

## Rome and the Guidebook Tradition



# **Rome and the Guidebook Tradition**

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From the Middle Ages to the 20th Century

Edited by  
Anna Blennow and Stefano Fogelberg Rota

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In autumn 2016, a guidebook exhibition was arranged in collaboration with Uppsala university library, with the accompanying catalogue *Att Resa till Rom – guideböcker till den eviga staden genom tiderna* (edited by Anna Blennow and Stefano Fogelberg Rota). We wish to thank Chief Librarian Lars Burman; Head of the Special Collections Division Maria Berggren; Senior Restorer Lars Björdal, who curated the exhibition; Deputy Head of the Special Collections Division Åsa Henningsson; graphic designer Camilla Eriksson, and visitors' coordinator Annika Windahl Pontén. The catalogue was printed through a generous contribution by the Friends of the Swedish Institute in Rome, and our heartfelt thanks go to them, and to the Chairman of the association, Suzanne Unge-Sörling.

The concluding conference of the project, *Topoi, Topographies and Travellers*, was held at the Swedish Institute in Rome in November 2016, with around twenty invited speakers from various countries and disciplines. The papers of the conference will be published in the digital series *Projects and Seminars* via the Swedish Institute in Rome during 2019.

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Rome, December 2018  
Anna Blennow and Stefano Fogelberg Rota  
Project leaders of “Topos and Topography”

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Anna Blennow and Stefano Fogelberg Rota

# Introduction

## Rome as the guidebook city

Rome is a paradox embodied in a city. It is both alive and buried, both pagan and Christian, both a small Mediterranean village and the historical centre of the western world. Rome is, and has for a very long time been, a place extraordinarily charged with preconceptions and prescriptions concerning cultural and historical heritage. Guidebooks to the city have, from the Middle Ages and onward, played a central role in the development of the iconic image of a place that constitutes a non-negotiable “must-see”. Nowhere is this fact clearer than in guidebooks’ instructions about how to experience Rome. It suffices to take a look into any contemporary guidebook: “It is simply the most fascinating city in Italy – and arguably in the world”; “Rome is one of the most celebrated cities of the world”; “few cities make quite so indelible an impression”.<sup>1</sup>

Hyperbole forms part of any guidebook’s rhetorical elements, yet in the case of Rome, these features are, for historical and sociocultural reasons – which will be unveiled in this book – more intensely highlighted than elsewhere. The guidebook quotes above create great expectations, both *in* the tourist and *upon* the tourist, of an aesthetical, cultural and historical experience that is more overwhelming and emotionally forceful than almost anything.

Thus, the obligation to visit Rome has never been put into doubt, although driven by different aims at different times. But *how* should it be visited? That is a task that has occupied writers of guidebooks to Rome for as many centuries as the city has constituted one of the most visited places in the western world. As a consequence of this, a literary commonplace was developed early on, with the statement that even a lifetime would not be enough for seeing all that Rome has to offer. Already in the thirteenth century, the Rome traveller Magister Gregorius (“Master Gregory”) writes in his *Narratio De Mirabilibus Urbis Romae* (“The Marvels of Rome”) that Rome contains so much worthy of seeing, that all of it cannot possibly be seen, much less described, by anyone.<sup>2</sup>

When the contemporary guidebooks motivate why Rome is such an outstanding place to visit, they mostly go back to two aspects: history and continuity. Of course, Rome is also a treasure when it comes to art, but so are many other cities. History and continuity, on the other hand, seem to be the core of the experience of Rome. The *Blue*

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<sup>1</sup> Dunford (2014) 4; Macadam (2000) 8, 59.

<sup>2</sup> Osborne (1987) chapter 19: *Sed cui contigit universa palatia urbis Romae sermone prosequi, cum nemini, ut arbitror, universa videre contingat?*

*Guide* explains: “it is above all the sense of history that is so pervasive (...) History is writ large upon the streets and *piazze* of Rome, and it is impossible for the visitor, however casual, not to engage with it.”<sup>3</sup> But history also demands the traveller be well prepared: “knowing at least some Roman history is crucial to an understanding of the city”, writes *Rough Guide* in its chapter about history;<sup>4</sup> “Rome was a city that counted, and this is writ largely on its historic streets”, repeats *Lonely Planet*, and states that “The legacies of its past are embodied in awe-inspiring buildings such as the Roman Forum, the Pantheon and the Vatican”.<sup>5</sup> But history seems to be no closed chapter in Rome; on the contrary, the visitor to Rome is expected to feel part of this tradition, the ever-developing phases of history heaped up to present-day street level: “all these various eras crowd in on one another to an almost overwhelming degree”.<sup>6</sup>

A traveller in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often stayed for weeks, months, or years in Rome; the late nineteenth-century editions of the Baedeker guidebooks to Rome join in to this tradition by stating that a short visit is not enough to experience the overwhelming impression that Rome makes upon the visitor.<sup>7</sup> The modern-day traveller, though, is usually confined to even less than a week, perhaps only a weekend, to explore the eternal city. The guidebooks and its readers are consequently confronted with a serious problem: how can the Rome experience be squeezed into a short span of time, and with what result? If the literary commonplace that a lifetime is not enough for seeing Rome suggests to travellers that they are obliged to see as much as possible during their visit, contemporary guidebooks seem to want to put their readers at ease by releasing them from that obligation. Tourists are instead literally advised to not try to “do Rome”, to not embark on an all-inclusive sight-seeing tour, and to not check off all the most important monuments on the must-see lists traded during centuries of pious or pagan pilgrimage. If a tourist tried to do all those things, he or she would be doomed to fail, and suffer exhaustion, Stendhal syndrome and disillusion – the most dangerous risks a traveller can encounter. *Rough Guide* writes that “it is not possible to see everything that Rome has to offer in one visit”, that “you could spend a month here and still only scratch the surface”.<sup>8</sup> In fact, the traveller can never be predisposed for the impressions that await in Rome: “However much they

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<sup>3</sup> Macadam (2000) 59.

<sup>4</sup> Dunford (2014) 308.

<sup>5</sup> Garwood/Blasi (2012) 2, 6.

<sup>6</sup> Dunford (2014) 4.

<sup>7</sup> “Ihren überwältigenden Eindruck fruchtbar zu verarbeiten reicht ein kurzer Besuch nicht aus.” Baedeker (1926) XXXIII.

<sup>8</sup> Dunford (2014) 4–8.



may have read, and no matter how well travelled they are, no one is ever quite prepared for the exuberant confusion of the city.”<sup>9</sup>

The emotional response of the individual to places of cultural and historical interest is commonly seen as a product of the Romantic era. This effect of Rome upon the visitor goes much further back than that. In the thirteenth-century *Narratio de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae*, Master Gregory admires the view over the city, gets overwhelmed by the many towers and palaces “which no human being can count”, and concludes that Rome either is built by human labour or, perhaps rather, by magic arts. Rome’s grandeur is “incomprehensible” and of “inestimable value”. Gregory is, across the centuries, closely related to any romantic Rome traveller, as well as to a long line of Romans by adoption, from Queen Christina of Sweden to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, born anew in the same moment they entered the eternal city.<sup>10</sup> As in Lord Byron’s renowned verses from *Childe Harold’s pilgrimage* (1812–1818) – “Oh Rome! my country! city of the soul! / The orphans of the heart must turn to thee” – the eternal city is not only a place of history and tradition, but also of feelings and passions. Rome, as this book will argue, is the guidebook city also because of the city’s capacity to establish emotional ties with its visitors. The strong sense of belonging that attached whole generations of travellers to the Eternal City are also, at least to a certain extent, the result of guidebooks’ instructions on how to visit the city.

## The “Topos and Topography” project and the study of guidebooks to Rome

Prior to the present volume, no academic in-depth study of the history of guidebooks to Rome has been performed. Earlier research has been performed mostly by art historians and book historians, whose main interest has been notices about the antiquities and art collections of the city, as well as the typology and printing history of the guidebooks. This is typically illustrated by Ludwig Schudt’s classical opus *Le guide di Roma. Materialien zu einer Geschichte der römischen Topographie* from 1930, as Arnold Witte, Eva van Kemenade, Niels Graaf, and Joëlle Terburg show in their

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<sup>9</sup> Dunford (2014) 322.

<sup>10</sup> Osborne (1987) chapter 1: ... *de mirabilibus urbis Romae quae vel arte magica vel humano labore sunt condita. Vehementius igitur admirandam censeo totius urbis inspectionem, ubi tanta seges turrium, tot aedificia palatiorum, quot nulli hominum contigit enumerare. Quam cum primo a latere montis alonge vidissem, stupefactam mentem meam illud Caesarianum subiit, quod quondam victis Gallis cum Alpes supervolaret inquit, magnae miratus moenia Romae (...) Cuius incomprehensibilem decorem diu admirans deo apud me gratias egi, qui magnus in universa terra ibi opera hominum inaestimabili decore mirificavit.*

contribution to the present volume. In 2000, Sergio Rossetti published an inventory catalogue of guidebooks to Rome up to 1899, containing brief bibliographical notes for each of the 2457 works listed. Nicholas Parsons and Massimo Pazienti published popular-science oriented overviews of the history of guidebooks in 2007 and 2013 respectively; Pazienti with a focus on guidebooks to Rome.<sup>11</sup>

The only attempt to establish a theoretic framework for the study of guidebooks was made by Esmond S. de Beer in a short article from 1952, where the author underlined the difficulties in defining guidebooks as a “class”, since a wide range of books in fact can serve as guides. Despite these typological stumbling blocks, de Beer singled out guidebooks as “impersonal, systematic, and designed for an overriding purpose”. The “decisive feature of the class”, according to de Beer, was defined as a “combination of inventory and itinerary”.<sup>12</sup>

The scope of the “Topos and Topography” project – based at the Swedish Institute in Rome 2013–2016 and led by Anna Blennow and Stefano Fogelberg Rota – has been to broaden the theory and method of guidebook studies by examining not only the information presented in the guidebooks, but also the identities of the authors, readers, and of Rome itself, and how travellers, texts and topography interact and interrelate over time in a constantly changing, yet surprisingly stable continuum. The historical approach of our investigations has been aimed at detecting the different characters and forms that the guidebook adopted over time, with focus on the city of Rome. Our research questions have centred upon which elements, functions, and strategies contribute to shaping these identities, and how the literary tradition of the guidebook has evolved up to this day. As we argue, the guidebook as such is a product of the complex travel culture that developed in Rome from the early Middle ages and onward – Rome, as no other historical place, is “the guidebook city”. Thus, not only are the texts the focus of this investigation, but also the place, the travellers or readers, and the inhabitants of the eternal city, which is, by a contradictory definition, constantly renewing itself. Rome’s renewals stand out, both in the guidebooks and in related writings, as always carried out in accordance within a strong tradition.

Also concerning chronology, this book proposes an original approach to the subject. The ambition of the “Topos and Topography” project has been to apply a *longue durée* perspective on guidebooks to Rome. Thus, the chapters of this book start off with the renowned Einsiedeln manuscript from around 800 CE and extend all the way up to the early twentieth century and the era of mass tourism. Such a vast timespan entails of course both problems and possibilities. If it goes without saying that it is impossible to be fully consistent and complete within the framework of a

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<sup>11</sup> Schudt (1930); de Beer (1952); Rossetti (2000); Parsons (2007); Pazienti (2013). Sergio Rossetti (1933–2013) was also a collector of guidebooks to Rome – his library was sold at a Sotheby’s auction in Palazzo Serbelloni in Milan on February 20, 2018.

<sup>12</sup> de Beer (1952) 36.

single project, such an approach nevertheless prompts a variety of comparisons regarding the conditions of travelling throughout the centuries, as well as the different descriptions of the city.

Important focal points along this timeline have been identified by the project as the eighth–ninth centuries (the Einsiedeln manuscript), the twelfth century (the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*), the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the flourishing antiquarian studies as well as the powerful ideological turn of the Counter-Reformation, and the second half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries with the appearance of large-scale guidebook series such as Baedeker, and the birth of mass tourism. The lack of focus on the eighteenth century, a period that has long dominated research on historical travel literature to Rome, might strike the reader as surprising.<sup>13</sup> This absence is not only due to the ambition of the authors of this book to embark upon a new path in this field of studies, but also to the fact that guidebooks from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as this publication will serve to show, to a great extent paved the way for the guidebooks of the following century. In fact, several influential guidebooks of the seventeenth century were reprinted and used during the eighteenth century, such as Fioravante Martinelli's *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (1644). Instead, the eighteenth century can be regarded, along with the nineteenth century, as the “travelogue era”, in which travel writing was frequent and manifold. The rhetorical elements and literary topoi from these narratives would also later influence guidebooks in the continuous interchange between these two types of texts that have been active throughout the history of the guidebook. A separate, thorough study on how guidebooks and travelogues interacted during this period would be very important for both guidebook studies and travel studies in general.

## Guidebooks, travel literature and genre

The question of whether guidebooks in general, and guidebooks to Rome in particular, can be said to constitute a genre of their own has been addressed from the very beginning of the project in 2013. Guidebooks have in previous research often been incorporated into the broader genre of travel literature without much problematizing.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Among the countless studies concerned with the phenomenon of the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century it will do here to refer to the works of Jeremy Black (2003) and of Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini (1996), as well as of Attilio Brilli (1995) and Cesare De Seta (2001). See also the essential work by Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour* (1999).

<sup>14</sup> See for example the entry in *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*: “The genre of travel literature includes outdoor literature, exploration literature, adventure literature, nature writing, and the guidebook, as well as accounts of visits to foreign countries. The subgenre of travel journals, diaries and direct records of a traveller’s experiences, dates back to Pausanias in the second century AD and James Boswell’s 1786 *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*.” Cuddon (1999) 937.

Although the complex nature of guidebooks seems to impede a univocal answer to this question, the project members have been able to complicate, nuance and explain the particular functions and uses of guiding texts, giving new evidence for affirming that guidebooks should be conceived of as a literary category of their own.

One of the most important arguments for regarding guidebooks as a separate genre is that they, unlike travel literature in general, are meant to be read and consulted in, or in a close relation to, a specific place. Travel literature in general concerns journeys undertaken by an author persona, while guidebooks are structured to fit the situation that their reader is in a foreign place, in need of guidance. However, a guidebook is something more than just a technical instruction about how to get to a place or from one place to another – it also contains an aim for visiting a place, and a reason behind that aim.

In travel literature in general, the author describes a journey of his or her own in the first person. The reader can travel in the footsteps of the author, often in search of the same sensations the author has described; that is however not an indispensable part of the reading practice. In a guidebook, on the other hand, the author describes a specific journey or visit as a theoretical structure, which is supposed to serve as instructions for other persons making the same journey, be it in reality or in imagination. Travel literature often describes a journey that is already completed, while guidebooks are written in order to be fulfilled only when the reader makes his or her real or imaginary visit to the place described; a guidebook is partly an “incomplete” work until used by the reader. The guidebook and the place are together creating a theatrical performance that the reader either can behold or participate in, and where nothing exists until it is acted upon. Therefore, guidebooks are, maybe to a higher extent than any other literary product, based upon the needs of the traveller, be it practical, behavioural, or moral. Further, the “now” of travel literature and of guidebooks serves to define an evident difference between the two genres. In guidebooks, the “now” of the text is highly accentuated, and lies outside the very book, in the imaginary moment when the reader visits the place described within the guidebook. In travel literature, on the other hand, the “now” is the author’s “now” – the moment when the journey described in the book was undertaken. However, a historical “then” can always, and does often, appear in both genres, in order to describe the history of a place – but always related to the author’s or reader’s “now”.

As a consequence of this, we have focused on not only what guidebooks are and what they contain, but also on what they do, what their functions are, and what effect these functions exert on the reader/traveller. Some of the research questions posed in this book are: How is the description of the city organized in order to be read and also performed by the reader/traveller? How is the visit to a city translated into words, chapters, and rhetorical structures? In the following paragraphs, we will address and analyse the rhetorical and structural aspects of place, text and author, and traveller/reader, that appear in guidebooks over time, and then go into greater detail regarding the genre and tradition of the guidebook.

## The place: Rome

The geographical focus for the “Topos and Topography” project has, as mentioned above, been the city of Rome. This choice was made from the assumption that the concept of the guidebook to a certain extent was born in Rome, and our study has very clearly shown that a place or a city itself is an active factor in the development of a guidebook. While some structural elements of guidebooks may be applicable to any region, country or city, a guidebook to Rome can never be the same as a guidebook to Paris, New York or Palmyra. Every place on earth has its predefined literary topoi, its prejudiced characterization, its point of departure for meaning-making.

If Rome, thus, is the *terra d’origine* for the guidebook, what factors made Rome into the “guidebook city”? The unique position Rome acquired in the early Middle Ages as both a frequent travel destination and a complex cultural heritage site created a multi-layered need for guidance which was to become influential on guidebooks and city descriptions to come, from the Middle Ages onward. That Rome supplanted Jerusalem as the most important Christian pilgrimage goal from the early Middle Ages turned Rome into a new Jerusalem, and Christian Rome settled into the physical structure of ancient Rome. The fact that the main cultural and religious characteristics of the city were to a great extent invisible – on the one hand, the religious elements such as the indulgences, and the power that was believed to be exerted by the relics of the saints, and on the other hand, the ever more fragmentary remains of classical Antiquity – created a strong need for information, explanation and reconstruction.<sup>15</sup> But at the same time, Rome also made a powerful visual and physical impression on its visitors. With time, several of the Christian cult places developed into the grandest and most exquisitely ornamented churches and basilicas of the Western world, and the remains of ancient Rome were, although increasingly fragmentized, towering majestically high over the travellers. Thus, the use of hyperbolic descriptions – such as the one by Master Gregory with which we opened this introduction – that were to form part of any guidebook’s rhetorical strategies was already built into the experience of Rome.

This double – or multiple – identity of Rome as both a concept and a city, both an idea and a physical actuality, contributed to creating a tension between the real and the ideal in descriptions and experiences of the city. Roman realities were bearers of ideals and ideas, and imagination and idealism often served as strategies for narrating, constructing and reconstructing Rome. This distinction became even more complex from the fact that visitors often had a detailed prior knowledge of the city from descriptions and depictions, and these, as well as Rome’s position in Western cultural canon, raised both the travellers’ expectations and their duties. Rome was

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<sup>15</sup> For the visibility/invisibility of Rome in the early modern period, see for example Delbeke/Morel (2012).

familiar beforehand for almost any visitor, and yet unknown – it was only through travelling that this knowledge could be transformed into tangible reality, and made meaningful and understandable through individual empirical experience.

The tension between real and ideal became even more pronounced when archaeology emerged as a scientific discipline. Previously, the classical texts had served as the main bearers of authority for historical facts, and the Renaissance had contributed with a newly-born antiquarian interest in architectural history. But from the second half of the nineteenth century, systematic archaeological excavations uncovered “the past” by digging it up, and this “past” carried the notion of a physical “truth”, something that made great impact on the authoritative discourse in the guidebooks. The fact that several pasts have always been very present in Rome also raises the issue about which past the guidebook wants to connect with, in the palimpsest of historical layers that Rome often is described as. Every city has its history, but in Rome, the past is felt to exist in the present to a higher extent than in other, less culturally encoded cities, both as a practice established by cultural tradition, and as visually manifested in the urban space.

But Rome is not only a kaleidoscopic weave where every historical period is present. Several thematic divisions of the physical contents of the city have been made in guidebooks over time in an effort to find order among the ruins. Christian Rome was, to begin with, treated separately in early Medieval itineraries and guides, where ancient Rome was physically absent; late Antique regionary catalogues, on the other hand, did not mention any of the Christian monuments present in the city from the beginning of the fourth century. In the later Middle Ages, these two entities of the city became intermingled ideologically and topographically, but from the Renaissance, a division into “ancient” and “modern” Rome emerged in the guidebooks, where “modern” most often was equal to “Christian”.<sup>16</sup> But the descriptions of “modern” Rome also served to enhance the great contemporary production of culture, art and architecture of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. From the nineteenth century and on, however, this distinction gradually disappears, which perhaps can be seen as an indication that visitors now saw Rome as one entity, one cultural heritage site.

The physical, cultural, religious and political changes of any city call for updated and revised descriptions in guidebooks as well as in other literature. Although eternal Rome in some aspects seems to change very slowly, the loss that is implied in any change has always been embedded in the descriptions of the city: loss of the splendour of the ancient monuments; loss of the picturesque and the experienced authenticity through demolition and exploitation. The vanity of all worldly things is both historically, culturally and religiously imbued in the city of Rome, to such an

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<sup>16</sup> Delbeke/Morel (2012) wanted to include also “sacred” Rome as a concept separate from “modern” Rome.

extent that the city as a whole often has signified loss as a both powerful and poetic symbol of vanity in countless laments, both in literature in general and in guidebooks specifically.

Yet a city is more than its monuments, art and architecture. The inhabitants of Rome are often absent from idealistic city descriptions, but with the changing needs and aims of the visitors, also the daily life of Rome seeps into the guidebooks. The idea of Rome as a theatre of the world – *Theatrum Mundi* – is a frequent concept in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; a theatre that the visitor both can behold and partake in. Ceremonial etiquette and practical advice appears in guidebooks of the seventeenth century, ethnographical observations and picturesque voyeurism (from a safe distance) in the centuries to come, until the traveller is entrusted to enter into contact with the locals and their customs from the twentieth century on, ironically at the same time as major European cities turn increasingly globalized, something that gradually diminishes their foreignness.

## The text and the author

Despite the presence of the city, it is in the text that the meeting place between author and reader is located. It is in the text, and through it, that the identities of these two categories are shaped and developed. The text and the guidebook can be said to form the “third place” between imaginary and real that Edward Soja has discussed regarding spatial theory.<sup>17</sup> As much as the structure of the city influences the guidebook, the guidebook and its narratives in turn shape and construct the city. So how does this construction take place?

At the core of the guidebook structure – as well as at the core of the need for a guidebook in the first place – is the organization of knowledge. The guidebook wants to establish boundaries for knowledge, and order it, thereby appropriating the known and the unknown world for the benefit of the reader/traveller. The guidebook must apply order to the “chaos” of the city and the indescribability of Rome.<sup>18</sup>

This organization and ordering can be done in several ways: thematically, topographically, and chronologically. As Anna Bortolozzi demonstrates in her chapter, a thematic structure is found in Andrea Palladio’s *L’Antichità di Roma* (1554), which groups the ancient monuments of Rome together according to their function: temples, baths, bridges and hills are listed as inventory subgroups of the entity that is Rome. This technique is found already in the late Antique regionary catalogues of Rome, as well as in the twelfth-century *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, and given Palladio’s explicit contempt for the *Mirabilia* expressed in the preface to *L’Antichità di Roma*,

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<sup>17</sup> Soja (1996).

<sup>18</sup> See for example Fogelberg Rota in this volume.

where he deemed the Medieval tradition as “full of astounding lies”,<sup>19</sup> his dependence on the late Antique and Medieval tradition in this case is even more noteworthy. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks have, thus, described Palladio’s guidebooks as “transitional”, representing two types of history: the Medieval anecdotic one and the rational “modern” one.<sup>20</sup> The city becomes an encyclopaedic catalogue, less suited to the practical use of an actual visitor to the city.

A loosely chronological organization is instead found in Henrik Schück’s early twentieth-century book *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* (“*Rome. A Passage Through the Centuries*”) and is, as Frederick Whitting shows in his chapter, typical for a historically-oriented guidebook such as Schück’s. A chronological structure indicates that systematic guidance through eras and periods of history, art, and architecture is more desirable than the practicality of a visit to the city.

The most common way to organize a guidebook, however, is topographically, and often through itineraries and suggested routes through the city. A topographical structure makes it easier to organize a visit in a limited period of time, something which has been crucial for many a visitor from Medieval pilgrims to contemporary tourists. Since the early Medieval itineraries to the martyr tombs outside the city walls, this way of organizing a guidebook has been applied by the anonymous author of the Medieval *Einsiedeln* manuscript, Bartholomeo Marliano and Andrea Palladio in the sixteenth century, Fioravante Martinelli in the seventeenth century, Karl Baedeker in the nineteenth century and Ellen Rydelius in the twentieth century, just to mention examples from the guidebook works studied within the “Topos and Topography” project.

The way of constructing and presenting itineraries differs slightly over time. As Anna Blennow shows in her chapter, the *Einsiedeln* manuscript created itineraries as lists of monuments from one city gate to another, without indication of the time needed for completing them. A clear time division is found in *Le cose maravigliose dell’alma città di Roma*, edited by Girolamo Franzini in 1588, where an itinerary structure of three days, *giornate*, is presented *per li forastieri, che vengono per vedere le Antichità di Roma* (for the foreigners who come to see the antiquities of Rome).<sup>21</sup> Andrea Palladio divided his description of the churches of Rome into four sections, though with no indication of the amount of time needed for each route.<sup>22</sup> Fioravante Martinelli used the clear division into daily itineraries, augmented to ten days, and Giuseppe Vasi in the eighteenth century composed an eight-day route structure to be used together with his grand map of Rome.<sup>23</sup> Even if proper itineraries were not

<sup>19</sup> Hart/Hicks (2006) fol. I.

<sup>20</sup> Hart/Hicks (2006) li.

<sup>21</sup> Cantatore (2012) 79 v.

<sup>22</sup> Hart/Hicks (2006) xlviiii–xlix.

<sup>23</sup> Vasi (1765a) 9: “Itinerario istruttivo, diviso in otto stagioni o giornate, per ritrovare con facilità tutte le magnificenze antiche e moderne di Roma” (Instructive itinerary, divided into eight stages or days, in order to easily find all the ancient and modern magnificences of Rome).



included in the Baedeker guide, a recommendation was given for the length of the stay (not less than two weeks).<sup>24</sup> Ellen Rydelius's whole series of guidebooks to European cities published in the mid-twentieth century, including Rome, had "eight days" in their very title, such as *Rom på 8 dagar (Rome in eight days)*, as shown by Carina Burman's study in the present volume.

The topographical organization stands out as the most user-friendly for an actual visitor, and is often constructed explicitly upon the needs of the traveller. The itineraries often start at places conveniently close to where the traveller would stay – *ponte S. Angelo* for the Medieval pilgrim, *via dell'Orso* in Fioravante Martinelli's guidebook, and near the Spanish Steps for Rydelius's readers. However, itineraries tell us not only about the city, but also, indirectly, about the context and identity of the travellers. What did visitors need and want to see in various periods of time? Were the tours through the city directed by duty or leisure, by detailed and learned curiosity or hurried ticking off of top-ten monuments? During the field studies of the "Topos and Topography" project, we compared the descriptions of various monuments as well as itineraries and routes over time in our respective guidebooks from the Middle Ages up to and including the first half of the twentieth century. In a performative and synchronic reading, the cultural layers in the history of the guidebook have, thus, been enhanced, and through the movement established by the guidebook, the project has partly been able to reconstruct and analyse the aims and target groups of the guidebooks, as well as the historical topography of Rome (see *Appendix I* and *II* in this volume). In places with a long touristic history, such as Rome, itineraries in guidebooks over time will also inevitably create intensified patterns of touristic movement in the very structure of the city itself, which then will make it possible for a traveller to navigate even without the help of a book.

A topographical tool for understanding the structure as well as the beauty of the city is the description of views. Ever since Master Gregory in the thirteenth century wrote about how he beheld Rome from afar, encompassing the overwhelming multitude of monuments therein, views have been used as a pedagogical feature in the guidebooks, as well as imitated in early maps of Rome, often using the view from the Gianicolo hill, as in Giuseppe Vasi's *Prospetto d'Alma Città di Roma Visto dal Monte Gianicolo* from 1765.<sup>25</sup> A view divides distant objects into ordered units, and also sometimes makes a closer visit superfluous. That a view is both pedagogic and aesthetic is apparent from the Baedeker guidebook's account of the view from the Pincio: the dome of St. Peter's will catch the eye at first through its magnificence, then various monuments to the left and to the right are described in order, framed by Monte Mario and its cypresses to the right, and the Gianicolo with its pine trees to the left.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Baedeker (1926) XI–XII.

<sup>25</sup> Vasi (1765b).

<sup>26</sup> "Von der westlichen Terrasse hat man eine berühmte Aussicht, die besonders durch den Blick auf die über dem neuen Prati-Viertel riesengroß aufragende Peterskuppel immer aufs neue fesselt; r. vom

The itinerary structure also implies certain ways to address and guide the reader rhetorically. The imperative to move can be expressed in various ways, but always needs to be of a practical and clear composition. From the seventh century on, this is often achieved by using verbs in the second person, and often in the future tense, such as “you will find”, “you will see”, “you enter”, and so on.<sup>27</sup> But who is the sender of this information? This leads us to the question of the author’s voice in the guidebooks, as well as the authority of that discourse. How is the reader addressed, and by whom?

To begin with, the preface of a guidebook is, through the centuries, a very important arena for constructing and establishing the identities of author and reader respectively, as is shown for example by Fogelberg Rota in this volume concerning Fioravante Martinelli and his readers. In the foreword, descriptions of the genesis of the book is also often found. A recurring topos has shown to be the reference to friends of the author, on whose advice or request the guidebook has been initiated. From Master Gregory in the thirteenth century to Fioravante Martinelli in the seventeenth century and Ellen Rydelius in the twentieth, the friends also become a guarantee for both the need for a guidebook, and the author’s capacity and suitability to write it.<sup>28</sup>

In the foreword, addresses to patrons can also be found, as well as poems with a place-specific theme, and very frequently literary quotes from earlier authors. The mark of authenticity and reliability, that every guidebook needs, is often created by referring to earlier literary sources: in Medieval and Renaissance texts, references are made to classical authors – poets as well as historians – and in later guidebooks to antiquarians and archaeologists. In guidebooks to Rome, this practice is especially enhanced because of the extreme historical complexity of the city. Thus, the authority of the guidebook is often brought in from the context outside the book itself, because the production of knowledge necessarily is located outside the frames of the guidebook – no author could handle, structure and present the history and topography of Rome without sources. The information can be presented openly, with reference to the works consulted, or more veiled: *The Voyage of Italy*, the renowned guidebook of Richard Lassells from 1670, has, for example, partly copied the itineraries created by Fioravante Martinelli in his *Roma Ricercata*, without mentioning this.<sup>29</sup> Ellen Rydelius, on the other hand, did not hide the fact that she relied on the

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Vatikan der mit Zypressen beplante Monte Mario, l. die Pinien auf dem Janiculum (Passeggiata Margherita); vorn am Tiber, der selbst nicht sichtbar ist, die Engelsburg; von den Gebäuden im diesseitigen Stadtteil treten l. die Kuppelkirchen S. Carlo al Corso und (fern) S. Carlo ai Catinari hervor, dazwischen die flache Kuppel des Pantheons; dann l. das riesige Nationaldenkmal; r. davon der obere Teil der Marc-Aurelsäule auf der Piazza Colonna; l. der Palatin und (näher) der kgl. Palast auf dem Quirinal”. Baedeker (1926) 240.

<sup>27</sup> See for example the chapters of Blennow and Fogelberg Rota in this publication.

<sup>28</sup> See the chapters of Blennow, Fogelberg Rota, and Burman.

<sup>29</sup> See for example Lassells’ description of a tour through Trastevere as compared with Martinelli’s itinerary in the same area. The tour as described by Lassells goes from S. Onofrio with the tomb of Torquato Tasso, along via della Lungara to palazzo Salviati, Villa Chisi, and porta Settimiana.

Baedeker guidebook for historical and practical information; she even recommends that the reader consults the Baedeker for a more in-depth description of the archaeological sites.<sup>30</sup> And in the Baedeker, as Sabrina Norlander Eliasson shows in her chapter, scholarly expertise has been summoned especially for the guidebook: the foreword on art by Anton Springer both serves to educate the reader on an advanced level, but also enforce the authority of the book and the editor.

But as a counterweight to the reliance upon sources outside the book, the personal experience of the author is also often used with the same aim to create authenticity and reliability. Again, this is an element found from the Middle Ages (for example in Master Gregory's *Narratio de Mirabilibus*) and right through the Renaissance (in guidebooks by among others Bartolomeo Marliano and Andrea Palladio) and beyond: the reassurance that the author saw, examined and measured every monument, every height and every distance with his or her own eyes, hands and feet.<sup>31</sup> But for this method to succeed, it is necessary that the author step forward in the text as an identifiable individual, an "I". The voice that is chosen by a guidebook for communication with its readers thus defines both what kind of information can be transmitted, and with which authority. The personal voice of an author is, again, not confined to any specific period, but appears throughout the chronological time-span studied within the "Topos and Topography" project. The personal experience thus presented of an author is perhaps less aimed at being repeated and re-enacted by the reader, than to build the trust between author and reader that will provide on the one hand authority for the author, and, on the other hand, a feeling of safety in the reader. Fioravante Martinelli's underlined identity as "Roman" guaranteed that he knew his subject better than a foreigner would do; Ellen Rydelius's acquaintance with the city after having lived there many years gave her the capacity of describing Rome from the inside, but at the same time with an attentive view on the specific needs of a Swedish reader. Rydelius is also a good example of the modern, friendly, personal guide, who addresses the reader with a "we", just as if Rydelius in person accompanied the reader in the streets of Rome. The notion of experiencing

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Lassells describes the gate very similarly to Martinelli: "so called from Septimius Severus, who built here his Therme"; Martinelli: "da Settimio Severo Imperatore che qui edificò le sue Terme". Lassells, similar to Martinelli, then goes on to the fountain of pope Paul V, and to the Franciscan convent and church of S. Pietro in Montorio. There, Lassells says, "you have a fair sight of Rome under you from this Hill. This Hill was anciently called Janiculus; and upon it was buried Statius the Poet, and at the Foot of it Numa Pompilius." Martinelli writes: "Sopra di questo colle fù sepolto Statio poeta; e sotto di esso Numa Pompilio...". Lassells, as Martinelli, then goes downhill to the churches of S. Maria in Scala, S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Francesco in Ripa, S. Cecilia in Trastevere and ends the Trastevere tour at S. Crisogono. Lassells adds some information not found in Martinelli, and does not copy all of the sights of Martinelli's route, but it still remains obvious that Lassells used Martinelli's guide as a framework for his description of Rome. Lassells (1670) II, 44–49; Martinelli (1650) 15–23.

**30** See Burman in this volume.

**31** See the chapters of Blennow; Bortolozzi; Plahte Tschudi in this volume.

Rome together with someone else was used in the plot of Madame de Staël's influential novel *Corinne, ou l'Italie* (1806), where the poetess Corinne guides the Scotsman Lord Nelvil through Rome during their problematic love affair: "When Oswald and Corinne set out the next day, they were confident and at ease. They were friends who were travelling together. They began to say *we*. Oh, how touching it is when lovers say *we*."<sup>32</sup>

Closely related to notions of authority is the question of objectivity and subjectivity in the guidebooks. But subjectivity is not necessarily connected with a subjective guiding voice. A personal voice can also be objective, and, as Frederick Whitling shows, a seemingly un-personalized and anonymous voice can also present very subjective views, something which will inevitably lead to confusion for the reader. Whitling describes how the highly renowned Swedish literature historian Henrik Schück, in his *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*, exemplifies the authoritative guidebook author, who guided his readers to at-the-time-established archaeological, architectural and art-historical canons. But the entangled editorial history of *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* – which was updated in two different phases between 1949 and 1956 – actualizes the adaptation of the identity of the guidebook author to different contexts; or better yet in this case, the non-adaptation. Classical archaeologist Erik Sjöqvist was given the task to revise Schück's book, in order to include the results of the excavations carried out in the decades since its first edition, with the explicit indication of not altering Schück's style. Whitling discusses the almost schizophrenic and nostalgic results of this endeavour. Equally difficult to ascertain is the target group for Schück's book. The reader might in this case not correspond to the traveller, as opposed to the other guidebooks investigated in the volume, mostly due to the grand format and higher educational claims of the book. However, these appear rather as an ideal that can as equally attract as discourage its reader.

The Baedeker guide is at first glance a masterpiece of dry objectivity, yet, as Sabrina Norlander Eliasson shows in her chapter, value-based and taste-forming discourses are pervading its structure through the system of giving one or two stars to especially worthy monuments, objects and places. This practice refers back to the personal opinions on art history presented in the preface of Anton Springer. In fact, every guidebook, however objective it may seem, often turns out to have a subjective agenda that only can be traced by carefully analysing the identities of author, reader, patrons and the societal and cultural context in which the book was created and used. The claim of science-based knowledge, which characterizes Baedeker's *Mittel-Italien und Rom* (1867), unveils the influence of the authors, who were often recruited among the expanding universities of the time.

The subjectivity in a guidebook is also traceable in what the author has on the one hand included and on the other hand left out of the guidebook. Even though

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<sup>32</sup> For Rydelius, see Burman in this volume. For *Corinne*, see de Staël (2008) chapter IV, 62.

guidebooks, due to their encyclopaedic nature, want to give the impression of including “everything” in their narratives, their limited format – which needs to be handy and portable – makes necessary both a selective and an “economized” content. Sometimes, things are left out by accident and included in following editions, but often, a reason behind exclusion can be found in the personal opinions and agenda of the author. The early Baedeker editions, for example, left out a great deal of Baroque art due to the art historical taste conventions of the time.

The parallel between a subjective, personal guidebook and a personal guide is obvious, and the author of such a book often tries to embody this role, as does Ellen Rydelius for example. With some exceptions, it is difficult to find traces of the personal guides – who through the centuries must have been even more numerous in Rome than the guidebooks to the city – in travel literature and archival material.<sup>33</sup>

The authority of a guidebook – be it gentle and comradely or stern and demanding – also contributes to capturing not only the attention and trust, but also the actions and performances of the reader. A guidebook needs to control the readers’ gaze and taste as well as their movements through the city and behaviour in specific places. Sabrina Norlander Eliasson shows how the Baedeker guide directs and controls the gaze of the reader in every surrounding, and not only describes, but prescribes how the reader is supposed to value the sight. But also the movement of the reader – in the itinerary-based guidebooks – is controlled by the frequent use of words such as left, right, enter, exit, proceed, and so on. In the previous pages, we have seen how the interaction and relation between reader and author is established and negotiated in the guidebooks. But how do authors and guidebooks relate to the identity of their subject, the city of Rome?

In the guidebooks, several kinds of *topoi* collaborate to create the rhetorical strategies for describing Rome to the visitor. Here, as the “*Topos and Topography*” project has discussed, it is important to discern between, on the one hand, general literary *topoi* of a city or place and, on the other hand, guidebook-typical *topoi*. Several of the commonplaces that belong to the literary tradition on Rome – notions that the city is greater than anything, not possible to be described in words or experienced in a lifetime, and a palimpsest of history – are in fact not confined to guidebooks, but appear in any genre. The place-induced *topoi* can, however, be further developed and established by the guidebooks, and so, as in many other cases, guidebooks are acting in a constant interplay not only with the place they describe but also with other literature connected with it. In the same way, the hyperbolic language originally developed to describe the city of Rome can be employed by guidebooks to other cities or countries as well; every place must in

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<sup>33</sup> A brief recollection of the history of personal guides, “*ciceroni*”, in Rome is found in the introduction by Laura Bianchini in Sergio Rossetti’s catalogue over printed guidebooks to Rome. Rossetti (2000) XXVII–XXXI. See also Plahte Tschudi (2017) 82–88, for Giovanni Alto and Giovanni Grosso, two famous guides in early seventeenth-century Rome.

some way be presented as unique and not like anywhere else in order to motivate a guidebook about it. Yet, the hyperbolic language, though expected by the reader, can also cause problems in the form of too highly raised expectations, as will be further shown below.

A guidebook to Rome must handle the fact described previously, that the tension between ideal and real, facts and fiction is higher in Rome than in most other places. At the same time, one of the functions of any guidebook is the constant transcending of the boundaries between real and ideal, where the described city becomes a construction that only exists between the covers of the book, based upon the interpretation, mediation and imagination of the author. The palimpsest character of Rome makes a thorough constructional and re-constructional work necessary in order to make the place understandable for the reader. The fragmentary city must be reconstructed, but how and where? In the book, or in the mind of the reader? Should multiple solutions be offered, or only one?

To justify their own existence, guidebooks must make a wholeness out of the fragments. This is especially the practice of the Renaissance guidebooks and archaeological treatises, as Victor Plahte Tschudi and Anna Bortolozzi show in their chapters. Symmetrical and ideal reconstructions were often preferred; a monument was presented as it should have been, not necessarily the way it could have been. Yet, in the empirically based antiquarianism of the sixteenth century, the actual state of a monument could now be accurately delineated, too, instead of an ideal reconstruction of it. Typical for many guidebooks, due to an aim of simplified clarity, is the choice of one specific point in time for describing a monument. Henrik Schück, in his *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*, stands out for doing the contrary: following a monument, such as the Colosseum or the Capitoline hill, over time, and thus sketching miniature biographies over the architectural object. Through Schück's description, several shades of the kaleidoscopic palimpsest shine through for the reader.

The necessary imagination of the reader in order to reconstruct and thus understand the monuments is frequently called upon by the guidebooks by evoking emotions and dramatic settings. This strategy seems to be heightened with the historical importance of the place, especially at the Capitoline hill, the Forum and the Colosseum. But proper images have also been used to help the reconstructive process. One of the first illustrated guidebooks is the previously mentioned *Le cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma*, published by Girolamo Franzini in 1588.<sup>34</sup> Collections of engravings additionally served to give the reader an accurate and detailed view of a monument, and the emerging print culture helped to prepare the traveller beforehand for the Roman experience. The first occurrence of a map in a guidebook, as further shown by Plahte Tschudi, was in Bartholomeo Marliano's *Urbis Romae*

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<sup>34</sup> Cantatore (2012).

*Topographia* from 1534. But in this period, illustrations were still expensive to produce, and most guidebooks left them out for the sake of economy and practicality.<sup>35</sup>

Another tool for activating the reader's imagination is the practice of letting them travel in the footsteps of another person, whether contemporary, historical or purely fictional. Guidebooks often refer to the fact that a famous individual once visited a monument, that an author once lived in the building, that an artist once painted this view. In this way, a curiosity is awakened in the reader, a new relationship with the place becomes possible, and adventurous walks in the footsteps of a special person enhance the nostalgia of things lost, which is always present in the Roman context. Related to this phenomenon is the fact that almost any book with a certain geographical context could be used as a guidebook, in such a case letting a person or a narrative dictate the experience of the place. But guidebooks can also, in their aim to enhance the reader's education, refer to actual persons to whom the reader is supposed to turn for the sake of information, due to the fact that all the existing facts cannot be crammed into one book. Girolamo Franzini, for example, recommends the reader contact a certain Monsignor Gieronimo Garimberto in the Monte Citorio area, to be shown a multitude of art and sculpture under his guidance.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, epigraphy could be referred to by the guidebooks as providers of information, especially concerning indulgences and relics in churches. In his guidebook to the churches of Rome, Andrea Palladio admits to having taken most of the informative material in his book "from the [papal] bulls that can be consulted in many of these churches, either near the choir or affixed in other places (...) and from very old marble inscriptions."<sup>37</sup>

Referring to actual persons in Rome of course demands that this person is still to be found in the indicated place. Another necessity for the guidebook is that it be updated with the latest and most accurate information, especially concerning practical facts such as opening times, restaurants, hotels, et cetera. Therefore, regarding the more successful guidebooks, we usually find a multitude of revisions and editions, such as those discussed by Fogelberg Rota and Burman in their chapters regarding the extremely popular and used guidebooks by Martinelli and Rydelius. The fact that the city itself changes over time, as do the needs of the traveller, are other important aspects that can be traced in the cases where we are able to follow a series of editions of the same guidebook over time, most evidently seen in the chapter by Burman on the guidebook of Ellen Rydelius.

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<sup>35</sup> See for example the chapters of Bortolozzi and Fogelberg Rota in this volume.

<sup>36</sup> Cantatore (2012) 84 v: "desiderando di vedere cose rare così in scultura, come in pittura, domandate in monte Citorio la casa di Monsignor Gieronimo Garimberto, vescovo di Galese, che là vi faranno mostrare cose infinite, & tutte rare" (if you wish to see rare sculptures or paintings, ask in the Monte Citorio area for the house of Monsignor Gieronimo Garimberto, Welsh bishop, and there you will be shown infinite and rare things).

<sup>37</sup> Hart/Hicks (2006) 97.

Not only are the authors of guidebooks, as we have seen, continually victims of borrowing and plagiarizing, strategies which they adopt in their turn – the systematic building on previous textual traditions described above – but even their names have often been used without their consent. These circumstances are proved by the effort to regulate the editorial system as early as in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when pope Julius II (1503–1513) granted Francesco Albertini the copyright, *privilegio*, to publish his *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris Urbis Romae* (1510). As Victor Plahte Tschudi shows in his chapter, similar regulations aimed not only to protect what we today intend as authors' rights, but also to claim a correct image of the city – that is, the one approved by the papacy.

This instability of the author's position, fluctuating authorship and claims of authority also has notable exceptions, such as Andrea Palladio, as investigated by Anna Bortolozzi in this volume. Palladio was certainly a renowned architect when he wrote his guidebooks to Rome, but his attempt was, as Bortolozzi shows, aimed at legitimising his position as learned. The Paduan architect thus wrote himself into the humanistic tradition, enhancing his prestige and asserting his image of antiquity. His numerous travels to Rome, the references to ancient and modern authors, as well as his method of scientifically measuring the remnants of the ancient city are all directed at asserting his authorship.

Let us now, in conclusion, make a few remarks about the actual book itself as an object. As important as the various rhetorical features of the guidebook for defining a guidebook is its sheer size, and a very small size at that. A guidebook must be possible to bring to the place in question – both Fioravante Martinelli and Ellen Rydelius instruct their readers as if actually walking about with the guidebook in hand. Of course, a guidebook can be consulted at home, before the journey, or read after the completion of it as a tool for memory and nostalgia, but its main physical characteristic must be suited to the fact that the reader will bring it along on the journey. Let us therefore also have a look at the reader of the guidebook, who, literally, brings the volume around on the streets of Rome to find his or her way.

## The traveller and the reader

The “Topos and Topography” project has, as previously mentioned, focused not only on the guidebooks and their authors, but also on the travellers and readers, present and traceable indirectly in the frameworks of need and use that have created the guidebooks. The meeting of the individual with the foreign, the traveller as insider or outsider, the positions of the author and reader respectively and their interaction, the nationality and gender of the traveller – all of these questions have been addressed within the project. We have, above all, investigated how the needs of certain travellers in a defined period of time have contributed to the structure of the guidebooks,



something which is related both to the literary critic Hans Robert Jauss's definition of a "horizon of expectation", the expectations and contexts activated by a certain text or genre,<sup>38</sup> and to the genre theory of Carolyn Miller regarding need and rhetorical situation, to which we will return below. The development of a guidebook is, therefore, to a great extent connected not only to the place in which it is envisaged and used, but also to the identity of its readers. Author and reader meet through the guidebook as well as in the city, and while the needs of the readers structure the guidebook, the book is, in turn, making demands on the traveller.

To begin with, it is evident that the identities of reader and traveller merge between the covers of a guidebook. A guidebook user can be said to walk through the text in his or her mind, as well as to "read" the city with the help of the guidebook. Although armchair travellers probably use guidebooks for imaginary travels as often as actual travellers use them in the place of destination, the guidebook, in its character as an incomplete work, is completed only when the reader uses it *in situ*. Thus, the performative acts of the reader are needed in order to obtain a functional guidebook, and the guidebook structure, with all its force, tries to support the reader in this achievement. But, as the project studies have made clear, this arduous activity by the guidebook can also put the reader at risk, if the task to perform becomes too complex to handle.

The movement through the city into which the guidebook directs its reader is, in the case of Rome, highly focused on walking as the means of getting around. Walking is also one of the performative acts that the reader must undertake to fulfil the guidebook's contract – to "read" Rome by walking through it and, in this way, remembering and re-enacting the historical structures that are no longer visible in the cityscape. Yet, it is probable that the traveller who could afford it went by carriage or horse, and from the late nineteenth century and forward, via trams and cars. The highlighted walking can instead be seen as connected with the long tradition of pilgrimage, and the authenticity and toil that comes with that religiously tinted experience. But walking can also be seen as a way of perceiving the measures, distances and views of the city in the humanism-coloured empirical practice in examples such as Bartholomeo Marliano's *Urbis Romae Topographia*, with focus on actual experience rather than reliance on the classical authors.

Walking as perception and walking as a cultural phenomenon are frequently addressed in contemporary discourse. Rebecca Solnit's book *Wanderlust* (2001) discussed the political, aesthetic, and social meaning of walking in history and fiction. Lauren Elkin, in her *Flâneuse* from 2016, wrote that "Walking is mapping with your feet. It helps you piece a city together, connecting up neighbourhoods that might otherwise have remained discrete entities, different planets bound to each other, sustained yet remote". While walking is perhaps imbedded in the cultural history of Rome to a greater extent than in other cities, the very act of walking is a general

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38 Jauss/Benzinger 1970.

signifier of travelling and experiencing, and further studies of the guidebook tradition for cities other than Rome would elucidate the question of how and if the walking practice as recommended by guidebooks differs in the respective geographical locations. As to the practice of walking, the concept of “silent walks” was presented by doctoral student Jilke Golbach, UCL, at one of the workshops of the “Topos and Topography” project, and the project members also engaged in a silent walk led by Golbach through the city of Rome.<sup>39</sup>

But walking also makes the traveller come into close contact with the potential dangers of the city, such as dirt, exhaustion, and local inhabitants. The Baedeker guide explicitly wanted its readers to avoid such threats at all cost, making the traveller independent from the local context, yet securely able to appreciate the sights of the city with the guidebook as its protection. As has been evident during the field studies of the “Topos and Topography” project, many of the proposed itineraries of the guidebooks are in fact not possible to complete in the time frame stated by the guidebook. Thus, the itineraries always constitute a risk of making the reader miss out on the expected experience by presenting too much information and too many sightseeing stops. Even Ellen Rydelius, who otherwise advises the reader to have a leisurely and playful attitude to the journey, does her utmost to include as much as possible in her itineraries.

The hyperbolic language, as mentioned previously, is another potential risk for the reader. Non-realized anticipations of overwhelmedness can lead to disappointment and delusion. The cultural obligation to visit Rome is not, and has never been, an easily manageable activity. To travel means a loss of a lot of things: security, safety, and control, as well as a loss of home (even though the rhetoric of the guidebooks underlines that the true home for everyone in Western culture is Rome). The guidebooks, interestingly, do not address this issue. It is instead often found in travel literature, where the testimonial of an, often unsuccessful, arrival in Rome, which gradually is substituted with a growing love for the city, until the traveller is regarding him or herself as a true citizen of Rome at the point of departure, has become a recurring topos.<sup>40</sup>

Just as walking to a certain extent could be seen as historically entangled with the travellers’ experience of Rome, the religious aspect of the visit is something that is also deeply rooted in the discourse about the journey to Rome and the expected experience of the visitor. The entire map of early itineraries in Rome was drawn up by

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**39** Golbach’s silent walk was inspired by a similar event, “Walking Methodologies – A Silent Circle, held by the UCL Urban Laboratory, London, in April 2014.

**40** See for example H. V. Morton’s *A Traveller in Rome* (first published 1957): “Could this be my balcony? Was this the place I had been dreaming of for weeks? I could see nothing but the building opposite, which had been carelessly splashed with brown limewash many years ago.” Morton (1987) 15. Nathaniel Hawthorne in *The Marble Faun* (first published 1860) describes in an often-quoted passage how a traveller, who has left Rome tired, worn out and sick at heart, by and by discovers to their astonishment that “our heart-strings have mysteriously attached themselves to the Eternal City, and are drawing us thitherward again, as if it were more familiar, more intimately our home, than even the spot where we were born!” Hawthorne (2002) 294–295.

the need and practice of Medieval pilgrims to visit sanctuaries and martyr tombs all around the city, and these route structures were further consolidated in early modern Rome. The awe that is part of the horizon of expectation both of the individual traveller and of the guidebook rhetoric has also been closely related to the religious and the notion of sacred objects over time. The experience of art, historical monuments and archaeological remains during the visit to Rome has a double function of enhancing the religious sentiments of the believer, and creating an aesthetical emotion of wonder and awe in the non-believer. This duality is sometimes acted upon in the guidebooks, depending on their agenda, such as in Martinelli's *Roma Ricercata*, where it is explicitly stated that the very exposure of sacred art and venerable treasures on the traveller could, or should, lead him or her on the path towards the true faith. The tension between Protestantism and Catholicism is constantly inducing rhetorical strategies in post-reformation guidebooks, and the traveller could never be unaware of the performances, materiality, and aestheticism of religion that pervade all parts of the city. The foreignness of the religious ceremonies for a non-Catholic, or a Catholic of a different creed, is in the guidebooks presented as a constant source of curiosity – from the Einsiedeln manuscript and on – as well as potential danger, and is also included in the notions on the picturesque found in guidebooks from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

But because this awe and wonder is part of the horizon of expectation, just as in the case of the hyperbolic language described above, the traveller again runs a risk of not being able to reach the grade of emotions wanted and expected. Contemporary, everyday life is something that often represents this threat in guidebooks from post 1870, when Rome emerged as the modern capital of the newly formed nation of Italy (see Whitling and Burman in this volume). Traffic, alterations in the cityscape, and also tourism itself is described as disturbing for the traveller in search of the authentic experience of Rome.<sup>41</sup> Archaeology is another activity that can be seen as reducing awe, and this can be related to the discussion of which, or whose, authenticity the guidebook or traveller is looking for. In fact, it is only archaeology that has contributed to partly restructuring the itineraries and routes of the guidebooks. For example, Forum Romanum was not a place where the traveller was expected to remain for long, perhaps not even to thread, before the large-scale excavations of it throughout the twentieth century made it into a complex and duty-laden site for the tourist, and often placed in the very beginning of the topographical structure in the guidebook.

The forceful ideological powers behind the Catholic Counter-Reformation is also an important factor for several of the most influential guidebooks to Rome and their authors, such as Francesco Albertini, Andrea Palladio and Fioravante Martinelli, as

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<sup>41</sup> For a study of how modern life, according to guidebooks, threatens the historical experience in Athens, see Penny Travlou (2002).

shown by Plahte Tschudi, Bortolozzi, and Fogelberg Rota in this volume. Evidence of this is the increasing number of claims on a “true” image of the city from the second half of the sixteenth century. The threats posed by the Protestant reformation, in the form of travelogues and guidebooks in the vernacular languages of the foreign travellers, were believed to undermine the authority of the Catholic Church by presenting ideas and beliefs in conflict with its orthodoxy.

As described in the paragraph on religion and awe above, the identity of the traveller as a foreigner and/or outsider quite naturally is an aspect that any guidebook has to deal with. The Roman experience, though, again offers a more complex relation to this phenomenon, as the established commonplace of Western culture is that Rome already is the home of every civilized and cultivated individual. As mentioned earlier, Rome’s double character as both foreign and familiar is something that pervades travelogues and guidebooks through the centuries. Often, a visitor to Rome already had a relation to the sites and monuments through education, visual culture, and preparatory reading. In Fioravante Martinelli’s *Roma ricercata*, the rhetorical construction of the expected foreign reader is especially evident. Different paratextual elements in *Roma ricercata*, such as the foreword to the *lettore forastiero* (foreign reader), or the indication that the author is a Roman, seem to suggest that the insider-outsider relationship is privileged in this particular guidebook. At first glance, the same correlation seems to apply to guidebooks in general as well. The situation is, however, definitely more complex, both in Martinelli’s case and for the other guidebooks discussed in this volume. The fact that it is first with the Venetian editions of *Roma ricercata* – starting around the 1650s – that Martinelli’s Roman identity is strongly emphasized already in the title, entails that his status as writer of the guidebook adapts to the different contexts in which it is published. Martinelli’s claim to convey a true image of Rome is, however, already embedded in the dichotomy between locals and strangers implied in his address to the “foreign reader”. This particular reader/traveller is exhorted to turn to elements and persons familiar with the topography of the city (such as inscriptions or the guardians at the sites visited) in order to be confronted with an approved interpretation of the city. To confirm the fluctuating identity of the traveller/reader, the term *forastiero*, foreigner, in the context of seventeenth-century Rome could equally be someone coming from North of the Alps or from any of the many states into which the Italian peninsula was divided.

The insider-outsider perspective is also especially highlighted in Ellen Rydelius’s *Rom på 8 dagar*, which is clearly, and innovatively, addressed to Swedish middle-class readers by a writer who, at least partly, shares many of their ideals and expectations. Rydelius’s rhetorical persona is that of the initiated friend who knows Rome inside out and therefore affectionately shows her favourite spots. However, *Rom på 8 dagar* is still a guidebook written by a Swedish author for a Swedish reader, describing what is for both of them a foreign topography. Identities are continually negotiated and seldom univocal in guidebooks.

The foreignness found in the meeting between the traveller and the place can be carefully handled by the guidebooks. The Baedeker guidebook, as discussed by Norlander Eliasson, is revealing of the necessity of giving easy access to an aesthetic appreciation of the art treasures of Rome, as well as the high demands guidebooks sometimes place on their readers. Readers indeed should prepare themselves for their trips beforehand, and possess an adequate level of education in order to fully appreciate the sites visited. These requests, together with the particular geographical presentation of Rome together with Central Italy, are evident reminiscences of the Grand Tour practice of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The emancipation from any dependence on the local inhabitants, which the Baedeker reader is invited to pursue, is a strong defining element of the readers/travellers. In this case, these will mostly correspond to the Northern European grand tourists of the previous centuries, whose travels were, in the second half of nineteenth century, “democratized” by the advancement of the means of travelling, especially the railway system. Baedeker’s guide to Rome appears thus as the complete opposite of Martinelli’s *Roma ricercata*, with its invitation to adopt the point of view of the native author and, to a certain extent, merge into the life of the city.

If a journey on the one hand could be meticulously prepared for by reading and education, the guidebook rhetoric, on the other hand, often hyperbolically underlines that nothing really could prepare the traveller for the actual experience of Rome. In this commonplace, the mythical, semi-religious dimension of the visit to the eternal city surfaces again, suggesting that Rome could not be understood from history books, or, for that part, guidebooks, but rather must be lived with the senses. Emotions and imagination are frequently called upon in almost every guidebook as tools for grasping what Rome is all about. Only in this way will the reader be able to see what cannot be seen, reconstruct the fragmentary, and succeed in the existential meaning-making that is the essence of a journey to Rome. From the early twentieth century and on, as shown by Burman in this volume, the sensorial experience is enhanced in the guidebooks’ rhetorical strategies. The sound, smell, and taste of Rome is described as increasingly important for the traveller to experience, and meals in authentic restaurants as well as picturesque picnics become tools for the pleasure of the traveller, now partly freed from the serious cultural obligations of previous centuries. This sensorial practice appears already in the travelogues of the eighteenth century, as discussed by Chloe Chard, member of the reference group of the project, in her *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour* (1999); at the Oslo conference of the “Topos and Topography” project in 2014, Chard expanded on this in a presentation about eating and picnics as reconciliatory, ceremonial bonds with the ancient past, and a way of being part of the picturesque and of foreign surroundings.

But the ideal, the educational, and the imaginative are not the only ingredients for a journey to Rome. The practical advice, such as where to stay, how much to pay, where and what to eat, and what to wear, which today are seen as some of the most characteristic features of a guidebook, entered relatively late in the guidebook

tradition, except for the itineraries as mentioned above. These basic and practical needs of a traveller are addressed in Martinelli's *Roma ricercata* in the form of an appendix of main streets, market days, where to find fruit vendors, et cetera. The guidebooks of the Grand Tour era, covering a route through Europe with several stops on the way to Rome, generally included practical advice, especially Thomas Nugent's *The Grand Tour* from 1749. This was further elaborated on in the 1820s by Mariana Starke, author of *Travels in Europe between the years 1824 and 1828*, a guidebook that would set the standards for both the Murray and the Baedeker guidebooks during the nineteenth century. Starke was sometimes ridiculed in her time for being obsessed with costs for everything from a meal to a fur coat, but in fact this phenomenon is an important symptom of the changing identity of travellers which brought new needs: limited budgets, the disappearance of an international social network for security and guidance for the travelling classes, a democratic possibility for the growing middle class to travel, and for women to travel alone. In the seemingly simple recommendations of hotels, restaurants, bars and shops, something important happens: the actual journey in all its aspects, not only the place and its monuments, threads forth in the text and becomes increasingly visible in the guidebook tradition.

## Genre and tradition

After having travelled through the guidebook themes over time, let us now return to the question of genre and guidebooks, a field full of complexity. Guidebooks can be defined as travel literature, and any specimen of travel literature can be used as a guidebook – in fact, almost any book could in some way be used as a guidebook. The journey towards a stabilization and characterization of the guidebook genre, therefore, is at immediate risk of losing itself in this unknown yet well-known territory. The land of the guidebook has several definite and defined borders, yet the guidebook keeps crossing these borders. The structure and contents of a guidebook can seem static and evident, yet the guidebook genre keeps borrowing rhetorical themes, various topoi and structural elements from other genres, reshaping them for its own needs, while at the same time contributing to develop these other genres. Thus, guidebooks are by definition multimodal, that is, working on several cognitive levels and with various visual and textual tools to transmit information. Further, the guidebooks are multimodal in measures that arguably cannot be found in any other traditional genres or media: they contain images, maps, descriptions, plans, symbols, temporal and spatial guidelines and value-transmitting texts. They also thread outside their physical boundaries by interacting both with the reader and with their context at large. Creating movement, action and development, they conduct the reader into a certain behaviour, movement scheme, relation praxis and sensuous intensity. They work intertextually by referring to other written sources, which can be

books, myths, rumours or even actual persons that are in possession of a certain kind of knowledge. The multimodal web that includes author, guidebook, reader and place, can be more deeply understood through the concept of “semiotic landscapes”, introduced by Adam Jaworski and Crispin Thurlow as the interplay between “language, visual discourse, and the spatial practices and dimensions of culture”.<sup>42</sup>

The guidebook puts into action what could be described as a chiasmic metamorphosis, where the book itself becomes the ideal city, the microcosm of experience, and in a way the solely indispensable object for knowledge of the place, whether read in front of the monuments or in an armchair at home. At the same time, and through the same mechanisms, the city, or the place itself, turns from reality into fiction, a map, a lexicon, an encyclopaedia – it turns into a book.<sup>43</sup>

Some specific genre theories have proved especially fruitful for the project, departing from a workshop held in collaboration with the University of Gothenburg in 2014, during which professor Eva Haettner Aurelius introduced the different stages and uses of genre theory. Haettner Aurelius drew attention to Alastair Fowler’s consideration that genres may appear more outlined if compared to one another.<sup>44</sup> In this case, the differences between travel literature and guidebooks are part of what forms the genre of the guidebook, even though the two genres belong to the same family. Fowler also regarded genres as flexible rather than fixed, and argued that a genre in fact change each time a new work is added to it. He further posed the question about what constitutes literature, and what, consequently, is not literature. A main characteristic of the guidebook is that it is not literary; it is nonfiction – Fowler defined “travel books” as one of the genres whose literary status is ambiguous. Guidebooks could, then, be labelled as what Fowler calls *occasional* texts, intimately connected with the situation of the reader/traveller.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, guidebooks continuously borrow themes, quotations and references from literary works. In their turn, literary works can be used as guidebooks, and the reading of a guidebook can produce a literary experience or aesthetical pleasure in the reader depending on various factors. The literary topoi used by the guidebook can be further developed within the genre, only to later exit the genre and continue their existence within another genre.<sup>46</sup>

Thus, speaking with Fowler, the guidebook genre must be seen as open and flexible. Several other genres, such as letters, novels and travelogues, influence and

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<sup>42</sup> Jaworski/Thurlow (2010) 1.

<sup>43</sup> The notion of the guidebook as a microcosmical or ideal “city”, and the city itself as a “book”, was first introduced by Victor Plahte Tschudi (2010).

<sup>44</sup> Fowler (1982) 34.

<sup>45</sup> Confer Fowler’s comment on occasional genres such as *epithalamia* and epitaphs, with social functions of a different kind, forming part of “ceremonies or monuments and sharing their actual force”, Fowler (1982) 7.

<sup>46</sup> Fowler (1982) 11–23.

are influenced by the guidebook in a continuous interplay. Yet, a set of genre-typical elements can be defined for the guidebook; these were tentatively described by three “Topos and Topography”-participants in an article in the periodical *Scandia* in 2015.<sup>47</sup> The genre analysis has also contributed to identifying guidebook-specific topoi, as well as place-specific Rome-related topoi that can occur in any literary work. This fact has served to illuminate how generic elements in guidebooks relate to the literary tradition on the city of Rome, and how, at the same time, the literary topoi have influenced the guidebook as a genre.

As mentioned previously, the guidebook genre is, to a very high extent, user oriented, and the needs, situation and context of the traveller have contributed to shaping the guidebook tradition over time. Regarding these aspects, the genre theory of Carolyn Miller can contribute to a deeper understanding of the factors that create a work in the guidebook genre. Miller’s view is that a genre is based upon *situation* and *need* (or *exigence*), which means that the defining factors of a genre are contextual and lie outside the text itself. The exigence of a reader in a certain situation creates a rhetorical response that shapes the genre. “Rhetorical situation”, according to Miller, is any situation where speech in the wider sense – including written text – is produced, and “exigence” signifies the need, problem, or issue that causes the speech to be made. By studying guidebooks from these aspects, and not solely or mainly based on actual elements in the very text, the guiding functionality of the works can be traced and compared in a more nuanced way.<sup>48</sup>

Let’s first take a look at more subjective descriptions of journeys. The situation for the creation of a work of this kind is that the author or narrator finds him or herself in a foreign place, with a need to structure and document this experience. This produces a rhetorical response in the form of a narrative, describing the sights of the journey, but not created from the situation in which the readers find themselves. Such a narrative can also be written for personal use of the author him or herself, or a close circle of related individuals, and not intended for sharing with any traveller. But even if these texts were not created specifically as guidebooks, nothing contradicts that they can be used as such – or simply read as an imaginative travel description. This aspect might be clarified through a comparison to the apodemic travel literature from the mid-sixteenth century. Known as *ars apodemica*, these works denoted a genre of travel descriptions made by individuals on Grand Tours or other European journeys. Often preserved only in single manuscript copies, they contain practical information regarding the journey, such as time schedules and travel costs, as well as geographical, historical and cultural information about the places visited, always in a very dry and objective manner of style. Even if these descriptions were brought home and probably kept as personal reference material in the family library, they seem in equal grade to

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<sup>47</sup> Blennow *et al.*, 2015.

<sup>48</sup> Miller (1984).



having been written just for the sake of writing itself: the experience of travel, channelled by writing down an account of the journey along the way.<sup>49</sup>

On the other hand, the rhetorical situation in which an imagined reader – located in or soon travelling to foreign places – needs cultural, geographical and historical guidance, forms the exigence to which the guidebook is a rhetorical response. Geographical, topographical, cultural and historical information arranged, ordered and selected for the benefit of a reader with limited time and insufficient prior knowledge – all of these phenomena can constitute a guidebook.

One of the main needs of the reader when it comes to travel literature is evasion and curiosity; the foreign place described as far away from the reader, and a wish or a need to visit the place may never occur. The situation of the reader in the case of the guidebook is, on the other hand, that the foreign place has come so near to the reader that an urgent need for assistance arises. Thus, foreignness (and of course the subject matter as journeys) is a concept that unites guidebooks and travel literature, while the situation and need of the reader instead separate them. The foremost prerequisite of the guidebook – its generative situation – is that a person is on foreign ground. This requires that mobility be a factor in the contemporary societal context. Three main such mobility revolutions have been crucial for the development of the guidebook: Medieval pilgrimages, early modern Grand Tour travelling, and the emergence of modern tourism from the mid-nineteenth century on.

Another defining factor of guidebooks is the guiding functions of the texts. An important distinction has been made between rhetorical elements as well as the functions that are created through the use of these elements, and how they interact with the reader. Thus, more than as a set of stable features, we consider the guidebook as constituted by continually moving and evolving functions. The authoritative voice of the text – either anonymous and seemingly objective, or personal and subjective – along with the text structures concerning spatiality and movement, are the tools that create these guiding functions. Furthermore, moral exhortations or value judgements contribute to a guiding function from an identity-shaping aspect that plays an important role in travelling as formation and education.

Even if the guidebook can, in our opinion, be defined as a genre, we find that a term that describes the guidebook phenomenon even more succinctly is the concept of “tradition”. Not only is the guidebook to a large extent conscious of its tradition, it is also most dependent upon this tradition, primarily because it is practically impossible to produce a guidebook that does not relate to structure and contents of earlier works of the kind. The guidebook is chained to the tradition through which it has been born – no one can write a guidebook from scratch. Yet each guidebook must be new in order to be functional. It must show old facts from a new angle, or update outdated facts about a renewed place. While travel literature has a strong notion of exploration and

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<sup>49</sup> Winberg (2000).

individuality, the guidebook requires that the road is already paved by someone else, often by generations of previous travellers. In fact, many guidebooks rely heavily on earlier exemplars, almost to the point of plagiarism. But this plagiarism, or rather *imitatio* – that is, the emulation, adaptation and reworking of a source text by an earlier author – is necessary for the establishment of the tradition that will seal the contract of trust between the author and the reader/traveller. This is in fact also necessary for our preconception of the genre. When we buy a guidebook, we “know” instantly what we get even before looking inside it. We may “know” nothing about the city or the place it describes, but we “know” that it will educate us about it, and are fairly certain of what kind of information we will receive. This knowledge, this horizon of expectation – to use the term established by Hans Robert Jauss – this contract between author and reader could not have been established by anything else than an age-old tradition as well as similarity of situations when it comes to travelling.

Thus, more than a genre, strictly speaking, guidebooks constitute a tradition. All guidebooks, and in particular guidebooks to Rome, allude to, deal with and renew a certain already existing tradition concerning the city.

## Conclusion

The “Topos and Topography” project has been able to show how surprisingly stable the guidebook tradition has remained over time. As a concluding experiment, let us take a look at two recent guidebooks to Rome, and how they relate to the themes, strategies and elements that are found in the historical guidebook tradition. Since we have seen previously that the foreword of a guidebook often bears several keys to its aims, strategies and structures, we will focus on how the two authors address their readers and introduce their themes there.

Amanda Claridge, Emerita Professor of Roman Archaeology at Royal Holloway University of London, published an archaeological guidebook to Rome in 1998.<sup>50</sup> The book has a short foreword of a few pages, and Claridge’s first sentence reads: “Writing guidebooks to the antiquities of Rome has been going on for centuries and all those that have ever been written have steered a similar course, between fact and fiction, or rather, between two different kinds of reality.” Here, we have the guidebook tradition, and the eternal characteristic of Rome as historical palimpsest, and both fact and fiction. And at the same time as the book describes the guidebook tradition, it writes itself into the same tradition by joining the same topos. Soon, the hyperboles appear regarding Rome’s uniqueness and grandness: it is “one of the most deeply stratified and complex urban sites in existence”. Claridge also points out that “the ancient city was very large (...) far larger than its Medieval and Renaissance

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<sup>50</sup> Claridge (1998); revised edition 2010.

successors.” Next, walking as the ideal practice for sightseeing is highlighted: it’s easier and quicker. Therefore, it is better to use a topographical organization of the visit, rather than to try to see everything in chronological or typological order. The ideal place to start is chosen by Claridge as the Forum and the Palatine – the “monumental, political Rome” of the past, and also the richest in archaeological remains. And lastly, Claridge delineates the structure of the book: because it is a historical and archaeological guidebook, she has devoted the first part of it to a mainly chronological narrative. After that, each region of the city has its own chapter, starting from the Forum Romanum.<sup>51</sup>

While Amanda Claridge’s book is representative of scholarly authority, Georgina Masson, a British author who lived in Rome for several decades, represents another author type: the insider. First published in 1965, her book is still being reprinted as part of the series “Companion Guides”, typical for the learned but friendly guidebook tradition of the twentieth century.<sup>52</sup> Masson’s preface starts with the traditional rhetoric: the first sentence is: “*Roma, non basta una vita*” (Rome, a lifetime is not enough), the Rome-topos *par préférence*. After an excuse that a guidebook can never cover everything, partly because no one can know everything about Rome “even after living there for twenty years”, Masson introduces walking as the preferred way of seeing and experiencing Rome. The book is therefore ordered topographically into daily itineraries, starting and ending at central or easily accessible places. Yet another topos of the guidebook tradition appears when Masson thanks her friends, without whose advice the book would not have been written. The preface ends with a literary quote, from Augustus Hare’s *Walks in Rome* (1860): “When we have once known Rome, and then left her, hating her with all our might (...) we are astonished by the discovery, by and by, that our heartstrings have mysteriously attached themselves to the Eternal City, and are drawing us thitherward again, as if it were more familiar, more intimately our home, than even the spot where we were born”.<sup>53</sup>

Since Masson’s guidebook was (and still is) reprinted in several editions, another author, John Fort, took over editorship from the 2003 edition. Fort added a preface of his own, describing the circumstances of his revisions: why did she leave out the churches S. Silvestro and S. Susanna – was it because of the antipathy towards the Baroque ever since the days of Baedeker? On a more practical level, Fort mentioned that he felt obliged to try to determine whether Masson’s itineraries were functional for a visitor, and he came to the firm conclusion that “the suggested regime of two walks a day for two weeks was quite categorically impossible to follow; even one walk every day for two weeks would be an extreme undertaking.” Therefore, Fort decided to remove these instructions.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Claridge (1998) 1–2.

<sup>52</sup> Masson (2009).

<sup>53</sup> Masson (2009) xv–xvii.

<sup>54</sup> Masson (2009) xviii–xxi.

Masson's first chapter covers the Capitoline hill, and here we find several elements typical for the guidebook tradition already on the first few pages. The book immediately connects to the literary tradition: the first sentence is a quote from the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, followed by references to Petrarch, Montaigne and Gibbon. But on the next page, Masson quickly gets on a more personal note with the reader. Just like Corinne, she starts to say "we": "So let us begin at the Capitol and let us time our first visit, ideally, to coincide with the hour after sunset ... Viewed thus for the first time this sight of the Capitol is an unforgettable experience, fixed for ever in one's memory." Here, emotion and imagination also enter the picture as tools for deep understanding of the city and reconstruction of its history. Regarding the Forum, Masson says: "Seen by day it requires something of the knowledge of an archaeologist and the imagination of a poet to conjure up what this prospect must once have been. But at night, especially when a rising moon adds its magic to a diffused glow of the illuminations and stark reality is clothed in mysterious shadows, it is not nearly so difficult to picture what has happened here." When standing on the hill and looking out over the Forum, Masson invites the reader to imagine walking in the footsteps of historical persons, such as the Renaissance humanist Poggio Bracciolini: "It is quite possible that Poggio stood on almost exactly the same spot as we ...". After having described the Capitoline Museums, Masson gives the reader a very practical bit of advice: "From the very beginning, however, it is as well to remember that the average mind – and feet – can stand just so much sight-seeing at a time, and enthusiastic efforts to drive them beyond this limit will only end in disaster." The remedy for this is to pause often, for example with a "really good Roman lunch". This is another feature typical for the twentieth century – the friendly care-taking of the reader – but can also be seen as part of the traditional rhetorical strategy of underlining Rome's magnificence by describing the exhaustion it brings.

So, let us start our journey among the guidebooks, and sites, of Rome. Please, do take a break between the chapters and monuments whenever you feel tired of walking through this book!

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Anna Blennow

# 1 Wanderers and Wonders. The Medieval Guidebooks to Rome

## Part 1. The Einsiedeln manuscript

### Introduction

When the jurist and historian Gustav Friedrich Haenel arrived at Einsiedeln Abbey in Switzerland on a journey towards Italy in 1825, he had two things on his mind. Armed with the best recommendation letter from the archivist of the Abbey of Saint Gall, he wanted to see if a famous Livy manuscript still was to be found in the Abbey Library after the recent turbulence of the Napoleonic period. And he wanted to take a look at the even more famous Medieval itineraries to Rome in the Einsiedeln manuscript no. 326. The Livy manuscript was easily found, but the itineraries foiled him for some time, until he found the small manuscript tucked away in the corner of a bookshelf. He was allowed to make a thorough transcription of it, which he published in 1837.<sup>1</sup> But he was not the first to have made a transcription of this manuscript. The Benedictine monk and scholar Jean Mabillon had published it in the seventeenth century, but even before that, in the early Renaissance, the humanist and manuscript hunter Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) had made a copy of the collection of Latin inscriptions from Rome contained in the manuscript, which then came to form the base for his own collection of Roman inscriptions. In Bracciolini's time, at least half of the inscriptions in the manuscript were already lost, and the Medieval itineraries through Rome had long since been forgotten. No wonder Gustav Haenel was so eager to see the manuscript, and that scholars such as Theodor Mommsen, Giovanni Battista de Rossi and Rodolfo Lanciani later paid the manuscript much attention. As I will show in this chapter, the small manuscript in the Einsiedeln library is one of the oldest preserved guidebooks to Rome. As an invaluable source for the Medieval topography of Rome, the manuscript has gained frequent scholarly attention throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The main aim of this chapter is, instead, to shed light on the singularity of the Einsiedeln manuscript in the tradition of topographical-historical texts and guidebooks of the Middle Ages, and as such, one of the keys to understanding the guidebook tradition to Rome. By studying the Einsiedeln manuscript in a broader historical, cultural and literary context, I will also show how a variety of late Antique and Medieval literary works have contributed to the development of the guidebook tradition over time.

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<sup>1</sup> Haenel (1837).

## The manuscript

The manuscript no. 326 in the Einsiedeln library (south of Zürich in canton Schwyz, Switzerland), in octave format (17,8 × 12,6 cm), contains 60 pages (67r–97v) written by the same hand in black ink and red minium (Fig. 1.1). The parchment and the ink are of very good quality, though with some occasional holes in the parchment pages. The manuscript (henceforth referred to as the “Einsiedeln manuscript”) was at a later time bound together with some other manuscripts in a *Sammelhandschrift* totalling 104 parchment pages, probably in the fourteenth century. The author of the manuscript is unknown, but it is assumed that the text was composed around the year 800, and that the extant Einsiedeln manuscript was copied from the original perhaps in the tenth century. Two funerary inscriptions, dated to 799 and 840 respectively, transcribed in the end of the manuscript (fol. 97v), indicate that it may have been written in the Benedictine Abbey of Reichenau in southern Germany. Based on this suggested provenance, Giovanni Battista de Rossi, who studied the manuscript toward the end of the nineteenth century, called the manuscript *Sylloge Reichenavensis*, and Stefano del Lungo, in his more recent study of the manuscript, named the anonymous author *anonimo Augiense*, from the Latin name of the Reichenau island, *Augia*. The palaeographer Bernard Bischoff, who made a study of the manuscript at the behest of Gerold Walser in 1986, stated that the manuscript was similar in style to the Medieval Abbey school of Fulda, which made Walser suggest that the author of the manuscript was a monk from Fulda Abbey who joined Charlemagne on one of his journeys to Rome. Two owners’ signatures from the fourteenth century are preserved in the manuscript: *Liber domini Vlrici de Murtzuls*, written in the beginning of the book, and at the end of the book, *Iste liber est Monasterii fabariensis*, “This book belongs to Pfäfers Abbey” (a Benedictine monastery in the canton St. Gallen, Switzerland). Thus, we can assume that the manuscript belonged to Pfäfers Abbey before arriving to Einsiedeln. The manuscript is divided into five thematic parts: a collection of Latin (and some Greek) inscriptions from Rome (fol. 67r–79r), followed by a section with ten itineraries through the city of Rome (fol. 79v–85r). The next part constitutes a brief description of the city walls of Rome (fol. 85r–86r), and after that, the liturgical ceremonies of Easter are described (fol. 86v–88v). The text ends with a small collection of poems and epitaphs (fol. 88v–97v).<sup>2</sup>

The Einsiedeln manuscript has a long and fascinating reception history. The Renaissance humanist Poggio Bracciolini must have found and examined the manuscript in the Einsiedeln library in the beginning of the fifteenth century, since the first

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<sup>2</sup> The manuscript is accessible online in a beautiful, highly qualitative digitalized version made by the *Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland*: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch>; and described shortly on the website. Lang (2010). The manuscript is also described by for example Walser (1987) 9–11; Bauer (1997) 190–191; del Lungo (2004) 11–21.



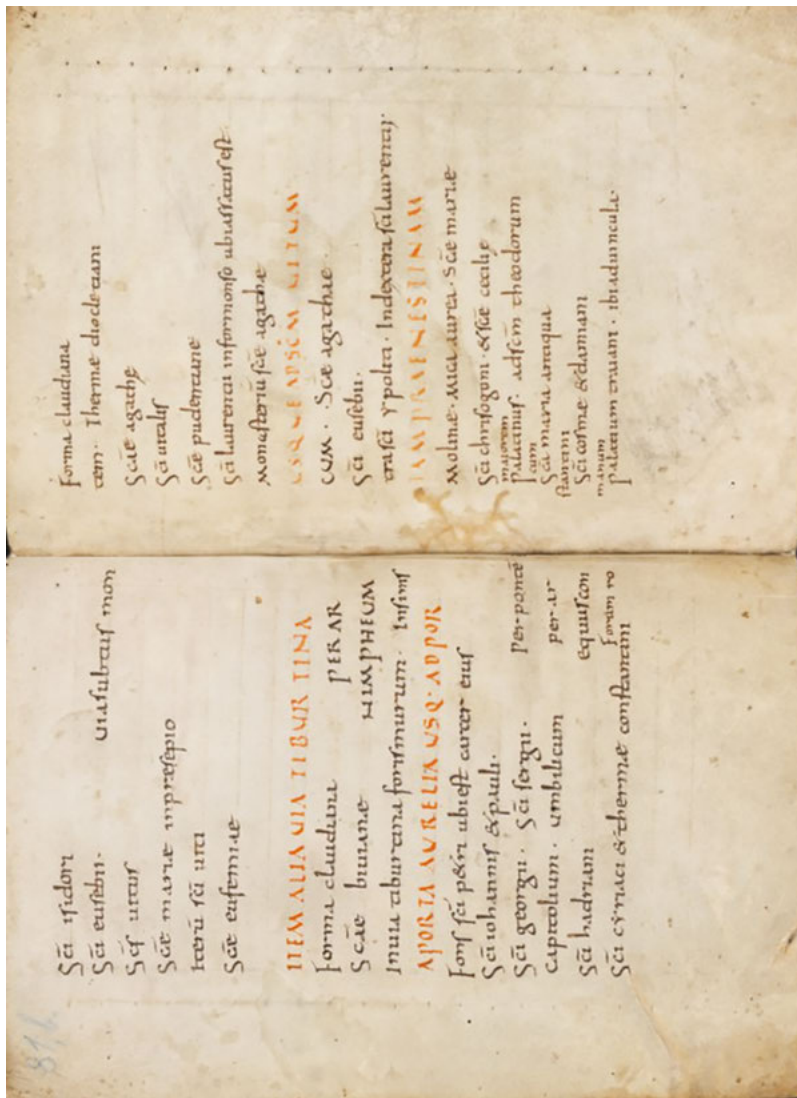


Fig. 1.1: Fol. 81v–82r in the Einsiedeln manuscript no. 326, containing itinerary VI and parts of itineraries V and VII. Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 326(1076), Manuscript of collected works (<https://www.e-codices.ch/en/list/one/sbe/0326>).

part of his collection of 86 inscriptions – the so-called *Sylloge*, from 1429 – is copied from the Einsiedeln manuscript (entries number 1–34 in the *Sylloge*). These inscriptions are not preserved today, and were probably lost already in Poggio’s time, while the rest of the inscriptions in the *Sylloge* were apparently copied by Poggio directly from the stone.<sup>3</sup>

The Einsiedeln manuscript was edited in print for the first time by Jean Mabillon in 1685 (only the inscriptions and the itineraries), and later by Gustav Haenel in 1837 (the inscriptions and the itineraries). Giovanni Battista de Rossi, one of the founding fathers of early Christian archaeology and epigraphy in the second half of the nineteenth century, examined the manuscript in the Einsiedeln library in 1856. As an epigraphist, collecting material for his *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae (ICUR)*, de Rossi focused on the collection of Latin and Greek inscriptions, and also noted the similarities between the Einsiedeln manuscript and the *Sylloge* of Poggio. De Rossi published the collection of inscriptions, as well as the section on Easter liturgy, in the second volume of *ICUR*. Karl Ludwig von Urlichs edited the inscriptions, the itineraries and the wall description in his *Codex Urbis Romae Topographicus* 1871. Theodor Mommsen studied the manuscript from Haenel’s edition, included the ancient inscriptions in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, and later wrote a short study of the manuscript. Shortly afterwards, the itineraries of the manuscript were published by Rodolfo Lanciani and Christian Hülsen. In 1987, Gerold Walser made an edition, together with facsimile reproductions, of the itineraries, the inscriptions and the description of the city walls, with detailed reconstructions of the itineraries, and translations and commentary of the inscriptions. Franz Alto Bauer in 1997 and Riccardo Santangeli Valenziani in 2001 presented shorter studies with valuable observations on the manuscript and the itineraries; Stefano del Lungo in 2004 made an edition of the inscriptions, itineraries and wall description together with a topographical and historical analysis.<sup>4</sup> A facsimile of the itineraries was published in 2014 in connection with the exhibition *Vedi Napoli e poi muori – Grand Tour der Mönche* at the Stiftsarchiv St. Gallen.<sup>5</sup> In August 2015, I had the opportunity to examine the manuscript on a visit to the Einsiedeln Abbey library together with the participants of the “Topos and Topography” project (Fig. 1.2).<sup>6</sup>

The main scholarly interest has hitherto focused on the itinerary part of the manuscript, due to its utmost importance for the reconstruction and understanding

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<sup>3</sup> The autograph manuscript by Poggio is not preserved; the text is known from two copies from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, Vat. Lat. 9152 and Angel. D 4,18. Kajanto (1985).

<sup>4</sup> Gerold Walser presented a good overview of the editions of the Einsiedeln manuscript, as did Franz Alto Bauer. Walser (1987) 10–11; Bauer (1997) 190–192. The editions of the various parts of the manuscript are found in Mabillon (1685) 358–366; Haenel (1837); de Rossi (1888) 9–33; Urlichs (1871) 59–78; *CIL* VI pars I (the *CIL* reference numbers of each inscription are given in the editions of Walser and del Lungo); Lanciani (1891); Hülsen (1907); Mommsen (1913); Valentini/Zucchetti (1942) 155–207; *CCSL* 175, 330–343; Walser (1987); Santangeli Valenziani (2001); del Lungo (2004).

<sup>5</sup> Erhart/Zettler (2014).

<sup>6</sup> My thanks are due to *Stiftsbibliothek* pater Justinus Pagnamenta who kindly showed us the manuscript.



**Fig. 1.2:** The Einsiedeln manuscript, demonstrated by Pater Justinus Pagnamenta, *Stiftsbibliothekar* of the Einsiedeln Abbey library, in 2015. Photo: A. Blennow.

of the topography of Medieval Rome. Thus, no truly comprehensive study of the manuscript in its entirety has been performed, and neither has the relevance of the text in the context of the guidebook tradition been satisfactorily investigated.

In the following, I will describe and analyse each of the four Rome-focused parts of the Einsiedeln manuscript, and discuss the functions and aim of the text. In the second part of the chapter, I will give a short overview of geographical texts and itineraries to Jerusalem and Rome from the early Middle Ages, in order to present a historical background for the development of the textual elements of the Einsiedeln manuscript and shed light on its cultural and literary context. I will also give an example of an actual pilgrimage to Rome in the tenth century which may have used the Einsiedeln itineraries, or a similar work, as the basis for the tours through the city. The third part of the chapter will be devoted to a brief overview of the further development of the guidebook tradition in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

## The inscriptions

The collection of inscriptions contains 73 Latin inscriptions and one Greek inscription from Rome, and 11 Latin inscriptions and one Greek inscription from Pavia in northern Italy (Latinized in the manuscript as *Papia*). The inscriptions from Pavia caused

Gerold Walser, among others, to suggest that the inscription collection was made by a monk from north of the Alps, perhaps having joined Charlemagne on his journey to Italy, who would have passed by Pavia on the way to Rome. The inscriptions are not numbered in the manuscript, but each inscription or group of inscriptions is preceded by a heading indicating the location of the inscription.<sup>7</sup>

More than half of the inscriptions transcribed by the anonymous author are lost today, and almost all of the lost inscriptions had gone missing already in the Renaissance period. Furthermore, the Einsiedeln manuscript is the only source for about 40 of the inscriptions, many of them of great importance, such as the inscription on the triumphal arch of old St. Peter's.<sup>8</sup>

The inscriptions date from Antiquity, late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, with a preference for inscriptions from classical antiquity (around 40 inscriptions), closely followed by late Antique inscriptions (around 30 inscriptions). Only a few inscriptions date from the Middle Ages. All the above-mentioned editors agree that the texts of the inscriptions are very accurately reproduced, something which leads to the conclusion that a person very well versed in Latin and Greek made the transcriptions. However, some peculiarities occur, such as when two inscriptions from the mausoleum of Hadrian are given twice, first in the beginning of the list (number 4 and 5 in Walser's edition), with the addition of the scribe or author *in alio loco plenius scripsi* (I have written more fully in another place in the text), and then again towards the end of the list (number 56–58 in Walser's edition, and with slight variations in the transcriptions), where several other inscriptions from the mausoleum are also transcribed. The reason behind this remains obscure, and it is not clear whether this doubling of the inscriptions was made by the author or by a later scribe. Another inconsequential detail – more clearly a scribe's fault – is the fact that fragments of itineraries occur under some headings (see *The itineraries* below).

For each inscription or group of inscriptions, the location is given as a heading, sometimes precisely, for example *in absida sancti Petri* (in the apse of St. Peter's), sometimes more vaguely, for example *intus Romae* (inside Rome) for a late Antique inscription from a nymphaeum of unknown location, or *in arcu intus Romae* (on an arch inside Rome) for the late Antique inscription on the now lost triumphal arch of Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius from 406 CE.

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7 Walser (1987) 9. The numbering of the inscriptions in Gerold Walser's edition follows the headings which gives a list of 80 items, although some of the headings, as mentioned, concern several inscriptions, and a few posts actually consist of fragmentary itineraries, which probably have been placed among the inscriptions by mistake of a scribe.

