture and, therefore, the basic living conditions of humankind.

While the *Accademia* has long been forgotten, with many of its results not yet identified or—at least—sufficiently studied, one still might say that the project was highly successful. Vignola's and Palladio's books and buildings provided the formal and structural or systematic templates for architecture for five centuries to come. Every movement «back» to some sort of classicism is not imaginable without these two architects. And both have their roots in the *Accademia*'s project. Other traces of it may not yet be that obvious, but their methodological approach of collecting, documenting, and interpreting ancient sources, documents, and objects seems to have set the academic standards for many disciplines which—together with additions—remain valid today. And even more: the workload-sharing among the *Accademici*, together with their close collaboration, could be understood as a valuable and still-relevant model for modern interdisciplinary research—for instance, the research required to regain all the materials and information the *Accademia* has left to us.

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