8 Of the editors of the inscriptions, only Walser (1987) has provided translations (into German).

Occasionally, the location headings also include a short description, such as *In bibliotheca Sancti Gregorii quae est in monasterio Clivus Tauri ubi ipse dyalogorum scripsit*. (In the library of saint Gregory the Great, which is in the monastery *Clivus Tauri*, where he wrote his Dialogues).<sup>9</sup>

What aims lie behind the selection of inscriptions? They seem to be neither thematically nor topographically ordered, even though some inscriptions that belong to the same area are listed in a row.<sup>10</sup> Franz Alto Bauer remarked that the inscriptions were collected in a non-systematic way, but that they pertained to the most important sights of Medieval Rome. The inscriptions of “low importance”, such as funerary inscriptions along roads outside the city, were, in Bauer’s view, copied just because the compiler happened to pass them by.<sup>11</sup>

But, interestingly enough, according to my analysis, all of the inscriptions (except, of course, for the ones in Pavia) more or less relate to the itineraries, in that they are found on or close by these routes through the city, and on monuments that are listed in the itineraries. Only a few locations are not mentioned in the routes, namely St. Peter’s and Hadrian’s mausoleum. Some specific examples also strongly suggest that the inscriptions and the itineraries belong together. From the small church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo on the Gianicolo, a late Antique inscription is reported in the manuscript (*in Ianiculo ante aecclesiam Iohannis et Pauli*, Walser no. 47). The church seems to have disappeared already in the Middle Ages, and its location is not known.<sup>12</sup> The church is also mentioned in one of the itineraries in the manuscript (itinerary VII), which seems to suggest that the church was listed as a sight precisely because of the inscription. Another itinerary (itinerary II) is reconstructed as passing under a vault of the aqueduct Aqua Virgo at via del Nazareno of today – and in the inscription collection, the building inscription on the vault is reported (no. 9 in Walser).<sup>13</sup>

Consequently, when the inscription collection and the itineraries in the manuscript are read together, they seem to suggest that the traveller should see and read the inscriptions on the way through the city, or that the collector of the inscriptions chose them because they were close to the perhaps already-

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<sup>9</sup> Walser (1987) nos. 6, 8 and 51 respectively.

<sup>10</sup> Inscriptions no. 3–7 in Walser’s edition are located in St. Peter’s, Hadrian’s mausoleum and the now lost triumphal arch near the bridge *Pons Sancti Petri*, today’s *Ponte S. Angelo*; nos. 33–43 in Walser are located on or nearby the Roman Forum: the equestrian statue of Constantine, the arch of Septimius Severus, the temple of Saturn, the temple of Vespasian and Titus, the temple of Concord, the arch of Constantine, the arch of Titus, and several inscriptions located on or in the vicinity of the Capitoline hill. Walser (1987) 66–68, 91–103.

<sup>11</sup> Bauer (1997) 222–223.

<sup>12</sup> Hülsen (1927) 277–278.

<sup>13</sup> The vault is still visible just beneath street level on via del Nazareno, and the inscription is also partly visible.

established itineraries, which is of importance when discussing the overall aims and functions of the manuscript, which I will return to further on.<sup>14</sup>

## The itineraries

The second thematic part of the manuscript comprises ten itineraries through Rome. An additional itinerary (XI) is found inserted into the collection of inscriptions,<sup>15</sup> while another, fragmentary itinerary in the end of the itinerary section (XII) contains information about martyr tombs along the principal roads outside the walls.<sup>16</sup> Two other incomplete itineraries of catacombs and sanctuaries outside the city walls are found as interpolations in the collection of inscriptions, and partly reproduce the same information as in itinerary XII; I have therefore included them under the same heading.<sup>17</sup>

The routes have the following headings:

- (I) *A porta sancti Petri usque ad sanctam Luciam in Orthea* (From the gate of St. Peter to the church of S. Lucia in Orthea)
- (II) *A porta sancti Petri usque ad Portam Salariam* (From the gate of St. Peter to porta Salaria)
- (III) *A porta Numentana usque Forum Romanum* (From porta Nomentana to the Roman Forum)
- (IV) *A porta Flaminea usque via Lateranense* (From porta Flaminia to the Lateran road)
- (V) *A porta Tiburtina usque Subura* (From the porta Tiburtina to Subura)
- (VI) *Item alia via Tiburtina usque ad sanctum Vitum* (Also another way from porta Tiburtina to the church of S. Vitus)
- (VII) *A porta Aurelia usque ad portam Praenestinam* (From porta Aurelia to porta Praenestina)
- (VIII) *A porta sancti Petri usque porta Asinaria* (From the gate of St. Peter to porta Asinaria)
- (IX) *De septem viis usque porta Metrovia* (From the “seven roads” to porta Metronia)
- (X) *De porta Appia usque Schola Graeca in via Appia* (From porta Appia to the church of S. Maria in Schola Graeca at via Appia)

<sup>14</sup> Stefano del Lungo, who regarded the manuscript as a papal propaganda document specifically produced for a visit to Rome by Charlemagne, meant that the themes of the inscriptions were carefully chosen to represent new constructions and examples of imperial and papal power; del Lungo (2004) 83–84. I find these theories somewhat far-fetched and not possible to prove from the extant evidence.

<sup>15</sup> No. 72 in Walser’s edition of the inscriptions, and Walser’s itinerary no. XII. Walser (1987) 205–211.

<sup>16</sup> Edited by Walser as itinerary XI. Walser (1987) 203–204.

<sup>17</sup> Nos. 69 and 70 in Walser’s edition of the inscriptions; Walser (1987) 204.

- (XI) [A] *porta sancti Petri usque ad sanctum Paulum* (From the gate of St. Peter to St. Paul)
- (XII) Description of martyr tombs outside the walls along via Portuensis, via Aurelia, via Salaria, via Pinciana.

The majority of the itineraries start and end at a city gate, crossing through the city along various routes. As many as three of the itineraries (I, II, VIII) depart from *porta sancti Petri*, St. Peter's gate, which was located near *pons Aelius* (Ponte S. Angelo of today, built in the second century CE in connection with the construction of Hadrian's mausoleum).<sup>18</sup> The rest of the gates mentioned in the headings – *porta Salaria*, *porta Nomentana*, *porta Flaminea*, *porta Tiburtina*, *porta Aurelia*, *porta Praenestina*, *porta Asinaria*, *porta Metronia*, and *porta Appia* – cover all of the then-existing city gates except for *porta Pinciana*, which remained closed after the Gothic wars and was not in use at the time. Itinerary XI exits the city through *porta Ostiensis* and returns into the city again through *porta Appia* after having made a tour to S. Paolo fuori le Mura, S. Sebastiano and several other extramural sanctuaries.<sup>19</sup>

But separate monuments and places, such as the church of S. Lucia in Orthea, the church of S. Vitus, the yclept *Scola Graeca* adjacent to the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, “*septem viae*”, Forum Romanum, via Lateranense, and Subura, also occur as starting or ending points, without any indication of whether or not they are the main goal of the route. Neither is any reason given about the specific aims of getting from one city gate to another. The fact that several of the itineraries depart from *porta sancti Petri* points to foreign pilgrims as the target group for the itineraries, since, as Debra Birch and Paolo Liverani have shown, several institutions for charity and

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**18** Since no trace remains of the *porta sancti Petri*, scholars have debated whether it was located on the city side (south) or Vatican side (north) of the bridge. On the Vatican side of the river, the ancient via Cornelia ran westwards from the head of the bridge, and Lawrence Richardson suggested that the gate, identical with the *porta Cornelia*, spanned this road, and/or formed part of the fortifications in Hadrian's mausoleum; Richardson (1992) 300, 302. Also, Paolo Liverani asserted that the gate was located at the Vatican side; Liverani (2013) 31. John But, as Hendrik W. Dey, among others, has shown, the city wall went along the east bank of the river from *pons Aelius* towards *porta Flaminia*; Dey (2011) 174–184; 304–309; and it therefore seems probable that the gate was located on the city side of the bridge, perhaps incorporated into the head of the bridge. Another indication that could point in this direction is that the Einsiedeln manuscript does not mention the crossing of the bridge in the itineraries departing from *porta sancti Petri*, while *pons maior* (*pons Aemilius*, today preserved in mutilated form as *Ponte Rotto*) is mentioned in itinerary VII (Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 81v–82r). On his map of churches, monasteries and *scholae* in the *Borgo* area, John Osborne located *porta sancti Petri* on the city-side, but without further explanation; Osborne (2013) fig. 14.1. The twelfth-century *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* lists *portae Romanae* (gates of Rome) and *portae Transtiberim* (gates on the Trastevere side); *porta Collina ad castellum Adriani* is listed as among the Roman gates, and thus indicates that the gate was on the city side of the river. Urlichs (1871) 92.

**19** For *porta Pinciana*, see Richardson (1992) 306.

pilgrim accommodation were established in the *Borgo* area in the vicinity of St. Peter's during the seventh and eighth centuries.<sup>20</sup>

Each itinerary guides the reader by indicating the monuments that are found to the left and to the right of the route. The monuments on the right are listed in a column on the right-hand page of the manuscript spread, and the monuments on the left appear on the left-hand page. Names of monuments or locations that are in the middle of the route, such as bridges, squares and triumphal arches, are written in the middle between the two columns, across the spine of the bound manuscript. The headings for each route are also written across both pages. This ingenious way of turning the page layout into a kind of map drawn in words is unique for the Einsiedeln manuscript – it has no known predecessors or successors.<sup>21</sup>

The monuments mentioned in the itineraries give a rather fixed date of the composition of the manuscript as a whole. The monastery S. Silvestro in Capite – listed in itineraries II and IV – was founded by pope Paul I between 757–767, and S. Maria Antiqua on the Roman Forum, mentioned in itineraries VII and VIII, was substituted by S. Maria Nova (today S. Francesca Romana), during the pontificate of Leo IV between 847–855. Thus, the itineraries must be dated to a period between 757 and 855. Franz Alto Bauer asserted that an even more specific date could be set – for example, with reference to the church of SS. Sergio and Bacco on the Roman Forum, restored thoroughly in 789–790 – and suggested that dating the itineraries to the last years of the pontificate of

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**20** *Diaconiae* (deaconries) provided food for both pilgrims and poor Romans, and maybe also lodging for pilgrims. Around the year 800, 22 *diaconiae* existed in the central parts of Rome. Five of them were situated in the *Borgo* area, most probably focused on pilgrims. Both pope Hadrian I (772–795) and his successor Leo III (795–816) made extensive donations to the *diaconiae*. *Xenodochia* or *hospitales* provided health care for travellers, and may also have been places to stay. Several *xenodochia* were instituted in various parts of the city already in the sixth century, and seem to have been in use during the ninth century. Pope Gregory the Great (590–604) founded a *xenodochium* near the atrium of St. Peter's basilica, and “chambers” close to St. Peter's, possibly meant for pilgrim accommodation, are mentioned in the seventh and eighth centuries. Leo III had a large house built nearby St. Peter's to serve as accommodation (probably also containing a bath), and founded a hospice in the area between the Vatican and Castel St. Angelo. *Scholae*, pilgrim communities probably intended for longer periods of stay, or for individuals that decided to settle more permanently in Rome, were created in the *Borgo* area probably already in the eighth century: *schola Saxonum* of the Saxons, *schola Franconum* of the Franks, *schola Frisionum* of the Frisians and *schola Langobardorum* of the Lombards. It is likely that the *scholae* served as places where guiding information could be gained from individuals. Fewer sources are preserved for pilgrims' accommodation during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, although several of the institutions mentioned above may have continued their existence. Master Gregory, the author of *De Mirabilibus Urbis Romae*, who probably went to Rome in the early thirteenth century, reportedly stayed at an inn, and so in all probability did several pilgrims of the later Middle Ages. Krautheimer (1980) 80–82; Birch (1998) 123–144; Ortenberg (1990) 204–206. On documentation of organized charity in and around St. Peter's, see Liverani (2013) 25–28, and for a map over churches, monasteries, and *scholae* around St. Peter's, see Osborne (2013) fig. 14.1.

**21** Franz Alto Bauer has described the Einsiedeln manuscript as “geschriebene Rom-plan”; Bauer (1997), 225–226.



Hadrian I (772–795) or the early years of his successor, pope Leo III (795–816), would be plausible.<sup>22</sup>

What was it like visiting Rome around the year 800? To understand the urban structure of Rome in the eighth and ninth centuries, one must keep in mind that the population of Medieval Rome had gradually established itself on the flatland near the Tiber, which had become the major source for water when the aqueducts fell out of function, and was also important for water-mills and fishing. Thus, the hills were either abandoned or subsequently turned into private properties later fortified by the aristocratic Roman families, as were other strategic places.<sup>23</sup> For example, the Tiber island is not mentioned in the *Einsiedeln* itineraries, and this is probably due to the fact that it was made into a private area early on – the bridges over the island were potentially not possible to use for everybody, and only the two other bridges left during the Middle Ages, *ponte S. Angelo* (*pons sancti Petri* in the itineraries) and *pons Aemilius* (the oldest extant Roman stone bridge, called *pons maior* in the itineraries), remained for crossing the river.<sup>24</sup>

The monuments occurring in the itinerary lists include Roman buildings as well as Christian churches, and as a matter of fact, this is the first time that both Roman and Christian monuments appear in the same topographical text. In the late Antique regional catalogues of Rome, no Christian churches are mentioned, although by that time – in the fourth century CE – several of the large Christian basilicas had been built. On the other hand, no Roman monuments are noted in early Medieval pilgrim itineraries, such as the *Notitia Ecclesiarum*. Among the Roman monuments, objects such as triumphal arches, baths, obelisks, fora, temples and theatres are mentioned. Several traces of the Medieval adaption of Roman topography can be found: the Pantheon is called *Rotunda*, and from the itinerary routes, it is evident that the Capitoline and Palatine hills are treated as monuments to be looked at or landmarks to orient from, not as places to visit: the itineraries circle around them instead of passing over them. Several major Roman monuments, nowadays more or less lost, appear in the itineraries, such as the baths of Alexander (near piazza Navona), the baths of

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**22** Bauer (1997) 206–209. Stefano del Lungo has gone so far as to suggest that the manuscript was composed on papal initiative as propaganda material for the Roman visit of Charlemagne together with his wife and children in April 774. While this is hard to prove due to the lack of evidence, it nevertheless points to the importance of imperial processions through Rome from Antiquity to the Middle Ages for establishing and maintaining preferred routes through the city, which Paolo Liverani, among others, has shown. Del Lungo (2004) 16–19, 82–85; Liverani (2013) 28–32.

**23** Krautheimer (1980) 68, 237 (populated areas), 255 (fortifications).

**24** Krautheimer (1980) 244–248, and figg. 193a, 193b. *Pons Aemilius* became from the sixteenth century onwards increasingly ruined from frequent inundations, and therefore baptized *Ponte Rotto*, “the broken bridge”; today, only one arch of it remains. Richardson (1992) 296–297.

Constantine (on the Quirinal hill), the baths of Agrippa (behind the Pantheon), and the Septizonium (on the south slopes of the Palatine hill).<sup>25</sup>

The churches in the itineraries are all among the oldest of the Christian churches in Rome, and so most of them were several centuries old already when the *Einsiedeln* manuscript was composed. But many of them had also been newly renovated or rebuilt, either in the seventh century under the supervision of popes like Honorius I, or during the late eighth and early ninth centuries, when large-scale building projects were carried out, mainly during the pontificate of the influential Hadrian I.<sup>26</sup> In the *Einsiedeln* manuscript, we also find important information about some churches that disappeared early on: the small church S. Felix in Pincis, for example, visible on the oldest maps of Rome but gone by the sixteenth century, and SS. Giovanni e Paolo on the Gianicolo, another small church that apparently vanished already in the Middle Ages.<sup>27</sup>

Since the itineraries, with few exceptions, move inside the city, some of the extra-urban churches and basilicas are omitted, like St. Peter's, for example. On the other hand, we find inscriptions from both St. Peter's and Castel Sant'Angelo reported in the collection of inscriptions. This area stands out in the *Einsiedeln* itineraries as the self-evident centre for the visit, both explicitly, as several of the itineraries depart from porta sancti Petri, and indirectly, since we know that the quarters of the *Borgo* would be the place where most travellers and pilgrims stayed in this period, as shown above. But there is another important observation to be made from the intra-mural itineraries. The main goal for pilgrims up to this period had been the martyr tombs and sanctuaries outside the walls, which is, as we shall see, confirmed in the earliest pilgrim itineraries to Rome. In the time when the *Einsiedeln* itineraries were written down, this focus was subject to a radical process of change. The catacomb cemeteries had begun to decay drastically, something which necessitated the translation of martyr relics into the city. Pope John IV (640–642) brought relics to the San Venanzio chapel at the Lateran baptistery, and Theodore I (642–649) did the same to S. Stefano Rotondo. But the full-scale transfer started around a century later, in the aftermath of the siege of Rome by the Lombards, when pope Paul I (757–767) brought remains of around fifty saints into Rome.<sup>28</sup> In this period, long inscribed lists of saints are also found in several churches, such as the church and monastery of S. Silvestro.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Walser gives a thorough presentation of the monuments mentioned in the itineraries. Walser (1987) 159–211.

<sup>26</sup> See for example Bauer (1997) 209 and Krautheimer (1980) 71–76, 109–114. A detailed account of the sources for the early history of each of Rome's churches is found in the very useful *Le Chiese di Roma nel Medioevo* by Christian Hülsen (1927).

<sup>27</sup> Hülsen (1927) 252 (S. Felix); 277–278 (SS. Giovanni e Paolo).

<sup>28</sup> Goodson (2007) 69–75.

<sup>29</sup> Silvagni (1943) 1, pl. 37.

By focusing almost exclusively on itineraries within the city, the *Einsiedeln* manuscript seems to confirm that a pilgrimage to Rome at that point was, to a large extent, an intra-mural affair. Although the large basilicas outside the walls were of continuous importance for the pilgrim traveller – and the *Einsiedeln* itineraries duly list S. Valentino on via Flaminia, S. Agnese on via Nomentana, S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura on via Tiburtina, S. Sebastiano on via Appia, S. Paolo fuori le Mura on via Ostiense, and S. Pancrazio on via Aurelia – pilgrimage could also be performed in the city of Rome itself. This is additionally shown in later sources like the description of bishop Sigeric's visit to Rome in the tenth century (for which see further below), and in the epigraphic evidence of relic lists from the eighth century and on (as mentioned above) and indulgence systems documented in inscriptions in almost every urban church from the twelfth century and onward.<sup>30</sup>

As several scholars have observed, some of the listed monuments are located immediately next to the route, while some are placed farther away, which brings us to the next question: how was the traveller supposed to encounter the monuments on the way? Was each item on the list a sight-seeing goal, where the traveller should stop and pay a visit, perhaps looking for Latin inscriptions? In that case, a lot of deviations from the route must be presupposed – for example, following route VIII, which leads straight along the via della Lungaretta from S. Maria in Trastevere towards the bridge over the Tiber, the church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere is listed in the itinerary as on the right-hand side of the route. To actually visit the church, a rather long detour to the south would be needed, before returning to the bridge.<sup>31</sup> Or, if the monuments only served as landmarks, how would a far-away church, perhaps not even quite visible from the route, provide directions for the traveller? The manuscript gives no evident clue to these questions. Bauer and del Lungo suggested that open spaces in the cityscape and the height of the ruins of Antiquity in the eighth–ninth centuries must have made it possible for the traveller to identify them along the way, and this is plausible in most cases. As Richard Krautheimer, among others, has shown, large parts of the east and south areas inside the walls were abandoned or used for cultivation during the Middle Ages – the *disabitato*, as it was called – and the ancient ruins must have towered high and been visible, especially in these parts of the city. Bauer also pointed out that the routes through the Campo Marzio and the city centre are more detailed, while the itinerary parts in the *disabitato* in general have fewer and more far-away landmarks.<sup>32</sup>

Moreover, the itineraries contain no information about the places listed except for their names, and a few incidences of *ubi est* (where is) or *ibi est* (there is) – for example *Circus Flamineus, ibi sancta Agnes* (The Flaminian circus, and there the

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<sup>30</sup> Holst Blennow (2011) 268–273.

<sup>31</sup> Cod. *Einsiedlensis* no. 326, fol. 81v–82r. S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Crisogono and S. Cecilia are listed as being to the right of the route before crossing the Tiber. See also Walser (1987) 181–189.

<sup>32</sup> Bauer (1997) 213–215; Del Lungo (2004) 89; Krautheimer (1980) 68, 237.

church of S. Agnes).<sup>33</sup> Only once does a value assessment occur: when mentioning the Dioscuri sculptures on the Quirinal hill (in itinerary I), the manuscript states: *cavalli optimi* (very good horses).<sup>34</sup> The statues are mentioned also in itinerary III, but then as *cavalli marmorei* (marble horses).<sup>35</sup>

A slightly different way of presenting the itinerary is, however, found in itinerary XI and the fragmentary itineraries under my heading XII, partly inserted into the collection of inscriptions in the manuscript. Itinerary XI is structured in the same way as the “original” ten itineraries in using left and right, but differs from the other itineraries in that it forms a narrative, and is not presented in two separate columns. *Inde* (thereafter) denotes the movement from one place to another, *ibi* (there) is used for places, and *usque ad* (all the way to) signifies where to stop after having moved in a certain direction, for example: *In sinistra sancti Laurentii et theatrum Pompeii et per porticum usque ad sanctum Angelum et Templum Iovis* (To the left, the church of S. Laurentius and the theatre of Pompey, and through the portico all the way to the church of S. Angelus and the temple of Jupiter).

Itinerary XII contains three fragments of lists of martyr sanctuaries outside the city wall. The heading of one of the fragments says *In via Portuensi extra civitatem in dextra* (In via Portuensis outside the walls, to the right), which makes it seem similar to the “original” itineraries, but then the list goes on to mention other principal roads, too: via Aurelia, via Salaria and via Pinciana, and martyr tombs that can be found there. Only items *in dextra* (to the right) are mentioned, which makes it further evident that this is a fragment, and that the monuments to the left of the route have been lost or that the list is complete and the scribe has forgotten to insert “to the left”.<sup>36</sup> Important to note in the entries in itinerary XII is the geographical division after the major roads to and from the city, though not in clockwise or anti-clockwise direction, but rather mixed, and incomplete: one fragment lists via Portuensis, via Aurelia, via Salaria, and via Pinciana, and another via Pinciana, via Aurelia, and via Portuensis.<sup>37</sup>

The difference in route – mainly extra-mural – and the variations in language with more details and a more narrative structure, point to the idea that both itineraries have a different source than the other ones, which is probably also the reason why they were mistakenly incorporated into the collection of inscriptions. This allows us to deduce that the scribe who put together the Einsiedeln manuscript probably had several sources, or copied a manuscript that was in turn based on

<sup>33</sup> In itinerary II, Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 80r; Walser (1987) 168, and itinerary VIII, Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 82v; Walser (1987) 189.

<sup>34</sup> Cod. Einsiedlensis fol. 79v; Walser (1987) 162.

<sup>35</sup> Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 81r; Walser (1987) 173.

<sup>36</sup> Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 84v–85r. Walser, also referring to de Rossi and Hülsen, asserts that the scribe must have confused the directions; Walser (1987) 203–204.

<sup>37</sup> Walser (1987) 203–204.

different sources. Franz Alto Bauer even surmised that the sources used by the scribe of the *Einsiedeln* manuscript were not ordered in the typical *Einsiedeln* layout, with the monuments on the right-hand side on the right page and so on, and that this is the reason behind several inconsistent annotations in the manuscript.<sup>38</sup> The fact that we can trace a manuscript tradition here, although the *Einsiedeln* manuscript is the only extant copy, gives us valuable information regarding the existence of several manuscript itineraries of the kind.

But how user-friendly would the itineraries be for a stranger in the city who did not know the name of any of the monuments and buildings indicated? This question led some scholars, among them Giovanni Battista de Rossi and Rodolfo Lanciani, into arguing that a now-lost map must have accompanied the itineraries. Christian Hülsen even presented a reconstructed map based on the monuments mentioned in the itineraries, inspired by city maps of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, with the monuments depicted as icons inside the ideally symmetrical circle of the city walls. Another point of departure for the map hypothesis has been the mention by Einhard in *Vita Caroli Magni* that Charlemagne owned several maps constructed as silver tables – one square-shaped with a “*descriptio*” of Constantinople, one round with an “*effigies*” (image/representation) of the city of Rome, and one with a “*descriptio*” of the whole world, and it has been argued that this proves that circular maps of Rome would exist at the time.<sup>39</sup>

Both Kai Brodersen and Franz Alto Bauer asserted that the existence of a similar map would be improbable. Brodersen argued that the “*effigies*” of Rome on the map table of Charlemagne probably concerned a symbolic depiction of Rome as a walled entity with perhaps a few monument icons, as opposed to a proper and functional map. Bauer made the important observation that the instructions in the itineraries such as *per arcum* (through the arch) and *per porticum* (through the portico) would indicate that the author of the itineraries had made the routes through the city in person – such information, Bauer argued, would not be able to be gleaned from a map. Furthermore, he proposed that extra information about some monuments, such as *sancta Agatha, ibi imagines Pauli et sanctae Mariae* ([the church of] S. Agatha, there [are] images of S. Paul and S. Maria) and *Laurentii in formonso ubi ille assatus est* ([the church of] S. Laurentius in Formonso, where he was burned) is to be taken as evidence of that the author visited these places in person. Here, I would like to point out that this kind of formulae occur, for example, in the seventh-century list of churches *Istae vero ecclesiae intus Romae habentur*, and the church list of Leo III in *Liber Pontificalis*, which were likely accessible for the author of the *Einsiedeln* itineraries.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Bauer (1997) 215–216.

<sup>39</sup> de Rossi (1864) 154; Lanciani (1891) 445–446; del Lungo (2004) 89; Hülsen (1907) 6–16, Tav. V.

<sup>40</sup> Brodersen (1996); Bauer (1997) 209–216. Also, Riccardo Santangeli Valenziani asserted that a map as model or appendix to the *Einsiedeln* itineraries would be mere speculation; Santangeli Valenziani (2001) 154–159.

While the question of whether the itineraries were once supported by a map of some kind must remain unanswered due to lack of evidence, a thorough study of the monuments on late Medieval and early Renaissance maps of Rome would be fruitful for comparing the selection of monuments. The method of indicating the way by means of monuments as landmarks is also an interesting parallel to the practice in ancient Rome. As Simon Malmberg has shown, the practice of describing the way between point A and point B actually meant listing the landmarks or inhabitants along the way, rather than instructing the traveller to follow a certain street.<sup>41</sup> The early maps of Rome seem to indicate that this way of experiencing the cityscape still prevailed, since most often no roads or streets are indicated among the monuments, such as on the map of Alessandro Strozzi from the year 1474, for example (although on the map of Fra Paolino Veneto from the early fourteenth century, some schematic main roads connect the monuments).<sup>42</sup>

Are the actual routes of the itineraries possible to reconstruct today? Four scholars – Rodolfo Lanciani in 1891, Christian Hülsen in 1907, Gerold Walser in 1987, and Stefano del Lungo in 2004 – have all published reconstructions of the routes from the indications of the monuments listed in the manuscript. While Lanciani did a more thorough work, linking the Medieval routes to the actual streets of Rome (most of which, more than a hundred years later, still exist), Hülsen presented the routes as graphic lines where the monuments and buildings mentioned were only approximately arranged along the way, and so did Walser; del Lungo presented a small-scale overview with the itineraries marked out as lines on a general map based on Rome in the early Middle ages (though leaving out itinerary XI).<sup>43</sup>

During the “Topos and Topography” project, I have been able to reconstruct the itineraries of the manuscript in greater detail. For this scope, I have used the maps of Leonardo Bufalini (1551), Giovanni Battista Falda (1679) and Giambattista Nolli (1748),<sup>44</sup> together with Rodolfo Lanciani’s archaeological map *Forma Urbis Romae*, which marks all excavations of ancient structures such as buildings and streets, up to the late nineteenth century. The urban structure of Rome has, except for some alterations during the Renaissance, in the late nineteenth century, and in the 1930s, remained remarkably intact during the centuries: Medieval streets have replaced ancient roads, Renaissance palaces have been built on Medieval quarters, and so on. In my analysis, I have found that almost all probable routes of the

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<sup>41</sup> See, for example, Malmberg (2009a); Malmberg (2009b).

<sup>42</sup> For the Strozzi map, see Scaglia (1964) 137–163. Gustina Scaglia suggested a close relationship between the Strozzi map and Flavio Biondo’s work *Roma instaurata* written in the 1440s, and thus, the Strozzi map probably illustrates the Roman cityscape as it looked several decades earlier than 1474. For Fra Paolino’s map, see Maier (2015) 20–23, and fig. 4.

<sup>43</sup> Lanciani (1891); Hülsen (1907) 17–44; Walser (1987) 159–211 (with reproductions of Hülsen’s maps); del Lungo (2004) Tav. XIII.

<sup>44</sup> For these maps, see, for example, Frutaz (1962).

Einsiedeln itineraries in fact closely follow the ancient road network of the city, and due to the just-mentioned urban permanence of Rome, almost all parts of the routes can still be traced, and walked, more or less exactly, today.<sup>45</sup>

## The description of the city walls

The third thematic part of the manuscript is a short description of the Aurelian city walls of Rome.<sup>46</sup> The city gates, beginning from *porta sancti Petri*, are numbered in clockwise direction, and the number of towers (*turres*), pinnacles (*propugnacula*), smaller gates (*posternae*), latrines (*necessariae*) and windows (*fenestrae*) between each gate and the next is specified, for example: *A porta Flaminea usque ad portam Pincianam clausam: turres XXVIII, propugnacula DCXLIII, necessariae III, fenestrae maiores forinsecus LXXV*. (From *porta Flaminia* to the closed *porta Pinciana*: 29 towers, 644 pinnacles, 3 latrines, 75 larger windows on the outside.) In the end, the sum of all the listed items is presented: *Sunt simul turres CCCLXXXIII, propugnacula VII XX, posternae V, necessariae CXVI, fenestrae maiores forinsecus II LXVI* (There are in total 383 towers, 7020 pinnacles, 5 smaller gates, 116 latrines, 2066 larger windows on the outside).

Gerold Walser suggested that the description must be based on official statistics of some kind; Franz Alto Bauer presented an overview of suggested dates for the information: either late Antiquity or after the Gothic war in the first half of the sixth century.<sup>47</sup> This again indicates that the author must have had access to several types of documentation material for putting together the manuscript, since he or she probably did not do the counting in person. The structure of the description also resembles the way of presenting urban features in the regionary catalogues of late Antiquity, where the monuments of each city region are listed and summed up typologically at the end of the description. Bauer asserted that the wall description would not have had any immediate value for a visitor to Rome, except for the focus on the city gates as related to martyr tombs along the roads out of Rome, but given the way of orientation used in the early Medieval itineraries to sanctuaries outside the walls, where gates and roads serve to structure the topographical information, I would argue that for a pilgrim on the route around Rome, outside the walls, a reference like

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<sup>45</sup> To present a detailed reconstruction of the itineraries falls outside the scope of this publication; these results will instead be published in a forthcoming article, as well as in a popular-science guidebook to Medieval Rome, based on the Einsiedeln itineraries (to be published by Appell förlag, Sweden, 2019).

<sup>46</sup> Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 85r–86r; Walser (1987) 214–217; del Lungo (2004) Tav. VIII–IX.

<sup>47</sup> Walser (1987) 214; Bauer (1997) 223–225.

the number of towers, for example, could well have served as a means of measuring the distance between each gate along the way.<sup>48</sup>

## Liturgy – The *Ordo Romanus XXIII*

The fourth thematic part of the manuscript consists of two pages with a narrative description of the liturgy of Easter according to the Roman rite during Holy Week, including the ceremonies and procession route that the pope made in and around S. Giovanni Laterano and S. Croce in Gerusalemme.<sup>49</sup> The text is not only a description, but also a kind of comparative study: the author compares texts that are read or not read at the ceremonies, such as: *Non dicunt 'Domine labia mea' [...] sed tantum 'Christus factus est pro nobis'* (They don't say 'Lord, my lips' [...] but only 'Christ was created for us').<sup>50</sup> From this, it seems evident that the author of this manuscript section came from a region with a different rite. Michel Andrieu, who published the text in his *Ordines Romani*, thought that the description could not have been transcribed from an official source, since it is too brief and summarized. Andrieu pointed out that the author of the text must have been versed in liturgy, since he or she was able to make a comparative study of the Roman rite, and that the rite familiar to the author probably was the Gallican rite, which during this period was spread north of the Alps. Additionally, the vocabulary, according to Andrieu, suggests a German author, and a date in the first half of the eighth century.<sup>51</sup>

## Poems and epitaphs

The text ends with a small collection of Medieval poems and epitaphs, not published in any of the editions consulted, though briefly commented on by Stefano del Lungo.<sup>52</sup> These texts do not seem to have any connection to the four other, Rome-

**48** Bauer (1997) 224–225. For a detailed overview of the Aurelian wall and the accuracy of the Einsiedeln description, see Dey (2011), especially pages 12–32.

**49** Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 86v–88v. *Ordo Romanus XXIII*, Andrieu (1951) 263–273. The text was also published by Giovanni Battista de Rossi in *ICUR* II, 34–35.

**50** The first quote is from Psalm 50:17, *Domine labia mea aperies et os meum adnuntiabit laudem tuam* (Lord, you will open my lips and my mouth will announce your praise), and the second from Philippians 2:8–9. Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 86v.

**51** Andrieu (1951) 265–266.

**52** Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 88v–97v: *Fragmentum poeticum; Monastica de aerumnis XII Herculis; [Alcuini] Conflictus versis [veris] et hiemis; [Distichon de invidia]; [Decastichon hexametrium]; [Nota de nominibus animae. Alcuini]; Ad Septitium; [Dittochaem Prudentii de veteri et novo testamento]; Epitaphium Geroldi and Epitaphium Bernaldi*; del Lungo (2004) 15. The epitaphs of Gerold of Bavaria and Bernaldus, abbot of Strasburg, are edited in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Dümmler* (1881–1884) I, 114 and II, 420–421.



centred parts of the manuscript. However, the very last two entries bear importance for the dating of the *Einsiedeln* manuscript, and also provide a tentative provenance for it: the epitaphs of Geroldus, prefect of Bavaria, who died in 799 and was buried in the Abbey of Reichenau, and the epitaph of bishop Bernaldus of Strasburg, educated at Reichenau, who went to Rome in 832 as a legate for emperor Louis the Pious. Bernaldus died on April 17, 840, and appears in the necrology of the same abbey. Thus, the epitaph must serve as a *terminus post quem* for the manuscript. Theodor Mommsen, who published the epitaphs, pointed to Reichenau as a possible provenance for the *Einsiedeln* manuscript on the grounds that both epitaphs are connected with that abbey.<sup>53</sup>

## Aim and functions of the *Einsiedeln* manuscript

Can the *Einsiedeln* manuscript be labelled a guidebook? Franz Alto Bauer asserted that the idea of the manuscript as a pilgrim guidebook was too coloured by the concept of guidebooks in our own time. The small format of the manuscript, Bauer argued, is typical for its time for almost any kind of literature, and we should not believe that it has anything to do with a practical guidebook format. Bauer found that the *Einsiedeln* itineraries would have no practical function for a traveller to Rome in the Middle Ages, and stated that the *Notitia Ecclesiarum* (for which see further below) is a much better example of a functional guidebook. The scribe who put together the parts of the *Einsiedeln* manuscript had, Bauer imagined, no intention of creating a guidebook to Rome – rather, it was supposed to form an image of Rome for a reader far away from the city. Santangeli Valenziani described the *Einsiedeln* manuscript as “an extremely formalized tool for describing the urban space using an exclusively verbal code, elaborated by a society that had lost interest for a graphic, non-symbolic, representation of reality”.<sup>54</sup>

But let’s take a closer look at possible target groups, aims and functions of the *Einsiedeln* manuscript. As shown by Fogelberg Rota, Norlander Eliasson and Burman in this volume, guidebooks often arrange their topographical information departing from the area where travellers most frequently lodged in each period. Concerning the *Einsiedeln* itineraries, the focal point of the Vatican area, from where several itineraries depart, fits well with the documentary evidence

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<sup>53</sup> Mommsen (1913) 503–504. The epitaphs appear also in a manuscript from St. Gallen, and Mommsen asserted that the *Einsiedeln* manuscript in part could have been copied from it. He also suggested that the inscription collection that Poggio Bracciolini referred to as seen in St. Gallen may have been copied by the *Einsiedeln* manuscript.

<sup>54</sup> Bauer (1997) 216–217, 225; Santangeli Valenziani (2001) 154–159: “uno strumento, estremamente formalizzato, per descrivere lo spazio urbano usando un codice esclusivamente verbale, elaborato da una società che aveva perso l’interesse per una raffigurazione grafica, non simbolica, della realtà”.

presented by Debra Birch about the *Borgo* as the center for pilgrims and foreign visitors in this period. Thus, the itineraries seem to be based upon the practical needs of a pilgrim. As I have touched upon earlier, it is improbable that the itineraries were constructed for the first time in the *Einsiedeln* manuscript: rather, they must have been gradually established over a period of time, perhaps from the seventh century and on, when itineraries and pilgrim guides to Rome start to appear in the literary sources, as I will return to below.

As we have seen, most of the *Einsiedeln* itineraries move inside the city walls, with some exceptions,<sup>55</sup> while the fragmentary itinerary XII concerns monuments outside the walls. This, as I have shown above, is probably a symptom of the restructuring of martyr sanctuaries from the eighth century and on, when a vast number of relics was transported from the decaying catacombs and to the intra-mural churches. Traces of pilgrimage to extra-urban churches and sanctuaries still appear in the itineraries, but dominate in the probably slightly older itineraries XI and XII. Also, the earlier structuring of itineraries as focused on the major roads outside the city is seen in the choice of making the city gates into starting and ending points for most of the itineraries, something I shall return to below concerning other Medieval itineraries.

For the routes inside the city, the aim and function of the monument lists, with ancient as well as Christian items, remain more of an enigma. Should we suppose that the ancient Roman monuments in the itineraries served only as a topographical structure, to which the Christian monuments could be related, or were they goals in themselves? According to my analysis of the itineraries, the recurrent coincidences between their routes and the collection of inscriptions would instead indicate that the routes through the city were meant also for sightseeing of ancient monuments and inscriptions. The topographical parallels between these two parts of the manuscript also show that they in all probability were produced in a simultaneous process, and meant to be read together.

Further, the small signifiers in the form of short narrative phrases that occur occasionally throughout the itineraries point to the fact that something more than just a map of monuments is implied. For example: “The church of S. Sergio, where the *umbilicus* (navel) of Rome is” (itinerary VIII); “The circus of Flaminius, where the

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<sup>55</sup> At the end of itinerary III, “From porta Nomentana to the Roman Forum”, is added: *In Via Numentana foris murum in sinistra sanctae Agnes, in dextra sancti Nicomedis* (On via Nomentana outside the walls, to the left the church of S. Agnes; to the right the catacomb of S. Nicomedes). Also route IV, from porta Flaminia to via Lateranense, adds some items outside the walls at via Flaminia: the church and catacomb of S. Valentino to the right, and the Tiber to the left (which indicates that the traveller in this case is going north on via Flaminia). Itinerary X, from porta Appia to *Schola Graeca*, ends with a longer list of martyr tombs and sanctuaries outside porta Appia under the heading *Item in eadem via extra civitatem* (Also in the same road outside the walls). Itinerary XI makes a detour outside the walls by exiting through the porta Ostiensis, and, after having visited churches such as S. Paolo fuori le Mura and S. Sebastiano, as well as several martyr tombs, re-entering through porta Appia.

church of S. Agnes is” (II; VIII); “The church of S. Lorenzo, where he was burned” (V); “the well of St. Peter, where his prison is” (VII); and the reference to the *cavalli optimi* (very good horses) on the Quirinal hill (I).

The combination of a religious aim, in the form of pilgrimage, and historical sightseeing is further made evident in the fact that the Einsiedeln manuscript is the first example of a topographical text where Roman and Christian monuments are treated in the same description, and with no obvious preference for the one category over the other. This indicates that a historical sightseeing could be, and perhaps should be, included in a journey to Rome already in the Carolingian period, often together with the transcription, or reading, of both classical and Medieval Latin inscriptions, as I will give further examples of below. Rome in this period emerges as a symbol for fallen worldly power, as seen for example in the verses of Alcuin about Rome in his *De clade Lindisfarnensis monasterii*, a theme that was developed further during the twelfth century.<sup>56</sup> Thus, the awareness in the Carolingian period of ancient Rome as fallen but at the same time the symbol of eternal power must have influenced a learned practice of seeing Rome as a symbolical display of signifiers in the form of the Roman monuments.

As for the functionality of the Einsiedeln itineraries, Dale Kinney has recently argued for the possibility to use them as a practical guidebook. Already Rodolfo Lanciani, in his reconstruction of the itineraries, compared them to the routes indicated in the twelfth century *Ordo Romanus* by Benedictus Canonicus. With reference to his work, Kinney expanded on this, showing for example that in itinerary XI between St. Peter’s and S. Anastasia, a careful study of the monuments mentioned along the way shows that the Einsiedeln itinerary and the *Ordo* both take almost the same route, even if they do not share a single toponym along the way with the exception of S. Anastasia.<sup>57</sup>

This would indicate that, when thoroughly compared with archaeological and topographical sources, as well as with itineraries from other periods of time, the Einsiedeln routes demonstrate a functionality that – perhaps together with further urban signifiers such as road signs and highly frequented thoroughfares, as I will return to further below – actually could serve as a guide through the city, and not merely a seemingly vague list of scattered monuments in the Medieval cityscape of Rome.

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<sup>56</sup> *De clade Lindisfarnensis monasterii*, “On the destruction of the monastery of Lindisfarne”, Alcuin *Carmen* 9, ed. Dümmler (1881–1884) I, 229–235.

<sup>57</sup> Lanciani (1891) 519–552; Kinney (2007) 237–250.

## The Einsiedeln manuscript as part of a learned travel culture

As has been shown above, it is clear from particularities in the Einsiedeln manuscript, such as fragments of itineraries and variations in style, that the guiding structure and functions in it did not appear from nowhere. Thus, the kind of itineraries found in the Einsiedeln manuscript must have existed previously.

In fact, as Michael Lapidge and Joanna Story have shown, pieces of evidence strongly indicate that the practice of constructing itineraries and transcribing inscriptions can be traced back as far as the seventh century, such as in the case of Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury Abbey in Wiltshire, England from around 680 CE. It is known that Aldhelm, one of early Anglo-Saxon England's most learned scholars and well versed in Latin and Greek, once visited Rome, though no details of the journey are preserved. Lapidge argued that Aldhelm may have accompanied Ceadwalla, king of Wessex, who went to Rome in 688 and died there in 689. The king was buried in old St. Peter's, and a funerary inscription was put up in the portico of the basilica. Aldhelm quoted two verse inscriptions from St. Peter's almost verbatim in his *Carmina Ecclesiastica*, and it is probable that he transcribed them *in situ* at St. Peter's. Lapidge demonstrated further that Aldhelm's epigraphic activity in Rome went even beyond that. Several of his *Carmina* echo with quotes from pope Damasus's epigraphic *carmina*, which were put up in catacombs and churches in various places in Rome in the second part of the fourth century CE. Aldhelm may also have copied the text of the Ceadwalla inscription, as well as that of Gregory the Great, also located in the portico, since both texts were later incorporated into the Venerable Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (since Bede never went to Rome, Aldhelm could have provided him with the source material).<sup>58</sup>

The habit of collecting inscriptions during visits to Rome seems to have been formed already in the early seventh century, in connection with the intensification of pilgrimage to Rome under pope Honorius I, above all by Anglo-Saxons and Franks. Several *Syllogae*, collections of inscriptions, are preserved from the seventh to ninth centuries. Nicholas Everett underlined that the reasons for composing a *sylloge* may have been manifold. Both classical inscriptions with a historically related content, and Christian inscriptions connected with pilgrim itineraries, ceremony, liturgy, and

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<sup>58</sup> Lapidge (2007) 48–54; Damasus's epigrams II, XVI, XVII, XXXV, XLVII. As Joanna Story has shown, an anthology of six epigrams, deriving from verse inscriptions in old St. Peter's (including the funerary inscription of pope Hadrian I, composed by Alcuin), are preserved in two ninth-century manuscripts from Reims. Aldhelm quoted the first two poems, "de Petro" and "de Andrea", in the first and third poems in the fourth of his *Carmina Ecclesiastica*, "On the Altars of the Twelve Apostles"; Story (2010) 10–13. Giovanni Battista de Rossi published the text of the epigrams in *ICUR* II, 257–258, and suggested that the poems quoted by Aldhelm were composed by, or in the time of, pope Symmachus I (498–514 CE). Ceadwalla's funerary inscription is published in *ICUR* II, 288.

worship were transcribed in the *syllogae*. Everett stated that epigraphy was an important part of literary culture during this period, and that it served as education and inspiration for the creation of new poems and epitaphs. But the inscriptions were not only form – they were also used as a source of information, be it historical, as in the case of the classical inscriptions, or actual, when it came to epigraphic instructions for relic cult, indulgences or the like in the Christian inscriptions.<sup>59</sup>

Several such *syllogae* with collections of inscriptions existed already in Aldhelm's time, among them the *Sylloge Turonensis* ("Sylloge of Tours"), preserved in two late Medieval manuscripts, and probably derived from a now-lost seventh-century manuscript. It contains texts of forty-two epitaphs, of which thirty-seven are from Rome. Interestingly, the inscriptions in the *sylloge* are geographically ordered, starting at via Salaria and then moving clockwise around the city to viae Nomentana, Tiburtina, Labicana, Praenestina, Latina, Appia, Ardeatina, ending at S. Paolo fuori le Mura at via Ostiense. We will soon see how first these major roads, and then the city gates, played a decisive role for the orientation in the city in the Medieval itineraries preceding the Einsiedeln manuscript. *Sylogae* circulated in England already in the eighth century, but Lapidge's argument for the idea that Aldhelm did not collect his inscriptions from *syllogae* is that he would have had to use four different ones for his selection. Lapidge further suggested that Aldhelm probably used an itinerary when in Rome, possibly the Malmesbury itinerary, which has been dated to the second half of the seventh century.<sup>60</sup>

## Archbishop Sigeric: A tenth-century itinerarist

Even if no other copies of the Einsiedeln itinerary are preserved, it can be assumed, as shown above, that it in some way or other formed part of a larger tradition of itineraries used by travellers in Rome and perhaps also by personal guides in Rome. A document of a pilgrimage tour in Rome in the tenth century is that of the "Itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric". Sigeric was archbishop of Canterbury and is said to have traveled to Rome in 990 to receive his *pallium* from pope John XV. As Veronica Ortenberg has shown, the description of Sigeric's visit to Rome is the only extant comprehensive source for information on Roman churches between the Einsiedeln manuscript and the

<sup>59</sup> Everett (2003) 274–276.

<sup>60</sup> Lapidge (2007) 55–57; Thacker (2007) 18–19; Story (2010) 9. "Sylloge of Saint-Riquier" with 65 tituli of Roman churches was assembled mainly during the pontificate of pope Honorius I (625–638); "Sylloge of Cambridge" contains 34 papal epitaphs and other inscriptions in a late copy of the *Liber Pontificalis*, with the latest epitaph of pope John VII (705–707); "Fourth Lorsch Sylloge", with 104 tituli and epigrams, is dated to the ninth century; Lapidge (2007) 54–55. The *Sylloge Laureshamensis* (eighth or ninth century) collects inscriptions from Rome, Ravenna, Spoleto, Milan, Pavia, Piacenza, Vercelli and Ivrea, and the *Sylloge Centulensis* (eighth or ninth century) collects inscriptions from Rome, Spoleto and Ravenna; Everett (2003) 243–244.

*Mirabilia Urbis Romae* of the twelfth century. Ortenberg described Sigeric's activities as those of "a present-day tourist who, after having consulted his Michelin or Baedeker guide, chooses to see what appeals to him most".<sup>61</sup>

What kind of guide was accessible to Sigeric? Ortenberg suggests documents such as the Malmesbury and Einsiedeln itineraries, but also the lists of churches extant in the seventh-century catalogue labelled *Istae vero ecclesiae intus Romae habentur*, and the similar catalogue of Leo III (795–816) in the *Liber Pontificalis*.<sup>62</sup> The intra-mural churches in these documents, though, have the form of lists without specific geographical order, and thus it is more probable that Sigeric used proper itineraries, or was guided by someone familiar with them. As I have found when comparing Sigeric's pilgrim tour to the Einsiedeln itineraries, there are clear indications that Sigeric followed several established routes at least partly. The description also gives an interesting perspective on the number of churches visited each day by a pilgrim – Sigeric's tour lasted for two days, but contained a lot of churches. On the first day, Sigeric and his company went to St. Peter's, *S. Maria Scola Anglorum* (S. Spirito in Sassia), *S. Laurentius in craticula* (probably S. Lorenzo in Lucina), *S. Valentinus in ponte Molui*, *S. Agnes* (on via Nomentana), *S. Laurentius foris murum*, *S. Sebastianus*, *S. Anastasius* (probably SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio ad Aquas Salvias), *S. Paulus* (S. Paolo fuori le Mura), *S. Bonifatius* (probably SS. Alessio e Bonifacio on the Aventine), *S. Sabina*, *S. Maria Scola Greca* (S. Maria in Cosmedin), *S. Cecilia* (in Trastevere), *S. Crisogonus*, *S. Maria Transtyberi*, *S. Pancratius*. Then, he and his company returned home (*deinde reversi sumus domum*) (as Ortenberg has shown, Sigeric most probably stayed at the *Schola Anglorum* in the *Borgo*).<sup>63</sup>

Starting out from St. Peter's and the *Borgo*, Sigeric could have followed itinerary II in the Einsiedeln manuscript, which followed *via Recta* (via dei Coronari of today) east towards *via Lata* (via del Corso of today), which was reached approximately where S. Lorenzo in Lucina is located. Then, he would have gone north along *via Lata* to S. Valentino outside porta Flaminia, following the Einsiedeln itinerary IV. Thereafter, the company seems to have circulated the city wall clockwise, just as in the Malmesbury itinerary and in the *Notitia Ecclesiarum*. When having visited S. Paolo fuori le Mura south of the city, the company could have reentered through porta Ostiensis, and from there, they went to two churches on the Aventine, and thereafter to S. Maria in Scola Greca. On that tour, they would have used parts of itinerary XI and, for the route from the Aventine to S. Maria in Scola Greca also itinerary X. Then, the company could join itinerary VII to the west, crossing *pons Maior* to the Trastevere side, and then visiting each of the major churches mentioned by the Einsiedeln manuscript: S. Cecilia, S. Crisogono, S. Maria in Trastevere and,

<sup>61</sup> Ortenberg (1990) 197–200.

<sup>62</sup> Ortenberg (1990) 201. For the catalogue of Leo III, see Hülsen (1927) 6–10.

<sup>63</sup> Ortenberg (1990) 199.

going out through porta san Pancrazio, the homonymous church. From there, it would be close to “home”, that is *Schola Anglorum* in the *Borgo*.<sup>64</sup>

The second day, Sigeric and his companions went to S. *Maria Rotunda* (Pantheon), SS. *Apostoli*, S. *Iohannes in Laterano*, and then had lunch with pope John (*inde refecimus cum domini [sic] apostolico Iohanne*); then to *Ierusalem* (S. Croce in Gerusalemme), S. *Maria Maior*, S. *Petrus ad Vincula*, and to S. *Laurentius* “*ubi corpus eius assatus fuit*” (where his body was burned).<sup>65</sup> The Pantheon appears in the Einsiedeln itineraries on route II, IV and VIII, and is there called simply *Rotunda*; the church of SS. *Apostoli* occurs along itineraries III and IV. In fact, Sigeric could here have followed itinerary IV, since it lists both the Pantheon and SS. *Apostoli*, and ends at via *Lateranense*, the road towards the Lateran.<sup>66</sup>

After the apostolic lunch, Sigeric and his company could have followed itinerary VII, where S. Croce in Gerusalemme (called simply *Hierusalem* in the Einsiedeln manuscript), S. *Maria Maggiore*, S. *Pietro in Vincoli* (called only *ad vincula*, but the full name, *Aeclesia Sci Petri ad vincula*, appears in itinerary VIII), and S. *Lorenzo in Panisperna* (called by its alternative name S. *Laurentii in Formonso* in the Einsiedeln manuscript) are listed. Furthermore, when S. *Lorenzo* is mentioned in Einsiedeln itinerary I, the description *ubi ille assatus est* (where he was burned) is added to the post, a formula very similar to the one in the account of Sigeric’s route.<sup>67</sup>

The account of Sigeric’s “Rome in two days” thus gives us an indication of the established and continuous use of itineraries through Rome. The structure of these itineraries was most probably built on firm practice, and not something each new author or compiler was free to reconstruct. As my forthcoming analysis of the Einsiedeln itineraries will show, most of the Medieval routes used the ancient road network. When more and more focus points for the religious traveller emerged inside the walls in connection with the transfer of relics from the extra-urban cemeteries, at the same time as the number of pilgrims steadily increased, this would have led to a continuously increasing consolidation of the routes, attracting business such as inns, shops, souvenir sellers et cetera, just as in any

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<sup>64</sup> Itinerary II: Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 79v–80r, Walser (1987) 168–172; itinerary IV: Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, 80v–81r; Walser (1987) 175–178; itinerary VII: Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 81v–83r; Walser (1987) 181–189; itinerary X: Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 83v–85r, Walser (1987) 200–203; itinerary XI: Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 77v–78r, Walser (1987) 205–211.

<sup>65</sup> Ortenberg (1990) 199.

<sup>66</sup> Itinerary II: Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 79v–80r, Walser (1987) 168–172; itinerary IV: Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, 80v–81r; Walser (1987) 175–178; itinerary VIII: Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 82v–84r, Walser (1987) 189–196.

<sup>67</sup> On the double name S. *Lorenzo in Formonso/Panisperna*, see Hülsen (1927) 292–293. Itinerary VII: Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 81v–83r; Walser (1987) 181–189; itinerary VIII: Cod. Einsiedlensis no. 326, fol. 82v–84r, Walser (1987) 189–196.

modern urban tourist destination. Perhaps these routes were even marked with signs for pilgrims.

## Part 2. The early development of the guidebook tradition

The evolution of the guidebook tradition is a process as long and winding as a pilgrim's route to Rome. In the following section, I will give a brief overview of late Antique and early Medieval texts with topographical and/or guiding content, and discuss how they have gradually influenced and formed the guidebook tradition over time. My geographical focus here will be both Rome and Jerusalem, since several early Medieval itineraries and travel descriptions focus on the Holy Land before Rome in the seventh century gradually emerges as the major Christian pilgrim goal of the two.

### Maps, itineraries and geographical descriptions

Ever since someone on foreign ground first required geographical and topographical guidance, the need for descriptions of places, regions, routes and roads arose simultaneously. It was not until the nineteenth century that graphic aid in the form of maps found its way into the guidebook tradition, when technical improvements made it possible to mass-produce maps and plans. Thus, the “verbal” map, where the way is described in the form of lists, narratives, or as in the Einsiedeln itineraries as a layout, prevailed for a long time as the standard tool for finding the way.

Maps in the ancient world were rare, and fewer are preserved today. The huge marble plan of Rome, known as *Forma Urbis Romae* or “The Severan marble plan”, was produced in the early third century and mounted on a wall inside the *Templum Pacis* in Rome (now the outside back wall of the church SS. Cosma e Damiano). Measuring about 18 × 13 metres, and at a scale of 1:240, it was hardly meant as an aid for the individual, but rather an example of imperial propaganda. On the map, every street, portico and building are represented, even down to single pillars, walls and rooms. Names of buildings and streets are often written out, and despite its now fragmentary state (only around twelve percent of it is preserved), it has been of immense value in topographical research for reconstructing the urban structure of ancient Rome.<sup>68</sup> Another early example from the Roman world is the Peutinger map, preserved in a thirteenth-century copy on parchment. The original probably dated to the fourth–fifth

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<sup>68</sup> Harley/Woodward (1987) 226–230; Trimble (2008) 67–69.



centuries CE, and shows an illustration of the road network (*cursus publicus*) of the Roman Empire. The distance between the cities are given, making it both a map and an itinerary at the same time. Instead of the static structure of the marble *Forma Urbis*, this is a map where time and movement are implied in the structure.<sup>69</sup>

It is not until the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance that maps of the city of Rome are extant. The earliest, “Medieval” type, was based more on a symbolic, ideal expression of the city, with a circular city wall inside which iconic symbols of monuments were scattered in isolation or embedded into a pattern of “generic” buildings.<sup>70</sup> From the sixteenth century and on, the ideal map was gradually substituted with detailed street- and quarter-based maps, usually in grand format, and – as the *Forma Urbis* plan – perhaps meant more to be displayed as a status symbol than being a practical tool for orientation.<sup>71</sup>

Itineraries in written form can be regarded as a kind of narrative map, and a few are preserved from Roman antiquity: known as the “Antonine itinerary”, this itinerary is a late third-century list of hundreds of places arranged according to Roman provinces, ordered in groups with lists of places and distances between the starting and end points. It lists all possible journeys either along the *cursus publicus* or via sea passage.<sup>72</sup> A written itinerary lacks the visual grandeur of the maps, but has a much more explicitly functional aim; a written itinerary could also easily be copied and used for the specific needs of an individual.

As religious travel increased with the emerging Christian pilgrimages from the fourth century CE, the need for itineraries grew. The earliest extant Christian itineraries focus on pilgrimage to Jerusalem: the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (the Bordeaux itinerary), written by an anonymous author in 333 CE, is one such example. It is in part an itinerary to and from Jerusalem, and in part a brief description of the religious sites in Jerusalem. In the itinerary, each town or location on the way is listed and defined: for example, *mutatio* (place to change horses), *civitas* (city), *mansio* (rest stop), *vicus* (village) or *castellum* (castel). The distances between each place are also given. Occasionally, some extra information is put in between the lines of the list, such as: *inde incipiunt Alpes Cottiae* (thereafter begin the Cottian Alps), *inde ascendis Matronam* (thereafter you climb the Mont Genève), *inde incipit Italia* (thereafter begins Italy). Only when the itinerary reaches the Holy Land is more copious information inserted regarding the

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<sup>69</sup> The map is thought to have been based on a now lost marble map created by Marcus Agrippa in the Augustan era, but with late Antique additions such as Constantinople and Ravenna. Harley/Woodward (1987) 238–242; Albu (2008).

<sup>70</sup> Harley/Woodward (1987) 473–478; Maier (2015) 20–25.

<sup>71</sup> Some of the most known maps are the ones of Leonardo Bufalini from 1551, of Giovanni Battista Falda from 1676, and Giambattista Nolli from 1748 (regarded as the first truly accurate map of Rome). See, for example, Frutaz (1962) for visual documentation, and Maier (2015) for a thorough analytical study.

<sup>72</sup> Douglass (1996). See Harley/Woodward (1987) 236–238 for more examples of ancient itineraries.

monuments of the holy places, indicated by *inde ... ibi est ... item ad ... ascendis in* (thereafter ... there is ... also at ... you will climb up to). Some value assessments are given, such as those concerning a basilica built by Constantine *mirae pulchritudinis* (of wonderful beauty).<sup>73</sup> This type of itinerary had a specific goal, and naturally needed to include more practical information about distances due to the length of the journey. Information about the sights and monuments, on the other hand, is mainly left out, since this probably was supposed to be provided by personal guides, or – for Jerusalem and the Holy Land – was simply to be found in the Bible.

As seen above, itineraries need to have physical fixed points such as cities, roads or monuments, appearing in the form of lists, where the lists in themselves form a kind of itinerary. Several late Antique administrative city descriptions contain the same type of topographically ordered monument lists. The regionary catalogues of Rome from the fourth century CE – later entitled *Curiosum* and *Notitia* – contain lists of buildings in the fourteen regions of the city of Rome. Monuments are listed typically like this:

*Regio VII Via Lata continet: lacum Ganymedis, cohortem I vigilum, arcum novum, nympheum Iobis, aedicula capraria, campum Agrippae, templum Solis et castra (...)*

(The seventh region, Via Lata contains: fountain of Ganymede, first company of the city watch, new arch, fountain of Jupiter, *capraria* shrine, field of Agrippa, temple of the Sun and barracks ...).

For each region, the text then sums up the various types of buildings: *Insulae III DCCCXV, domos CXX, horrea XXV, balinea LXXV...* (3805 apartment blocks, 120 mansions, 25 public warehouses, 75 public baths ...). At the very end of the text, Rome itself is summed up: *Bibliothecae XXVIII, obolisci VI (...), pontes VIII (...), montes VII (...), campi VIII (...), fori XI (...), basilicae X (...), thermae XI (...), aquae XVIII (...), viae XXVIII* (Libraries: 28, obelisks: 6, bridges: 8, hills: 7, fields: 8, *fora*: 11, basilicas: 10, baths: 11, aqueducts: 19, roads: 29 ...).<sup>74</sup>

For Constantinople as well, a regionary catalogue is preserved, written perhaps around 450 CE and dedicated to Emperor Theodosius II. Entitled *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, the catalogue lists the monuments in the fourteen regions of the city in a way quite similar to the Roman catalogues. A summary at the end of the text informs readers about the total number of monuments in the city, but in contrast to the Roman texts, this summary has a title, *Collectio civitatis* (Collection of the city), and contains a short explaining text about the overall location of Constantinople.<sup>75</sup>

*Cognita urbe per partes, fas est etiam situm conclusae iam universitatis aperire, ut magnificentiae unicum decus non solum videatur opere et manu confectum, sed etiam (...) naturae felicitate*

<sup>73</sup> CCSL 175, 1–26; Douglass (1996).

<sup>74</sup> Jordan (1871) II, ii, 539–574.

<sup>75</sup> The text was edited by Otto Seeck in 1876; Seeck (1876) 228–243; an English translation, and an analysis of the text, was provided by Matthews (2012).

*munium*. (As the parts of the city has been known, it is right to also open up the site of the enclosed entirety, so that the unique decor of its grandness will seem not only made by work and hands, but also fortified by the luck of nature.)

The text concludes that it is the *providentia divina* (the divine providence) that has constructed it that way. There is, too, a dedicatory preface, where it is stated that the text has been composed for the *litteris dediti* (book-learned), who often let their souls wander around among foreign peoples and secret places in order to know and understand everything; the text also gives credit to the *virtus* and *cura* (virtue and care) of the emperor for all the wonders of the city. It ends with the assertion that no praise or love could ever be big enough for this city.<sup>76</sup> We do not know if the Roman catalogues originally included text passages such as these, or if the city catalogues gradually took a more literary shape over time – something that in any case would set the standard for the guidebook tradition.

Who used these regionary city catalogues, and how? Scholars have viewed them either as official documents or as commissioned private documents, meant to praise the monuments of the city, even if probably public documentation of the city were used as sources for their account.<sup>77</sup>

The regionary catalogues were probably used and reused frequently in topographical texts during the Middle Ages. For example, in the sixth-century chronicle *Ecclesiastical History* by Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, chapter 16 in book ten is labelled “concerning the ornaments and buildings that are in the city of Rome”. The reason for the insertion of this information is the narrative about the capture of the city by Totila in 546. Geoffrey Greatrex assumed that the text is based on a Greek version of the last part of the regionary catalogues, where the total sum of the monuments in Rome is given. In a short introduction, it is accounted that “the decorations of the city” are opulent and stemming from a “great and rich culture” full of “noble and stately amenities”. The large city and the magnitude of its decoration is of “wondrous appearance”. The list of monuments in the city then starts off with “24 churches”, a reference which is lacking in the regionary catalogues of Rome but present in the catalogue of Constantinople. At the end of the list, after giving the number of city gates as 37, the text accounts for the “entire circumference of the city” as forty miles, a feature again not included in the Roman catalogues, but in the Constantinople catalogue. The last sentence of the chapter reads: “God is faithful, for he will increase the later prosperity more than the first one, because of the great glory of the dominion of the Romans”, and should be interpreted in the light of the Gothic invasion of the city.<sup>78</sup>

Lists of regions and monuments are also found in two Roman manuscript calendars from late Antiquity. They are based upon the ancient Roman calendar,

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<sup>76</sup> Matthews (2012).

<sup>77</sup> Chastagnol (1996) 185; Behrwald (2006) 744–747; Greatrex (2011) 419, footnote 149.

<sup>78</sup> Greatrex (2011) 419–424.

*Fasti*, which was a system for describing each month of the year by columns where market days, *comitia* meetings and religious festivals are marked out, together with information about whether the day was apt for legal business (*dies fastus*) or not (*dies nefastus*).<sup>79</sup> The *Fasti* were usually carved in stone or painted on the wall, and thus had to be in a rather short format; the late Antique manuscript calendars were much more elaborate, and included a lot of extra information. The “Calendar of 354” is an exclusive, illuminated manuscript produced for a certain Valentinus (preserved in copies from Carolingian times and later). As a sort of encyclopaedia to both time and space, it contains images of the planets with a calendar of the hours, a list of the signs of the Zodiac, a complete calendar with reference to the birthdays of important persons, lists of consuls, calculations of the dates of Easter, lists of city prefects, popes, and commemoration dates of martyrs (*Depositio martyrum* and *Depositio episcoporum*, which only briefly accounts for the death date and burial place of martyrs and bishops, but nevertheless are important predecessors of the itinerary guides to the churches and martyr tombs of Rome), a description of the regions of the city, and chronicles of the Bible and of the city of Rome and its rulers.<sup>80</sup>

A century later, the author Polemius Silvius wrote a calendar for Eucherius, bishop of Lyon, describing both the Roman festivals and the Christian liturgical year. Several instructive lists are included: emperors, Roman provinces, animal names and voices, tables for calculating Easter and the phases of the moon, fables, Roman history, weights and measures, meters of poetry, a survey of philosophical sects, and a section called *Quae sint Romae* (What is to be found in Rome), reporting in brief format the monuments of Rome. Hills, fields, bridges, baths, fora, basilicas, aqueducts, obelisks, circuses, theatres, triumphal arches, gates, *et cetera*, are numbered and named, typologically sorted.<sup>81</sup>

These calendars were made for the specific use of influential and wealthy individuals, and with an educational aim. They constitute reference material for all sorts of practical and structural questions; yet, even though they contain topographical material, they lack the imperative to move that is implicit in itineraries.

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<sup>79</sup> See for example Salzman (1990) 11–13.

<sup>80</sup> Stern (1953) (with facsimiles of some of the manuscript pages); Salzman (1990).

<sup>81</sup> *MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi* 9, 511–551. The part *Quae sint Romae* is on pages 545–546. Not all parts of the text are extant.

## Early Medieval travel descriptions and itineraries of Jerusalem and Rome

In the early Middle Ages, we find several descriptions of the city of Jerusalem; curiously enough, some of their authors have never been to Jerusalem, but instead gathered information from textual sources or from reports of other travellers. Adamnanus (or Adomnán), bishop of Iona in the late seventh century, wrote down around 680 what he heard from the Frankish bishop Arculf, who had been to Jerusalem and later was shipwrecked at Iona, in *Adamnani De locis sanctis*.<sup>82</sup> The Venerable Bede wrote a work with the same title, *De locis sanctis*, around 700, where he refers to second-hand information taken from *veterum monumenta, simulque novorum carta magistrorum* (monuments of the old, and also documents of the new authors).<sup>83</sup>

Both works set off with a description of the location of Jerusalem and of the city walls. Adamnanus writes: *In cuius magno murorum ambitu idem Arculfus LXXXIII numeravit turres et portas bis ternas, quarum per circuitum ciuitatis ordo sic ponitur: Porta David ad occidentalem montis Sion partem...* (In whose great circumference of the walls the same Arculf counted 84 towers and six gates, the order of which, along the circuit of the city are located like this: the gate of David towards the west part of Mount Sion...).<sup>84</sup> Bede's version starts with a short description of the geographical location of the city close to Mount Sion, and then continues: *Cuius in magno murorum ambitu LXXXIII turres, portae uero sex uisuntur: Prima porta David ad occidentem montis Sion...* (In whose great circumference of the walls 84 towers, and six gates can be seen: first the gate of David towards the west [part] of Mount Sion...).<sup>85</sup> As can be seen, the two texts are very similar, but in Adamnanus's description, Arculf is said to have counted the towers and gates personally, while Bede reports the numbers as objective facts. Arculf returns several times throughout Adamnanus's narrative as a guarantor for the reported information, which is described as experienced and recalled by him.

Some early Medieval travel descriptions focusing on the journey of an individual are the *Peregrinatio Egeriae* (The pilgrimage of Egeria) and the *Itinerarium Placentini* (The itinerary of the Piacenza Pilgrim). *Peregrinatio Egeriae*, from the late fourth century, is a narrative in the first person about a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and to several other holy places, undertaken by a woman probably called Egeria. The beginning and end of the text is not preserved, and thus we have no certain

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<sup>82</sup> *CCSL* 175, 183–234; Adamnanus belonged, just as Aldhelm, to the circle of king Aldfrith of Northumbria; Lapidge (2007) 24.

<sup>83</sup> *CCSL* 175, 251–280.

<sup>84</sup> *Adamnani de locis sanctis* 2, *CCSL* 175, 185.

<sup>85</sup> *Beda Venerabilis de locis sanctis* 1, *CCSL* 175, 252–253.

information about the author; yet information in a seventh-century letter by the Spanish monk Valerius suggests that her name was Egeria or Aetheria, that she was of Spanish origin, and that she was probably a nun or an aristocratic woman closely familiar with monastic life.<sup>86</sup>

The text contains an itinerary with descriptions of the sights along the way to and from Jerusalem, and the letter is addressed to a group of women, called *dominae*, “ladies”, and *sorores*, “sisters” (which makes it probable that Egeria was a nun, and that the *sorores* were her fellow monastics, as Maribel Dietz has pointed out).<sup>87</sup> The journey is related through typical phrases such as *perexivimus iter nostrum*, “we continued our journey”, *euntes*, “walking”, *vidimus*, “we saw”. Although the verbs are in the plural, Egeria seems to have been travelling alone, but employed various guides along the way, such as monks and priests, to whom she could turn for information about the sights. She also seems to have used the Bible as her only guidebook on the journey as a tool for understanding the places she visited.<sup>88</sup> When Egeria reached Jerusalem, she stayed there for three years, but the account for her sightseeing experiences there is expressed in a short phrase: *visis etiam omnibus locis sanctis* (after having seen all the holy places).<sup>89</sup> Why were these places not described in greater detail, after having spent much effort on the vivid depiction of the journey? Perhaps the need to describe these places, which the addressees at home surely knew from Scripture, was less urgent than to compose a combination of itinerary and travel description. Instead, Egeria now recounts the character of the ceremonies at the holy places at length: *Ut autem sciret affectio vestra, quae operatio singulis diebus cotidie in locis sanctis habeatur, certas vos facere debui ...* (In order that your affection may know, which ceremony for each single day that is held at the holy places, I should

<sup>86</sup> CCL 175, 37–90; Wilkinson (1981); Dietz (2005) 44–54.

<sup>87</sup> *Peregrinatio Egeriae* III.8: *Illud autem vos volo scire, dominae venerabiles sorores...* “I want you to know this, reverend ladies, my sisters...” CCL 175, 41; Dietz (2005) 48.

<sup>88</sup> *Peregrinatio Egeriae* XVI.2–3: *Ac sic ergo et ibi gratias Deo agentes iuxta consuetudinem, perexivimus iter nostrum. Item euntes in eo itinere vidimus vallem de sinistro nobis ... Et ibi in ipsa valle vidimus monasterium cuiusdam, fratris nunc, id est monachi. Tunc ego, ut sum satis curiosa, requirere cepi, quae esset haec vallis ubi sanctus, monachus nunc, monasterium sibi fecisset...* CCL 175, 57. “And so, also here praising the Lord, according to custom, we continued our journey. Then, walking along that way we saw a valley to the left of us ... and there in that valley we saw the cell of a certain person, now a brother, that is a monk. Then, since I am curious enough, I started asking what kind of valley it was, where the holy man, now a monk, had made a cell for himself...” Dietz (2005) 49–50, 53.

<sup>89</sup> *Peregrinatio Egeriae* XVI.7–XVII.1: *...regressi sumus in Ierusalimam, iter facientes per singulas mansiones, per quas ieramus tres annos. Item in nomine Dei, transacto aliquanto tempore, cum iam tres anni pleni essent, a quo in Ierusalimam venisse, visis etiam omnibus locis sanctis, ad quos orationis gratia me tenderam, et ideo iam revertendi ad patriam animus esset.* CCL 175, 58. “...we returned into Jerusalem, making a journey through the single stations, among which we went for three years. Then, in the name of the Lord, after that some time had passed, when already three full years had gone, from when we came to Jerusalem, after having seen all the holy places, to which I had turned for the sake of prayer, and therefore it was my wish to return to my home country.”

make you certain of it ...).<sup>90</sup> The addressees needed to be informed about these ceremonies because they differed from the liturgy that they were familiar with, but out of a general interest, and with educational aims, and not because they would intend to actually participate in them.

Also in the *Itinerarium Placentini*, a work of the late sixth century (more precisely dated to 570 CE), the goal of the journey is Jerusalem, as well as several other places along the way. The text is written by an anonymous Italian author, now commonly referred to as the “Piacenza Pilgrim”. In contrast to *Egeria*, the Piacenza Pilgrim does not leave out the monuments in Jerusalem from his story, but gives detailed description about the monuments and their visitors. The very entrance into the city is also dramatically highlighted: *Osculantes proni in terram ingressi sumus in sanctam civitatem* (Bending down to the earth and kissing it, we entered into the holy city).<sup>91</sup>

The author apparently undertook the journey together with one or several unidentified travel companions, since he uses verbs in the plural – *venimus*, *descendimus*, *vidimus* (we came, we went down, we saw) – when describing the journey and the monuments seen along the way. Often, he gives information about the distances between various places. Information about water supplies and their quality is also frequent, which indicates that one of the aims of creating the text was that others would be able to use it for guidance.<sup>92</sup>

He also notes how he performs acts of veneration, such as writing his parents’ names on a block of stone at Cana, after having reclined on the very couch where the marriage at Cana was supposed to have taken place.<sup>93</sup>

We have seen that these early Medieval texts tend to be either “pure” itineraries / lists of places, or descriptions of journeys and/or topographies. But three works from the sixth and seventh centuries CE form a slightly more complex kind of text structure, in that they to some extent mix itineraries with geographical and topographical descriptions – an important feature of the guidebook tradition. In *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, by an anonymous author, an itinerary of a sort mingles with a topographical description. Distances between the various places are given, and the author structures the narrative

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<sup>90</sup> *Peregrinatio Egeriae* XXIV.1, CCSL 175, 67.

<sup>91</sup> CCSL 175, 129–153; Dietz (2005) 145–152. The entrance into Jerusalem is found in chapter 18, CCSL 175, 138.

<sup>92</sup> *Itinerarium Placentini* 10: *De Iordane in locum, ubi Moyses de corpore exivit, sunt milia octo, et exinde non multum longe ad Segor, in quibus multi sunt heremitae. Vidimus et monumentum Abisalon. 15: Exeuntes de civitate venientes contra Hierusolimam, non longe a civitate Hiericho est illa arbor, ubi ascendit Zachaeus videre Dominum...* CCSL 175, 134, 137. “From Jordan to that place where Moses went out of his body, it is eight miles, and from there it is not very long to Segor, where there are many hermits. We saw also the monument of Abisalon. ... Going out from the town, coming towards Jerusalem, not far from the town of Jericho, there is that tree, which Zacchaeus climbed to see the Lord.” Dietz (2005) 149–150.

<sup>93</sup> *Itinerarium Placentini* 4, *ubi ego indignus nomina parentum meorum scripsi*. CCSL 175, 130. “where I, unworthy, wrote the names of my parents”.

by using *ibi est* and *ubi est* (there is ... where is); for example, *In loco, ubi Dominus baptizatus est, ibi est una columna marmorea ...* (In the place, where the Lord was baptized, there is a marble column ...). The text starts, as the works of Adamnanus and Bede described above, with a description of the city walls.<sup>94</sup> The sixth-century *Breviarium de Hierosolyma*, also by an anonymous author, is a very short description of “how Jerusalem is constituted” (*quomodo Hierosolima constructa est*).<sup>95</sup> This text, too, uses *ubi* and *ibi* as structuring words, indicating the movement of the traveller by *inde intrans* (and then entering in), *inde/deinde vadis* (and then/thereafter you go).

The above-mentioned early Medieval itineraries and travel descriptions have the city of Jerusalem as their focus. The first text related to the early guidebook tradition regarding Rome is the *Notitia Ecclesiarum Urbis Romae*.<sup>96</sup> Dated to the first half of the seventh century, it describes a route around Rome outside the city walls and guides the reader to the locations of martyr tombs and churches of importance. Starting at via Flaminia in the north, the itinerary goes clockwise around the city, and ends with a visit to St. Peter’s. The itinerary focuses upon the major roads: via Flaminia, via Salaria, via Nomentana, *et cetera*, and only specifically mentions one city gate, porta Flaminia. The verbs used are consistently in the second person singular, and almost always in the future tense: *intrabis, uadis, uenies, peruenies, uiam demittis* (you will enter, you go, you will come, you will reach, you leave the road). *Ubi* and *ibi* (where, there) are used to indicate where various saints rest (*pausat, requiescit*). Hence, an itinerary is built into the text by the geographical ordering of the sites and the choice of verbs to describe the movement of the traveller: *Deinde uadis ad ... donec uenies ad ... postea eadem via peruenies ad ...* (Thereafter you go to ... until you will come to ... after that, along the same road, you will reach ...).<sup>97</sup>

A few value assessments occur: The basilica where the bodies of the saints John and Paul rest is called “beautiful” (*formosa*) as is the basilica of S. Agnes. The description of the visit to the basilica of St. Peter, which was added to the manuscript during the eighth century, introduces a different kind of narrative. Suddenly, the reader is guided by the monuments, the saints, and by the Saviour himself on the way to salvation: “In the portico of S. Andrea, the altar of S. Laurentius meets you on your left hand side ... when you leave, S. Martinus will receive you, and will take you to S. Petronella; there, the Saviour of the world will receive you, and assign you to S. Anastasia, and she will assign you to the most holy mother of the Lord, who assigns you to S. Petronella, so that she will guide you to her son ...”. During the visit in St. Peter’s, instructions about how to feel and how to behave are also included the text: the reader is told to shed tears of penance

<sup>94</sup> CCSL 175, 115–125. The quote is found on page 121.

<sup>95</sup> CCSL 175, 109–112.

<sup>96</sup> Valentini/Zucchetti (1942) 67–99; CCSL 175, 304–311; Bauer (1997) 217–218.

<sup>97</sup> *Notitia ecclesiarum* 4–5, CCSL 175, 305.



before proceeding, to “hurry” to the portico, to “joyfully” ascend (*post fusas poenitentiae lacrimas uadis ad locum ... pergendum est ad porticum ... gaudens ascende ...*).<sup>98</sup>

Two other Roman itineraries are preserved from the seventh century. Here, we again find the geographical ordering of the text based on a circular movement around the city wall, but the itineraries are composed in a more descriptive manner than the explicitly guiding rhetorical strategies of the *Notitia Ecclesiarum*, lacking verbs in the second person singular.

The first one, the so-called *De locis sanctis martyrum quae sunt foris ciuitatis Romae*, is dated to the first half of the seventh century. It starts at via Cornelia, and then, contrary to the *Notitia Ecclesiarum*, goes anti-clockwise around the city, listing the saints who “rest” (*iacent, dormiunt, requiescunt*) at each respective road. Even if the personal instructions for movement are lacking in the itinerary, the text nevertheless orders the sights and monuments through words such as *iuxta, ubi, ibi, non longe inde, haud procul* (next to, where, there, not long from, not far). At the very end of the text, a list of the churches inside Rome is found, which according to Valentini & Zucchetti is to be regarded as a separate entity that originally did not form part of the text on the extra-urban sanctuaries (*Istae uero ecclesiae intus Romae habentur*). The format is extremely abbreviated: *Basilica quae appellatur sancta Maria Antiqua. Basilica quae appellatur sancta Maria rotunda...* (The basilica that is called S. Maria Antiqua. The basilica that is called S. Maria Rotunda [Pantheon]). Yet, the list is most important as the first mention of churches inside the city walls included in an itinerary.<sup>99</sup>

The other itinerary, known as the “Malmesbury itinerary”, is dated to the second half of the same century. The only extant version of the text was transcribed by William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta regum Anglorum* in the first half of the twelfth century. Where the *Notitia Ecclesiarum* and *De locis sanctis martyrum* focused on the roads, this itinerary instead consists of a list over the city gates of Rome from porta sancti Petri (the itinerary also gives the alternative name *porta Cornelia*) and clockwise around the city wall, ending with porta Aurelia. For each gate, the principal road leading out from it is also mentioned, and the itinerary informs about which saints are buried along the road; for example, *Secunda porta Flamminea ... ibi in primo miliario foris sanctus Valentinus in sua ecclesia requiescit*

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<sup>98</sup> *Intrante in porticum sancti Andreae occurrit tibi in sinistra manu altare sancti Laurentii (...) egrediente uero accipiet sanctus te Martinus, et deducet ad sanctam Petronellam; ibi te primo accipiet Saluator mundi, adsignatque sanctae Anastasiae, et illa sanctissimae Genetrici Dei, quae te commendat sanctae Petronellae, ut te deducat ad filium suum ... Notitia Ecclesiarum 36–43, CCSL 175, 310–311.*

<sup>99</sup> The text is preserved in a ninth-century manuscript from Salzburg, now in the national library of Vienna. CCSL 175, 314–322; Valentini/Zucchetti (1942) 101–131; Bauer (1997) 218–219. The list of churches inside the walls is also published by Hülsen (1927) 3–4, as *Il catalogo Salisburgese*.

(The second gate, porta Flaminia ... there, at the first milestone outside the walls, S. Valentinus rests in his church).<sup>100</sup>

## The Einsiedeln manuscript and the forming of the guidebook tradition

In the light of the text examples above, let us now return to the Einsiedeln manuscript. Which literary traditions is the text a product of? And which structures, elements, selections and rhetorical strategies of the text were to form part of the developing guidebook tradition from the Middle Ages and onward?

First of all, the nature of the text, when compared with the examples above, appeared in a tradition that seems to have been established already in the seventh century: the forming of itineraries and the interest in inscriptions. Monuments listed regionally appeared already in late Antiquity in the regionary catalogues and calendars. Itineraries are found both in the shape of lists and in narrative form from late Antiquity and on. As rhetorical guiding tools, adverbs of place such as *ubi*, *ibi*, *iuxta* appear in most of these texts; the terms “left” and “right” to guide the reader appear in *Notitia Ecclesiarum*, but not consistently and thoroughly in the layout of the text, as they are in the Einsiedeln itineraries. The functionality of practical advice in combination with information is absent from most of the texts. In works such as *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* and *Notitia Ecclesiarum Urbis Romae* from the sixth and seventh centuries CE, we see a more elaborate narrative structure where itineraries, geographic information, and sometimes instructions addressed directly to the reader appear together. If we are to interpret the itineraries in the Einsiedeln manuscript as recommended day tours, that would be the first time that instructions about the chronological structure of the visit appear, although brief information about time measurements are found in long geographical itineraries such as the fourth-century *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, which gives indications of where to stay and where to change horses along the journey.

The “voice” of a text is most important for guiding texts, as it is connected with questions of authority, aesthetical and moral guidance, and functionality. Apart from the narrative description of Roman liturgy, that kind of voice is absent from the Einsiedeln manuscript. In travel descriptions – personal narratives of a specific journey, in the form of a novel, a letter, a geographical or ethnographical treatise, and so forth – this voice mostly speaks in the first person, as the “I” or “we” of the story (found in *Peregrinatio Egeriae* and the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*). In some

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<sup>100</sup> Valentini/Zucchetti (1942) 133–153; *CCSL* 175, 323–328; Bauer (1997) 219–220; Lapidge (2007) 56–57. Lapidge meant that this is the earliest preserved itinerary to Rome, thereby ignoring the *Notitia Ecclesiarum Urbis Romae* and the *De locis sanctis martyrum*; he also suggested that it was Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury in the late seventh century and known Rome traveller, who brought a copy of the itinerary from Rome to Malmesbury.

of the itineraries, the “I” or “we” found in the travel descriptions are instead substituted by an anonymous narrator voice which addresses the reader by using verbs in the second person singular (you find, you will see, you enter, and so on), as with *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* and *Notitia Ecclesiarum*.

This voice also enables subjective comments to appear in the text. In fact, where travel literature often focuses on the experience of the narrator, more functional guiding text instead concentrates their efforts on the experience of the reader/traveller. Value assessments occur, as we have seen, only in one instance in the Einsiedeln manuscript: the aesthetical judgement of the “very good horses” on the Quirinal hill. The *Notitia Ecclesiarum* describes some basilicas as *formosae* (beautiful), and also gives the reader explicit emotional instructions for the visit to St. Peter’s. The aspect of awe, wonders and miracles will later become more deeply rooted in the guidebook tradition.

An author or a narrator is the prerequisite for prefaces addressed to the reader. Already in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, the “literate and curious readers” are approached as a target group. The Einsiedeln manuscript, with its character of compilation rather than a coherent work, lacks preface, but in the guidebooks from the Renaissance and onward, prefaces are often the clue to the aims of the author and the identity of the readers.<sup>101</sup>

The use of hyperbole, as the assertion in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* that no praise or love could ever be big enough for the city, is still unexpressed in the Einsiedeln manuscript. Hyperbolic descriptions will enter the guidebook tradition to Rome already from the twelfth century, as we will see in the final part of this chapter.

The short description of Easter liturgy in the Einsiedeln manuscript is symptomatic of the high relevance that religion has always had, and to a large extent still has, regarding journeys to Rome. This is also true for the city of Jerusalem, and the description of the foreign ceremonies on the Holy Land in the *Peregrinatio Egeriae* stems from the same need for the traveller to understand the unfamiliar parts of his or her own religion – the traveller is, in that aspect, both insider and outsider.<sup>102</sup>

Thus, we can conclude that itineraries of various kinds had, in the period of the Einsiedeln manuscript, been produced for a very long time, yet the Einsiedeln manuscript is the first to divide monument-based itineraries into manageable units. Further, the solution of placing monuments either to the left or to the right of the routes is a brilliant, user-friendly invention, which, in a way, replaces a real map – something that was probably both unusual and expensive for the traveller and for the editor.

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**101** For prefaces as a clue to aims and identity, see for example Fogelberg Rota in this volume.

**102** For the author and/or traveller as insider/outsider, see Fogelberg Rota in this volume.

The collection of inscriptions in the Einsiedeln manuscript has no parallel in the earlier guiding texts and itineraries, but as we have seen, the practice of transcribing inscriptions and collecting them in *syllogae* had already been established in the seventh century. The Einsiedeln manuscript, however, is the first extant example where we can see a clear connection between a set of itineraries and a collection of inscriptions. The function and aim for transcribing the inscriptions is not entirely clear, but is most certainly a fruit of the learned literacy culture of the period, but also, the collecting and reading of inscriptions was intertwined in the geographical orientation and the movement through the city. When, during the early Renaissance, the study and collection of inscriptions was in full swing, inscriptions as a source of information were often quoted in guidebooks.<sup>103</sup> Thus, inscriptions served as “local guides” for the Latin-reading traveller, and such a function could have been valid already in the time of the Einsiedeln manuscript.

### **The Einsiedeln manuscript as the first functional and comprehensive guidebook to Rome**

As we have seen, early Medieval texts focusing on Jerusalem contain more practical information – itineraries, lists of monuments and places – than actual historical information about the places visited. Of course, the sights listed are all connected with the Bible and the life of Christ, stories that the traveller would already be acquainted with. The reasons for the travel and the significance of the sights are often not embedded in the text, but situated in the context. Also, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem is not so much about travelling to a worldly place, but instead structured as a journey to an imaginary place constructed by religious history.

In Rome, the situation gradually became another. Jerusalem reached its apex as a Christian city in the sixth century; in the seventh century, several events changed its religious identity, such as the Persian conquest in 614 and the Muslim conquest in 638.<sup>104</sup> The focus for pilgrims turned instead mainly to Rome. As Rome began to replace Jerusalem as a goal for Christian pilgrimage, ancient Rome and Christian Rome were at first separate worlds. The late Antique regionary catalogues do not mention any Christian monuments, and the early Medieval *Notitia Ecclesiarum* does not contain information regarding the ancient Roman monuments. But in the period when the Einsiedeln manuscript was put together, this was about to change. As shown by the combination of inscription studies, pilgrimage and historical sightseeing, the situation and needs of a traveller had now changed, because the image and

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<sup>103</sup> See *Introduction* in this volume.

<sup>104</sup> See, for example, Dietz (2005) 145.

symbolism of Rome had changed. A literary topos of the fallen Ancient Rome had developed, such as in the poems of Alcuin, about a city which, despite its ruined state, was greater than everything worldly. The remnants of the impressive monuments of the Roman empire turned the pilgrimage partly into sightseeing and education.

We may, thus, assume that the appearance of both Christian and Ancient Roman monuments in the *Einsiedeln* manuscript is due to something more than just a topographical aid – rather, it is an important indication of a change in the cultural and ideological context. The visitor was not only supposed to perform a pilgrimage to the sacred sites – he or she should also identify the ancient monuments on the way, and possibly learn about them and admire them. The ancient city had, by the eighth century, turned into a cultural heritage site.

As Franz Alto Bauer underlined, the *Einsiedeln* itineraries constitute the first comprehensive description of Rome inside the walls since the late Antique regionary catalogues.<sup>105</sup> The *Einsiedeln* manuscript is not only a unique document concerning the Medieval topography of Rome. Its composition, with practically ordered itineraries and a partially hidden aim of religious veneration as well as historical education; its collection of historical inscriptions as a key to the Latin-speaking culture of the Roman world; its comprehension of both the contemporary Christian and the ancient Roman contexts; and its explanation of the religious rites and ceremonies, both foreign and well-known, of its own present time, opens completely new doors for the guidebook tradition, which during the centuries to come was going to be increasingly consolidated.

### Part three: The Medieval aftermath

If the *Einsiedeln* manuscript marks the entry towards a new phase in the guidebook tradition, what happens during the centuries to come? In this third and conclusive part of the chapter, I will discuss two guidebooks from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, which was to become an immensely popular and widespread guide to Rome during the later Middle Ages, and *Narratio de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae*, a much less read and used text, but nevertheless one that introduced several important features of the guidebook tradition. I will argue that these two texts stand on the firm tradition of the late Antique regionary catalogues, all while establishing a totally new way of seeing, visiting and living Rome: as a symbol and an ideal. I will investigate how the two texts handle the visibility or invisibility of Ancient Rome, how they describe the structure of the ideal city, and

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<sup>105</sup> Bauer (1997) 226–227.

how they ask us to see what is not there anymore, or to understand the ideal reason behind a monument that is no longer understandable.

*Roma fuit.* Rome was (but is no more). This is the message of a poem by Hildebert de Lavardin from the beginning of the twelfth century. In another poem of his, Rome herself speaks: *Vix scio quae fuerim, vix Romae Roma recordor* (I hardly know who I was; hardly Rome remembers Rome). But she continues: *Major sum pauper divite, stante jacens* (I am greater as poor than when I was rich; greater lying down than standing).<sup>106</sup>

These few lines illustrate the whole complexity of the city of Rome and the idea of the city of post-Antique Rome during the Middle Ages, something which would continue as a political, religious and literary theme well into the Renaissance. The symbolical significance of Rome as a duality, a paradox, an illustration of the relationship between the worldly things and the eternal, now emerges fully fledged in prose and poetry. Poets of earlier centuries, like Alcuin during the Carolingian period, had already lamented the symbolism of the fall of Rome – but with the new ideological currents from the end of the eleventh century and onwards, a cultural-religious revolution found victory among the ruins, a victory of the church, which inherited the eternity of ancient Rome and all values connected with it.

The *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* (henceforth *Mirabilia*) was composed by an anonymous author, probably around 1140. The text became immensely popular, widespread, copied, revised and even printed. As Nine Miedema has shown in her exhaustive study of the text tradition, the *Mirabilia* is known in 145 Latin manuscripts, from the twelfth century and up to the fifteenth century, and in several manuscript versions translated into German, French, Dutch and Italian, and then reproduced in print from the sixteenth century and on.<sup>107</sup>

The dating of the text has been much discussed in previous research, but is now more or less securely set to the years preceding 1143. Benedictus, a canon of St. Peter's who wrote the *Ordo Benedicti* (describing the ceremonies of the pope and the curia throughout the church year, and the routes of seven liturgical processions to and from station churches), has been suggested as the author also of the *Mirabilia*, since the text is found in the *Liber Polypiticus*, dedicated by Benedictus to cardinal Guido di Città di Castello (later pope Celestinus II). Recently, however, most

<sup>106</sup> Hildebert de Lavardin, *Carmina* 36 and 38, Scott (2001).

<sup>107</sup> Most of the manuscripts are from the fifteenth century. The printed Latin versions number 67, and there are 54 German printed versions (often entitled *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*), 13 Dutch (some entitled “Figuren van die seven kercken van Romem”, some “Costelike scat der geesteliker rijckdoem...”), 112 Italian (most of them entitled “Le cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma”); and 29 French (often entitled “Les merveilles de la ville de Rome”). Miedema (1996) 22–23, 175, 204, 221, 223, 238; Miedema (2003) 9–10. The text has been edited and studied by several scholars; of the recent studies, see for example Accame Lanzillotta (1996).

scholars have agreed that the author cannot be identified with certainty. On the other hand, several twelfth-century manuscripts made it possible to reconstruct a possible “Urtext” for the *Mirabilia*. Some parts of the text may be based on older sources, but a text tradition for this is, according to Miedema, not possible to trace.<sup>108</sup>

The later text tradition of the *Mirabilia* is a bit confusing, since the text also has been traded as a part of the text known as the *Mirabilia Romae vel potius Historia et Descriptio Urbis Romae*, which in addition contained a historical description with the foundation of Rome, a list of Rome’s kings and emperors until Constantine, the *Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae* (a list of relics and indulgences in the churches of Rome) and the *Stationes ecclesiarum urbis Romae* (The station churches in Rome). This text appeared only in printed form, from 1475 and on, often translated, and sometimes illustrated with woodcuts.<sup>109</sup> Another version of the *Mirabilia* appeared already in the mid-twelfth century in the *Graphia aurea urbis Romae*, together with a historical description, and the *Libellus de caeremoniis aulae imperatoris* (a guide to the ceremonies at the emperor’s court).<sup>110</sup>

The *Mirabilia* is divided into 32 chapters, and three main parts. The first part deals with the monuments of Rome by listing the items systematically: first of all, the city walls (chapter 1),<sup>111</sup> and then gates, triumphal arches, hills, baths, palaces, theatres, and bridges (chapters 2–7, 9). The way of ordering monuments thematically is, as Dale Kinney also has pointed out, the way of presenting urban topography as found in the late Antique regionary catalogues (and with a reference to the *Einsiedeln* manuscript for chapter on the city wall). Kinney underlined that the regionary catalogues were known and read in the twelfth century, and that, as Miedema has shown, the *Curiosum* was copied in the same twelfth-century manuscript where one

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**108** The pre-1143-dating of the Urtext is suggested by the fact that the ancient sarcophagus in which pope Innocentius II was buried in 1143 is mentioned in the *Mirabilia* as still in its older location at the Lateran (*quod nunc est Lateranis ante folloniam*), while younger versions of the text have an addition about the tomb (*sepulchrum papae Innocentii*). Miedema (1996) 3–11; Kinney (2007) 236–237; “Urtext” edited in Valentini/Zucchetti (1946), 3–65.

**109** *Indulgentiae* and *Stationes* also have a text tradition of their own. The oldest *Indulgentiae* manuscripts date to the twelfth century. Initially, they contained around 80 churches, later around 300. It also mentions the seven most important pilgrim churches: S. Giovanni in Laterano, St. Peter’s, S. Paolo fuori le mura, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, S. Croce in Gerusalemme, and S. Sebastiano. The oldest manuscripts with the *Stationes* are from the eighth century, but most variants are from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The station churches are ordered either after the months of the year, or after the liturgical year. Miedema (1996) 9–15, 38.

**110** The *Graphia* is only preserved in a few manuscripts. It was edited by Valentini/Zucchetti (1946), 77–110. Nichols’ *The marvels of Rome* is a mixture of texts from *Mirabilia* and *Graphia*. Miedema (1996) 256–257.

**111** For chapter numbers, I follow Accame Lanzillotta (1996).

of the earliest copies of the *Mirabilia* was included. A few of the chapters, however, have no parallels in the regionary catalogues, since they refer to the places connected with saints, and the main cemeteries, including the catacombs (chapter 8, *loca quae inveniuntur in passionibus Sanctorum*; chapter 10, *cimiteria*); thus, we find a sort of hybrid between the regionary catalogues and the places listed in the early Medieval itineraries.<sup>112</sup>

In the second part of the text, several anecdotes about ancient Rome and its monuments are presented: Augustus's vision of Virgin Mary on the Capitoline hill (chapter 11) as the explanation of why the church on the Capitoline hill is called S. Maria in Aracoeli (*Haec visio fuit in camera Octaviani imperatoris, ubi nunc est ecclesia sanctae Mariae in Capitolio*). Chapter 12 explains why the marble horses (*caballi marmorei*) on the Quirinal hill were made and what they represent (in an *interpretatio Christiana*, the horses are the rulers of this world, a king will come to rule them, and the naked men are representing the truth). Chapter 13 lists various kinds of "judges" (*iudices*), such as *primicerius* and *secundicerius*. Chapter 14 is a short description of the measures of the *columnna Antonini*, *columnna Traiani* and *Coliseum*. Chapter 15 resumes the historical anecdotes with a narrative about why the bronze horse "which is called Constantine's" at the Lateran was made (*Lateranis est quidam caballus aereus qui dicitur Constantini*).<sup>113</sup> The *Mirabilia* explains that though the statue is thought to depict Constantine, the "truth" is that it represents a Roman hero, who once saved the Romans from a foreign king. Chapter 16 describes why the Pantheon was built by Agrippa and later turned into a church by pope Bonifatius IV. Here, a widespread myth is being reported about the Capitoline hill: on that hill, there were a multitude of statues, each representing a reign on the earth, and each having a silver bell around its neck. Each time a rebellion occurred anywhere, the bell of the respective statue would ring. Found in the *Septem Miraculis Mundi*, a work of the ninth century and previously attributed to the Venerable Bede, this myth was going to be referred to also by Master Gregory in *Narratio de Mirabilibus Romae*.<sup>114</sup> Chapter 17 is a story about the passions of the martyrs Abdon and Sennes, Sixtus, and Laurentius; in chapter 18 the theme is again ancient Rome: the war between Octavian, Anthony and Cleopatra, and why Octavian came to be called Augustus. The text then goes on to tell about how Eudoxia, mother of Theodosius, brought the chains of St. Peter to Rome from Jerusalem, and deposited them in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli. She then persuaded the pope and the Roman people to substitute the still celebrated victory

<sup>112</sup> Miedema (1996) 31, L23; Kinney (2007) 236–237.

<sup>113</sup> The equestrian statue in gilded bronze of Marcus Aurelius, situated since the sixteenth century on piazza del Campidoglio, was, during the Middle Ages, believed to represent Constantine, and was located in front of the pope's palace at the Lateran together with other ancient bronze objects.

<sup>114</sup> *De septem miraculis mundi*, PL 90, col. 0961C–0962D.



of Augustus over Anthony with a commemoration of St. Peter, arguing: *Et sicut ille liberavit nos ab Egiptiaca servitute, ita iste imperator liberet nos a servitute demonum* (And in the same way as he liberated us from the Egyptian servitude, so will this emperor free us from the servitude to demons.)

In historical-anecdotal form, the text thus explains the constructed stories behind the most popular of the ancient Roman monuments in the Middle Ages (many of which also appear in the Einsiedeln itineraries, where the horse statues on the Quirinal are named *cavalli marmorei* just as in the *Mirabilia*). The text thus balances the monuments and myths of Antiquity with the new Christian heritage, and points to the genesis of the Christian church in Rome as firmly rooted in Antiquity and set in the centre of the ancient world.

The third part of the text instead forms a sort of itinerary through the city, region for region. It begins with the Vatican (chapter 19–20), describing monuments in the vicinity, like the Vatican obelisk, for instance, where the ashes of Julius Caesar were believed to be placed in the bronze globe at the top. The *Mirabilia* even reports an inscription said to be written on the globe: *Caesar tantus eras, quantus et orbis; sed nunc in modico clauderis antro* (Caesar, you were so great as the whole world; but now you are enclosed into a small cave). Then, the route goes on to the Castel S. Angelo (chapter 21), and Campus Martius (chapter 22), where, for example, the mausoleum of Augustus and the Pantheon are mentioned. Near the Pantheon, the *Mirabilia* asserts, was once the temple of Bellona, with the following inscription: *Roma vetusta fui, sed nunc nova Roma vocabor, eruta ruderibus culmen ad alta fero*. (I was the old Rome, but now I am called the new Rome, and dug out from the ruins I aim high into the sky). Next follows the Capitol (chapter 23), the Fora (chapter 24), the Palatine, the Colosseum, and via Appia (chapter 25), Circus Maximus (called *Circus Prisci Tarquinius*) (chapter 26), the Celian hill (chapter 27), the Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal hills (chapter 28), the Aventine hill (chapter 29), Forum Boarium and Forum Holitorium (chapter 30), and Trastevere (chapter 31).

In these descriptions, the identification of the ancient monuments is often presented by naming the Christian church that is now located there. The use of *ubi – ibi* (where – there), as found already in early Medieval itineraries such as the Einsiedeln manuscript, is frequent, but here for the first time with a change of tense: where the church is (*est*), was (*fuit*) once the temple. Ancient Rome is no more, and has been replaced by the new urban context of Christian churches. Yet, it is still there both as a myth and as a physical fact. Old and new Rome exist at the same time, and one cannot be separated from the other.

Chapter 32 concludes with a statement of the author:

Haec et alia multa templa et palatia imperatorum, consulum, senatorum, praefectorumque tempore paganorum in hac Romana urbe fuere, sicut in priscis annalibus legimus et oculis nostris vidimus et ab antiquis audivimus. Quantae etiam essent pulchritudinis auri et argenti, aeris et eboris pretiosorumque lapidum, scriptis ad posterum memoriam, quanto melius potuimus, reducere curavimus.

“These and many other temples of emperors, consuls, senators, and prefects, were in Rome in the time of the pagans, as we have read in old annals and seen with our eyes and heard from the ancients. But how beautiful they were, of gold, silver, bronze and ivory and precious stones, we tried to bring back, as best as we could, in the text written for future memory.”

Nine Miedema meant that the reference to sight in *oculis nostris vidimus* should not be interpreted as an authoritative claim by the author, but instead a reference to what still could be viewed in the city in the twelfth century. I would rather argue that since phrases of the kind occur in documentary sources from the twelfth century, they should thus be seen as belonging to the authoritative discourse of the author.<sup>115</sup>

Miedema also discussed the functions of the *Mirabilia* as a text. She meant that the *Mirabilia* should not be regarded as a guidebook for pilgrims to Rome.<sup>116</sup> Pilgrims at the time were, according to Miedema, interested mainly in churches and indulgences, something that is not listed in the *Mirabilia*, but instead in the *Mirabilia Romae vel potius Historia et Descriptio Urbis Romae* as shown above – this work, Miedema asserted, was to be regarded as a true guidebook. The *Mirabilia* would instead form part of the tradition of city descriptions and *laudes urbium*. Referring to the definition of a guidebook given by Esmond S. de Beer, she asserted that the *Mirabilia* perhaps was to be viewed as an early forerunner to the guidebook.<sup>117</sup>

As for Miedema’s view on indulgence lists as expected by a pilgrim at this time, the mention of indulgences in consecrative inscriptions from Rome in the twelfth century appears only towards the end of the century (with one exception from 1123, the first occurrence is in 1179).<sup>118</sup> As Miedema has shown, the manuscript tradition of *Indulgentiae* does not go as far back as, for example, the description of station churches, and thus, we may assume that the practice of

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**115** Miedema (1996) 452. A consecrative inscription from the church of S. Eustachio in Rome contains the words: *Ego Celestinus, catholice ecclesie episcopus ... corpora sanctorum et oculis vidi et manibus tractavi et recondidi* (I, pope Celestine, saw the relics of the saints with my own eyes and touched them with my own hands and deposited them...) Holst Blennow (2011) 129–132. Ferdinand Gregorovius in his *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* reports a document from the register of Pope Paschal II, saying *Haec sicut passi sumus, et oculis nostris vidimus, et auribus nostris audivimus, mera veritate conscripsimus* (Just as we experienced this, and saw it with our own eyes, and heard it with our own ears, so did we write it down in the whole truth). Gregorovius (2010) 354.

**116** “Auszuschließen ist auf jeden Fall die Vorstellung, daß die eigentlichen ‘Mirabilia’ als Führer für die Bedürfnisse der Rompilger geschrieben worden seien.” Miedema (1996) 442.

**117** Miedema (1996) 16, 437–443. de Beer’s definition of guidebooks is that they are “impersonal, systematic, and designed for a single overriding purpose. They provide short inventories of all the places and monuments likely to be of interest to their users; these inventories are arranged topographically by lines of approach. ... Further, they give much practical information about transport and communications, accommodation, costs, and so on. They are portable and must therefore be concise.” De Beer (1952) 36.

**118** Holst Blennow (2011) 268–273.

noting indulgences for general use was only just beginning at the time when the *Mirabilia* was written.

Miedema suggested further that the intention of the *Mirabilia* was not to describe a physical reality, and that a connection with reality was something therefore not altogether expected from the text – Medieval city descriptions and maps concerned an image of the world, not a representation of it.<sup>119</sup> The political aim that often has been supposed for the *Mirabilia*, in connection with the *Renovatio* movement and the new instalment of the senate in 1143/44, was also rejected by Miedema, who instead wanted to see a learned aim with the text.<sup>120</sup>

Regarding facts and fiction in the *Mirabilia*, Dale Kinney held a different view. As mentioned earlier, she showed, with reference to the work of Rodolfo Lanciani, that when comparing the *Ordo Romanus* of Benedictus Canonicus with the itinerary XI in the Einsiedeln manuscript, the two routes could be reconstructed almost identically, and further, that the monuments along the way are embedded also in the third part of the *Mirabilia*, in chapter 30. This, Kinney asserted, evidently shows that both the Einsiedeln itineraries and the routes in the *Mirabilia* are functional, and that elements in the *Mirabilia* that may seem fictive to us can be due to other circumstances, such as false inferences, loose terminology and sometimes a confusion of sources. Louis I. Hamilton further showed the importance of reading the *Ordo Romanus* and the *Mirabilia* together, and suggested that papal liturgical processions are important to consider as embedded in the topographical structure of the *Mirabilia*.<sup>121</sup>

Thus, we can see that even if the *Mirabilia* at a first glance could seem as if it were a product of a learned and sometimes anecdotally based topography, it actually, in its third part, structures a movement through the city that is firmly rooted in the routes already in use in the eighth century, and was even more established in the twelfth century. But as Miedema has pointed out, the *Mirabilia* is also at its core an antiquarian text – it tells about what was, rather than what is. This aim automatically gives a perspective on the very act of viewing. To stand in Rome and see what we do not see – as a tourist at the Forum does today, for example – is already in the twelfth century a guidebook practice.

*Narratio De Mirabilibus Urbis Romae* (henceforth *Narratio*) is preserved in one single twelfth-century manuscript in St. Catharine's College in Cambridge. The text was discovered in 1917 by M. R. James, who provided the first edition of it. The work is written by a certain *Magister Gregorius* (Master Gregory), whose

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**119** “Die mittelalterliche Städtelob spiegelt nicht die Realität, sondern stilisiert und abstrahiert diese aufgrund literarischer Vorlagen.” Miedema (1996) 444–452.

**120** Miedema (1996) 3–11.

**121** Lanciani (1891) 519–552; Kinney (2007) 235–252; Hamilton (2011). Wim Verbaal recently argued in a paper, presented at the concluding conference of the “Topos and Topography” project, that papal processions and liturgy lie at the core of the *Mirabilia*. The paper is forthcoming in a volume of the series *Projects and Seminars* (the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome), 2019.

identity is not known, but scholars have agreed that he probably came from England. Gregory visited Rome in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, and this visit furnished the theme for his text. Since a fourteenth-century history work quotes the *Narratio*, we know that the text was to some extent known and used in the Middle Ages.<sup>122</sup>

The text of the *Narratio* starts off in a quite different way compared to the *Mirabilia*. Instead of monument lists in the late Antique style, Gregory begins with a prologue about the genesis of his work. Many of his friends and colleagues, and in particular Master Martin and Lord Thomas had asked him to write down what he had learned in Rome “worth greater admiration”.<sup>123</sup> With a few humble excuses for his low style and little learning, he says, he then put his hesitating hand to the work. As seen in these literary *topoi* about the humbleness of the author and the greatness of the subject, as well as a sort of dedication to Martin and Thomas, this is clearly a work with literary ambitions.<sup>124</sup>

After an *incipit* stating that the wonders of Rome may be a work of magic as well as of human labour (*Incipit narratio de mirabilibus urbis Romae quae vel arte magica vel humano labore sunt condita*), Gregory continues in the literary style, assuring that no one could count the number of towers, buildings and palaces in Rome, which he strongly recommends to behold from a view. When he saw Rome for the first time from afar, struck by the beauty of the sight, he recalled a quotation from Lucan’s *Pharsalia* (III, 90) about how Caesar beheld the walls of Rome when returning from Gaul. After thus having shown his erudition by quoting an ancient author, he introduces the *topos* on the eternity of Rome: *Nam licet tota Roma ruat, nil tamen integrum sibi potest aequiperari* (Because even if all Rome falls into ruin, still nothing that is intact can ever be compared to it). Then, he quotes the *De Roma*-poem of Hildebert de Lavardin: *Par tibi, Roma, nihil, cum sis prope tota ruina, fracta docere potes integra quanta fores*.<sup>125</sup> Gregory comments that this illustrates how all worldly things are close to destruction, especially when Rome, the head (*caput*) of all worldly things, every day withers and fades.<sup>126</sup>

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**122** James (1917); Rushforth (1919) (with a slightly revised version of James’s edition). The text has also been edited by Valentini/Zucchetti (1946) 137–167, and by Huygens (1970), and was translated into English by John Osborne (1987). Cristina Nardella published an edition with a commentary and a translation into Italian (2007).

**123** *Multo sociorum meorum rogatu et praecipue magistri Martini et domini Thomae et aliorum plurium delictissimorum meorum cogor quae apud Romam maiori admiratione digna didici, scripto assignare.*

**124** *Narratio* I, Prologus; Huygens (1970) 11. For the humility-*topos*, see, for example, early Medieval works such as the *Historia Francorum* (History of the Franks) by Gregory of Tours (539–594), where in the preface, Gregory explains that he humbly undertook the writing of a history work because there were no learned men left to do it: “Hearing continually these [complaints] and others like them I [have undertaken] to commemorate the past, in order that it may come to the knowledge of the future, although with a rude speech...” *Ista etenim atque his similia jugiter intuens dici, pro commemoratione praeteritorum, ut notitiam attingerent venientium, etsi inculto affatu ...* Krusch/Levison (1951) 1.

**125** *De Roma* 36, Scott (2001).

**126** *Narratio* I, 1; Huygens (1970) 11–12.

The next chapter (2) concerns the gates in the walls of Rome, but then, Gregory quickly turns to describing the bronze statues preserved in Rome (chapter 3–7). One of them is the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, and just as in the *Mirabilia*, Gregory performs a critical study of its provenance: the pilgrims say that it depicts Theoderic, the Roman people that it is Constantine, and the cardinals and clerics of Rome that it is Marcus, or Quintus Quirinus. Gregory then describes the statue at length: its pose, its details, its material. Then, he concludes the statue’s provenance in the same way as in the *Mirabilia*: the statue represents a Roman warrior, named Marcus, who once fought a foreign king. Clearly, the equestrian statue must have been one of the principal sights for a tourist in Medieval Rome, given the lengthy descriptions of it in both texts. Gregory also describes the “Colossus”, the statue once at the Colosseum, which some think was an image of the sun, others an image of Rome. This monument – which in fact was a colossal statue of Nero – had vanished long before Gregory’s time, yet he finds it important to include a description of it. It was remarkable above all in its size, something which Gregory has collected from ancient sources. Pope Gregory the Great destroyed the statue, but the head is still kept outside the Lateran (but here, Gregory misinterpreted the colossal head of Constantine, now in the Capitoline Museums, as the head of the Colossus). It is both horrifying in size and wonderful as a work of art, Gregory affirms. Chapter 8 tells the story of the monument *Salvatio Civium*, consisting of a multitude of statues that represented all the people subjugated by the Romans, as referred to also by the *Mirabilia*. This story was listed in the ninth-century text *De septem miraculis mundi* (henceforth *Septem miraculis*), which names the monument and places it on the Capitoline hill. While the *Mirabilia* reported that the statues were located on the Capitoline hill, but did not refer to the name *Salvatio Civium*, Gregory mentions the name of the monument, but curiously does not give any location for it. Further information from *Septem miraculis* occurs throughout Gregory’s text, also concerning monuments not located in Rome, for example in chapter 9, which tells about a statue of Bellerophon in Smyrna. It is unclear why Gregory has included this and other obviously non-Roman monuments in his text; Rushforth suggested that Gregory could have used already contaminated sources.<sup>127</sup> Chapter 10 concerns the sulphurous baths of Bianeus Apollo, where Gregory washed his hands, paid the entrance fee, but refused to take a bath because of the sulphur smell. Gregory uses the phrase *ipse vidi* (I myself saw) as a way of giving authority to his information.<sup>128</sup> Chapter 11 again draws information from *Septem miraculis*, about the theatre in Herakleia.<sup>129</sup>

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**127** *Narratio* I, 2; Huygens (1970) 12; *Narratio* I, 3–9; Huygens (1970) 13–19; Rushforth (1919) 43–44. *De septem miraculis mundi*, PL 90, col. 0961C–0962D.

**128** *Narratio* I, 10; Huygens (1970) 19. The existence of such a bath in Rome is, however, unknown, and Rushforth suggested that Gregory took some of the information from the description of the hot spring of Apollonius Tyaneus mentioned in the *Septem miraculis*. Rushforth (1919) 33–34.

**129** *Narratio* I, 11; Huygens (1970) 20.

In chapter 12, another important eye-witness account is given. Gregory speaks about ancient marble statues, almost all destroyed by Gregory the Great. One special statue, extremely beautiful, of Venus, is singled out in the description. It is made of marble from Paros, and feels more living than like a statue. It seems to Gregory as if it is blushing, as if blood ran through its veins. Of some magic persuasion, Gregory says, he felt compelled to visit the statue three times, even though it was far from his *hospitium*. He also briefly mentions the *equi marmorei* (marble horses) on the Quirinal hill, of “admirable size” (*mirandae magnitudinis*), and vaguely locates them by indicating that they are “not long” from the statue of Venus (*non longe inde*). Chapter 13 concerns two marble statues nearby (*iuxta hos*) (probably the river gods now at the piazza di Campidoglio). Thus, even if Gregory does not give the exact location of any of these statues, he still includes a sense of movement in locating them all in the vicinity of each other.<sup>130</sup>

Next come descriptions of some “palaces”, beginning with the *palatium Cornutorum*, wide and high, located *prope has* (near the previous statues). The *palatium Diocletiani* (in fact, the baths of Diocletian), cannot be left unmentioned, says Gregory, because it is so large – he could not see all of it in a whole day, and is not even capable of describing its enormous size and most skilled and admirable construction. The cardinals have told him the facts about this place, and about the immensely high columns, so high that one could not throw a stone up to their capitals. The temple of Pallas was once a remarkable work, but Gregory informs that it has been overthrown by Christians. A part of it, however, is now the *horrea* (granaries) of the cardinals, and there is a lot of fragmentary sculptures, and an image of Pallas still standing. Here, as also indicated previously concerning the equestrian statue, the cardinals appear as a group that has provided Gregory with information. In that case, the cardinals’ version was chosen by Gregory over the views of pilgrims and people, so it is clear that he deemed the cardinals trustworthy, and it also indicates that Gregory to some extent was guided by cardinals at his visit. Gregory describes the *palatium divi Augusti*, which is almost entirely in ruins, why “few words are enough” to describe it (*pauca dixisse sufficiat*). Gregory then, with a rhetorical figure, renounces to inform about the magnitude and decoration of *domus Aquileia*, *domus Frontoniana* and other palaces – because what is the use of describing them, when no one will be able to see all the things in Rome anyway?<sup>131</sup>

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**130** *Narratio* I, 12; Huygens (1970) 20–21. Rushforth suggested that the Venus statue was the one known as the Capitoline Venus (now in the Capitoline museums), which was discovered near the church of S. Vitale in the seventeenth century, which is fairly close to the location of the marble horses on the Quirinal hill. Rushforth (1919) 25. The river god statues (which Gregory interprets as Solomon and Bacchus), derive from the Baths of Constantine on the Quirinal, where the *Mirabilia* also records them. Rushforth (1919) 26.

**131** *Narratio* I, 14–20; Huygens (1970) 21–23. The temple of Pallas was probably at the Forum of Nerva; the palace of Augustus probably the Flavian reconstruction of the *Domus Augustana* on the Palatine hill. Rushforth (1919) 30; 32.

The Pantheon is described very briefly, because it was the temple to all gods and even demons, which in Gregory's view makes it less appropriate to speak about. He is, though, impressed by its portico, and says that he himself measured its width to 266 feet.<sup>132</sup> He mentions several triumphal arches as well as triumphal columns. His role as an eye-witness in awe of the grandest monuments occurs again when he states that the *columnna triumphali Fabricii* could be the highest object in Rome altogether (*nil altius habet Roma*). Here, he also adds an interesting comment: There are four more columns of this type, but he does not know their origin. When he returns from his pilgrimage, he will be able to further investigate facts that he yet does not know and then add them to his work.<sup>133</sup>

In a couple of chapters, he discusses "pyramids", as he calls both the pyramid of Cestius as well as the obelisks. Another interpolation from *Septem miraculis* is found in chapter 30 on the lighthouse of Alexandria. In the last chapters, Gregory gives some more rhetorical refusals to describe monuments: the Colosseum, for example, because who can describe its magnificence? (*Quis enim artificiosam compositionem eius magnitudinem sermone exequi poterit?*) Finally, he mentions the bronze statue of the she-wolf – at that time outside the Lateran palace (*hiemale palatium domini pape*), and an inscription in bronze which he cannot read (*plura legi sed pauca intellexi*) and the text, rather abruptly, ends.<sup>134</sup>

To compare the *Narratio* with the *Mirabilia* is an obvious necessity, and has also been done by several scholars. The question of whether Gregory had read the *Mirabilia* has no certain answer. There are parallels between the two works: the description of the gates, palaces, triumphal arches and obelisks, and the anecdotes about the equestrian statue, but there are no instances of parallels in the wording of these passages.<sup>135</sup>

An important difference is the author's voice, which is clearly expressed in the *Narratio*, but the only trace in the *Mirabilia* is found in the last chapter, where it is stated that "we" read these facts in the works of the ancient authors, saw them with our own eyes, and heard them *ab antiquis*. The educational and documentary aim expressed in the same chapter, to record historical facts and monuments *ad posterum memoriam*, is similar to Gregory's, although he seems to have written more for his circle of friends than for the whole of posterity.

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**132** *Narratio* I, 21; Huygens (1970) 23–24.

**133** *at cum favente Deo in \*\*\* ex hac peregrinatione rediero, denuo ... maiori mora et exercitatori indagacione perscrutabor et perscrutata gratanter amicis partibor.* *Narratio* I, 22–26; Huygens (1970) 24–27.

**134** *Narratio* 27–33; Huygens (1970) 27–31; Rushforth (1919) 28. The she-wolf, attested at the Lateran palace from about this time, and traditionally believed to be of an ancient date, was recently shown to be manufactured in the eleventh or twelfth century after chemical analysis. [http://roma.corriere.it/roma/notizie/cronaca/12\\_giugno\\_22/lupa-capitolina-diventata-medievale-201720831962.shtml](http://roma.corriere.it/roma/notizie/cronaca/12_giugno_22/lupa-capitolina-diventata-medievale-201720831962.shtml)

**135** Miedema (1996) 257–258; Rushforth (1919) 14–15.

Although topographical order is absent from the *Narratio* in contrast to the partly topographically ordered *Mirabilia*, there are nevertheless traces of movement also in Gregory's narrative, as I have shown above. But since it would be impossible for a visitor to Rome to find the way to the monuments through Gregory's description, the different functions and target groups of both texts, as well as their reception history – as Cristina Nardella also has pointed out – make it probable that the *Mirabilia* really was used as a guidebook, while Gregory's text could be categorized as a learned travel description, with the aim of informing his friends at home about what he saw in Rome.<sup>136</sup>

Although both works are concerned with the beauty of the monuments, and the sense of awe and wonder that this beauty provokes, Gregory is the one to introduce the personal experience in front of the ancient monuments, and the critical scrutiny of the historical objects. Deeply fascinated by art, he is the first Romantic traveller to Rome, centuries before the Romantic era. Gregory also appears to be quite learned, and he frequently quotes ancient authors such as Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Isidore and Lucan, which made Gordon Rushforth suggest that Gregory may have come from a university rather than from a monastic milieu. Maurizio Campanelli held a different view, in calling Gregory's cultural assumptions, learning, and love for ancient art "entirely Medieval". Campanelli saw nothing in Gregory's narrative that could legitimize opinions about him being a forerunner to Renaissance or humanistic culture, yet underlined the value of the insight in the author's feelings and insights as transmitted by the text. Irrespective of how one chooses to interpret these aspects of Gregory's narrative, the work still stands out as establishing value assessments based on a personalized, emotionally laden argument, something that would form a characteristic trait in guidebooks to come up to the present day.<sup>137</sup>

Which Rome is depicted in the two works? The *Mirabilia* describes the ancient city that once was through the raster of its churches, and carefully lists places connected with saints. Yet, as Maurizio Campanelli has also argued, the churches seem to serve only as a map, to make visible the ancient monuments that are no longer visible.<sup>138</sup> They are there to reconstruct ancient Rome and make it understandable. In Gregory's text, on the other hand, churches are almost absent. The only ones mentioned are S. Maria Rotunda (Pantheon) and the Lateran, and only as a backdrop to the ancient history. Cardinals appear as trustworthy sources, but pope Gregory I is blamed for having destroyed ancient statues. Gregory's Rome is the Ancient Rome, which comes to life in his experience of it.

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<sup>136</sup> Nardella (2007) 57–61.

<sup>137</sup> Rushforth (1919) 18; Campanelli (2011) 40–41.

<sup>138</sup> Campanelli (2011) 36.



## Conclusion

In the *Mirabilia* and in the *Narratio*, we find several traces of topographical descriptions and guiding texts from the previous centuries. *Mirabilia* includes thematically ordered lists of monuments such as the ones found in the late Antique regionary catalogues of Rome, and also slightly disguised itineraries that have parallels in the *Einsiedeln* manuscript as well as in the twelfth-century *Ordo Benedicti*.

New elements that have not occurred to the same extent in previous guiding texts are the lengthy historical anecdotes, which are included in both works. But while Master Gregory is mostly driven by a wish to find the historical “truth”, the *Mirabilia* instead uses the anecdotes to explain ancient history through a Christian lens. The almost mythical figures of Antiquity – Caesar, Augustus, Agrippa – are depicted as acting in a world which is already predestined to become Christian.

Instructions about how to feel in front of the ancient monuments, and value assessments of ancient art, are pronounced explicitly for the first time in the *Narratio*; the first step in a long tradition of Rome as the capital of art, and the aesthetic experience as one of the main aims with a journey to Rome. Gregory experiences the city with his senses, and except for the anecdotes, he does not try to reconstruct anything which is not there (apart from the mention of lost statues), because the remains are striking enough as they are. Thus, to him, the idea of Rome is as valid as Rome itself. Gregory anticipates the practice of the Renaissance, the human measure of the ideal Rome: he journeys on foot three times to see the statue of Venus; he measures the width of the Pantheon. He puts his hands in the sulphur water of the baths at the porta Asinaria. He sees Rome and feels Rome.

The perception of the whole of Rome as a symbolic place now replaces Rome as only the background to the many single symbolic places of saints’ tombs or places for martyrdom, found in the earlier itineraries. Long before the Renaissance, Antiquity is seen as a separate entity in these two texts. This is the time when the city itself, not only its parts, becomes a museum.

The anecdotal Rome flourishes throughout the Middle Ages in all the variants and reprints of the *Mirabilia* tradition, until the Renaissance, with its measurements and reconstruction, forms a powerful counter-revolution against the myths and anecdotes. The works of, for example, Andrea Palladio and Bartolomeo Marliano explicitly turn against the image of Rome in the *Mirabilia*.<sup>139</sup> The Medieval texts examined the Rome that could no longer be seen, and therefore were able to spin fantastic stories around it. The Renaissance opened its eyes to the actual remnants of the ancient monuments, measured them, compared them to ancient literary sources, and reconstructed them. Rome was to rise anew, reborn from the outdated regionary lists and itineraries, and once more become visible and tangible.

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<sup>139</sup> See the chapters of Bortolozzi and Plahte Tschudi in this volume.

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Victor Plahte Tschudi

## 2 Two Sixteenth-Century Guidebooks and the *Bibliotopography* of Rome

“How great Rome was, these ruins teach us” – *Nam quanta Roma fuit ipsa ruina docet* – Francesco Albertini wrote in his guidebook to Rome published in 1510.<sup>1</sup> The fact is, however, that the ruins taught Albertini next to nothing. Albertini was a scholar from Florence who needed the help of an expert, the antiquarian Andrea Fulvio, to be able to orientate himself in Rome at all. What the sentence, therefore, teaches us is that Rome in Renaissance guidebooks, above all, is a rhetorical construction – a unit born from books and not from buildings.

This essay analyzes two Renaissance guidebooks, namely Francesco Albertini’s *Opusculum* and Bartolomeo Marliano’s *Topographia* from 1534, from a novel angle. Both guidebooks have in common a structuring of respective texts that reorganized real, sprawling Rome into a captivating albeit ideal order, which, in turn, formed the perception of travelers, fueled the imagination of patrons, and possibly also spurred city planners into action. Guides made Rome intelligible as a *form*. The idea of Rome as the “Eternal City” – as a resurrected imperial *urbs* and the Second Jerusalem – arguably thrived better in conditions that were textual than in the reality of sorry ruins and crooked alleyways. It was in fact printed guides that first formulated the idea of a *new* Rome, a recast metropolis emancipating from the debris of the legacy of the ancients. The idea of “newness,” however, was borrowed, I argue, from book-making itself – from numeric order, indexed content, and from the repeatability and standardization of mechanized typography.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, guidebooks promoted not only a new city but also a new *man*, one who was no longer lost in reveries about the past but at work calculating the city’s circumference (Albertini) and plotting its heights (Marliano).

This essay aims to define the novelty of these two guides by using the concept of *bibliotopography*, a concept I have invented in order to describe how the book and the city artfully overlap. Arguably, the texts of Albertini and Marliano are both bibliotopographies, that is to say structured in imitation of ideal city layouts, but as I will demonstrate, they qualify as such in very different ways.

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<sup>1</sup> The quote appears in the introduction to Book III. Sebastiano Serlio repeats the phrase in the frontispiece to Book III of *I sette libri dell’architettura*, published in 1540. The ultimate reference for the dictum is probably alluding to Hildebert de Lavardin’s twelfth-century poem *Par tibi, Roma, nihil, cum sis prope tota ruina; Quam magni fueris integra fracta doces* (Carmina minora 36).

<sup>2</sup> On this theme, see for instance Eisenstein (1979/2009) 80–88.

## The *Opusculum*

The *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* roughly translates as “Essay on the marvels of new and ancient Rome” and it came off the press in Rome on February 4, 1510. The author was Francesco Albertini and the publisher Jacopo Mazzocchi. The book was dedicated to Pope Julius II, the Vicar of Christ on earth and the figurehead of the Della Rovere family – a dual role that we shall see determined the content and structuring of the *Opusculum*.<sup>3</sup>

Francesco Albertini was a learned man. As he left Florence for Rome around 1505, he also left the post he held as canon of the church of San Lorenzo as well as the thriving artistic and intellectual milieu of late fifteenth-century Florence. Well versed in the visual arts, a student of music and poetry, and probably familiar with the neoplatonic ideas of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino, Albertini was a theoretician on Rome more than an archaeologist.<sup>4</sup> On Rome’s ancient monuments, as briefly mentioned, he was helped out by experts in the field such as Andrea Fulvio, whom he thanked in a celebratory verse on the title page (Fig. 2.1). The *Opusculum*, not surprisingly therefore, presented Rome on a new level of erudition and learning. The references in the book to humanists such as Poggio Bracciolini, Giovanni Tortelli, Flavio Biondo, and Pomponio Leto indicate the amount of scholarship that went into composing the text.<sup>5</sup> This was always going to be more than a plain instruction on what to see and how to get there. Here, the author reconsidered the conventions of textual Rome more than he reconsidered Rome itself.

The *Opusculum* is divided into three books, which in turn consist of a number of chapters. The chapters order the description of the various constructions and monuments in Rome by types, beginning with the gates, streets, and bridges, then continuing with baths, circuses, theatres, palaces, temples, libraries, and so on. A typological listing of Rome’s structures harks back to medieval texts and ultimately to the late antique regionary catalogues. A novel dimension with the *Opusculum*, however, is the division of the described city into an old and a new Rome – *novae et veteris urbis Romae* – where the sites of new Rome, listed in the third book, shadow the sites of the old one. To my knowledge, Albertini’s book introduces this division, manifesting a dualism that was to prevail in the description and depiction of Rome in guidebooks, maps, and vedute all the way up to our own days. But whereas Albertini’s “old Rome” flags monuments that by 1500 already were canonical, “new Rome” caters to a notion of “newness” that was much more precarious, unstable, and, indeed, novel, both as

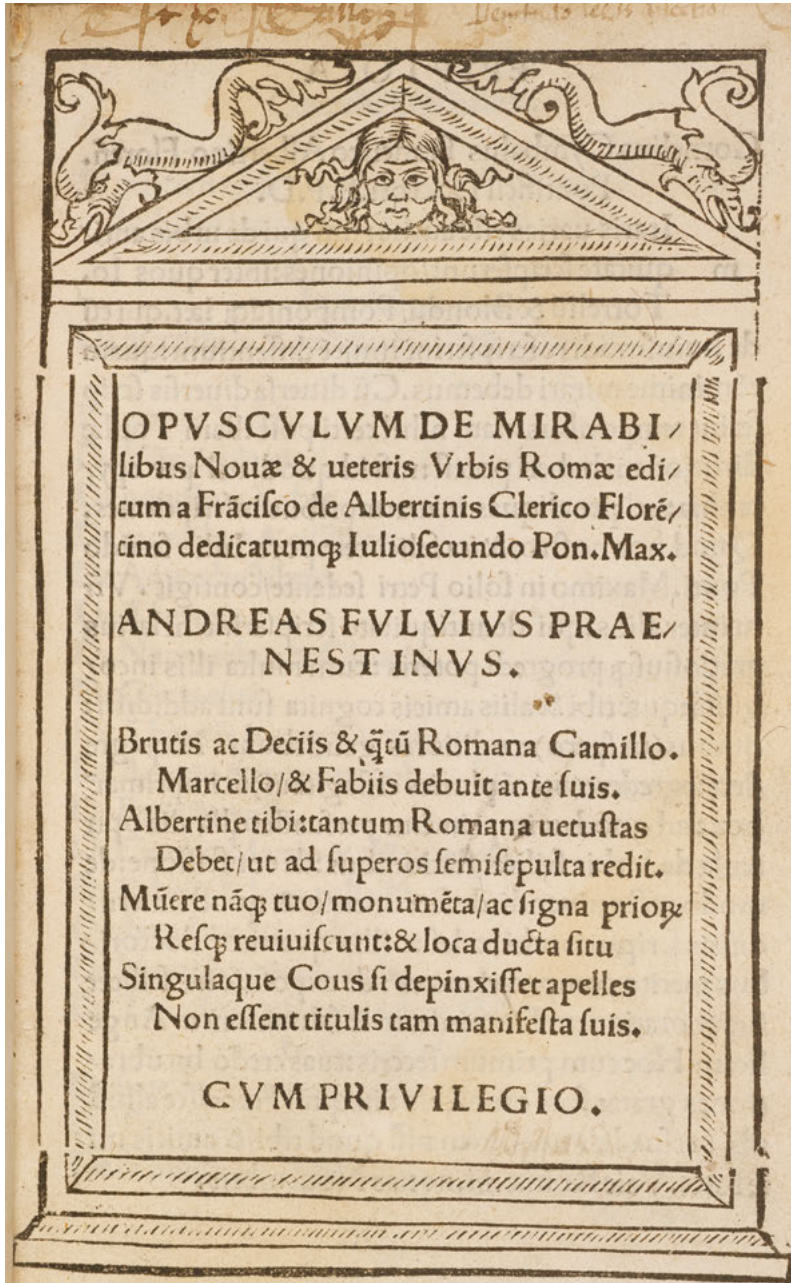
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<sup>3</sup> On Albertini and the *Opusculum*, see Bianca (2011) 59–70; Murray (1972) introduction (unpaginated), and Sturgis (2011) 122–33.

<sup>4</sup> Bianca (2011) 60.

<sup>5</sup> A letter from Cornelio Benigni to Albertini, printed as an introduction to the *Opusculum*, mentions Tortelli, Biondo, and Leto. Albertini also reveals his reliance on Pomponio Leto elsewhere in the book, for example in the chapter on circuses. Poggio Bracciolini he names in the first chapter of Book I.





**Fig. 2.1:** Frontispiece to Francesco Albertini's *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae & veteris urbis Romae* (1510). Reproduced from the original held by the Department of Special Collections of the Hesburgh Libraries of the University of Notre Dame.

concept *and* as urban reality. New Rome is carefully groomed by Albertini to portray a specific and quite rhetorical construct, which, as I argue, can only be fully realized in and as a printed book. But a recognition of Rome's "newness" inevitably carries with it another novelty, equally interesting, namely the idea of Rome as old. "Vetus" evokes a Rome that is antiquarian in nature – finite, worth preserving, and also irrevocably past. A past confined to an "antiquity" is the confident sign of an age that considers itself modern. Albertini coolly surveys the debris of a bygone age as opposed to the nostalgia and lament accompanying early humanist descriptions of vanished Rome, such as voiced by Petrarch in the fourteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Albertini, unsentimentally, selects and orders an ancient Rome that serves as a prefiguration of the present. The text is an encomium in which ancient Rome's main purpose is to be surpassed by the present one. Less a chronology than a competition, the *Opusculum* presents *Roma vetus* as a distant rival eyed and defeated at every corner – literally – by the new Rome of the Della Rovere. In a historiographical perspective, Albertini represents the transition of the idea of the past that took place in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Antiquity did not blurredly fuse with the present but seemed to emerge in isolation, as a component of history, thus lending itself to systematic ordering like Raphael had intended with the comprehensive survey of Roman antiquities described in the letter of 1519 to Pope Leo X. Arguably, the *Opusculum* brought a comparable project to completion, although on a smaller scale, a few years earlier, and, interestingly, Andrea Fulvio, the eminent antiquarian, was central in both projects.<sup>7</sup>

*Opusculum* came out in four editions during Albertini's lifetime. After the *editio princeps*, new editions came out in Rome in 1515, in Basel in 1519, and in Lyon in 1520.<sup>8</sup> In terms of bookmaking, these editions shared important features, but they differed too, as publishers, formats, fonts, and the number and types of illustrations were constantly changed.

The first edition contains no illustration apart from the engraved gate framing the text on the title page. The gate is a poignant setup. Like the gates in the wall surrounding real Rome, this gate led to the Rome in print.<sup>9</sup> A gate welcomes the visitor of course, but it might also be closed; it signals control of both exits and entrances. The clearest warning against trespassing is the phrase "cum privilegio" that bars the engraved portal in Albertini's frontispiece. As a clause against unlawful imitation, the *privilegio*, in this case, was a special favor granted by the pope,

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<sup>6</sup> On Petrarch's lamentation of ruined Rome in his letter to Giovanni Colonna, see, for example, Galbraith (2000) 17–26.

<sup>7</sup> Many were involved in the project described in Raphael's letter to Pope Leo X, among them Fabio Calvo, Andrea Fulvio, Giuliano da Sangallo, and Baldassare Peruzzi. See Rowland (1994) 81–104.

<sup>8</sup> It was then printed in 1523 as part of Jacobo Mazzocchi's volume *De Roma prisca et nova varii auctores prout in sequenti pagella cernere est*.

<sup>9</sup> The engraved portal, or *cornice*, was part of Mazzocchi's standard frames and it was also used for other publications. See Ascarelli (1961) 39–41.

reminding the reader that he or she was free to enter Albertini's "new and ancient" Rome but was advised to do so with caution: although anyone could buy and read the book, only a few were licensed to reproduce and sell it. For the first time a book on Rome came with a tag declaring the city in print, and not only the one in stone, as papal territory.

Julius II's decision to grant Albertini (and the publisher Mazzocchi) this extraordinary favor points to the book's singularity. The Rome described was obviously an "invention" worthy of protection and one with which the Della Rovere pope wished to associate himself. In order to discover the reason for the book's particular attraction, I shall ask two questions: What was Albertini's commission, and how did he resolve it?

In Rome, Albertini immediately joined the circle of Julius II, the ambitious Della Rovere pope who had been elected in 1503. Julius's uncle had a couple of decades earlier occupied the throne of St. Peter's, with the name of Sixtus IV, and Julius was keen to create a Della Rovere continuity. He championed the arts, for example commissioning Bramante to rebuild the Basilica of St. Peter's and Michelangelo to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. The pontiff was also an eager militant, living up to his ancient namesake Julius Caesar, marching his soldiers across Italy and earning the sobriquet "the warrior pope." Albertini is explicit about the comparison: "all the world has come together in your empire," he writes in the preface, "One can say about the Holiest father Julius that which was written about another invincible Julius, in his third triumph: *Veni, Vidi, Vici.*"<sup>10</sup> Combining a desire for territory with a passion for the arts, the *privilegio* seems to have been an ideal instrument for the ambitious pope.

In the preface to the book, Albertini writes that it was the pope's nephew, Cardinal Galeotto Franciotti Della Rovere, who commissioned him to write it. Galeotto was a modern-day Maecenas, Albertini continues, whom he considered a friend, but who died before *Opusculum* was completed. According to Albertini, Galeotto had asked him to improve "imperfect" accounts of Rome "so full of fables and fabrications."<sup>11</sup> The accounts to which he referred probably counted the popular and widely distributed guide to Rome, *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, produced in the twelfth century and printed in several editions. The *Mirabilia* was a miscellany of anecdotes from which Rome seemed forged in part by volatile emperors and in part by divine intervention. The importance of the ancient sites was lost in popular myths and

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<sup>10</sup> *Qua propter Beatissime pater Iuli deprecor ut alter Iulius invictissimus in tertio triumpho cuius scriptū erat. Veni.Vidi.Vici.* See Albertini (1510) preface.

<sup>11</sup> In the dedication to the *Opusculum*, Albertini recalls how the book was begun and quotes the cardinal saying to him, "Francesco, make a good job out of it. Why is it that the *Wonders of Rome*, so imperfect and full of fables and fabrications, is not corrected? For a crown is given not to those who begin but to those who persevere until the end." (*Francisce, bonum opus operatus es. Quare et mirabilia Romae, imperfecta fabularumque nugis plena, non corrigis? Non enim datur corona incipientibus, sed perseverantibus usque in finem. Praeco te ut in hoc mihi compleacas.*)

superstition, often with a Christian bias. The reader of the *Mirabilia* would learn, for example, that Agrippa built the original Pantheon after plans showed to him in a dream by the goddess Cybele.<sup>12</sup> Worse, perhaps, was the *Mirabilia*'s accidental organization of sites in the sense that it listed the monuments of Rome according to no apparent principle and in the order in which someone on foot would encounter them, in fact like many modern guidebooks.

It was most likely this hodgepodge Albertini was commissioned to improve, and our next concern is to find out how he did that. In the *Opusculum*, the Latin was certainly more stylish and the presentation of the monuments more systematic than in the *Mirabilia*; they were subjected to an impassionate eye cleansed of hearsay and moral overtones. But the real novelty, I think, concerned not the structures *in* the text – but the text as structure. The telling difference between *Opusculum* and previous guides lay not in the selection of monuments but in the scheme in which to present that selection.

## Bibliotopography as applied in the *Opusculum*

To be concrete, Albertini arranged his text as if he were a town planner and in a scheme that I shall name *bibliotopography*. The term is invented to describe the particular and hitherto unnoticed organization of the *Opusculum* and, arguably, of later guidebooks to Rome. By *bibliotopography*, I mean an organization of the text in imitation of the layout of the city. In other words, the term defines the recreation of a place by the means of book production: through binding, format, pagination, and typography, the text is marshaled into an order that mimics the territory it describes.

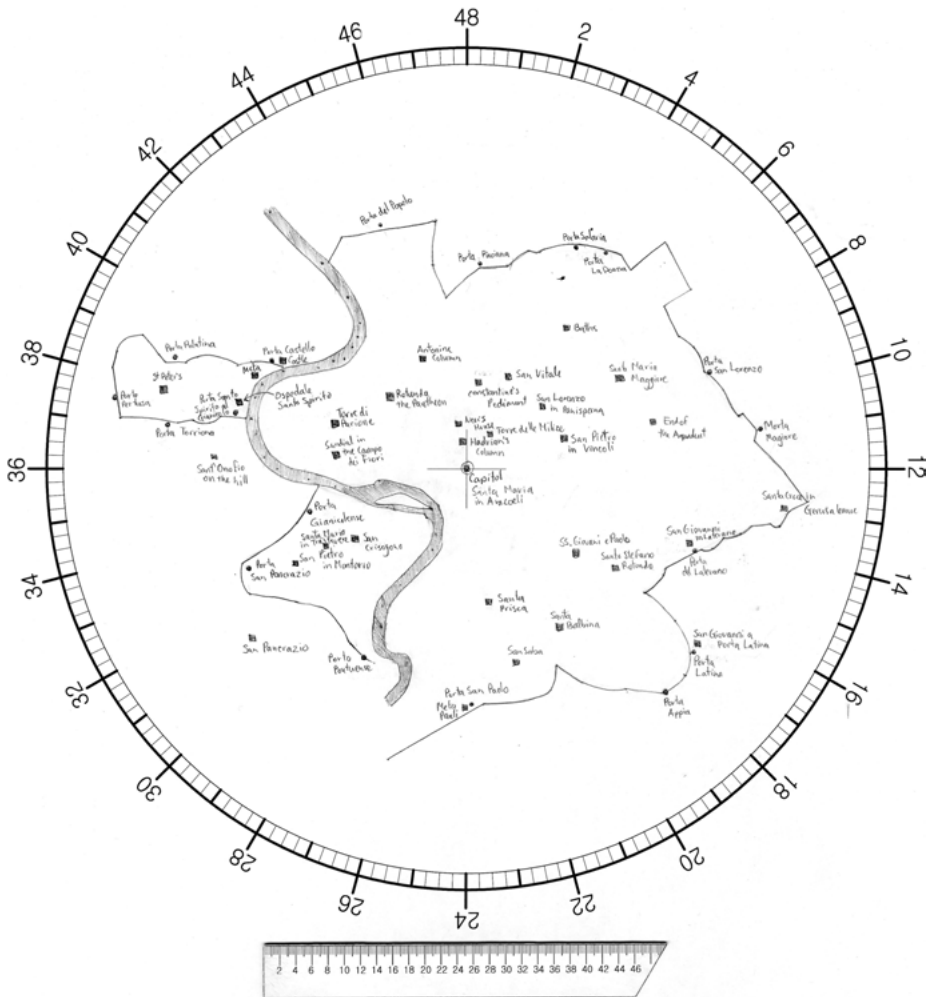
Moreover, in my opinion, Albertini's bibliotopographic scheme derives from a very specific model.

Like Albertini himself, the Florentine architect, author, city planner, and diplomat Leon Battista Alberti had also traveled from Florence to Rome – but sixty years earlier. Commissioned by Pope Eugene IV to measure Rome, Alberti wrote in 1444 a short text with the title *Descriptio urbis Romae*.<sup>13</sup> It was a manual on how to make a goniometer, which in turn would enable the reader to map the position of various locations in Rome. First, Alberti instructs his reader to draw what he calls a “horizon,” explained as a circular disk “within which the depiction of the city is enclosed.” This wheel should be divided into forty-eight parts, or “degrees,” with

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<sup>12</sup> See the section titled “On the Making of the Pantheon and on its Consecration,” in *Mirabilia* (1889) 46–48.

<sup>13</sup> The literature on Alberti's survey is extensive, but see Alberti/Carpo/Furlan (2007); Maier (2015) 25–31.



**Fig. 2.2:** Jean-Roch Marion, Interpretation of Leon Battista Alberti's goniometer as described in *Descriptio urbis Romae* (ca. 1450). Constructed and drawn for the studio workshop (taught by Yelda Nasifoglu) of Prof. Alberto Pérez-Gómez's history lecture course "Architectural Intentions from Vitruvius to the Renaissance" (2012) at McGill University.

each degree again divided into four parts called "minutes." Then, he gives instructions on how to make a spoke – a "radius" – also divided into forty-eight degrees and subdivided into minutes (Fig. 2.2). By working the disk and the spoke together, according to Alberti, his readers can produce a survey of the city with unprecedented accuracy. However, they are only able to do so from a fixed central point, and, significantly, Alberti locates that point at the Capitol: "from the centre of the city, that is, from the Capitol, the distance to any one of the gates nowhere exceeds 6,140

cubits.”<sup>14</sup> It is from the Capitol Alberti’s city surveyor is able to plot distances to the surrounding city wall and the positions of various ancient and new monuments.

Even though the Capitol could lay no claim on being Rome’s geographic center, it now turned into one, in an *instauratio urbis* – a restoration of the city – that soon subjected the irregularly shaped metropolis to an ideal mathematical form.<sup>15</sup> It did not take long before artists and cartographers more or less deliberately confused the plan of the city with the instrument from which such plans derived. Alberti’s captivating sundial model inspired the attempts to inscribe the city’s accidental outline a geometry that matched the idea of Rome as *caput mundi*, cultivated since antiquity. Alberti’s legacy is nowhere more apparent, nor more glaringly corrupted, than in Fabio Calvo’s *Antiquae urbis Roma cum regionibus simulachrum* published in 1527. In a series of illustrations, Calvo represented the development of Rome not as a development at all, but as abrupt replacements of geometric shapes. The city plan miraculously transformed from a square (at the time of Romulus) to an octagon (under Servius Tullius), and finally to the most perfect form of all, namely the circle, which it attained during Augustus’s reign.

However, it is essential to bear in mind that Alberti’s objective in the *Descriptio* was not to present a map of Rome but an instrument on which such maps could be based, or any other “descriptio” for that matter – also a textual exposition, which brings us back to Albertini.<sup>16</sup> Conscious perhaps of the similarity between his own name and that of his fellow Florentine Alberti – the illustrious predecessor at the papal court – Albertini might have thought of himself as a city surveyor too, though only in words. Reordering Rome on the model of scientifically based surveys was surely a sign of humanist learning and, in contrast to the old-fashioned *Mirabilia urbis*, lent to guides a “principle” akin to the one that governed the renewal of art and architecture around 1500. Manuscripts with illustrations of Alberti’s instrument existed in the Vatican archives within reach for the pope’s appointed author on Rome.<sup>17</sup> I argue that Albertini mirrored Alberti on surprisingly concrete terms, namely by counting pages. One hundred and two printed pages precede the chapter on the Capitol and one hundred and two pages succeed it in a regularization of Rome as consistent as Alberti’s, albeit with the coordinates derived not from Rome’s topography but from its typography, as it were. Moreover, Alberti’s “horizon” consisted, as we saw, of 48 degrees, which he again divided in four, producing a grid of 192 equal parts. It is not accidental, therefore, that the *Opusculum* counts 192 (unnumbered) pages within

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<sup>14</sup> Alberti/Carpo/Furlan (2007) 97.

<sup>15</sup> In the early Middle Ages the Capitol had lost not only its centrality but even its name, becoming for example Mons Tarpeius in the account of the late fourth-century author Jerome. On the changing fate and unstable identity of the Capitol, see Moralee (2013) 47–70.

<sup>16</sup> See the point made by Mario Carpo in the introduction to Alberti/Carpo/Furlan (2007) 5.

<sup>17</sup> See the manuscript drawing in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chig. M VII 149, fol. 3r-v.

which textual Rome, too, was mapped. The number of pages “draws” Alberti’s circumference by the means at the disposal of a bookmaker.<sup>18</sup>

Special significance attaches also to the three-page table of contents at the beginning of the book. The list, which announces the sites and monuments in the order they appear, resembles an index but has no pagination. It functions less as a guide to the text than as a plan of its structure. In fact, the table of contents serves to clarify the book’s architectonics, presenting the coordinates of Albertini’s textual Rome. The chapter *De Capitoliis* is placed on top of the middle folio, literally heading the list, in a topography in which the first sites, or chapters, lead up to its apex and the others descend from it. All in all, the setup reminds us that early printed books were fragile products and that the abstraction a modern publication represents was long in the making. To pursue that thought, the book in the early sixteenth century is still a reflection, not a translation, of its subject matter – with the urban reality transparently glimpsed, and not only read, through the typographical setup.

In the medieval period, too, guides to Rome aimed to transmit the urban experience “unfiltered.” The early ninth-century Einsiedeln manuscript “writes a map in words,” as Anna Blennow coins it, cleverly letting the spine represent the path on which the reader-tourist “moves.”<sup>19</sup> The monuments that he or she would see to the left and right appeared, correspondingly, on the left and right page of the double spread.

Seven hundred years on, Albertini manifests this mirroring of the written and the built “landscapes” but turns it into a sophisticated mathematical relation. What saves his scheme from mere speculation is the fact that the setup must have been deliberate. Albertini’s geometric scheme could only have resulted from precise calculation and tight collaboration between the author and the professionals at work at the publishing house. We do not know the names nor the number of employees at Mazzocchi, and some services were probably hired, but from the near contemporary Roman publishing firm of Antonio Blado, a list of workmen and their professional skills has come down to us. Five to six people were involved to secure a successful publication, from the ones who placed the letter types (*compositor*), engraved the images (*intagliator*), lowered the press (*battitor*), and pulled the prints (*tirator*), to the “Roman lad who stands in the shop and sells the books.”<sup>20</sup> The compositor had perhaps the most important job in our respect. It was he who set the types in the wooden frame called “forme,” and, in short, composed the page. In order to implement a bibliotopographic scheme he would have to regulate the size and number of types and to control the use and extent of abbreviations in order to

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**18** The number includes only the description of Rome, not the last twelve pages, which is a chapter celebrating Florence and Savona with the title “De laudibus civitatum Florentinae & Saonensis.” This chapter forms a separate mini-treatise on Albertini’s hometown and on the Ligurian stronghold of the Della Rovere.

**19** Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 326 (1076). See Blennow’s essay in this volume.

**20** Fumagalli (1893) 59–60.

measure out the text evenly. The challenge of imposition – of folding sheets – relates to the next stage, that of printing. *Opusculum*, in its first edition, came out in a quarto format, which meant that eight book pages were printed on one sheet – four on the recto and four on the reverse.<sup>21</sup> To be able to reserve a part of the text for the middle implied being able to predict the sequence the pages would form after the sheets had been folded and the book bound.

That the bibliotopographic scheme was anything but accidental is obvious from subsequent editions of the *Opusculum* in which every care was taken to ensure that the Capitol, the *umbilicus urbis* in Albertini's words, also remained the navel of the publication. Regardless of the fact that different publishers issued these editions – and in different formats and with a different number of pages – the chapter on the Capitol was always maneuvered into a position where it extended across the exact midpoint of the publication. Thus, in the new, luxurious edition printed by Mazzocchi in 1515, fifty pages (now paginated on the recto) led up to the Capitol and fifty pages succeeded it, and in the Basel edition issued by Thomas Wolff in 1519 fifty-one pages precede the Capitol and fifty-one pages come after. These editions introduced printed pagination with the possibility of perfecting the Albertian scheme in startlingly concrete terms. In the 1519 edition, for example, the Capitol extends not only across the central page but also across the page numbered 48, a crucial number in Alberti's calculation. It remains to be investigated whether the location of monuments in Albertini's text in any way correspond to the coordinates Alberti provides in the *tabulae* appended to his description. Do pages and perhaps even lines match the degrees and minutes fixing the position of gates, antiquities, and churches in Alberti's survey? Such questions may easily lead to wild speculations, but the importance of the basic tenets cannot be overlooked: the correspondence between the representation of Rome in text and Rome in contemporary surveys equates visual and textual Rome, or more precisely, it blurs such a distinction as it anchors both in an ideal underlying geometry.

Reordering Rome on the model of scientifically based surveys surely placed the *Opusculum* apart from the *Mirabilia urbis* guides, making it the first, and perhaps only, true Renaissance guidebook realized on principles that also governed the renewal of art and architecture around 1500. The geometric organization of the content allowed texts to communicate on many levels, and not only as a narrative to be read from cover to cover in a readership practice established in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Renaissance bibliotopography does not make a text three-dimensional, but it sorts the things described in an invisible grid, not unlike the contemporary one-point perspective in painting reportedly invented by Filippo

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<sup>21</sup> In the 1510 edition of Albertini's *Opusculum*, the signatures are labeled as follows: A-Z<sup>4</sup> & <sup>4</sup> [con]<sup>4</sup> R[um]<sup>4</sup>. I am grateful to Tracy C. Bergstrom, director of the Specialized Collection Services at the University of Notre Dame, for this information. For a general discussion on the printing of Renaissance quarto-format books, see Febvre/Martin (1958/1997) 70.



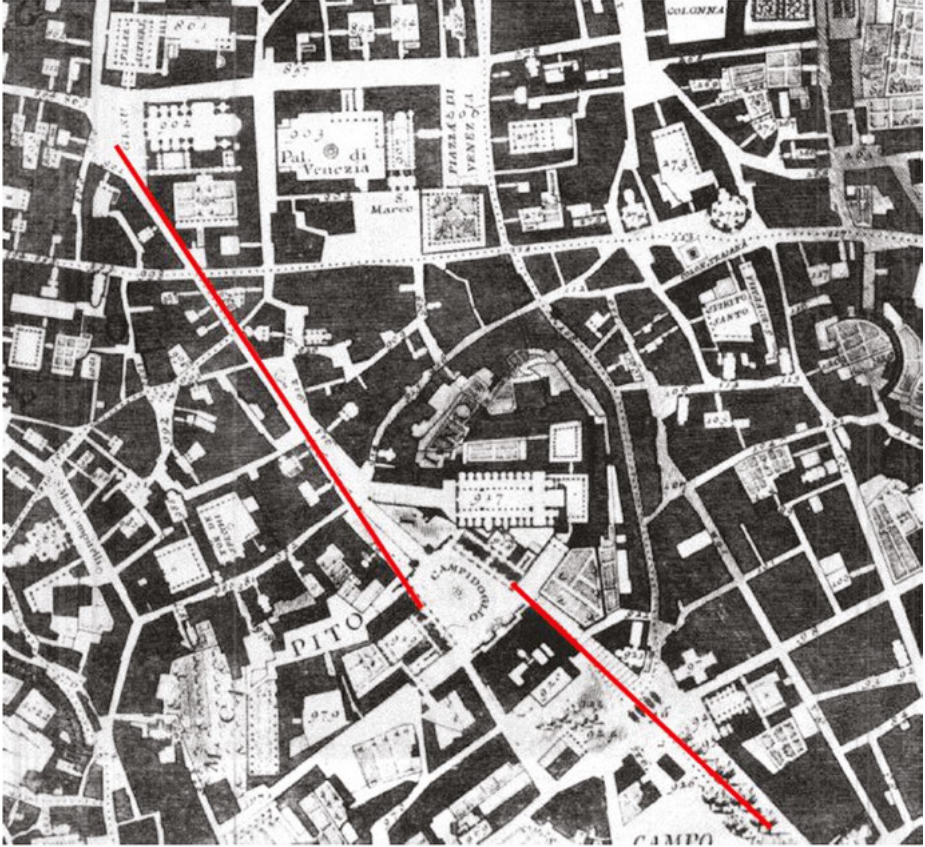
Brunelleschi and explained by Alberti in his *De pictura* as a mathematical method to create the effect of spatial volume. Similarly, bibliotopography lends verisimilitude, even “depth” to a dry index and to a sequence of pages, structuring the content as a textual *città ideale*.

Michelangelo may well have followed the lead of Alberti and Albertini – his fellow Florentines – when he started re-projecting the real-world Capitol. Michelangelo would have had ample opportunities to read the *Opusculum*, and, for what it’s worth, its author admired the architect: Albertini was acutely aware of Michelangelo’s work in the city and *Opusculum* is the first written source mentioning Michelangelo at work on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, unveiled in 1512.<sup>22</sup> However, the extent to which Michelangelo was responsible for the final form of the rebuilt Capitol is uncertain; at his death in 1564, only a few elements were in place. A strong centrality nevertheless governs the design, converging on the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, which had been moved from the Lateran to the middle of the square in 1534. The two palazzi to each side – the Palazzo dei Governatori to the west and the Palazzo Nuovo to the east – are ingeniously aligned to axes that extend into the city. To one side, the arcade of the Palazzo dei Governatori continues north along the present-day Via di Aracoeli, ending at the square in front of the church of Il Gesù, thus drawing a straight line into the heart of modern, Christian Rome. The Palazzo Nuovo, to the other side, shoots an axis in the opposite direction – through the middle archway of the Arch of Septimius Severus and onto the ancient Via Sacra (Fig. 2.3). Although the Palazzo Nuovo was completed in the seventeenth century, one might say that Michelangelo and his successors subjected the chaotic, disparate *Roma vetus* and *Roma nova* to a “principled” reading. As if in an enormous 1:1 goniometer, the Capitol in Michelangelo’s scheme claims a position as the mid-point in a symbolic and geometric reordering of the city, ultimately inspired by Alberti and Albertini.

Albertini’s rearrangement of the chaotic city as a kind of science was as ideal as it was short-lived. The lofty construct crash-landed already with Bartolomeo Marliano, who in *Antiquae Romae topographia* from 1534, which will be discussed below, adopted the viewpoint of a pedestrian, restoring the principle of a “real” walking route, which also had structured medieval accounts such as the *Einsiedeln* manuscript. Nevertheless, the *Opusculum* marks a turning point. Through typesetting, pagination, binding – in short, the means of the book – the author and the publisher landscaped the text into a plan or an outline – a *descriptio* – with the Capitol in the middle. In fact, a bibliotopography centered on the Capitol became infectious. After Albertini’s *Opusculum*, it governed guides to Rome from Andrea Palladio’s *L’antichità*

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<sup>22</sup> The passage occurs in the chapter in Book III titled “De nonullis ecclesis & capellis” and reads: *ac superiorem partem testudineam pulcherrimis picturis & auro exornavit opus praeclarum Michael. Archangeli floren. Statuariae artis & picturae praeclarissimi.*



**Fig. 2.3:** The Capitol in Rome with lines extended to Piazza del Gesù and to Via Sacra on the Forum Romanum. The image is based on Giambattista Nolli's *Nuova pianta di Roma* from 1748. Private collection.

*di Roma*, published in 1554, a book discussed in this volume by Anna Bortolozzi, to Fioravante Martinelli's *Roma ricercata* first published in 1644, analyzed by Stefano Fogelberg Rota likewise in this volume.<sup>23</sup> Even Ellen Rydelius' *Rome in Eight Days* reapplies a Renaissance setup in organizing the itinerary for twentieth-century Swedes, as Carina Burman writes about.

To modern readers, such early forms of a book's "architecture" are easily lost. It seems like an alien approach indeed to place words and passages in a scheme that translates the content of the book into a pattern that itself cannot be read, but which constitutes a typographical geometry, so to speak. The composition of the book

<sup>23</sup> Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks make a similar point about Palladio's *L'antichità di Roma* from 1554 in Palladio/Hart/Hicks (2006) xlix.

complements its content, reminding us how in the early days of printing books were wondrous artifacts. A text is made to exist in the somewhat elusive domain between the meaning produced by the words and the materiality of the printed pages. Albertini's bibliotopography, surely, lent an order to Roman guides akin to the one that governed treatises in art and architecture, equally divided in *libri*. It rescued Rome from the slump of medieval "fables and fabrications," revealing the great learning of its author. More importantly, however, it allowed for the Rome of the Della Rovere to find a form.

## Rome of the Della Rovere

The translation of the city plan to the pages of a book, of *capitolium* to *capitulum*, was an elegant solution for which both publisher and author with good reason would have wanted to seek protection. However, it was not the book's bibliotopography alone that secured it a *privilegio*. The *Opusculum* was also a celebration of the Della Rovere dynasty and the building projects of Julius II and his uncle Sixtus IV. The *Opusculum* as a Della Rovere encomium becomes obvious with the striking shift of the narrator's perspective. In the third book, Albertini abandons the objective standpoint adopted in the previous books on ancient Rome and addresses the pontiff directly. The chronicler adjusts the tale, and the city too (as we shall see), around the august recipient of the book's dedication: "The fact is that in the time of Sixtus and of Your Holiness the city has been restored and given a new form, and every day in various places the grandest buildings are being decorated."<sup>24</sup>

Whereas the first two *libri* had dealt with ancient Rome, the third transports the reader to the contemporary city. Contemporary Rome, in Albertini's vision, is a Rome shaped by the Della Rovere popes and by Julius II in particular. Albertini praises the hospital built by Sixtus IV, the library completed by Julius II, and the new St. Peter's began while Albertini was writing the book.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, the last

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<sup>24</sup> Introduction to Book III: *Quae quidem Urbs Syxti & tuae sanctitatis te[m]pore instaurata & in novam formam redacta est & quotidie diversis i locis aedificiis a[m]plissimis exornat.*

<sup>25</sup> "In the city itself is the work of the great and impressive Basilica of St. Peter's in the Vatican, which Your Holiness initiated on 15 April 1507, solemnly laying down with you own hand the first stone in marble in its fundament, together with golden coins, in the presence of 35 cardinals, the whole curia and the Roman people..." (*In urbe ipsa magnum & admirabile opus Basilice. s. Petri in Vat. Sanctitas tua incepit anno Christi. M.dvii.die xv mensis April in fundamentis cuius tua beatitudo primu[m] lapide[m] marmoreu[m] cum aureis nummis sole[m]niter posuit manu propria presentibus xxxv Cardinalibus & tota curia & po.ro...*). It is fair to assume that Albertini himself was a witness to this momentous event. The passage occurs in the last chapter on the part on Rome in Book III, titled "De Aedificiis a Iulio secundo diversis in locis constructis."

chapter in Book III is devoted in its entirety to building projects initiated by Julius II, listing work done on the churches of Santa Maria del Popolo and San Pietro in Vincoli and on “palaces” restored and built around town. He will refrain from mentioning, Albertini says rhetorically, the aqueduct Julius built to bring water to the Vatican Belvedere as well as gardens and edifices erected beyond the walls of Rome.<sup>26</sup>

Even though Albertini needs to spread out the entries on new Rome rather thinly in order to make the descriptions match in length the testimonies of ancient Rome, he creates the illusion of two equal metropolises. For Albertini, ambitiously, composes a classic paragon between the Rome of the Della Rovere and the Rome of the emperors. Churches are weighed up against temples, theatres against theatres, squares against squares, in a rivalry that was anything but fair as the scattered projects of early sixteenth-century Rome were too few and too feeble to offer any real competition. But if new building projects were few around 1500, Albertini compensated for the scarcity by style and terminology alone, in an *instauratio urbis* completed on the grounds of naming and relabeling. Thus, for example, he achieves a staggering number of palaces simply by bestowing the word *palatium* on every address in which a pope had resided. The list of palaces is followed by the list of *domus* of the cardinals – thirty-five in total, obviously amassed to match the *domus* of Maecenas, Cicero, Vergil, Ovid, Martial, and others mentioned in Book II on ancient Rome.<sup>27</sup>

Associations and digressions help Albertini extend his account of the contemporary city. Moreover, the strategy offered a welcome chance for him to “slip off,” with his readers in tow, to his beloved hometown Florence. His extensive praise of the Laurentian Library in Florence, in a passage that strictly speaking deals with the libraries of Rome, can only be called a gross detour. However, Albertini is a bookish man and is palpably more at ease roaming the shelves of the city’s collections of books than its collection of buildings. In the chapter on ancient libraries, he claimed that Rome had as many as twenty-eight institutions of the kind. Yet the chapter on new libraries, in which he names only eleven, is longer. The low number of entries allow for compensatory longer texts and for Albertini’s own preferences to transpire. He finds room, for example, to explore the holdings of the Medici Library

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**26** The chapter is titled “De Aedificiis a Iulio secundo diversis in locis constructis” and ends with a praise of the pontiff’s most lasting legacy, namely “that there has never existed any other pontificate as peaceful and tranquil as the one in which we now live in.” (*Quae quidem nunq tempore aliorum Pontificum ea pace & tranquillitate qua nunc vivunt extitere: in quibus templa ad honorem dei et palatia ad utilitatem Pontificum et ornamentum civitatis aedificada fore in ipse visitationibus a tua beatissime creditur.*)

**27** The number of modern houses is nowhere near matching the number of “domus” that existed in the ancient city, according to Albertini (*Erant & aliae multae domus in Urbe numero M.ccc.xcvi. quis nonnullis placeat M.dccxcvii.*). Probably, he has this information from the fourth-century regional catalogues.

in Rome, which are stacked, he informs his readers, with volumes such as Marsilio Ficino's books on Plato and Alberti's *Ten Books on Architecture*. Referring to these two celebrities, he does not forget that both are Florentines – like himself – adding “flor.” to their names, thus emphasizing (or creating) a scholarly tradition to which he himself belongs.<sup>28</sup>

The learned Albertini, on his own, leads his reader not to real Rome but to the Rome of books, laying bare the strong theoretical fundament that conditioned *Opusculum*. New Rome is a Rome that exists not primarily within the walls, but between two covers.

A balance, then, is somewhat achieved. And the Capitol (also that the site of “a papal palace” according to Albertini) formed the midpoint of a Rome that in reality was two Romes overlapping. One could say that the temples, theatres, baths, circuses, and triumphal arches formed a vocabulary in a message that was utterly rhetorical. Ancient Rome offers a pretext for new Rome to surpass it. Albertini's *Opusculum* helped extend the papal territory to encompass also the elusive region of the past. Its special structure united space and time in a dominion all rulers would dream to control, the emperor-pope Julius II as much as any, but which only the fictitious realm of a book actually could make manifest.

It would have been a confident Albertini, then, who presented the book to the pontiff and his family. In fact, that might be the event illustrated in a woodcut accompanying Albertini's preface to the edition of *Opusculum* published by Johannes Mario in Lyon in 1520, the last one issued while Albertini was still alive (Fig. 2.4). One cannot say for sure who the two men in the woodcut are, but the subject is most likely a book presentation, and possibly a presentation of the very title that the woodcut illustrates, in an utterly self-referential issue of a guide that points to nothing but its own making. And, indeed, the subject matter in the additional four high-quality and stylistically related illustrations in this edition are confined to the milieu that the book illustrator himself would know best. Instead of Rome, the woodcuts show interiors with no apparent connection to the city at all, such as the learned Hieronymus in his studio, a saint surrounded by texts of all kinds, and a disputation among scholars.

Conspicuous in all five illustrations are the motif of books being read, stored on shelves, lying on tables. Books, not buildings, populate the images in a publication that no one looking at the pictures would believe was a guide to Rome, which makes for one important point: the walls that truly define humanist Rome are the ones of the printing press. Folios, not fields, offer the grounds on which a new and very public Rome is forged and consequently reappropriated by the pope with the simple, yet elusive, “cum privilegio.”

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<sup>28</sup> The passage on the books occurs in Book III, in the chapter titled “De Bibliotecis novae urbis.”



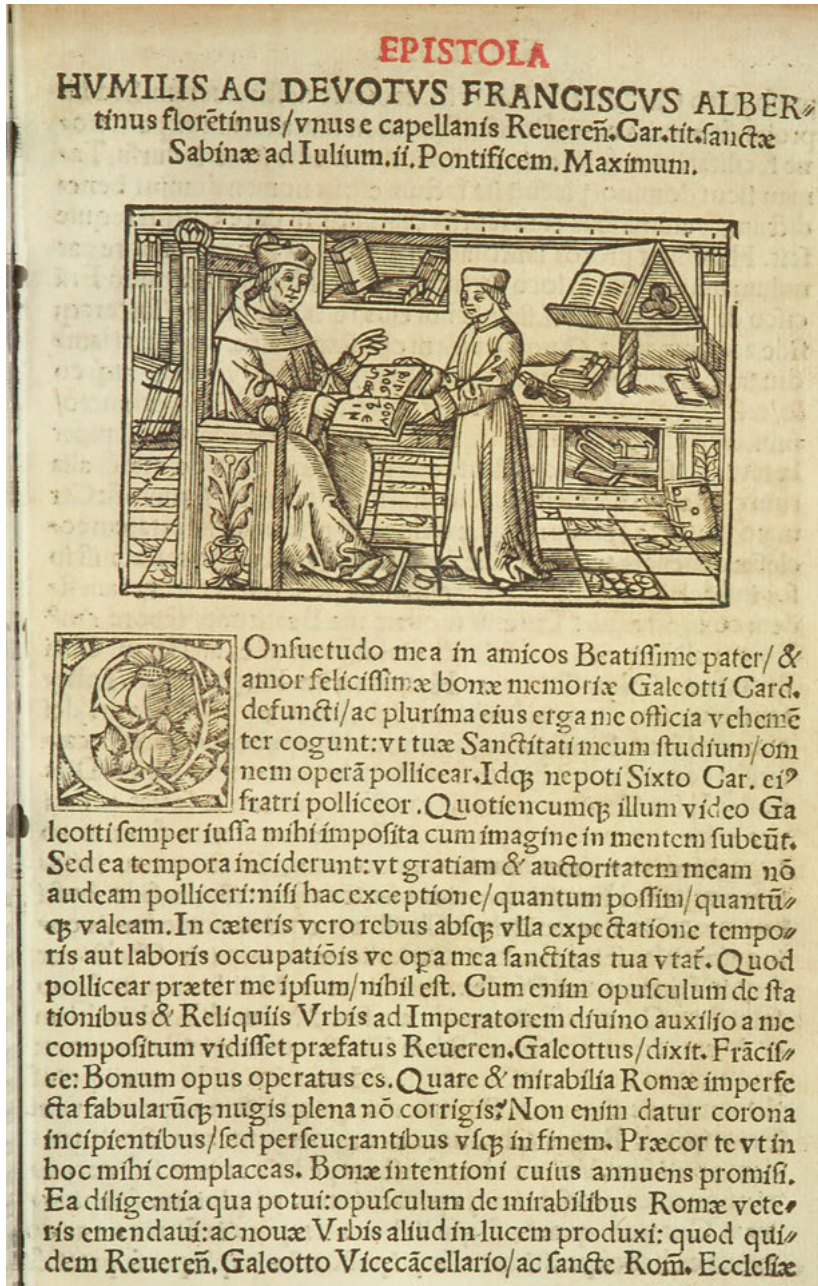


Fig. 2.4: Woodcut illustration from Francesco Albertini's *Opusculum de mirabilibus nove et veteris urbis Rome* (1520). Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, DG 450–1201.

## Marliano's *Topographia*

Bartolomeo Marliano was born in Robbio, a town between Turin and Milan, in 1488, and not long before 1534 he settled for good in Rome – a city he would learn to know intimately over the following decades.<sup>29</sup> Although antiquarians like Pirro Ligorio would dismiss him as a dilettante, Marliano seems to have been well connected.<sup>30</sup> The German traveler Georg Fabricius of Chemnitz, for example, recalls having met Marliano in the print shop of Antonio Salamanca, where he engaged in learned conversations on the antiquities of Rome with people who included the publisher Michele Tramezzino.<sup>31</sup> On another occasion, Marliano was observed in the Vatican Library, conversing with the pope himself, as well as with Cardinal Giovanni Girolamo Morone and a learned doctor from Todi, on the topic of ancient Rome.<sup>32</sup>

Marliano's *Antiquae Romae topographia* came out on the last day of May in 1534 (Fig. 2.5). The prolific publisher Antonio Blado in Rome printed it. Blado had a nose for good if not to say game-changing titles, issuing some of the most important books of his age, and indeed of all times, such as the first printings of Machiavelli's *The Prince* and Ignatius de Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*.<sup>33</sup>

*Topographia*, then, was published twenty-four years after Albertini's book. In the period separating the two publications a series of events had radically shaped the perception of Rome and indeed shattered the papal city's image of – and confidence in – its own superiority. Martin Luther's break with Rome in 1517 resulted in a divided Christendom and a Roman church losing both authority and income. In 1527, underpaid mercenaries from the army of Emperor Charles V descended upon Rome in the first, devastating invasion of the city in a thousand years, terrorizing the inhabitants and plundering their properties. Therefore, by the early 1530s, an artistically poorer, less powerful, and partly destroyed metropolis suddenly seemed like any other city. An artistic revolution had taken place too; Michelangelo's individual, subjective approach to art and architecture corroded the ideal of art's basis in mathematics and perfect geometries. "It is necessary to keep one's compass in one's eyes and not in the hand," Michelangelo proclaimed in the words of Giorgio Vasari, "for the hands execute, but the eye judges."<sup>34</sup>

The political, religious, and aesthetic reorientations also affected the guidebooks to Rome. In the course of two decades, the viewpoint on the Eternal City is lowered from a lofty, godlike realm to the level of man lost in an unruly, fragmented,

<sup>29</sup> On Marliano, see Laureys (1996) 151–67; Jacks (1993) 205–14.

<sup>30</sup> On the dispute between Marliano and Ligorio, see in particular Laureys/Schreurs (1996) 385–405.

<sup>31</sup> Laureys (1996) 163.

<sup>32</sup> Marliano (1544) 121. See Jacks (1993) 209.

<sup>33</sup> On Antonio Blado, see Bertolotti (1877); Fumagalli (1893). For a list of titles published by Blado, see Fumagalli (1893) 100–105.

<sup>34</sup> See Vasari (1881) 270.



Fig. 2.5: The frontispiece to Bartolomeo Marliano's *Antiquae Romae topographia* (1534). Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, DG 450–1341.



ever-changing metropolis. Rome was the same city for Marliano as it had been for Albertini. And yet it existed in an entirely different world.

Marliano's book came out in pocket size, or more precisely in *octavo* format, facilitating its function of actually being carried around. The title *Topographia* signals a small revolution – an approach to Rome with an eye to the city's profile. The focus on steep heights and abrupt valleys prevents a taming of the city in an ideal, geometric form; it has to be climbed, it has to be seen, before it can be classified. True enough, Marliano starts like many before him with the classic introduction to Roman history, but from then on he chooses a completely different path. And I mean that in a quite literary sense. He adopts the perspective of a tourist on foot.

With Marliano's 1534 publication, I argue, the modern guidebook is born.

## Bibliotopography as applied in the *Topographia*

Marliano liked to walk. In a biting critique from his fellow antiquarian, and with time bitter foe, Pirro Ligorio, we learn that Marliano was “wandering solitary through the city pursuing ignorance, and fleeing learned people.”<sup>35</sup> Marliano as a passionate walker emerges from another testimony too. In a court case taking place in 1584, in connection to the execution of his will, an acquaintance remembers Marliano having said that he knew Rome better than anyone since he used to traverse the city from one end to another. “Compassar” is the verb the witness uses – “walk around.”<sup>36</sup>

*Topographia* reflects on its deepest compositional level Marliano's love of wandering. Of course, the idea of walking is embedded in the history of Rome and is a constituent for the city's self-image in literature. When Aeneas, the ancestor of the Romans, arrives in the Tiber Valley, Rome of course does not yet exist. Nevertheless, Aeneas looks admiringly to the left and right as he traverses the lands of the future city, led by the local king Evander. There was nothing but shrubs, but “Aeneas gladly looked at all about him, delighted with the setting, asking questions.”<sup>37</sup> The walking and seeing – in short, the *guiding* – are acts by which Rome, and the Roman, is founded in the city's proto-existence. Petrarch takes up the theme of wandering too. In his famous letter to Giovanni Colonna from 1341, he recalls the walk they took

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<sup>35</sup> “non vogliono udir persona viva et a guise di sordacchi sentono il parlare et van per la città solitarii, cercando l'ignorantia, fuggendo le persone dotte.” Extract from Ms. XIII.B.7, fol. 63r., Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, quoted in Laureys/Schreurs (1996) 395, and translated in Coffin (2004) 18.

<sup>36</sup> “et lui andava sempre vestito da negro et lui attendeva a studiar et compassar Roma che lui diceva che sapeva meglio quanti passi era Roma da una parte all'altra che nessun altro. . .” Quoted from Bertolotti (1884) 54, from material originally recovered and discussed in Bertolotti (1880) 118–25.

<sup>37</sup> Virgil, *Aen.* 8.409–11, transl. Fitzgerald.

among the ruins of that great city. Walking becomes a way to repossess history and the sense of one's own cultural identity.<sup>38</sup> The Roman walk is more charged than any walk anywhere else.

Marliano's walking is not merely a rambling, a "fleeing from learned people," but itself grounded in a literary topos that interweaves with Rome's founding myth. It is a walk potent enough to carry the weight of the disposition of chapters. Innovatively, Marliano devices a narrative structure that corresponds to an actual route through the city. The seven chapters, or *libri* as he calls them, imitate the sequence of an actual itinerary. The Capitol offers no longer the middle, as it had done in *Opusculum*, but a starting point. Then the "text" makes a full round, going down this hill and up the next, more or less as the hills succeed each other in the landscape: the Palatine, the Aventine, the Caelian, the Esquiline, the Viminal, and the Quirinal, before Marliano's narrative ends up on the Fields of Mars. This was a sequence breaking with the one laid out in earlier guidebooks. The circumference of the city is drawn not by a compass, but by a man on the move. It is Marliano *himself* who draws up the circle, as it were.

The idea of walking generates an entirely new and disturbing image of the city in the form of a printed map designed by Marliano and engraved by Giovanni Battista Palatino (Fig. 2.6). This map was published in an edition of Marliano's book that came out in in 1544, but Marliano must have worked on it for years.<sup>39</sup> For the first time in cartography, we recognize a systematic effort to represent the hills of Rome in their actual form, differentiated by shading. Seen at a glance, the map replaces the idealized representations of the city with a shapeless, almost amorphous form: the outline seems to draw the profile of a dissected animal's head, gaping from the foldout page. Gone was the preferred circular projection of the Eternal City, as one now faced the irregular and accidental shapes of the undulating topography. To all accounts it was this very foldout map Ligorio dismissed as a "strange labyrinth" and as a representation not of Rome but of a "new Babylon" – that is to the say the image of chaos.

Apparently, and compared to the *Opusculum*, a bibliotopographic scheme seems nonexistent in Marliano's *Topographia*. In reality, however, the scheme only changes character. For it can be argued that Marliano merely substitutes a geometric model

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<sup>38</sup> See Galbraith (2000) 18.

<sup>39</sup> Marliano's topographical map foreshadows the more sophisticated and accurate ichnographical plan of Rome published in 1551 by Leonardo Bufalini. Bufalini wrote that he had worked on the map for twenty years, which brings us back to the early 1530s. The fact that early in his career he was employed as an engraver in the print shop of Antonio Blado, Marliano's publisher, connects him to the date and place for the making of the earlier map published in the *Topographia*. The document testifying to Bufalini's employment with Blado was first published in Bertolotti (1877) 48. Bufalini's will, testifying to the same employment, was discovered by Bertolotti, but published in Beltrani (1880) 1–28, 361–87.

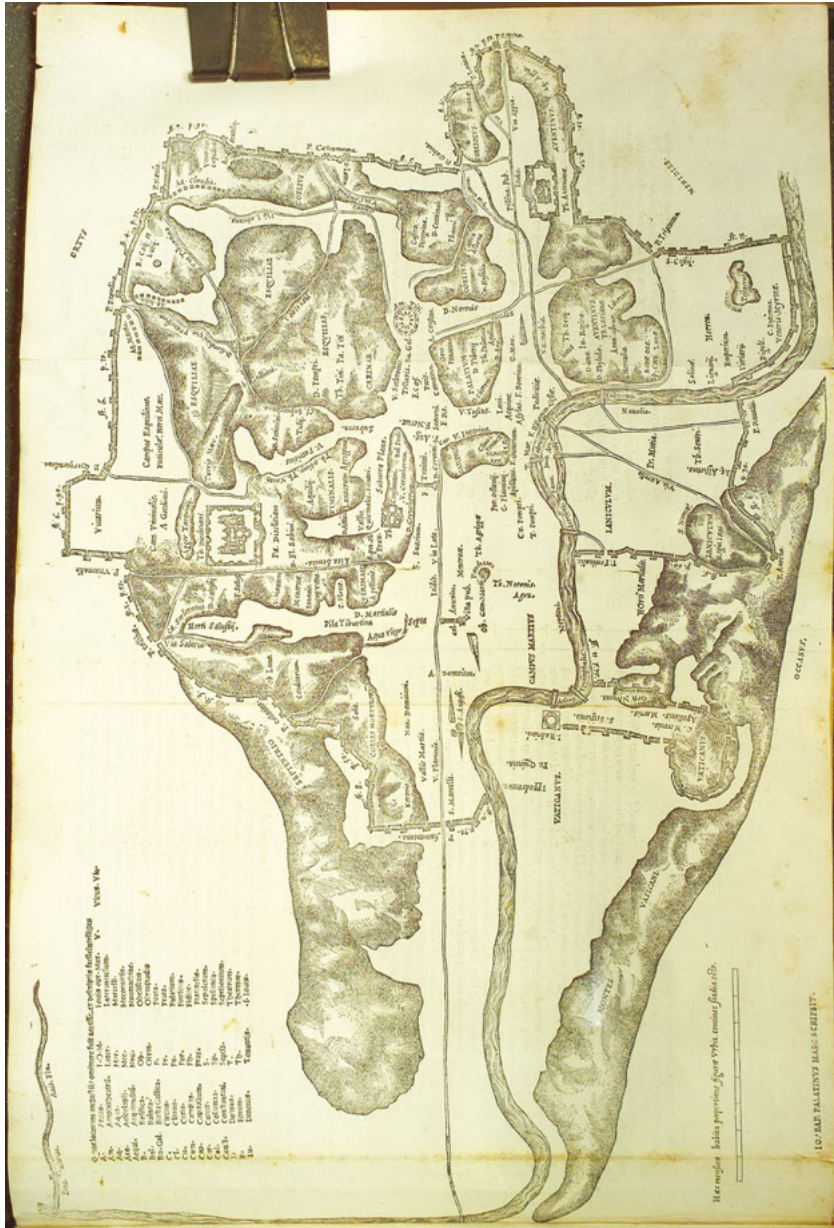


Fig. 2.6: Topographical map of Rome from Bartolomeo Marliano's *Urbis Romae topographia* (1544), inserted between the pages 12 and 13. Engraved by Giovanni Battista Hertziana, Rome, DG 450-1440a.

with a literary one, appropriating a well-known “metropolism” originating in late antiquity, namely the idea of “the Seven Hills of Rome.”<sup>40</sup> Marliano’s intention, I argue, is to make his seven chapters correspond to – and offer a description of – Rome’s Seven Hills. However, he is only partially successful. The Capitoline and Palatine Hills introduce books two and three respectively, but as he walks, or, more correctly, as he writes, the “solitary wanderer” Marliano takes so many detours and stumbles over so many sites that the structure soon corrodes. The sheer amount of things to see overwhelms the account to a point where the neat seven-hill scheme simply collapses. By the time Marliano reaches the end of Book 5, he is already done with the Seven Hills, and even a few more. He needs the remaining two books to describe the city center.

*Descendemus in urbs plana* – “let us descend to the plains of the city” – he declares at the end of Book 5. The very positioning of that sentence creates a perfect transition that brings the book as an object into focus: as he progresses from the hills to the plain, the typography gives way to the blank expanse of the page itself (Fig. 2.7).

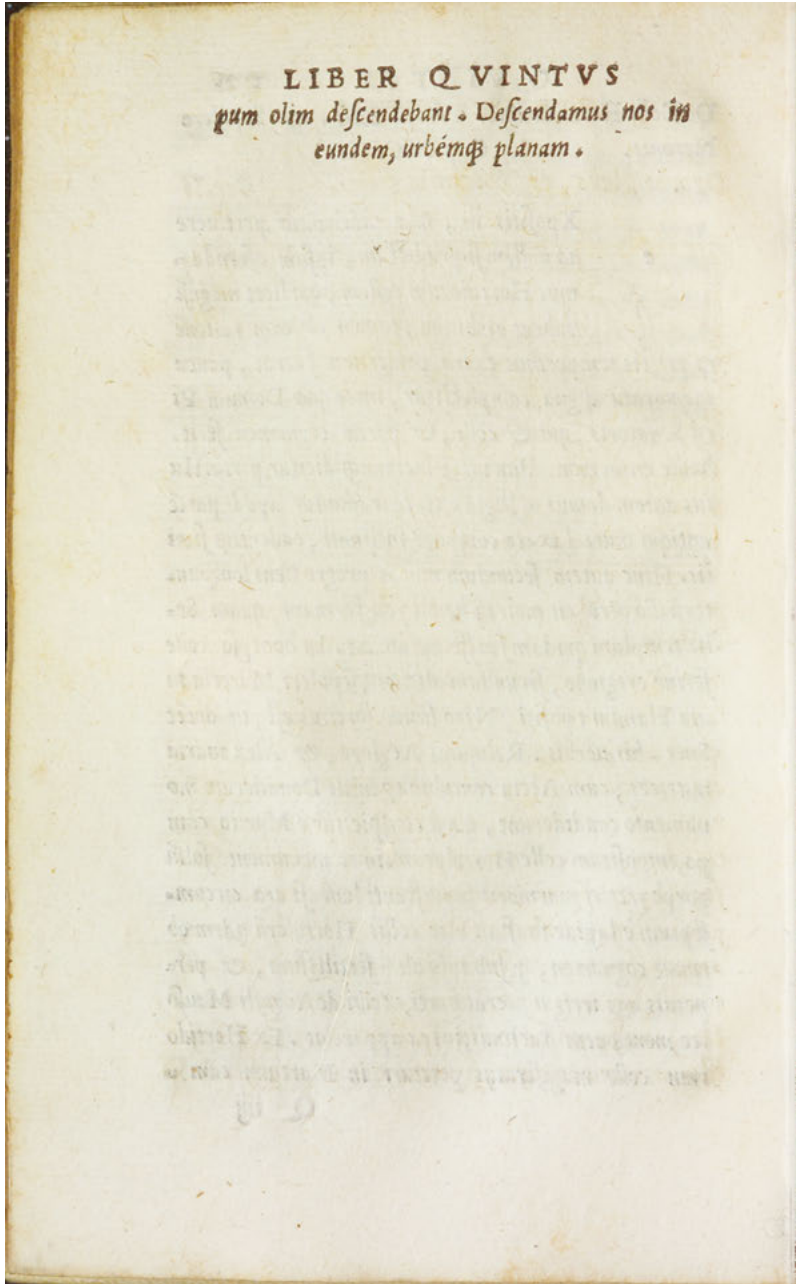
Marliano, it is true, propagates an *urbis umbilicus* too – the navel of the city (125r). However, he identifies it not as the Capitoline Hill, but as the Pantheon, which forms the middle of the map but not of the text. I suspect Marliano was concrete to the point that he actually meant what he wrote: he described the Pantheon as a navel simply because it looked like one, with the circular hole in the roof, and not because a navel symbolized the midpoint of Rome.

Marliano tried neither to be learned nor clever. Although he briefly notes the history and form of Rome’s ancient structures, he sums them up in a manner that glosses over complicated issues of archaeology and architecture. He is not an expert on anything in particular, but the observer who along the way points out things as they actually appear. The act of *seeing* is the glue that binds the city together. Churches and ruins constitute scenery more than historical realities. A typical passage reads “Between the hills of Capitol and Palatine, where the Church of Santa Maria della Gratia is situated, the Temple of Vesta can be *seen* [my italics].” The observations are far from groundbreaking, but they are based precisely on observing. For Marliano the passage of time materializes instantly and immediately – one thing in front of the other – frozen as “sights.”

To bring the analysis further, Marliano’s observations are structured in a literary now-and-then dichotomy, foreshadowing the souvenir books for sale at Rome’s newsstands. Antiquities that exist to the extent that they “can be seen” anchor the ancient city in perception – in *sight*. Sight, combined with imagination, manifest a

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<sup>40</sup> The notion of the Seven Hills of Rome occurs in the fourth-century *Curiosum*, a catalogue of the regions of the city. The notion is repeated in several documents throughout the Middle Ages. See Moralee (2013) 51.



**Fig. 2.7:** "... let us descend to the plains of the city." The last page (124v) of Book 5 of Bartolomeo Marliano's *Antiquae Romae topographia* (1534). Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, DG 450–1341.

Rome in layers and an antiquity doomed to remain partly hidden, somewhat behind, or underneath. The two cities are no longer distributed artificially as parallel units in a classic *paragone* in the way Albertini had presented them. Shifting weight from the conception of Rome to the impression of Rome, *Roma vetus* is necessarily a city that only can be glimpsed and imagined. Never before had *man* and his faculties been paraded so openly in the shaping of the text.

*Topographia*, then, is structured not on geometry nor on typology, but on the idea of a companion – of a “someone” who seems to walk with you through the city, pointing out places of interest. This is a commonplace in modern travel literature, but in 1534 represents a radical shift. The Roman wanderer was a literary motif already with Vergil, as we saw, but Marliano implants the wanderer in – or rather *as* – the very structure of his narrative, as the model for organizing the text. It seems like a simple reorientation of a genre, but in reality it shatters Rome’s thousand-year-old idealized self-image as well as the conventions of the printed guide manifested by Albertini. The *Topographia* marks the birth of modern man as a cosmopolite who resets the form of Rome with reference not in an ideal geometry, but in a pair of good shoes. To put it poignantly, the geometrically conveyed city gave way to the anthropocentric one. Man himself draws the grid – on entering piazzas and rounding corners. Rome forms no longer a collection of monuments but a *connection* of monuments.

Arguably, and in conclusion, the idealized reordering of Rome in the *Opusculum* was the reason why Julius II awarded Albertini, as author, a privilege for this text in particular. It was the first “scientific” – that is geometric – representation of Rome in the literature of guides. Albertini reconstructs Capitol’s centrality in words, as Alberti had done in cartography, using the idea of the goniometer to anchor the account of Rome on sound principles.

An abyss separates the idealized and theoretically conceived Rome of Albertini from the dynamic, chaotic city luring Marliano out into the streets. In fact, Marliano produced a new narrative structure that sprang from movement, a text that corresponded to perception, and a map that reflected the surroundings. The guidebook became the extension of self – one’s body, one’s eyes.

To broaden the perspective, Rome invites its visitor to his or her cultural rebirth as a spectator and a flâneur. In the course of the sixteenth century, the guidebook incorporates, and partly invents, these two roles in its effort to strike a balance between text and experience, between the scholar and the stroller, between literary conventions and a changing city.

As I have shown, the guide as a printed book and Rome as a modern metropolis were both fragile realities in the Renaissance, still in the making, and arguably exposed to each other’s influence. The concept of bibliotopography, I believe, captures the interweaving of these realities and defines the connection between the city and the text. The bibliotopographic schemes highlight how early printed books were precious objects in themselves. A book always transcended its content – indeed, the division between form and content as such is a later construct reeking of anachronism. A printed

book was unthinkable as a unit whose value was confined solely to the meaning the text gave. By comparison, a Renaissance altarpiece never existed independently of the church it decorated, of the architectural woodwork that framed the canvas, of the perspective that fixed its motifs: all elements helped substantiate and convey the content on multiple levels and in measured gradations of concreteness, just as bibliotopographies did in books.

The often elusive structures of such schemes show that guidebooks in the Renaissance were not yet entirely “abstracted” from the things they described, as if the reality of the actual world still seeped through the pages and enveloped the very organization of texts in its earthly, tangible domain. The guides of Albertini and Marliano demonstrate how bibliotopographies functioned to bridge the gap and secure a transition between a geographic territory and stacked sheets, between city quarters and chapter headings, between centuries and sentences. The texts amount to more than words on paper, as both the *words* and the *paper* contribute to produce meaning – they are themselves part of the narration, constituents of reality, just like the hills, rivers, squares, and houses in the grid that makes up a city.

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Anna Bortolozzi

### 3 Architects, Antiquarians, and the Rise of the Image in Renaissance Guidebooks to Ancient Rome

*Rome fut tout le monde, & tout le monde est Rome*<sup>1</sup>

#### Drawing in the past, drawing in the present: Two attitudes towards the study of Roman antiquity

In the early 1530s, the Sienese architect Baldassare Peruzzi drew a section along the principal axis of the Pantheon on a sheet now preserved in the municipal library in Ferrara (Fig. 3.1).<sup>2</sup> In the sixteenth century, the Pantheon was generally considered the most notable example of ancient architecture in Rome, and the drawing is among the finest of Peruzzi's surviving architectural drawings after the antique.

The section is shown in orthogonal projection, complemented by detailed measurements in Florentine *braccia*, subdivided into *minuti*, and by a number of explanatory notes on the construction elements and building materials. By choosing this particular drawing convention, Peruzzi avoided the use of foreshortening and perspective, allowing measurements to be taken from the drawing. Though no scale is indicated, the representation of the building and its main elements are perfectly to scale. Peruzzi's analytical representation of the Pantheon served as the model for several later authors – Serlio's illustrations of the section of the portico (Fig. 3.2)<sup>3</sup> and the roof girders (Fig. 3.3) in his *Il Terzo Libro* (1540) were very probably derived from the Ferrara drawing.<sup>4</sup>

In an article from 1966, Howard Burns analysed Peruzzi's drawing in detail, and suggested that the architect and antiquarian Pirro Ligorio took the sheet to Ferrara in 1569. According to Burns, the article on 'Pantheon' in the thirteenth volume of the manuscript encyclopaedia of classical antiquity, which Ligorio compiled in Ferrara (now preserved in Turin), confirmed the hypothesis that Ligorio owned the drawing: on a double page spread, Ligorio copied Peruzzi's section of the Pantheon, and on the

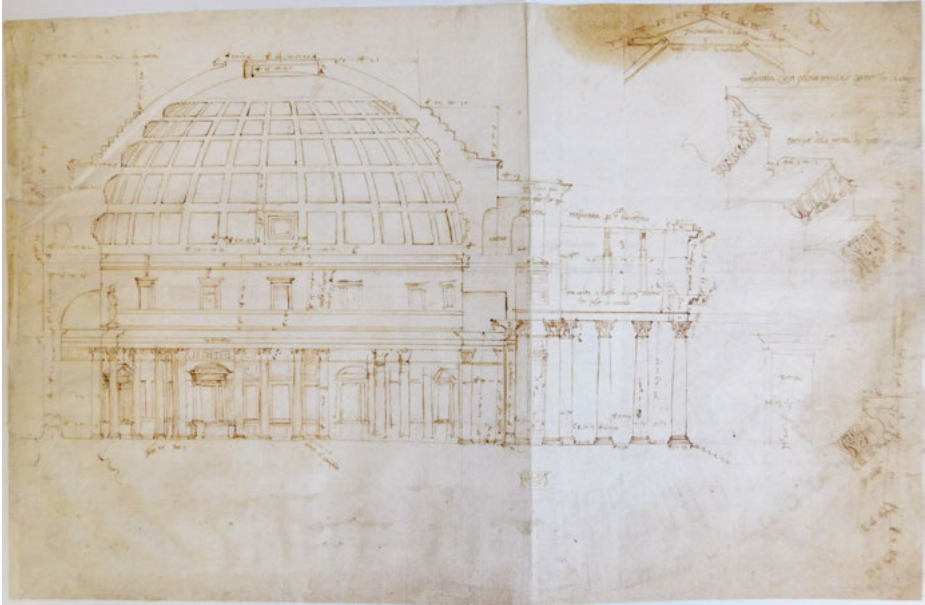
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1 Du Bellay (1558) XXVI. 9; see Tucker (1990).

2 Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, ms. Classe I 217, allegato 8<sup>f</sup>, Baldassare Peruzzi, *Pantheon*; Burns (1966); Kleefisch-Jobst (1994).

3 Serlio adds a pilaster in the corner nearest the door of the short vestibule between the portico and the rotunda, an emendation to the standing building made by Peruzzi in the Ferrara drawing.

4 Serlio (1540) IX–XII; for Serlio's printing enterprise, Carpo (2001) 42–55.



**Fig. 3.1:** Baldassare Peruzzi, section across the principal axis of the Pantheon, c.1530, Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, ms. Classe I 217, allegato 8<sup>r</sup> (Photo Municipal library of Ferrara).

reverse of the second page the study of the cornice above the door, which the Siense architect had drawn down the side of the Ferrara sheet (Fig. 3.4).<sup>5</sup>

The measurements of the two drawings correspond exactly, as do some of the notes. Although Ligorio copied from Peruzzi, he made certain interpolations that marked his own knowledge of the building and the ancient sources related to it. Behind the Pantheon he added a reconstruction of the façade of the basilica of Neptune (which he mistakenly identified as the “Tempio di Benevento”), and he replaced the haloed figure that Peruzzi had drawn above one of the columns of the “cappella maggiore” with a statue of Minerva.<sup>6</sup> Ligorio’s drawing was an attempt to reconstruct the appearance of the building in antiquity, and not a survey of the surviving monument. Ligorio sought to give the building an antique flavour, finishing all the parts of his drawing to the same level (adding for example the rosettes in

<sup>5</sup> Turin, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca antica, Manoscritti, Ligorio Pirro, *Il libro delle antichità*, vol. 13, fols. 48<sup>v</sup>–49<sup>r</sup>, 49<sup>v</sup>, published in Burns (1966) as Figs. 3.13 & 3.14. The same article also has Ligorio’s copies of the four studies of the Pantheon in the Uffizi by Giovanni Antonio Dosio (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, 2020A, 2021A, 2022A & 2023A). For Dosio’s drawings of the Pantheon, Hülsen (1933) xiv–xvii; Borsi et al. (1976) 112–13, nos 104–107; for Ligorio’s manuscripts in Turin, see Mandowsky/Mitchell (1963).

<sup>6</sup> Burns (1966) app. ii, 269–70.



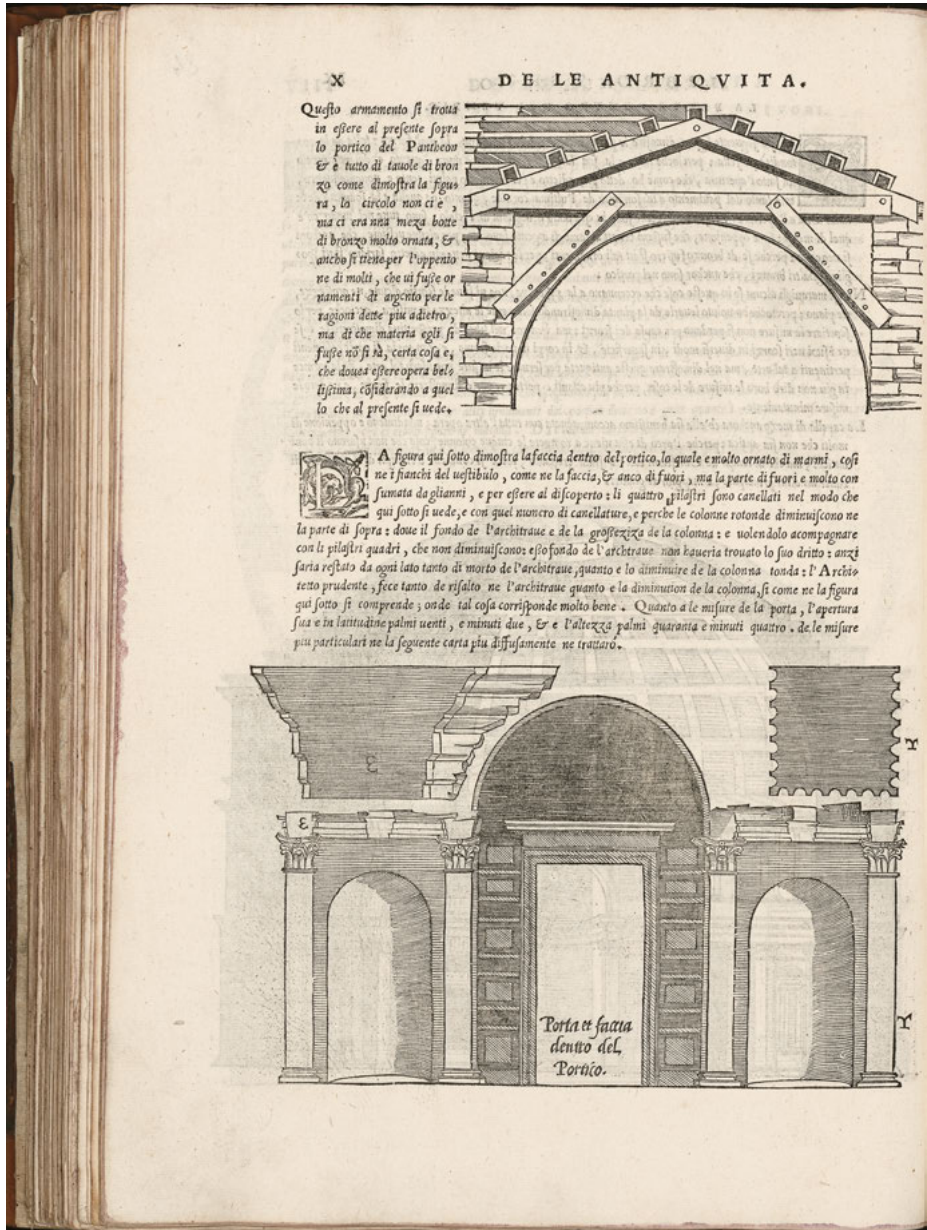


Fig. 3.3: Sebastiano Serlio, *Terzo Libro* (1540), X, Pantheon, roof girder and transverse section of the portico (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte).



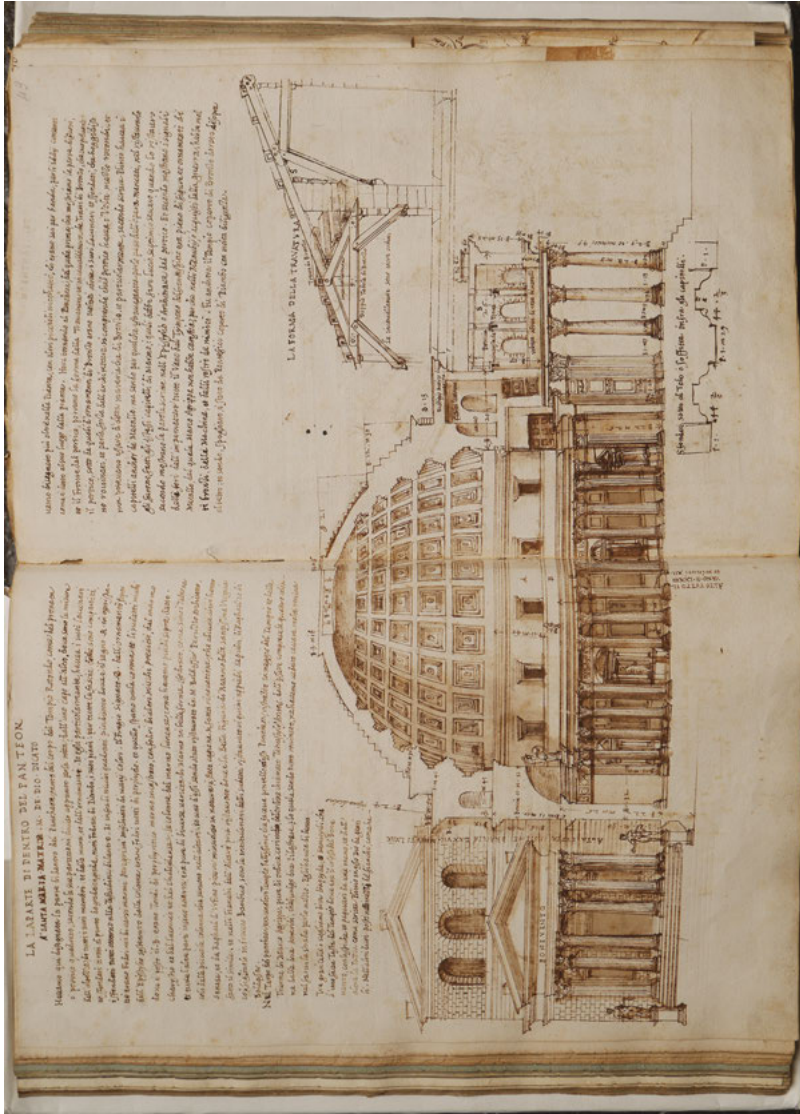


Fig. 3.4: Pirro Ligorio, section across the principal axis of the Pantheon, Turin, Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca antica, Manoscritti, Ligorio Pirro, Il libro delle antichità, vol. 13, fols. 48<sup>v</sup>–49<sup>r</sup> (Photo Archivio di Stato di Torino).

the coffering), but with less attention to accurate detail than Peruzzi (the bases of the columns are out of scale, for example, and the coffering is recessed too far into the vault). Ligorio's sense of what was most relevant in the representation of an ancient building differed considerably from the outlook implicit in Peruzzi's drawing. Ligorio tended to interpret the building in terms of literary sources and his general conception of the antique. As Burns acutely notes, "Peruzzi draws the Pantheon, as it were, in the present. But Ligorio draws it in the past, by furnishing it with a rich antique décor".<sup>7</sup>

A comparison of Peruzzi's and Ligorio's depictions of the Pantheon helps us see two attitudes towards the study of antiquity that coexisted in sixteenth-century Rome, and that characterised not only the production of architectural drawings and treatises, but also guidebooks and cartographic representations of the city.<sup>8</sup> The first, by such architects as Leon Battista Alberti, Raphael, Sebastiano Serlio, Andrea Palladio, Giovanni Antonio Dosio and the antiquarians Flavio Biondo, Andrea Fulvio, Bartolomeo Marliano and Bernardo Gamucci, contributed to the formation of a historically truthful image of the city, in which past and present harmonised.<sup>9</sup> The second, illustrated by the work of the architects and antiquarians Pirro Ligorio, Giovanni Battista Montano, and later Giacomo Lauro, set out to resurrect ancient Rome, creating an imaginative and captivating picture of the Eternal City.<sup>10</sup> The present essay concerns the first of the two attitudes, which, acknowledging the primacy of empiricism, drove the transformation of antiquarian studies and architecture into modern disciplines.

The architectural historian Cammy Brothers has highlighted the concern architects and antiquarians shared for Roman ruins in the sixteenth century.<sup>11</sup> While architects were fascinated by the particular physical qualities of the ruins, antiquarians devoted their energies to understanding their original function and history. The result, Brothers argues, was "a strange disjunction, unfamiliar to students of architecture or historians of art today, who are accustomed to well-illustrated historical studies: one could learn about ancient architecture by examining large numbers of drawings and prints after ancient architecture that provided little or no commentary; or one could read the guidebooks,

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<sup>7</sup> Burns (1966) 267.

<sup>8</sup> For sixteenth-century descriptions of ancient Rome, see Siekiera (2009) and Siekiera (2010); see also Delbeke/Morel (2012); and Kritzer (2010), who shows how guidebooks authors built on previous works and reluctantly questioned the authority of classical sources.

<sup>9</sup> For Renaissance archaeology and antiquity, see, for example, Cantino Wataghin (1984); Barkan (1999).

<sup>10</sup> Fuhring (2008); for Montano, see Bedon (1983); Fairbairn (1998) 541–54; Dallaj 2013; for Lauro, see Plahte Tschudi (2017).

<sup>11</sup> *Variety, Archeology, & Ornament* (2011) 10.

which failed to offer a sense of what the monuments look like”.<sup>12</sup> Around 1550, however, common features such as an emphasis on first-hand experience of material remains, and on the role of images as visual sources, indicated that guidebooks and architectural treatises were exerting a distinct mutual influence on one another. The antiquarians’ collecting and study of inscriptions and medals provided architects with a growing body of historically correct information about the topography of the ancient city, while the investigations of the architectural ruins undertaken by several generations of Renaissance architects supplied antiquarians with increasingly accurate surveys and visual reconstructions of the monuments. The exponential growth of the printing market in sixteenth-century Rome also persuaded architects and antiquarians into a number of joint publishing ventures. Woodcuts, etchings, and copperplate engravings of real and fantasy buildings, initially conceived as illustrations of architectural treatises or as single-leaf prints, were re-engraved in smaller formats as guidebook illustrations. Before the 1540s, no guidebook to Rome, ancient or modern, was illustrated. It was the antiquarian Bartolomeo Marliano who in 1544 published the very first illustrated guidebook to ancient Rome, the *Urbis Romae topographia*, which borrowed a number of plates from Sebastiano Serlio’s architectural treatise on antique architecture, *Il Terzo Libro* (1540). Marliano’s guidebook paved the way for a new type of publication in which images and text complemented one another, in what was plainly an attempt to amuse readers, but also to help them understand. The work of the subsequent generation of architects, and in particular Andrea Palladio and Pirro Ligorio, widened the visual representations of ancient architecture in type and quality, while at the same time the Roman market for individual intaglio prints offered a great range of subject matter, including maps. Yet it was probably the views of the antiquities of Rome drawn by Giovanni Antonio Dosio, and printed as illustrations of Gamucci’s *L’Antichità di Roma* (1565) and de Cavalieri’s *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium quae supersunt reliquiae summa* (1568), that contributed most to the changes in the guidebook tradition, by subverting the relationship between text and image in favour of the latter.

## From Biondo to Fulvio: Towards a systematic survey of the ancient city

The rise of Renaissance antiquarianism in the fifteenth century marked a turning point in classical studies, and consequently in descriptions of the ancient city of

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<sup>12</sup> *Variety, Archeology, & Ornament* (2011) 11.

Rome. A new approach to sources led to a critical assessment of the so-called *Mirabilia*, descriptions of Rome deriving from a twelfth-century prototype, which relegated them to the category of popular literature.<sup>13</sup> Artists, architects and antiquarians began to study ancient monuments in a novel way, combining on-site scrutiny of the ruins with the philological reading of classical sources, the interpretation of ancient inscriptions, and the use of old coins for historical evidence.<sup>14</sup> Biondo (1392–1463) was the first to attempt a methodical account of the remains of the ancient city.<sup>15</sup> His main work, *De Roma instaurata*, published in three volumes between 1444 and 1446, was a topographical reconstruction of the urban and architectural setting of ancient Rome, which deeply influenced all the guidebooks to Rome until the end of the sixteenth century. Its structure conformed to a catalogue of the urban regions of the city attributed to Sextus Rufus, which in turn directly or indirectly derived from the fourth-century catalogue by Publius Victor, *Descriptio urbis Romae*.<sup>16</sup> The structure of the late antique regionary catalogues helped Biondo establish an exact topographical standpoint for the description of the ancient city; however, Biondo's description was also perfectly integrated into the fabric of Christian Rome and its monuments. The first volume of *De Roma instaurata* dealt with the gates of the town, describing both the Aurelian walls and the ninth-century circuit of the *Civitas Leonina*. Then Biondo proceeded to examine the Vatican district with its pagan and Christian monuments: St Peter's and the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia, the Capitoline Hill, the Aventine, the Palatine, the Caelian, the Basilica Salvatoris and the areas around the Lateran hospital, and concluding with the Esquiline, the Quirinal, and the Suburra. The second volume started with a disquisition on ancient baths, followed by descriptions of pagan and Christian monuments on the Esquiline and Viminal hills, and concluded with an account of the city's religious and administrative monuments and theatres. Amphitheatres and circuses opened volume three, which then concentrated on the arches and other buildings of the Forum, the Pantheon, and other miscellaneous monuments. Not long after the publication of Biondo's *De Roma instaurata*, the architect Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) developed a method for a systematic survey of the cityscape, exemplified in his *Descriptio urbis Romae*.<sup>17</sup> This was the first topographic description of the city based on a set of

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<sup>13</sup> For the *Mirabilia*, see Accame/Dell'Oro (2004); Huber-Rebenich et al. (2014).

<sup>14</sup> Weiss (1973) 59–72; Franzoni (2001); Blevins (2007); Karmon (2011).

<sup>15</sup> McCahill (2013); Mazzocco (2016); Günther (1997).

<sup>16</sup> Flavio Biondo declares to have consulted an old description of Rome by *Sextus Ruffus vir consularis*, a copy of which he had seen in the library attached to the monastery of Monte Cassino. See Smith (1873), s.v. "Sextus Rufus".

<sup>17</sup> Alberti worked on the *Descriptio* between 1448 and 1455. Six manuscript copies of the work survive. For modern editions, see, for example, Alberti (2000); Alberti (2005); Carpo/Furlan (2007). For Alberti and the *Descriptio* in general, see Di Teodoro (2005).



exact measurements, taken with the aid of a mathematical instrument, between a number of principal landmarks and monuments and the Capitol, conceived as *umbilicus urbis*.<sup>18</sup> Alberti's *Descriptio* circulated only as in manuscript, but nonetheless set a new standard in the way Rome and its monumental palimpsests were identified and represented by cartographers. The recognition of the Capitoline Hill as the epicentre of the ancient city was one borrowed by later descriptions of Rome, such as the influential *Topographia Antiquae Romae* by Bartolomeo Marliano (1534).

After Biondo's and Alberti's pioneering work, it was in the age of Leo X (1513–1521) that antiquarian studies saw major progress. During his eight-year pontificate, the Medici Pope encouraged research by antiquarians around the city, and involved artists and architects in order to correlate their findings.<sup>19</sup> At the Pope's behest, Raphael began a project to draw up a map of ancient Rome, complete with texts and drawings of all its monuments.<sup>20</sup> The method and principles he used in this ambitious undertaking were clearly stated in the famous memorandum to Leo X, written in collaboration with Baldassare Castiglione in around 1519.<sup>21</sup> The letter, which survives in several manuscript copies, concerned the preservation of the ancient monuments of Rome, and included a progress report on the artist's work. Raphael's intention was to combine a detailed survey of the standing ruins with a reading of the ancient sources.<sup>22</sup> Aware of its limits as an empirical method, he had not set out to compile a complete image of antiquity, but "a drawing of ancient Rome – at least as far as can be understood from that which can be seen today – with those buildings that are sufficiently well preserved such that they can be drawn out exactly as they were, without error, using true principles, and making those members that are entirely ruined and have completely disappeared correspond with those that are still standing and can be seen."<sup>23</sup>

In the letter, Raphael clarified how to distinguish ancient buildings from the "Gothic" (medieval) and the modern (Renaissance) buildings, in order to survey them 'without making mistakes'.<sup>24</sup> His technique was based on a magnetic compass, and

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**18** For a description of Alberti's instrument for measuring angles, see Williams/March/Wassell (2010) 122–3.

**19** Tafuri (1984); Danesi Squarzina (1989); Jacks (1993) 183–91 *et passim*.

**20** For Raphael and the study of the antiquity, see Burns (1984); Nesselrath (1984).

**21** Bonelli (1978) 461–84; Rowland (1994); Di Teodoro (2003). For the English translation, see Hart/Hicks (2006) 177–92.

**22** "Since I [Raphael] have been so completely taken up by these antiquities – not only in making every effort to consider them in great detail and measure them carefully but also in assiduously reading the best authors and comparing the built works with the writings of those authors – I think that I have managed to acquire a certain understanding of the ancient way of architecture" (Hart/Hicks 2006, 179); for Raphael's archaeological method, see Nesselrath (1986).

**23** Hart/Hicks (2006) 181.

**24** *Ibid.* 183.



**Fig. 3.5:** Raphael, perspective view of the interior of the Pantheon, c.1506, Florence, GDSU, 164A (Photo Public domain Wikimedia commons).

he explained its use in detail. Regarding the method of architectural rendering, Raphael described how to proceed from a measured ground plan to section and exterior elevation, following Vitruvius' classification of *ichnographia*, *orthographia*, and *scaenographia*.<sup>25</sup> Clearly, Raphael intended to *draw in the present*, developing a modern archaeological method of enquiry, characterised by Arnold Nesselrath as “opposed to the mere general antiquarian interests which were common practice among students of the antique of his own and later time”.<sup>26</sup> Unluckily, only a few drawings after antique architecture by Raphael have survived (Fig. 3.5), but his method can be traced in the work of his pupils and followers, among whom were Baldassare Peruzzi (who opened this essay) and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger.<sup>27</sup>

In the preface to his *Antiquitates urbis* (1527), the historian and antiquarian Andrea Fulvio reported that he joined Raphael in charting ancient Rome.<sup>28</sup> He

<sup>25</sup> Fra Giocondo (1511) Liber I, Caput II, fol. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Nesselrath (1986) 358.

<sup>27</sup> For Raphael's drawings after antiquity, see Frommel et al. (1984) 417–23.

<sup>28</sup> On Fulvio see Weiss (1959).

said that he went about with the artist, examining the ruins of Rome region by region (“per regione explorans”),<sup>29</sup> and saw how Raphael located and identified the sites of the monuments and carefully drew their remains (“Raphael Urbinas pennicillo fixerat”).<sup>30</sup> Raphael’s premature death in April 1520 brought their joint project to an abrupt stop, but Raphael’s programme was resumed in Fulvio’s *Antiquitates*, whose scope was “to preserve the memory of the ancient monuments from destruction”.<sup>31</sup> Fulvio’s description of ancient Rome was based on the evidence of the surviving ruins, but also on literary and epigraphic sources and coins. His perspective, he explained, was that of a historian, not of an architect: “non vero architectus, sed historico more describere curavi”.<sup>32</sup> His appreciation of the ancient monuments as an integral part of the Renaissance city did not differ from Raphael’s, but, unlike their joint efforts, Fulvio chose not to impose a topographical structure on his *Antiquitates urbis*. Confronting the tradition of the late antique regionary catalogues, resurrected in Biondo’s work, Fulvio instead grouped Roman antiquities according to type (city gates, bridges, aqueducts, baths, forums, triumphal arches, theatres, columns, obelisks, and so on), offering a precise overview of what was still visible at the time. Fulvio did not *draw* in the present, he *described in the present*, and thus he told the reader about an excavation he had participated in, noted modern restorations of antique buildings, and detailed how pieces of sculpture and fragments from *vigne* and gardens had been moved into palaces and courtyards. In his description of ancient Rome, he also included modern monuments (the Capitoline Hill, New St Peter’s, the Ginnasio Romano, alias the Studium Urbis) and artworks worthy of praise (Giotto’s *Navicella* mosaic and the Filarete door in St Peter’s, the bronze funerary monuments of Martin V in San Giovanni and of Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII in St Peter’s, Raphael’s Vatican loggias, the Vatican Library, and others). Published in 1527, the city’s *annus horribilis*, the *Antiquitates* initially did not receive the attention it deserved, most likely because of the turmoil following the Sack of Rome in which Fulvio apparently died.<sup>33</sup> Nonetheless, the fortune of Fulvio’s work was demonstrated by the appearance in 1543 of an Italian translation by Paolo del Rosso, published in Venice as *Delle antichità della città di Roma*, and by the influence of this vernacular edition on later guidebooks, and in particular Andrea Palladio’s 1554 *L’antichità di Roma*.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Fulvio (1527) fol. A1.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*; also Jacks (1993) 190.

<sup>31</sup> Fulvio (1527) fol. A1.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Ceresa (2004).

<sup>34</sup> Daly Davis (2007).

## Monuments as visual evidence: Serlio and Marliano

Sebastiano Serlio's *Il Terzo Libro, nel quale si figurano, e descrivono le antichità di Roma*, published in Venice in 1540, and the 1544 edition of Bartolomeo Marliano's guidebook to ancient Rome, the *Urbis Romae topographia*, together form one of the most interesting cases of mutual influence between an architectural treatise and a description of ancient Rome. Serlio's book was devoted to ancient architecture and included 53 buildings located in and outside Italy, grouped according to seven main typologies: temples and basilicas (Fig. 3.6), theatres, amphitheatres, baths, triumphal arches (Fig. 3.7), villas, and palaces. Other types of structures, such as triumphal columns, obelisks, portals, bridges, and pyramids, were represented by one monument only. As persuasively argued by the art historian Hans-Christoph Dittscheid, Vitruvian theory appears to have played only a minor role in Serlio's *Il Terzo Libro*.<sup>35</sup> In fact, monuments such as obelisks, triumphal columns, and arches were not treated in Vitruvius' *Ten books on Architecture*, and neither were they in modern architectural treatises that relied on Vitruvius, such as Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* (first published in 1485). They were nonetheless usually included in major descriptions of ancient Rome – the works of Varro and Biondo being the obvious examples. In *Il Terzo Libro*, Serlio also described a number of Renaissance buildings (St Peter's, Bramante's Tempietto at San Pietro in Montorio, the Vatican Belvedere, Villa Madama), which, in his view, rivalled ancient architecture. With this inclusion, Serlio showed that he was not interested in reconstructing ancient Rome as it once was, but in presenting the monuments of the past within the context of the modern city, hence following in the footsteps of Biondo and Fulvio and prefiguring the type of guidebook to *Roma antica e moderna* that would appear in the seventeenth century.<sup>36</sup> Written in the vernacular and addressed to a large audience, Serlio's treatise also anticipated by several years the stream of translations from Latin into Italian of the most important descriptions of ancient Rome issued in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: Flavio Biondo's *De Roma instaurata* and *De Roma triumphante* (published in translation in 1542); Andrea Fulvio's *Antiquitates* (translated in 1543); Bartolomeo Marliano's *Urbis Romae topographia* (translated in 1548).<sup>37</sup> Yet the most influential feature of Serlio's treatise was its large-scale illustrations. Indeed, Serlio's information is primarily conveyed through his images rather than the text.<sup>38</sup> The primacy Serlio gave the images is clearly stated in his dedication to Francis I of France and

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<sup>35</sup> Dittscheid (1989).

<sup>36</sup> The first guidebook that combined descriptions of ancient and modern Rome was Giovanni Domenico Franzini, *Roma antica e moderna*, published in 1643; Schudt (1930) 46–8; Delbeke (2012).  
<sup>37</sup> Siekiera (2010).

<sup>38</sup> Hart (1998).

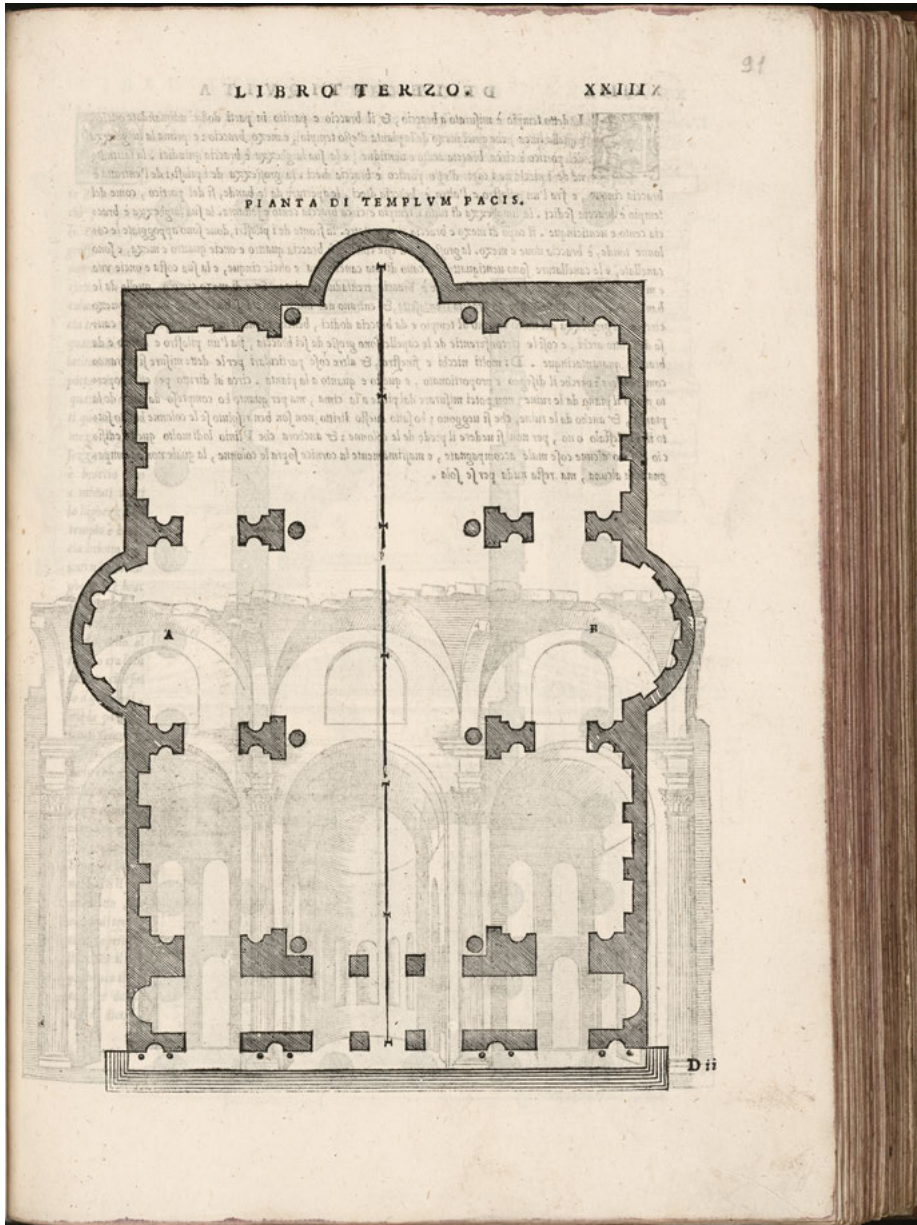


Fig. 3.6: Sebastiano Serlio, *Terzo Libro* (1540), XXIII, Basilica of Maxentius, plan (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte).



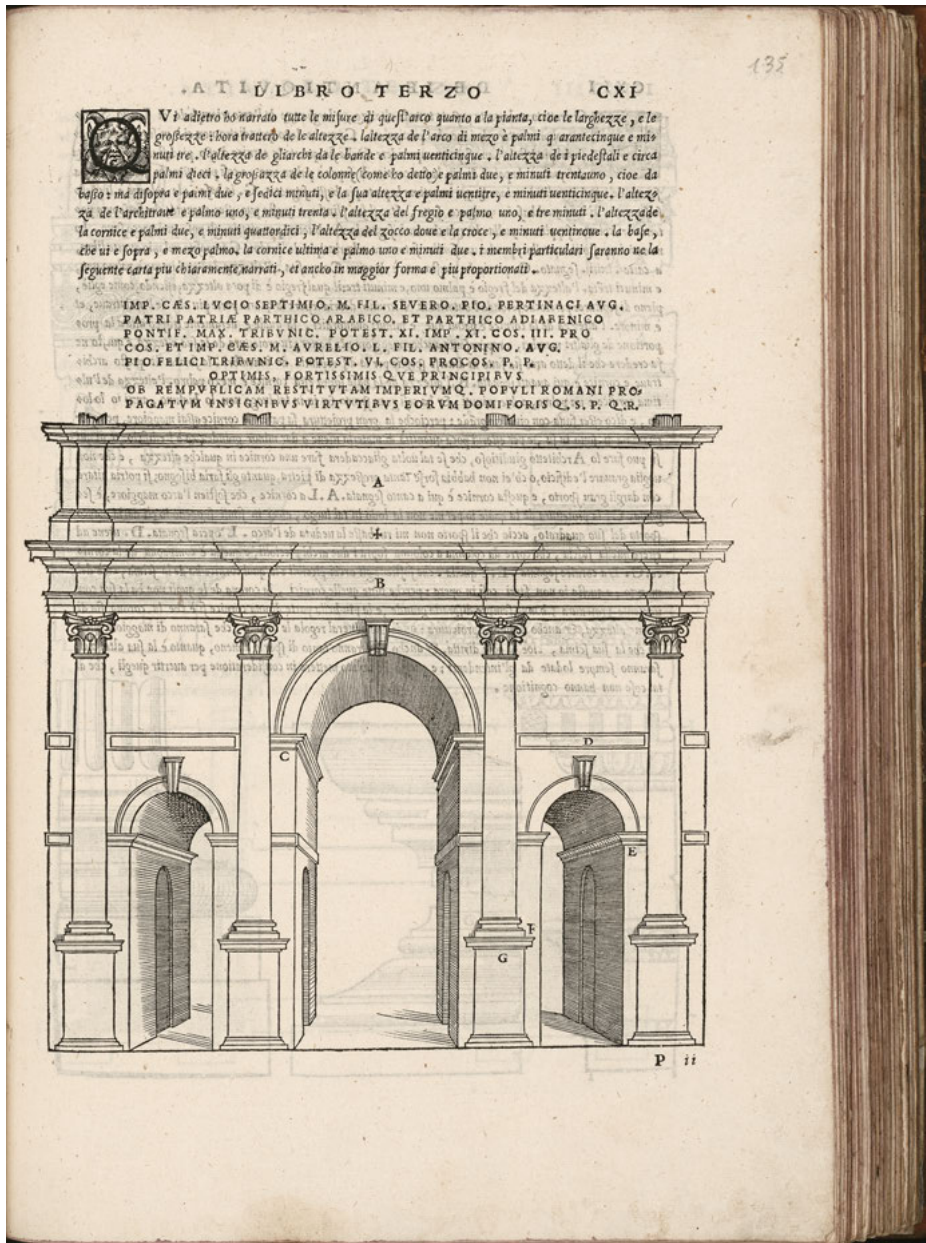


Fig. 3.7: Sebastiano Serlio, *Terzo Libro* (1540), CXI, Arch of Septimius Severus, elevation (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte).

reaffirmed in the first chapter, devoted to the Pantheon.<sup>39</sup> Having summarised the information about the Pantheon given by ancient writers, Serlio commented: “but leaving aside these narrations, which have little importance to the architect, I shall come to the particular measurements of all the parts”, illustrated by the plan, elevation, and section of the monuments.<sup>40</sup> Until Serlio published his *Il Quarto Libro* in 1537, the only illustrated books on architecture printed in Italy were editions of Vitruvius such as those by Fra Giocondo (1511) and Cesare Cesariano (1521).<sup>41</sup> Torello Saraina’s book on the origins and history of Verona, illustrated with 31 woodcuts of its Roman antiquities to designs by Giovanni Caroto, appeared in 1540, the same year as Serlio’s *Il Terzo Libro* was published.<sup>42</sup> The layouts of Fra Giocondo’s and Cesariano’s books were characterised by a combination of text and illustration, while Saraina and Serlio also introduced full-page illustrations placed in close proximity to a descriptive text (Fig. 3.6). Serlio depicted monuments in plan, section, and elevation, sometimes in one plate, sometimes in different folios, as in the illustrations of the Pantheon (Figs. 3.2–3.3). Cross-sections of building interiors and details of the orders were represented for the first time in an orthogonal projection. Measurements were not recorded in the images, but in the text. In his woodcuts, Serlio adopted the method of surveying the ancient monuments developed by Raphael and Peruzzi, and in some cases he directly copied Peruzzi’s drawings, as for example in the orders of the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Augustan Forum.<sup>43</sup>

There can be little doubt that it was the publication of Serlio’s book *Il Terzo Libro* that encouraged Bartolomeo Marliano to complement the second edition of his *Urbis Romae Topographia* (1544) with images of ancient monuments.<sup>44</sup> Of the fifteen woodcuts that illustrated the volume, eight were taken straight from Serlio’s plates: the Arch of Septimius Severus (Fig. 3.8), the Basilica of Maxentius also known as Templum Pacis (Fig. 3.9), the Arch of Janus, Trajan’s Column, the Pantheon, the Pons Fabricius, the Vatican Obelisk, and the church of Santa Costanza.<sup>45</sup>

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**39** Serlio (1540) III: “acciocchè qualunque persona, che di Architettura si diletta; potesse in ogni luogo, ch’ei si trovasse, togliendo questo mio libro in mano, veder tutte quelle meravigliose ruine de i loro edifici: le quali non restassero anchor sopra la terra; forse non si darebbe tanta credenza a le scritte, le quali raccontano tante meraviglie di i gran fatti loro”.

**40** Serlio (1540) VI.

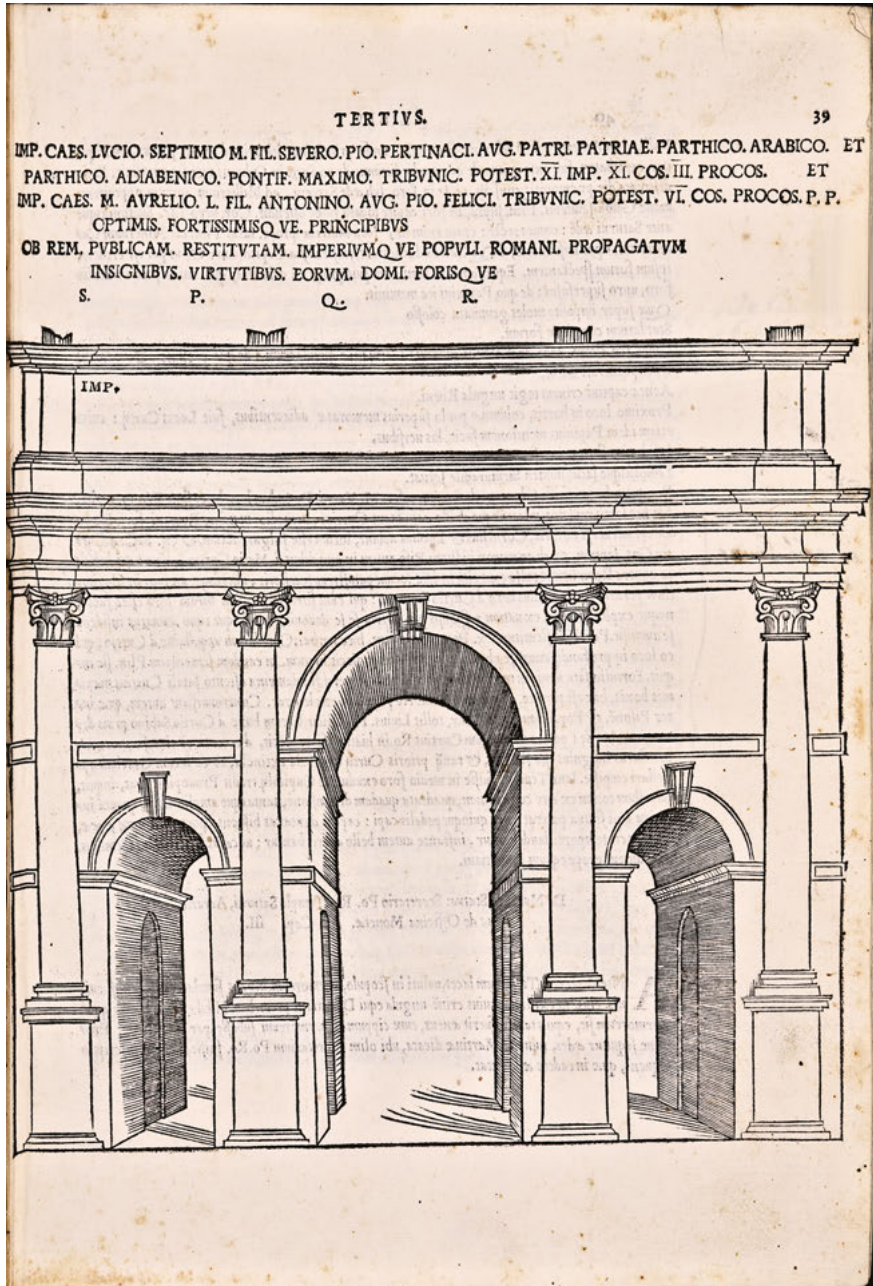
**41** Rosenfeld (1989).

**42** Saraina/Caroto (1540); Caroto (1977).

**43** See Peruzzi’s drawing, GDSU 632Av; Serlio (1540) LXXXV.

**44** Marliano (1544). The first edition of Marliano’s *Topographia* was published in 1534 with no illustrations, except for the plan of the ancient city. For Marliano see Jacks (1993) 208–14; and Plahte Tschudi’s contribution to the present volume.

**45** The other seven illustrations – not taken from Serlio’s treatise – represent the temples of Antoninus and Faustina, Portunus, and Hercules Victor, the Circus Maximus, the Pyramid of Caius Cestius, the Septizonium, and the Curia Hostilia.



**Fig. 3.8:** Bartolomeo Marliano *Urbis Romae Topographia* (1544), 39, Arch of Septimius Severus, elevation. (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte).



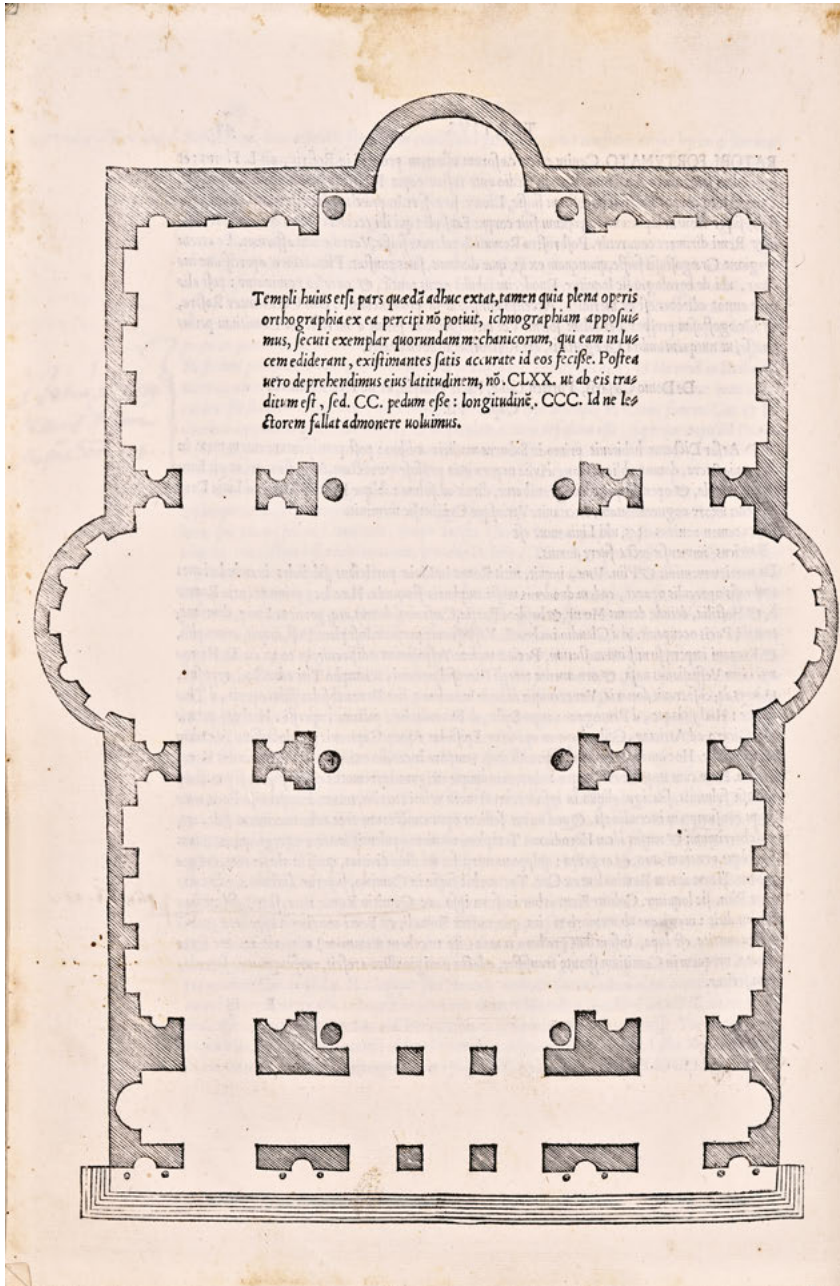


Fig. 3.9: Bartolomeo Marliano *Urbis Romae Topographia* (1544), 46, Basilica of Maxentius, plan. (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte).

In his envoi addressed to the reader, Marliano thanked Ludovico Lucena and Orazio Nucleo for their help, as they had provided the supplemental images for the new edition.<sup>46</sup> But he also claimed that *Topographia*'s plates were far superior to those engraved by previous authors: "I am not unaware that some of these [monuments] have been published by those who chiefly assume the title of architects. Nevertheless, seeing as even I have produced something carelessly before, I have discovered that they have done so, and I have decided it would be for the common benefit of all studious men if I were to insert these [monuments] emended and graphically delineated into this volume".<sup>47</sup> Marliano's volume was not the first illustrated description of ancient Rome, but it was the first to present archeologically correct reconstructions of its monuments. Back in 1527, Fabio Calvo (the author of a translation of Vitruvius used by Raphael) had published *Antiquae Urbis Romae cum Regionibus simulacrum*, which had two series of plates, one reconstructing the topography of the ancient city from its foundation to the Flavian Age, the other illustrating the fourteen Augustan regions, followed by images of the Capitol, a circus, and a *balneum*.<sup>48</sup> Although a brave stab, Calvo's representations of the ancient monuments were inaccurate and schematic, taken as they were from manuscripts and coins.<sup>49</sup> Similarly, his topographic images of the ancient city derived from a number of literary source, with no reference to the evidence of the ruins. Very different from Marliano then, whose main concern was "to thread a new and clearer path in locating ancient monuments", that is to situate them with precision into the fabric of the modern city.<sup>50</sup> In his *Topographia*, each monument is accurately described with reference to present landmarks, such as churches, palaces, and squares; and indeed, in his narrative Marliano addressed the modern reader, constantly evoking an immediate, visual experience of the cityscape, an approach that he clearly shared with Serlio and the architects of Raphael's generation.

## Experience and erudition: Andrea Palladio from *L'antichità di Roma to I quattro libri dell'architettura*

In 1554, during his fifth journey to Rome with his patron, the Venetian patrician Daniele Barbaro, Andrea Palladio published two guidebooks, one devoted to the

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<sup>46</sup> Marliano (1544) 121.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, translated in Jacks (1993) 209.

<sup>48</sup> Pagliara (1976).

<sup>49</sup> For Calvo's *Simulacrum* and its sources, see Jacks (1993) 191–204.

<sup>50</sup> Marliano (1544) 2: "Nos tamen viam aliam planiorem, certioreque ingressi hanc secundam editionem eo adduximus ... ut unumquodque aedificium in qua parte positum fuerit, hodieque extet, facile dignosci possit".

ancient city, entitled *L'Antichità di Roma*,<sup>51</sup> the other dedicated to modern Rome, called *Descrizione della chiese di Roma*.<sup>52</sup> In contrast to the *Descrizione*, which was arranged as four itineraries, Palladio's *L'Antichità* treated the general topography of the ancient city and presented a catalogue of Roman buildings and sites, listed according to their typology: gates, roads, bridges, hills, aqueducts, baths, circuses, theatres, columns, basilicas, and others. Palladio's two guidebooks were probably intended to be used together, showing a distinctly pragmatic attitude on the part of the architect. How best to lead a traveller through ancient Rome, whose vestiges laid partly unexcavated in the open fields between the settlements of the medieval and modern Rome? In *L'Antichità di Roma* Palladio thus offered the reader an encyclopaedic catalogue of the ancient monuments, to be browsed during a visit to the modern city and its churches, or to consult anywhere as a source of historical information. The 64 editions of *L'Antichità di Roma* that followed between 1554 and 1750 demonstrate the power of Palladio's intuition. The reasons of this extraordinary success lay in the book's accessibility, the choice of the vernacular, the accuracy of the historical and archaeological information, the brevity of the text (only 32 sheets), the visual clarity of the layout, the handy index, and the portable, pocket-sized octavo format.

In the preface to *L'Antichità di Roma*, Palladio affirmed that his ambition was to establish a 'truer' picture of the past, founded on the authority of "many completely reliable authors, both ancient and modern", whose names he explicitly recorded.<sup>53</sup> Yet, he claimed, "I did not rest there. I also wished to see and measure everything with my own hands in minute detail".<sup>54</sup> By the mid-1550s Palladio's collection of surveyed drawings of Roman buildings was extensive.<sup>55</sup> He was already working on three of the books that would evolve into the *Quattro Libri* (published 1570), and he was providing illustrations for Daniele Barbaro's 1556 translation of Vitruvius.<sup>56</sup> If, as suggested by Robert Tavernor, Barbaro and Palladio intended the reader to regard their books – *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio* and the *Quattro Libri*, respectively – as parallel texts,<sup>57</sup> Palladio's guidebook to ancient Rome may also

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51 The first edition of Palladio's book was published in Rome in 1554 by Vincenzo Lucrino and in Venice by Matteo Pagan. Schudt (1930) 379–86. An English commented translation has been published by Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks: Hart/Hicks (2006). An authoritative commentary of Palladio's work is Davis (2007). See also Fiore (2008).

52 Palladio (1554). Modern English translation: Hart/Hicks (2006) 95–176.

53 Among the ancient authors, Palladio names Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy, Pliny, Plutarch, Appian of Alexandria, Valerius Maximus, Eutropius; among the moderns, Flavio Biondo, Andrea Fulvio, Lucio Fauno, Bartolomeo Marliano.

54 Palladio (1554), 1, translated in Hart/Hicks (2006) 3.

55 For Palladio's drawings after antique architecture, Zorzi (1959); Avagnina/Villa (2007) 121–47.

56 Barbaro (1556); Puppi (1988) 71–105; Cellauo (1998); for Palladio, Vitruvius, and the study of antiquity, see Gros (2006); Gros (2008).

57 Tavernor (2003) 111.

have found its theoretical background and visual complement in Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius.

In fact, Palladio's guidebook lacked illustrations and little of the results of the architect's own survey of the Roman monuments was reported in the text.<sup>58</sup> Only occasionally did Palladio record precise measurements, as for the Cloaca Maxima, "the Cloaca, or what we call the main sewer, was near the Pons Senatorius, now called the Ponte di Santa Maria. It was built by Tarquinius Priscus, and its great size was recorded with wonder by writers, in that inside it was large enough for a cart to pass comfortably through. As for myself, I have measured it and find that it is 16 feet wide".<sup>59</sup> Nonetheless, Palladio stands out by giving an account of the present condition of each monument: "there were seven aqueducts in Rome. The most famous was that for the Aqua Marcia, the remains of which can be seen in the road that goes to San Lorenzo fuori le Mura. That for the Aqua Claudia used to go from the Porta Maggiore to the church of San Giovanni in Laterano. This aqueduct went via the Celian Hill to the Aventine, and *today* its half-collapsed arches can still be seen rising to a height of 109 feet."<sup>60</sup> In the text, the repeated use of the word *today* reconnected the Roman remains to the architect's own time and experience: "A great deal of the Portico of Faustina is still there on the site where *today* stands the church of San Lorenzo in Miranda. The Portico of Concord, with its eight columns, stands completely intact on the small hill of the Campidoglio. Next to this there once stood another much larger portico, built as ornament for the Campidoglio; all that remains are three columns".<sup>61</sup> In his guidebook, Palladio also reported recent discoveries, as in the paragraph on obelisks or "needles": "As for the small ones, there used to be 42 of them, and on most of these there were Egyptian characters. Today, however, only two stand, one in the Aracoeli and the other at San Ma[c]luto. Six years ago another was found in a small house behind the Minerva, while they were digging a cantina".<sup>62</sup>

Palladio's programme in *L'antichità di Roma* – combining the authority of tradition with first-hand experience of the ancient ruins – was extremely significant as a method, as he himself asserted in the preface to his major work, *I Quattro Libri dell'architettura*, published in 1570: "because I ever was of the opinion, that the ancient Romans did far excel all that have come after them, as in many other things so particularly in building, I proposed to myself Vitruvius both as my master and

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<sup>58</sup> Margaret Daly Davies (2007, 177–81) argues that Palladio's intention for publishing such a scholarly book was probably to establish his own reputation as an architect of humanist formation. At the same time, she questions the autography of Palladio's guidebook. She notes that in one of his later manuscripts Ligorio claimed that *L'Antichità di Roma* was not written by Palladio, but by the historian Giovanni Tarcagnola, alias Lucio Fauno alias Lucio Mauro. Indeed, it is quite possible that the book was the result of Palladio's collaboration with a knowledgeable antiquarian.

<sup>59</sup> Hart/Hicks (2006) 27.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. 27

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. 46.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. 51.

guide, he being the only ancient author that remains extant on this subject. Then I betook myself to the search and examination of such ruins of ancient structures as, in spite of time and the rude hands of Barbarians, are still remaining; and finding that they deserved a much more diligent observation than I thought at first sight, I began with the utmost accuracy to measure every the minute part by itself.”<sup>63</sup> In the fourth volume, devoted to temples, Palladio described and illustrated 27 ancient edifices, 18 of them located in Rome and the remaining 9 elsewhere in Italy, France, and Istria.<sup>64</sup> Each temple was illustrated with folio-size plans, elevations, and sections, complemented with measurements in Vicenza feet.<sup>65</sup> In fact, Palladio partially reconstructed the ancient buildings, but his point of departure was always the onsite survey of the standing structures. Serlio’s woodcuts were a constant reference, but his plates showed a higher degree of exactness and quality. Similarly, Palladio’s text was also more succinct and lucid than Serlio’s, avoiding the tedium of the endless descriptions of measurements for each building (Palladio inscribed his measurements alongside the drawings of the buildings). As a consequence, Palladio’s treatise achieved a narrative quality common to late sixteenth century guidebooks.

The first temple described in *I Quattro Libri dell’architettura* is the so-called Tempio della Pace (Figs. 3.10–3.11) – the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine – “whose vestiges or traces”, Palladio explained, “are seen near the church of Sancta Maria Nova, in the Sacred Way”. It followed the nearby temple of Mars Ultor, “by Torre dei Conti”, and “by said temple built by Augustus”, the vestiges of the temple dedicated to Minerva in the Forum of Nerva. The temples he then enumerated were located relative to the landmarks or buildings of the modern city, so that Palladio’s work may also be read as a visual itinerary of Rome, through its monuments. Terms such as “vicino”, “appresso”, “seguitando”, “rincontro a” connected Palladio’s archaeological reconstruction of the ancient monuments to the modern topography of the city, while “ho veduto”, “si vede”, and “si veggono” underscored the transfer of first-hand experience from Palladio as architect to the reader-beholder. There can be no doubt that in his *I Quattro Libri dell’architettura* Palladio wrote and drew “in the present”, following the principle of historicity established by Peruzzi and Serlio. The reason why Palladio’s 1554 *L’Antichità di Roma* was not supplemented with images or

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<sup>63</sup> Palladio (1570), 5. The English translation is taken from, Palladio (1715), *The Preface to the Reader*. A similar statement is in the dedication of the work to Giacomo Angarano: “perché fin dalla mia giovinezza mi son grandemente diletto delle cose di architettura, onde non solamente ho rivolto con faticoso studio di molt’anni i libri di coloro che con abbondante felicità d’ingegno hanno arricchito d’eccellentissimi precetti questa scienza nobilissima, ma mi son trasferito ancora spesse volte in Roma et in altri luoghi d’Italia e fuori, dove con gli occhi propri ho veduto e con le proprie mani misurato i fragmenti di molti edifici antichi.” (Palladio 1570, 3); for literature on the *Quattro Libri*, see Burns (2008).

<sup>64</sup> Among the temples, Palladio includes also two post-classical buildings: the medieval Baptistery in San Giovanni in Laterano, and Bramante’s Tempietto in San Pietro in Montorio.

<sup>65</sup> A Vicenza foot was 34.7 cm.

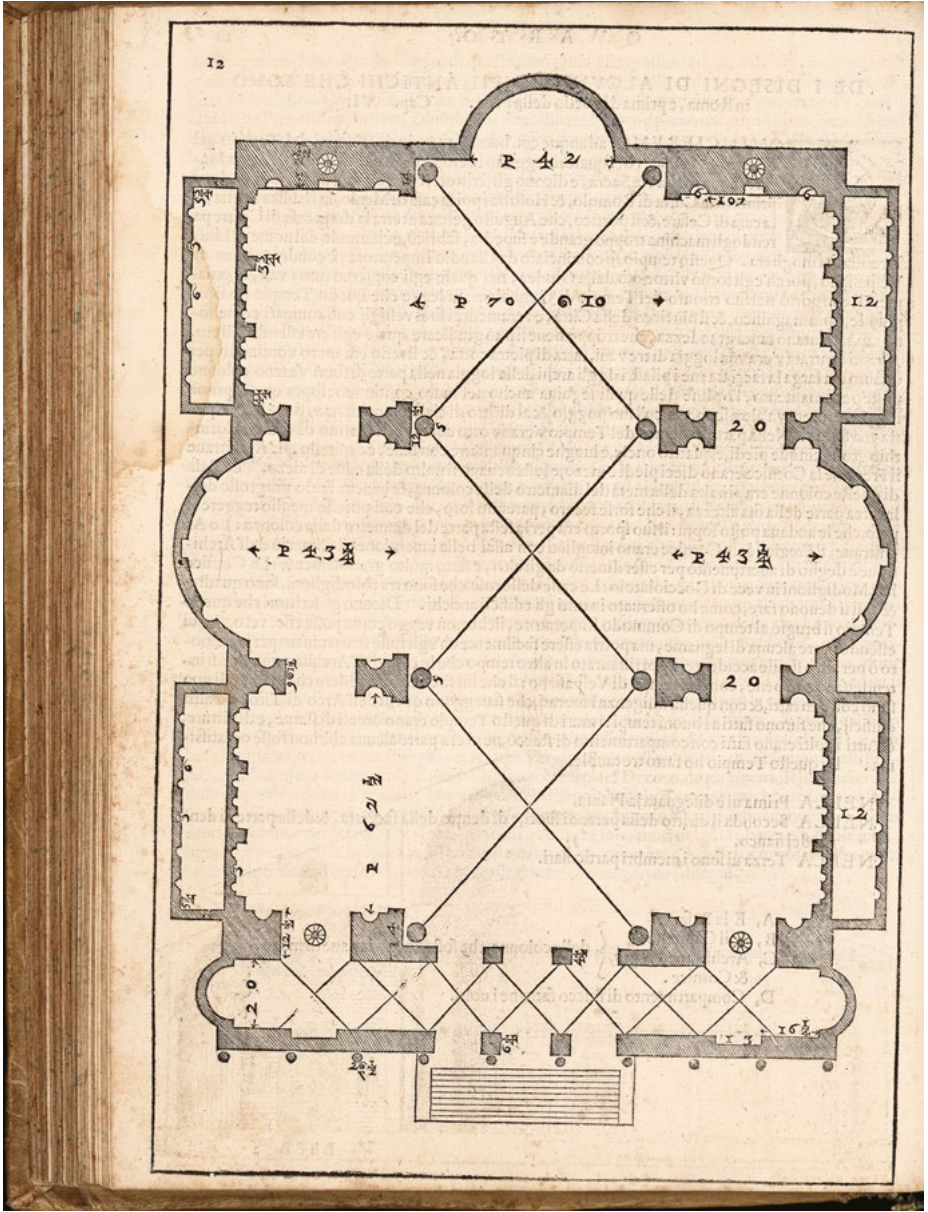
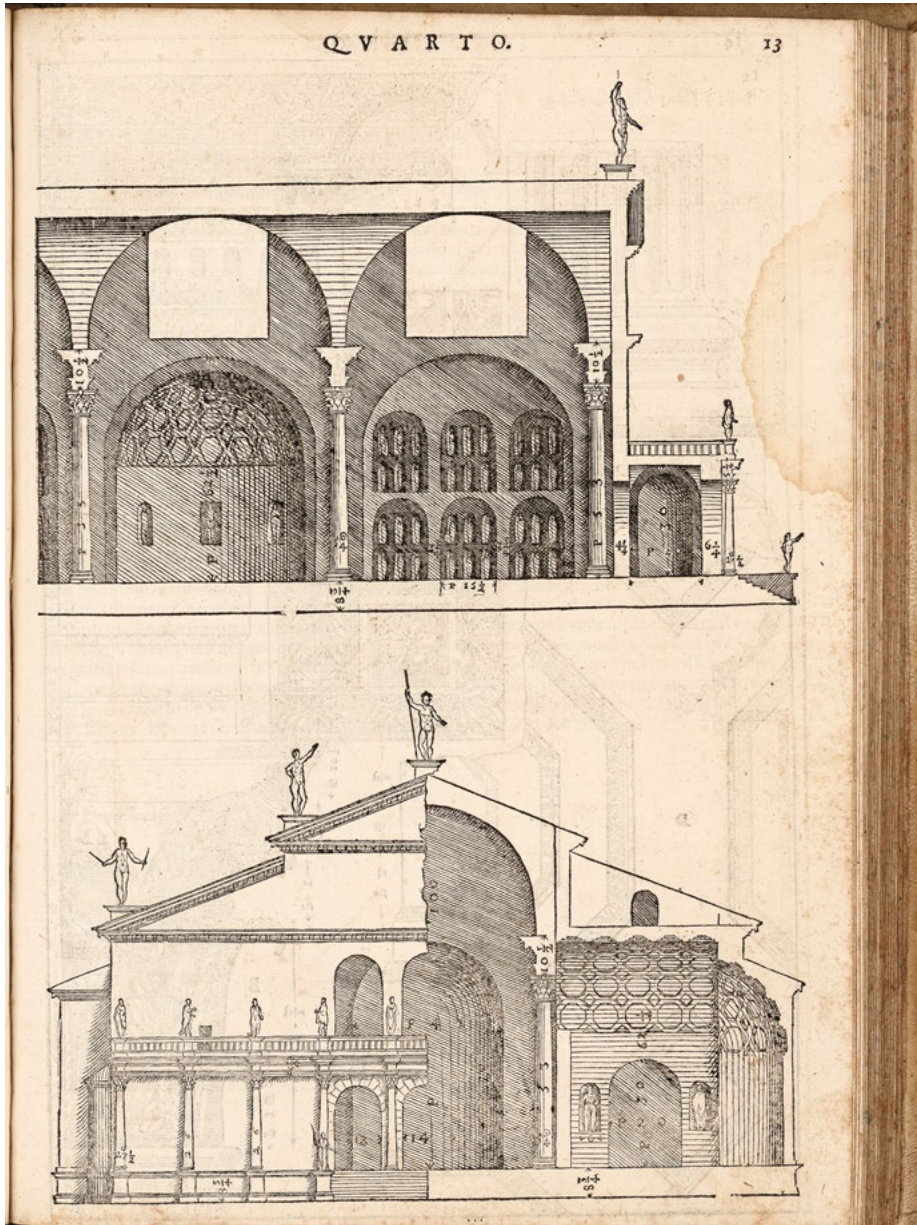


Fig. 3.10: Andrea Palladio, *Quattro Libri dell'architettura* (1570), iv. 12, Basilica of Maxentius, plan (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte).





**Fig. 3.11:** Andrea Palladio, *Quattro Libri dell'architettura* (1570), iv. 13, Basilica of Maxentius, longitudinal section, transversal section and front (Photo Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte).

maps was most likely financial. At the end, the publication in 1570 of the *Quattro Libri* provided the putative guidebook reader with the most lavish visual complement to Palladio's description of the ancient city, *l'Antichità di Roma*, being in its turn effected by the architect's experience as guidebook writer.

## Pirro Ligorio's "syncretic" views of the ancient city

It has been suggested that the publication in Rome of Palladio's guidebook *L'antichità di Roma* (1554) may have been partially due to the architect's encounter with Pirro Ligorio.<sup>66</sup> We know for certain that during Palladio's Roman sojourn, Ligorio had acted as guide for his patron, Daniele Barbaro.<sup>67</sup> Barbaro esteemed Ligorio highly, as later in his work he praised him "as learned as anyone who can be found, to whom is owed infinite and immortal thanks for the study of which he has made and makes regarding antique objects for the benefit of the world".<sup>68</sup> Undoubtedly, Ligorio's studies of the antiquities of Rome influenced Palladio, as evinced by two of Palladio's drawings of the ancient villa at Anguillara, which were based on Ligorio's. Nonetheless, his method of enquiry differed significantly from that of the Vicentine architect.<sup>69</sup>

Since 1549 Ligorio had been in the service of the Cardinal of Ferrara, Ippolito II d'Este, as his courtier and personal antiquarian, and it was then he began to plan a forty-volume encyclopaedia of antiquity.<sup>70</sup> The first publication in his ambitious project was a small engraved plan of ancient and modern Rome published in 1552, followed the next year by a revised version in which the only modern buildings were St Peter's and the Belvedere Court in the Vatican.<sup>71</sup> In the same years, 1552–1553, Ligorio also published his *Delle antichità di Roma, nel quale si tratta de' Circi, Theatri, et Anfiteatri*.<sup>72</sup> The

<sup>66</sup> Puppi (1995); for Pirro Ligorio, see Gaston (1988); Gaston (2002); Coffin (1994); Russel (2007).

<sup>67</sup> Zorzi (1959) 21–3; Occhipinti (2008).

<sup>68</sup> Quoted in Zorzi (1959), 22.

<sup>69</sup> London, RIBA, vol. XI, fol. 4<sup>v-r</sup>. Zorzi (1959) 100, fig. 247–8.

<sup>70</sup> The majority of Ligorio's manuscripts were written during his thirty-year residence in Rome. The artist sold some manuscripts to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in 1567, probably because of financial hardship. The volumes, currently held in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples, were the ones that antiquarians knew best. Some manuscripts went with Ligorio to Ferrara, where he moved to become Duke Alfonso d'Este's antiquarian; from 1569 until his death in 1583 he worked on his encyclopaedia of antiquity, which was never published. All the manuscripts that Ligorio took to Ferrara were bought by Duke Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy at some point before 1621, and they are now in the Archivio di Stato in Turin. For the copied material from the Farnese manuscript, see Russel (2007).

<sup>71</sup> Burns (1988).

<sup>72</sup> Ligorio (1553), transcribed and annotated by Margaret Daly Davis, *Fontes* 9 [15 July 2008], <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2008/562>. Ligorio's book had only one print run in 1553.



book, which treated the circuses, theatres, and amphitheatres of ancient Rome, was the only work of Ligorio's to go to press out of the eighteen books he projected for the *Antique urbis imago*. Continuing an established tradition in antiquarian studies, Ligorio framed his discussion of the Roman monuments by type. His dissertation was by no means richer in historical information than Palladio's, but his scholarship privileged the authority of the ancient authors, numismatics, and epigraphy to the detriment of the archaeological data. In his enquiry Ligorio played up the importance of having direct experience of the ruins, but in reality he seldom proceeded according to the method of systematic survey developed by Raphael and Peruzzi. When Ligorio talked of his approach to the problem of reconstructing the form and function of the Circus Flaminius, he explained that he personally investigated each part of the site in close detail, but for the sections where the ruins were no longer extant, he took as models other circuses whose structures were better preserved.<sup>73</sup> To do so meant continual reference to analogous examples, and continual restoration of individual works by reference to ideal types, sometimes in an arbitrary manner (Fig. 3.4).

The engravings of the Circus Maximus, Circus Flaminius (Fig. 3.12), and Castra Praetoria, along with two plans of ancient Rome, all issued between 1552 and 1553, help to clarify Ligorio's method.<sup>74</sup> Notably, the right to print the *Libro delle antichità di Roma*, granted to the editor Michele Tramezzino in 1552, also covered Ligorio's graphic reconstructions and plans, which were therefore intended as illustrations of the text.<sup>75</sup> In the inscription on Beatrizet's engraving of the Circus Maximus after Ligorio's drawing, note is made of the use of coins, stones, and marbles, as well as written sources – Cassiodorus, Tertullian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Horace – when reconstructing the appearance of the monument.<sup>76</sup> Howard Burns identified a sestertius issued by Trajan and a coin issued by Caracalla as Ligorio's main visual sources.<sup>77</sup> It was on the basis of these coins that Ligorio fitted out the hippodrome with

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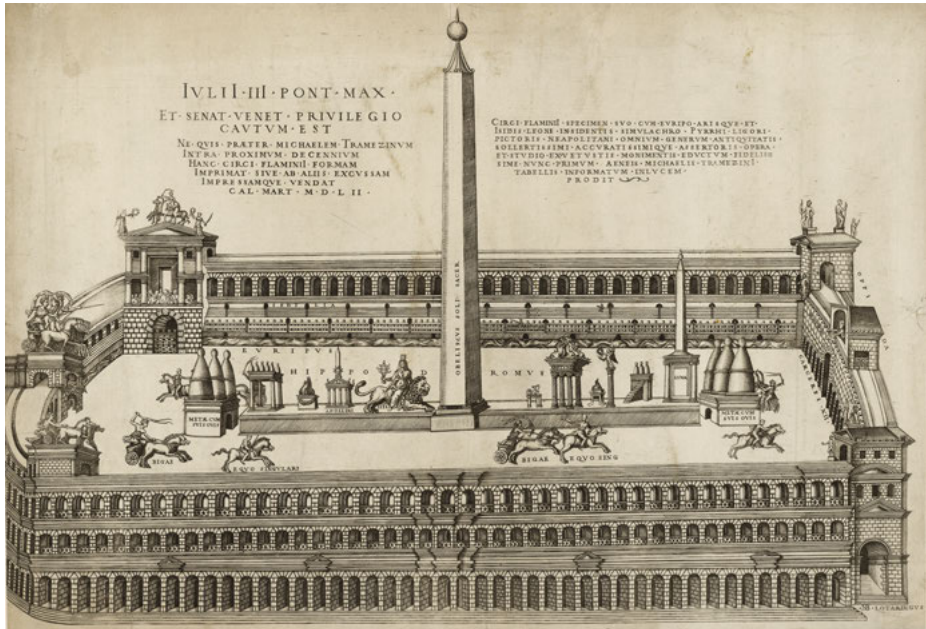
<sup>73</sup> Ligorio (1553) 46: “Desiderando io à tutto mio potere di rinfrescare, et di conservare la memoria delle cose antiche, et insieme di sodisfare à quelli, che d’esse si diletano: mi sono con ogni possibil cura, et diligentia sforzato, et ingegnato, tra gli altri nobili edificii di dimostrare anco la pianta intiera di questo Circo: et per ciò fare sono andato non senza grandissima fatica ricercando minutamente ogni luogo, et parte d’esso: non lasciando pezzo alcuno di muro, per minimo che fusse, senza vederlo, et considerarlo sottilissimamente: accompagnandovi sempre la lettione di quegli auttori, che hanno scritto de i Circi alcuna cosa più particolare: et valendomi bene spesso della coniectura, dove le ruine, che poche sono, mancavano: et pigliando l’essempto de gli altri Circi, che sono più intieri in quelle parti, che in questo erano affatto ruinate”; see also Burns (1988) 31–2.

<sup>74</sup> Witcombe (2008) 147–55 & fig. 3.44–3.45.

<sup>75</sup> Ligorio (1553) 5.

<sup>76</sup> See Witcombe (2008) 147–53 for a detailed reading of the ancient sources.

<sup>77</sup> Burns (1988) figs. 23–25 (coins) & 26–28 (Ligorio's sketches of them).



**Fig. 3.12:** Reconstruction of the Circus Flaminius, engraved by Nicolas Beatrizet. Published by Michele Tramezzino, 1552 (Photo: The Trustees of the British Museum).

its furniture of obelisks, metae, shrines, and statues. Finally, ancient reliefs copied by Ligorio provided the models for the horses and chariots inside the circus.<sup>78</sup>

In 1561 Ligorio issued a large bird's-eye view of ancient Rome (comprising six sheets and measuring 126 cm × 149 cm), again at the press of Michele Tramezzino. An inscription on the upper-left-hand corner of the map stated again the range of Ligorio's sources: in addition to the remains of the ancient buildings (*vestigii*), ancient writers (*auctores*), coins (*numismatae*), and inscriptions on bronze, lead, stone, and tiles (*monumentis aeneis, plumbaeis, saxeis, tiglinisque*) had been taken into account. Howard Burns identifies Leonardo Bufalini's map of ancient Rome (1551) as the probable cartographic source for Ligorio's plan and the late antique regional catalogues as its principal written source.<sup>79</sup> The catalogues helped Ligorio clarify many points of Roman topography, but they also led him to take a mistaken line on the site of the Roman Forum.<sup>80</sup> In order to locate the ancient monuments, Ligorio made use of several classical authors and numerous inscriptions, which he transcribed at length into his manuscript volumes. However, for the reconstruction of their original appearance, he had to rely on classical reliefs – such as the famous

<sup>78</sup> Burns (1988) 32 & fig. 29.

<sup>79</sup> Burns (1988).

<sup>80</sup> Laureys/Schreurs (1996).

reliefs of Marcus Aurelius now in the Musei Capitolini, or those which formed part of the Arco del Portogallo or the Arch of Constantine – and Roman coinage. This last was crucial, as Ligorio’s conception of the temples of Rome was profoundly affected by the images he saw on coins.<sup>81</sup> Sometimes his misreading of an inscription on a coin led him to make a wrong identification; sometimes a worn image led him to a faithful reconstruction. Further, in his representation of ancient monuments Ligorio was not concerned with the correct proportions and measurements of individual structures, but with their general visual impression in the context of the ancient city. He aspired to make broken antiquities, ruined Rome, whole again.

This was a very different way of interpreting the architecture of the ancients – and reconstructing it – from that of other Renaissance architects such as Peruzzi or Palladio. While Ligorio was more concerned with establishing what the buildings looked like in the distant past, Palladio redesigned temples in accordance with a normative view of ancient architecture and to conform to Vitruvius’ description. In their introduction to the edition of one of Ligorio’s manuscripts held in the National Library of Naples, Erna Mandowsky and Charles Mitchell label Ligorio’s composite iconographies “syncretic restorations” or “productions”, defending them on the grounds that it was normal practice in Renaissance scholarship to mix fact and fiction.<sup>82</sup> Actually, despite the differences, Ligorio and Palladio embodied two approaches to the study of antiquity that coexisted in the sixteenth century. It is quite probable that a reader of Palladio’s *L’antichità di Roma* would also have possessed a copy of Ligorio’s small map of ancient Rome from 1552 and even his prints of circuses. Ligorio’s antiquarian prints and maps, rich in detail taken from ancient visual sources and characterized by the choice of perspective as a drawing convention, must have had a profound effect on the imagination of the foreign traveller. It has been suggested that it was the appearance of Ligorio’s prints of “restored” ancient monuments that prompted Antonio Lafreri to enter into a publishing arrangement with his arch-rival Antonio Salamanca in 1553.<sup>83</sup> Lafreri’s issue in 1560 of the “restored” views of the amphitheatre in Verona and the Amphitheatrum Castrense in Rome were possibly a response to the series of prints after Ligorio’s reconstructed antiquities, published in the 1550s by Michele Tramezzino.<sup>84</sup> Finally, Ligorio’s work was not only extremely influential on the formation of the most notable collection of prints of various antiquities, later issued by Lafreri as *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, and on other topographical maps of ancient and modern Rome, but also on the transformation of sixteenth century guidebooks into fully illustrated volumes.<sup>85</sup>

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**81** Campbell (1988) identifies the coins cited by Ligorio as sources for over twenty temples, but for all the other temples Ligorio’s sources seem untraceable.

**82** Mandowsky/Mitchell (1963) 43–9.

**83** Witcombe (2008) 153.

**84** *Ibid.* 154–5.

**85** *Ibid.* 212–16; Zorach (2008).

## Giovanni Antonio Dosio and Bernardo Gamucci: A fully illustrated guidebook to ancient Rome

Born in San Gimignano in Tuscany, the architect Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533–1609) arrived in Rome in 1548, where he joined the workshops of the sculptors Raffaello da Montelupo and Guglielmo della Porta. In around 1560 it seems he began to survey ancient architecture for a treatise, possibly inspired by members of the Accademia delle Virtù, who included Claudio Tolomei, Annibale Caro, and Bartolomeo Marliano among their number.<sup>86</sup> As Campbell notes, Dosio's drawings "are usually original work rather than copies, mostly orthogonal, but occasionally perspectival, and include first-hand records of recently excavated material".<sup>87</sup> Dosio claimed his drawings were "different to those of Serlio", being more accurate and correct, "and not washed, because wash is a mere ornament and overshadows measurements".<sup>88</sup> Dosio never succeeded in turning his survey drawings into plates. Instead, he printed two series of *vedute* (views) of the antiquities of Rome, on which he worked between 1560 and 1565.<sup>89</sup>

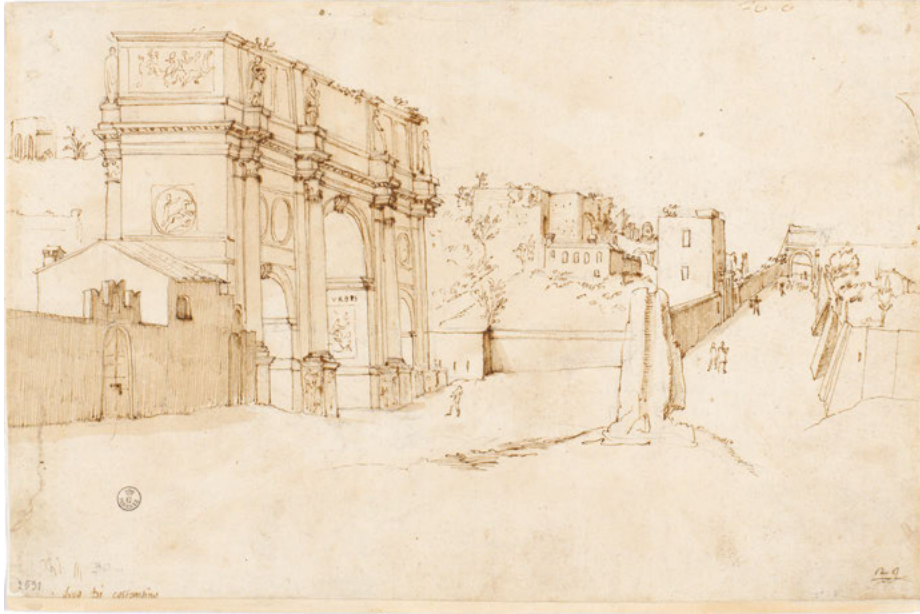
Dosio's views drew on his detailed knowledge of individual buildings. They were not attempts to reconstruct Roman monuments, but rather to capture the vestiges of the past in their contemporary shape and setting. The partially unexcavated ruins of the Colosseum, the Theatre of Marcellus, the Roman baths, the triumphal arches, and the Roman forums were depicted against a backdrop of medieval towers, Renaissance houses, and Christian churches. The insertion of small figures – people going about their ordinary business, travellers admiring the ancient monuments,

**86** Acidini (1976a); Carrara (2009); Marciano (2011); Fitzner (2012).

**87** Campbell (2004) 29. In 1562 Dosio helped discover the fragments of the ancient Severan Marble Plan of Rome behind Santi Cosma e Damiano. The event was recorded by Bernardo Gamucci in his *Libri quattro dell'antichità della città di Roma* (1565) 36: "si è ritrovato nei tempi nostri per mezzo di M. Giovan Antonio Dosio da S. Gimignano giovane virtuoso, architetto e antiquario di non poca aspettazione, dentro il detto tempio [Santi Cosma e Damiano] una facciata nella quale era il disegno della pianta della città di Roma con parte degli edifici più antichi di quei tempi [*Forma urbis*]."

**88** A letter to his Florentine patron, Niccolò Gaddi, shows that in 1574 Dosio was in Rome, still working on the drawings for the treatise: during Lent, he was busy surveying the Pantheon and finishing the *in pulito* drawings due to be sent to Gaddi. Bottari/Ticozzi (1822) iii. 300–301, Giovanni Antonio Dosio to Niccolò Gaddi, 8 May 1574: "si manda a V. S. sette fogli d'architetture di mia mano. In quattro ho messo tutta la Ritonda ordinatamente, e misurata con diligenza ... Le mando ancora tre altri fogli di vari frammenti di basi e cornicioni. Ora voglio fare parecchi capitelli ionici e dorici, e di varie sorte; e così farò tutte le cose di Bramante che sono in Belvedere. Partimenti, e altre simili cose ne ho assai, dove si potrà fare un libro, come desidera V. S. Potrà vedere che differenza è dalle cose che describe il Serlio a queste che le mando. Io non l'ho ombrate, parendomi che servino più così, non si curando d'ornamenti di carte, ma che sieno con le sue misure più intelligibili, perché l'acquerello offusca i numeri."

**89** Acidini (1976b); Acidini (1976c); Röhl/Campbell (2004); Hülsen (1933) xiv–xvii.



**Fig. 3.13:** Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Arch of Constantine, Florence, GDSU 2531A (Photo Polo Museale Fiorentino).

artists busy drawing – contributed to the narrative character of the views and helped emphasise the monumental size of the ruins. Even if Dosio’s *vedute* had little in common with Peruzzi’s drawing convention, their accuracy and attention to archaeological detail were similar. Dosio’s *vedute* not only drew the ancient ruins in their present aspect, but illustrated them in context, giving viewers, wherever they were, a sense of the appearance of the contemporary Rome (Fig. 3.13).

Dosio’s drawings depended on a genre of views of Rome coined by early sixteenth-century transalpine artists such as Jan van Scorel (1495–1562) and Marten van Heemskerck (1498–1574), and popularised by the work of Hieronymus Cock (36 etchings first published in Antwerp 1551 as *Praecipua aliquot Romanae Antiquitatis Ruinarum Monimenta*) and Hendrick van Cleef (38 engravings published in the 1560s with the title *Ruinarum vari prospectus ruriumque aliquot delineationes*). Yet while in Cock’s etchings the attraction was an ideal landscape with ruins, in Dosio’s drawings the interest was in documenting the actual appearance of the ancient buildings.<sup>90</sup> In this respect Dosio’s views were more precise, in terms of both the architectural representation of individual monuments and the topographical data.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Heuer (2009).

<sup>91</sup> The lack of topographical precision would seem to indicate that Cock’s views were probably not done on-site. For the reliability of Cock’s images of Rome, see Hoff (1987) 226.

Dosio's two largest sets of view drawings, preserved in Florence and Windsor, appeared in parallel series, produced by the artist probably with the aim of illustrating two subsequent publications on the antiquities of Rome: the *Libri quattro dell'antichità della città di Roma*, published in Venice in 1565 by Bernardo Gamucci<sup>92</sup> and the *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium quae supersunt reliquiae summa*, published in Rome in 1569 by Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri.<sup>93</sup> The two works established new standards for the guidebook as a product, both as an illustrated guidebook and a "guidebook of prints" that targeted a wide readership. The sixteen *vedute* by Dosio preserved at Windsor are almost identical in size (c. 200–203 mm × 126–127 mm) and were executed in a vertical format. As Röhl and Campbell have argued, this set of drawings was almost certainly produced at the request of Gamucci, in order to provide drawings in portrait format for the woodcuts that illustrated the *Libri quattro dell'antichità della città di Roma*.<sup>94</sup>

Little is known about Bernardo Gamucci. In the preface to the *Libri Quattro dell'antichità di Roma*, he was described as an "architect" and "antiquarian" from San Gimignano. Giovanni Antonio Dosio was from the same town, and the dedication of Gamucci's guidebook to the Grand Duke of Florence, Francesco I de' Medici (1541–87) supports the theory of their Tuscan origin as a possible occasion for their partnership. A third person, the Venetian publisher Giovanni Varisco, had a hand in the *Antichità*. It was he who signed the introduction to the volume – a letter to readers in which he declared that the book was the result of his affection and effort.<sup>95</sup> Varisco explained that he commissioned Gamucci to draft the *Antichità* from ancient and modern authors, but also from Gamucci's own investigations, and that Gamucci adorned his text with images representing the *real* aspect of the antiquities of Rome, to "amuse the reader and help his understanding".<sup>96</sup>

To appraise the novelty of Gamucci's guidebook, it is worth looking at the sixteenth-century market for books and prints. Until the publication of Marliano's second edition of *Urbis Romae Topographia* (1544),<sup>97</sup> guidebooks to ancient and modern Rome were not normally illustrated. There were technical and financial reasons for this. Illustrated books involved considerable

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<sup>92</sup> Bernardo Gamucci, *Libri quattro dell'antichità della città di Roma*, printed in Venice in 1565 by G. Varisco, is dedicated to Francesco de' Medici. It was reprinted in 1569, 1580 and 1588 in a revised edition edited by Thomaso Porcacchi (see Daly Davis 1994, 46–8).

<sup>93</sup> Reprinted in 1970 with an introduction by Franco Borsi. For Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri (c.1525–1601), see Witcombe (2008) 247.

<sup>94</sup> Röhl/Campbell (2004), 236.

<sup>95</sup> Gamucci (1565), "Giovanni Varisco. A lettori", s. n.: "il frutto della mia amorevolezza, et insieme il frutto delle presenti fatiche".

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*: "per maggiore sodisfattione del lettore et chierezza dell'opera, ha ornato di disegni che rappresentano il vero ritratto delle antichità romane".

<sup>97</sup> Daly Davis (1994) 42–4.

investment in the materials used (not only type fonts, but also woodcut blocks) and the wages of a number of specialised craftsmen (not only printers, but also artists and engravers).<sup>98</sup> By 1500, woodcuts were the standard means for illustrating printed books. The inked woodblock could be printed with an ordinary type press – a flat-bed press – on the same sheet as the text. Clearly, such a product took longer to print and resulted in higher publication costs. The format of the book also to a large extent determined the quality and legibility of the woodcuts. Barbaro's *Vitruvius* (1556), and Serlio's (1540) and Palladio's (1570) books on architecture were all folio editions; in contrast, the guidebook market favoured quarto or octavo editions, and that meant woodcuts had to be small, which often resulted in coarse, low-quality images. Books printers consequently tended to avoid illustrations in such low-price pocket-size publications. The emerging market in individual intaglio prints also deterred book printers. In Rome, intaglio prints took off in the 1530s and 1540s thanks to professional publishers such as Antonio Salamanca and Antonio Lafreri, who specialised in a great range of subjects: geographical, historical, mythological, devotional, antiquarian, and artistic.<sup>99</sup> They also issued maps, charts, and city views – products which today are thought integral components of a guidebook, but which in the sixteenth century were usually produced and sold separately. Intaglio prints, most commonly produced from copper plates, allowed a high degree of detail, but could only be printed using a roller press; to print using movable type and metal plates on the same sheet required two operations and the use of two different presses, a setup that might be found in a printmaker's shop, but rarely in a book printer's.<sup>100</sup> In Rome, the *librari*, the stationers who dealt in printed materials, often sold prints and books in their shops, but print publishing and book publishing developed as independent ventures.

Gamucci began the first of his four volumes on the antiquities of Rome with a description of the Capitoline Hill, the *locus* of the *origo urbis*. He combined ancient authors, archaeological data, and topographical information, complementing his description with a view of the Capitoline Hill from the west, as it would have appeared before construction began of Michelangelo's Palazzo dei Conservatori.<sup>101</sup>

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**98** Landau/Parshall (1994) 298–309.

**99** Bury (2001).

**100** Landau/Parshall (1994) 12–15, 29.

**101** Gamucci's view shows the appearance of the Capitoline Hill a few months before the guidebook was published. The front balustrade of the piazza (built between 1561 and 1564) and the three oval steps in the piazza (1564), are shown completed. The demolition of the portico of the old Conservatori palace began in 1563, but since in 1565 the construction of the new Michelangelo façade was not finished, the draughtsman has chosen to show the palace with the old front (Ackerman 1961, ii. 49–55).

The image was placed in the body of the page, adjacent to the text, and the monuments identified in the view with capital letters, explained in the text (Fig. 3.14). In sixteenth-century architectural drawings after the antique, the use of explanatory key letters to classify single elements or parts of buildings was common practice, but the first publication to have images of buildings keyed with letters explained in the text was Sebastiano Serlio's *Il Terzo Libro* (1540). Dosio frequently used key letters in his orthogonal drawings of ancient buildings, but not in his *vedute* drawings.<sup>102</sup> As shown by Dosio's view of the Roman Forum, held in the Uffizi (Fig. 3.15), and the corresponding plate in Gamucci's guidebook (Fig. 3.16), it was only in Gamucci's woodcuts that key letters were inserted, no doubt in order to establish an exact correspondence between the written and visual information.<sup>103</sup>

After the description of the Capitoline Hill, Gamucci took the reader on a circular itinerary round the Roman Forum, from the Arch of Septimius Severus to the Colosseum, along the Via Triumphalis and back to Trajan's Column. Twelve woodcuts illustrate the tour, reproducing the exact point of view of a visitor moving west to east across the Forum looking left, and then from east to west looking right. For page after page, text and images are constantly cross-referenced, with Gamucci directly addressing the reader in the persona of a *cicerone*, taking him around the site. And indeed, Gamucci constantly referred to the images (*disegni*) as visual sources to provide (*dimostrare*) archaeological or topographical data.<sup>104</sup> Frequently the image was a substitute for reality – when describing the Colosseum, he stands with the reader in front of the monument: “At the site (*luogo*) where you see the letter A was an ancient landmark made of brick”<sup>105</sup> (Fig. 3.17). This was the so-called Meta Sudans, represented by Dosio in its then ruined state, with no attempt at a fanciful reconstruction. No doubt, the role of the images as visual evidence in Gamucci's guidebook depended on the importance he assigned to the monuments as historical evidence: “I wish to demonstrate only those truths, which nowadays can be demonstrated by the ancient vestiges, or by the writings of reliable authors”.<sup>106</sup> Significantly,

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**102** Borsi et al. (1976) 28–131.

**103** *Ibid.* 50–1.

**104** Gamucci (1565) 36, on the Tempio della Pace (Basilica of Maxentius): “Troviamo adunque nella sua larghezza essere piedi CC. secondo la misura degli architettori moderni, se bene gli altri antiquarii vogliono che quella non sia più che CLXX piedi, essendo dalla parte, dove si dimostra la lettera B. volta verso la chiesa di San Cosimo e Damiano; et dall'altra dove è la lettera A. riguarda il Palatino, et dal lato dove si vede per contrasegno una stella, per mancar del suo ultimo finimento non si rappresenta come le stava nel suo esser proprio”.

**105** Gamucci (1565) 48: “Nel luogo dove vedete la lettera A era una meta antica fatta di mattoni”.

**106** Gamucci (1565) 49: “io non intendo per vere affermar se non quelle cose, che ne' tem[pi] nostri si posson dimostrare o con qualche vestigio, o con la certezza di chiari autori”.





Fig. 3.14: Bernardo Gamucci, *Libri Quattro dell'antichità della città di Roma* (1565), 18, Capitoline Hill (Photo Heidelberg University Library, *Libri Quattro dell'Antichità della Città di Roma*, page no. 18 – CC-BY-SA 3.0).





## DELL'ANTICHITA DI ROMA

putati per questa raunanza, si chiamauano Comitiali. Ilqual Comitio mancando di quelli ornamenti, che se li conueniuano, stette sino al tempo, che Annibale passò in Italia, prima che fusse ricoperto. Ma pur si troua, che C. Cesare hauendolo in maggior forma, & con piu bello ordine condotto lo ridusse all'ultima sua perfectione. Il fico ruminale, come vuol Plinio era nel Foro, sebene altri per la uicinità, che era infra di loro lo pongono nel Comitio; ma essendo così stato situato il Comitio, donde nasce, che Suetonio ragionando del Tempio della pace, non lo pose in questo luogo? a questo si puo rispondere; per che fra il tempio della pace, & del Comitio vi passaua la uia sacra. Il Foro sopradetto, mancando ne tempi nostri de suoi piu belli ornamenti; essendo hora da i barbari, hora da gl'incendij, & hora per l'antichità la maggior parte de suoi edificij rouinati; si ritroua essere nell'istesso modo, che per il presente disegno vi si dimostra. Et per che il Lettore possa tutto insieme fra se discorrere qual fusse il detto Foro, m'è parso di rappresentarlo, per poter con piu intelligentia dappoi ragionare in particolare di quanto si conuiene per dar notitia de gli edificij piu famosi, che vi si trouauano; & per che quelli si ueggghino doue sieno situati per tutto il detto Foro, gli habbiamo tutti in particolare contrasegnati per lettere, di poi dichiarati in modo, che oltre, che coloro che leggono douranno se non in tutto, in parte della diligenza usata & fatica nostra restar sodisfatti.

## FORO ROMANO.



Intendesi adunque nel disegno del detto Foro per la lettera. A. l'arco di Settimio Seuero; per la lettera. B. il tempio della Cōcordia; la lettera.

C.

Fig. 3.16: Bernardo Gamucci, *Libri Quattro dell'antichità della città di Roma* (1565), 20, Roman Forum (Photo Heidelberg University Library, *Libri Quattro dell'Antichità della Città di Roma*, page no. 20 – CC-BY-SA 3.0).

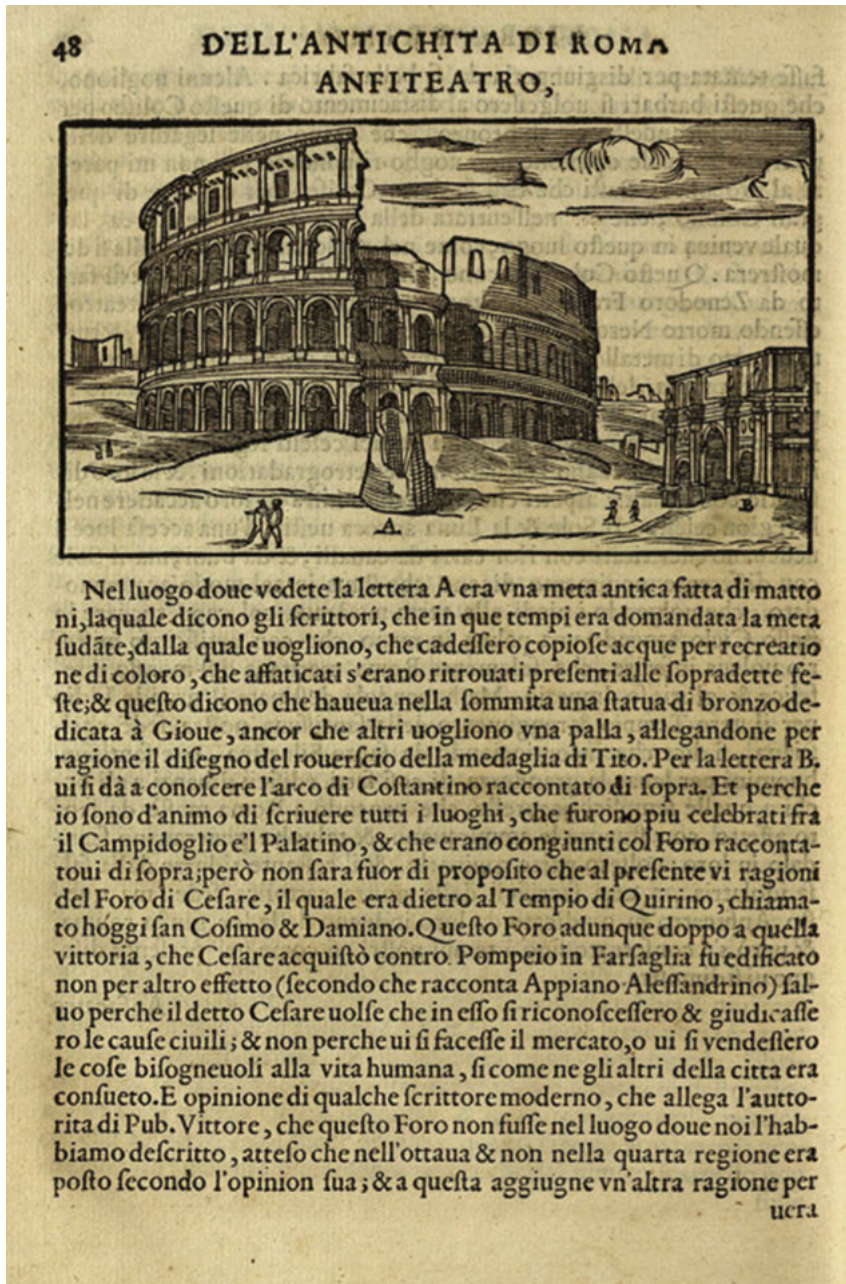


Fig. 3.17: Bernardo Gamucci, *Libri Quattro dell'antichità della città di Roma* (1565), 48, Colosseum (Photo Heidelberg University Library, *Libri Quattro dell'Antichità della Città di Roma*, page no. 48 – CC-BY-SA 3.0).

in the 1588 and 1594 Venice editions of the popular guidebook *Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma*, edited by Fra Santi, and in the Rome editions by Prospero Parisio (1600 and 1615) and Pietro Martire Felini (*Trattato nuovo delle Cose maravigliose* 1610; 1615; 1625; 1650).<sup>108</sup>

## Visual Guidebooks: Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri's prints after Giovanni Antonio Dosio

In 1569 the engraver Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri issued the *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium quae supersunt reliquiae summa*, a collection of copperplate prints conceived as a visual guidebook to the ruins of ancient Rome.<sup>109</sup> The plates, illustrated with Latin captions and numbered from 1 to 50, were engraved by de Cavalieri on the basis of a series of views of Rome's main archaeological sites by the architect Giovanni Antonio Dosio – similar, but not identical, to the views that illustrated Gamucci's 1565 first edition of the *Libri quattro dell'antichità della città di Roma*. Campbell and Röhl suggest that Dosio's set of drawings of the antiquities of Rome preserved in the Uffizi provided the material for de Cavalieri's prints (Fig. 3.15).<sup>110</sup> Larger and more detailed than the *vedute* belonging to the Windsor series, the Uffizi drawings are certainly better suited for engraving on copper plate. Did de Cavalieri commission this second set of views from Dosio, or was it the latter who suggested to de Cavalieri that it would be worth engraving his work? It is not known how the partnership between de Cavalieri and Dosio was established, but it is probable that it was only after the publication of Bernardo Gamucci's 1565 guidebook, which de Cavalieri had planned would have engravings of the new set of drawings by Dosio. In the complete title of the work the names of both the architect and the engraver appear, suggesting a joint enterprise of some kind.<sup>111</sup>

De Cavalieri was an engraver and entrepreneur, and was especially active in establishing publishing partnerships with printers and stationers, but also artists.<sup>112</sup> Between 1561 and 1564 he published the very first collection of prints

**108** For the Italian editions of the *Cose meravigliose*, see Schudt (1930) 31–7, 196–217, 233–4.

**109** Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri (c. 1525–1601) was engraver, printer, and publisher from Villa Lagarina, near Trent. He worked in Venice and from 1559 in Rome – in 1577 he had premises there in Parione, let out to the stationer Girolamo Agnelli, and a workshop and house in the Vicolo di Palazzo Savelli. His brother-in-law was the printer and print dealer Lorenzo Vaccari. See Bury (2001) 224; Witcombe (2004) 162–6.

**110** Acidini (1976c); Röhl/Campbell (2004).

**111** The full title is *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium quae supersunt reliquiae summa cum diligentia a Joanne Dosio stilo ferreo ut hodie cernuntur descriptae et a Jo. Baptista de Cavalieriis aeneis tabulis incisis representatae*.

**112** Masetti Zannini (1980) 208–211.



of antique Roman statuary, entitled *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae*.<sup>113</sup> In 1567 he contracted the printer Perino Zecchini Guarlotti to engrave the four exterior walls of the Santa Casa di Loreto and other details. Guarlotti was to sell the prints in Loreto and elsewhere, de Cavalieri in Rome.<sup>114</sup> Other significant enterprises were the publication in 1580 of the *Pontificum romanorum effigies*, a collection of papal portraits, and in 1584 the *Romanum imperatorum effigies*, a series of portraits of Emperors. Possibly thanks to his flair for business, de Cavalieri recognised the visual appeal of Dosio's views and, being an engraver rather than a book publisher, he used them to create a new product, the *visual guidebook*.

In the 1540s the engraver Antonio Salamanca had issued a series of single prints of most of the ancient monuments along the imperial route taken by Charles V when he entered Rome by the Porta San Sebastiano (Porta Capena) on 5 April 1536: the Colosseum, the Three Columns of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the arches of Constantine, Septimius Severus, and Titus, Trajan's Column, the Antonine Column and an obelisk, the Temple of Romulus and Remus (SS. Cosma e Damiano), and the Pantheon.<sup>115</sup> The majority of these monuments were depicted as isolated buildings, removed from their urban context and placed on a checkerboard ground. The exceptions were the prints of the Three columns,<sup>116</sup> the Trajan's Column and the Antonine Column, all set against a background of irregular medieval houses, walls, roofs, towers, and churches.<sup>117</sup> Salamanca's prints were purchased by a new kind of educated traveller, for whom the ancient remains had acquired a much higher appeal than pilgrimages to churches and their relics.<sup>118</sup> These prints helped to broadcast the image of Roman ruins far and wide, providing travellers with pictures of what they had seen or should see.<sup>119</sup> A few years later, the French engraver Antonio Lafreri re-engraved or printed in a second or later state several of the prints issued by Salamanca, responding to demand in expanding market.<sup>120</sup> However, Salamanca's and Lafreri's prints were issued as single prints and sold as such. It was only with de Cavalieri's *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium ... summa* that a whole series of plates of all the major monuments of antique Rome were organised into a continuous and coherent narrative, as a visual guidebook to the city.

De Cavalieri gave the frontispiece of the book an inventive triumphal arch, with pilasters in the form of standing male figures dressed in Egyptian costume (Fig. 3.18).

<sup>113</sup> Ashby (1920).

<sup>114</sup> Witcombe (2008) 269–71; Masetti Zannini (1980) 231–3.

<sup>115</sup> Witcombe (2008) 84–5.

<sup>116</sup> Witcombe (2008), 84, fig. 3.25 has another version printed by Lafreri in 1550.

<sup>117</sup> Witcombe (2008), 64, fig. 2.3.

<sup>118</sup> Delumeau (1957) 1, 151–65.

<sup>119</sup> Deswarte-Rosa (1989).

<sup>120</sup> Witcombe (2008), 107–109 & fig. 3.1; Zorach (2008).



**Fig. 3.18:** Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri, *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium ... summa* (1569), 1, frontispiece (Photo Heidelberg University Library, Cicognara, 3492B-1; 3704-1, page no. 1 – CC-BY-SA 3.0).

In the background were three small perspectival views of Florence to reinforce the dedication of the book to Cosimo I de' Medici. The triumphal theme was resumed in the first plate of the Roman itinerary, which showed the Arch of Janus in the Forum Boarium. At first the tour adhered to a principle of proximity, showing the temple of Hercules Victor (Vesta) (Fig. 3.19) and the Temple of Portunus (Fortuna Virilis), also in the Forum Boarium.<sup>121</sup> But the subsequent sequence of plates did not follow a topographical route of any kind, moving from the Capitoline Hill to the Pantheon, back to the Roman Forum; from the temple of Bacchus to the Quirinal; and from the baptistery of San Giovanni back again to Trajan's Forum. The book ended with two buildings outside the Aurelian walls: the Baths of Caracalla and the Mausoleum of Cecilia Metella (Fig. 3.20).

In de Cavalieri's guidebook, it is the individual views that adopt the topographical structure of the city and the archaeological information is conveyed by means of

<sup>121</sup> All the plates of the *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium ... summa* were numbered – the itinerary was fixed.



**Fig. 3.19:** Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri, *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium ... summa* (1569), 3, the supposed Temple of Vesta in the Forum Boarium (Photo Heidelberg University Library, Cicognara, 3492B-1; 3704-1, page no. 3 – CC-BY-SA 3.0).

images, while the short Latin captions engraved at the bottom of each plate provide essential information only. These large and realistic views of the antiquities of Rome must have appealed to a much wider and more international public than any previous guidebook. Above all, the book overthrew the guidebook tradition, subverting the relationship between text and image.<sup>122</sup> The marketing success of de Cavalieri's work is proved by the publication only a few years later of a number of similar guidebooks to Rome. The first, and certainly one of the most successful, was Étienne Dupérac's *I Vestigi dell'antichità di Roma*, printed in 1575 by Lorenzo Vaccari.<sup>123</sup> That year Vaccari had married Virginia de Cavalieri, becoming the engraver's brother-in-law, but despite men's relationship, the views

<sup>122</sup> It is remarkable that Ludwig Schudt did not include de Cavalieri's *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium ... summa* (1569) or Lafreri's *I Vestigi dell'antichità di Roma* (1575) in his magisterial study *Le guide di Roma* (1930).

<sup>123</sup> Grelle Iusco (1987). For the preparatory drawings for the *I Vestigi*, see Prosperi Valenti Rodinò (2007) 202–14; Fiorani/Pace 2008 [2010] 240–51.





**Fig. 3.20:** Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri, *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium ... summa* (1569), 50, Tomb of Cecilia Metella (Photo Heidelberg University Library, Cicognara, 3492B-1; 3704-1, page no. 3 – CC-BY-SA 3.0).

engraved by Dupérac represented an original contribution by the French artist and architect, and did not directly derive from the *Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustrium ... summa*.<sup>124</sup> *I Vestigi* had 39 numbered views of the antiquities of Rome, beginning with the Campo Vaccino, the Roman Forum at the edges of the Capitoline Hill, and ending with the Baths of Caracalla. All the views, with each detail engraved with skilful precision, carried legends in Italian. The choice of the vernacular instead of Latin was certainly one of the reasons for the Dupérac guidebook's success – it ran to nine editions between 1575 and 1773.<sup>125</sup> The exquisite prints assembled in De Cavalieri's and Dupérac's volumes definitively establish images, and in particular views of the city, as an essential complement to text in guidebooks to Rome.

<sup>124</sup> For Lorenzo Vaccari and his publishing business in Rome, see Witcombe (2008) 263–6; and Masetti Zannini (1980) 90. Étienne Dupérac arrived in Rome from Paris in around 1550. For his education and work, see Lurin (2012).

<sup>125</sup> Prospero Valenti Rodinò (2007) 202.

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Stefano Fogelberg Rota

## 4 Fioravante Martinelli's *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* and his “lettore forastiero”

Fioravante Martinelli's *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (*Rome researched on site*) was one of the most influential guidebooks to Rome during the second half of the seventeenth century. The book was a huge success, reprinted in many new editions and used by numerous travellers. *Roma ricercata* rapidly became very popular after it was first published in Rome 1644 (see Fig. 4.1).<sup>1</sup> At least 34 editions were published between this year and the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The last edition of *Roma ricercata* dates from as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Its importance with regard to how Rome was presented to foreign travellers throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can therefore hardly be overestimated.

Present in all editions of *Roma ricercata* is the prologue addressed to the “lettore forastiero” (foreign reader) (see Fig. 4.2). The present article investigates the concept of *forastiero* as developed by Martinelli and seeks to answer the question: *who* thus was the intended reader? This investigation will not only shed light on the readership of Martinelli's guidebook but also illustrate how the particular image, or rather interpretation, of Rome he presented suited certain moral principles that dominated the later seventeenth-century papacy. The identities of the reader – often also traveller to Rome – and of the author will play a central role in my enquiry in order to understand how that Rome of the foreigners, which developed as a result of the broader phenomenon of the Grand Tour, was shaped at the middle of the seventeenth century by the tension between the insider versus the outsider perspective on the city.

I shall first present the author and his works in order to clarify the context in which *Roma ricercata* was written and read. The study of Martinelli's idea of *forastiero* will focus on the prologue, but I shall also aim at a broader history of the book's reception in order to address the difficult question of who actually *read* his book. In providing a few examples of possible actual readers of Martinelli's guide I shall focus on a specific geographic and temporal context, namely Swedish travellers in the first half of the eighteenth century. This part of the article will, inevitably, be more difficult to prove. Even if some owners of Martinelli's guidebook can be identified, not only is it difficult to determine whether they really used the book in Rome, but further whether they ever read it at all. However, this discussion will contribute to the investigation of Martinelli's and his readers' aims when writing and reading *Roma ricercata* respectively.

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1 Martinelli (1644).

2 Caldana (2003) 64.

3 Caldana (2003) 66.

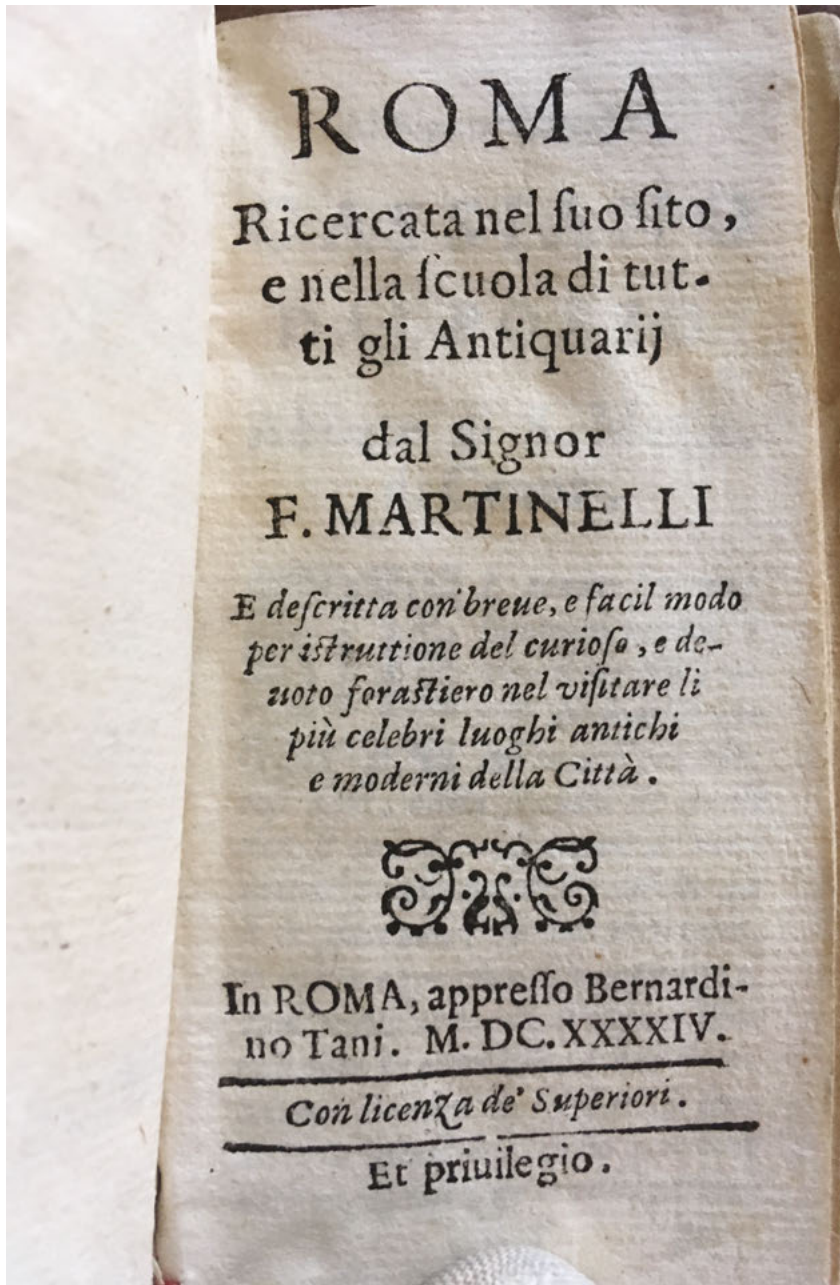


Fig. 4.1: Cover page *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (1644) Skokloster castle Library.

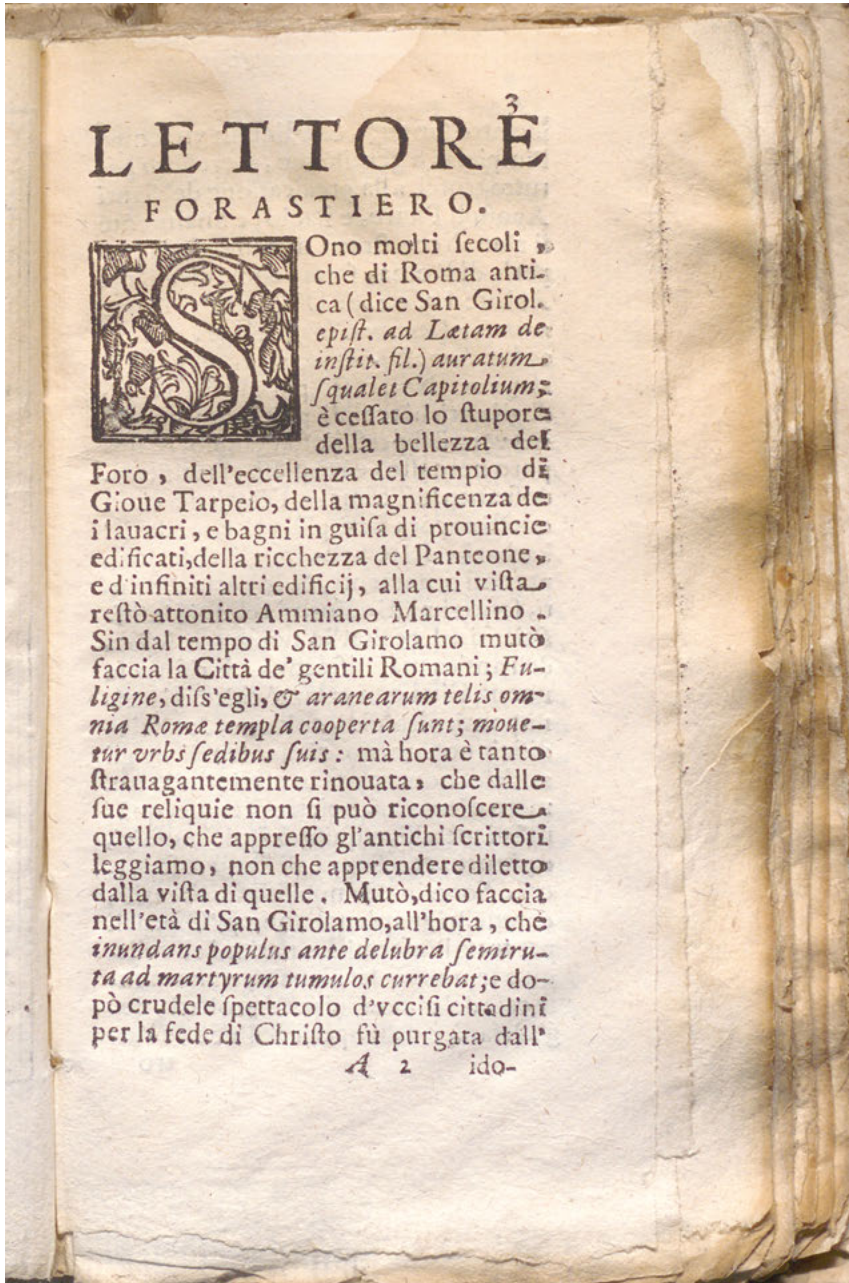


Fig. 4.2: Preface to the *lettore forastiero* ("foreign reader"). *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (1660) Uppsala universitetsbibliotek.

The questions presented here will allow for further investigation into the relationship between Martinelli's intended readers and his presentation of Rome. *How* is Martinelli's presentation of Rome particularly adapted to his readers? And, *which* particular aspects of the city are given more attention than others? In order to answer these questions, I shall undertake a close reading of Martinelli's foreword in order to evince who his expected reader might be and what his or her interests are/may be. Secondly, I shall try to put *Roma ricercata* in its editorial context by presenting the two treatises on the pontifical court – *La Relatione della corte di Roma* by Girolamo Lunadoro and *Il Maestro di Camera* by Francesco Sestini – with which it was published for the first time in Padua in 1650 by editor Paolo Frambotto. Frambotto's editorial strategy of publishing the three texts together will stand out as one of the keys to Martinelli's success. I shall, therefore, concentrate my investigation on the 1662 Venetian edition of *Roma ricercata*, published by Giovanni Pietro Brignonci, which follows Frambotto's important publication, and is one of the extant editions in the Swedish collections.

## The author and his works

Fioravante Martinelli was born into a poor Roman family in 1599 and entered the priesthood at an early age.<sup>4</sup> We have few sources regarding his life before 1630 when he entered the service of Orazio Giustiniani (1580–1649), who was priest of the Congregation of the Oratory of San Filippo Neri. When Giustiniani was appointed Cardinal in 1645 Martinelli became his personal secretary. The influential Giustiniani came from an important Genoese family and his appointment as “primo custode” of the Vatican library in 1630 was an important event for Martinelli's further career. Martinelli was employed here as secretary of Hebrew letters. After a few years he was promoted to secretary of Latin letters – a position he held at least until 1661. Martinelli was not able to fully profit from Giustiniani's advancement because the Cardinal died some years after his appointment in 1649. During the 1640s and 1650s Martinelli wrote several antiquarian studies of Roman churches, based on the sources and manuscripts at his disposal in the Vatican Library.<sup>5</sup> In these writings he proved his historical-antiquarian learning, but he also demonstrated a certain polemical vein, which shone through in some disputes with other erudite writers. While the majority of his literary works were written in Latin, the guidebook *Roma ricercata* was

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<sup>4</sup> For a more extensive account of Martinelli's life see D'Onofrio (1969) and Tabacchi (2008) 114–116. I base my account on these two works.

<sup>5</sup> The first one was a short publication on the history of the Church of the Saints Domenico e Sisto: Martinelli (1635). A few years later Martinelli published a short work on the church of St. Agata which he dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini: Martinelli (1638).

composed in Italian and doubtless aimed at a broader public. This is Martinelli's best known and most successful work. It would later be followed by a Latin guidebook *Roma ex ethnica sacra* (1653), written for a more learned readership.<sup>6</sup> Although the latter has a sharper focus on church history, much of its content is drawn from the Italian guidebook.

Apart from his literary works, Martinelli is also known for his close relationship with Francesco Borromini. Martinelli probably met the architect from Ticino at the end of the 1650s. Cesare D'Onofrio describes Martinelli's deep friendship with Borromini and considers the fact that they shared the trait of being "difficult" characters as a probable reason for their closeness. More important, however, is Martinelli's great admiration for Borromini and his strenuous defence of his works in a time when Gian Lorenzo Bernini was commonly acknowledged as the pre-eminent architect in Rome.<sup>7</sup> Martinelli devoted much attention to Borromini in his writings. This is evident especially in the third edition of *Roma ricercata* of 1658, in which the number of references to Borromini's work increased significantly. The French artist Dominique Barrière illustrated the 1658 edition of the guidebook with several engravings and Borromini probably gave Martinelli the drawing of the oratory of the Filippini, close to the Chiesa Nuova (see Fig. 5.5 in Norlander Eliasson's chapter in this volume).<sup>8</sup> This was also the last edition for which Martinelli was personally responsible and in which the information is more accurate than in the previous ones. Significantly, Martinelli and Borromini collaborated closely on several occasions. Borromini was responsible for the renovation of Martinelli's villa on Monte Mario, and Martinelli began to compose a monograph on Borromini's church Sant'Ivo, which was also given great prominence in *Roma ricercata*. When Martinelli wrote yet another guidebook, between 1660 and 1663, entitled *Roma ornata dell'architettura, pittura e scoltura* (*Rome adorned by architecture, painting and sculpture*), Borromini revised the text and made several suggestions

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<sup>6</sup> Martinelli (1653).

<sup>7</sup> This citation from D'Onofrio's account of Martinelli's life clarifies this point: "I mentioned the polemical and therefore difficult character of Martinelli, who was undoubtedly a very intelligent person, completely free from the limitless unctuousness of the time. He is definitely a man, I would say, who swims against the tide. It was not for nothing that he was so deeply attached to Borromini, being the only one at that time who fully understood his genius. And you had to be brave to take up the cudgels for Borromini!" ("Dicevo della litigiosità e, pertanto, del carattere difficile del Martinelli, uomo senza dubbio di grande intelligenza, del tutto privo della strabocchevole untuosità del suo tempo. Egli è decisamente un uomo, direi, controcorrente. Non per nulla egli fu tanto legato al Borromini, del quale probabilmente fu l'unico e solo, in quel tempo, che ne comprendesse pienamente il genio. E per difendere il Borromini così a spada tratta ce ne voleva di coraggio!"). D'Onofrio (1969) 16.

<sup>8</sup> Connors (1980) 263–264.

on how to complete it. For reasons that remain unknown this later guidebook was not published during Martinelli's lifetime.<sup>9</sup> Renata Ago has described the relationship between Martinelli and Borromini as one of those “truly and real collaborative friendships”, which bound pairs of writers and artists to each other in the Roman *Seicento* resulting in a mutual promotion.<sup>10</sup>

Two striking differences between Martinelli's two Italian guidebooks stand out immediately. The first is that while in *Roma ricercata* Martinelli is mainly concerned with the exterior of the churches and buildings he describes, in the manuscript guidebook, *Roma ornata*, Martinelli *enters* into the edifices and offers his readers detailed descriptions of the artworks of the interiors. The second major difference between the two guidebooks is that while *Roma ricercata* is divided in ten “giornate” (daily itineraries) comprising particular walks around the city, *Roma ornata* is divided in two major parts, each in alphabetical order. In the first part the sacred “buildings, paintings and sculptures” are discussed and in the second the author turns to their profane counterparts.<sup>11</sup> Given these characteristics we might venture a first tentative definition of the two guidebooks. Whereas *Roma ricercata* is meant to be carried around during the visit to direct the reader to the various sites, *Roma ornata* functions more like an encyclopaedia, to be consulted whenever needed, whether on site, before or after the visit. Martinelli's two guidebooks thus are complementary in nature.

Finally, Martinelli apparently collaborated with the influential antiquarian and art critic Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–1696) in writing yet another short Roman guidebook: the *Nota delli Musei, librerie, gallerie, et ornamenti di statue e pitture ne' palazzi, nelle case, e ne' giardini di Roma* (*Note on the museums, libraries, galleries and the ornaments of statues and paintings in the palaces, houses and gardens of Rome*). This work consists of a long list of Roman collections ordered alphabetically and very briefly described. It was published anonymously in Rome 1664 and has been attributed to both Bellori and Martinelli. Stefano Pierguidi has recently, convincingly, argued that the two

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<sup>9</sup> Cesare D'Onofrio published Martinelli's *Roma ornata* in 1969 together with the numerous marginal notes by Borromini. D'Onofrio proposes two possible explanations for its defaulted publication, i.e. Martinelli's vigorous defence of Borromini's work, in a period when the architect had been much criticized, and the publication of Alveri (1664), which in some ways replicated *Roma ornata*. D'Onofrio (1969) XII.

<sup>10</sup> “veri e propri sodalizi”. Ago (2014) 186. Accessed on 3 August 2018. Other similar collaborations discussed by Ago are the ones between Giambattista Marino and Galileo Galilei or between Filippo Baldinucci and Gian Lorenzo Bernini. On Martinelli's monograph on Sant'Ivo see Connors (2000), 7–21 and 17–18.

<sup>11</sup> “l'architettura, pitture, e sculture”. Martinelli (1969) 6.



co-authored the work following an accurate investigation of the editorial context of the work, to which I shall return.<sup>12</sup> Pierguidi suggests that while Martinelli wrote the part concerning the libraries, especially those of the religious orders that he was deeply familiar with, Bellori wrote those concerning the collections of antiquities and the short treatise on ancient painting which ends the publication.<sup>13</sup>

One of the main reasons for the great popularity of *Roma ricercata* is the brief and concise character of Martinelli's descriptions of both ancient and contemporary monuments. Yet Martinelli's principal focus lies on the latter. In his classical study on guidebooks to Rome, Ludwig Schudt draws attention to the innovative qualities of *Roma ricercata*, emphasizing Martinelli's ten-days-format of the book, as well as the itineraries he suggested.<sup>14</sup> The novelty consisted not so much in the division into different days but rather in the tours themselves, that is, what could be defined as Martinelli's suggested topographical organization of the city into distinct sections.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, the content of Martinelli's guidebook shows no innovative character; rather, it relies heavily on existing sources. Originality was, however, neither required nor expected in a seventeenth-century guidebook. In fact, as discussed in the introduction to this volume, a constant dialogue with previous texts is a constitutive element of the guidebook tradition. Among the earlier texts and guidebooks quoted by Martinelli are Giorgio Vasari's influential biographies of the Italian artists, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani* (1550), as well as four important forerunners of *Roma ricercata*: Pompilio Totti's *Ritratto di Roma antica* (1627) and *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (1638), Gaspare Celio's *Memoria fatta Dal Signor Gaspare Celio dell'habito di Christo. Delli Nomi dell'Artefici delle Pitture che sono in alcune Chiese, Facciate e Palazzi di Roma* (1638) and Giovanni Baglione's *Le nove chiese di Roma* (1639).<sup>16</sup> The information provided by Martinelli is thus rarely original, and is in fact rather dependent on other sources. The author has no

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**12** Pierguidi (2011) 225–232. Already Margaret Daly Davis proposed Martinelli as one of the possible authors of the *Nota delli Musei* in Daly Davis (2005) 203–207. Tomaso Montanari brought new evidence to this question when he presented an important letter by Bellori to Carlo Dati (dated 16 March 1668) in which the antiquarian confirmed his authorship of a “operetta senza mio nome” (small work without my name). Montanari (2000) 39–49. For a detailed account of these vicissitudes, see Pierguidi (2011).

**13** Pierguidi (2011) 230.

**14** Schudt (1930). Schudt's book has been translated to Italian and commented in Caldana (2003). I quote here from Caldana's edition. Schudt, *Le guide di Roma* in Caldana (2003) 135.

**15** The ten-days-format – of which the last day is devoted to touring the seven station churches – is in fact similar to the seven-days limitation put on pilgrims during the Middle Age for their stay in Rome. On this limitation see Birch (2000).

**16** Vasari (1550); Totti (1627) and Totti (1638); Celio (1638) and Baglione (1639).

particular concerns in admitting his dependence on previous writers' accounts, which he claims, however, to have verified by visiting the monuments himself and, in some cases, measuring them. Schudt ranks *Roma ricercata* among the “Populäre Guiden” – “Guide di Divulgazione” in Alberto Caldana's Italian translation – that is to say popular, didactic guides. This classification is not intended to degrade Martinelli's guidebook, which on the contrary is praised by Schudt for its capacity to appeal to learned travellers visiting Rome with limited time at their disposal.<sup>17</sup> Its concise descriptions and the handiness of its format (24°, for the first edition, which corresponds approximately to 11 × 5 cm) are the main reasons for *Roma ricercata*'s success. Martinelli's guide must have stood as the ideal companion for those travellers to Rome who sought a short but well informed overview of the city. In the following, we shall see several examples of the succinct character of *Roma ricercata*.

## The prologue “Al lettore forastiero”

A history of how *Roma ricercata* was received must inevitably have Martinelli's prologue to the “foreign reader” at its focal point. The first question to be addressed is: What does Martinelli mean by *forastiero*? An initial answer to this question might be that this category is only distantly comparable to what we mean by “foreign” today. The etymological origin of *forastiero*, or *forestiero*, is to be found in the Latin *foris* (outside). The word was apparently introduced to Italian from Provençal (“forestière”) and is found in, among other, Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1351). This adjective refers simply to everything or everyone arriving from ‘outside’, from elsewhere, by extension to those who came from another city or country.<sup>18</sup> So, for instance, the addressee of Girolamo Lunadoro's above-mentioned *Relatione della corte di Roma*, the future Cardinal Carlo de' Medici (1595–1666), son of the grand duke Ferdinando de' Medici and Christine of Lorraine, was also a *forastiero* in Rome since he originally came from the Grand duchy of Tuscany. I shall return to the relation between Martinelli's readers and the readers of Lunadoro's and Sestini's treatises on the papal court, given that from 1650 onwards the three works were published in a common volume. The fact that a combined edition addressed the readers of these three works was one of the keys to *Roma ricercata*'s success.

A *Forastiero* could equally be someone originating from North of the Alps or from any of the many states into which the Italian peninsula was divided in the Early Modern era. As a confirmation of the first category of readers, at least six extant copies of *Roma ricercata* are to be found in the collections of Swedish libraries. Three are conserved in

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<sup>17</sup> Schudt (2003) 64.

<sup>18</sup> “forèstiero” in [treccani.it](http://treccani.it). Accessed on 3 August 2018.



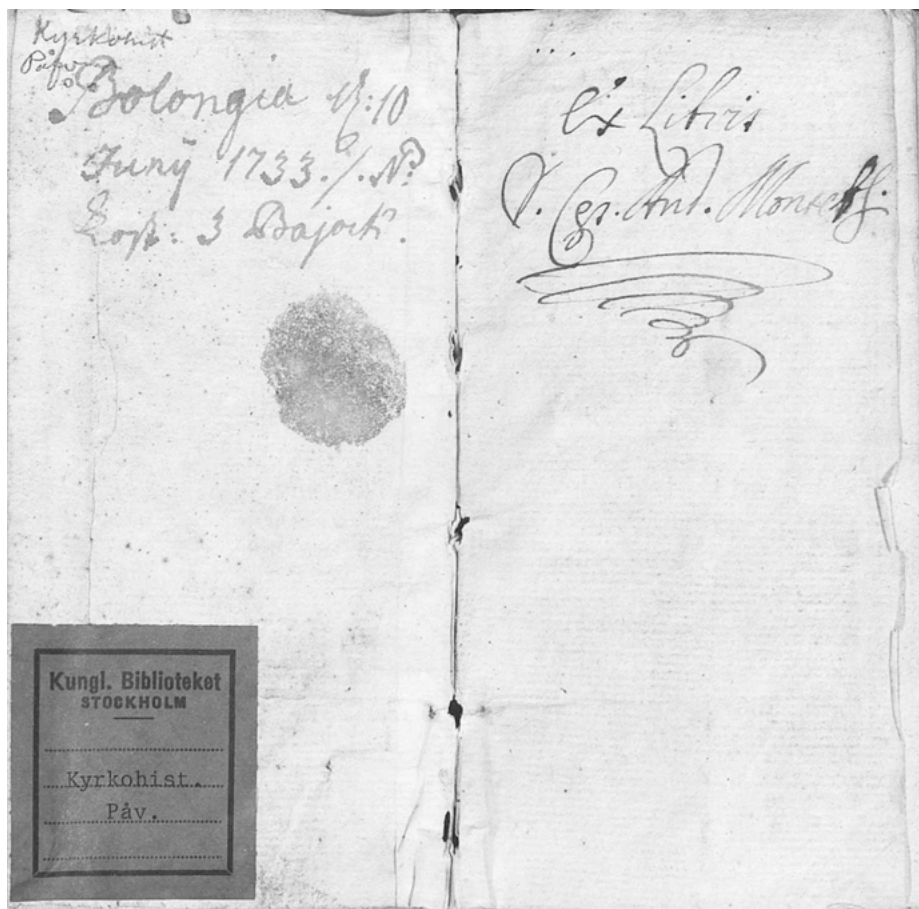


Fig. 4.3: Note in the inside cover (last page) *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (1662). Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket.

the National Library of Sweden, two in the Skokloster Castle Library, and one in the University Library of Uppsala. One can deduce some ideas about the owners of three of these copies. For instance, the National Library's copy, published 1662 in Venice by the editor Giovanni Pietro Brigonci, has a Swedish inscription on the inside cover revealing that the book was bought in Bologna in June 1733 for an amount of 3 *bajochi* (see Fig. 4.3).<sup>19</sup> So, even if we do not know the name of this particular Swedish (?) traveller, we can surmise that it was bought on the way to, or from, Rome and might also imagine that it was read during the journey. Another copy of *Roma ricercata* in the National

<sup>19</sup> "Bologna d: 10 Junij 1733. / . N: Kost. 3 Bajochi". Martinelli (1662).

Library of Sweden – this time of the 1677 Venetian edition of Benetto Miloco – contains the signature of the book's owner: “Joh. Hermansson” (see Fig. 4.4). This was probably Johannes Hermansson (1679–1737), *professor skytteanus* (professor in eloquence and political science) at the University of Uppsala from 1717 onwards.<sup>20</sup> A poetical composition in Italian dedicated to his doctoral candidate Johan Aspman attests to Hermansson's acquaintance with the language and most likely experience of the Italian peninsula.<sup>21</sup> Finally, we have no less than two signatures in the 1660 Venetian edition, once again printed by Brigonci, conserved at Uppsala University Library: “Jonas Rothoff” which has been crossed out and under which the signature “J. Arrhenius” has been added. Jacob Arrhenius (1642–1725) was professor of history at Uppsala University from 1687 to 1716 (see Fig. 4.5).<sup>22</sup>

As mentioned previously, *forastiero* is equally used to designate strangers whether from the North or the South of the Alps. Whatever the origins of Martinelli's readers, it is of interest to note the concordance between reader and traveller in terms of the addressee of his prologue. Although Martinelli manifestly turns to the former he apparently equates these two categories and aims just as much at the latter. This is, obviously, quite the norm for a guidebook, but we should, nevertheless, highlight the self-consciousness of Martinelli's address to his reader as both reader and traveller. *Roma ricercata* is designed to be used *in situ*, that is *in urbe*. Another guidebook to Rome from the beginning of the seventeenth century clarifies the condition or, maybe better, perception of *forastiero*. In Ottavio Panciroli's *Tesori Nascosti dell'Alma Città di Roma* (*Hidden Treasures of the Holy City of Rome*), written for the Jubilee of 1600, the author traces the history of the Jubilee and describes the great participation at the first one, held in the year 1300. Panciroli refers to the first Jubilee in the ensuing lines that follow his preface addressed to the “divoto Lettore” (pious reader):

[...] so Giacomo, Cardinal of S. Giorgio and nephew of the aforementioned Pope [Bonifatius VIII], was there when Bonifatius decreed the bull of the Holy year, and recounts in his libretto about it how at the vespers of Christmas Eve 1299 a great number of people, including both Romans and forastieri, had gathered at the Basilica of S. Pietro [...].<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* (1969–71) 691. The signature “Joh. Hermansson” might, however, also refer to his son, the general Johan von Hermansson (1726–1793).

<sup>21</sup> The composition – which begins with the line “Come l'honesto ben parecchie volte” (“As the honest one on many occasions”) – is dedicated “Al virtuoso giovane / Giovanni Aspman / sopra la sua disputazione / della / guardia della buona riputatione / sotto un cattivo prencipe / Gio. Hermansson” (To the virtuous young man Johan Aspman, on the occasion of his dissertation on the preservation of a good reputation during [the reign] of a bad prince. Hermansson (1735). I thank Andreas Hellerstedt and Axel Hörstedt for directing my attention to this dissertation.

<sup>22</sup> *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* (1920) 276.

<sup>23</sup> “[...] e Giacomo Cardinale di S. Giorgio nipote di detto Papa [Bonifacio VIII], che si trovò nell'anno 1300 quando Bonifatio fece la Bolla dell'Anno santo, narra in un suo libretto dell'anno santo, come nelli Vesperi della Vigilia di Natale dell'anno 1299 era concorsa una grandissima quantità, tanto di Romani, quanto di forastieri alla Basilica di S. Pietro, [...]”. Panciroli (1625) 3.



Fig. 4.4: *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (1677). Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket.

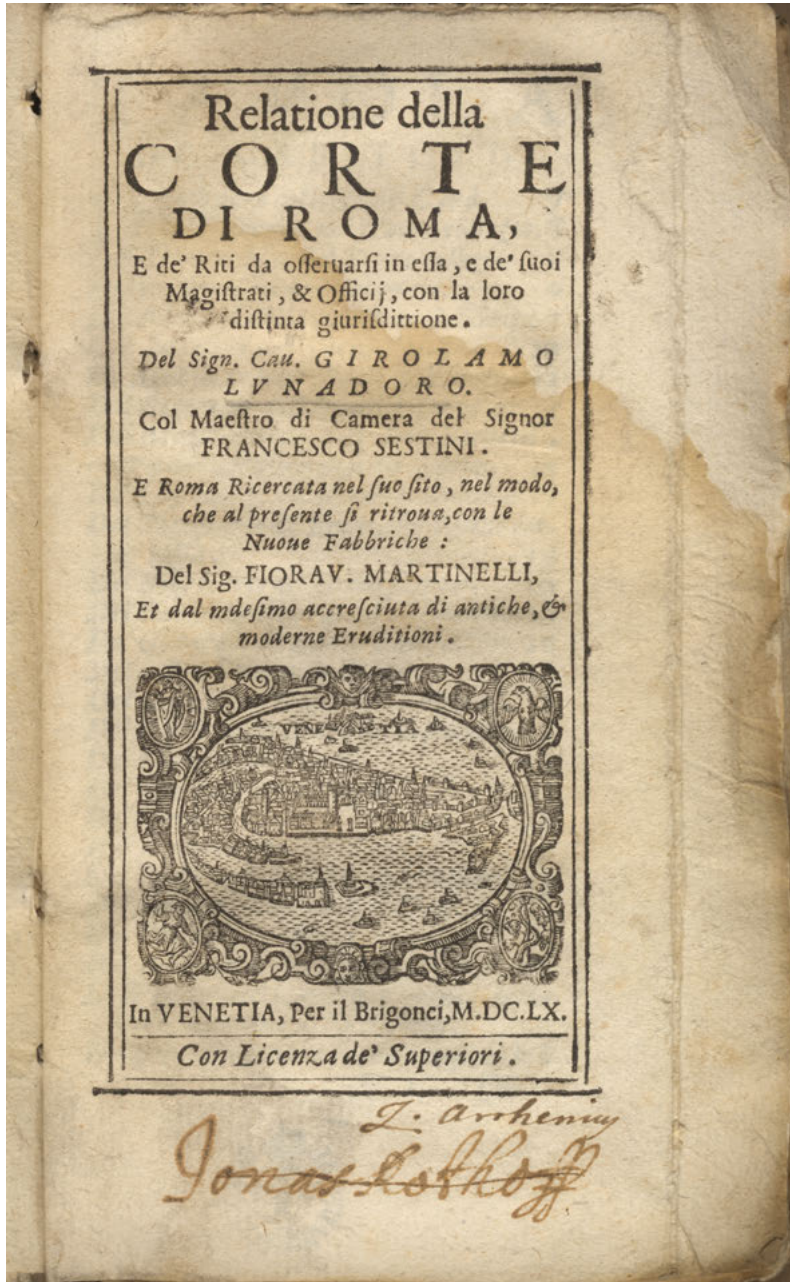


Fig. 4.5: Title page of *Relatione della corte di Roma* (1660). Uppsala universitetsbibliotek.

The implication of Panciroli's two categories, "Romani" and "forastieri", is, obviously, that all those who do not pertain to the first by definition belong to the second.

The dichotomy between locals and strangers is already implied in the title of *Roma ricercata* where the author is designated as "Fioravante Martinelli romano".<sup>24</sup> This is the case, for example, of the 1662 Venetian edition of Brignonci – which I choose to quote from – as well as for several other editions printed in the Northeast region of Italy. The fact that Martinelli's origin is omitted in the first edition of *Roma ricercata*, as well as in the later ones printed in Rome, suggests that this was taken for granted in the Roman publications (see Fig. 4.1). The Venetian editors refer to Martinelli – in this case, as in Baedeker's, more of a concept than a person – as Roman in an obvious attempt to enhance the authority of his guidebook. However, Martinelli himself had hinted at this strategy, not only in his original title – in which his readers are named as *forastieri* (see Fig. 4.1) – but also in his prologue where he constantly presents himself as an insider expert of the city. The rhetorical strategy of self-fashioning his *persona* as an initiated connoisseur of Rome is connected to the traditional role of the guide, who personally guided *forastieri* in the city. Several times, Martinelli refers to the foreign reader/traveller for which *Roma ricercata* is especially intended. He thus establishes a significant and authoritative distance between himself and his readers. So, for example, in the following lines:

The passage of time and human interference have left us with nothing more than the name of the City of Romulus. The visible relics of that other [city] constructed by Kings, Consuls and Emperors are but few in number and confused in such a manner with the new [city], which dates from the Christian era, that *forastieri* would never recognise them without a guide. My intention is to serve you, without too much effort or diligence. I shall show you the way to the main streets to see the most important things, after which you will easily be able to focus on other things whilst strolling at your own pace.<sup>25</sup>

Martinelli seeks to provide the reader/traveller with an overview of contemporary, modern, Rome where the few and barely recognisable remains from Antiquity are intermingled within the Christian city. His description will give basic, but learned, information for those interested in a basic outline of the city. Moreover, the author promises his reader/traveller that he will not tire him/her with "too much motion" or "diligence". Martinelli's invitation to guide his reader through the confusion caused by the juxtaposition of the Ancient and the "new", contemporary, city is already a

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<sup>24</sup> Martinelli (1662).

<sup>25</sup> "Il tempo, e gl'humani accidenti hanno lasciato della Città di Romolo il solo nome: e le reliquie apparenti dell'altra fabricata da Regi, Consoli, & Imperatori, sono poche, e confuse in modo con la nuova, fabricata nel Christianesimo, che senza guida difficilmente si possono riconoscere dal *forastiero*. Io che penso servirvi senza straccarvi col moto, e con la soverchia applicatione, vi condurrò per le principali strade à vedere le cose più segnalate, dalle quali facilmente poi v'internerete nell'altre da passeggiarsi con vostro comodo maggiore." Martinelli (1662) 10–11.

hint that he will focus on the latter, which should be given primacy as it embodies the true faith. *Roma ricercata* offers a first approach to the city that will need further explorations and readings on the part of the traveller. Martinelli will present his reader with concise and essential information on the city and avoid lengthy and tiresome descriptions.

By emphasizing here the necessity of having a guide when navigating the city Martinelli subsequently legitimises the role of his own book, which is a substitute for a living personal guide. This guide must necessarily be Roman, as suggested by Martinelli himself, who thus claims precedence in the interpretation of the city. The explicit reference “Romano” in, for instance, the 1662 Venetian edition strengthens the authority of *Roma ricercata* as an insider’s work and hints at some sort of contest between Italian and foreign guidebooks. Apparently the beginnings of the guidebook genre, or rather the guidebook tradition, as discussed in the introduction to this volume, can be located in the writings of foreign travellers to Rome. An early example is, for instance, the Augustinian friar John Capgrave’s *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, a description of Rome from the fifteenth century.<sup>26</sup> As the cultural geographer Brice Gruet has argued in his book on the Roman street, *La Rue à Rome, miroir de la ville*, the relevance of a particular foreign gaze on the image of Rome conveyed during the Renaissance should not be underestimated “because the reading of the city is there totally different from that of the ordinary inhabitants (cultivated or not).”<sup>27</sup> Apart from the obvious consideration that a guidebook is commonly written for those who do not live in a particular city, and are therefore not acquainted with it, it is equally true that a foreigner might be more receptive to the needs and demands of other foreigners. For example, an inhabitant in a city is seldom the right person to suggest a hotel to a tourist. Moreover, Gruet discusses the “décalage” (difference or gap) between the everyday city of the inhabitants and the one of the foreigners. Although it seems logic to define the first one as the real city and the latter as the image of it conveyed, for instance, in writings, I think it is more useful to see these two categories as mutually dependent on each other. In fact, the ideal image of Rome is developed and conveyed both in the narratives of its inhabitants and in those of its visitors. This archetypical representation of the city can, possibly, be approached by using the concept of hyperplace, developed by, among others, French philosopher Jean Baudrillard. In his notion of the hyperplace, Baudrillard argues that the narratives of a place can create a reality more ‘real’ than the place itself.<sup>28</sup> Martinelli’s narrative about Rome is certainly imbued with the same energy that is implied in the concept of hyperplace, conferring an ideal meaning to the reality of the city. In *Roma ricercata*, this meaning is intimately connected to the city’s early Christian tradition.

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<sup>26</sup> Capgrave (1911).

<sup>27</sup> “[...] car la lecture de la ville y est totalement différente de celle des habitantes ordinaires (cultivés ou non).” Gruet (2006) 306.

<sup>28</sup> Baudrillard (1994).

The interaction between the everyday and the extraordinary city plays an important role in *Roma ricercata*. The constant emphasis of guidebooks on the remarkable elements of the city, exemplified by their focus on monuments, overshadows the daily life and activities of the inhabitants that are mainly carried out on the street. This focus on the exceptional aspects of the city connects guidebooks to the influential twelfth century *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* (*Marvels of the City of Rome*) with its attention to the surprising, curious and marvellous aspects of the city. As Anna Blennow explains in her chapter in this volume, this important work was passed down from a section on the Capitoline Hill in *De septem mundi miraculis* (*Seven Wonders of the world*), attributed to the Venerable Bede (672 ca.–735), in which legends and anecdotes characterise the description of Rome. The taste for anecdotes fostered by this tradition influenced guidebooks to Rome for centuries to come. However, this monument-focused image of the city, which is constitutive of what I have already defined as the foreigners' Rome, seems, at a certain point in the Early Modern period, to have been the object of a contest between an outsider and an insider view of the city. It seems reasonable to locate this dispute between the first uses of the word “guida” to designate guidebooks, around the middle of the sixteenth century, and the hundred years following the Council of Trent (1545–1563), that is the heyday of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The affirmation of a right of precedence in the interpretation of the city is undoubtedly connected to Rome's religious character. The publication of travelogues in the vernacular languages of the foreign travellers to Rome and the Italian peninsula, which were also used as guidebooks, could potentially undermine the authority of the Catholic Church by presenting ideas and beliefs in conflict with its orthodoxy. This is the case, for example, of the late seventeenth-century French Huguenot traveller François Maximilien Misson (1650 ca.–1722) who in his *Nouveau voyage d'Italie*, published in The Hague in 1691, joined in the common Protestant critique of the illicit trade of relics.<sup>29</sup> The matter of official precedence as regards interpretations of the city of Rome led to the introduction of the papal *privilegio*, and its large-scale diffusion in the sixteenth century, as discussed by Victor Plahte Tschudi in his chapter, where he investigates Francesco Albertini's *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris Urbis Romae* (1510). Martinelli's prologue addressed to the “lettore forastiero” must therefore be interpreted in the particular context of Counter-Reformation Rome as an effort to guide foreign travellers to the correct appreciation of the papal city. This true understanding of Rome must necessarily be in accordance with Catholic orthodoxy.

The idea that the city needs to be approached according to a specific plan is developed at length in the prologue:

Having frequently taken leisurely, or devotional, strolls through this city, and noting how all around me there is evidence of ancient noble deeds and of sanctified illustrious memories and

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<sup>29</sup> Ditchfield (2000), 53. On Misson's book – which was later published in English with the title *A new voyage to Italy* (London 1699) – see also Spence (2004) 376–377.

buildings, which due to their great number cannot be entrusted to the spectator's memory without endangering the truth, I resolved to briefly note them in the order which I deemed would facilitate visiting them. My friends saw this and judged it necessary for the forastiero who, lacking a guide, often ends up inevitably circling around the city, and leaves confused and amazed by the chaos, but with his desires unsatisfied, I felt compelled to publish it in the same order I had initially intended.<sup>30</sup>

Martinelli's first and foremost purpose is to order the city's "chaos" by relying on a particular approach. His briefly sketched observations of the city are the result of his walks around the city for leisure or devotion. The connection and the order of appearance of these two terms are noteworthy. Martinelli's particular order for viewing the sights of Rome that he offers – or perhaps gently imposes – on the foreign reader of his guidebook is qualified as "necessary". It might be useful to linger briefly on the compulsory character of Martinelli's proposition. The prologue presents the proposed progression of the visit to Rome as a given and almost natural arrangement. This order is necessary as it enables the visitor to acquire a specific image of the city, namely the one Martinelli and his "friends" want him or her to acquire. We can presume that Martinelli here refers to the ecclesiastical and learned circles he belonged to in his capacity as secretary at the Vatican library. His close relationship with his patron and protector Cardinal Giustiniani, who later became first librarian of the Vatican Library, was decisive for Martinelli's access to this milieu. The works of those Church historians who gravitated around the Congregation of the Oratory, including Antonio Bosio (1575–1629), influenced Martinelli's approach to Christian Rome. The *archeologia sacra* (*Christian archaeology*) proposed by these historians had its roots in the devotional practices of the founder of the Congregation, San Filippo Neri (1515–1595), who had renewed and formalised the tradition of the procession to the seven Churches. This Lenten tradition usually took place on Holy Thursday and consisted of a penance walk between the four Major basilicas – San Pietro, San Paolo fuori le mura, Santa Maria Maggiore and San Giovanni in Laterano – and three further martyr churches.<sup>31</sup> The pilgrimage to the holy places in which martyrs had prayed, preached, and died was a powerful act of reinforcement of the practical devotions of the Counter-Reformation. The

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**30** "Per questa Città dunque passeggiando ben spesso per diporto, ò divotione, & osservandola da tutte le parti illustrata con nobili successi antichi, e santificata con illustri memorie, & edificij, li quali per la loro moltitudine non possono senza pericolo della verità fidarsi alla memoria dello spettatore, risolsi brevemente notare il tutto con quell'ordine che a me pareva più facile, per trascorrerla. Ciò visto da amici, e giudicandolo necessario per il forastiero, il quale senza guida ben spesso rivolgendosi inestricabilmente per la città, ne parte da quella confuso sì dalla magnificenza d'un chaos, ma non soddisfatto ne' suoi desiderii, sono stato necessitato à publicarlo con l'ordine medesimo, che mi sono prescritto." Martinelli (1662) 5.

**31** The last three churches have changed over time. In Martinelli's time they were: San Lorenzo fuori le mura, San Sebastiano and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Today the procession is held twice a year, in May and September, shortly before the Feast of San Filippo Neri.



establishment of these religious observances was not only directed against the Protestants, as part of the polemics between the two churches, but aimed also at arousing a profound spiritual conversion in the loyal Catholic believers.<sup>32</sup> A similar twofold aim also characterises, as stated previously, Martinelli's *Roma ricercata*. The double address of his prologue clearly situates Martinelli and his work in the Counter-Reformation project of persuading both Catholics and Protestants through a religious experience of the arts. As said, this is the background against which *Roma ricercata* must be considered.

In the passage cited above, Martinelli argues, almost imperceptibly, for the necessity of presenting a true image of the city. The “chaos” that impedes a correct appreciation of the city is that of misinterpretation. All of his efforts are aimed at avoiding the ‘endangering’ of truth. The real issue at stake here is that of fully understanding the primacy of the Catholic Church over Antiquity in the Roman topography. The greatness of ancient Rome should be seen only as a prefiguration of the new Christian city. This claim, together with the statements that he will focus more on the Modern city, shows the importance of religion for Martinelli's guidebook. Enrico Parlato has observed how Martinelli sets the beginning of Rome's history not back to the legendary Romulus and Remus but to the beginning of the fourth century in the time of Emperor Constantine. A citation by St. Jerome (347 ca.–420) opens *Roma ricercata*, defining the transformation from the Ancient, pagan, city to the Modern, Christian, as a new foundation.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, Parlato discusses Martinelli's double roles as an antiquarian and as a Church historian to emphasize the influence of the Counter-Reformation on his work and his view of ancient monuments as testimonies to the metamorphosis of the city. This particular combination is reflected in *Roma ricercata*. Martinelli's connection to the abovementioned antiquarian and art critic Bellori – later to become *commissario delle antichità* for Pope Clemens X (Emilio Altieri, 1670–1676) – is important evidence of his antiquarian orientation, while his association with the Congregation of the Oratory confirms his identity as Church historian.<sup>34</sup> This latter influence stands out clearly in the following quote, introducing the procession of the seven churches, in which the term “pious” is interestingly used in connection with *forastiero*:

To remind you that this journey should begin only after you have confessed your sins I deem unnecessary, because I cannot believe that the pious *forastiero* would undertake a pilgrimage through streets paved and bathed in the blood and bones of martyrs who are buried in

<sup>32</sup> Ditchfield (2000) 46; 51–52.

<sup>33</sup> “Auratam squalat Capitolium, fuligine et araneorum telis omnia Romae templa cooperta sunt; movetur urbs sedibus suis et inundans populus ante delubra semiruta currit ad martyrum tumulos (Hier. Ep. 107, 1 ad Laetam)” (The golden Capitol is stained, all the temples of Rome have been covered with soot and cobwebs. The city has been moved from its place and a mass of population runs around the semi-destroyed temples of the martyrs' graves). I thank Anna Blennow for her help in the translation of this citation. Parlato (2014) 54–65.

<sup>34</sup> On Bellori and his antiquarianism in Rome during the seventeenth century see Barroero (2000) 1–6.

subterranean cemeteries, and visit churches enriched through an infinite amount of indulgences, without having partaken of the necessary sacraments of Penitence and the Eucharist as is usually commanded by their Highnesses the Popes when administering their Plenary Indulgences.<sup>35</sup>

This passage is of the utmost importance. Martinelli refers here to a “pious forastiero”, apparently leaving out all the Protestants coming from North of the Alps. We know, however, that Northern European travellers often read Martinelli’s guidebook. The belief that Martinelli’s guidebook was read across the religious divide that was engendered, according to Schudt, by the fact that *Roma ricercata* belongs to a new category of guidebooks, more focused on the description of modern artworks than on the devotional aspects of the visit to Rome, therefore needs to be, at least partly, reconsidered. The relationship between the modern character of *Roma ricercata* and its constant references to different aspects of piety calls for further investigation. Martinelli seems interested in arousing the devotion of the *forastiero*. Regardless of whether he or she is a Catholic Florentine or a Protestant Swede, he hopes that the traveller will become pious in the course of the visit.

A confirmation of this interpretation of the *forastiero* addressed by Martinelli comes from yet another guidebook to Rome that draws on the success of *Roma ricercata*, namely Pietro de’ Sebastiani’s *Le cose più notabili tanto de’ giardini, quanto de’ palazzi, librerie, mosei, e galeries di Roma, per facilitare la curiosità de’ forastieri* (*The most noteworthy things pertaining to the gardens, palaces, libraries, museums and galleries of Rome to facilitate the curiosity of the forastieri*, 1677). Apart from the shared address to the foreign visitor to Rome, Sebastiani also imitated the content of Martinelli’s and Bellori’s *Nota delli Musei*, and replicated the editorial success of *Roma ricercata* by publishing his own work together with two other texts. This included a grammar book for visitors coming from North of the Alps.<sup>36</sup>

To sum up: in the prologue Martinelli describes his “lettore forastiero” as a novice traveller to Rome who must be guided through the city by means of a brief and agile presentation.

Conciseness – which is the main stylistic feature of *Roma ricercata* – therefore stands out as particularly important for the *forastiero* traveller on his first encoun-

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35 “Il ricordarvi, che questo viaggio si dovrebbe fare confessato, e comunicato, lo stimo superfluo, non potendomi persuadere, che una peregrinatione, che si fa per strade lastricate, & inaffiate con ossa, e sangue de’ martiri, che sono nelli sotterranei cemeterij, & per visitare chiese arricchite d’infinite numero d’Indulgenze, pensi il devoto forastiero doversi fare senza il necessario mezo del Sacramento della Penitenza, & Eucharistia, come per il più commandano li Sommi Pontefici nel concedere l’Indulgenze Plenarie.” Martinelli (1662) 138–139.

36 The title of the grammar book is *Nuovo metodo per acquistare brevemente la lingua toscana romana per commodità delle nazioni oltramontane* (*New method for rapidly learning the Tuscan tongue of the Roman court for the use of the nations from north of the Alps*). Pierguidi (2011) 225.

ter with the magnitude of the eternal city. He or she should be adequately introduced to Rome in accordance with the true, Christian nature of the city. *Roma ricercata* needs to be concise in order not to tire its reader too much. Its presentation of the eternal city must therefore focus on the most important sites. The author is aware that his description of Rome might be considered as too short but he has good arguments for his brevity:

I realize that you could complain that I guide you with too laconic a discourse to account for what you see. But believe me, if I was to instruct you of all the principles, additions, ornaments and qualities of all the institutes, temples, palaces, gardens, squares, statues, paintings, relics, devotions, hospitals, colleges, confraternities, monasteries and all the other things of the city, my pen would fail me and you would also run out of time for your pilgrimage [visit], because many books would be necessary to satisfy your curiosity.<sup>37</sup>

A whole library would not be big enough to describe all the treasures of Rome, the enormous quantity of which Martinelli renders in these lines through his long enumeration of the categories of buildings, artworks and institutions in the eternal city. Martinelli's task is to offer the traveller an introduction to the city that might suffice for the duration of a first visit. At a later occasion the traveller will need to complete this overview with further readings, among which Martinelli subsequently recommends his own further writings on Rome.<sup>38</sup> Martinelli's apology for the brevity of his description of the city conceals a declaration of his great learning about Rome, in his capacity as both antiquarian and Church historian. Martinelli's claim to authority is, as discussed both in the introduction and elsewhere in this volume, an essential feature of the guidebook's genre over time. The author also redirects his reader to the inscriptions and custodians that are to be found at the different sites, in order to procure more information through their written or spoken words.<sup>39</sup> The role of

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**37** "M'accorgo, che vi potete dolere, ch'io vi guidi, con discorso troppo laconico, per la notitia di ciò, che si vede; ma credetemi, se vi volessi istruire delli principii, augmenti, ornamenti, e qualità di tutti gl'istituti, tempj, palazzi, giardini, piazze, statue, pitture, reliquie, divotioni, ospidali, collegii, confraternità, monasterii, & altre cose della città, mancherebbe la penna in un col tempo prescritto alla vostra peregrinatione, poiche molti libri sarebbero necessari per soddisfare alla curiosità vostra." Martinelli (1662) 6.

**38** See the quotation in note 39.

**39** "My task is to briefly convey to you what will suffice at the time of your pilgrimage [visit], without caring to enumerate for you all the sacred bodies, notable relics, and sepulchres of illustrious men, nor the precious ornaments or indulgences. This not only because I shall guide you everywhere these are located, but also because you will be informed of them by the inscriptions you will see there and by the guardians you will meet. Your diligent curiosity [and desire] to profit from everything will moreover compensate [for the shortness of the account]. Later, in due time, you will acquire through the study of many printed books complete knowledge of all the sacred and profane antiquities of the City, which I have sketched in my *Roma sacra* printed in the year 1653." ("L'istituto mio è di significarvi brevemente quanto basta alla velocità della vostra peregrinatione, non curandomi di

inscriptions serving as complementary sources of knowledge in guidebooks is a practice dating back to, at least, the *Einsiedeln* manuscript from around the year 800 – an aspect that Anna Blennow has discussed in depth in her chapter – and something that also was noted by prominent architects from the sixteenth century, such as Pirro Ligorio and Andrea Palladio (see Anna Bortolozzi in this volume). Martinelli invites his reader/traveller – here the two categories are entirely overlapping – to seek more information from locals. The custodians Martinelli recommends are what we could today, anachronistically, define as ‘authorised guides’. The information they will convey about the sites under their control is guaranteed by their loyalty to the organization for which they work, that is the Catholic Church. In this respect, *Roma ricercata* is markedly different from those modern, tourist guidebooks which, following Baedeker’s example, promote the complete independence of the traveller from the people living at the sites visited (see Sabrina Norlander Eliasson in this volume).

Finally, it is worth noting that in this last quote, as well as in the previous one, the term “peregrinatione” (pilgrimage) is used for travel. Although it is probably impossible to fully understand the exact meaning Martinelli imparted to this expression – considering also its present meaning of ‘travelling’ – the religious implications are clear. The triumph of the Modern, Christian, city over the Ancient, Pagan, one is clearly conveyed in expressions such as “purged by the heathen blood”.<sup>40</sup> Rome is “reborn” as a “new City” thanks to its “palaces, churches, gardens, bridges, pyramids, columns and other buildings, no less admirable than the ancient ones”.<sup>41</sup> Martinelli pledges to his “lettore forastiero” that he will demonstrate the supremacy of Christian Rome over its Ancient forerunner. To lighten up this highly serious engagement Martinelli concludes his prologue with some final words on the utility of his guidebook. *Roma ricercata* will serve “to stroll around the City, with some guidance, and with honest entertainment”.<sup>42</sup> Martinelli’s use of the Horatian form of expression – reminiscent of the Latin poet’s renowned “utile dulci” – gives the impression that Martinelli was imparting a moral task to the *forastiero*.

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numerarvi li corpi santi, le reliquie insigni, li sepolchri d’huomini illustri, gl’ornamenti pretiosi, e l’indulgenze, non tanto perche suppongo condurvi per ogni loco, dove sono, quanto, che delle note, che in ciascun luogo vedrete, e dalli custodi ne potrete essere informati; & oltre a ciò supplirà la curiosa diligenza vostra a godere il tutto: poi con tempo più opportuno arriverete, con lo studio di molti libri stampati, all’intiera notitia dell’antichità sacre, e profane della Città, li quali v’ho accennati nella mia Roma sacra stampata in Latino nell’anno 1653.”). Martinelli (1662) 6.

<sup>40</sup> “purgata dall’idolatro sangue”. Martinelli (1662) 3.

<sup>41</sup> “E risorta la nuova Città con palazzi, chiese, giardini, ponti, piramidi, colonne, & altri edificij non meno riguardevoli de gli antichi: [. . .]”. Martinelli (1662) 4.

<sup>42</sup> “per passeggiare per la Città, con qualche regola, e con virtuoso trattenimento.” Martinelli (1662) 4.

## The “order” of the visit: Martinelli’s topographical organization of Rome

In the previous paragraph, I gave an outline of Martinelli’s *forastiero* reader/traveller based on a close reading of the foreword of *Roma ricercata*. I shall now turn my attention to the order of the visit that Martinelli envisages for his *forastiero*, aiming to answer the question of which particular aspects of the city are given priority in *Roma ricercata* and how the rationale for this specifically relates to the intended reader.

Martinelli’s ten “giornate” (daily itineraries) always start from Via dell’Orso, close to the southern parts of via di Ripetta, where, as he writes at the beginning of the first *giornata*, most of the visitors found lodgings:

So, as the strada dell’Orso and of Tordinona – already paved in Sixtus IV’s time and therefore called Sistina – is renowned among the *forastieri* for its many inns, the majority of them have their lodgings in this district. It seems therefore convenient to me that with this guide you start and finish your journeys here every day.<sup>43</sup>

The visit to the city makes an orderly progression from north to south, which was at that time also the usual way of entering the city, through the Porta del Popolo. As every itinerary always commenced from via dell’Orso and its surroundings, and returned there at the end of each day, these routes naturally took a circular form (see Fig. 1 in Appendix II).

Given this fundamental organizational principle of the tours, Martinelli’s first and foremost criterion for his description of the city, stated and restated several times, is brevity. A striking example of Martinelli’s conciseness is to be found at the beginning of the second *giornata*, “Per il Trastevere”, when he recommends that the reader/traveller visits the tomb of the sixteenth-century poet Torquato Tasso in the church of Sant’Onofrio on the Gianicolo. The *forastiero* is advised to cross the Tiber over the bridge of Sant’Angelo, starting from via dell’Orso in the same way as the previous day: “Go back to the Bridge of Sant’Angelo to see the beautiful Church of S. Onofrio in which Torquato Tasso, Italian Poet, is buried”.<sup>44</sup> Apart from highlighting its beauty Martinelli does not describe Sant’Onofrio at all, but refers the visitor to the information to be found *in situ*. The specification “Italian” for Tasso locates the provenance of the reader/traveller outside Rome and the Italian peninsula. This qualifier should, however, also be intended as a linguistic and literary one

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<sup>43</sup> “Per tanto essendo, per la moltitudine de gli alberghi, notissima à forastieri la strada dell’Orso, e di Tordinona, lastricata già da Sisto Quarto di mattoni, che perciò nel suo secolo si diceva, Sistina, facilmente prende la maggior parte d’essi l’habitatione in questa contrada: per il che da questa parmi necessario che con la presente guida principiate, e terminate giornalmente il vostro viaggio.” Martinelli (1662) 11.

<sup>44</sup> “Ritornate per il Ponte sant’Angelo, à vedere la vaga Chiesa di s. Onofrio, nella quale stà sepolto Torquato Tasso Poeta Italiano.” Martinelli (1662) 24.

and not only as a geographical indication. Some lines later we find a striking example of how Martinelli helps his reader/traveller conceptualize the space of the city:

*After a few more steps you will come out of the Lungara through the gate commonly known as Settignana [Settimiana] from Emperor Septimius Severus, who, according to some, built his Thermae with an Altar to Janus here. [...] When you exit from this gate you will go up to the right to behold the fountain of the Alsietina aqueduct, constructed with marble taken from the ruins of the Forum of Emperor Nerva by order of Paul V, to which the waters from the lake of Bracciano flowed through a duct thirty-five miles in length. [my italics]*<sup>45</sup>

*Roma ricercata* guides, in the true sense of the word, the reader/traveller from one place in the city to the other. Expressions such as “after a few steps” or “go up to the right” create an internalised mind map of the city that helps the visitors to find their way around Rome.

If the succinct character of Martinelli’s account is striking, his omissions are even more so. The brevity of *Roma ricercata* is the result of a selection process through which the author establishes an order of priority among the monuments and spots of interests of Rome. This is an aspect that has been noticed by Brice Gruet, who underlines the excluding and authoritative character of Martinelli’s tours.<sup>46</sup> In Gruet’s words, this sort of ranking gives “an extraordinarily normative picture of the city, which operates a classifying gaze between what is worth seeing and all the rest”.<sup>47</sup> This vision of Rome favours a tour in which monuments such as churches, palaces and important squares, overshadow the rest of the city. Gruet’s point is particularly interesting as he notes how Martinelli’s presentation of the city to foreign eyes applies a particular gaze on it, that is, a specific strategy to render what is unfamiliar familiar or, better, to give the stranger access to Rome. By encountering the specific monuments and sites as parts of pre-determined walks around the city, the *forastiero* rapidly grows accustomed to its topography at the same pace as he or she begins to recognize these places. The priority given to monuments is intimately connected to the traveller’s memory. As Gruet reminds us “the purpose of a monument, as is well-known, is to remind one of something”.<sup>48</sup> That Martinelli’s and other contemporary guidebooks focus on the symbolic places of the city is a heritage from the *mirabilia*-tradition, mainly intended to activate travellers’ memories so that they will remember certain specific aspects of the city

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<sup>45</sup> “*Con pochi passi uscite* dalla Longara per la porta chiamata volgarmente Settignana, da Settimio Severo Imperatore, che qui edificò le sue Terme con Altare à Giano, secondo alcuni. [...] Usciti da questa porta *salirete à man dritta* à vedere la fontana dell’acqua Alsietina fabricata di marmi cavati nelle ruine del Foro di Nerva Imperatore d’ordine di Paolo V e fattevi condurre l’acqua dal lago di Bracciano con tratto di trentacinque miglia di condotto. [my italics]”. Martinelli (1662) 24.

<sup>46</sup> Gruet (2008).

<sup>47</sup> “image extraordinairement normative de la ville, opérant un véritable tri du regard entre ce qui valait la peine d’être vu et le reste.” Gruet (2008) 271.

<sup>48</sup> “Or un monument sert, on le sait, à se *ressouvenir*.” Gruet (2006) 320.

when they return back home.<sup>49</sup> The following, already quoted, passage from the foreword, explains the risk run by the traveller who visits Rome without the specific order imparted by a guide, be it a person or a text. He “departs from it confused by the magnificence of a chaos, but unsatisfied in his desires”.<sup>50</sup> However anachronistic this reference might seem it is noteworthy how Italian twentieth-century novelist Italo Calvino, in *Le città invisibili* (1972), emphasises precisely memory and desire as two major urban aspects with the capacity to trigger an appreciation of the city.<sup>51</sup> Although Calvino's short stories are about imaginary cities, this perspective equally suits real ones. Martinelli's guidebook and Calvino's stories, in different ways, both reveal the fact that cities are built just as much by the tales about them as by their physical walls, streets, squares et cetera. All cities are thus also characterised by their own imaginary qualities. Finally, the marked focus on monuments that the guidebook tradition entails lies at the core of the tourist approach to travelling. This attitude is so deeply rooted in our appreciation of cities that it might, in fact, be difficult to recognize it. Nowadays tourists – a category just as broad as Martinelli's *forastiero*-class – are mainly interested in, or rather, chiefly directed to monuments and different spots of interest, to the detriment of the everyday life of the cities. Even in those cases where experiencing the ordinary/everyday life of cities is the goal, as in the increasingly frequent invitation of contemporary guidebooks to ‘go local’, this involves some sort of monumentalisation of this experience of the city.

Martinelli's guide nevertheless compensates for its main interest in the extraordinary aspects of the city by adding, at the end of the book, two lists: one of the gates, hills and districts of the city and the other of “The squares and districts in which different arts reside and in which Fairs and Markets are held”.<sup>52</sup> These lists already appeared – together with an index – in the first edition in 1644 and were reprinted in all later editions. Gruet considers the list of artisans unique among seventeenth-century guidebooks to Rome because it leads the traveller to also perceive the city according to its professions. What it reveals is the Rome of the contemporary Romans, the ordinary and everyday city that is most often neglected in other guidebooks. Hence, the specialised activities and professions of the city also acted as spatial markers in the topographical conceptualization of the city.<sup>53</sup> Gruet, who focuses his investigation on the 1658 edition, asks himself if Martinelli's success might depend on the particular attention he shows to everyday aspects of the city. My investigation of the concept of *forastiero* in *Roma ricercata* strengthens Gruet's hypothesis, as the overall experience of the city Martinelli promotes is especially

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<sup>49</sup> Gruet (2006) 305.

<sup>50</sup> “ne parte da quella confuso sì dalla magnificenza d'un chaos, ma non soddisfatto ne' suoi desiderii”. Martinelli (1662) 5.

<sup>51</sup> Calvino (1993) V–XI.

<sup>52</sup> “Piazze, e contrade, doue risiedono diverse arti, e si fanno Fiere, o Mercati”. Martinelli (1662) 173.

<sup>53</sup> Gruet (2008) 269–270.

designed for the foreign traveller to Rome. In fact, the reason why Martinelli includes such lists appears to be connected to his focus on meeting every possible need of the foreign visitor to Rome. Quite obviously such lists were of less interest to the Roman citizens. Here lies, in my opinion, Martinelli's real innovation, that is, in writing a guidebook which is particularly designed to meet potential demands of the *forastiero* reader/traveller, even the more practical ones.

Moreover, the tours proposed by Martinelli lead the traveller not only to Rome's monuments and extraordinary sites, but also, by means of circular movements, to places where they get a glimpse of the rest of the city. This aspect of the appreciation of the city eludes any investigation, but must nonetheless be taken into account. My experience of walking around in Rome following Martinelli's tours has brought my attention to this point.<sup>54</sup> The circularity of the walks allows the travellers to recognize the places they pass as their stay in Rome progresses. Martinelli's travellers move in circles not only from the start of the tours until their end at via dell'Orso, but also within the tours themselves, during which they often pass by monuments and sites that have already been visited. An account of Martinelli's ten tours clearly shows the circularity of these movements around the city.

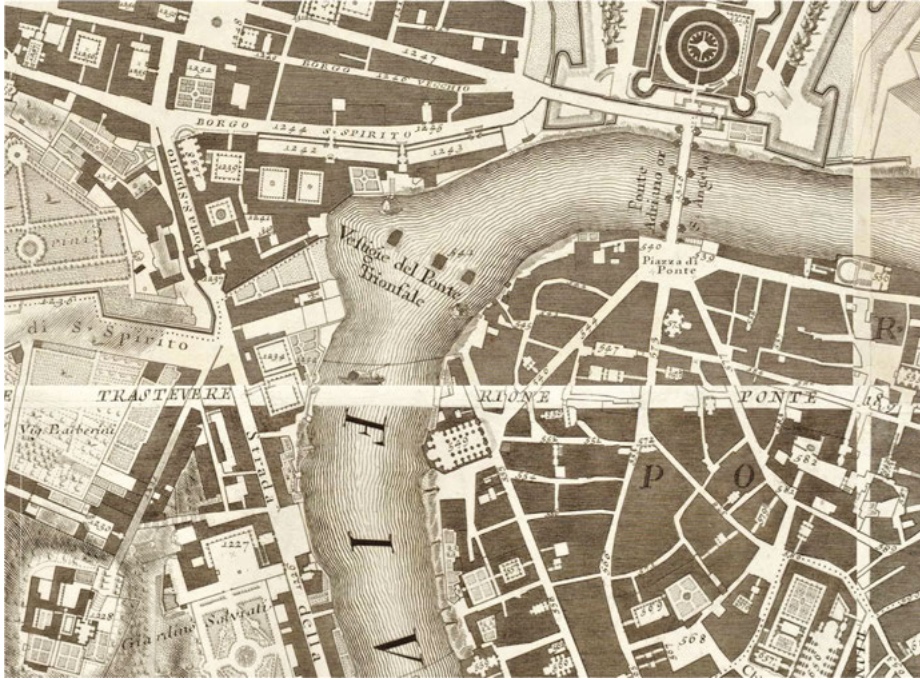
The first and second days of *Roma ricercata* are dedicated respectively to St. Peter's Basilica and the Vatican ("Per il Borgo Vaticano") and, as mentioned previously, Trastevere. Both itineraries lead to the right bank of the Tiber by crossing the Sant'Angelo bridge (see Fig. 4.6). The choice of St. Peter's Basilica as the 'gateway' to the visit of the city establishes a clear hierarchy between the sites to be visited, according to which Christian, Modern Rome is always privileged. During the second day Martinelli guides his reader/traveller to an impressive number of churches (see Fig. 1 in Appendix II). After the aforementioned Sant'Onofrio with Tasso's grave, his proposed visit includes the monastery of Regina Coeli, San Pietro in Montorio, Santa Maria della Scala, Santa Maria del Carmine, Santa Maria in Trastevere, San Francesco a Ripa, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Santa Cecilia, San Crisogono and Sant'Agata. Only two secular buildings are included in this second itinerary: villa Chigi and palazzo Riario, today known as villa Farnesina and palazzo Corsini. While Martinelli praises the work of the "divino Raffaele" (divine Raphael) with regard to the former, he only mentions the latter. Rome's sacred nature is astonishingly dominant. The reader/traveller is then invited to return to his/her lodging in via dell'Orso by means of Ponte Sisto. This walk took, and still takes, a good while – at least all morning and most of the afternoon – depending of course on the length of each stop. Martinelli's concluding remark alludes to the tiring character of this itinerary: "It is now time to turn back to your lodging".<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> In the period between October 2013 and November 2016 I walked all of Martinelli's ten itineraries in *Roma ricercata*.

<sup>55</sup> "È tempo di fare ritorno alla vostra habitazione". Martinelli (1662) 30.





**Fig. 4.6:** Ponte Sant'Angelo. Detail from Giovanni Battista Nolli, *Nuova pianta di Roma* (1748). Wikimedia Commons.

Similar circular movements are suggested for all the following days' itineraries. The third day ("Da Strada Giulia all'Isola di S. Bartolomeo") covers the area around via Giulia, starting from San Giovanni dei Fiorentini (close to via dell'Orso) and goes down to the Tiber island, more or less between what is today corso Vittorio Emanuele and the Tiber. The churches and palaces located on via Giulia are the main goals of this walk. The former are just as numerous as on the previous day. The Church of Saint Birgitta of Sweden is briefly described as the place "in which she received some visions from Christ Our Lord and, according to some, died a saint's death".<sup>56</sup> Palazzo Farnese, Falconieri and Spada are the three prominent palaces recommended on this day. Martinelli highlights Borromini's renovations to Palazzo Falconieri. Notably, this day's tour continues to San Gerolamo where San Filippo Neri founded the Congregation of the Oratory and to Santa Maria in Vallicella, the so-called Chiesa Nuova to

<sup>56</sup> "nella quale hebbe alcune visioni da Christo Signor Nostro; & in essa, secondo alcuni, morì santamente". Martinelli (1662) 35–36.

which this Congregation moved in 1577 (Fig. 5.5). Here, Borromini's courtyard is praised with these words:

This sacristy is embraced by two courtyards, the porticos and loggias of which are held up by only one, composed, order of arches, and not by several as has been architecture usual until today. This invention truly renders this building more magnificent and the wit of its Creator, Borromini, more admirable.<sup>57</sup>

Martinelli's appreciation of his friend Borromini's work is clear in these lines, as is his interest in modern, contemporary art and architecture. Raphael and Borromini are the two masters and examples to follow in these fields. The itinerary of the third day continues to Campo de' Fiori and ends on the Tiber island, after a short passage through the Jewish Ghetto.

The itineraries for the ensuing days move slightly eastwards. The fourth day ("Da S. Lorenzo in Damaso al Monte Aventino") goes from the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, just behind Campo de' Fiori, to Sant'Andrea della Valle first and then to Piazza Mattei where the traveller/reader is invited to stop by Taddeo Landini's "fountain with the Dolphins", today better known as the *Fontana delle Tartarughe* (*Fountain of the Turtles*).<sup>58</sup> This day's itinerary then continues to Palazzo Savelli, which had been built in the old Theatre of Marcellus, past Santa Maria in Cosmedin and up to the Aventine where another great number of churches are recommended. The itinerary of the fifth day ("Dalla Piazza di Pasquino per li monti Celio, e Palatino") starts off from Piazza di Pasquino and goes to the Celio and the Palatine hills. On the way to the Celio Martinelli's reader/traveller passes by the Monastery of Tor de' Specchi, founded by Santa Francesca Romana (1384–1440), and once again by the Theatre of Marcellus, which he or she should recognize from the previous day. The sixth day ("Da S. Salvatore del Lauro per Campo Vaccino, e per le Carrine") begins from San Salvatore in Lauro and crosses through Piazza Navona to the Capitoline Hill. Borromini is once again praised for his interventions in the churches of Sant'Agnese and Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza, which are described at length. From here the itinerary continues to the Capitoline Hill and then on to the Forum Romanum – which the *forastiero* had passed close by on both day four and five – and then to the Colosseum, San Pietro in Vincoli and San Francesco di Paola on the way back to Piazza Venezia, close to the Capitoline Hill.

The three following days are concentrated on the western part of the city and the areas around Piazza del Popolo. The seventh day ("Dalla Piazza di S. Apollinare per il Monte Viminale, e Quirinale") is concerned with the surroundings of Santa Maria

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<sup>57</sup> "Viene abbracciata la detta sagrestia da due cortili, li cui portici, e loggie, sono sostenute con un solo ordine composito, e non da più, come è stata solita operare l'architettura fin'hora: inventione al certo, che rende più magnifica la fabrica, e più ammirabile l'ingegno del Borromino suo Autore." Martinelli (1662) 39.

<sup>58</sup> "la fontana con Delfini". Martinelli (1662) 43.

Maggiore and the Quirinale. From the Church of Sant'Apollinare the *forastiero* is invited to visit first Sant'Agostino and then the Church of the French nation: "The church of San Luigi de' Francesi enriched with noble paintings and graves, where the square in which it was located had been named de' Saponari in the year 1509."<sup>59</sup> Apart from the brevity of the description it is noteworthy that Martinelli does not mention the two paintings of Caravaggio conserved in this church, which today attract a great number of tourists. According to Martinelli Caravaggio's realism is here, as elsewhere, surpassed by the classicist aesthetics of Raphael. Martinelli then points out Palazzo Giustiniani to his reader/traveller, standing just in front of San Luigi, and praises it for its collection of statues and paintings. This palace was well-known to Martinelli because of his connection to Cardinal Orazio Giustiniani. This day's tour continues with another series of churches: Sant'Eustacchio, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, with the nearby monastery of the Dominicans, Santo Stefano in Cacco, the Collegio Romano – just mentioned in one single line – Santa Maria in via Lata, on which Martinelli had already written a study, Santi Apostoli, et cetera. The walk continues to the district of Suburra and, after a while, to Santa Maria Maggiore and finally to the Quirinale. The itinerary of the eighth day ("Da Piazza Nicosia alle Terme Diocletiane") stretches from the Collegio Clementino to Campo Marzio and Fontana di Trevi, and then all the way to the Baths of Diocletian. The ninth day ("Da Piazza Nicosia alle Porte del Popolo, e Pinciana") covers what has been left over from the previous days, starting from Palazzo Borghese and leading up to the Pincio and Villa Borghese. Finally, the last day is dedicated to the abovementioned traditional tour of the seven churches instituted by San Filippo Neri. These are: San Pietro, San Paolo fuori le mura, Santa Maria Maggiore, San Giovanni in Laterano, San Lorenzo fuori le mura, San Sebastiano and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Notably, all of them had already been described in the previous tours.

To sum up: these different walks must inevitably have increased the travellers' awareness of the city, something that led to readers of *Roma ricercata* also being pulled into its everyday elements. These double registers, which allow one to visit both the learned and the everyday city at the same time, are active thanks to what Gruet calls a "vision in which space is internalised and represented above all as a route".<sup>60</sup> The organized itineraries and the absence of maps generates this internalised space through which the *forastieri* found their way in the city. This space, which is a blend of magnificent and mundane elements of the city, is particularly suited for a visitor who is interested both in sightseeing and in the practicalities of visiting a foreign city (street names, food markets, art galleries, shops, et cetera). All these aspects are, finally, essential for the creation of the foreigners' Rome that would become increasingly important in the age of the Grand Tour. Martinelli's efforts to combine the extraordinary

<sup>59</sup> "La chiesa di S. Luigi de' Francesi, ricca di nobili pitture, e sepolcri, la cui piazza si chiamava nell'ann. 1509 de' Saponari." Martinelli (1662) 95.

<sup>60</sup> "vision dans laquelle l'espace est intériorisé et représenté avant tout comme parcours." Gruet (2008) 262. Gruet refers here to Pietro Ianni's ideas as put forward in Ianni (1984).

and the everyday aspects of the city were augmented by the publication, from 1650 and onwards, of *Roma ricercata* in a single volume with two treatises on the pontifical court: *La Relatione della corte di Roma* by Girolamo Lunadoro and *Il Maestro di Camera* by Francesco Sestini. These two texts, which I shall discuss in the next section, treat a variety of practical issues pertaining to the city and its institutions.

## ***La Relatione della corte di Roma and Il Maestro di Camera***

The second edition of *Roma ricercata* appeared in 1650, on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Catholic Church. It was published in Rome together with *Racconto dell'anno santo*, a historical overview over the Jubilee. As previously mentioned, that same year the printer from Padua Paolo Frambotto published Martinelli's guidebook together with Lunadoro's and Sestini's treatises. This was the first of many editions in which the three texts appeared together.<sup>61</sup> In 1660 the editor Giovanni Pietro Brignonci published a similar edition of *Roma ricercata* in Venice. In the Paduan and Venetian editions *Roma ricercata* was always placed as the last of the three.<sup>62</sup>

*La Relatione della corte di Roma* and *Il Maestro di Camera* can be best described as guidebooks to the administration and ceremonial of the pontifical court, phenomena that apparently not only were of equal interest to the eternal city itself but also appealed to the same audience. As already mentioned, Lunadoro had a very specific reader in mind when he wrote *Relatione della corte di Roma*: the future Cardinal Carlo de' Medici. It was Carlo's mother, Christine of Lorraine, who commissioned this treatise in 1611, four years before his election as Cardinal in 1615. Lunadoro's text was widely disseminated in manuscript form from the outset and later published for the first time in Rome in 1635.<sup>63</sup> The initiative to publish it was taken by the author's nephew, Romolo Lunadoro, in response to the publication of Francesco Sestini's *Il Maestro di Camera*, which drew so heavily on *Relatione della corte di Roma* that the relation between the two texts can almost be described as plagiarism.<sup>64</sup> Several new editions of Lunadoro's work followed and the text was for a long time considered the best manual for papal ceremonial. The reason it was written in the first place was to

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<sup>61</sup> Interestingly, *La Relatione della corte di Roma* was also published in a shared volume with *Nota delli Musei* in 1664 by the Roman editor Deversin, together with Felice Cesaretti, at the "stamperia del Falco" (press il Falco), something which connects the short guidebook, previously attributed to Bellori alone, even more closely with Martinelli as well.

<sup>62</sup> For a thorough account of the editorial history of *Roma ricercata* see Pierguidi (2011) 227–228 and Caldana (2003) 64–69.

<sup>63</sup> Lunadoro (1635).

<sup>64</sup> Pierguidi (2011) 227.

counter the rumours that came from Rome about Carlo's election. Yet another treatise, this time anonymous, was commissioned for Carlo's appointment as Cardinal and his subsequent move from Florence to Rome in 1615, namely the *Istruzione di come si ha da governare alla corte di Roma*, preserved in the Vatican Library.<sup>65</sup> Both texts had a very specific and practical aim and use. Carlo de' Medici needed to be informed in detail about the pontifical court to meet the demands of his new employment.

A short overview of Lunadoro's life gives us a sense of the content and importance of his treatise. Lunadoro was born in Siena in 1575, in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and came to Rome first in 1594 as secretary of Abbot Lanfranco Margotti, in his turn secretary of Cardinal Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini, nephew of Clemens VIII, Pope Ippolito Aldobrandini (1592–1605). Lunadoro was later employed by Cardinal Aldobrandini himself and became his *maestro di camera* (*master of the household*). His good services in this capacity earned him the title of earl and the election to the order of Santo Stefano, founded by Cosimo I de' Medici in 1561. At the election of Paul V in 1605, Lunadoro entered in the service of Cardinal Scipione Borghese Caffarelli. He was subsequently for a short period Filippo Carafa's *maestro di camera*. Carafa was Marquis of Castelvetere and nephew of the Pope. Lunadoro was later employed by Francesco Borghese, Pope Paul Vs brother.<sup>66</sup> Lunadoro was, in other words, a much appreciated and very experienced courtier who had held the difficult post of *maestro di camera* on several occasions. He, or rather his treatise, was therefore the best possible guide to the pontifical court, which is confirmed by the fact that it was not only published in countless editions, but also circulated in a great number of manuscript copies even before it was printed.

The significance of the *Relatione della corte di Roma* can also be measured by the important position its addressee Cardinal Carlo de' Medici attained at the court in Rome. After his election to Cardinal by Paul V he soon became the leader of the faction within the Papal consistory that promoted a transversal politics, somehow independent from French and Spanish interests. Although this position remained informal he acted as some sort of arbiter in the Conclave of 1622, during which he stood up as the protector of the interests of the Italian states. The long papacy of the Barberini Pope, Urban VIII (1623–1644), reinforced his position, and the alliance between the Roman aristocracy and Spain, which led to the election of Innocent X (Giovanni Battista Pamphilj, 1644–1655) in 1644, had an important proponent in Carlo de' Medici.<sup>67</sup> The successive Pope, Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi, 1655–1667), honoured him by appointing him as one of the two papal legates, together with Cardinal Frederick of Hesse-Darmstadt (1616–1682), who welcomed Queen Christina

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<sup>65</sup> Brunelli (2009) 31–33.

<sup>66</sup> Crucitti (2006) 554–557.

<sup>67</sup> Visceglia (1998) 85.

of Sweden (1626–1689) on her arrival in Rome in December 1655. To sum up, these events bear witness to the important career of Cardinal Carlo de' Medici, which, in some measure, Lunadoro's treatise prepared him for.

So, what kind of instructions does Lunadoro provide his reader with? *Relatione della corte di Roma* gives a detailed account of the organisation of the court of Rome, its hierarchies and offices, and their different tasks. The author also describes all the rites and ceremonies held in Rome, as well as the conduct to be observed at every single occasion. Lunadoro's continuous references to the different dresses and colours of the representatives of the court are an example of his accuracy. There is, for instance, a whole paragraph dedicated to "The distinction between the red and scarlet dress to be used by Cardinals on a daily basis",<sup>68</sup> and when Lunadoro discusses the offices of the Master of ceremonies he describes how "they always dress in scarlet and with soutane and soprana, with sleeve down to the floor, filling and black buttons".<sup>69</sup>

Francesco Sestini's *Il Maestro di Camera* overlaps with Lunadoro's *Relatione della corte di Roma*. The rites and ceremonies of the papal court described by Sestini are basically the same as in Lunadoro's treatise. *Il Maestro di Camera* shows the same practical concerns as its forerunner, something which stands out clearly in this quote introducing the paragraph "Della dignità Cardinalitia" (On Cardinals' worthiness):

Such have I myself dealt with this [the matters pertaining Cardinals] in my capacity as Master of Ceremonies and have noted down, by and by, that which I have learned and done, for the sake of my memory and instruction. However, where I earlier comprehended these things in a confused and disordered manner I later gave them the form they needed in order to be understood by, and satisfy, my friends who asked me to publish them.<sup>70</sup>

These lines are revealing of the similarities of aims that connect Sestini's and Lunadoro's treatises with Martinelli's guidebook. The idea of giving a specific order to the information, necessary to guide the reader through a number of complicated situations or places, is a common characteristic of the three texts. Their joint publication in one single volume seems to have met a specific demand from foreign and Italian travellers to Rome, namely to present a totality of all possible aspects pertaining to the court of Rome, such as its

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**68** "Distinzione dell'habito rosso, e pavonazzo che devono usar li Card. giornalmente". Lunadoro (1660) 148.

**69** "[...] vestono continuamente pavonazzo, e con sottana, e soprana, con maniche lunghe fino à terra, con l'imbottiture, e bottoni negri". Lunadoro (1660) 148.

**70** "Onde io mentre mi sono essercitato in esse, come Maestro di Camera, hò notato di mano in mano quello, che in tal maniera mi è succeduto di haver a sapere, & operare, non ad altro fine, che a memoria, & instruttione mia. Ma però dove prima io havevo ogni cosa confusa, e senza ordine, hò dato poi loro quella forma, che hanno, e che basta solamente a farle intellegibili, & a sodisfare gli amici, che mi hanno fatto istanza di voler vederle." Sestini (1672) 4.

administration and its many rites and ceremonies, as well as the architectural and artistic sites of the city. It seems reasonable that these editions were published with the expectation of finding a good market among travellers passing by through Padua and Venice on their way to Rome. The three texts published together could be used as a sort of encyclopaedia of the city of Rome. The function of the index and of the lists was particularly important in this respect. The functional aspect of these editions of Martinelli's guidebook is also clear through their simpler graphic design. These publications were printed in a small format and with no illustrations. This editorial context for *Roma ricercata* appears to be directed by a strong will to *appropriate* the city in all its aspects.

## Conclusion

In my analysis of Martinelli's intended reader, and traveller, as he or she appears in the prologue to *Roma ricercata*, I have focused on the concept of the *forastiero*. This qualification defines everyone coming from outside Rome as the main target of the guidebook. Martinelli thus, implicitly, reserves for himself, in his quality as Roman, the right of possessing the true interpretation of the city. This simple, almost imperceptible, rhetorical strategy implies that all other interpretations are to be deemed false, or at least to be doubted. *Roma ricercata* should therefore be considered in the context of the increasing publication of travelogues and guidebooks on Rome by foreigners. Martinelli's presentation of the city responds to the need of the Catholic Church to control the image of the city that was conveyed to the numerous travellers to Rome. The requirement to control potentially subversive interpretations of the city that might endanger or damage the authority of the Church therefore lies at the core of *Roma ricercata*. Although Martinelli's guidebook is undeniably 'modern' in the way it presents contemporary architecture and art, often inviting its readers to an aesthetic appreciation of them, this aspect is always subordinate to the religious experience. The order of the visit proposed by Martinelli in his ten tours around the city exemplifies this hidden agenda. The topographical organization of the city that he proposes always puts Christian, Modern Rome first. A specific, foreign, gaze on the city is thus constructed by Martinelli, a *romano*, by means of an enhanced focus on the monuments of Christian Rome. Despite the fact that the extraordinary aspects of the city are given priority, Martinelli manages to include the everyday life of the city as well, through the addition of a separate section of lists and appendices. The common life of the city appears thus as an important backdrop to the monuments and the different holy sites. Martinelli's conciseness in his descriptions of the city lure the *forastiero* reader/traveller to partake in the Christian history of the city which

is, at first glance, difficult to engage in. This aspect of the guidebook is enhanced by its publication together with Lunadoro's and Sestini's treatises. However, *Roma ricercata's* focus on the most important monuments and sites imposes, in a very subtle way, a hierarchical order on the elements of the city. With the aim to convert the traveller to a pilgrim, the sacred, Christian city is always given top priority. Thus, the *forastiero* envisaged by Martinelli is always, regardless of his provenance, at least potentially "pious" ("devoto").

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Sabrina Norlander Eliasson

## 5 “Authors of degenerated Renaissance known as Baroque”. The Baedeker Effect and the Arts: Shortcuts to Artistic Appreciation in Nineteenth-Century Rome

By the parapet to the great terrace that sweeps the city stood but three or four interlopers looking at the sunset and with their baedekers only just showing in their pockets – the sunsets not being down among the tariffed articles in these precious volumes. I went so far as to hope for them that, like myself, they were, under every precaution, taking some amorous intellectual liberty with the scene.  
Henry James, *Italian Hours* (1909)

American author Henry James’ poignant observation of a group of tourists lingering about the late eighteenth-century terrace at Monte Pincio in Rome is indicative in many ways. (Fig. 5.1) The site, the people, the atmosphere evoked shed light on a particular travel discourse as it had developed from the increasingly programmatic travel routes and writings connected to the aristocratic Grand Tour of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries up to a slighter broader range of travellers during the course of the following.<sup>1</sup>

The middle of the nineteenth century saw an explosion of wealthy, middle class travellers who, in the aftermath of the strictly regulated social (aristocratic) phenomenon that had been the Grand Tour, sought after to actually experience the canonical sites of Europe – far away from available books and museums in the immediate home surroundings. New means such as the railway and, towards the turn of the century, motor cars facilitated greatly movement and comfort. Political instability on the Continent did not stop the eagerness with which the bourgeoisie took on their often quite long voyages.<sup>2</sup> This relatively new way of approaching the concept of travelling made way for a specific kind of guidebook with an increasingly holistic view of what it actually meant to travel: transport arrangements, possible and impossible routes, how to eat, how to sleep, where to seek for entertainment (and not), shopping and social events. Indeed, this precious advice was paralleled by thorough descriptions of the history of the place to visit, proposed walks in order to fully comprehend and follow a historical path and clear focus on sites, monuments, singular art works, gardens and buildings that the guidebook editors thought appropriate to single out. The historical and cultural notions that had been at the centre of the guidebook

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<sup>1</sup> On Grand Tour travel writing in the British context, see Black (1992) and Chard (1999).

<sup>2</sup> Jolly (2010) 343.



**Fig. 5.1:** James Anderson, *Piazza del Popolo*, Rome, 1888. Hallwyl Museum, Stockholm. Photographer: Jenny Bergensten. Public domain.

genre for centuries were certainly not abandoned, on the contrary, but a precise focus on how to ease the hardships of travel and, above all, how to interact with the inhabitants of the visited cities, towns and sites increased greatly.<sup>3</sup>

In this growing discourse on the links between movement, culture and cultural appropriation related to travelling, the German editor Karl Baedeker started to produce what was to become the most influential guidebook system in Europe for at least a century: the Baedeker handbooks for travellers.<sup>4</sup>

Karl Baedeker (1801–1859) was born in the Prussian town of Essen. He came from a family of printers, book sellers and publishers.<sup>5</sup> In 1832, his firm acquired a publishing house in Coblenz which in 1828 had published a handbook for travellers on the Rhine.<sup>6</sup> Thus, Baedeker was introduced to the genre of travel writing and

<sup>3</sup> For a general survey of the guidebook in the western world, see Parsons (2007).

<sup>4</sup> For a general survey of the Baedeker guidebooks, see Parsons (2007).

<sup>5</sup> For a complete biography of Karl Baedeker and a history of the Publishing House, see Hinrichsen (2008) 6–28.

<sup>6</sup> Hinrichsen (2008) 14.

sought to explore and develop it. Competition among German publishers was strong at this point and Baedeker turned to other genres of “letters” such as school books and religious books.<sup>7</sup> In 1835, the second edition of the *Rhinereise* had an important addition with an essay on architectural history by the building inspector Johann Claudius von Lassaulx (1781–1848).<sup>8</sup> By adding professional excellence to the text, Baedeker launched an important turn that surely contributed to the authority that his future guidebooks would evoke to the audience. Furthermore, the *Rhinereise* contained all those details that were to become a true *signum* for the Baedeker guidebook style: complete information regarding routes, transports, accommodation, restaurants, sights, walks, tipping and, not least, prices.<sup>9</sup> The increasing interest in the Baedeker guidebooks did not shadow the fact that the publisher ought a great deal to the English travel guides by John Murray (1778–1843), a competition that was not in the least concealed.<sup>10</sup>

Yet, the meticulous eye for detail concerning the practicalities of travelling were an innovation that developed from the editor’s scrupulous desire to make the traveller totally independent from any kind of external information or, indeed, relation with the inhabitants of the visited place:

The object of the present Handbook, like that of the Editors other works of the same description, is to render the traveller as independent as possible of the services of guides, valets-de-place, and others of the same class, to Supply him with *a few remarks* on the progress of civilization and art among the people with whom he is about to become acquainted, and to enable him to realize to the fullest extent the *enjoyment and instruction* of which Italy is the fruitful source. The Handbook is, moreover, intended to place the traveller in a position *to visit the places and objects most deserving of notice with the greatest possible economy of time, money, and, it may be added, temper*; for in no country is the traveller’s patience more severely put to the test than in some parts of Italy. The Editor will Endeavour to accompany *the enlightened traveller* through the streets of the Italian towns, to all the principal edifices and works of art; and to guide his steps amidst the exquisite scenery in which Italy so richly abounds.<sup>11</sup>

The aim of the guidebook shed light on some fundamental issues: time, preparation and erudition. The preface appears as a contract between the reader/traveller and the Editor’s voice clearly set to define their roles and their expectations of one another:

With a very few trifling exceptions, the entire book is framed from the Editor’s *personal experience*, acquired at the places described. As, however, infallibility cannot be obtained, the Editor will highly appreciate any bona fide information with which travellers may favour him. That already received, which in many instances has been most serviceable, he gratefully acknowledges.<sup>12</sup>

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7 Hinrichsen (2008) 17.

8 Hinrichsen (2008) 18–19.

9 Hinrichsen (2008) 22–23.

10 Hinrichsen (2008) 25.

11 *Central Italy and Rome* (1867) V. Italics by the author.

12 *Central Italy and Rome* (1867) V–VI. Italics by the author.

Thus, the Baedeker reader might accept the pact with the Editor who guarantees (with a necessary statement of caution) an almost fool proof guidance through the fascinating and yet troublesome Italy. However, the reader must prepare to receive the instructions offered. The adjective “enlightened” presumes an intellectual predisposition and a preparation of some standards in order to fully appreciate the experience of travelling. The structure of the guidebook offers, as we shall see, the exact tools for doing so. Not only to live properly, rationally and safely whilst travelling but also how to prepare the up-coming experience from home. At stake, are two different concepts of space: the organisation of travel and learning into a topographical one (the actual travelling) and a museological or literary one (preparation from books and museums in the home country).<sup>13</sup> Thus, the “independence” from unexpected and uncontrolled notions or indications from the inhabitants of the visited places was inevitably replaced by a complete “dependence” of the Baedeker handbook.

Artistic notions and focus on artistic expressions such as buildings, churches and art collections were important parts of the Baedeker guidebooks. In order to help the traveller to economize time and effort, the Editor launched what was to become perhaps the strongest symbol of the Baedeker travel discourse, namely the star system. By graphically placing a number of stars from one to three next to the section dedicated to the sight, monument or art work in question, the Editor silently expressed an opinion or judgement on its importance or value in the broader context of a time limited stay in a specific city or town. This means that the Baedeker guidebooks seldom exclude anything by bias. On the contrary, there is an earnest wish to list all that is considered of historical worth in a dutiful manner. Yet, the Editor’s “personal” opinions transpire clearly to the reader through the statement of the star system. And the dutiful traveller should rely on the Baedeker and form her or his notions on the guarantees of the handbook.

A guidebook to Italy had been prepared by Karl Baedeker himself and after his death his son Ernst Baedeker (1833–1861) took over the task. In 1867, the first edition of *Central Italy and Rome* was published.<sup>14</sup> There were fifteen more editions to come up to 1930. A survey of the different editions indicates some thematic paths that were constantly updated, such as academic introductions, the listings of hotels and other accommodations and new forms of transportations (from carriages to motor cars). An interesting theme is constituted by real politics in Italy, during these first turbulent years of the making of the new nation, that emerges from those sections that handle everyday life and customs.

This article has a twofold aim. Both of these are concerned with the interaction between the guidebook’s utility as practice *in situ* and as a preparatory tool with a

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<sup>13</sup> Assoun (2011) 6–8.

<sup>14</sup> The correct title in English translation was *Italy. Handbook for travellers by Karl Baedeker. Second part: Central Italy and Rome*.

particular concern for themes relating to art and its presentation in the Baedeker guidebook to Rome. Primarily, it wants to trace the elaboration of the newly established art historical canon, as developed within the German academic discourse at the time, within the structure of the Baedeker guidebook to Rome. By seeking silent and direct judgements on artistic expressions present in the City of Rome, it aims at pointing out that specific artistic “taste” that the ideal Baedeker reader would acquire for life.<sup>15</sup> Secondly, it wants to examine the use and purpose of those literary and academic reading lists that the Baedeker guidebook suggested as good preparation for the future experience of Italy (and Rome). The suggested novels – many of them classic bestsellers at the time – were not only set in Italy but all of them treated themes such as Italian aesthetics, the effect of art upon the foreigner in Italy and religious sentimentalism connected with both positive and negative views on Roman Catholicism. As a contrast, the scholarly titles that appear in the Baedeker reading list were accurately up to date, offering to the acute reader not only notions on Italian art but also proper methodological tools in order to understand them in an as scholarly way as possible.

The slight irony of Henry James’ observation of the proper tourists, walking on the terraces of Monte Pincio in Rome armed with their Baedeker guides, touches upon a criticism that these handbooks were subjected to from, at least the 1870s onwards.<sup>16</sup> Today’s readers might be horrified in front of the racial, chauvinistic and classist remarks of which the Baedeker guidebooks abound but it is equally true that the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries criticism was not concerned with similar issues. On the contrary, it shed light on what was considered to be the limiting aspects of the Baedeker system: a strict control of physical movement, commonplace notions of good taste and proper opinions and no interaction with the people of the visited place. The late nineteenth-century literary movement with its new focus on the inner life and psychological development of the protagonists, used the Baedeker as a metaphor for life restrictions that went beyond the evident limits of tourist experiences onto social criticism concerning women’s rights, sexual identities and social class. In this sense, the Baedeker handbook became synonymous with those conventions and limitations that prevented personal progress and social development in an era of great change in Europe.

Author E. M. Forster’s novel from 1908, *A Room with a view* might be cited as example through its analysis of the impact of Italy on the young English protagonist Lucy Honeychurch and her slow change into an independent woman. *A Room with a view* is a coming of age novel in which the use or non-use of a Baedeker guidebook becomes fundamental as to how look upon, experience and personally elaborate anything foreign.

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<sup>15</sup> This article will reference the 1867 and 1909 editions of *Central Italy and Rome*, here after CIAR.

<sup>16</sup> Parsons (2007).

## Living art on the Baedeker tour: Sceneries, ‘street viewing’ and the control of the gaze

As previously stated, the general structure of all Baedeker guidebooks owed much to the John Murray ones to Europe, several parts in Northern Africa and in Asia which were published from 1836 onwards. Anne Bush has convincingly argued how the structures of the Murray guidebook can be compared to “map knowledge”, that is a transformation of a dense amount of practical, historical, cultural, commercial and topographical information into what Bush defines a “geography of description”.<sup>17</sup> Murray’s concern had been focused on the utility of the books and the great varieties of users and readers that covered wealthy tourists, artists, antiquarians, ecclesiastics and so on. An important concern regarded the familiar structure of earlier guidebooks to Rome, for instance that of Giuseppe Vasi (1710–1782), which divided the city into topographical divisions. Each division was defined as one day’s itinerary. Murray took a critical attitude to this particular system since it offered very little systematic information or knowledge that would help or enlighten the traveller: the *rioni* of Rome had not been fixed over the centuries and since their division originally were not historical or cultural but social they did not present a balanced amount of objects or sites.<sup>18</sup> According to Murray, the traveller might use such texts in order to get a mental overview over the city and choose the objects and sites of their particular interests. Rightly, Murray focused here on an interest in art, antiquities and architecture as a priority of the nineteenth-century traveller to Rome. As a contrast, Murray himself offered a sort of catalogue with practical information as well as listings of sites, monuments and antiquities according to categories. In this way (and by breaking a tradition of sequential reading) Murray thought to offer each category of user a selection that would suit different needs, ambitions and tastes.<sup>19</sup> Murray’s solution was to be strictly connected to the changing travel costumes in nineteenth-century Europe which saw, as previously mentioned, a quick development of various types of travellers. Although historically connected to other traveller categories such as the Christian pilgrim of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance architect or the eighteenth-century aristocratic Grand Tourist, the nineteenth-century traveller represented a number of needs that went beyond the fundamental aspect of social class. Time and money were more decisive factors and according to these insights Murray developed his structure to offer individual choices and possibilities. Quite rightly, Bush stresses that however impartial and objective this ambition may have appeared, it is clear that Murray’s guidebooks determined a sort of hierarchy in its organisation.

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<sup>17</sup> Bush (2007) 182.

<sup>18</sup> Bush (2007) 183.

<sup>19</sup> Bush (2007) 184–185.



As Bush points out, Baedeker’s *Central Italy and Rome* (1867) depended heavily on Murray’s achievements.<sup>20</sup> Like the British predecessor, Baedeker inserted Rome as part of a broader regional tour, practically the confines of the old Papal States. Yet, he chose to present Rome according to five distinct areas that were outlined in the Content list: *I. Stranger’s quarter and Corso, II. The Hills of Rome, III. Rome on the Tiber (Left bank), IV. Ancient Rome and V. Quarters of the City on the Right bank.*<sup>21</sup> Bush stresses that the Baedeker guidebook clearly offered more sights in comparison to Murray but, as a contrast, his language was less discursive than Murray’s. This is an important distinction in two texts that worked for a similar audience. Bush argues convincingly that Baedeker borrowed a great deal of historical and practical information from Murray but offered it in a more restrained typographical space and with a less witty and spiritual tone of language.<sup>22</sup> Out of these distinctive differences, Bush clearly discusses the two giants of the nineteenth-century guidebook in terms of map makers offering overviews, divisions and boundaries that were not only scheduled through the choices of sights/content but also through a graphic presentation that recalled the idea of a true map.<sup>23</sup>

The concept of the map is equally useful when turning to the question of the traveller as a beholding subject in the Baedeker guidebook. The concept of the map as a regulator of both physical movement and visual overview can easily be compared to that of artistic beholding or the idea of a link between perceiving street life as aesthetic experience. The Baedeker guidebook evidences this dualistic gaze of the ideal traveller: on one hand the dutifully trained eye oriented versus selected art works and on the other hand a broader look on contemporary life conceived almost as a conventionally framed painted *capriccio* in the best tradition of the *voyage picturesque*.

The finest \*view from the terrace is obtained near the side-stair case farther to the r., whence, to the r. of the cypresses, S. Agnese and S. Costanza appear in the centre, above which rises Monte Gennaro, with Monticelli at its base. (Most favourable light towards evening).<sup>24</sup>

The Villa Albani, constructed in 1760 by the Cardinal Alessandro Albani, represents a fundamental example of Neoclassical architecture, collecting and artistic taste in Rome. The Baedeker guidebook dutifully offers one star to the entire spot and offers a comprehensive description of the collection on display. As the quotation cited above stresses, an important part of the description was also dedicated to the various spots in the Villa and its garden where good views of the City and of the garden itself could be obtained. The importance of the viewing is clearly manifested by the assignment of one

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<sup>20</sup> Bush (2007) 191.

<sup>21</sup> CIAR (1867) VIII–XI; Bush (2007) 191.

<sup>22</sup> Bush (2007) 191.

<sup>23</sup> Bush (2007) 203–204.

<sup>24</sup> CIAR (1867) 129.

star. The view from the spot is clearly indicated and the mentioning of the time of the best available light indicates an important ambition to visually stage the view itself giving it the status of a proper art work worthy of notice and definitely relating to the artistic genre of *veduta* painting.

In the introductory part of the guidebook, an entire section devoted to *street sceneries* and *promenades* are offered:

The Spanish stair case [...] is the focus of favourite artist's models, most of whom are Neapolitan. The costumes are a well-known subject of photographs and pictures. The Campagnole are one of the most singular apparitions in the streets of Rome. They pass a great part of their lives on horseback, whilst tending their herds of oxen, horses etc. Their equipment usually consists of a low-felt hat, wide, grey mantle, leathern leggings and spurs; in their hands "il pugnolo", or iron-pointed goad for driving their cattle. The peasants of remote mountain-districts, wearing sandals (whence termed *ciociari*) and with swathed feet and ankles, also present a most grotesque appearance. The favourite haunts of the country-people are in front of the Pantheon [...] and the Piazza Montanara [...] below the Capitol. The *pifferari* (bag pipers) of the Abruzzi, attired in faded brown cloaks, pointed hats and sandals, and often a sore trial of patience to their auditors, become most conspicuous towards Christmas. They wander from morning to night in pairs, from one image of the Madonna to another, the elder with the bag-pipes, the younger with a species of clarinet or red pipe. Whilst the former plays the melody, the latter half sings, half recites a prayer, producing at intervals, by way of variation, the most excruciating tones from his instrument. This is repeated 9 times, and each Madonna is thus greeted 3 times daily. At Christmas, the *pifferari* extract their modest numeration from the citizens. Between Christmas and New Year's Day they again commence their operations, and after a few days depart with their spoil to their miserable hoes, or in some other cases to another sphere of action.<sup>25</sup>

The economy of the Baedeker style is here momentarily abandoned in order to point out what was evidently considered as picturesque but at the same time, nonetheless, revolting. Harsh and racist remarks are commonplace within Baedeker discourse. What is important to note here is that the offered scenery, explained in detail, can be paralleled to a particular pictorial genre that developed in Europe from the 1840s onwards and which saw as protagonists, folkloristic sceneries and types of country people often set in idyllic landscapes or half rural half urban contexts.<sup>26</sup>

The Swedish painter Olof Södermark's (1790–1848) picture *Street musicians by the Pantheon* is a good representative of this genre and it also directly relates to the Baedeker description of the *pifferari* of the region Abruzzo coming into Rome and playing in front of the Madonna images exposed in the streets of the City. (Fig. 5.2) Södermark's painting sheds an intimate light on the evening scene by putting the folkloristic aspect of the subject matter at the centre. At the same time, the painting evidences a strong link with the *capricci* genre and its fanciful assemblages of well-known Roman monuments and sites grouped together in one picture. This genre, that had become particularly popular among eighteenth-century Grand Tourists,

<sup>25</sup> CIAR (1867) 93.

<sup>26</sup> On this subject, see for instance Olin (2010) 132–145.



Fig. 5.2: Olof Södermark, *Street musicians by the Pantheon*, 1840. Nationalmuseum. Photographer: Bodil Beckman.

continued to be an important source of influence for nineteenth-century painters engaged with Roman motifs. (Fig. 5.3)



**Fig. 5.3:** Giovanni Paolo Pannini, *Roman ruins*. Unknown date. Nationalmuseum (Photo: Nationalmuseum). Public domain.

Subsequently, the context of Södermark's painting is not the Pantheon but shows an imagined place composed by the Arco dei Pantani in the Suburra walls adjacent to the Augustean forum. In the background, the artist inserted two sets of buildings that juxtapose different elements from different Roman monuments. The building to the left shows clearly the Pantheon portico but the low drum of the pagan temple is replaced

by a much higher unidentifiable cupola. This theme is repeated on the right with what might represent the cupola of the minor basilica Sant’Andrea della Valle. The cupola had been completed in 1620 by architect Carlo Maderno and constituted the most magnificent in Rome after Saint Peter’s. Furthermore, the building that anticipates the cupola can be identified as a fanciful take on a Roman palace facade with traits from both Palazzo Farnese and the Lateran palace. Thus, the painting combined an inspiring grouping of modern and ancient Roman architecture, a true *topos* of the eighteenth-century *capricci* genre. Still, Södermark added that precise folkloristic touch that the nineteenth-century visual culture promoted, not the least, as we have seen through the Baedeker description, within the increasing discourse of tourism.

This pictorial genre was not exclusively Italian or an evidence of foreign artists’ look upon Italian folklore. On the contrary, the genre was present all over Europe as a true testimony of the importance of nationalist discourse that flourished in a Europe still at hands with the reforming of the continent’s national borders post Napoleon, the Vienna Congress and an increasing industrialisation that contributed to the making of urban life. Thus, visual folklore became increasingly an idealistic reminder of the loss of rural conditions.

The traveller in Rome, armed with a Baedeker, was most certainly familiar with these pictures of rural happiness that filled contemporary exhibitions and the art market. The guidebook offered a chance to experience these sceneries from real life although in a staged and performative manner that decidedly involved the active observation of the traveller/ beholder. The expected gaze here is duplicate: it is that of the foreigner experiencing a ritual far from his or her sense of what is familiar and that of the beholder of an art work that represents, within its genre, familiarity.<sup>27</sup>

The Piazza di Spagna models were equally, and logically, well-known art subjects. The quarters of the piazza had long since been an artistic centre in Rome with numerous *botteghe* and studios. It was quite sensible that these women, coming into the City from the nearby countryside in search for work, would gather in this part of Rome. Equally sensible was to dress at their best in their local costumes in order to attract the interest of the painters that specialised within the folkloristic genre. The Baedeker traveller would thus, according to the sense of order offered by the concept of the map, organize these viewings in terms of period of the year and time of the day.

The concept of *living art* as stated here, engaged the traveller in the making of real art works framed by the gaze and contemplated from a certain physical distance.<sup>28</sup> The framing of these performative pictures was organised by the mapping of time and place as well as that of a basic knowledge of the painting tradition linked to panoramic views such as landscape painting, *capricci* or *vedute*. The latter is

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<sup>27</sup> On this subject, see Urry and Larsen (2011).

<sup>28</sup> On the subject of the gaze and the socially uncontrolled, see Frenzel (2016).



Fig. 5.4: James Anderson, *Foro Romano preso dal Campidoglio*, unknown date. Hallwyl Museum, Stockholm. Photographer: Jenny Bergensten. Public domain.

particularly evident when examining the tourist photographs that were sold as *mementos* of the journey (Fig. 5.4). The composition, framing and standing point emulated those of the painted views that for the same reasons had attracted the eighteenth-century Grand Tourists. Thus, the traveller's gaze was severely controlled just as much as the physical movements through itineraries and safely recommended facilities.

## Art History at hands: A new academic discipline in a popular formula

The Baedeker guidebook to Rome prepared the travellers for the training of artistic appreciation in two distinct ways. They were supposed to engage in reading before the journey and, during the very same, continue their instruction by completing the training *in situ* in front of selected art works and monuments. Needless to say, this firm and



consequent method reveals as much about an anti-canon, clearly settled through strong and pejorative remarks or simply silence. These firm statements concerning “good” or “bad” art was closely connected to a new academic discourse, namely that of the newly formed discipline of Art History that was launched in German universities during the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>29</sup>

In 1860, the professor of Art History at the University of Bonn, Anton Heinrich Springer (1825–1891), was invited to collaborate on the first edition of *Central Italy and Rome*.<sup>30</sup> The invitation was not unexpected. In 1855, Springer had published *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, a text that was to be launched in several editions up to the 1920s.<sup>31</sup> In 1860, Springer had become the first full professor in Art History at the University of Bonn and later moved on to teach at Strassbourg and Leipzig. As a scholar, Springer was rooted in the discipline of History, a fact that determined his views on how Art History should be produced and understood. Thus, he argued that Art History was not different methodologically in any way from other historical disciplines. What determined its uniqueness was the artifacts that were the objects of its study.<sup>32</sup> The collaboration between the editors of the Baedeker handbooks and scholars based in the German universities had an important predecessor in Murray and how he had taken on a similar approach in his own travel guides. As Dan Karlholm points out, Murray had published the English translation of Franz Theodor Kugler’s (1808–1858) *Geschichte der Malerei seit Constantin dem Grossen* (1837). This art historical survey text, one of the first of its kind, was clearly evidenced by the editor Charles Eastlake as a possible and fruitful companion for those readers that were to prepare a visit to the art collections on the European continent.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the art history discipline, as expressed within the survey text at the time, was closely connected to the idea of preparing a potentially well-educated traveller to experience in the flesh the artistic patrimony of Europe.

In the 1867 and first edition of *Central Italy and Rome*, Springer wrote the introductory essay entitled *Italian Art. An Historical Sketch by Professor Springer of Bonn*.<sup>34</sup> It is evidently an adaptation of what he already had written on the subject. A different tone characterises the address to a broader audience of readers:

One of the primary objects of the *enlightened traveller* in Italy is usually to form some acquaintance with its treasures of art. Even those whose ordinary vocations are of the most prosaic nature unconsciously become admirers of poetry and art in Italy. *The traveller here finds them so interwoven with scenes of everyday life*, that he involuntarily encounters their impress at every step, and becomes susceptible to their influence. A single visit can hardly suffice to enable any

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<sup>29</sup> Karlholm (1996).

<sup>30</sup> Hinrichsen (2008); Karlholm (2006) 156.

<sup>31</sup> Karlholm (1996) 90 and note 41.

<sup>32</sup> Karlholm (1996) 90.

<sup>33</sup> Karlholm (2006) 156.

<sup>34</sup> CIAR (1867) XXXIII.

one to form a just appreciation of the numerous works of art he meets with in an extended tour, nor a guide-book to initiate him into the mysterious depths of Italian creative genius, the past history of which is especially attractive, nevertheless a few remarks on this subject will be found materially to enhance the pleasure, and assist the penetration of even the most unpretending lover of art. Works of the highest class, the most perfect creations of genius, lose nothing of their charm by being pointed out as specimens of the culminating point of art; whilst, on the other hand, those of inferior merit are invested with far higher interest when regarded as necessary links in the chain of development, and when, on comparison with subsequent or preceding works, their relative defects or superiority are recognised. The following observations therefore, will hardly be deemed a superfluous adjunct to a work designed to aid the traveller in deriving the greatest possible amount of enjoyment and instruction from his sojourn in Italy.<sup>35</sup>

Interestingly enough, Springer engages the Baedeker reader into a second contract, which parallels that of the Editor and the reader. As the introductory note stresses, the ideal reader/traveller is *enlightened*, an adjective that presumes a certain level of knowledge and education. Yet, this ideal reader is juxtaposed with a slightly less positive alter ego defined by his or her *prosaic nature*.

As Springer notices, it would be hard, even for the less prepared traveller, to remain untouched by the artistic beauties of Italy, especially since these are *so interwoven with scenes of everyday life*. This last comment is of outmost importance for two reasons. Primarily, Springer aims at transforming the content of his art history handbook (aimed for academia) into a lighter and more accessible one. In order to do so, he takes on an apologetic attitude by trying to please a broader audience. It is possible, Springer assures, to appreciate Italian art as a mirror and an expression of actual Italian life. In contrast to a more academic approach, stressed through the importance of admiring and understanding art works of highest quality as well as *those of inferior merit*, the immersion in Italian life brings infallibly to an *involuntary* contact and – what could be defined as – a somewhat rough appreciation of the artistic treasures of Italy. The polarity between the diligent acquisition of proficient knowledge of Italian art and a spontaneous and unaffected experience of Italian life clearly defines two types of travellers. As we shall see, both of them were to be protagonists in those literary works that examined the *Baedeker effect* as a broader cultural phenomenon.

Since *Central Italy and Rome* did not only focus on the Eternal City, Springer wrote a specific introduction to Roman art which would, in greater detail, accompany the traveller on his or her Roman paths. The introduction regarded architecture and visual arts from the medieval era up to the early modern one, that was considered mainly the first part of the seventeenth century.<sup>36</sup> Since the Baedeker guidebook took pride in the economy of its describing texts, the introductions

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<sup>35</sup> CIAR (1867) XXXIII. Italics by the author.

<sup>36</sup> In later editions of CIAR, the introductions regarding art history were divided between different specialists according to different historic eras. For instance, Antiquity was divided from Medieval and Modern art and architecture.



would prepare the travellers to understand and examine better those monuments and art works that in the text proper were described with very few words. Springer takes on a somewhat ambivalent attitude to the task. As pointing out the greatness of the art of Ancient Rome, he finds himself rather reluctant to characterise Roman art as a true success story. An interesting notion gives a vague hint at one of the cores of the problem:

It is not, however, the 16th century, not the glories of the Renaissance, that give to Rome of our day her distinctive character, but rather the new and imposing exterior which she received at the hand of her architects in the 17th century. The mind must be disencharnted before the veil can be penetrated and the Rome of antiquity adequately comprehended.<sup>37</sup>

Several historical layers appear in this quote and indirectly Springer gives them a clear hierarchical position. Evidently, the High Renaissance, that is the art of the middle decades of the 16th century, occupies, together with classical antiquity, the highest position on this scale. In order to discover and fully appreciate these historical phases, the travellers need to be *disencharnted* before the architectural evidence of the Baroque era. The choice of verb is particularly strong since it implies that a spell of magic, in itself not a positive thing, might keep hostage the travellers’ mind. It clearly points out a vision of baroque form as decadent and seductive at the same time.

The narrative of the development of Roman early Christian and Medieval art brings up to the crucial moment of renaissance. In *Central Italy and Rome*, Springer’s introduction gives a strong credit to the Florentine achievements in making and fostering the arts and mind sets of the fifteenth-century Humanists.<sup>38</sup> This inserts his writing directly into the discourse of sixteenth-century Florentine art theoretician Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) and the nationalist praise that had characterised his biographies of artists *Vite de’ Pittori, Scultori e Architetti* (1564).<sup>39</sup>

A crucial moment for Roman Renaissance is pointed out as the frescoed wall paintings in the Sistine chapel ordered by Pope Sixtus IV (1414–1474). This enterprise was carried out by a number of highly respected Florentine and Umbrian masters among which the names of Sandro Botticelli (1445–1510), Filippino Lippi (1457–1504) and Luca Signorelli (1445–1523) constitute just a few examples. Here we find a practical notion that breaks with the apparently easy fluency of the introduction’s art historical narrative:

Those lovers of art who are unable to visit Florence before going to Rome are emphatically recommended to make these wall paintings their especial study. They will learn from them to appreciate the descriptive powers of the Florentines and will be familiarised with the field subsequently occupied by the heroes of Italian Art.<sup>40</sup>

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**37** CIAR (1867) XLVI.

**38** CIAR (1867) LI–LII.

**39** On Vasari and art history writing, see Rubin (1995) and in particular 148–186.

**40** CIAR (1867) LIII.

This statement gives a good example of how the Baedeker guidebook was intended to work. As previously mentioned, the decision to insert the City and surroundings of Rome into a volume that covered the rest of Central Italy (crucial regions of historical and artistic importance such as Toscana and Umbria) clearly gave a tribute to the classical route of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour. The idea of experiencing and seeing sites, monuments and artistic expression in a certain order according to chronology is however a direct consequence of the development of Art History as academic discipline. A changing travel route would have disoriented the ideal Baedeker traveller and would have broken the time line and acquaintance with form considered indispensable for a full understanding of *the next step* in the art historical narrative. Thus, practical advice is here linked to an ideal process of increasing knowledge and a pattern of learning.

The crucial moment in Springer's introduction to Roman art is defined by his characterisation of the High Renaissance masters Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564) and Raffaello Sanzio (1483–1520). Both artists had had a solid position within art criticism since Vasari and in the German Art History survey texts they were highly praised. Yet, Raphael, as representing the strong classicist line from Antiquity up to nineteenth-century academic training and thus the very concept of *buon gusto*, was even more forwarded than Michelangelo.<sup>41</sup> Springer's introduction is not an exception.

Generally sparse in his definitions and language use, also according to the economics of the overall Baedeker guidebook style, Springer takes on a different tone when approaching what he considers to be a fulfilling moment in Roman art history. The approach concern both style and content:

These frescoes [Sistine chapel ceiling] are nevertheless the most important of Michael Angelo's contributions to art. They afford a wider field for the exercise of his creative power than sculpture, where plastic forms, unequal as they are to the demands of his prolific genius, betray him into exaggeration.<sup>42</sup>

Springer promotes a sort of moderation in Michelangelo's formal work that he connects to the genre of fresco painting which becomes here a restraining factor. Yet, form is not an exclusive issue. Springer discusses the content of the subject matters and suggests that the reader/traveller should pay attention to even smaller details in the ceiling structure:

The thoughtful beholder will not acquiesce in the exclusive study of the central pictures. The figures in monochrome and minor decorations are replete with a beauty peculiar to themselves.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Karlholm (2006) 56.

<sup>42</sup> CIAR (1867) LV.

<sup>43</sup> CIAR (1867) LV.

The admiration for Michelangelo’s *power of organisation* brings to the highest praise for Raphael. Much more space is devoted to the latter. Springer mentions a few easel paintings by the artist before moving on to the fresco cycles in the Vatican. This is, as previously shown, a common trait in the exposure of art in the Baedeker handbook: paintings as part of collections are given less attention than the fresco cycles in churches and civic buildings. Consequently, Springer stresses the fresco medium as linked to a Roman tradition which gave Raphael the possibility to express his *highest powers*.<sup>44</sup> What emerges from the description of Raphael’s importance within the history of Roman art, is a focus on contextual matters. Springer stresses that to fully appreciate Raphael’s work in the Vatican it is necessary to take into consideration the “peculiar” position of the Pontificate during the first part of the sixteenth century:

In the palace of the Vatican the same courtly tone, the same pursuit of sensuous pleasures, of the mere joys of existence, prevailed as in the courts of the younger Italian dynasties; expressions of national sentiment met with a favourable reception, while an active agitation on the part of the Humanists did not appear to have compromised the dignity of the Papal court. These conditions are more or less reflected in the frescoes of Raphael.<sup>45</sup>

A clear link between political, social and cultural issues and the work of art is here fully accepted and launched. Yet, Springer does not limit the expression of the artist as due to discursive restraint. On the contrary, he joyfully engages in a praise that puts Raphael’s *right to supremacy in the realm of creative fancy* in clear contrast to the stiff theological and overall learned content of the frescoes’ subject matters. A courtier for sure, Raphael represents as well the *free* artist.

At this point Springer turns to the reader/traveller who must not neglect his or her obligation in the learning process:

After the foregoing remarks the unprejudiced reader will need a hint only as to the mental attitude he shall assume as a student of Raphael’s works. If the mere subject of the picture exclusively occupies his attention, if he must know the name and history of every figure, and feels it incumbent upon him to admire the intellectual grasp of an artist who gathered his materials from the remotest provinces of learning and who abounds in literary allusions, he is no longer in a condition fairly to test the artistic value of Raphael’s works. From this point of view he will fail to detect in them any essential difference from the allegorical pictures of the period, nay he may even give precedence to many of these [...]<sup>46</sup>

The complex contents of sixteenth-century fresco cycles are here juxtaposed with the artist’s capability of reaching emotional and psychological expression in narrative and figure. Raphael’s greatness lies, according to Springer, not in his hypothetical

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<sup>44</sup> CIAR (1867) LVI.

<sup>45</sup> CIAR (1867) LVI.

<sup>46</sup> CIAR (1867) LVII.

personal input to learned iconographies nor in *beauty of outline and contour*.<sup>47</sup> The latter indicates a slight pejorative view on form in terms of pure design, whilst Raphael's capacity to unite form and psychological insight to his narratives puts him in a singular position among sixteenth-century artists. Springer stresses the importance for the reader/traveller of valuing these arguments in order to be able to not only appreciate the work of Raphael but to form new questions:

[...] Numerous problems will present themselves to the amateur for solution: what motive Raphael might have had in treating the Disputa and the School of Athens so differently in respect of color; how far in the latter picture the architectural character of the background is essential to the collective impression to be conveyed; for what reason the domain of portraiture is here narrowed to the utmost, while there (Jurisprudence) it is extended; what were the grounds for the manifold changes in composition which are accurately traced in his numerous sketches etc.<sup>48</sup>

Springer's teaching experience is here fully visible and the text takes on a lecture like tone in which rhetorical questions are put out in front of an imagined audience of readers/travellers in the role of proper students. This didactic approach is forwarded in the characterization of Raphael's works in the Villa Farnesina, commissioned by Pope Julius II's banker Agostino Chigi:

The spectator's own unassisted eye will not fail to see that the pictures on the ceiling of the principal salon are far inferior in execution to the so-called Galatea in the neighboring apartment. He will find nevertheless that both are such as will reward careful study with the highest gratification – a delight it must be a lasting desire to renew.<sup>49</sup>

Springer defines the three artists Bramante, Michelangelo and Raphael as no less than heroes.<sup>50</sup> From here his art historical narrative of the Baedeker introduction takes on a quicker and apocalyptic tone. The "decline of art" in the aftermaths of the heroes of the great tradition is divided into architectural and pictorial defaults. It appears clear that architecture is the art form that had suffered more from the "decline" post High Renaissance. The "authors of the degenerated design known as Baroque" are identified by the names of Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–1573) and Carlo Maderno (1556–1629):

Maderna [sic] with Borromini and Carlo Fontana were the leaders of that Artists' band who conspired to rob architecture of its fitting repose, and by the introduction of figures posted in startling attitudes, aroused or convulsed by agency unseen, of curves instead of straight lines, of pillar piled upon pillar, substituted a turbulent unrest.<sup>51</sup> (Fig. 5.5)

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<sup>47</sup> CIAR (1867) LVIII.

<sup>48</sup> CIAR (1867) LVIII.

<sup>49</sup> CIAR (1867) LIX. Springer makes a comparison between the painted ceiling in the Psyche loggia in the Villa and the fresco showing the nymph Galatea in an adjacent room.

<sup>50</sup> CIAR (1867) LIX.

<sup>51</sup> CIAR (1867) LXI.

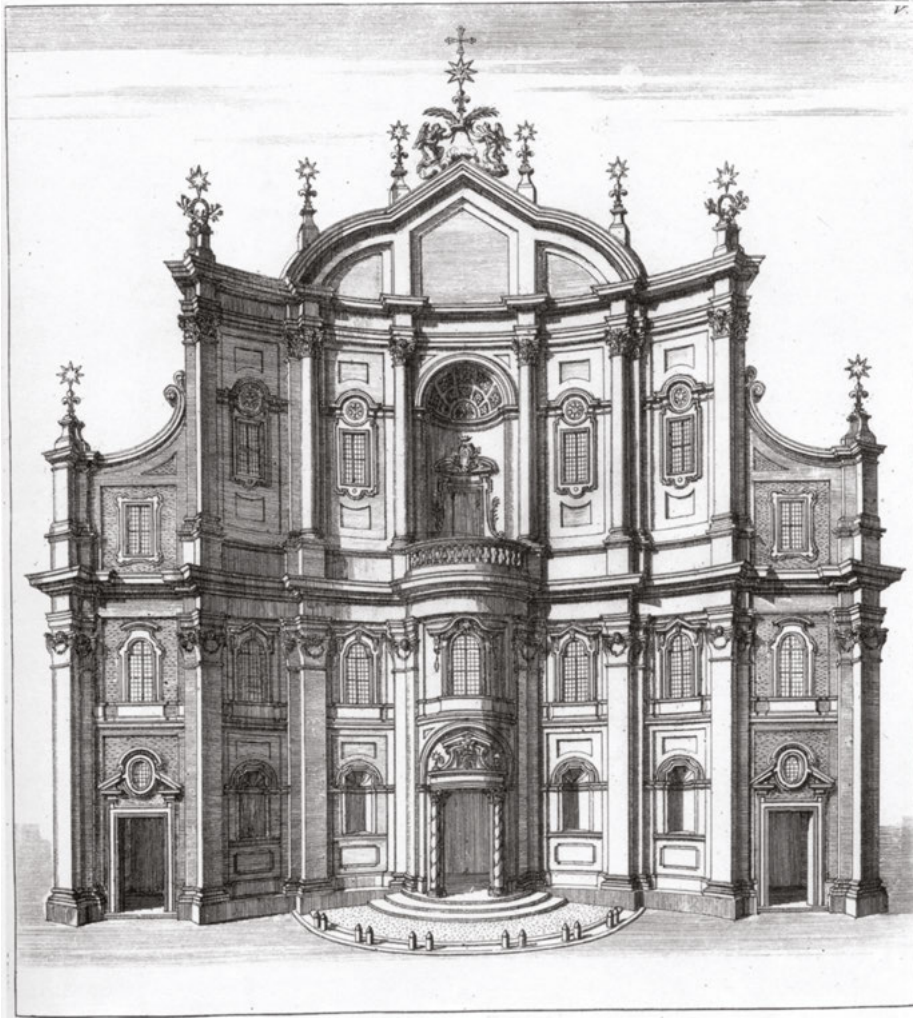


Fig. 5.5: The curved architecture that Anton Springer found so repelling. Domenico Barrière, *Façade of the Oratorio dei Filippini* by Francesco Borromini. *Roma ricercata nel suo sito*. 1658. Public domain.

Springer’s metaphors are illuminating. By the choice of nouns as *band* or verbs as *rob* he suggests a moral deficiency in the authors concerned that is transmitted to their formal solutions. Architectural sculpture defined as *aroused* and *convulsed* constitutes here a challenge to the classical conception of architecture, fittingly understated in the passage as an antithesis: *curves instead of straight lines* and *pillar piled upon pillar*. Springer’s harsh tone in these passages is quite unusual in the introduction as

a whole. The outburst of flamboyant criticism is less in line with his positivistic ambitions as a scholar. Indeed, he tries to calm the waters with a less affected remark:

Not that the style was without striking and artistic effect. An undoubted vigor in the disposition of detail, a feeling for vastness and pomp, together with an internal decoration which spared neither color nor costly material to secure an effect of dazzling splendor: such are the distinguishing attributes of the Baroque style [...].

Yet, his final words on the matter were clear:

The reader will, however, scarcely dwell on these works longer than will suffice to give him a clear general impression of their character.<sup>52</sup>

Comments and criticism regarding seventeenth-century painting is no less poignant. The aversion against painting produced in the late sixteenth century, and here simply cited by the names of painters Giuseppe Cesari known as Cavalier D'Arpino (1568–1640) and Federico Zuccari (1540–1609), sets the tone:

An altogether deplorable interval now ensued, during which artistic talent was beguiled by Michel Angelo's overwhelming ascendancy into a slavish imitativeness, content with the least possible effort to crowd into a given space the greatest possible number of unmeaning figures, not devoid, however, of a certain superficial charm sufficient to captivate the eye.<sup>53</sup>

At this point of the text, Springer's biting tone is abruptly silenced. The seventeenth century is opening up as a battle of combat in which two parties ragingly fight for dominance: the Naturalists headed by Caravaggio and the Eclectics (classicists) by Annibale Carracci. Interestingly enough, Springer here dotes completely on the biographies of Caravaggio and Carracci by antiquarian and theorist Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–1696) as well as the spirit of rivalry that the seventeenth-century biographers created around the painters in early Baroque Rome.<sup>54</sup> Springer uses words as *triumphant*, *failure*, *appropriation*, *monopoly*, *peace* when describing how *Rome becomes a scene of conflict in which painters and their partisans are the combatants*.<sup>55</sup> More than in any of the passages of the Introduction to Roman art examined in this article, Springer abandons an individual critical eye in favour of well-known art historical *topoi*. The apparently balanced tone becomes less evident when the text approaches art and artists of the full Baroque:

The Neapolitan sculptor Lorenzo Bernini flourishes up to the close of the 17th century. His works occupy the concluding chapter in the history of Roman art. It is superfluous to bid the beholder beware of being led captive by art essentially flimsy and meretricious; rather perhaps is it

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<sup>52</sup> CIAR (1867) LXI.

<sup>53</sup> CIAR (1867) LXI.

<sup>54</sup> On this subject, see Bell et al. (2002).

<sup>55</sup> CIAR (1867) LXI.

necessary, as a set off against the now prevailing depreciation of Bernini’s works, to plead the important historical significance they possess amidst all their too conspicuous defects; to bear in mind that throughout the course of nearly a century they were regarded as the most brilliant production of that period and were generally imitated.<sup>56</sup>

Nineteenth-century art criticism took a strong aversion against Baroque art and architecture as well as that represented by the early seventeenth-century innovators like Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio. It is clear that Springer promoted art and architecture with strong roots in a classical idiom such as that of the former part of the sixteenth century (Bramante and Raphael) or the protectors and innovators of that tradition in the early seventeenth century (Annibale Carracci). The Hegelian structure of the text clearly focusing on rises and falls in the course of History is symptomatic for Springer’s discursive context. Thus, it is clear that Springer did not abandon his academic point of view when approaching the task of writing for a guidebook to Rome. The Introduction offered that particular general view that would give the traveller a historical context as well as sets of criteria of taste. This is an important distinction. Springer’s Introduction represented, within the system of the Baedeker guidebook, a suggested pre-reading part that easily could be accomplished at home, on a train or in a comfortable hotel room. Now we shall see how these statements and criteria were manifested in the descriptions of singular art works or monuments.

## Springer Art History on the field: Exploring Roman art in situ

If the Baedeker guidebook organised the travellers’ movements through Rome according to a logic that corresponded to historical events or epochs and topographical ease, it also provided in depth characterisations of selected spots or objects. The star system gave the traveller an immediate sense of the importance given to the material in question. One example is constituted by the description of Via della Lungara in the Trastevere rione where the Villa Farnesina is situated:

\*Villa Farnesina (Pl.II, 11) (Sundays 10–3), erected in 1506 by Bald. Peruzzi for Agostino Chigi, from 1580 until lately the property of the Farnese family, now that of the ex-king of Naples. This small place is one of the most pleasing renaissance-edifices in Rome, simple and of symmetrical proportions. [...].<sup>57</sup>

The one star indicates a relatively little importance of the building as such. Yet, some of the art works present inside were considered of more merit:

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<sup>56</sup> CIAR (1867) LXII.

<sup>57</sup> CIAR (1867) 224.

[...] On the entrance wall [the loggia of Galatea adjoining that of Psyche previously described] Raphael in 1514 painted with his own hand the\*\*Galatea, borne across in a conch, surrounded by Nymphs, Tritons and Cupids, one of the most charming works of the master [...].<sup>58</sup> (Fig. 5.6)

The guidebook's task was obviously to bring the traveller to those art works that held a canonical place within Western art as well as pointing out new findings or remarks. Even if the Villa Farnesina *per se* could not claim the highest architectural praise, the presence of Raphael's Galatea forced an upgrading of its historical context. The adjective *charming* is less present in Springer's general introduction and might have been used to facilitate a less well-read traveller's experience of the work – as well as graphically singling it out on the book page. Raphael's Psyche series in the adjacent loggia is equally praised with two stars and an extensive iconographical explanation.<sup>59</sup> Artistic quality is here complemented with subject matter and narrative. An important aspect of this particular example brings about a focus on artistic technique and restoration that is current in the entire Baedeker guidebook to Central Italy and Rome:

The frescos [the Psyche loggia], having suffered from exposure to the atmosphere, were retouched by Maratta. The blue ground, which was originally of a much warmer tint, as is apparent from the few portions still unfaded, was most seriously injured. The whole nevertheless produces a charming and brilliant effect owing to the indestructible beauty of the designs. The felicity with which the scenes have been adapted to the unfavourable spaces is also remarkable.<sup>60</sup>

Here we see how the Baedeker guidebook turns the travellers' mind and gaze to different aspects of an art work. The appreciation of Renaissance technical skill needed to be trained and pointed out as well as the idea of fading pigments during the course of time. Restoration is here focused from an historical perspective since the activities of conservation of seventeenth-century painter and *Principe* of the Accademia di San Luca, Carlo Maratta (1625–1713) is brought to light as worth mentioning.<sup>61</sup> The eye is trained to spot and appreciate an art work's material status as well as its content and form – in the Baedeker context always referred to as *design*. The choice of word, and its English translation from German, is clearly due to the link with the Italian concept of *disegno*, a true fundament of academic training in Italy since the sixteenth century and closely connected to the idea of the *scuola romana* in which drawing took precedence over colouring.

The lure for Classicist art and in particular the High Renaissance masters and its continuation with Annibale Carracci and his pupils, is a firm trait in the guidebook. A good example of this partiality is offered by the description of the French National Church San Luigi dei Francesi, consecrated in 1589. Despite the fact that the building

<sup>58</sup> CIAR (1867) 225.

<sup>59</sup> CIAR, (1867) 225.

<sup>60</sup> CIAR (1867) 225.

<sup>61</sup> Panza (1990).





Fig. 5.6: *La Galatea*, Farnesina. Reproduction from a travel album, 1888. Hallwyl Museum, Stockholm. Photographer: Jenny Bergensten. Public domain.

as such was deprived of any star, the overall opinion of the architecture and the interior design is rather positive:

It is one of the better structures of its period; the interior also is decorated with taste and judgment.<sup>62</sup>

Late sixteenth-century religious architecture depended heavily on the regulations of the Counter Reformation and while the latter stipulated simplicity and logic in form and flow most Roman churches of this particular period were slowly but steadily furnished with marbles, ceiling paintings and elaborate altar pieces.<sup>63</sup> Thus, the Baedeker traveller would have encountered churches that represented several layers of religious, liturgical and artistic history. The eclectic character was hard upon the aesthetic sense of the Editors of the guidebook. The quotation above indicates that the relatively homogenous character of the interior of San Luigi dei Francesi appealed to the Baedeker sensibility and as a contrast to what was conceived as confusing from an aesthetical point of view. It is not by chance, that the only art work to gain a rewarding star in this particular church were the frescos from the life of Saint Cecilia by Domenichino (1581–1641) in the second chapel on the right from the entrance. Although no particular praise is expressed in words, the iconography of the frescos is dutifully explained. It is most indicative that the Cappella Contarelli, situated close to the high altar in the very same church, and decorated by Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio is only mentioned. The meticulous and noncompromising classicism of Domenichino here wins the argument and the chase for the sought-after star. The frescos, showing crucial moments in the life of Saint Cecilia, are here openly structured and modelled upon Raphael's *Stanze* in the Vatican, and in particular the *Incendio del Borgo* (1514–1517). The work is a clear tribute to the painter that second generation classicists operating in Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century considered the true keeper of the Classicist theory and practice: a close study of classical sculpture, mastering the art of drawing and a firm sense of harmony and synthesis. The silent praise of Domenichino (and Classicism) as expressed by a single star and the total silence concerning Caravaggio (and Naturalism) are firm examples of how Springer's academic stand points in the *Introduction to Roman Art History* would find its way into the actual itineraries and graphic structure of the Baedeker guidebook.

Singular paintings or collections present in the aristocratic palaces had been important goals for the eighteenth-century Grand Tourist whilst in Rome. The observations concerning Roman society life, manners and costumes, religious remarks and political

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<sup>62</sup> CIAR (1867) 152.

<sup>63</sup> On this subject, see Borromeo (2010).

reflection were always interwoven with visits to the princely collections where canonical paintings and sculptures were to be seen and admired.<sup>64</sup> Accessible to visitors since the sixteenth century, they constituted the very first prototypes of the European art museum.<sup>65</sup> In the Baedeker guidebook they lead a rather modest life, hidden in between monumental architecture, panoramic sightseeing and ancient monuments. The Baedeker guidebook did not permit (or wished for) the elaborate, verbally eloquent and sometimes harsh remarks that the eighteenth-century travel writing abounded of. Indeed, the Baedeker aim of cultural consensus on proper canonical opinions was strongly rooted in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century art criticism but the great difference lies in style of language and structure. Eighteenth-century Grand Tourist Peter Beckford’s highly opinionated words may serve here as an example:

[...] In the Rospigliosi Palace are some good Pictures, but the famous Aurora by GUIDO is most worthy your attention [...] The Colonna Palace may boast over the most superb gallery; Ruspoli the most superb stair-case. Among the famous pictures of the former, is the Adam and Eve by DOMENICHINO; – they are represented with navels, the Painter rather chusing [sic] to derivate from the truth, than make a monster: the portrait of the Cenci is an interesting picture to those who are acquainted with the history of that unfortunate female. The Doria Palace contains an astonishing collection of Pictures; good, bad and indifferent. The Borghese apartments are so gloomy that I would not possess all they contain to be obliged to inhabit them. They are to be considered only as a Repository for Pictures and Statues [...].<sup>66</sup>

Beckford’s remarks contain personal opinions on various matters but they represent equally a canonical artistic taste that was to be prevalent within the Baedeker discourse. The artists that he mentions as worthy of attention, Guido Reni (1575–1642) and Domenichino, were both, as previously shown, exponents of the classicist tradition and thinking that had dominated the Academic discourse in Europe since the writings of Giorgio Vasari and, subsequently, that of Giovanni Pietro Bellori. Springer’s dependence on the formers have already been stressed. The Baedeker elaboration of Springer’s art history promotes thus a narrative that already had been institutionalised during the previous centuries and equally expressed within previous travel discourses. Consequently, the Baedeker guidebook does not express different opinions on the Doria Pamphilj collection from the high-spirited Peter Beckford. Graced with one star, the overall comment remains:

This, the most extensive of Roman collections, comprises many admirable, as well as numerous mediocre works.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>64</sup> On this vast subject see for instance Beckford (1805); Miller (1776) and Moore (1781).

<sup>65</sup> On the subject, see Feigenbaum (2014).

<sup>66</sup> Beckford (1805) vol. I, 234–235.

<sup>67</sup> CIAR (1867) 120.

## Traveller or tourist? The importance of pre-reading and setting the mind to Rome

The high ambition of the Baedeker guidebooks to present to the user up to date historical and art historical notions was already evident in the first editions. In later editions, this trait would expand and become more systematic. In the 1909 edition of *Central Italy and Rome*, the Editor's introductory notes were completed with headings such as *Glossary of Art Terms* and *Bibliography*.<sup>68</sup> The first indicates a desire to provide the users with a more specialised and sophisticated understanding of Art History, a fact that stresses the discipline's more rooted situation within European cultural discourse in comparison to the editions of the 1860s when Art History was on its way to become academically defined. The glossary is partially linked to the content listed under the bibliography heading. It is divided into different subtitles that include *Books on Rome* with several sections such as *Ancient and Modern Rome*, *History* and, interestingly enough, *Fiction*. Italian art history has its own section which reinforces the academic context promoted by the Baedeker formula.<sup>69</sup> The ambitious listings evidence a stronger division between the hypothetical users of the Baedeker guide and brings back the idea launched by Springer in the 1867 edition *Introduction to Italian art*: the enlightened user and that of more 'prosaic nature'. Examining the list, it becomes evident that the academic works would have pleased the former while the latter easily could have taken on a pleasant reading of the novels cited:

### *On Art*<sup>70</sup>

*Morelli's Italian Painters*;<sup>71</sup> *Crowe and Cavalcaselle's History of Painting in Italy (new ed. 1903)*;<sup>72</sup> *Kugler's Handbook of Painting*;<sup>73</sup> *Mrs Jameson's Lives of Italian Painters*;<sup>74</sup> *Mr Bernard Berenson's Central Painters*<sup>75</sup> and other works.

### *Fiction*

*The Marble Faun*, *Nathaniel Hawthorne*;<sup>76</sup> *Daniella*, *George Sand*;<sup>77</sup> *Improvvisatore*, *Andersen*;<sup>78</sup> *Mademoiselle Mori*, *Miss Robert*;<sup>79</sup> *Ariadne*, *Ouida*<sup>80</sup>

**68** CIAR (1909) IX.

**69** CIAR (1909) LXXXI–LXXXII.

**70** CIAR (1909) LXXXII.

**71** Morelli (1893).

**72** Cavalcaselle and Archer Crowe (1864).

**73** Kugler (1837).

**74** Jameson (1845).

**75** Berenson (1897).

**76** Hawthorne (1860).

**77** Sand (1857).

**78** Andersen (1835).

**79** Roberts (1859).

**80** Ouida (1877).

*Rome, Zola*<sup>81</sup>

*Various novels, F. Marion Crawford*<sup>82</sup>

*Fabiola, Cardinal Wiseman*<sup>83</sup>

*Quo Vadis, Sienkiewicz*<sup>84</sup>

The list gives an interesting insight into a pre-reading discourse that would have prepared the Baedeker traveller to conceive the experiencing of Rome in a distinct way. The scholarly works are titles that in 1909 had become classics such as Kugler's survey text or Anna Jameson's work on early Italian painters. Yet, there are up to date scholarly works such as Morelli's and his pupil Berenson's new methodological approach to Art History, concerned with a close observation of the art work and combining the interest for iconography and content with materiality and issues concerning authorship. The academic concept of the *connoisseur* would find its definition from both Morelli's and Berenson's work. In the Baedeker guidebook, the close contact with the art object is stressed and as previously shown oriented versus a combination of content, artistic technique and conservation issues. This broad take on the art work derives directly from the developing methodologies within the discipline of Art History and through the guidebook it would reach a broad range of readers/users with a slightly more ambitious approach to art than the average traveller. Here it is important to make a distinction. The eighteenth-century travel culture included the concept of the *dilettante*, that is an educated, gentlemanly approach to art with the ambition of knowing at least as much as the other important category linked to idea of an artistic/cultural profession: the antiquarian.<sup>85</sup> In some ways, the ideal Baedeker user is connected with the eighteenth-century dilettante which is clearly stressed out of the use of the adjective *enlightened*. Yet, it would not be inappropriate to argue that the status of *enlightened* would have been a prerequisite for those Baedeker users with the ambition to increase their power of artistic knowledge. Indeed, the generous sharing of new scholarly results and methodologies clearly points at an up to date approach that would have linked the ambitious traveller and Baedeker user to the new academic connoisseurs of Art History.

Cultural ambition and an active relationship with artistic experience is what distinguishes the *traveller* from the *tourist*. The latter is, I would like to argue, more connected to Baedeker's 1867 idea of a traveller characterised by a *prosaic nature*. It implies an instinctive, sensuous, less conscious but not unreceptive approach to Italy and Italian art.<sup>86</sup> The tourist is linked to the traveller through the strict rituals of the

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<sup>81</sup> Zola (1896).

<sup>82</sup> Crawford (1887); (1892) and (1893).

<sup>83</sup> Wiseman (1895).

<sup>84</sup> Sienkiewicz (1895).

<sup>85</sup> On this subject, see, Redford (2008).

<sup>86</sup> On this distinction, in particular connected to the art of Henry James, see Jolly (2010) 344.

guidebook but their difference lies in the intellectual and mental elaboration of the material perceived.

The list of fictional work to approach before (or whilst) travelling is indicative in many ways and does reinforce the above related argument. All of these novels, published in England, Denmark, France and the US, from the 1830s up to the 1890s, discuss Italy (and Rome) from some specific and determined angles that involve a distinct separation and firm dichotomy of familiar/foreign. The foreign eye/protagonist is engaged in dramas that involve art, both ancient and modern, real politics and religion with a clear focus on the concept of religious conversion. This mixture of themes is crucial for an overall understanding of the Baedeker discourse and especially its strong separation between the traveller and the inhabitants of the visited place. The recommended novels (bestsellers at the time) are all based on a literary construction that would imply observation and some change in character of the protagonists.

The theme of religion had been a strong *topos* in early modern travel discourse.<sup>87</sup> The perspective of the Baedeker implies a firm Protestant view that regards Roman-Catholic rituals as curious and not that different from the popular festivities that were recommended to the guidebook users. The novels cited that treat religion as a theme does that in two different ways: on one hand, according to the dichotomy Protestant/Roman-Catholic and on the other Christian/Ancient religions. The latter is explored in Sienkiewicz's notable *Quo Vadis* which tells the story of the life of Christians during the time of Emperor Nero. The happy outcome of conversion is here at the centre of the plot. Nicholas Wiseman's *Fabiola* published in 1854 as an answer to the Anglican author Kingsley's contemporary work *Hypatia*, explores similar themes connected to Christian conversion in Ancient Rome.<sup>88</sup> The somewhat romantic plots of these two novels is contrasted by Émile Zola's examination of Rome as a political city governed by the Pope. Rome as a political place is further explored in Francis Marion Crawford's *Saracinesca*, a historical fiction on the decadence of Roman nobility during the years of the unification of Italy.

George Sand's *Daniella* from 1855 is slightly different from the other works cited in the guidebook. Clearly drawn upon the author's negative experiences of a journey in Italy, the plot is centred on that negativity picturing Rome as a dangerous, dirty and diseased place. This is not an unusual *topos* in general travel writing on Rome, on the contrary.<sup>89</sup> Yet, the novel takes a positive turn when the young protagonist falls in love with the young servant girl Daniella and his views on Rome slowly change. Here the force of love is introduced in order to mend a disappointment that merely regards an abstract high-cultured idea of Rome far from its nineteenth-century socio-political

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<sup>87</sup> See note 64.

<sup>88</sup> Norlander Eliasson (2017) 77–78.

<sup>89</sup> On this subject, see Wrigley (2013).

realities. The latter were eagerly explored in Margaret Roberts novel *Mademoiselle Mori* where the plot is centred around the dramatic years of the *Seconda Repubblica* in 1848–49. Beside the political and heroic themes of the novel, Roberts filled the text with descriptions of Roman festivities that clearly find a parallel to those related to in the Baedeker guidebook. Aesthetic contemplation was offered by the seminal *Marble Faun* by Hawthorne paralleled by Ouida’s novel *Ariadne: Story of a Dream*.

The prescribed fictional readings constitute a clear complement to the rational structure of the Baedeker guidebook. The novels touch upon themes that were all relevant for the nineteenth-century traveller to Rome. Changing politics with the unification of Italy and Rome turning into its capital are at the chore since it gave the opportunity to the novelists to embark upon transitional narratives showing the decadence of one political hierarchy and the turn to a new one. The sensuous and instinctive character that according to Springer was related to a presumed *prosaic nature* of one category of traveller is here fully examined through the unexpected force of love that disarms prejudices and commonplace opinion. Finally, the aesthetic appreciation is here transmitted to the user/reader with a less scholarly approach and more oriented towards the senses and the imagination.

## Conclusion

It is true that the Baedeker guidebook was structured out of a general idea of limitation. The limit in time for travel and preparation, the limit in movements and social and national boundaries. It is equally true that the sections of the guidebook set to prepare the traveller for an experience that aimed for a sense of totality. This apparent paradox had its compensation in the clever structure of the guidebook itself. As this article has explored the role of art and art history within the Baedeker discourse the above statement is grounded in that particular angle of the guidebook in question.

As seen, the economy of the Baedeker language did not permit strong comments upon the art works or buildings exposed. Evidently, the user would prepare by reading Springer’s Introduction and, whilst *in situ*, immediately grasp the quality criteria offered by the guidebook’s star system. The unspoken knowledge and canonical set of ideas that must precede in order to make the guidebook functioning lies in the cultural link between the figure of the eighteenth-century Grand Tourist and that of the nineteenth-century middle class traveller. What the Baedeker discourse admitted is the idea that travellers might have different purposes with their journeys. This, I would argue, is the strongest difference between the Grand Tour of classical stand and the Baedeker way of perceiving travel. The institutionalised character of the former did indeed produce not a few reluctant travellers as the sources clearly show:

I have seen in different parts of Italy, a number of raw boys, whom Britain seemed to have poured forth on purpose to bring her national character into contempt: petulant, rash and profligate,

without any knowledge or experience of their own, without any director to improve their understanding, or superintend their conduct. One engages in play with an infamous gamester, and is stripped perhaps in the very first partie: another is poked and pillaged by an antiquarian cantatrice: a third is bubbled by a knavish antiquarian; and a fourth is laid under contribution by a dealer in pictures. Some turn fiddlers, and pretend to compose: but all of them talk familiarly of the arts, and return finished connoisseurs and coxcombs, to their own country.<sup>90</sup>

From this quote, we see that however uninterested the Grand Tourist would have been (and here it is the aristocratic version that is at stake) in experiencing Italy, he would have at least pretended to acquire an attitude of knowledge of Italian art. The *prosaic nature* and the *enlightened* that divided the travellers according to Springer is here shed light upon with great irony. The Baedeker discourse would allow both to coexist and through the meticulous advice of pre-readings, a traveller would find himself or herself in a position to choose an exact level of ambition, engagement and understanding of the art offered in Rome.

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Frederick Whitling

## 6 Mental Maps and the Topography of the Mind. A Swedish Guide to the Roman Centuries

“The map is not the territory” (Alfred Korzybski): reality cannot be comprehensively described, it does not fit in a map, it needs to be synthesised, channelled and explained. A few years ago, the author and journalist Anthony Gardner suggested “some titles for the insomniac’s bedside table”, organised in two categories: boring and soothing. As an example of the former, Gardner selected *Paris and Its Environs* (*Blue Guide*, 1920), motivating the choice thus: “Reading a street-by-street guide to a city you aren’t in is a questionable occupation at the best of times. When it’s almost a century out of date, the futility of the enterprise is overwhelming.”<sup>1</sup> Leaving the possible sleep-inducing qualities of some guidebooks aside, the former is perhaps at times justifiable. The latter – the book being old or out of date – is not, necessarily, at least not in the case of Rome.

This contribution deals with an example of an example of a widespread early twentieth century international phenomenon: a cultural-historical guide to Rome, in this case written in Swedish before the First World War by literature historian Henrik Schück, and revised after the Second World War by archaeologist Erik Sjöqvist and art historian Torgil Magnuson: the two-volume work *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* (*Rome. A Passage Through the Centuries*).<sup>2</sup> The first book in the series (see fig. 6.4 below) was published in 1912. Its sequel, a volume with the same title, with the addition of the word “Renaissance” – a continuation of the first volume in chronological terms – was published two years later. The first edition of the work was in other words published just before the outbreak of war in Europe.

A revised version, with the same title, was published after the Second World War (in 1949 and 1956, respectively), commissioned by the Swedish Academy (*Svenska Akademien*). As we shall see, the main reason for producing this revised version was that much had indeed changed in Rome itself since the first decade and a half of the century: the postwar version had to deal with all manner of urban changes and archaeological discoveries, dating mainly to the *ventennio* of the fascist regime in Italy (1922–1943). The fascist layer that these twenty years had produced in Rome was substantial indeed, with far-reaching consequences also for archaeology and for urban development in general terms.

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<sup>1</sup> Gardner (2013), accessed 22 June 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Whitling (2016).

In the introduction to his book *Not Built in a Day. Exploring the Architecture of Rome* (2006), travel writer George H. Sullivan juxtaposed his book in relation to architectural history textbooks and “traditional guidebooks, overflowing with facts”, referring presumably to the Baedeker-style guide – see chapter 5: both categories failed to “help me see what I was missing”. In the process, Sullivan indirectly defined the “traditional guidebook form” as impersonal and non-instructive:

The “facts” – the names and dates and vital statistics that are the sum and substance of most guidebooks – are of course necessary and important, up to a point. But [...] where other guides offer historical fact, I have tried to supply historical perspective [...] where other guides shy away from presenting a strong personal viewpoint, I have nowhere hesitated to express my opinion.<sup>3</sup>

Travel guides to and descriptions of Rome – perhaps the most culturally charged destination in the (Western) world – from the first half of the twentieth century alone could fill libraries. In the prose collection *Roba di Roma*, the nineteenth century American sculptor and writer William Wetmore Story commented on John Murray’s immensely successful guidebooks to Rome (first published in 1843): “Every Englishman carries a Murray for information and a Byron for sentiment, and finds out by them what he is to know and feel at every step.”<sup>4</sup> Guidebooks can however blur distinctions between information and sentiment, and can make the reader stop and ponder – at the same time inventing and focusing the gaze – with evocation as one the prime “guidebook effects”:

One reason why we enjoy reading travel books is that a journey is one of the archetypal symbols. It is impossible to take a train or an aeroplane without having a fantasy of oneself as a Quest Hero setting off in search of an enchanted princess or the Waters of Life.<sup>5</sup>

Art historian Börje Magnusson, himself the author of a Swedish guidebook to Rome, and Torgil Magnuson’s successor at the Swedish Institute in Rome, makes a useful distinction between “guidebooks”, that “accompany the reader from place to place”, and armchair background reading, narratives that are not bound to presenting monuments and sites “in the order they appear”.<sup>6</sup> A broad possible genre definition of a guidebook has been discussed elsewhere, with the two axiom criteria of aiming to convey “what to see, and how to get there”.<sup>7</sup> Following this definition, the work discussed here, *Rom*.

<sup>3</sup> Sullivan (2006) 2.

<sup>4</sup> William Wetmore Story (1819–1895), *Roba di Roma* (1863), quoted in Kneale (2017) 236.

<sup>5</sup> Auden and Mayer (2010) xv.

<sup>6</sup> All translations in this piece are by the author, unless otherwise stated. Magnusson (2001) 11: “Guideböcker, som ledsagar besökaren från plats till plats”; “I den ordning de dyker upp”. For Magnusson, Augustus Hare’s *Walks in Rome* (1878) is referred to as “unsurpassed in learning and enunciation, despite its age” (“trots sin ålder oöverträffad i lärdom och formuleringskonst”). *Ibid.* 9.

<sup>7</sup> See Blennow, Fogelberg Rota and Whiting (2016) 91. Cf. a discussion of guides, genre and increased individualism, in Bergman (2014) 7.

*En vandring genom seklerna*, is not a traditional, functional guidebook. This two-volume historical exposé helps you understand how to understand what to see in Rome in historical perspective, but gives no instruction whatsoever of how to for example actually get anywhere from a to b in the city itself. The work merits inclusion here as it has a clear guiding function, and as the intention of the text is to educate and guide the reader to Rome, either from his or her armchair, or on site.

This contribution focuses mainly on the postwar version of Henrik Schück's work, revised and edited by Erik Sjöqvist from 1945 until 1949, and by Sjöqvist and Torgil Magnuson, resulting in the revised second volume in 1956. The 1923 partly revised edition, published a year after the takeover of Benito Mussolini's fascist regime in Italy, overall remains faithful to the 1912 and 1914 originals; only the postwar edition brought significant change, reflecting archaeological discoveries more or less in real time. For example, in the 1912 introductory discussion of the seven or more hills of Rome, Schück originally referred to the lack of excavations carried out between the Capitol and the Palatine hills. This wording was removed in the 1923 edition; in 1949, Sjöqvist had added a photograph with the caption: "The Capitol laid bare after the last excavations, seen from the South".<sup>8</sup>

The use of any written text is beyond the control of its author; the kind of work that the Swedish work in question represents – an historical guide – would however invite the use of an additional traditional guidebook, or a local, personal guide, on a visit to the place itself. The kind of historical guide that is discussed in this contribution may indeed primarily be intended for "armchair travelling", or desk voyages. The discussion here also relates to perceptions of the classical tradition and formative ideals associated with Rome, as well as to issues of scrupulousness and of claims to objectivity. Literature with guiding ambitions comes with questions of editions, transmission and "updatedness": an ongoing tension between fact and fiction.

## Three authors

The main author of this multivocal work is Henrik Schück (1855–1947). Schück was a Swedish literature historian of Jewish origin, was professor of literature at Lund University (1890–1898) and at Uppsala University (1898–1920) (cf. fig. 6.1). He was also the principal of Uppsala University (1905–1918), and was a member of the Swedish Academy (*Svenska Akademien*) from 1913 until his death (chair number 3). Other prominent positions included chairmanship in the board of the Nobel foundation (1918–1929), and membership of the Nobel committee of the Swedish Academy (1920–1936). In 1921, Schück was elected member of the Royal Swedish Academy of

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<sup>8</sup> Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 9: "Det frilagda Capitolium efter de sista grävningarna sett från söder". Cf. note on lack of excavations in the Capitoline valley in Schück (1912) 2.

Letters, History and Antiquities; he also became a member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences.<sup>9</sup>

Schück was furthermore one of the founders of *Svenska Litteratursällskapet* (1880). He was a prolific writer, publishing numerous scholarly works and biographies. His two-volume work on Rome, the first of which was published a year before his accession to the Swedish Academy, can to some extent be seen as a “biography” of the city. It was a successful endeavour and was widely disseminated; it can indeed be said to have assumed an authoritative position in Sweden concerning the topography of the city of Rome, in between the fields of classical archaeology and art history. The book does not claim to be either an archaeological or art historical guide, which may be part of the key to its success. It provides, with much authority, an account of the development of a canon of art and architecture.

Schück first visited Rome in 1884, which is alluded to in his book *From the Notes of a Traveller (Ur en resandes anteckningar, second series, 1907)*.<sup>10</sup> From the outset he lamented the onset of modernity in *Roma capitale*, and its consequences for the picturesque historical city: “For those who have acquired a taste for the old, the ongoing modernisation work [in Rome] is not very appealing, and many who will remember the dirty, narrow but picturesque Rome of old, are filled with near despair when revisiting the new capital of Italy. Every new visit informs him of new losses.”<sup>11</sup>

Schück, who generally advocated a positivist stance, eschewing “philological” analytical perspectives on understandings of texts, dedicated his first book on Rome (1912) to his colleague Karl Warburg, professor of the history of literature in Gothenburg and in Stockholm and liberal politician, together with whom he had written the seven-volume work *Allmän litteraturhistoria* (1919–1926), and the six-volume work *Illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria* (1896–1897, revised 1926–1930).<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Henrik Schück changed his surname from his mother’s (Sjöberg) to his father’s (Schück), in 1871, after the latter’s death. For Schück, see Jonsson (2002), 702–726 (for *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*, see *Ibid.*, 715–716). See also Enander (2010), accessed 25 August 2017; and Lotass (2017), accessed 25 August 2017.

<sup>10</sup> “My first visit to Rome took place eighteen years ago this year (1902), and every time I repeat this journey the city has changed its appearance, at least in some respect.” Schück (1907) 3: “I år (1902) är det aderton år sedan jag första gången besökte Rom, och hvarje gång jag upprepat denna färd har staden, åtminstone i något afseende, förändrat utseende.” Cf. the section on Italy (e.g. the chapter on Giordano Bruno, written in 1889) in *Idem* (1900) 141–185.

<sup>11</sup> Schück (1907) 3: “För den, som nu en gång har smak för det gamla, är det pågående moderniseringsarbetet ej synnerligen tilltalande, och mången, som minnes det forna, smutsiga, trånga, men pittoreska Rom, återser nästan med förtviflan det nya Italiens hufvudstad. Hvarje nytt besök underrättar honom om nya förluster.” The quote is from the introduction to the section “Roman wanderings” (“Romerska ströftåg”, *Ibid.* 3–177), in turn divided into the following parts: “Inledning”, “Det förhistoriska Rom”, “Republikens Rom”, “De senaste gräfningsarna på Forum”, “Ara Pacis”, “Romerska sägner om Vergilius”, “Petrus i Rom”, “Capitolium på Birgittas tid”.

<sup>12</sup> For Schück’s scholarly influence in Sweden, see for example Gustafsson (1983); and Lönnroth (2003).



**Fig. 6.1:** Henrik Schück, c. 1915, Uppsala university library.

The second volume of Schück's two books on Rome (1914) was dedicated to count Fredrik Wachtmeister, Swedish foreign secretary during the dissolution of the union with Norway in 1905, and member of a number of Swedish scholarly academies. Schück followed up his pre-First World War books on Rome with a separate account from Italy published in 1926, the same year that the Swedish Institute in Rome commenced its activities (see guestbook signatures, fig. 6.5 below).<sup>13</sup> Henrik Schück was one of the constituent members of the board of the Swedish institute when it was founded the year before, in 1925.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Schück (1926). This work was predated by a series of articles (*Understreckare*) by Schück, based on a visit and observations made in the summer of 1924, published in *Svenska Dagbladet* in August that year: "Latinska fornstäder" I & II (4 & 5 August 1924) and "Medeltidens romerska campagna" I & II (11 & 12 August 1924). Copies of these articles are located in a copy of Schück (1913) previously belonging to Nils Östman, former archivist, in *Stockholms stadsarkiv, biblioteket*, 122:12:7.

<sup>14</sup> For a reproduction of the signatures of the first configuration of the board of the Swedish Institute in Rome, see Billig, Billig and Whitling (2015) 76. For photographs of Schück visiting Italy in the 1930s (1932 and 1937, on the latter occasion with his daughter), see *Ibid.* 131.

Erik Sjöqvist (1903–1975) was a classical archaeologist, member of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (1927–1931), director of the Swedish Institute in Rome (1940–1948), personal secretary (*handsekreterare*) to Gustaf (VI) Adolf of Sweden (1949–1951), and subsequently professor of classical archaeology at Princeton University.<sup>15</sup> Like Schück, Sjöqvist was also elected member of various scholarly associations; he was also one of few Swedes to receive an Order of the British Empire, for his commitment to protect the Keats-Shelley Library in Rome during the German occupation of the city in 1943–1944 (cf. fig. 6.2).<sup>16</sup>

Torgil Magnuson (1922–2015) was a prominent Swedish scholar of art history (promoted to professor 1979), former vice director of the Swedish Institute in Rome, responsible for the institute’s annual course in art history from 1959 until 1992 (cf. fig. 6.3). The second volume of the postwar revised version of Schück’s text – the volume on the Renaissance – was a joint project between Erik Sjöqvist and Torgil Magnuson, although it was prepared largely by Magnuson, who was then working on his PhD dissertation in Uppsala (defended in 1958).<sup>17</sup> Magnuson had been in Rome from the autumn of 1947 until the following spring, and had returned to the city “from the autumn of 1950 onwards, in order to revise Henrik Schück’s well-known book on Rome, commissioned by the Swedish Academy. At the same time I carried out my own research on early Roman Renaissance architecture.”<sup>18</sup> Magnuson later turned his attention to the Baroque period, neglected in Schück’s narrative. According to Börje Magnuson, Torgil Magnuson’s later student and his eventual successor as vice director of the Swedish Institute in Rome (1992–2008), Torgil Magnuson

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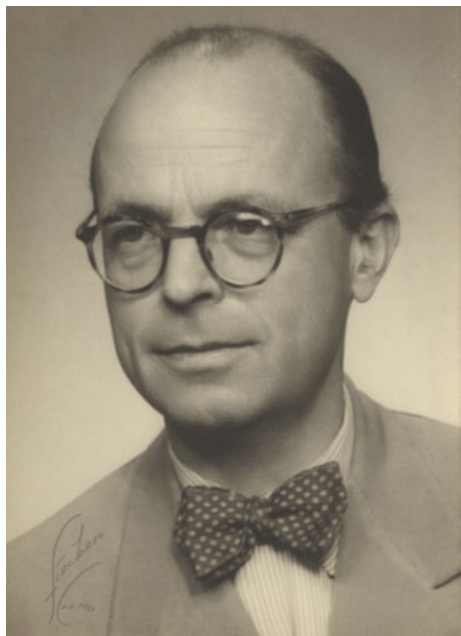
**15** Gustaf VI Adolf (1882–1973) became king of Sweden in 1950.

**16** Before being appointed director of the Swedish Institute in Rome in 1940, Erik Sjöqvist was librarian at the Royal Library (KB) in Stockholm. He defended his PhD thesis (on material from Cyprus) in 1940, and subsequently turned his attention to Italian material, Roman topography, and the late antique and early Christian period.

**17** For Magnuson’s scholarly output, with a mention of the 1956 revised Schück–publication as one of his three major contributions to art history, see Rudolf Zeitler, “Inför Torgil Magnusons 65-årsdag”, *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, 55, 4 (1986), 139–140. Cf. “Konstvetenskap – historik” ([http://www.isvroma.it/public/New/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=142&Itemid=71](http://www.isvroma.it/public/New/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=142&Itemid=71), accessed 11 August 2017).

**18** Magnuson (2002), 398: “För min egen del hade jag varit i Rom från hösten 1947 till våren 1948 och var sedan i Rom från och med hösten 1950 för att revidera Henrik Schücks kända rombok på uppdrag av Svenska Akademien. Samtidigt bedrev jag mina forskningar rörande den romerska ungrenässansens arkitektur.” Cf. Berggren (2018) 5.





**Fig. 6.2:** Erik Sjöqvist, Rome, August 1948. The Swedish Institute in Rome, Gino Filippetto's Papers.



**Fig. 6.3:** Torgil Magnuson, c. 1960 (photographer unknown). This photograph of Torgil Magnuson has been published in Berggren (2018) 5.

felt himself that his revision of the text “breathed” Schück, his tone and his literary style.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> In conversation (Stockholm, 1 October 2015), Börje Magnusson has considered *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* an historical overview rather than a guidebook *per se*. Cf. the opinion about Schück–

## Two editions

Schück's work *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* was first published in two volumes in 1912 and 1914, with a second edition of the first volume appearing in 1913, and a partly revised edition of both books published ten year later. The significantly revised postwar edition of the two books appeared in 1949 and 1956 (fig. 6.4). They have not (yet) been republished since.

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### I. *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*

- 1912: First edition (Hugo Gebers Förlag)
- 1913: Second edition (Hugo Gebers Förlag)
- 1923: Third partly revised edition, also as single volume (Hugo Gebers Förlag)
- 1949: Fourth fully revised edition (P.A. Norstedts & Söners Förlag; with modified title: *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna. Antiken och den tidiga medeltiden*)

### II. *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna. Renässansen*

- 1914: First edition (Hugo Gebers Förlag)
  - 1923: Second partly revised edition, also as single volume (Hugo Gebers Förlag)
  - 1956: Third fully revised edition (P.A. Norstedts & Söners Förlag; with modified title: *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna. Senmedeltiden och renässansen*)
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**Fig. 6.4:** Editions of *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*, volumes I & II, 1912–1956.

The first edition of Schück's two books on Rome were published by *Hugo Gebers Förlag* (like Schück, Geber was also of Jewish origin). Although the work can hardly qualify as a deliberate attempt at a "guidebook", notwithstanding its clear guiding functions and qualities, to which we will return, Schück's book on Rome were the first to address the eternal city in a comprehensive and "modern" way in Swedish. The first outspoken modern guidebook to Rome in Swedish was Ellen Rydelius' *Rom på 8 dagar* (1927, see chapter 7, although Schück's Rome-books had inspired for example the architect August Atterström to publish the first historical guidebook to Rome in Swedish in a more strict, modern sense the preceding year, in 1926, focusing on antiquity unlike Rydelius' more comprehensive guidebook of the following year.<sup>20</sup> In the preface to his book *Rom. En vägledning bland äldre byggnadsminnesmärken*, Atterström outspokenly acknowledged Schück's book

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Sjöqvist–Magnuson in Magnusson (2001) 11: "most readable, albeit outdated in many details" ("mycket läsvärd, om än föråldrad i många detaljer"). I myself visited Torgil Magnuson in an old people's home outside Stockholm on 3 October 2015, just over a month before he passed away. Sadly, he was by then unable to comment on the revision work that he had carried out six decades earlier. I should like to take the opportunity to thank Sophie Petzell for organising this visit.

**20** For Rydelius, see Burman (2016). Rydelius receives no mention in Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956), neither does Atterström.

on Rome, and the fact that he had taken most of his information from Schück, referring to *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* as “a completely trustworthy and convincing description of ancient Rome.”<sup>21</sup>

Schück’s historical narrative, distributed in two volumes, begins with an otherwise atypical reference to an implied reader-traveller of his historical guide to the city: a foreign visitor (*främling*) who, it is presumed here, would arrive in Rome by train at *Stazione Termini*, and an almost discouraging saving clause on the theme that it is only possible to absorb and understand the city after having lived there for some time: “The immediate impression on the stranger when he visits Rome for the first time is by no means overwhelming, and the city hardly seems to stand out from other modern metropolises. Admittedly some fantastic bulky ruins can be glimpsed already at the railway station, but in the parts of the city where the stranger spends most of his time these tend to disappear among the modern buildings.”<sup>22</sup> The reader soon learns, however, that “of all the cities in the world, none has such a long and such an important history. Admittedly there are many that are older, but these have long since disappeared from earth”.<sup>23</sup> The authority of the author(s) and the importance of the theme – Rome – is in other words established from the outset. At the same time it is also made clear that *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* is not necessarily intended for first-time visitors to Rome. Schück’s 1912 introduction is more or less intact in the post-war editions, with modernised spelling.

The ambition of the work is clarified in the introduction: Rome itself offers the “modern Rome traveller” the possibility of walking “in the Tiber city”, which can provide information regarding the development (n.b. not history) of the city, “from the days of ‘Romulus’ until those of the young Italian Republic.”<sup>24</sup> The long time span makes Rome unique – after all, one is almost tempted to add – as “the city has lived for more than 2500 years”, and has “for most of this time been leading in Europe in

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**21** Atterström (1926) 5: “en fullkomligt vederhäftig och övertygande skildring av det antika Rom.” Atterström speaks in general terms of “travellers’ manuals” (*resehandböcker*), making it clear that Schück’s work is not to be considered as such. *Ibid.* 5–6.

**22** Schück (1912) 1; Schück (1923) 1; Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 7: “Det omedelbara intryck, som främlingen får, då han för första gången besöker Rom, är ingalunda överväldigande, och staden synes föga skilja sig från andra moderna storstäder. Visserligen skymta redan vid järnvägsstationen några fantastiska ruinmassor fram, men i de delar av staden, där främlingen för det mesta vistas, försvinna dessa bland de moderna husen.”

**23** Schück (1912) 1; Schück (1923) 1; Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 8: “Av världens alla städer är det ingen, som har en så lång och så betydelsefull historia. Visserligen finnas många, som äro äldre, men dessa ha för länge sedan försvunnit från jorden”.

**24** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 8: “Den moderne Romfararen”; “i Tiberstaden”; “från ‘Romulus’ dagar fram till den unga italienska republikens.” In Schück (1912) 2, and Schück (1923) 2, the sentence ended with “the days of Victor Emmanuel [II]” (“fram till Vittorio Emanueles”).

political, religious and often also in artistic terms.”<sup>25</sup> Schück and Sjöqvist in other words place the contemporary Rome-traveling Swedish reader of *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* in a broad European cultural historical context. Schück addresses the reader indirectly in terms of “the stranger” (*främlingen*, cf. Fioravante Martinelli’s seventeenth-century *lettore forastiero*, chapter 4).<sup>26</sup>

The information provided by the authoritative Schück needed to be as correct and up to date as possible, however, in order to be of maximum value, a feature that the historical guide shares with more traditional guidebooks. In his guide to Paris (1950), Swedish author Sigge Hommerberg for example wrote a disclaimer regarding quoted prices in the city: Hommerberg did not admit to “even a 1-year guarantee!”.<sup>27</sup> In Schück’s brief preface to the 1913 edition of the first volume, he explained that “some minor changes” had been carried out, “partly with regard to recent excavations and discoveries, partly following the observations that the author has received from benevolent scrutinisers, among whom it is a particular pleasure for him to mention prof. [Lorentz] Dietrichson and prof. [Vilhelm] Lundström.”<sup>28</sup>

Apart from offering this insight into the feedback that he received from the Norwegian art historian and poet Dietrichson and the Latin philologist and politician Lundström (who led a Swedish university course in Rome in 1909), Schück elaborated further on the specific comments that he had received.<sup>29</sup> An index and a more detailed table of contents were added in the 1913 edition. The main difference however was that the final chapter (“Conclusion”, *Afslutning*) had been omitted, as a second volume was now in the making, planned for the following year. This sequel was to “treat the fate of Rome during and after the Renaissance.”<sup>30</sup> In other words, it is safe to assume that the first volume was originally conceived as one book only, ending with a brief concluding

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25 Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 8: “Under mer än 2500 år har denna stad dock *levat*, och under större delen av denna tid har den stått såsom den politiskt eller religiöst, ofta även konstnärligt ledande i Europa.” The phrase “more than three thousand years” (“mer än tretusen år”) in Schück (1912) and Schück (1923) was changed to “more than 2500 years” in Schück and Sjöqvist (1949), based on then current research in Roman chronology (cf. below).

26 Schück (1912) 1: “Först efter att en tid värligen hafva *levfat* i Rom, får främlingen ett intryck af, att Rom dock är något enastående, en stad, skild från alla andra och hvars intresse ligger icke så mycket i museer och kyrkor som i staden själf.” Identical sentence (with modernised spelling) in Schück (1923) 1.

27 Hommerberg (1969) preface (*Företal*). Hommerberg’s first of many guidebooks to different cities and countries was on Rome (1949).

28 Schück (1913) preface: “nägra smärre ändringar [...] dels med hänsyn till senare gräfningar och upptäckter, dels med ledning af de anmärkningar, som författaren fått mottaga af välvilliga granskare, bland hvilka det är honom en särskild glädje att få nämna Prof. L. Dietrichson och Prof. Vilh. Lundström.”

29 For Lundström and his 1909 course in Rome, see Blennow and Whitting (2011). Axel Boëthius, the first director of the Swedish Institute in Rome, later referred to Lundström as a romantic, close to the nineteenth century poetic ideals of the travel accounts discussed by the author Bengt Lewan in the 1960s. Boëthius (1966), 11–14.

30 Schück (1913) preface: “behandlande Roms öden under och efter renässansen.”

chapter, covering Rome from the Renaissance until the late nineteenth century. This strategy changed soon after the first book had been published, likely due to its popularity.

The rationale behind Erik Sjöqvist's postwar reconsideration of Schück's influential work was to provide a thorough account of the major urban interventions in Rome since the first editions of the book appeared – interventions mainly carried out during the two decades of the fascist regime (1922–1943). In that sense the postwar edition can be said to include contemporary Rome to some degree. Contemporary Rome in 1949 was clearly not fascist Rome, although the ghost of the regime lay heavily still on the Italian peninsula, not least in Rome.

## The postwar revision commission

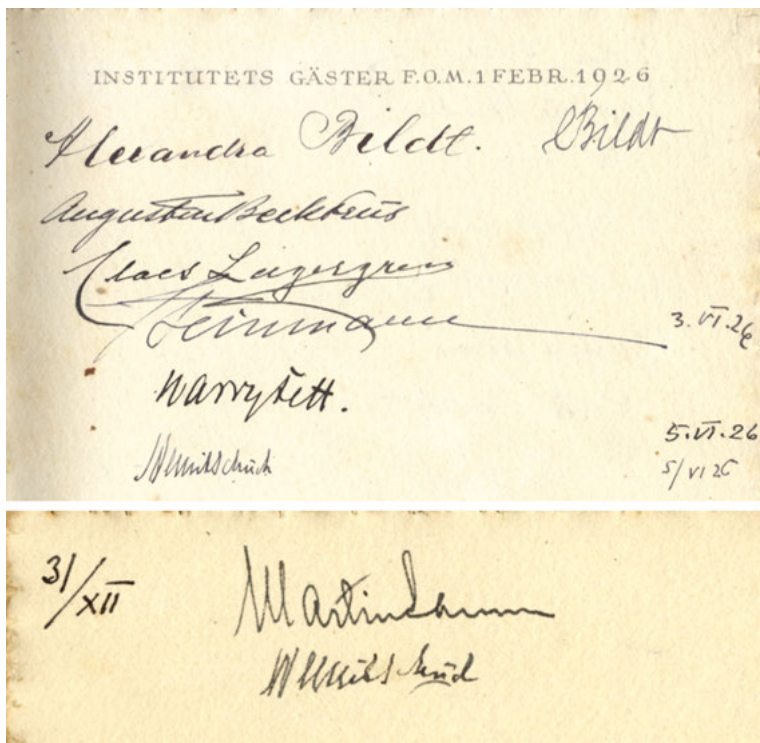
Erik Sjöqvist's revision of Henrik Schück's two books on Rome was commissioned by the Swedish Academy just after the Second World War.<sup>31</sup> Sjöqvist described his task in the preface to the postwar edition: "to update the new advances in research" that had been made since the partly revised 1923 edition of Schück's work.<sup>32</sup> In practice, this meant incorporating and discussing the outcomes of archaeology during the two decades of Fascism. The commission was organised while Schück was still alive; the first of the two books was published two years after his death. The main reason for a new edition was the book's widespread popularity, and hence the perceived necessity to produce a revised edition of "a book that can be counted as one of the standard works on the history of Rome," as the back cover of the new edition put it, "a book that is indispensable for all travellers to Rome and generally for all those who wish to acquaint themselves with one of the grandest chapters in the history of European formation."<sup>33</sup> Two aspects of this short text, intended to promote the book and to attract potential readers, deserve to be highlighted: the book was, at least by its publisher, considered "indispensable for all travellers to Rome" (*travellers*, not solely armchair enthusiasts, before, during or after a visit to Rome), and "formation", or cultivation (*odling*). Schück's work was in other words regarded as a highly useful overview to the cultural history of Rome in Swedish.

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<sup>31</sup> Erik Sjöqvist's revision and editing work is studied here by way of correspondence between Sjöqvist and Martin Lamm, and between Lamm and Henrik Schück in the archives of *Svenska Akademiens arkiv* (SAA), and in *Riksarkivet* (RA), *SIR arkiv*, Stockholm.

<sup>32</sup> Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 5: "[att] tillfoga de forskningens nyrön, som förflutit sedan andra, omarbetade upplagan av detta verk utgavs."

<sup>33</sup> From the back cover of the 1949 edition: "den bok, som räknas till standardverken om Roms historia, en bok som är oundgänglig för alla Romresenärer och över huvud taget för alla dem som vilja göra sig förtrogna med ett av de största kapitlen i europeisk odlingshistoria".



**Fig 6.5:** Henrik Schück's signature in the first guestbook of the Swedish Institute in Rome, 5 June 1926; Martin Lamm's and Henrik Schück's signatures in the guestbook of the Swedish Institute in Rome, 31 December 1928. Swedish Institute in Rome.

In the postwar preface, Erik Sjöqvist described how the new “third wholly reworked” edition of “the first volume of Henrik Schück's well-known book about Rome has materialised following the Swedish Academy's initiative”; as the academy held “the author's rights to the collected works of the great humanist.”<sup>34</sup> Sjöqvist communicated with literature historian and academy member Martin Lamm, who was a follower of Schück's historical-comparative methodology, and a personal friend of Schück's; they travelled together, and for example spent New Year's Eve 1928 in Rome in each other's company (fig. 6.5).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 3 & 5: “tredje helt omarbetade upplagan”; “första bandet av Henrik Schücks välkända bok om Rom har tillkommit på initiativ av Svenska Akademien, som innehar författarrätten till den store humanistens samlade arbeten.”

<sup>35</sup> Schück and Lamm similarly spent the end of the following two years in Italy. Cf. Henrik Schück to Axel Boëthius, 29 October 1929 and 13 December 1930. *Göteborgs universitetsbibliotek (GUB), Handskriftsavdelningen, Professor Axel Boëthius' papper*, H 80:147.

Martin Lamm contacted Erik Sjöqvist in December 1945 on the topic of a new edition of Schück's "Rome-books".<sup>36</sup> Schück's books had become out of date after the war, and the remaining copies were running out. The classical archaeologist Sjöqvist was approached as the expert of choice, advocated by Schück himself, and was offered a generous time margin (the book was not intended to be published until 1948), his name "together with Schück's on the title page", and a generous fee. The academy considered a new edition "a matter of honour".<sup>37</sup> Lamm emphasised that Schück had "written the work in Rome", *in situ*, implying that Sjöqvist's revision would benefit from being carried out in the eternal city.<sup>38</sup>

Notably, the book was likely to be printed in a somewhat smaller format than the pre-war versions, in order to be more portable on tourist travels to Rome, which were predicted to "take off in a few years, when the state of provisions in Italy has become clearer."<sup>39</sup> Clearly, the cumbersome large format of the original 1912/1914-version had not prevented *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* from being taken to Rome and used there, despite being a hybrid guidebook at best, on street corners or in hotel rooms. Its scope and use was implied by Axel Boëthius in a review of Sjöqvist's finished product in *Svensk Tidskrift*: "for home studies, or on the streets and squares of the eternal city, or for concluding reading after a trip to Rome".<sup>40</sup>

It is no coincidence that Lamm presumed that Sjöqvist and the Swedish Institute in Rome possessed a copy of Schück's work, but he nonetheless promised to send an extra copy, "to be butchered and used as manuscript original", hoping that Sjöqvist would indeed take on the job.<sup>41</sup> Sjöqvist appears to have considered the proposal for a week or two, and replied after the New Year, thanking Lamm for the offer, confessing that he was a "great admirer" of Schück, but also that his "monumental Rome-book" had fallen out of use "as *vademecum* in Rome". Sjöqvist however expressed clear reservations. At the time of writing, Sjöqvist did not know if his term as director of the

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**36** Lamm wrote to Schück that he had "written to Sjöqvist via airmail and asked him to revise 'Rome' on behalf of the Academy." Martin Lamm to Henrik Schück, 14 December 1946: "[Jag har] skrivit till Sjöqvist pr. flygpost och bett honom revidera 'Rom' för Akademiens räkning." SAA, Vol. 249, Kompletteringshäfte, "Brev till Henrik Schück från skilda korrespondenter" (hereafter given as "SAA, Vol. 249").

**37** Martin Lamm to Erik Sjöqvist, no date (December 1945): "Ert namn skulle stå tillsammans med Schücks på titelbladet"; "en hederssak". *Riksarkivet* (RA), *Svenska Institutets i Rom arkiv* (hereafter given as "*SIR arkiv*"), III:A:4 (*Institutets föreståndares korrespondens och handlingar*).

**38** Martin Lamm to Erik Sjöqvist, n.d. (December 1945): "Självs skrev [Schück] verket i Rom". RA, *SIR arkiv*, III:A:4.

**39** Martin Lamm to Erik Sjöqvist, n.d. (December 1945): "[Romresor] komma helt säkert att ta stark fart om något år, då livsmedelsläget i Italien klarat." RA, *SIR arkiv*, III:A:4.

**40** Boëthius (1950) 178: "vid hemmastudier eller på den eviga stadens gator och torg eller som samlade läsning efter en Romresa".

**41** Martin Lamm to Erik Sjöqvist, n.d. (December 1945): "[ett] nytt exemplar [...] för slaktning och begagnande som manuskriptförlaga". RA, *SIR arkiv*, III:A:4.

Swedish institute, which expired in October 1946, would be renewed. A combination of this general uncertainty, teaching obligations, neglected research opportunities due to the war, and the additional new task of organising a new international organisation in Rome, the *Unione* of institutes, guardians of the German research institutes in Italy, led to Sjöqvist feeling that he simply would not have time to tackle the task of revising Schück's work while still in Rome.<sup>42</sup>

Suddenly, nothing happened. In the meantime, Lamm and Schück acted on the information available regarding Sjöqvist's near future and the feasibility of him completing the revision task on time. At the end of 1946, their understanding was that Sjöqvist's tenure as director in Rome would not be prolonged for 1947–1948, an uncertainty that was eventually addressed by the board of the Swedish institute, with the result that Sjöqvist was to remain in Rome until 1948. On New Year's Eve 1946, Lamm wrote to Schück with the message that Sjöqvist might not be available for the revision work after all as things stood at the time. Hinting at the envisioned use of the books for *visitors* to the Italian capital, Lamm therefore mentioned an alternative solution for the proposed product, "which will surely be published in several editions if it is kept up to date, which is indispensable for visitors to Rome": to engage the classical archaeologist Gösta Säflund, whom Lamm at the time considered would be Sjöqvist's successor in Rome.<sup>43</sup> Schück was likely well aware of Säflund, having been kept informed upon leaving the board of the Swedish institute in 1940 by its former director and later secretary, Axel Boëthius, about the selection of Sjöqvist at the time as institute director, at Säflund's expense.<sup>44</sup> In late January 1947, Lamm was still advocating possibly offering the task to Säflund, although he was not certain that Säflund's writing style would match with Schück's.<sup>45</sup>

About a month later, the balance was tipping over in Säflund's favour, as Sjöqvist had then confirmed that he would leave Rome; he was in other words himself not sure at the time if his tenure in Rome was to be prolonged or not. Lamm informed Schück, and at the same time discussed up to date reproductions of images. Lamm looked back on the earlier travels to Italy that they had done together in younger years with nostalgia – "it is a pity that the two of us are not younger" – as he had been informed that "black currency" was "ridiculously cheap in Rome" at the time; in other words,

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<sup>42</sup> Erik Sjöqvist to Martin Lamm, 6 January 1946: "Schücks monumentala Rom-bok"; "jag är en stor beundrare av författaren"; "som vademecum i Rom". RA, *SIR arkiv*, III:A:4. Also in SAA (with added note: "original"). For Erik Sjöqvist and the *Unione*, cf. Whitling (2019) 167-172.

<sup>43</sup> Lamm also hinted at contact with two major Swedish publishers for the book project: *Norstedts* and *Almqvist & Wiksell*. Martin Lamm to Henrik Schück, 31 December 1946: "ett arbete, som säkerligen kommer att gå ut i flera upplagor, om det alltjämt hålls up to date, vilket är ett livsvillkor för Rombesökare." SAA, Vol. 249.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Axel Boëthius to Henrik Schück, 19 April 1940. SAA, Vol. 249. Schück's correspondence with Boëthius dates back to the very beginnings of the Swedish institute in 1925. GUB, *Handskriftsavdelningen, Professor Axel Boëthius' papper*, H 80:147.

<sup>45</sup> Martin Lamm to Henrik Schück, 21 January 1947. SAA, Vol. 249.



had they had the possibility, they may well have carried out the work themselves, together.<sup>46</sup> A month later, in March, the balance had tipped again, this time sharply in Sjöqvist's favour, as he had by that time learned that his tenure in Rome had been prolonged by a year after all. Lamm had also received confirmation from the publisher Norstedts regarding a new edition of Schück's Rome *opus*. Henrik Schück himself insisted on wanting no one but Sjöqvist to rework his text, and Lamm insisted that no other demarches in that regard had been made in the meantime. He believed that new and improved illustrations would be the key to a successful product. 1948 remained the projected year of publication.<sup>47</sup>

According to Lamm, Schück's older editions, published in around 14,000 copies, were running out, as he had experienced trouble himself in getting hold of a copy from antiquarian booksellers. Lamm drew a clear conclusion from this fact: "It shows that their owners value keeping them as a memento of their stay in Rome."<sup>48</sup> This illustrates once more that Schück had managed to master the murky territory between guidebook and historical synthesis. Either this letter did not reach Sjöqvist (although it ended up in an archival collection curated by him), or he perhaps did not know quite what to respond to the proposal; in any case the request was rephrased, somewhat more urgently, a month later. Lamm wrote to Sjöqvist that the publisher, Norstedts, would prefer to receive a manuscript by March 1948, less than a year later, and that Schück (and himself) did not wish anyone else to take on the revision work. As Lamm phrased it, "I think it would be an entertaining as well as a qualifying task for you with which to complete your time in Rome."<sup>49</sup>

In the end, Sjöqvist indeed accepted the commission, and may have begun revising Schück's text as early as May 1947, a *terminus post quem*, more likely however during the autumn, in October. In a letter from September the same year, Martin Lamm laid out the terms of the initial contract proposal: the manuscript was to be delivered by 1 March 1948, the Swedish Academy was to receive a percentage of the royalties, nearly 17 per cent, as was Sjöqvist for the sections that he added. Both Schück and Sjöqvist were furthermore to receive a fixed number of copies of the finished product. Schück was however in bad health at the time, and was not expected to live to see the result. The issue of Sjöqvist's fee remained to be discussed, as did the format of the book and its print run, estimated by Lamm at the time to around maximum 2,500 copies.<sup>50</sup>

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46 Martin Lamm to Henrik Schück, 16 February 1947: "Synd att vi två inte äro yngre: [...] det är löjligt billigt i Rom med svart valuta." SAA, Vol. 249.

47 Martin Lamm to Erik Sjöqvist, 28 March 1947. RA, *SIR arkiv*, III:A:4.

48 Martin Lamm to Erik Sjöqvist, 28 March 1947: "Det visar, [att dess] ägare sätta värde på att behålla det som minne av sin Romvistelse." RA, *SIR arkiv*, III:A:4.

49 Martin Lamm to Erik Sjöqvist, 26 April 1947: "Jag tror att det skulle bli ett roligt och för Er meriterande arbete att avsluta Er Romvistelse, som ju lyckligtvis förlängts, med att omarbete detta utmärkta verk." RA, *SIR arkiv*, III:A:4.

50 Martin Lamm to Erik Sjöqvist, 15 September 1947. RA, *SIR arkiv*, III:A:4.

On 3 October 1947, the same day that Henrik Schück passed away, Sjöqvist wrote to Lamm in reply to the contract suggestion above. On his most recent trip to Stockholm, before a trip to Greece for the celebration of the centenary of the French School in Athens, Sjöqvist had met with Schück, “who despite his striking physical weakness was as glimmering as always in conversation, and who went through his views on the disposition of the coming work with me. And now I will get around to doing this.”<sup>51</sup> Sjöqvist thus confirmed in writing that he would undertake the revision at the very moment of Schück’s demise. He estimated that he would need five months of dedicated work “in order to complete the task in a satisfying way”, therefore suggesting a fee of 1,000 Swedish Crowns per month for a maximum of five months. As for the royalty, this “could be settled at a later stage.”<sup>52</sup>

A week later, Lamm replied to confirm that the Swedish Academy had agreed to Sjöqvist’s suggestion, with the clear instruction of maintaining a tone similar to Schück’s in the new passages, albeit acknowledging that “naturally neither you nor anyone else can adopt his personal style. It died with him.”<sup>53</sup> Lamm had promised Sjöqvist a contract; a week later, he was unsure whether that was really necessary, partly due to the postal service, at the same time reminding Sjöqvist of the deadline five months later.<sup>54</sup>

The revision work, the result of which would become in a sense a kind of testament to Sjöqvist’s years as director of the Swedish institute, was in other words to be carried out during a period of five months, with a fee of 1,000 Swedish crowns per month, paid by the Swedish Academy, starting immediately. The manuscript may or may not have been delivered by the stipulated deadline (1 March 1948); Sjöqvist had in any case received the proofs by Christmas, and the book was published the following year.<sup>55</sup> A year later, in 1950, Martin Lamm was killed in a tram accident in Stockholm. It is possible that had Lamm not suddenly died, the second of the two volumes – revised

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51 Erik Sjöqvist to Martin Lamm, 3 October 1947: “[Schück], som trots sin påfallande kroppsliga svaghet var bländande som förr i sin konversation och som gick igenom med mig sina synpunkter på det blivande arbetets uppläggningar. Och nu skall jag sätta mig till med detta.” RA, *SIR arkiv*, III:A:4. For the centenary of the French School in Athens, cf. Whitling (2019) 179-182, 200-201 & 265-270.

52 Erik Sjöqvist to Martin Lamm, 3 October 1947: “fem månaders träget arbete för att kunna genomför[a] uppgiften på ett tillfredsställande sätt”; “den royalty, som kan komma mig till del för eventuellt följande upplagor får bli föremål för senare uppgörelse.” RA, *SIR arkiv*, III:A:4.

53 Martin Lamm to Erik Sjöqvist, 11 October 1947 (postcard): “Hans personliga stil kan Ni naturligtvis lika litet som någon annan tillägna Er. Den har gått i graven med honom.” Cf. also Sjöqvist, in Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 6: “Schücks oefterhärmliga stil”.

54 Martin Lamm to Erik Sjöqvist, 20 October 1947 (card). For the details of the arrangement, see also “Utdrag av protokoll från sammanträde i Svenska Akademien den 9 okt. 1947”. RA, *SIR arkiv*, III:A:4.

55 Erik Sjöqvist to Erland Billig, 18 January 1949 (Princeton: “korr. på min nya Schück-upplaga, samtidigt som julen bröt ut.”). RA, *Svenska Institutet, Lektoratsarkivet i Florens (och Rom) 1946–1949, Lektor Erland Billigs brev och handlingar*, volume 6, folder 2 (*Erland o Ragnhild Billigs korrespondens 1949 Lektorer, Florens (Även privatbrev) Ink. brev*). It is not clear whether the agreement with the Swedish Academy materialised, but there is no reason to presume otherwise.

mainly by Torgil Magnuson, published in 1956 – may in fact have been completed and published earlier, with Lamm as an abiding arbitrator.

## The revised edition

In the preface, Sjöqvist described the task had been given him: to “add the new advances in science” that had accumulated over the quarter-century that had passed since Schück’s partially revised edition in 1923. In practice, this meant making the book increasingly archaeological, and to focus on archaeological discoveries from the fascist period and beyond:

The time between the two World Wars was very rich and fruitful in Roman archaeology. During the years of Fascism, the leading men attempted to [...] make the false mirage of a new Roman Empire more appealing. The phraseology and the tools were often blunt, and only seldom did they achieve the intended psychological effect. The Italians were generally far too clear-headed and sceptical to be deceived.<sup>56</sup>

Sjöqvist was himself certainly clear minded and sceptical, and was undoubtedly against Mussolini and his right-wing gang, although in the above passage he also conceded that much work had been done of use to archaeological science during Fascism. This somewhat blurred evaluation continued throughout the postwar additions to Schück’s narrative. Sjöqvist knew well of what he spoke; he had himself also contributed to a modest degree to topographical research in Rome during the Second World War, more or less at the same time as Mussolini fell from grace (1943).<sup>57</sup> Schück’s own views on Italian Fascism are ambiguous. A glimpse of a slightly patronising appraisal, on the common theme of the trains at least running on time, can possibly be observed in a period letter to Axel Boëthius: “With my knowledge of my good friends the Italians, I presume that – despite Mussolini – everything is chaos.”<sup>58</sup>

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**56** Erik Sjöqvist, preface (*företal*) to Schück and Sjöqvist (1949), written in Princeton in January 1949: “Tiden mellan de båda världskrigen var en inom den romerska arkeologien mycket rik och fruktbar tid. Under fascismens år sökte de ledande männen att [...] göra den falska hägringen om ett nytt romerskt imperium mera lockande. Fraseologien och hjälpmedlen voro ofta grova, och de ernådade endast sällan den avsedda psykologiska effekten. Därtill var italienaren i gemen alltför klartänkt och skeptisk.”

**57** Sjöqvist’s war-time work was published shortly after the war: Sjöqvist (1946).

**58** Henrik Schück to Axel Boëthius, n.d. (1932?), on the theme of a library congress in Rome, and queries regarding possible reductions on train fares: “Med den kännedom, jag har om [mina] goda vänner italienarna förmodar jag, att – trots Mussolini – allt är ett kaos.” GUB, *Handskriftsavdelningen, Professor Axel Boëthius’ papper*, H 80:147.

*Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* guides the reader to the Rome that was, not to the present city, passing through the historical development of the city of Rome. The books are not written with suggested itineraries in mind, or with practical information for the traveller, but focuses rather on memories and monuments, in the tradition of older, post-Renaissance descriptions of Rome. They however represent another category of text, very common regarding the “eternal city”, a category symptomatic of both the gradual professionalisation of science (here archaeology and art history) and the development of mass travel and tourism during the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries: what might be referred to as the authoritative guide, or canon-descriptive work, typically with one (still most often male) author, or cicerone “guide”. In other words, the books provide and reflect an armchair voice of authority on topography, archaeology, architecture and historical development in Rome, structured chronologically. Schück’s and Sjöqvist’s books are guides to the historical development of the city itself rather than to the city by region, or with itineraries and clear value assessments, as would be expected in a more traditional guidebook. The authority of the authors in this case contributes to shaping the way the city is presented, with its specific staging of the “passage through the centuries”, as well as how this ought to be understood and experienced, all within the framework of archaeological and art historical “canon”, and post-Renaissance legacies of the classical tradition.

Any text can perhaps be defined by what it is not, or by what it claims not to be. An example of this can be found in a discussion in the postwar edition, on the theme of the Rostra/Comitium on the Forum Romanum: “We can banish the regular square reconstructions of philologists, present in all handbooks, to the world of the imagination.”<sup>59</sup> In other words, the ambition is to not produce a “square reconstruction”, but to give life to the historical development of the city – no minor task by any account.

In Schück’s original 1912 edition of the first volume, topic headlines were included on each page; these were discarded in the postwar volumes. The chronological distribution of periods had already begun in the second volume, published in 1914, which began with a chapter on the “Preparations of the younger Renaissance” (*Ungrenässansens förberedelser*). The 1912 volume had ended with two chapters, one on the Middle Ages and a conclusion, which was later dropped in the 1920s edition, following the publication of the second volume. The first postwar volume (1949) did not include these final two chapters; the Middle Ages were instead moved to volume two (1956). The 1949-volume instead ended with a chapter on “From Charlemagne to Gregory VII” (*Från Karl den Store till Gregorius VII*). The 1956-volume took off with the chapter “From Gregory VII to the Great Schism” (*Från Gregorius VII till och med den*

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<sup>59</sup> Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 50: “Vi kunna alltså förvisa filologernas regelbundet fyrkantiga rekonstruktioner, som återfinnas i alla handböcker, till fantasiens värld”.

*stora schismen*, pages 7–65), which corresponds with the 1912 chapter on the Middle Ages (1912, pages 208–252). The chapter on “the younger Renaissance” (*Ungrenässansen*; 1956, pages 66–185) corresponds with the chapter with the same version in the earlier edition (1914, pages 44–128).

One of the most significant changes in the postwar edition was Sjöqvist’s addition of a chapter on pre-Republican archaic Rome (*Det arkaiska Rom*; 1949, pages 30–44), which was added to Schück’s earlier chapter on “Prehistoric Rome” (*Det förhistoriska Rom*). This new chapter cut off Schück’s original text in between two paragraphs.<sup>60</sup> The relative lack of attention given to early Rome by Schück was deliberately addressed and amended by Sjöqvist, who wrote that “to Schück, the earliest history of Rome was a raw and peasant-like time. The high culture of the Etruscan and archaic period, and the later Hellenised city of the Republic are therefore two elements that have had to be inserted in the larger picture, to some extent giving it different proportions”.<sup>61</sup> The additional chapter on the archaic period is one case of clear authorship (Sjöqvist) in the postwar editions. The question of authorship in general of various sections of the two volumes is not equally clear, however, to which we will return.

Sjöqvist retained many of Schück’s original illustrations, as well as the distribution of the text (indents, new sections, and so forth). One clear difference is the modernised spelling of what had by then become a rather old-fashioned Swedish. Schück, and consequently also Sjöqvist, were likely inspired by the influential work of the *fin de siècle* archaeologist Rodolfo Lanciani: the large-scale *Forma Urbis* map of Rome, completed between 1893 and 1901, featuring the topography and walls of ancient Rome in black, and the street grid of the modern city in red. Lanciani’s maps featured with some prominence in the Swedish volumes on Rome. The black and red style also characterised the title pages of Schück’s volumes.

By necessity, certain aspects of general significance to the postwar political and social situation needed to be addressed in the new edition. For example, the political reconfiguration of Italy in 1946–1948, the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of the republic, led to the change from “the days of Vittorio Emanuele” (Schück) to “the young Italian republic” (Sjöqvist) as the chronological ending point for the passage through the centuries in the 1949 edition. Other details were not amended, however, such as for example Rome being somewhat anachronistically referred to as “the capital of the reign” (*rikshuvudstaden*) in the postwar edition.<sup>62</sup> Sjöqvist also added occasional references to the war, such as to “the bombardment of Rome 19

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<sup>60</sup> Cf. Schück (1912) 17.

<sup>61</sup> Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 6: “Roms tidigare historia stod likaledes för [Schück] som en rå och bondsk tid. Den etruskiska och arkaiska tidens högkultur och republikens småningom helleniserade storstad äro därför två element, som måst fogas in i helhetsbilden och delvis givit den andra proportioner”.

<sup>62</sup> Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 180.

July 1943”;<sup>63</sup> as well as occurrences in which he himself had been indirectly played a small part, namely his above-mentioned efforts for the protection of the Keats-Shelley House in Rome, from which material was sent to the monastery at Monte Cassino, then moved back to Rome before the monastery itself was destroyed in the war: “The destruction that befell the place in the late proceedings of the Second World War reduced the illustrious monastery in ruins. Thankfully, however, the valuable library and some other inventories had been brought to safety in Rome in time.”<sup>64</sup>

Sjöqvist remained true to Schück’s style and structure to a large extent, but he also made additions of his own, for example an introduction to the chapter on the Roman Republic. These were mainly of two structural kinds: adding a wide-ranging hellenic context to the development of early Rome, and an emphasis on Late Antiquity, a reflection of his own research interests to some degree. The development of the Roman Republic was for example, in Sjöqvist’s words in many ways dependent on the “durable unity of the Greek cultural form” (*den livsstarka [grekiska] kulturform[ens] enhet*): “The development in Rome is conditioned on this contact, and when its effects become increasingly widespread from the second century [BC] onwards, Rome once more changes its features”.<sup>65</sup> Greek influences on Roman society are raised repeatedly by Sjöqvist, with references to, for example, a “Hellenism strongly influenced by Roman weight and solidity as well as by constructive audacity and technical expertise.”<sup>66</sup>

Sjöqvist’s considerably larger emphasis on early Rome in general vis-à-vis Schück reflected also recent archaeological results, not least those of his friend, colleague, compatriot and predecessor as director of the Swedish Institute in Rome, Einar Gjerstad, on the Forum Romanum (see below). Other than to his fellow Swedes, Sjöqvist referred to, for example, Giacomo Boni’s excavations in the first years of the twentieth century, and investigations made by Giuseppe Lugli in 1946, revealing traces of a Late Republican “ancient brothel”, giving Sjöqvist an excuse to add a Schück-esque flavour of social comment: “This discovery gives us an illuminating witness of the urban centre of Rome in the Late Republic, the world city with its diverse life and the social

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**63** This information was inserted in a footnote on the church of *San Lorenzo fuori le mura*. Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 252: “bombardemanget av Rom den 19 juli 1943”.

**64** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 255 (footnote on the Benedictine monastery at Monte Cassino – “den första egentliga klosterregeln i västerlandet”): “Den förstörelse, som under andra världskrigets senare skede övergick platsen, lade det anrika klostret i ruiner. Dessbättre hade dock det värdefulla biblioteket och en del andra inventarier i tid bragts i säkerhet till Rom.” For Sjöqvist’s dealings with the Keats-Shelley House during the war years, see Whitting (2010) 252–257, 340 & 350–351; and *Idem* (2011) 650.

**65** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 45: “Utvecklingen i Rom är betingad av denna kontakt, och när dess verkningar från och med andra århundradet bliva alltmera ingripande, skiftar Rom en än gång anlete”.

**66** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 57–58: “hellenism med stark prägel av romersk tyngd och soliditet samt av konstruktiv djärvhet och tekniskt kunnande.”

downsides that come with all major cities.”<sup>67</sup> One such social comment *à la* Schück, characteristic of the early editions, was a remark on “courtesans” (*cortegiane*) in the 1914 volume:

Rome was the Paris of the time, with a largely unmarried population of priests and foreigners, and the indigenous married population was apparently a diminished minority. Taking Renaissance morals into account generally, one can therefore not fail to marvel at Rome more than other cities being an Eldorado for courtesans.<sup>68</sup>

The postwar edition has a clearer emphasis on Late Antiquity in relation to the original. A clear theme in the two volumes is the bridge between antiquity and the Middle Ages and later periods, often related in the discussion of individual monuments and sites in the city. In the discussion of the Colosseum, for example, the reader learns that the ancient amphitheatre among other things was used as the residence of the local Frangipane family before being turned over to “the Roman people”.<sup>69</sup> One also learns that “the Roman people” by that time was an archaeological phenomenon rather than a contemporary one, with the people residing in the ruined palaces of old rather than erecting new buildings as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: “Rome was to be enough in itself.”<sup>70</sup>

Schück’s literary style was poetic, pedagogical and argumentative; Sjöqvist and Magnuson were more downplayed in comparison. The great respect that both Sjöqvist and Magnuson showed Schück’s original text however led to the creation of an on the whole rather peculiar narrative in terms of authorship (see below), with an almost superhuman anonymous voice of authority as a result, a voice one does best to follow. This links the books clearly with a crucial element of the guidebook genre: the guiding function.

The 1949 revised edition seems to have established itself rapidly on the Swedish cultural horizon. Three years later, in a review of the book *Romersk idyll*, by art historian and classical archaeologist Hans Peter L’Orange, the book was mentioned as a given work in the context of earlier guides to Rome in Swedish: Sigge

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67 Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 62: “en antik bordell”; “Denna upptäckt skänker oss en belysande ögonblicksbild av storstaden Rom under senrepublikansk tid, världsstaden med sitt brokiga liv och sina till alla storstäder hörande sociala avigsidor.”

68 Schück (1914) 65: “Rom var den tidens Paris med en företrädesvis ogift befolkning av prester och främlingar, och den inhemska, gifta befolkningen var tydligen i en försvinnande minoritet. Tar man hänsyn till renässansens moral i allmänhet, kan man därför ej förundra sig öfver, att Rom mer än andra städer var cortegianernas Eldorado.” Minor modifications also in Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956) 116 (under the subheading “hetärväsendet”).

69 Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 124–125: “Efter att ha tjänstgjort såsom hyreskasern och såsom bostad åt åttan Frangipane kom amfiteatern på 1300-talet i ’det romerska folkets’ ägo, då man bl. a. använde arenan till tjurfäktingar”.

70 Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956) 26 & 28: “det romerska folket”; ”Rom skulle vara sig själv nog”.

Hommerberg, Ellen Rydelius, Henrik Schück and Erik Sjöqvist.<sup>71</sup> The postwar edition was reviewed by Axel Boëthius (see above), with some reservations and with a subtle preference for Schück's original, as implied by a comment by the scholar Erland Billig: "Does one dare to hear a certain doubt regarding the whole venture in your appreciative words?"<sup>72</sup>

## Features of the editions: Comparative remarks

Schück's first volume amounted to 260 pages in *quarto* format (263 pages with a list of illustrations; an index was added in the 1913 volume). The 290 pages of the 1949 edition, in *octavo* format (304 pages in total with index and table of contents) can in this sense be said to follow Schück's text quite closely. The 1956 second volume (also in *octavo* format) amounted to 351 pages.<sup>73</sup> The index would be necessary for any kind of actual navigation with the books in situ, although such street-by-street navigation was not what they were intended for – the unwieldy format alone bears witness to this.

The text is both historical and topographical at the same time. The topographical detail of the narrative is located in the text itself, but also occasionally clarified in maps and sections, along with references to the scholars who had produced the maps. In one of the first modern contributions to the field of Roman topography, Latinist Vilhelm Lundström's *Undersökningar i Roms topografi* (1929), two figures are highlighted as the two heavyweights, namely the above-mentioned Rodolfo Lanciani, and the German classical archaeologist Christian Hülsen. In this context, Lundström expressed very slight criticism of Schück's work, otherwise referred to as "the excellent authority on Rome", this in a discussion of the dating of the destruction of the city's so-called *Amphitheatrum castrense*.<sup>74</sup>

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71 Draft review manuscript (author unknown), 1952. The Swedish Institute in Rome, Gino Filipetto's papers, box *I Arkiv från vinden Gino Filipettos + Margit Filipettos efterlämnade papper + foton*, folder "Norvegia".

72 Erland Billig to Axel Boëthius, 14 April 1950 (Stockholm): "Vågar man i Dina erkännssamma ord dock höra en viss tvekan om hela företaget?" GUB, *Handskriftssamlingen, Professor Axel Boëthius' papper*, H 80: 53. Cf. Boëthius (1950) 171–172: "De stora stadsplanarbetena under Mussolinis tid med deras energiska fornvård ha gjort bilden av antikens Rom ofantligt mycket rikare"; "Schücks bevarade och ofta återkommande 'jag'; "ägnad att förbli en grund för fortsatt arbete och nya upplagor."

73 The 1956 volume included an index, a list of the popes, following the example of the 1914 original, and a table of contents; the 1914 volume amounted to 271 pages in total.

74 Lundström (1929) 17: "den utmärkte Romkännaren [Schück]". Cf. letters from Axel Boëthius to Henrik Schück, 14 October 1929 (incomplete); and from Schück to Boëthius, 24 October 1929, on a planned lecture in Sweden by the archaeologist Guido Calza, one of the principal excavators of Ostia Antica. Schück's reply addresses details regarding "Roman private dwellings" (*det romerska privathuset*) and an essay by Alfonso Bartoli, Calza's colleague. GUB, *Handskriftsavdelningen, Professor Axel*



The 1949 edition included a foldout map from 1948 (1:10,000) of Imperial Rome by Giuseppe Lugli as an appendix.<sup>75</sup> Sjöqvist added indications in Swedish of “The Servian Regions” (*De serviska regionerna*, I–IV; i.e. the regal regions of Rome functioning during the Republic) and “The Augustan Regions” (*De augusteiska regionerna*, I–XIV), as well as a table with Swedish explanations of 88 numbered spots on Lugli’s map, together with the seven administrative *cohortes vigilium*-areas of ancient Rome. Other maps included for example a map of “the oldest Tiber villages”, a map of the “Fora and the Palatine” before the fascist interventions in the area, early Renaissance representations of Rome, as well as a map of noble residences and early *titulus* churches in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

Other than maps, and much more prominently featured, the books were from the outset illustrated with photographs, as well as with reproductions of drawings and etchings. Several of these photographs and large-scale postcards of motifs and monuments in Rome, most of which had probably been purchased or ordered *in situ* from photographers such as Cesare Faraglia and publishers like *Edizioni Brogi* and *Edizioni Alinari*, possibly by Schück himself, were discovered by the author in print form in the Swedish Institute in Rome archives (cf. figs 6.6 and 6.8). Some of these photographs had not been used in the book; many also included Schück’s notes, directly on the images or on their reverse (fig. 6.9). The collection came from Schück’s estate, and had been sent by Uno Willers, director of the Swedish Academy library, to Sjöqvist in March 1948, half a year after Schück’s demise (fig. 6.7).<sup>76</sup>

Several of these photographs were used in *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*. Although a majority of the photographs may have aimed for a certain rustic romantic timelessness (cf. fig. 6.10), a quality often attributed to and projected on the city of Rome (a horse and cart image of the Colosseum in the postwar edition is one of many examples in the books), some matched the ambition of addressing the contemporary situation in topographical and archaeological terms.<sup>77</sup> The 1949 edition for example featured an unusual view of Trajan’s library under the modern floor level, as well as a rather rare image of the then relatively recent installation of the exposed system of stairs and ramps that led to the stands of the Stadium of Domitian (Piazza Navona).<sup>78</sup>

In many, if not most, cases, Sjöqvist however chose to retain Schück’s original photographs, possibly in an attempt to maintain the atmosphere of the first editions,

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*Boëthius’ papper*, H 80:34 & H 80:147. Rodolfo Lanciani is quoted in English (on an ancient building on the Via dello Statuto) in Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 109: “in the most wonderful state of preservation”.  
75 Cf. reference to the Lugli map in Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 82.

76 Uno Willers (1911–1980) was director of the Swedish Academy library 1946–1950, and later became national librarian, *riksbibliotekarie*, 1952–1977.

77 Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 125. The topographical information provided is often dense and compact, such as the “principles” of the concepts of “terracing and elevated buildings”, *Ibid.* 175: “terrassering och högbygge” (“Den principen är jämnårig med Roms utväxande till storstad.”).

78 Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 114 (fig. 53) & 120 (fig. 58). Cf. *Ibid.* 172, for a similarly positive assessment on modern installation of Basilica Ulpia (Forum of Trajan).



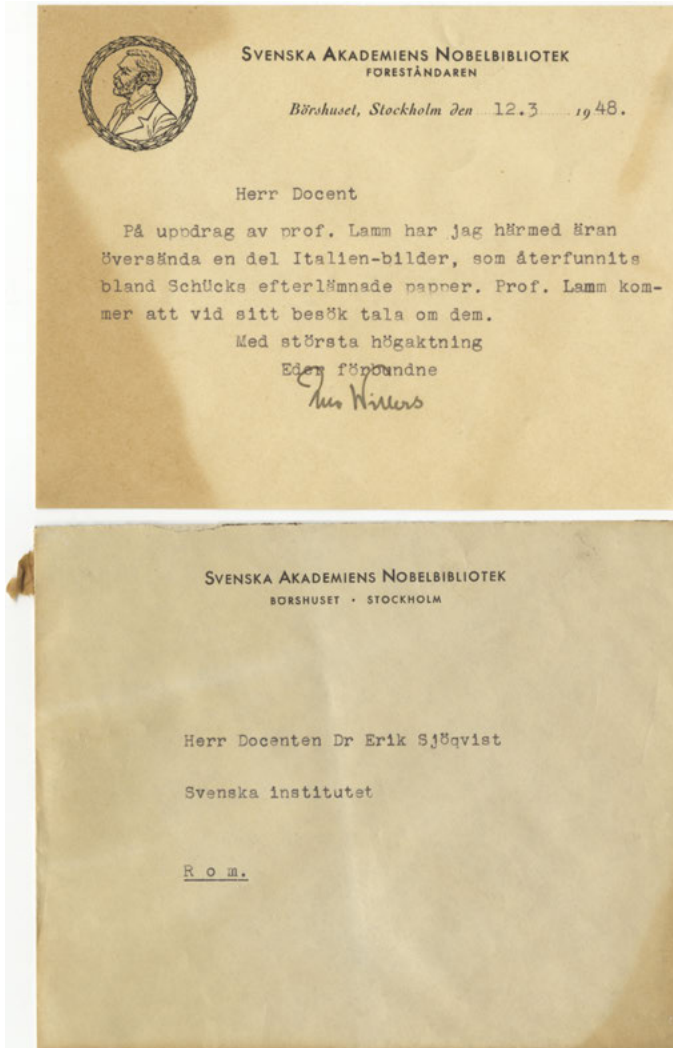
**Fig. 6.6:** The *Tor Millina*, Rome, for *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*. The Swedish Institute in Rome archives, box “Foton”.

and probably out of respect for his recently deceased co-author. Several examples of identical or near-identical image captions also occur, such as, for example, the “Present state of the Tabularium”, albeit in this case with a new photograph from a different angle than the 1912 version.<sup>79</sup> In some cases, the reader is perhaps left wondering why a certain illustration has been placed where it has, such as an illustration from “the central nave of S. Paolo fuori le Mura” towards the end of the 1949 volume.<sup>80</sup>

In the name of user-friendliness, footnotes were hardly used in any of the editions. When they do occur, albeit rarely, they provide additional anecdotal infor-

<sup>79</sup> Schück (1912) 33; Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 57.

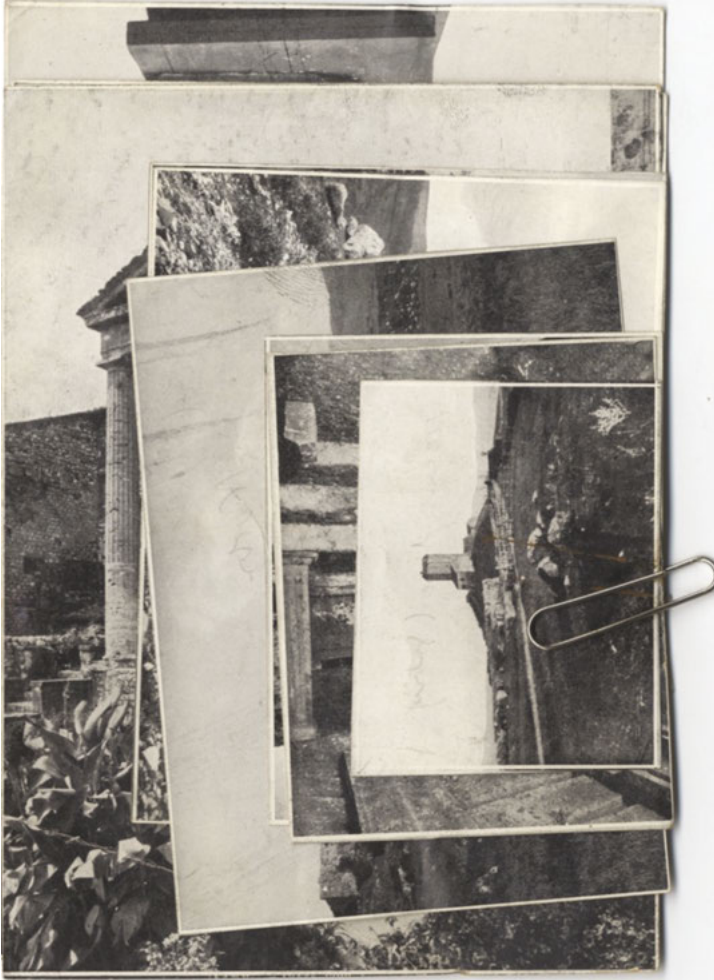
<sup>80</sup> Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 285 (fig. 147): “Mittskeppet i S. Paolo fuori le Mura”



**Fig. 6.7:** Note from Uno Willers to Erik Sjöqvist, 12 March 1948. The Swedish Institute in Rome archives, box "Foton".

mation, and are perhaps not always entirely justified.<sup>81</sup> This general lack of footnotes helps underpin the universal voice of authority, but can at times become problematic. At hardly any point are any sources revealed for the information provided; the

<sup>81</sup> One example is a footnote reference to the archaeologist Giovanni Battista De Rossi (1822–1894) that might as well have been part of the main text (a footnote would have been more easily justified on page 217, for example). Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 210.



**Fig. 6.8:** Collection of photographs for *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*, from Henrik Schück's estate. The Swedish Institute in Rome archives, box "Foton".

author is the source on whom the reader must rely – another feature shared with the guidebook genre. The same problem of obscurity and provenance applies to quotes (albeit rarely employed here).<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Some quotes are possibly not even quotes as such. Cf. Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 226: "Omkring 430 invigdes kyrkan [S. Maria in Trastevere] på nytt 'efter den gotiska eldsvådan'".



**Fig. 6.9:** The *Torre del Grillo*, Rome, with notes for inclusion of the illustration in *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*. The Swedish Institute in Rome archives, box “Foton”.

The information provided is not always quite precise or accurate, however.<sup>83</sup> The image of the Republican city wall, the Servian wall, from the Viale Aventino, is for example incorrectly described as “by the railway station” (a large section of the same wall is however indeed preserved there).<sup>84</sup> Aside from some minor misprints, such as

<sup>83</sup> E.g. Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 30 (footnote expanded from equivalent in Schück (1912) 18): “Före sammanslutningen fanns måhända icke något gemensamt namn för de olika Tiberstäderna. Efter sammanslutningen blev emellertid ett dylikt nödvändigt, och *Roma* var då det naturliga”.

<sup>84</sup> Schück (1912) 25–26 (fig. 17): “vid järnvägsstationen”. For the chronology of the Servian wall, cf. Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 74–77. See also Weststeijn and Whitling (2017) 25–28.



Fig. 6.10: *Tabaccheria* with ancient *spolia*, Rome. The Swedish Institute in Rome archives, box “Foton”.

“Via Venti Settembri [sic]” (1912), changed in later editions, the later volumes also include one or two pieces of information that slipped under the radar: the murder of Julius Caesar is for example referred to as occurring on 13 March 44 BC, thus missing the historical occurrence by two days; the last volume includes a reference to a visit to Rome by Michel de Montaigne in 1506 (he was born in 1533).<sup>85</sup>

On top of the abundant specific archaeological, art historical and topographical information, the reader learns a number of historical details, albeit with no specified sources, such as that there were allegedly 1,022 hotels in Rome for the jubilee year of 1450, that Pope Sixtus IV referred to Rome as “the capital city of the world and the seat of the apostolic prince” (*Apostlafurstens säte*); and of a ten-year excavation period on the Forum Romanum for marble and travertine in 1540–1550, “which from an archaeological point of view had far worse consequences than the depredations of the barbarians in the fifth century”.<sup>86</sup>

The information provided sporadically reaches out to the modern twentieth-century world, although to a minor degree. On the market on the Campo de’ Fiori, for example, one learns that the market “still continues, albeit with less life than

<sup>85</sup> Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 151; Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956) 328.

<sup>86</sup> Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956) 25, 141, 197 & 327.



before, reduced to a limited amount of articles – mainly old clothes, former uniform items and the like.”<sup>87</sup> One of the few tangible practical tips or instructions that is given the reader is to “scramble into the courtyard behind the wall” in the Via delle Ceste, in order to see the (fifteenth century) collection of the Porcari family, “one of the first known art collections”, and “one of the more important collections in Rome.”<sup>88</sup>

Other contemporary postwar references can be found in the discussion of the Villa Madama, which “is now owned by the Italian state, and is at the disposal of the foreign ministry in receiving genteel guests. Part of the villa has been reserved as a residence for the prime minister from 1955”, and regarding the Villa Lante, the seat of the Finnish institute in Rome.<sup>89</sup> For the modern reader, comparative references were also occasionally made to the population and size of world cities such as London and Berlin.<sup>90</sup> Berlin also features as an example of modern-day decline in Roman city planning (in a discussion on the Palazzo Brancaccio, the seat of the Swedish institute for more than a decade, 1928–1940): “the tendency rather seems to be to destroy as much as possible of old Rome in order to reach an ideal of which the city councillors apparently seem to dream: a modern-day Berlin.”<sup>91</sup>

The authoritative and didactic style established by Schück was overall continued by Sjöqvist and Magnuson. Plural verb endings were still in use in Swedish after the Second World War (e.g. “uppstodo” – arose/emerged – rather than “uppstod”). Somewhat paradoxically, Sjöqvist at times made the text even more old-fashioned by using expressions that seem almost deliberately archaic – for example “en av hans handgångne män” (“one of his lackeys”), and in discussing the façade of the Imperial palaces on the Palatine facing the Circus Maximus: “As Martial puts it in a contemporary epigram, Pelion is piled on Ossa” (difficulty is added to difficulty) – in both cases without providing any further explanation.<sup>92</sup>

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**87** Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956) 54: “där [marknaden] ännu pågår, ehuru med mindre liv än förut och begränsad till några få artiklar – mest gamla kläder, avlagda uniformsplagg och liknande.”

**88** Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956) 100: “krångla sig in på gården bakom muren”; “en av de första konstsamlingar som äro bekanta”; “en av de mera betydande i Rom.”

**89** The Finnish institute was referred to as “newly founded” in the 1956 volume. Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956) 259: “[Villa Madama] äges nu av italienska staten, och disponeras av utrikesministeriet vid mottagandet av förnäma gäster. En del av villan har från 1955 upplåtits som residens åt premiärministern”; “det nygrundade Finska institutet i Rom”. In a discussion of the Palazzo Farnese, however, no mention was for example made of the *École française de Rome* (which shares the building with the French Embassy). *Ibid.* 325.

**90** E.g. Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 85 (on Nero and the great fire of Rome in 64 AD in relation to the destruction of Berlin during the Second World War).

**91** Schück (1912) 52: “tendensen snarare tyckes vara att förstöra så mycket som möjligt af det gamla Rom för att nå fram till ett ideal, om hvilket stadens förtroendemän tydligen drömma: ett modernt Berlin.”

**92** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 56 (*not* in Schück (1912) 32) & 100: “Här är, som Martialis säger i ett samtida epigram, Pelion staplat på Ossa”.

No explanations were considered necessary in relation to various religious references either, indicating clear changes of preference in presumed general knowledge over the last seven or so decades.<sup>93</sup> Sporadic glimpses of light irony occur occasionally. Christian themes are generally piously treated throughout, notwithstanding sporadic sarcasm: “The usual papal illness” in the tenth century (i.e. murder) is one example, another is the holy staircase by the Lateran church, only accessible on one’s knees: the author(s) inform the reader, in the pragmatic tone of the guidebook, that “for others who wish to see the *Sancta Sanctorum*, there are thankfully less holy stairs on the sides which can be climbed in the usual way.”<sup>94</sup>

## Value assessments

The price paid for the multitude of new archaeological information provided in the urban transformations of Rome during the fascist period was the consequence of the prioritisation of antiquity: namely, the destruction of large swaths of “the papal city of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Baroque”. Mussolini’s “third Rome” in other words took a keen interest in the first Rome (antiquity) at the expense of the papal second. As an archaeologist, despite naturally being interested in the wealth of new information, Sjöqvist was clear in his condemnation of the way much work was carried out during Fascism: “The surgery of city planning can often seem to have been so blunt that it should be rightly referred to as amputation”.<sup>95</sup> In Sjöqvist’s view, the priority of focusing on the ancient layers would have met with little protest from Schück (which is not to say that he was therefore sympathetic with the fascist regime):

Schück was more deeply attached to ancient rather than later Rome, and his book faithfully mirrors this attitude. In his sharp and unsentimental view on historical development, Late Antiquity and the Early Christian period was a dark time of decay with few rays of light, and he did not embrace the notion that the people, artists and thinkers of the Middle Ages preserved the ancient heritage as well and perhaps even more trustily than those of Humanism and the Renaissance, whose children we ourselves are.<sup>96</sup>

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**93** E.g. Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 259: “[Simon Magus] bekanta luftfärd, som i följd av apostelns kraftiga bön tog en så snöplig ändalykt”.

**94** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 272 & 284: “den vanliga påvesjukdomen”; “för andra, som vilja se Sancta Sanctorum, finnas lyckligtvis på sidorna mindre heliga trappor, som kunna bestigas på vanligt sätt.”

**95** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 5: “medeltidens, renässansens och barockens påvestad”; “Stadsplaneringens kirurgi må ofta synas ha varit så summarisk, att den rätteligen borde kallas amputation; de nyvunna värdena må stundom tveksamt vägas mot de förlorade.”

**96** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 5–6: “[Schücks] hjärta var mera fäst vid antikens än vid senare seklers Rom, och hans bok avspeglar troget denna hans inställning. Senantik och tidigkristen tid var för hans klarögd och osentimentala syn på det historiska skeendet en förfallets mörka tid med få ljuspunkter,



Sjöqvist supplied the reader with many more or less subtle examples of critique of archaeological practice during Fascism, often hurried, and often not well documented as a consequence. The 1930s excavations and restoration works of the Basilica Aemilia on the Forum Romanum were for example described as “not always entirely satisfactory”.<sup>97</sup> The critique was not only confined to the fascist period, however; the major urban transformations of the late nineteenth century, after Rome became the capital of Italy, also met with an at least indirect lack of approval.<sup>98</sup>

The critical stance was however not consistently applied. The major alterations in the very heart of the city, the construction of the Via dei Fori Imperiali (Via dell’Impero at first), cut right across the ancient Imperial fora, in order to “make them accessible to archaeologists, tourists and the Roman people”, presumably in that order: “Among the first fruits of these magnificent, if at times somewhat succinct works can be counted the rediscovery of the Forum of Caesar and giving it a dignified state”.<sup>99</sup> This comes uncomfortably close to several specimens of regime propaganda; the only covert critique lies in the word “succinct” (*summarisk*). Similar appraisal can be found in the discussion of the Curia (the Senate House) on the Forum Romanum, where the stripping of the “relatively uninteresting” Baroque covering by the fascist regime was backed up by Sjöqvist, as a means to an end: “to restore the Curia as far as possible to its ancient state”; “the first step towards this goal was taken in 1923 when the state purchased the church [of S. Adriano]. The idea was realised in two stages 1930–1932 and 1936–1939 under the direction of [the archaeologist Alfonso] Bartoli, who has done an exceptionally skilful job here”.<sup>100</sup>

Such appraisal of actual archaeological activity and its benefits was expressed perhaps most clearly in a comment on the Via del Mare, the new street laid out by the

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och han stod främmande för tanken, att medeltidens människor, konstnärer och tänkare bevarade det antika arvet lika väl och kanske trofastare än humanismens och renässansens, vilkas barn vi själva äro.”

**97** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 53: “icke alltid helt tillfredsställande”. Cf. *Ibid.* 63 (on Giacomo Boni’s excavations on the Palatine). For an opposing view, cf. *Ibid.* 72 (on the Republican temples on Largo Argentina).

**98** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 107–109: “statens och stadens åtgörande”; “den stora nybyggningsperioden i slutet av 1800-talet”.

**99** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 158–159: “göra dem tillgängliga för arkeologer, turister och det romerska folket”; “Bland de första frukterna av dessa storslagna, om ock stundom något summariska, arbeten kan just räknas återfinnandet av Caesarforum och dess sättande i värdigt skick”.

**100** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 162: “dess relativt ointressanta barockprakt”; “för att återställa Curian så vitt möjligt i dess antika skick”; “1923 togs det första steget mot detta mål genom att staten förvärvade kyrkan. Tanken förverkligades i två etapper 1930–32 och 1936–39 under ledning av Bartoli, som här gjort ett utomordentligt skickligt arbete”. Cf. *Ibid.* 169 (on the “liberation” of “the Domitian terrace” on the Imperial fora “from Mediaeval and later additions”). Cf. also, for example, *Ibid.* 166 (on the “masterly” interpretations (by Colini) of excavations at the Templum Pacis, 1937).

regime to connect the centre of Rome with the sea. Here Sjöqvist, somewhat uncharacteristically, did not hold back:

The new city plan was a radical operation [...] but has on the other hand given the city such new and beautiful perspectives as the Capitol rock laid bare with its porticoes, the theatre of Marcellus, the temple of Apollo and the temples at the Bocca della Verità, and such archaeological values, such as the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta and near S. Nicola in Carcere. In this case even a traditional 'laudator temporis acti' [a praiser of times past] ought to happily concede that the gains are greater than the losses.<sup>101</sup>

Value assessments are blended here with the overall authoritative tone, with a prescriptive and essentially subjective result. The city plan that Sjöqvist refers to here is the all-encompassing 1931 *piano regolatore*, the grid for much fascist urban intervention in the capital. The large-scale clearings, or *sventramenti*, carried out by the regime throughout the city centre have received much criticism, although seldom at the time. In a discussion of the "liberation" of the Castel S. Angelo, for example, Sjöqvist voiced his clear approval of the "exemplary way" that the bastions had been brought to light, with the monument "now presenting itself liberated from surrounding buildings in all its Mediaeval might".<sup>102</sup>

It is likely that Schück would have been more inclined to lament the disappearance of places like the "rustic" Piazza Montanara – now as a near century ago a non-existent hot-spot for projections of romantic nostalgia and appraisals of the now vanished Rome, or *Roma sparita* – than to accept such radical ruptures for archaeological gains with such words of praise as used here by Sjöqvist. In fairness, however, Sjöqvist was after the archaeological advantages that the new situation had brought to light. He was certainly not sympathetic to the fascist regime, and was also an old romantic in his own archaeological way. When addressing "the Capitol slope laid bare", he also referred to "the all too rapid demolition of the old neighbourhood".<sup>103</sup>

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**101** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 68: "Den nya stadsplanen innebar en radikal operation [...], men som å andra sidan skänkt stadsbilden sådana nya och sköna perspektiv som den frilagda Capitoliumklippan med sina portiker, Marcellusteatern, Apollotemplet och templen vid Bocca della Verità och sådana arkeologiska värden, som Fortunans och Mater Matutas tempel och templen kring S. Nicola in Carcere. Här bör nog även en traditionell 'laudator temporis acti' med glädje medgiva att vinningen är större än förlusten". Cf. Boëthius (1950) 175: "Sjöqvists besinningsfulla ståndpunktstagande till Mussoliniepokens raska tag, fel och förtjänster."

**102** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 189: "Under 1930–33 frilades på ett föredömligt sätt alla de gamla bastionerna samt löpgraven, och monumentet presenterar sig nu befriat från kringliggande bebyggelse i hela sin medeltida mäktighet".

**103** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 70: "friläggningen av Capitoliumsluttningen"; "den alltför snabba rivningen av det gamla kvarteret". Cf. *Ibid.* 1949, 116 (on demolitions at the Theatre of Marcellus and the clearing of the former Piazza Montanara). Cf. *Ibid.* 190, for clear lack of enthusiasm for the stripping of Augustus' mausoleum.

Subjective statements, disguised as authoritative certainties, were recurrent in Schück's text, and were, as we have seen, also taken up by Sjöqvist. The text offers several examples. The reader for example learns that the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo has "Rome's most beautiful" apse and gallery of small columns, and, in contrast, that the mosaic in the apse of the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano is "its only attraction".<sup>104</sup> The fourth century AD is for example referred to as having "sunk deep" in aesthetical terms in comparison to the Augustan period; Trajan's forum as "beyond controversy the most magnificent forum in Rome"; later (eighteenth century) copies of mosaics as "entirely boring".<sup>105</sup>

Value assessments were not restricted to archaeological or aesthetical aspects, but also encompassed occasional social comment (albeit rare overall). In now outdated gender vocabulary, the *Subura* region of the ancient city was characterised by its "frivolous women", and in indirectly discussing prostitution in early Renaissance Rome, the authors speak of the "demi-monde of the female sex".<sup>106</sup> Most of the moral blame is placed here on foreigners attracted to papal Rome. Other social themes also feature recurrently, relative poverty not least. Presumably the "little people" (*småfolk*) given as the inhabitants of the Aventine during the ancient Republic referred to social status and importance.<sup>107</sup> Expressions of sympathy with "poor people" occur at least twice in the text, mixed with the occasional generalising, slightly patronising out of place comment: "the people of the South do not care too much about food".<sup>108</sup>

As for religion, Christianity is almost taken for granted, also in the reader, but is also intermittently criticised, blamed for example for the negligence of the Tiber quays in the sixth century, when the river overflowed, as people by then, we learn, cared only for the next world, not for this one.<sup>109</sup> The word "pagans" (*hedningar*) is used to a large extent; Antisemitism is also given some attention, not least in the early days of Christianity, when it "was almost stronger than in our time", giving quotes from for example Juvenal's satires.<sup>110</sup> Schück was himself from a Jewish family;

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**104** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 107 & 167: "Roms skönaste"; "vars enda 'attraction'" ("attraction" is uncharacteristically given here in English).

**105** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 149, 171 & 283: "huru djupt denna yngre tid i estetiskt avseende sjunkit under den Augusteiska"; "Roms utan all gensägelse ståtligaste forum"; "enbart tråkiga" (1700-tals mosaiker).

**106** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 65: "lättfärdiga kvinnor"; Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956) 114–115: "det kvinnliga könets halv värld".

**107** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 107: "småfolk".

**108** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 248, 250 & 268: "[en] irrande [...] befolkning av proletarier [...] fattiga stackare"; "Dessa stackars människor"; "med födan taga söderns folk det ej så noga".

**109** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 249.

**110** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 201–202: "den antisemitism, som råder i våra dagar, var under antiken nästan ännu starkare".

Sjöqvist had personal experience of Jewish refugees at close hand at the Swedish Institute in Rome during the German occupation in 1943–1944.<sup>111</sup>

## Nostalgia for Romes past

A clear nostalgia for the past, for past Romes, permeates *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*, a nostalgia that propels the narrative, that provides it with a thematic undercurrent. The city in the present, the object at least partly of interest to most guidebooks, is hardly treated here at all. The nostalgia in the two volumes does not however rule out more sober presentations of historical developments. “The fantastic, picturesque Rome of the Middle Ages” is related in the context of the consequences of the fire and destruction of the Norman invasion of 1084, lending a melodramatic end to the first of the two postwar volumes: ancient Rome “either slumbered under the Norman rubble or – like certain enormous buildings – was sticking up out of it with broken arches and walls blackened by the smoke.”<sup>112</sup>

Anxiety of loss can be seen as an impetus in descriptive as well as prescriptive texts, a theme clearly visible in the work treated here. The real kiss of death for “good old Rome” was, at least in this narrative, the transformation of Rome from papal city to Italian capital in 1870, an almost demonic date for Schück, and to some extent perhaps also for Sjöqvist. *Roma capitale* in a stroke overran the portrayed earlier calm and peaceful papal Arcadia. Making matters worse yet, the late nineteenth-century baron Haussman-inspired additions to the city centre were later followed by the above-mentioned fascist *sventramenti*. These new historical layers were gradually rebranded, also through guidebooks. The past in this sense becomes the present in the historical narrative of *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*.

Nostalgia and a sense of loss – connected with personal ageing and development – relates to constructed stereotype identities, such as the Rome of the foreigners, finding much value in the past, in relation to the Rome of the Romans, the locals, longing for the present. Taking the penchant for past perspectives and nostalgic mindsets to an extreme, following an amusing observation made by the Swedish author Georg Pauli, “if you want to have experienced the ‘real’ Rome, you need to have been present when Romulus and Remus laid its foundations.”<sup>113</sup> Following such an attitude, it is then in a sense always too late to arrive in Rome.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Billig, Billig and Whitting (2015) 192. Cf. also Whitting (2019) 157-159.

<sup>112</sup> Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 290: “Medeltidens fantastiska, pittoreska Rom hade trätt i stället för antikens, som antingen slumrade under det normandiska gruset eller – såsom vissa jättebyggnader – stack upp ur detta med brustna valv och av röken svärtade murar.”

<sup>113</sup> Pauli (1924) 38–39: “om man vill ha varit med om det ‘riktiga’ Rom, måste man ha närvarit när Romulus och Remus lade grundstenarna.”

The authors of *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* mostly manage to steer clear from an outright colonial gaze *vis-à-vis* the “natives”, with certain exceptions, such as “the savages of today”.<sup>114</sup> They deliberately immerse the narrative in idealised, romantic (and attractive) descriptions of local customs, although particularly Schück occasionally also flirts with exoticism and orientalism.<sup>115</sup> He painted a pretty picture indeed of Rome in 1870 (in other words roughly 40 years before his book was published):

In 1870 Rome was still an utterly extraordinary city, with no equal in the world – picturesque and fantastic like no other, dotted with ivy-clad ruins from antiquity, with many Mediaeval houses and towers, with Renaissance palaces and Baroque buildings, and through the middle of the city meandered the Tiber, not yet sandwiched between any strict and stiff quay walls. [...] It was yet a festive city, the promised land of *la beffana* and the carnival with masquerades and the throwing of confetti on the Corso, a city that had forgotten to age and where therefore all the artists of Europe had founded their joyous republic.<sup>116</sup>

This romantic portrayal was followed by a more prosaic observation: “In 1870 the death bell tolled for this Rome.”<sup>117</sup> The papal city became the capital of the new nation: the city of pope Pius IX became the capital of king Victor Emmanuel. This deeply sentimental rhetoric, regarding “old” Rome more than papal Rome specifically, was reiterated in the second postwar volume. In the final sentences, presumably written by Torgil Magnuson, Schück’s spirit is unmistakably present; he would probably have been quite pleased with the result:

The truly major reformation in the history of Rome began in 1870, however, and continues to this day through the ferocious sprawl of the metropolis and, as a consequence, street planning and new urban development. The question is if not this later period, despite its incomparably substantial gains in archaeological terms, has been far more fateful for the old Rome than the plunder of the barbarians and of the Bourbons.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Schück (1912) 16; Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 28: “nutidens vildar”.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Schück (1912) 28; and Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 78.

<sup>116</sup> Schück (1912) 257–258: “ännu 1870 var Rom en fullkomligt enastående stad, utan like i världen – pittoresk och fantastisk som ingen annan, öfversållad af murgrönsbevuxna ruiner från antiken, af massor med medeltida hus och torn, af renässanspalats och barockbyggnader, och midt igenom staden slingrade sig Tibern, ännu icke inklämd mellan några korrekta och stela kajmurar. [...] Det var ännu en festernas stad, la beffanas och karnavalens förlofvade land med maskerader och confettikastning på Corson, en stad, som hade glömt bort att åldras och där därför Europas alla konstnärer grundat sin glada republik”.

<sup>117</sup> Schück (1912) 257–258: “1870 ljöd dödsringningen för detta Rom”. As an example of another opinion regarding that wind of change, see for example Pauli (1924) 17–18.

<sup>118</sup> Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956) 328: “Men den verkligt stora omdaningen i Roms historia började 1870 och fortsätter än i våra dagar genom storstadens våldsamma utbredning och därtill hörande gaturegleringar och nybebyggelse. Fråga är om inte denna senare period, trots sina ojämförligt stora förtjänster om arkeologien, för det gamla Rom varit långt mer ödesdiger än barbarernas och bourbonernas plundringar.”

This nostalgic anti-modernist trope had been clearly expressed by Schück also in earlier writings on Rome, for example in a passage on the Tiber as “the father of rivers” (1907): “A city that claims to be living cannot remain a museum of antiquities, and the old continuously has to give way to the new. Since the days of Romulus until today, Rome has witnessed almost uninterrupted destruction work, through which the old is sacrificed for the new.”<sup>119</sup> In these earlier and somewhat more personal writings on the eternal city, the burden of modern development can be transcended through diligence, patience and with an open mind:

Incidentally, one can again console oneself with the fact that Rome has been a constant victim of destruction work, with the present contribution as only one of the many links in this regard. [...] But, despite this, the old Rome lives on in the new, and the challenge lies solely in discovering it. If one has once done this, Rome is transformed into a city unlike all others, a city with an almost enchanted allure, and to which the stranger always longs to return. The water of the Fontana di Trevi, which he drinks during the last evening in Rome in accordance with old custom, after having sacrificed a papal *soldo* to the fountain’s powers, becomes a magic potion for him, one that binds his soul to that city full of wonders [...]. This has at least been my own fate, and not only mine, but that of many others.<sup>120</sup>

Schück becomes personal in this passage in a way that he did not allow in his later books on Rome under consideration here, in which he takes himself out of the narrative in an attempt at increased objectivity. In an earlier passage he comments on his own diligence as a traveller to Rome, as well as on the inaccessibility of the scholarly *corpus* on the city to the general public, referring to himself as a cicerone in a way alien to *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*, which in a sense attempted to combine accessibility with scholarship:

Unfortunately I cannot claim to have been a diligent and attentive Rome traveller. Mostly I have roamed around the streets and in churches, but I have taken notes in the meantime, which I have later verified with works well known to the researcher [...]. The [scholarly] works may both be on the voluminous side and not as well known to a larger audience than to the classical philologist, and maybe one shall therefore listen for a while to a lesser cicerone.<sup>121</sup>

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**119** Schück (1907) 4 (“Tibern [,] denna flodernas fader”): “En stad, som gör anspråk på att räknas till de lefvandes antal, kan dock icke förblifva ett fornsaksmuseum, och det gamla måste ständigt vika för det nya. Ända från Romulus’ dagar intill vår tid har det i den eviga staden pågått ett nästan oafbrutet förstörelsearbete, genom hvilket det gamla offerats för det nya”.

**120** *Ibid.* 12–13: “För öfrigt kan man äfven här trösta sig med, att Rom varit utsatt för ett ständigt förstörelsearbete, i hvilket våra dagars endast är en länk bland de många. [...] Men trots allt lever dock det gamla Rom kvar i det nya, och konsten är blott att upptäcka det. *Har* man en gång gjort detta, förvandlas Rom till en stad, olik alla andra, en stad som lockar med en nästan trolsk makt, och till hvilken främlingen ständigt längtar tillbaka. Fontana di Trevi’s vatten, som han enligt gammalt bruk dricker den sista aftonen i Rom, sedan han åt källans makter offerat en påflig *soldo*, blir för honom en trolldryck, som binder hans själ vid den underfulla staden [...]. Ätminstone har detta varit mitt öde, och icke blott mitt, utan många andras.”

**121** *Ibid.* 13: “Tyvärr vågar jag ej påstå, att jag varit någon flitig och uppmärksam Romfarare. Jag har för det mesta drifvit kring på gator och i kyrkor, men därunder har jag gjort mina anteckningar, som

## Fluid authorship, fluid time

As addressed above, *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* features an omniscient author. “I” (*jag*) is approximately 75 per cent Henrik Schück in both postwar volumes, but is in many cases unclear. The author is seemingly present in the city in 1884, in the 1930s and in 1955. This confusing issue of authorship also has consequences for the general sense of temporality: when is “now” or “today”? One suspects a deliberate strategy in the postwar editions, and perhaps an unwillingness to meddle too much with Schück’s narrative structure: the constructed “I” instead becomes an anonymous voice of authority, disguised as Henrik Schück.

Examples of this are abundant. On a possible copy of Praxiteles’ Hera-sculpture, discovered in the 1870s, the 1949 reader learns that it “can now be found in the Terme museum”, and that “despite little attention at first, this statue is in my opinion one of the nicest that has been discovered lately in Rome”.<sup>122</sup> Whose opinion? The author’s voice is conveyed as Schück’s throughout, although the effect this produces becomes at times perplexing, almost mystical. Demolition works in the Jewish ghetto in central Rome were initiated in 1885; in the 1956 volume the author, in this case clearly Schück, relates that “when I visited Rome for the first time, in 1884, the ghetto was still there, and I still vividly remember the gloomy, narrow and dirty streets, which no ray of sunshine was able to reach, and the high, grey, ramshackle houses, crawling with small children and women”.<sup>123</sup> The passage comes from the 1914 first edition of the second volume, with minor amendments, which continues with the admission that “the details have however slipped from my memory, although I have later revived it with the help of photographs and maps.”<sup>124</sup>

The anonymous “I” becomes a way of tying the work together over time, with internal references between the two volumes in the postwar editions.<sup>125</sup> Addressing the reader personally is a general guiding trait, even allowing doubt to enter the authoritative narrative for a moment, on the theme of early noble *palazzi* in Rome: “It is

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jag sedermera kontrollerat med för forskaren allmänt bekanta arbeten [...]. Men dels torde deras arbeten vara väl voluminösa, dels äro de nog icke för den stora allmänheten så bekanta som för den klassiske filologen, och måhända skall man därför en stund lyssna till en sämre ciceron.”

**122** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 100: “finnes nu i Termuseet”; “Ehuru till en början föga uppmärksammas, är denna staty enligt min mening en bland de finaste, som på senare tider upptäckts i Rom”. Cf. *Ibid.* 21 & 34 for further similarly confusing examples.

**123** Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956) 281: “Då jag för första gången, 1884, besökte Rom, fanns ghetton ännu kvar, och jag har fortfarande ett mycket livligt intryck av de dystra, trånga och smutsiga gatorna, dit ingen solstråle förmådde tränga ned, och av de höga, grå och fallfärdiga husen, där det krälade av barnungar och kvinnor”.

**124** Schück (1914) 226 (with minor amendments in the 1956 volume): “Detaljerna hafva däremot gått ut mitt minne, ehuru jag sedan upplifvat det med tillhjälp af fotografier och kartor.”

**125** Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956) 306.

uncertain if a single one of these palaces remain, but I do believe that is the case.”<sup>126</sup> On one occasion, the verb “speak” is chosen in guiding the reader through the text: “the [Lateran] Cappella S. Lorenzo, about which I shall soon speak”.<sup>127</sup> This subjective stance also allows for liberal periodisation: “For the lack of a better title, I have called the period 550–800 the Longobardian period, even though the longobards never managed to conquer Rome, which officially remained an Imperial city”, as well as touching upon the recent past: “until a few decades ago”; “a house that I happened to chance upon”.<sup>128</sup>

In some cases, “now” is easier to specify. In a passage on the Quirinal palace, the postwar period is included, meaning that in this case “now” equals the 1950s: “After 1870 it became a Royal residence, and is now the dwelling of the president of the Republic”.<sup>129</sup> Martin Lamm appears to have underestimated the problem when commissioning Sjöqvist for the postwar revision of the work: “As Schück as a rule tends to specify when new discoveries have been made, it should be apparent by itself which passages that have been written by yourself.”<sup>130</sup> The fluid “I” and “now”-constructions in the books, with their drawn-out chronological near super-human timeframe, is one of their most characteristic and intriguing traits.

## The Rome-traveling Swede

Representing a national category of northern European travellers to Italy, the *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*-books were clearly intended for a widespread, cultured Swedish audience with some background knowledge of history, art, and, preferably, Roman topography. The work relates to the Swedish Institute in Rome in several ways. Henrik Schück was himself a member of the institute board from 1925 until 1940.<sup>131</sup> Erik Sjöqvist took part in the institute’s very first archaeological course in 1926, and was its director for eight years in the 1940s, prior to the publication of the revised edition. Schück was then no longer a member of the institute board, although he had reasonably been involved in board discussions

**126** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 279: “Det är ovisst, om något enda av dessa palats finnes kvar, men jag tror dock, att så är fallet.” Cf. *Ibid.* 250 & 262 (“mig”, “jag”).

**127** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 282: “Capella S. Lorenzo, varom jag strax skall tala”.

**128** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 241 & 280: “Av brist på bättre titel har jag kallat perioden 550–800 den longobardiska tiden, ehuru longobarderna aldrig lyckades bemäktiga sig Rom, som, officiellt sett, förblev en kejsarlig stad”; “tills för några decennier sedan”; “Ett [hus], som jag händelsevis påträffade.”

**129** Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956) 317: “Efter 1870 blev [Quirinalen] kungligt residens, och är nu bostad för republikens president”.

**130** Martin Lamm to Erik Sjöqvist, n.d. (December 1945): “Då Schück ju i regel brukar ange när nya upptäckter skett, torde det framgå av sig själv, vilka partier som äro skrivna av Er.” RA, *SIR arkiv*, III:A:4.

**131** See for example Swedish Institute in Rome board meeting minutes, 12 April 1940, §2. RA, *SIR arkiv*, I:2 (*Styrelsens protokoll med bilagor*, 1937–1940).



prior to Sjöqvist's appointment. Torgil Magnuson was later vice director of the institute (see above). Magnuson also initiated and led the institute's art history course for decades, to some extent following directly in Schück's footsteps.

In April 1948, Frida Billberg, member of the Swedish institute friends association, donated a medal to the institute in memory of Henrik Schück, who had died the year before. Before leaving the directorship of the institute, Erik Sjöqvist thanked Billberg for her gift, referring to Schück as "our old board member and my revered friend, whose book about Rome is about to witness a new edition".<sup>132</sup> The two volumes of *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* include one direct reference to the Swedish institute, in a passage on its earlier location in the last of the noble palaces to be built in the city: "the stately Palazzo Brancaccio by the Via Merulana, where the Swedish Rome-institute was located earlier".<sup>133</sup> This has to be an addition by Sjöqvist, as there was yet no Swedish institute when Schück wrote his two Rome-books. The books themselves, and their success, were in fact likely a highly contributing factor to him being elected a member of the institute board.

Indirectly, however, the Swedish institute and some of its associated scholars loom large over the contents of the first postwar volume, but not the second, which can be explained by the total dominance of antiquity in the institute's early curriculum; art history began being taught there in 1959 by Torgil Magnuson. Erik Sjöqvist for example referred to archaeologist Gösta Säflund in relation to the dating of the Servian wall (378 BC), whose thesis on the Republican city walls of Rome became the first volume in the institute publication series.<sup>134</sup> The influential work of Sjöqvist's predecessor as director, Einar Gjerstad, recurred throughout the text (the multi-volume work *Early Rome*). As director, Gjerstad had managed to secure permission to excavate on the Forum Romanum, in the Comitium area, in 1938–1939, and attempted to entirely rewrite the chronology of Republican Rome, moving the ancient Republic ahead in time – datings since largely disqualified by the scholarly community. Gjerstad's results however clearly influenced Sjöqvist to rephrase Schück's statement that the city had lived "for more than three thousand years" to "for more than 2,500 years".<sup>135</sup>

One of Sjöqvist's main additions, his chapter on archaic Rome, to a large extent reflects archaeological research of the previous half-century, from Giacomo Boni's excavations at the turn of the century to Gjerstad's at the outbreak of the Second World War. Gjerstad is introduced with surname only, a principle applied also to

<sup>132</sup> Erik Sjöqvist to Frida Billberg, 5 May 1948: "vår gamle styrelseledamot och min vördade vän, vars Rom-bok nu är på väg mot en ny upplaga". RA, *SIR arkiv*, III:A:1 (*Institutets föreståndares korrespondens och handlingar*).

<sup>133</sup> Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 26: "det vid Via Merulana belägna, ståtliga Palazzo Brancaccio[...], där tidigare Svenska Rominstitutet låg".

<sup>134</sup> Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 75: "Servii Tullii mur". Cf. Säflund (1932).

<sup>135</sup> Schück (1912) 2; and Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 8.

Sjöqvist's colleagues Axel Boëthius and to Krister Hanell.<sup>136</sup> Similar references to other archaeologists and to ongoing research debates illustrate at least part of the intended readership and the level of expected background knowledge.<sup>137</sup>

The Swedish readership is asserted in various ways throughout the two books.<sup>138</sup> The first excavations on the Forum Romanum with a “scientific” ambition in a modern sense were carried out by Swedish state secretary Carl Fredrik Fredenheim in 1788, referred to in the postwar edition as “our compatriot”.<sup>139</sup> Similarly, a reference to the burial place in Rome of the last Catholic archbishop in Sweden, Olaus Magnus, bears witness of the intended Swedish readers, as does the use of the Swedish capital for comparative reference in a passage on the capacity of the vast baths of Diocletian and Caracalla, other bathhouses in ancient Rome and the private baths of the nobility, reaching an aggregate total of around 60 000 people: “In the middle of the nineteenth century there was only one bath house in Stockholm [...], which had no more than five or six bathtubs”.<sup>140</sup>

Other references can be found in a discussion on the mausoleum of Augustus – partly used as a hotel in the eighteenth century, with king Gustav III as one of its guests (“on his first visit to Rome”), in which “the Scandinavian society had its meeting place about seventy years ago”.<sup>141</sup> The reader is however left none the much wiser regarding what time period this approximation refers to. In a passage on a ruined palace on the Aventine, a reference is made that sums up the intended readership in a phrase: many a “Rome-traveling Swede” (*Romfarande svensk*) had probably had dinner at “the well-known restaurant Castello dei Cesari, no longer there”, also the only explicit reference to food and eating in the two volumes, perhaps somewhat typically to a restaurant that no longer existed at the time.<sup>142</sup>

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**136** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 32, 41, 47–48, 175 & 178–179. The same surname-only principle is applied also to for example Hans Peter L'Orange, Christian Hülsen, Giuseppe Lugli and Alfonso Bartoli. *Ibid.* 96, 173, 178 & 258.

**137** See for example Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 213–216, on the Danish scholar Ejnar Dyggve, who may or may not have been temporarily associated with the Swedish Institute in Rome.

**138** Cf. Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956) 329–334, for an overview of literature (on antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, mainly in Swedish, Norwegian, Danish and other languages). The section on antiquity ends with a mention of “a few of the foreign standard works that Henrik Schück did not have access to” (*Ibid.* 331: “några få av de utländska standardverk, som Henrik Schück icke hade till sitt förfogande”) from 1929 onwards.

**139** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 54: “vår landsman”.

**140** Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956) 114 & 130: “I mitten på 1800-talet fanns i Stockholm blott ett enda badhus [...], och det hade ej mer än fem eller sex badkar” (in footnote).

**141** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 190: “vid sitt första besök i Rom”; “för ett sjuttio år tillbaka hade den skandinaviska föreningen där sin samlingslokal.” Cf. Schück, Sjöqvist and Magnuson (1956) 17 (on Saint Bridget/*Heliga Birgitta*): “for us Swedes” (“för oss svenskar”).

**142** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 103 (on the palace of Licinius Sara on the Aventine): “mången Romfarande svensk”; “den bekanta, nu försvunna restaurangen Castello dei Cesari”. Cf. “the Nordic Rome-traveller”, in Sadolin (1956) 123 & 10: “Den nordiske romfararen”.

## Conclusions

The subtitle of Schück's, Sjöqvist's and Magnuson's work, *A Passage Through the Centuries*, is indeed fitting. The reader is primarily guided through Roman history rather than through the actual city itself. The work was indirectly defined in the first postwar volume: it "solely concerns itself with the history of the actual city" and was not intended as "a kind of Baedeker", referring to early pilgrim itineraries and the ninth century Einsiedeln manuscript (see chapter 1).<sup>143</sup>

Guidebooks traditionally contain elements of both description and prescription – visits make the ideal real, and perhaps confirm what we have learned or what we think that we already know. In the case of *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*, it is arguably not necessary to actually visit the city, as it is conveyed in the text. The primary intention was nevertheless likely to have been to add value before, during or after an actual physical visit. Particularly in the postwar editions, archaeology is used as a tool for presenting an "objective" perspective on historical developments, reflecting the impact of the professionalisation of classical archaeology, balancing the sublime and the nostalgia of romantic imagination, elements that feature more prominently in the early editions, in which Rome is portrayed as a sacred city, or as the sepulchre of a parent, as the source of (classical) tradition. The archaeological remains, the ruins, in a sense provide an interface where archaeological and art historical perspectives meet. More traditional guidebooks more or less force the reader to engage with the contemporary, the "now". In *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*, "Rome" instead becomes a symbol of history and a cultural obligation, reflecting also a general *fin de siècle*-change from elite to democratic training, reaching out to a relatively wide audience. This in turn reflects an increasingly widespread production and dissemination of knowledge in multiple locations.

Returning to the guiding function and the weight of authority, both elements can clearly be found in *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*. Traditional guidebooks however tend to express this guiding function more explicitly. The work discussed here combines the two elements and becomes formative, normative and prescriptive, with a descriptive façade. The central task here is to educate, to write history through topography, to offer a voice to which one listens: the voice of authority, a substitute for a physical person, or a guide, but that one does not attempt to interrupt or alter.<sup>144</sup> Are traditional guidebooks then perhaps a way of making sense of the tip of the iceberg of available information? *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* can be seen as a guide to

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**143** Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 275 (on pope Gregory VII): "som blott sysselsätter sig med själva stadens historia"; *Ibid.* 84: "ett slags Baedeker". Cf. references to the Einsiedeln manuscript also in Schück (1912) 44; Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 259–265 (with the itinerary referred to as "the pilgrim's travel book", and as a "primitive Baedeker"); and in Schück and Sjöqvist (1949) 286.

**144** Cf. Alcock (1996), 276: "[The] total reliance upon the author, masked though it is by his stance of relative "invisibility", is [...] a striking, and I find a very powerful, narrative strategy".

the Rome that was, not to the Rome that is. The liminal space or “boundary country” between traditional guidebooks and the type of historical guide represented here is arguably quite substantial, and may itself also contribute to explaining the popularity of and need for guidebooks, largely defined.

The function of a guidebook, apart from giving order to the “chaos” of a specific place, is to guide. A seemingly banal conclusion, perhaps, but there is more to that guiding function than might first meet the eye, as the author George Mikes put it more than sixty years ago (1956):

I had always regarded guide-books as a source of income and it never occurred to me that some people might regard them as guide-books. [...] It is a superb feeling to arrive in a strange town provided with the local knowledge and the self-assurance of a native. Following the instructions of the guide-book, you may easily spot a street in any town [...] The task of a guide-book is to guide; it does not really matter where to.<sup>145</sup>

Guidebooks rely on frankness and authenticity in translating the foreign and unknown into intelligible language; authority is key in order for subjective statements to come across in the right spirit. The outcome of such a strategy might often echo the source-based nineteenth-century German historian Leopold von Ranke (“wie es eigentlich gewesen”), a trait manifested also in *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*. Personal and subjective, or impersonal and objective: two different authority strategies. The three authors here combine them by producing an “objective”, prescriptive narrative combined with subjective value assessments. Premodern Rome is universal, a source for Western art historical canon and classical tradition, while post-1870 Italian Rome becomes a site, a place.

Guide texts often make a distinction between the deep past (archaeology), the recent past (development) and the future (planning). In the work treated here, the deep past is then the prime object of inquiry.<sup>146</sup> Both Schück’s original editions and the postwar revisions offer snapshots of the time of their production. Overall, the work is scholarly, with little room for outspoken pleasure. The late nineteenth century witnessed an increase in tourism, the birth of art history and the professionalisation of archaeology and science in general terms.<sup>147</sup> In concert, the modern concept of cultural heritage was in the process of being shaped, with a shift from outspokenly religious pilgrimage towards “heritage pilgrimage”, accompanied by

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**145** Mikes (1968) 9–10.

**146** The original etymological meaning of the Latin term *memoriae* is indeed “monuments”. On “social memory”, cf. Alcock (1996), 249: “Control of social memory bears directly upon issues of hierarchy and authority, and, not surprisingly, it is thus articulated and enforced in countless ways: not least by the writing of histories and of guide books”.

**147** For nineteenth century tourist industry infrastructure and hotel establishments in Rome, see for example Beard and Henderson (1995) 19–20.

the guides of, for example, Baedeker (chapter 5), Rydelius (chapter 7), and by all means also Schück, for additional historical narrative and cultural context.

This contribution has dealt with tropes and traditions in twentieth century texts that serve to resurrect the past and to evoke the many “Romes” that were, through a combination of nostalgia and imagination. “Mental maps”, the “topography of the mind”, could be understood as an aspect or expression of inner, mental historical and topographical itineraries, a result of formation and formative learning (*Bildung*), in combination with a scholarly tourist gaze. The “memories” of the imagination can be applied also to topography: details can be conjured up by the “mind maps” of the mind’s eye from a text without necessarily visiting the place in question; previously attained knowledge can thus be “recognised”. The notion of the “topography of the mind” suggested here is an attempt to capture the complexity of Rome: the duality of the city itself on the one hand, on the other the geopolitical and cultural concept of “Rome” – the ancient Roman empire and the later influence of the church through the Holy See and the Papal States.

The postwar revised editions of *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*, overall more similar than dissimilar to the original text, also in terms of layout and graphics, gave new life to Henrik Schück’s informed narrative, reaching out to new generations of readers, and provided Erik Sjöqvist with a means to contribute to a history of the sociocultural development of the “eternal city”. The two volumes essentially reflect the aesthetical and research tastes of its (Schück’s) day, ending with the Renaissance. The Baroque period was to become increasingly in vogue in the second half of the twentieth century, in part thanks to Torgil Magnuson’s later scholarly endeavours.<sup>148</sup>

*Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* thus provides an armchair voice of authority on history, topography, archaeology and architecture in Rome, structured chronologically. The work illustrates that producing history, historical writing itself, emerges as an intertextual aspect of the liminal space between traditional guidebooks and historical guides, both conveying and relying on “mental maps” and a “topography of the mind”. This is also hinted at in the lines of a 1946 poem by Robert Frost: “in a town that is no more a town/The road there, if you’ll let a guide direct you/Who only has at heart your getting lost/[...]/And there’s a story in a book about it”.<sup>149</sup>

“The territory” here, paraphrasing the philosopher Alfred Korzybski, as quoted above, is perhaps not “the map” itself, but rather an inner understanding of the layered cultural-historical palimpsest that Rome represents. The master narrative and the message in *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* can perhaps be summed up as follows: Rome is indeed truly remarkable, but only when it is romantic and picturesque. That “Rome” is

<sup>148</sup> Cf. Magnuson (1982) & *Idem* (1986).

<sup>149</sup> Frost (1946): “Directive”. The following two lines complete Frost’s poem: “Here are your waters and your watering place/Drink and be whole again beyond confusion.”

always located in the past, but sometimes, somehow almost magically reveals itself also in the present.

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Carina Burman

## 7 Ellen Rydelius' *Rom på 8 dagar* (*Rome in 8 Days*). A Story of Change and Success

When is a book born? Literature is full of stories about how famous works were written. There is, of course, Coleridge's vision during a narcotic binge which made him write "Kublai Khan" – as the story goes, someone knocked on the door, and his flow stopped mid-sentence. There is also Mary Shelley's alleged apparition of the creature outside her window in Villa Diodati during the summer of 1816 which made her write *Frankenstein*, and, in modern times, J. K. Rowling's story about creating the plot of the entire *Harry Potter* epic during a train journey to Scotland. We can detect an evident need not only to write the book and get it published, but also to envelop it in myths about its creation. If God created the world in seven days, the writer seems eager to beat him by thinking up their universe in the blink of an eye.

The same is sometimes true of non-fiction. The Swedish journalist Ellen Rydelius (1885–1957) often told the story behind her bestselling guidebook *Rom på 8 dagar* (*Rome in 8 days*), a creation myth which revolves around her life in Rome and the visit of two fellow women journalists. She showed them around the city, including not only the traditional sights, but also bars and restaurants. Rydelius' skills at guiding her friends through Rome impressed them, and (at least according to her autobiography) they asked her: "Ellen, why don't you write a book about how to see Rome in one week, just like we've done?"<sup>1</sup> And she did. For good measure, she added an extra day for an excursion outside Rome. "It is almost unthinkable to spend a week in Rome without seeing some of its lovely surroundings", she states.<sup>2</sup>

There is no reason to doubt its veracity, although the story of how Rydelius got the idea for her guidebook has been told in slightly different versions.<sup>3</sup> However, it is only part of the truth. Rydelius may have been groundbreaking on Swedish soil, but she was part of a long tradition of guidebooks, to Rome and elsewhere.

In the autumn of 1926, Rydelius contacted the prestigious Swedish publishing house Bonniers and proposed writing a guidebook for an eight day stay in Rome. She had had dealings with Bonniers since 1913 and had regularly translated books for them. Bonniers, who promised to give an answer in eight days, accepted the book. In

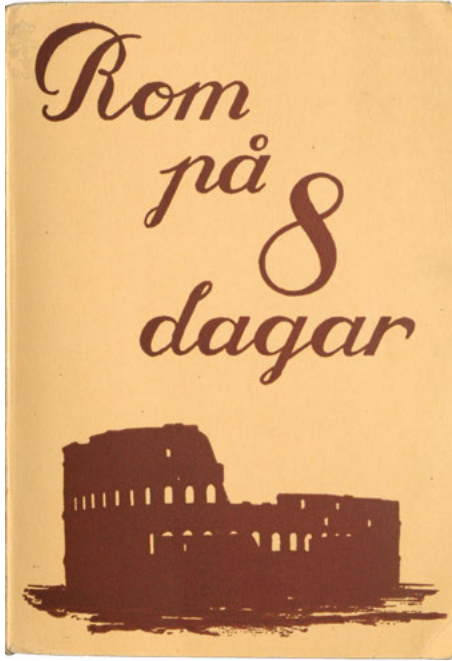
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<sup>1</sup> "Ellen, varför skriver du inte en bok om hur man ska se Rom på en vecka, precis som vi gjort?" Rydelius (1951) 180. The translations from Rydelius' texts are my own.

<sup>2</sup> "Det är nästan otänkbart att tillbringa en vecka i Rom utan att se någon av de vackra omgivningarna." Rydelius (1927) [157].

<sup>3</sup> The story has been retold in many interviews with Rydelius and in an article by one of her friends, Krey-Lange (1936).

November 1926, she promised to do her best to meet the deadline (something she seldom did). In December she sent them the illustrations. The book was published in March 1927.<sup>4</sup> (fig. 7.1)



**Fig. 7.1:** The first edition of *Rome in 8 days* (1927). Uppsala University Library.

*Rom på 8 dagar* was the first Swedish guidebook to Rome which dealt with all the different layers of the city, from antiquity to the twentieth century. It can be regarded as the first modern Swedish guidebook to any location. Just like Rydelius had done during her friends' visit, she gives plenty of room to practical advice, especially when it comes to eating and drinking. Between 1927 and 1957, ten editions of the book were published, and Ellen Rydelius continued to write guidebooks. By 1939 she had published twelve books in the "eight-series", mainly to European cities, and after the war she revised many of these books and wrote some new ones, among them a guide to Western Germany.<sup>5</sup> All books were published by Bonniers. The book on

<sup>4</sup> Centrum för näringslivshistoria, E 1 a:264. Letters from Rydelius to Åke Bonnier 16/11/1926, 28/12/1926, 19/3/1927.

<sup>5</sup> Rydelius wrote at least fifteen guidebooks and at most nineteen. It is difficult to assess how many guidebooks she wrote, as she revised several of her old books after the war. In the interwar period she published twelve books in the eight-series on e.g. Paris, Berlin, Stockholm, the Riviera, plus the short *Lund på 12 timmar* (*Lund in 12 hours*, Gleerup, Lund, 1937). Later, she published three entirely new books, *Skånska slott på 8 dagar* (*Castles in Scania in 8 days*, Bonniers, Stockholm, 1941), *Provence och Rivieran*

Rome remained the most successful. It was published in more numerous editions than the others, but it was also a book about Rydelius' favourite city and a book that changed her life. No longer was she a poor journalist – the chrysalis had transformed into a successful guidebook writer. (fig. 7.2)

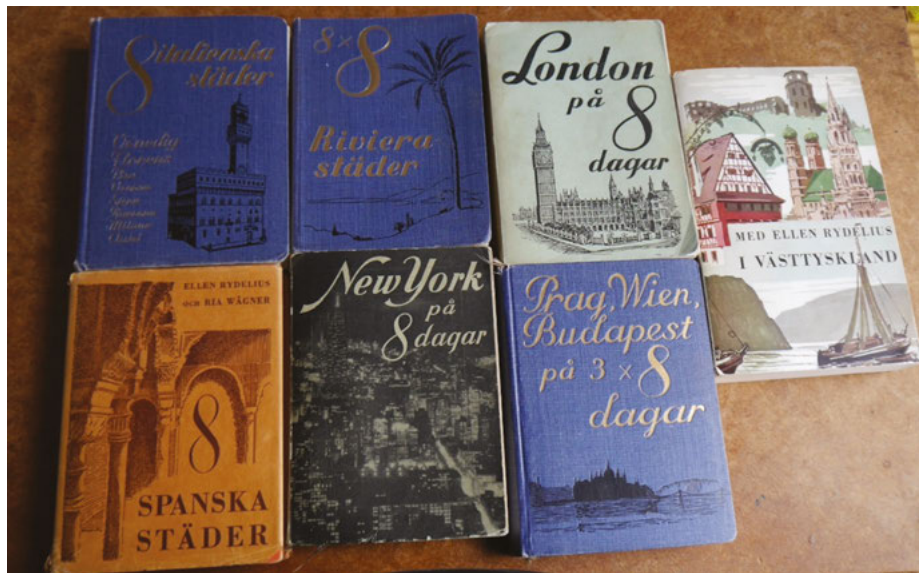


Fig. 7.2: Some of Rydelius' guidebooks. Photo: The author.

Little research has been done on Rydelius. The newest and most thorough work is my own book on Rydelius and Rome, *Vi romantiska resenärer* (2016). Earlier, Dag Hedman has treated Rydelius' life and work in two articles (1999, 2000–2002).<sup>6</sup>

In this chapter, my aim is to show how Rydelius catered for a new, emerging audience – the middle class tourist – using different means, such as a chatty style and an intrusive narrator. The chapter will also discuss Rydelius' views of different aspects of

(*Provence and the Riviera*, Bonniers, Stockholm, 1951) and *8 spanska städer* (*8 Spanish Cities*, 1952). In the 1950s she reworked some of the old books to such an extent that they seem more like new ones, such as *17 italienska städer från Rapallo till Syrakusa* (*17 Italian Cities from Rapallo to Syracuse*, Bonniers, Stockholm, 1950), which was a new version of *8 italienska städer* (Bonniers, Stockholm, 1929) and *Med Ellen Rydelius i Västtyskland* (*With Ellen Rydelius in Western Germany*, Bonniers, Stockholm, 1954), which was loosely based on *8 tyska städer* (Bonniers, Stockholm, 1931). Two books on Italy were published posthumously, *Med Ellen Rydelius i södra Italien* and *Med Ellen Rydelius i norra Italien* (both Bonniers, Stockholm, 1958). Her daughter Ria Wägner co-authored the last three books. Rydelius' book *Pilgrim i Persien* (*Pilgrim in Persia*, Bonniers, Stockholm, 1951) is not included among these. She never visited the country, and the book is more an introduction to Persia than a guidebook. Rydelius herself claims that the book is based on the travel journal of an Englishwoman, whom she met in Denmark.

<sup>6</sup> Burman (2016), Hedman (1999), Hedman (2000–2002).

Rome and finally examine her revision to keep up with the changing cityscape of Mussolini's Rome and her opinions thereof. Moreover, commercial aspects of the book and Rydelius' correspondence with her publisher will be discussed. This is not only an essay about Rydelius and Rome, but also about the fate of her book.

## The writer

Ellen Rydelius will never be counted among the great Swedish authors of the twentieth century. Still, she is an important representative of those hardworking women writers, who can be seen as the manual labourers of literature. Unlike many fellow writers, she managed to find a field where she could specialize and have her breakthrough. (fig. 7.3)



**Fig. 7.3:** Ellen Rydelius (1885–1957) on the round. Wikimedia Commons.

Born in 1885, Rydelius was the only child in a petit bourgeois family in the industrial town Norrköping. She studied at the university of Uppsala, where she seems to have enjoyed student life in the extreme (both in female and mixed society). In 1907 she got her degree in modern languages. Swedish girls from her background seldom received a university education, and studies abroad were even rarer, but Rydelius continued her studies at the university of Kazan in Central Russia. However, she had to interrupt her studies due to her father's sudden death, and started working as a journalist at a Stockholm newspaper. Around the same time, she began her career as a translator, mainly from Russian, but also from English, French, Italian and German. Her translations cover a wide range of authors and genres, from Nobel Prize laureates

to crime stories. Her translations of Dostoyevsky's major works were reprinted as late as in the 1980s. She married in 1911, and in 1914 her daughter Ria Wägner was born. Rydelius left her husband in 1918, and divorced him four years later.<sup>7</sup>

Rydelius was an independent soul, and her life shows a movement from her secure bourgeois childhood to a bohemian, uncertain existence as a single mother and freelance writer. She took pride in her contempt of organized living, occasionally claiming that apartments had to be locked and furniture abandoned in order to let the owner escape their tyranny.<sup>8</sup> When she was offered a well-paid, steady job at Sweden's major weekly magazine, she turned it down to stay in Rome.<sup>9</sup> In her fifties she got her first two-year lease on an apartment, but stated in an interview that this was quite uncharacteristic and perhaps even slightly weird.<sup>10</sup>

In many ways Rydelius was a pioneer of women's rights, in practice rather than in theory. She studied at university and worked at newspapers at a time when women were few both in academia and in journalism. She was also a self-supporting single mother. She might not have talked the feminist talk, but she most certainly walked the walk.

## The book

No extensive Swedish guidebook to Rome existed before *Rom på 8 dagar*. A number of travelogues covering Rome were published (among them Fredrika Bremer's widely spread *Lifvet i gamla världen*, *Life in the Old World*, 1860), some of which could serve the purpose of guidebooks. A book on Rome, said to be a translation from a French original by A. Valladier, appeared in 1869.<sup>11</sup> Twenty years later the poet and philologist Julius Centerwall published *Romas ruiner. Vandringar inom den eviga stadens murar* (*The Ruins of Roma. Walks within the walls of the eternal city*, 1889). Both books mix genres, and the latter one combines the qualities of an archaeological handbook, a travelogue and a guidebook. The learned professor Henrik Schück – who is said to have written a book on every feature of Swedish literature, preferably in seven or nine volumes – published *Rom. En vandring genom sekler* (*Rome. A Passage Through the Centuries*), 1912–1914), which is treated by Frederick Whitting in this book. Schück's discussion of the Roman topography have strong similarities with a guidebook, but its two erudite volumes are sizeable and more suited for the armchair traveller than the tourist. Only a year before Rydelius' book appeared the architect August Atterström

<sup>7</sup> For Rydelius' life, see Burman (2016), 11–57, Rydelius (1951) and Hedman (2000–2002).

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. Rydelius (1928) 194.

<sup>9</sup> Rydelius (1951) 163.

<sup>10</sup> Unsigned interview in *Morgontidningen*, Göteborg 14/3/1936.

<sup>11</sup> Valladier (1869). I have been unable to trace the original. It appears neither in the French National Library or in Schudt (1930). The text was not necessarily originally published in book form.

published *Rom. Vägledare bland äldre byggnadsminnen* (Rome. A guide among the older monuments, 1926), a slim and handy volume which only deals with antiquity, not only with surviving monuments, but also with those that are no longer there. It addresses a learned audience with an interest in classical architecture, but ignores everything that has happened since antiquity and gives no practical advice about eating and sleeping. Naturally, there were plenty of guidebooks in German, French, English and Italian to choose from, but these demanded a fairly good knowledge of foreign languages.

In her preface, Rydelius emphasizes that *Rom på 8 dagar* is meant for a traveller who wants a brief guide in Swedish. An eight day visit to Rome is doable, she claims, as long as one rises early and is in good health. Nevertheless, the first words of her preface are: “The title of this book is a paradox. No one can experience Rome in 8 days”.<sup>12</sup> In this way, Rydelius immediately refutes any possible objections of brevity and superficiality and expresses the view that ten years in Rome would be a better option.<sup>13</sup> Baedeker, the most widespread and detailed guidebook of the time, recommends at least 14–16 days in Rome.<sup>14</sup> A modern guidebook like *The Rough Guide* states that four days are needed. According to Jilke Golbach, tourists in the twenty-first century spend between four and nine days in the city. Rydelius’ eight days – or, to be precise, seven days plus one – can thus be seen as a rather modern choice.<sup>15</sup>

Rydelius ends her preface in the spirit of the entire book – eight days in Rome are enough to see the city, but every visitor to the Eternal City will eventually return: “when we read the many valuable books written on Rome our souls wander in the city of cities, until we return one day”.<sup>16</sup> Several times Rydelius mentions the reader’s prospective return to Rome, books they should read and sights they should see. Her book ends in a discussion of Rome and why we all love the city, and the discussion culminates with the words “*A rivederci* [sic], *Roma eterna!*”<sup>17</sup> It is clear that, although Rydelius wrote many guidebooks, Rome was her favourite city. “To me, all roads led to Rome”, she said.<sup>18</sup>

This book is not a Baedeker, nor was meant to be. It is a short book, and it is not intended for “American tourists, who at any cost have to tick off sights in their red book and rush along”.<sup>19</sup> The red book was naturally a Baedeker – its red cover

<sup>12</sup> “Denna boks titel är en paradox. Ingen människa kan se Rom på 8 dagar.” Rydelius (1927) [3].

<sup>13</sup> “De flesta människor ha nu inte tid att se Rom på 10 år.” Rydelius (1927) [3].

<sup>14</sup> Baedeker (1909) 171.

<sup>15</sup> Dunford (2014), Golbach (2013). A limited amount of days, often eight, was also used in medieval guidebooks. See Anna Blennow’s and Stefano Fogelberg Rota’s articles.

<sup>16</sup> “[D]å vi läsa de många värdefulla böcker, som äro skrivna om Rom, strövar vår själ åter i städernas stad, tills vi en dag återvända, ty man återvänder alltid till Rom, det är vissare än att man återvänder till sin första kärlek.” Rydelius (1927), [4].

<sup>17</sup> Rydelius’ Italian was not perfect, but I will neither correct her Italian nor her sometimes erroneous use of topographical names. Quote, Rydelius (1927) 180, 13.

<sup>18</sup> “Alla mina vägar bar till Rom.” For Rydelius love of Rome, see Burman (2016) 113–119.

<sup>19</sup> “Som detta icke är en guide för amerikanska turister, som till varje pris måste avpricka sevärdheter i sin röda bok och rusa vidare”. Rydelius (1927) 36.

became a symbol for the good, thorough guidebook, and many other guidebooks imitated this design. While Baedeker enumerates countless sights, marking the most important ones with stars, Rydelius takes her reader for a tour around the city and include time for rest and change. Her reader is supposed to put their feet up between tea and supper and to eat their meals in peace and quiet. Food is an important subject for Rydelius, and sometimes a sight in itself.<sup>20</sup>

Rydelius lived in Rome for a year and a half, and had got to know the city well. Still, she was not independent of other guidebooks. On her own journeys she used Baedeker's guides, and sometimes there are echoes from it in *Rom på 8 dagar*. It is evident that Rydelius used it as a source when writing her book.<sup>21</sup> Although Rydelius' book was the first of its kind in Sweden, other guidebooks of a small size, meant for a short stay, already existed. Hedman sees connections between Rydelius' book and the crime-writer Gunnar Serner's humorous *Frank Hellers resehandbok* (*Frank Heller's guidebook*), which only aims at entertaining, not enlightening the reader. Hedman also mentions two predecessors that may have influenced Rydelius: the German L. Teubner, who wrote guidebooks for one week visits to Paris (1907) and London (1928), and the American journalist Clara E. Laughlin.<sup>22</sup> In 1930, when Rydelius started work on her book on London, she asked her publisher to send her Teubner's *Eine Woche in London*. In a letter to her publisher nine years later, she mentioned Laughlin's *So you're going to Italy! And if I were going with you these are the things I'd invite you to do* (1925), but only to tell them that the opinion in New York was that "Clara Laughlin is not as good as my book on Rome".<sup>23</sup>

Laughlin has seven chapters on Rome, which might indicate a seven days stay. The style is chatty and sometimes verging on the sentimental: "I have had the happiest sort of feeling that I was writing, not for an indefinite, problematical 'public', but for US who really know one another pretty well and find that we travel together most companionably."<sup>24</sup> The two writers describe their respective books in a similar way – as 'anspråkslös' (modest) and as "a friendly little book". However,

**20** See for example her description of the fish and vegetables in the restaurant Canepa, Rydelius (1927) 95.

**21** In the passage on the Capitol, Rydelius' wording is close to Baedeker's. She writes: "The Capitol, that we will explore today, was the smallest but most important hill of ancient Rome." ("Kapitolium, som vi i dag skola utforska, var det antika Roms minsta men viktigaste kulle") Rydelius (1927) 114. Baedeker: "The Capitol, the smallest but historically the most important of the hills of Rome", Baedeker (1909) 269. Naturally, this was not the edition Rydelius used – probably she used a later, German one – but the influence is still clear.

**22** Hedman (1999) 134–135. Heller's book was first published in the magazine *Bonniers veckotidning* 1926 and later as a book in 1927.

**23** "[M]an menar här att Clara Laughlin inte är så bra som min Rombok." Centrum för Näringslivshistoria, Bonniers förlagsarkiv, E 1 a:263. Letter from Rydelius to Karl Otto Bonnier 19/3/1930 and to Kaj Bonnier 9/2/1939.

**24** Laughlin (1925) viii–[ix].

Laughlin does not give any description of the sights. She expects her reader to learn the facts through a “guidebook” (Baedeker or equivalent), and she also refrains from practical advice. Instead, she offered such advice in the form of courses for prospective travellers – a true masterstroke in marketing.<sup>25</sup>

The concept of a guidebook divided into days is not a product of the twentieth century. In 1644 Fioravante Martinelli published *Roma ricercata nel suo sito e nella scuola de tutti gli antiquarij*, which consists of ten day-trips around the city (which Stefano Fogelberg Rota has studied for this volume). More than a century later, the baroque artist Giovanni Vasi printed an illustrated guidebook to Rome, *Itinerario istruttivo diviso in otto giornate per ritrovare con facilità tutte le Antiche, e moderne magnificenze di Roma* (1763). These two books were widely spread and published in countless editions. Both were also to be found in the library of Circolo Scandinavo in Rome, where Rydelius was an active member and could easily get hold of them. Vasi’s book is divided into eight days’ worth of tours in Rome. It is possible that Rydelius got the inspiration for the eight-concept from him.<sup>26</sup>

The most obvious influence, however, is the American writer Arthur Milton’s *Rome in seven days. A Guide for People in a Hurry* (1923). Milton wrote several books using this concept of a seven days stay, starting with London and Paris in 1922 and later continuing with Brussels, Vienna and Berlin.<sup>27</sup> In these books, the narrator brings his aunt and uncle to a foreign city, shows them around and tells them about the sights. The comments from the elderly relatives help to emphasize the foreign environment and are sometimes deliberately naïve. The relatives also provide a contrast to the persona of the narrator, who is both their guide and the authority of the book. Milton’s seven-books are unusual in their genre – they are guidebooks posing as travelogues. Often, it is the other way around.

When Rydelius arrived in Rome in early 1924, Milton’s book had recently been published. It is impossible to tell whether she owned the book or borrowed it, but the similarities are so striking that she must have read it. The concept of one week’s stay is quite obvious – Teubner used it before the First World War – but just as Rydelius, Milton divides his book not only into days, but also into weekdays, starting on a Monday. Both Milton and Rydelius also emphasize the brevity of the stay. The influence is also quite obvious when it comes to food and restaurants. Milton writes:

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<sup>25</sup> Laughlin (1925) [ix].

<sup>26</sup> According to an e-mail from Circolo Scandinavo 5.2 2015 Martinelli’s book was sold from the library in 2008, Vasi’s book is still kept there. I have studied a later copy, Martinelli (1702), kept in Uppsala University Library, and consulted two editions of Vasi – an Italian one, Vasi (1819) and a French one, Vasi (1773) – belonging to King’s College Library, Cambridge, as well as the copy in Circolo Scandinavo, Vasi (1777).

<sup>27</sup> Milton (1923). *British Library On line Catalogue*, <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues-and-collections>, consulted 29th July 2018. For a more extensive comparison between Rydelius and Milton, see Burman (2016) 105–108.



A special feature in this book – which, to the best of my belief is *absolutely new* in any guide to Rome – is the carefully compiled list of interesting restaurants, together with typical Italian dishes to be obtained there. Nothing contributes so much to the sightseer's enjoyment of a city as a judicious tasting of the dishes of the country – and of its wines too, for those who so desire – and nowhere perhaps is this so true as of Rome, justly famous for its special *cuisine*.<sup>28</sup>

In her preface to *Rom på 8 dagar* Rydelius makes a similar point:

The new thing with this guide is that I, in order to save time and make the trip pleasant, have given prominence to restaurants close to the different monuments. At these the traveller to Rome, who does not want to take their meals at their hotel, can have lunch and dinner. From my own experience I know that all the restaurants and tearooms mentioned are excellent. As it is always of interest to get to know the national cuisine, and as the Italian cooking is among the best in Europe, I have included some typical national dishes among the suggestions for lunch and dinner.<sup>29</sup>

Both content and wording are similar. Just like Milton, Rydelius mentions the importance of the culinary experience, promises to recommend typical dishes and stresses the importance of the Italian cuisine. Both writers also take credit for the novelty of this, something which might be valid for Milton but certainly not for Rydelius, at least not internationally. However, her stress on the culinary side was new for Swedish guidebooks and for her readers.

When it comes to the choice of restaurants, Rydelius takes her reader to seven of the fourteen restaurants mentioned by Milton.<sup>30</sup> It is possible that Rydelius used Milton's book to find places to eat during her stay in Rome. In their choice of restaurants it is also clear that their audiences differ. He writes for readers with expensive tastes, and when it comes to the more exclusive restaurants Castelli dei Cesari on the Aventine and Ulpia by the Imperial fora, Rydelius only brings her reader there for tea or wine. On the other hand, Rydelius calls Pastarellaro in Trastevere "one of Rome's best eating places", while the aunt and uncle in Milton's book are surprised (perhaps even chocked) that the narrator takes them to such a simple restaurant.<sup>31</sup>

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**28** Milton (1923) 11–12.

**29** "Det nya i denna guide är, att jag i tidsvinsten och även i trevnadens syfte framhållit restauranger i närheten av de olika minnesmärkena, där Romfararen, som ej önskar inta måltiderna på sitt hotell, kan äta lunch och middag. Alla de restauranger och terum, som omnämnts, känner jag av egen erfarenhet som goda ställen. Som det alltid har sitt intresse att under vistelsen i ett land lära känna det nationella köket och då det italienska är ett av Europas allra bästa, har jag i de dagliga förslagen till lunch och middag även medtagit en del typiska nationalrätter." Rydelius (1927) [4].

**30** The restaurants are Piperno, Pastarellaro, Fagiano, Castelli dei Cesari, Ulpia, Concordia, Canepa. Milton (1923) 21–22, 28–30, 44, 68, 73, 78, 103. Rydelius (1927) 89, 127–129, 155, 35, 133, 63–64, 95–96.

**31** '[E]tt av Roms bästa matställen.' Rydelius (1927), 128, Milton (1923) 30. Both writers also include an episode with the hunch-back waiter of Pastarellaro, where Milton's narrator shows a superior, male attitude to both waiter and aunt, while Rydelius depicts the waiter as a friendly host. For an analysis of this, see Burman (2016) 107–108.

Both writers arrange their menus in the same way, with one column in Italian and another in translation. However, their view of food is widely different. Milton describes it briefly, while Rydelius sometimes writes page after page of passionate descriptions, contrasting the Italian cuisine with the Swedish one, and the Mediterranean abundance of fruit and vegetables with the shortage during the Swedish winter. One has to bear in mind that her book was written at a time when fresh fruit and vegetables were not easily imported. For a large part of the year, Swedish housewives had to rely on tinned greens or root vegetables that could be stored during the long, dark winter-months. This made the joy of new vegetables in spring so much greater. At one instance, Rydelius rejoices in the beautiful Italian courgettes and wishes that they could be grown in Sweden without losing their flavour.<sup>32</sup>

Rydelius may have got some of her ideas from Milton, but it is a case of influence, not imitation. Some influence may also have come from Laughlin's chatty tone and from the high spirits of the mock-guidebook written by Gunnar Serner, but *Rom på 8 dagar* is Rydelius' own creation, coloured by her own temper and knowledge of Rome.

## The volume

The book itself is slightly smaller than a Baedeker – the insert of the first edition measures 10,2 × 14,5 cm – and bound in brown cloth, decorated with the silhouette of the Colosseum. For the first edition, Rydelius asked Bonniers for a “leatherbrown” binding, but found that it had turned out slightly darker than she had envisaged. The second edition was bound in blue cloth, sporting the same picture of the Colosseum. When Bonniers wanted a sixth edition after the war Rydelius asked for “the colour of oranges”. All editions also appeared in paperback, keeping the Colosseum design but on a yellowish background.<sup>33</sup> Probably the Colosseum was chosen not only because it is a well-known symbol for the city, but also because of the “old prophecy” (by the English seventh century monk the Venerable Bede) that “as long as the Colosseum stands, Rome will stand. When the Colosseum falls, Rome shall fall. And will Rome the whole world will fall ...”<sup>34</sup>

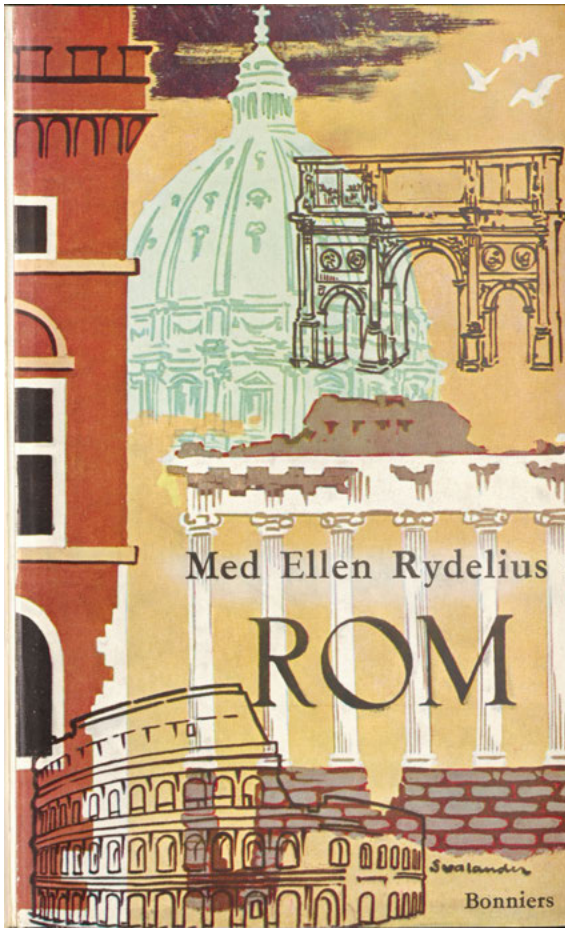
Rydelius revised all editions of the book except the third, which is identical to the second. The most extensive changes were made in the fourth and the ninth editions. In the fifties, Bonniers also revised the title, format and design of the book. It was now

<sup>32</sup> Rydelius (1927) 37. Unfortunately, this is not the case.

<sup>33</sup> Leatherbrown bindings, Centrum för Näringslivshistoria, Bonniers förlagsarkiv, E 1 a:264. Letter from Rydelius 19/3/1927. Orange bindings, E 1 a:263. Letter from Rydelius to Kaj Bonnier 11/4 /1948.

<sup>34</sup> “Så länge Colosseum står, skall Rom bestå. När Colosseum faller, skall Rom falla. Och med Rom faller hela världen ...” Rydelius (1927) 98. *Quamdiu stat Colisaeus, stat et Roma; quando cadet Colisaeus, cadet et Roma. Quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus*, Beda. Accessed as electronic resource.

called *With Ellen Rydelius in Rome, Med Ellen Rydelius i Rom* (albeit still with the subtitle 'Rome in 8 days'), was slightly larger (11,6 × 18,6 cm) and had a new cover. The cover of hardback edition is divided into three sections, forming an Italian flag, and both the sleeve and the paperback were decorated with drawings of important Roman monuments, made by the artist Yngve Svalander. In a letter to her publisher, Rydelius called the cover "very pretty".<sup>35</sup> This edition was unillustrated, although it contained some plans of e.g. the Roman forum. (fig. 7.4)



**Fig. 7.4:** The revised *Rom in 8 days: Med Ellen Rydelius i Rom* (*With Ellen Rydelius in Rome*, 1954). Uppsala University Library.

<sup>35</sup> "mycket vackert". Centrum för näringslivshistoria, E 1 a: 263. Letter from Rydelius to Gerard Bonnier 12/3/1954.

The first edition contained 180 pages and included 34 black and white, one-page photos of Rome. In the fourth edition an overview map of Rome was added and thirteen new photographs were included, as well as some plans and maps.<sup>36</sup> The overall impression is that *Rom på 8 dagar* became more useful for every edition, culminating in the ninth edition of 1953, which has a better and more extensive index than the earlier editions as well as lists of the most important churches and palaces, local feasts etc. Gunhild Bergh, a literary scholar who lived in Rome, told Rydelius that “like a good wine, this book has become even better over the years.”<sup>37</sup>

In the ninth edition, Rydelius changed the schedule. The biggest difference is that the outing now takes place on Wednesday, not on the last Monday. This is not only more logical, as it is more likely that the tourist wants to spend their last day packing and visiting favourite haunts, but also more practical, as many museums and monuments both in and outside Rome were (and are) closed on Mondays. Rydelius has also extended the choice of excursions. While the first edition takes the reader to Ostia or Tivoli, the ninth also include choices of Cerveteri, Tarquinia and Subiaco, as well as a list of other excursions.<sup>38</sup> In Ostia, the earlier editions takes the reader both to the excavations of Ostia Antica and to the modern Lido di Ostia, which was all the rage in the twenties. The ninth edition only includes a visit to the excavations.<sup>39</sup>

## The reception

The first edition of *Rom på 8 dagar* was well received at its publication. A short article about it appeared before its publication, and it got several reviews in major Swedish newspapers. Many reviewers called it a “nice” book, and one of them showed special interest in the narrative. Instead of lecturing, the author “takes you (even if you are a man) by the arm and walks around the city and its surroundings”. The reviewers praise the handy size of the book, and one notes that it is ideal for the ‘common’ tourist. Another labels Rydelius herself as “sensible”.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> The illustrations, plans and maps are more extensively treated in Burman 2016, pp. 143–152.

<sup>37</sup> “Lik som bra vin har den bara blivit bättre”. Centrum för näringslivshistoria, E 1 a: 263. Letter from Rydelius to Gerard Bonnier 12/3/1954.

<sup>38</sup> The list is included in the section “Praktiska anvisningar” (Practical instructions) at the end of the book. Rydelius (1954) 262–263.

<sup>39</sup> Rydelius (1954) 96–109. Rydelius’ description of Ostia Antica was revised and extended as the excavations continued.

<sup>40</sup> Nice (“trevlig”) in [Ohlsson] (1927), Narrative and handy, [Nyblom] (1927); “I stället tar hon en – även om man är herre – helt förtroligt under armen och promenerar omkring i staden och dess omgivningar [...]” For further quotations and discussion, see Burman (2016) 92–95.

Naturally, these good reviews were down to quality of the book, but one must not underestimate the impact of Rydelius' many contacts among journalists. The first review was written by a friend of hers, and the preliminary article was published in *Idun*, a magazine to which she often contributed herself, and where another friend was editor-in-chief.<sup>41</sup> As an experienced journalist, Rydelius cared deeply about the marketing of the book, e.g. reviews, interviews and advertising. Over the years, she dogged her publishers with more or less practical ideas of marketing, such as distributing a special kind of shelf for her book to bookshops and having various posters printed. In 1932 a poster was printed, showing a pretty young girl and some of Rydelius books, 1936 the writer wanted a poster with a map of Europe, where pictures of her books marked the different countries and capitals she had written about. A poster was printed the same year. After the war, Rydelius succeeded in having her books sold on chartered coach tours to Rome.<sup>42</sup>

Ellen Rydelius' guidebooks were a success, and Rydelius herself wholeheartedly accepted her new role as an authority on travel. She gave talks all over Sweden, spoke on the radio and let herself be enlisted as some kind of glamour guide for tours to the south. In 1955, she was the jewel in the crown of the women's magazine *Allers'* tour to Italy. The magazine wrote: 'In Europe Baedeker has become an institution. You refer to Baedeker, you claim that something is this way or that way, because "it is written in the Baedeker!" Here, at home, we use the concept Rydelius.'<sup>43</sup> At that time, almost thirty years after the first edition of *Rom på 8 dagar*, everyone knew who Rydelius was, and everyone who traveled used her books. The most obvious proof of the success is naturally the many new editions. Ten editions appeared during thirty years, all of them with corrections and changes. I will return to this in the final part of this chapter.

## The narrator

It is Monday, and the reader of the 1927 edition of *Rom på 8 dagar* wakes up in the city. Rydelius starts her book with the sounds of Rome: "The first day in Rome, it is likely that you are brutally woken by wild screams".<sup>44</sup> She paints a broad picture of a Roman

<sup>41</sup> The first review was Nyblom (1927) on March 20th 1927.

<sup>42</sup> Burman (2016), 96–99. Centrum för Näringslivshistoria, Bonniers förlagsarkiv, E 1 a:263. Letters from Rydelius to Bonnier, 13/8/1934, 16/4/1936, 7/7/1936. The former poster is preserved in the collections of the Royal Library in Stockholm, <https://www.kb.se/hitta-och-bestall/digitala-kollektioner/projekt-radda-affischerna.html>. Accessed 11/8/2018.

<sup>43</sup> "Ute i Europa har Baedeker blivit ett begrepp. Man hänvisar till Baedeker, man hävdar att något är si eller så, 'för det står i Baedeker!' Här hemma arbetar vi med begreppet Rydelius." Anonymous in the women's magazine *Allers* (1955), issue 5.

<sup>44</sup> "Den första morgonen i Rom är det mycket troligt, att ni blir omilt väckt av vilda skrik". Rydelius (1927) [5].

street, with water-sellers, brush-sellers, coachmen and trams. In a corner, two Romans discuss the best brand of cigarettes “in fortissimo”. There is an obvious difference between the narrator, who knows her Rome, and the reader, who is confused by the noise and exotic characters. Swedes often consider themselves taciturn.

Quite soon this division between “you” and “me” is bridged and the tour can start:

We were, by the bye, lucky to get out of bed so early, both you and me, as we need to be early birds to get the essence of Rome in only eight days. At eight o'clock sharp let us take a cab around the seven hills, from which the world was once ruled; let us make a rapid tour through twenty-six centuries of human history in two hours.<sup>45</sup>

The pact is made. The narrator and the reader start out on their tour together, and together they will remain for the coming 180 pages, not as guide and tourist, but as old friends. When visiting the Vatican on the first day, Rydelius states that it consists of “1.100 halls, not 11.000, as we were taught in school”.<sup>46</sup> Here, the reader suddenly becomes her old schoolmate. No wonder that Rydelius gets so chummy – it is as if she is once more guiding her friends through Rome.

However, there are some exceptions. Now and then, the narrator extracts herself (let us assume that it is a she!) and shows herself to be the one in charge – or rather the one who knows Rome. At Campo de' Fiori she recommends the reader: “Hug your purses tenderly to your heart, ladies, and button up your coats carefully around your wallet, Swedish gentlemen! Here are plenty of watchful eyes and alert hands, who would love to take care of unguarded wallets.”<sup>47</sup>

In this passage, the narrator takes a step back and views her wards. She is, after all, our street-wise leader. Later the same day she interrupts her own lecture on artists, bankers and courtesans: “But I can see that these walks through alleys and through centuries have tired you out. A grinning coachman has already put up his finger as an invitation, which we courteously accept.”<sup>48</sup>

At times, the change from “we” to “you” and “me” emphasizes the narrator's superior knowledge. When dining at Piperno's in the ghetto Rydelius describes the course *carciofi alla giudea* and remarks: “Yes, madam, you can have the recipe. I have

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45 “Det var för resten tur, att vi kommo hastigt ur sängen, både ni och jag, ty för att på åtta dagar få essensen av Rom, måste vi vara morgontidiga. Låt oss genast vid åttatiden ta en tur i droska kring de sju kullarna, från vilka världen en gång styrdes, låt oss på två timmar göra en blixturne igenom tjugusex sekler av mänsklighetens historia.” Rydelius (1927) 6.

46 “1,100 salar – icke 11,000 som vi fingo lära oss i skolan”. Rydelius (1927) 23.

47 “Tryck väskorna ömt till ert hjärta, mina damer, och knäpp rockarna väl om plånboken, herrar svenskar! Här finns gott om påpassliga ögon och händer, som gärna tillvarata illa vaktade plånböcker.” Rydelius (1927) 67–68.

48 “Men jag ser, att ni börjar bli trötta av dessa strövtåg i gränden och genom sekler. En inställsamt leende droskkusk har redan satt upp sitt pekfinger till invit, som vi nådigt anta.” Rydelius (1927) 86–87

it, but this kind of food is not cheap.”<sup>49</sup> Here, the narrator almost functions as an intrusive author of the eighteenth century kind. She squeezes herself down between the readers, chats about food and recipes and concludes that if the reader has recuperated after the artichokes, she could perhaps finally get on with her introduction to the ghetto. As a matter of fact, she almost chides the reader, just as a friend could do if you showed too much interest in the wrong things.

## The reader

Rydelius' preface makes it clear that the book is intended for the early riser, healthy and cheerful and ready to start their touring around eight o'clock in the morning. As food is an important subject in the book, Rydelius suggests that the reader starts the day with a cappuccino and some brioches.<sup>50</sup> The reader is clearly middle-class, and even if Rydelius translates Italian and explains foreign situations, it is obvious that the reader is hardly a novice to foreign travel. She also takes their ability to communicate with waiters and cab-drivers for granted. As we have seen, Rydelius translates the menus, but she has high expectations of the reader's cultural knowledge. When there might be difficulties, she sneaks information to the reader, such as when she shows us the Rostra on the Forum: “You do remember that they were called rostra after the sternposts of captured ships, that during the fourth century B.C. were added to the marble wall as adornments?”<sup>51</sup>

Despite Rydelius' preface mentioning a prospective reader who has not had the time to read up on Rome beforehand, the traveller she addresses is a well-informed person – and a Swede.<sup>52</sup> Swedish connections are emphasized. Rydelius criticizes the invisibility of Swedish memorials in Rome and hopes that one day, a “patriot” will “make sure that they are elevated from this hidden position”.<sup>53</sup> That lack of information is remedied in Rydelius' book. In the Domus Aurea she quotes the Swedish poet Snoilsky – probably from memory, as there are a couple of errors. She apparently has high opinions of her reader's knowledge of European literature, as she quotes both Shakespeare and Goethe, the latter in the original. At the Cimitero Acattolico she

49 “Ja, min fru, ni kan få receptet, jag har det, men det är ingen billig mat”. Rydelius (1927) 89. Even if Rydelius really had the recipe she did not include it in her book on the Italian cuisine, Rydelius (1941).

50 Breakfast is not mentioned in the first edition, where Rydelius only emphasizes the need of an early start. Rydelius (1927) 6. In the ninth edition, however, she mentions breakfast, either at the guesthouse or at a bar. Rydelius (1954) 10.

51 “Ni minns ju att de kallades rostra efter de fartygsstävar, erövrade i krig, som under fjärde seklet f.Kr. sattes upp på marmorväggen som prydnader”. Rydelius (1927) 44–45.

52 Preface, Rydelius (1927) [3].

53 “Men kanske kommer en dag någon patriot att tillse, att våra svenska minnen i Rom lyftas upp ur sin undanskymda ställning.” Rydelius (1927) 132. The passage is removed in the ninth edition.

mentions Keats and Shelley, but also some Scandinavians who rest in the shade of the pyramid. Several times, she discusses the seventeenth century Swedish queen Christina, who abdicated, moved to Rome after her abdication. In the fifth edition, Rydelius also takes the reader to visit the nuns of the order of the Swedish saint St. Birgitta who died in Rome in 1373. In 1931 La Casa di S. Brigida in Piazza Farnese was acquired as a nunnery for her order, paid for in part with Swedish funds. Six photos showing the interior of the building, were added in the fourth edition.<sup>54</sup>

Rydelius was a woman in a man's world, and after her divorce she got used to travelling alone or in female company. As a modern reader, one would assume that she wrote her guidebooks with a female audience in mind. This, however, is not the case. One reason was undoubtedly financial – a guidebook which emphasized women's experiences would not sell particularly well. Women are, as we all know, only half of mankind, and both now and then the lowest paid half. The reader in *Rom på 8 dagar* is called "he", but there are instances when Rydelius directs herself to women. This occurs especially when it comes to shopping – the ladies are told where to get their hats (Via di Campo Marzio is recommended) and on the final shopping trip she mostly recommends jewellery and women's clothing. Several women's hairdressers are mentioned in the appendix, but not a single barber.<sup>55</sup>

## Rome and its citizens

As we have seen in the earlier chapters, the idea of Rome's main sights is not constant. The nineteenth century put less emphasis on Baroque architecture, which it despised, and the hierarchy between the importance of the sights has shifted during the years. Rydelius dedicates seven days to the sightseeing in Rome, which naturally means a selection of monuments visited. In this section, I will start with an overview of Rydelius' seven tours through Rome, and then briefly discuss her priorities. I will concentrate on the sights visited in the first edition.<sup>56</sup>

The first morning – a Monday – is spent on an introductory tour of the city. "We choose a hansom cab, as long as they are available – they grow fewer every year – because you get a better view of a façade and a street-view going *andante* pulled by

<sup>54</sup> Snoilsky, Rydelius (1927) 99, cemetery 150, queen Christina 8, 19, 56, 63, 80, St. Birgitta 70 and Rydelius (1938) 90–94.

<sup>55</sup> He, e.g. Rydelius (1927) preface, shopping Campo Marzio 88, shopping trip 107–108. In the books on Paris and Berlin, Rydelius (1928) and Rydelius (1929), she warns women readers about some establishments which women should not visit by themselves, such as cabarets with a naked ladies' orchestra, Rydelius (1929) 74. For further discussion of this, see Burman (2016).

<sup>56</sup> In the following I will only give direct references to Rydelius (1927) in case of direct quotations. For the nineteenth century and the Baroque, see Sabrina Norlander Eliasson's article in this volume.



horse than rushing *prestissimo* in a car.”<sup>57</sup> As the hotels in the twenties were mostly located around Piazza di Spagna, this is where the tour starts. It continues down Via del Babuino to Piazza del Popolo, follows the Corso to Piazza Venezia and along Via 4 Novembre and Via Nazionale to Piazza dell’Esedra (today’s Piazza della Repubblica). Rydelius then takes us down Via Cavour and Via degli Annibaldi to the Colosseum. Here she starts a lecture about the Roman hills, and we surface again at the Isola Tiberina. After this, Trastevere is visited, but we refrain from visiting S. Maria in Trastevere and continue up to the Gianicolo, following the Passeggiata past S. Onofrio and ending up at S. Pietro.

At this point the tour has gone on for about two hours, and it is time for a break at the small Piazza Rusticucci (which no longer exists), while we take a look at the church from the outside. During the rest of the morning, Rydelius guides her reader fairly thoroughly through S. Pietro and continues to the Vatican Museums to view the sculptures. The visit to the Vatican takes up over thirteen pages, compared to nine pages for the introductory tour and three pages for the luncheon. As we have seen, the cuisine is a main issue. During the afternoon Rydelius takes us by bus down Via Appia to the catacombs and the baths of Caracalla. After supper she concludes: “Our first day in Rome is over, and I do not think there is any idea of suggesting any nightly entertainments – at the most a café espresso at some bar close to your quarters.” Most likely the traveller agreed. The first Monday’s program looks exhausting.<sup>58</sup>

Tuesday morning contains a tour of the Roman Forum and the Palatine, the afternoon starts more leisurely with a visit to Villa Borghese and “a hasty view of the Galleria Borghese” before watching the sunset from the Pincio. The night is spent drinking and dancing.<sup>59</sup> On Wednesday, Rydelius begins with a visit to the flea market at Campo de’ Fiori, and the day is dedicated to a rather slow, meandering tour through the Centro Storico. First, Rydelius’ itinerary for Wednesday seems illogical – why does she leave Piazza Navona until the afternoon, instead of visiting it immediately after the Piazza Farnese and Campo de’ Fiori, which are nearby? This strategy, however, is quite deliberate. At one point, Rydelius says: “During these meditations we have strolled down this picturesque alley, peeping into backyards, studying front doors and façades [...]” We must take our time to enjoy Rome.<sup>60</sup>

Next morning starts as late as ten o’clock with a visit to Museo delle Terme di Diocleziano. The afternoon is spent visiting the Colosseum, the Domus Aurea and the

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57 “Vi välja en hästdroska, så länge detta är möjligt – de decimeras för varje år – ty man ser bättre en vacker husfasad och ett gatuperspektiv, då man kör *andante* efter häst än då man rusar *prestissimo* i bil.” Rydelius (1927) 6.

58 “Vår första dag i Rom är slut, och jag tror att det icke lönar föreslå några kvällsnöjen, på sin höjd en café espresso på en bar i närheten av er bostad.” Rydelius (1927) 38.

59 “En hastigt titt i Galleria Borghese.” Rydelius (1927) 39.

60 “Under dessa meditationer ha vi flanerat den pittoreska gränden framåt, tittat in på gårdar, studerat portar och fasader [...]” Rydelius (1927) 73–74.

churches of S. Clemente, SS. Quattro Coronati and S. Giovanni in Laterano. After tea it is time to do some shopping. Friday starts with another museum, the Capitoline museum, followed by a tour to the ghetto, the Theatre of Marcellus and S. Maria in Cosmedin. After lunch Rydelius guides the reader through Trastevere to S. Maria and S. Cecilia and continues to the Aventine. Saturday starts with two museums – Galleria Colonna and the parts of the Vatican collections we have not seen yet – but the only set task in the afternoon is to visit ‘the blue nuns’ for *Ora pro nobis*. Finally, on Sunday we once more return to the Vatican to view the cupola of S. Pietro and attend mass. Other choices for that day are the Cimitero Acattolico, S. Paolo fuori le mura and Tre Fontane. The evening ends at an osteria inside the Tarpeian rock.

As we can see, Rydelius covers most of the sights that are still considered essential in Rome. The attractions visited represent all times; a whole morning is spent at the Roman Forum, she describes medieval churches (such as the interior in S. Maria in Cosmedin) and other medieval buildings, touches on the renaissance and even shows indulgence towards the much hated baroque. When visiting S. Ignazio, she discusses different kinds of Baroque architecture and concludes: “Perhaps the Baroque actually is – approaching a renaissance?”<sup>61</sup> Some eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings are also mentioned, and in the fourth edition she dedicates a tour to modern architecture, like La Sapienza and Foro Mussolini. The tenth edition contains a visit to EUR. We will see more of this in the discussion of the different editions.<sup>62</sup>

Several times, Rydelius emphasizes the need to stroll around, imbibing the atmosphere of the city, popping into bars and the *osterie* where the poor drink their wine. The monuments are important, but it is the way that makes the trouble worthwhile. During these walks through Rome, she mentions churches and palaces, and although they are not described in full, it is enough for the reader to grasp their importance. Only two monuments are omitted, the Ponte Rotto and Castel S. Angelo. The former, the partly destroyed Republican bridge between Isola Tiberina and the Ponte Palatino, is not mentioned in any of the editions. Castel S. Angelo, Hadrian’s old mausoleum, is only mentioned in passing in the text of the first edition, but it is depicted on one of the plates together with the Vatican and S. Pietro. In later editions, Rydelius repairs this, and in the ninth edition Castel S. Angelo has advanced to one of the main attractions of Sunday’s programme.

Nevertheless, Rydelius’ selection of sights gives an overall view of Rome, from different times and from different aspects. However, her Rome is no empty monument, and she comments on its citizens, both contemporary and historical. Occasionally she points out the span of time and Rome’s proximity to antiquity through connecting a place or an anecdote to a well-known historical person, such as Caesar or Paul the

<sup>61</sup> “Kanske barocken rentav går – en renässans till mötes?” Rydelius (1927) 81.

<sup>62</sup> For Rydelius and modern architecture, see Burman (2016), 150–152.

apostle.<sup>63</sup> She frequently paints contemporary Roman scenes, touched by exoticism, set in the street or in the tavern. Her views of the Romans are still surprisingly unbiased, especially when it comes to what she describes as ‘simple Romans’ (‘enkla romare’).<sup>64</sup> Sometimes, her depictions of the interior of an osteria almost resembles a nineteenth century genre painting:

Family life carries on around the tables: Roman working men are seated there with wife and children – even the babies are there, at their mother’s breast – and there is card-playing, chatting and drinking pleasantly together. [...] People are constantly coming and going through the door towards the street: a bare-headed Roman housewife, who comes to fill her fiasco with wine at the marble counter, an old man selling olives out of a bucket, a melecottaio, who offers apples, roasted whole, and hands them over on a wooden stick [...].<sup>65</sup>

This view is completed by the arrival of music – not a barrel-organ, but a moveable piano, “un pianino”:

I, for one, find it somewhat moving with this instrument of the streets, which cranks forth its arias from *Bohème*, *Tosca* and *Cavalleria* – alas, how loved by all Italians! – which plays *Giovinezza*, *Cosa piange*, *Pierrot* and the *Marseillaise*, all of them with the same forced joy, and I can never resist tossing some copper on the signora’s plate. These shrill notes are somehow connected to the mood of a Roman evening in the alleyways of common people.<sup>66</sup>

Once more it is clear that Rydelius’ sympathy is not with the high and mighty, but with “the little people”, the ordinary Roman. She is snide about the wealthy Italian aristocracy. Her reader might be well-educated and even well-to-do, but probably not upper class. Only in one instance does she talk slightly about the Italian, on regard to punctuality, which is considered important in Sweden, but less so in Italy. Then she states: “The Italian is in many aspects a big child, who says ‘subito’ ‘at once’ and means sometime in an hour”. Possibly she thought better of it, because the

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<sup>63</sup> Rydelius (1927), 12, 44, 103.

<sup>64</sup> For a fuller discussion of Rydelius’ descriptions of contemporary Roman life, see Burman (2016) 119–136.

<sup>65</sup> “Vid borden runtomkring idkas familjeliv: där sitta romerska arbetare med barn och blomma – även spädbarnen äro med vid mammans bröst – det spelas kort och pratas och drickes i all gemylighet. [...] Genom dörren ut till gatan är det ett ständigt kommande och gående: en barhuvad romersk husmor, som vill fylla sin fiasco med vin vid marmordisken, en gubbe som säljer oliver ur ett ämbar, en melecottaio, som bjuder ut helstekta äpplen och överräcker dem på en trästicka [...]” Rydelius (1927) 112–113.

<sup>66</sup> “För min del finner jag något rörande hos detta gatans instrument, som vevar fram sina arior ur *Bohème*, *Tosca* och *Cavalleria* – ack, så älskade av alla italienare – som spelar *Giovinezza*, *Cosa piange*, *Pierrot* och *Marseljäsen*, allt med samma tvungna glättighet, och jag kan aldrig låta bli att lägga kopparslantur på signorans tallrik. De gälla tonerna höra på något sätt ihop med romersk kvällstämning i småfolkets gränder.” Rydelius (1927) 113.

passage was removed in the fourth edition. Rydelius had the ambition to be neutral, even if she did not always succeed.<sup>67</sup>

Rydelius' treatment of Catholicism remains a surprising feature. Sweden had been a Lutheran country since the sixteenth century, and Protestantism was a fundamental part of early twentieth century Swedish identity. During the nineteenth century, nationalistic propaganda in both art and literature stressed the country's glorious past, especially the warrior kings of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. One of them was Gustavus Adolphus, the main enemy of the papal side in the Thirty Year War, and ironically enough father of Queen Christina.

In the 1920s, Sweden had a strong Lutheran state church, into which all citizens were born (although it was possible to leave). This meant that Swedes often criticized Catholicism and connected it with several negative qualities such as superstition, superficiality and sanctimoniousness. Swedish travellers to Rome often indulged in critique of the Catholic church, even if Sweden became slightly more tolerant after the ecumenical World Conference of Life and Work in Stockholm in 1925.<sup>68</sup>

In this context, it is astounding that Rydelius does not condemn Catholicism at all. She describes S. Pietro as "the supreme church in Christendom" and "the largest temple of Christendom", and both an *Ora pro Nobis* in S. Croce de'Lucchesi and a Sunday mass in S. Pietro are included in the programme. 'It goes against the grain to leave the city of the Holy Father without taking part in mass in S. Pietro and, if possible, a clerical procession, where the Catholic church displays a splendour with a century-long tradition.'<sup>69</sup> She also suggests that the traveller who comes to Rome at Easter should visit S. Pietro, where some ceremonies are described as both "solemn and magnificent" and others as beautiful in their "noble simplicity".<sup>70</sup>

Rydelius was a modern, secularized woman who did not marry in church. Still, her views of Catholicism are uncommonly unbiased for her time – she does not even falter when informing her reader that only the body of S. Caterina is kept in S. Maria sopra Minerva, while her head is on display in her hometown Siena. The writer tells the reader in detail of S. Cecilia's horrid death, concluding "thus speaks the pious legend". There might be a slight irony in this wording. In the fourth edition she concludes the story of a Trasteverian poet, who died from drink, with calling it – as well – a "pious legend".<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> "Italienaren är i många avseenden ett stort barn, han säger ofta 'subito', 'genast', och menar någon gång om en timme." Rydelius (1927) 110.

<sup>68</sup> For earlier Swedish travellers view on Catholicism, Lewan (1966). Views of Catholicism in the 1920s, Lindaräng (2007).

<sup>69</sup> "Det bär emot att lämna den helige faderns stad utan att ha sett en mässa i S. Pietro och om möjligt en kyrklig procession, där den katolska kyrkan utvecklar en prakt, som har seklers tradition." Rydelius (1927) 147. The church is called "kristenhetens förnämsta kyrka" and "kristenhetens största tempel", Rydelius (1927) 16, 21.

<sup>70</sup> "högtidlig och praktfull", "sin förnäma enkelhet". Rydelius (1927)148.

<sup>71</sup> "Så berättar den fromma legenden." Rydelius (1927) 80–81, 130. Rydelius (1938) 158. Poet, Rydelius (1954) 161. Marriage, Burman (2016) 35, 38.

## The changing city and the different editions

The editions of *Rom på 8 dagar* mirror a changing world.<sup>72</sup> The upper-middle-class tourist of 1927 arrived in Rome by train, knew several languages and was widely read, while the tourist of 1957 could just as well be lower middle class, who knew a little German at the most and arrived in Rome by chartered bus or even by airplane. When the first edition was published Mussolini had been Italy's leader for five years. By the time of the fourth edition, fascism was at its peak in Italy and a new world war was approaching. The sixth edition appeared when Italy was defeated and Europe was ravaged by war. The last edition was published in the year of Rydelius' death. In one way, we could talk about nine books instead of one, even though it might be more appropriate to label the revised edition of 1954 a patch-work, where old sections were artfully merged with new ones. They could also be viewed as nine snapshots of Rome and its tourists, taken over the span of thirty years.

During this period the city of Rome was transformed – not through bombing, like so many European cities, but through fascist city-planning. In the early twentieth century, ruins were rare in this ancient city, but by the twenties and thirties they were ubiquitous.<sup>73</sup> The main reason for this was the fascist concept of *romanità* – Romanity – which stressed the links between twentieth century fascism and imperial Rome. Mussolini's ambition was to follow in Augustus' footsteps and leave a new Rome for posterity. As early as March 1923, just six months after his march to Rome, he promised “una nuova Roma imperiale” (a new, imperial Rome).<sup>74</sup>

This transformation of Rome has been labelled another Sacco di Roma. Whole districts were demolished. During half a year the work on Via dell'Impero caused eleven streets and 5.500 rooms to disappear. Rome's working class population was moved to new suburbs. No Roman could avoid reacting to what was happening, and to make all Italians aware of the change and modernization some of the demolition work was filmed and shown nationwide.<sup>75</sup> The most prominent projects were the construction of the modern roads Via del Mare (1926–1930, today Via del Teatro

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<sup>72</sup> A posthumous edition was published in 1963, but was so thoroughly revised that it has very little in common with Rydelius' book. Thus, I exclude it from my discussion.

<sup>73</sup> Baxa (2010) 71, 81. Some of the changes are depicted in the official, self-glorifying *Roma* (1932), which was published to the tenth anniversary of Mussolini's rise to power.

<sup>74</sup> Painter (2005) 3 and Stone (1999) 205–220. Mussolini's promise, Niccoloso (2008) 33. From the start, the fascist party used classical Roman symbols. Its name is derived from *fasces*, the official symbols of the lictors, and it also adopted the so called Roman greeting, which we would call the nazi salute.

<sup>75</sup> Film, Baxa (2010) 58. Demolition, Estermann-Juchler (1982) 20, 55. Photos from the changing Rome of the early 20th century can be found at [www.mediatecaroma.it](http://www.mediatecaroma.it) (which also has films) and [www.romasparita.eu](http://www.romasparita.eu).

Marcello), Via dell'Impero (1931–1932, today Via dei Fori Imperiali), and Via della Conciliazione (1936–1938). These projects aimed both at emphasizing classical monuments and improving modern communications within Rome. Other building projects were more distinctly aimed at demonstrating the classical past, such as the uncovering of Augustus' mausoleum (1937) and the following demolition of the living quarters around it and the moving of the peace altar, Ara Pacis (1938). At the end of Mussolini's rule, the Pantheon was the only classical building still surrounded by narrow-alleyed medieval blocks.

When the first edition of *Rom på 8 dagar* appeared, the modern changes in Rome were comparatively few. Here, Rydelius mentions the Temple of Portunus (at the time usually called Fortuna Virilis) which she presumes was dedicated to the goddess Mater Matuta. The temple was restored in 1923–24, meaning that the restoration was finished during the time Rydelius lived in Rome. She may have been in the crowd at the inauguration. In the guidebook she says that the temple “has recently been reverentially restored. Mussolini, who inaugurated the temple, was the first one who signed his name in the ‘the book of strangers’.”<sup>76</sup> The word “reverentially” indicates that she approved of the restoration, and at this time she probably thought that Rome was a city where things were happening.

In 1925, the year Rydelius left Rome, work started on the new Via del Mare, which connected Rome to the sea. The street begins at Piazza Venezia, takes a turn around the Capitol, passes the theatre of Marcellus and leaves central Rome at the Piazza Bocca della Verità. The work was planned by Mussolini's favourite architect, Antonio Muñoz. The *liberazione* – uncovering and liberation – of the classical monuments was as central to the project as the construction of a modern thoroughfare. Muñoz hope to restore the Capitol to its former glory. To achieve this its residential quarters were demolished. The hill was left bare except for the ancient and renaissance buildings, and only an altar to the martyrs of fascism was added. The idea was to give the hill a “primitive” look. Close to Piazza Bocca della Verità, the Arch of Janus was uncovered and the early medieval church S. Giorgio in Velabro restored.<sup>77</sup> (fig. 7.5)

The most extensive changes in the Via del Mare project concerned the area around the Theatre of Marcellus. In the first edition of *Rome in 8 days* Rydelius depicts the neighbourhood around the theatre from the small Piazza Montanara: “Here we face the view of an unaccountable amount of ready-made clothing, which is sold in the dark shop dens, where trouser legs and braces wave in the breeze. According to some, Goethe's favourite tavern was the one situated opposite the well, but alas, so it is said about many taverns here in Rome [...].”<sup>78</sup> Piazza Montanara was considered

<sup>76</sup> “Det har nyligen på ett mycket pietetsfullt sätt restaurerats. Mussolini, som högtidligen invigde templet, är den förste, som i främlingsboken skrivit sin namnteckning.” Rydelius (1927) 125.

<sup>77</sup> The Capitol, Baxa 2010, p. 69f. The Arch of Janus and S. Giorgio in Velabro, Painter (2005) 10.

<sup>78</sup> “Här möter oss anblicken av en obeskrivlig mängd färdiggjorda kläder, som äro till salu i de svarta butikshälorna, byxben och hängslen fladdra för vinden. I vinstugan mitt emot brunnen påstås det, att



**Fig. 7.5:** The Theatre of Marcellus, photographed from Piazza Montanara. Fondazione Primoli, 6707/A.

picturesque. Augustus Hare's *Walks in Rome* (1871) notices that it has “a very pretty fountain” and that it is “one of the places where the country people collect and wait for hire”. He also gives a long quotation from Edmond About's *Rome Contemporaine* (1861), which describes the picturesque folk costumes and the vivid folk life.<sup>79</sup> Baedeker's 1909 edition of *Central Italy* describes it as “small but busy” and “much frequented by the country-people”.<sup>80</sup> These scenes were soon to disappear. For Mussolini and his architects, this plebeian piazza probably represented the opposite of the Rome they wanted. It was noisy and dirty. Farmers came there from the mountains to sell everything from vegetables to livestock, and there were several dark taverns, whether frequented by Goethe or not. The square also neighboured the old ghetto. A piazza like that had no place in fascist Rome. Undoubtedly anti-Semitism contributed to its destruction.<sup>81</sup>

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Goethe hade sin älsklingskrog, men ack, det säges om så många krogar här i Rom [...].” Rydelius (1927) 120–121.

<sup>79</sup> Hare (1871) 216–218.

<sup>80</sup> Baedeker (1909) 268.

<sup>81</sup> Baxa (2010) 87.

Rydelius romanticizes Piazza Montanara and depicts it as the essence of Rome. She talks about the “ghosts of different times” that we meet there, and she places herself and the reader at the piazza to get a better view of the Theatre of Marcellus.

Now the Jewish poor live their hardworking life in these black vaults, that are more like the dens of beasts than the residences of human beings, and the square is swarming with curly-haired women, begging children and bargaining merchants, mixed with peasants from the Alban hills and shepherds from Maremma.<sup>82</sup>

Rydelius also exoticizes the Jews of the ghetto, but at the same time she lets them represent something uniquely Roman.

At the first publication of *Rom på 8 dagar* the square still existed, but the uncovering of the theatre of Marcellus had commenced. All later additions, with the exception of the elegant Palazzo Orsini, were removed from the theatre, the shops disappeared from its vaults and the ancient Roman ground level was restored. Rydelius must have noticed the work on the theatre on her visit to Rome in the summer of 1926, which she implies in a short passage with the character of a later addition:

Diagonally across the square you can glimpse the old rotunda of the Theatre of Marcellus. The colliers and rag-and-bone merchants that for many years have dwelt in the almost two thousand-year old arcades now have to leave, because the energetic fascist regime has, among other things, also started work on the uncovering of the Theatre of Marcellus.<sup>83</sup>

The word “energetic”, which Rydelius uses to describe the fascist regime, could be positive, but it might also be sarcastic. Either way, she approved of the restoration of the ancient theatre. In the 1938 edition she writes that it nowadays “shows its elegant arcades in all their beauty”, and a certain excitement over this sudden revelation of the pure, classical surface might be traced in her words.<sup>84</sup> Still, the total destruction of Piazza Montanara pained her.

When there no longer was a Piazza Montanara in Rome, the description of it in it Rydelius’ book was transmuted into something altogether more romantic, an ideal of the bygone Rome. Such sentimentality is not uncommon in books on

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**82** “Nu lever judiskt fattigfolk sitt strävsamma liv i dessa svarta valv, som mera likna vilddjurshålor än bostäder för människor, och torget myllrar av krushåriga kvinnor, tiggande barn och schackrande månglare, blandade med bönder från Albanerbergen och herdar från Maremmerna.” Rydelius (1927) 122.

**83** “Snett emot skymtar Marcellusteaterns åldriga rundel, kolhandlare och lumphandlare ha länge hållit till i de nära tvåtusenåriga arkaderna men får nu ge sig därifrån, ty den energiska fascistiska regeringen har bland andra arbeten också satt igång med Marcellusteaterns friläggande.” Rydelius (1927) 121.

**84** Rydelius (1938) 148.



Rome. During the thirties she dedicates more and more space to this lost piazza. In previous editions, the tavern where “the green branch with leaves – the oldest sign of a restaurant in the world – waved in the wind”, was only a possibility, but in 1938 there was no doubt that this was the location of Goethe’s favourite osteria.<sup>85</sup> She also adds a quotation from Goethe’s *Römische Elegien* about waiting for the beautiful Faustina in the *osteria* La Campana. In the following editions, the sections on Piazza Montanara remained the same. Goethe becomes a beacon of hope in an era of change, as if the old German poet was a knight in shining armour who could defend the memory of Piazza Montanara against Mussolini’s pickaxe. The nineteen-thirties seem cold and inhospitable compared to Goethe’s days. Fascism and uncovered ancient monuments dominate where love and wine once ruled. (fig. 7.6)



**Fig. 7.6:** The Theatre of Marcellus today, surrounded by ruins instead of houses. Photo: The author.

Mussolini’s next building project also started from Piazza Venezia, but headed in the opposite direction, towards the Colosseum. The traffic situation in Rome was hopeless, and a new solution had been discussed for the last sixty years. Now a new road, Via dell’Impero, was built through the imperial fora, which had previously only been partially excavated. During the work on Via dell’Impero they were all excavated – albeit rather haphazardly – and the Colosseum and the Basilica of Maxentius were

<sup>85</sup> “Goethes osteria della Campana, över vars port den gröna lövruskan – världens äldsta restaurangskylt – vajade för vinden.” Rydelius (1938) 149.

uncovered. The hill Velia obscured the view of the Colosseum from Piazza Venezia and was therefore flattened. Many medieval houses and some later-day buildings were demolished.<sup>86</sup> (fig. 7.7) Via dell'Impero was a high-profile fascist project, reflecting both their love of modern technology and the ideal of *romanità*. The street provided a window into the past, where classical monuments surround the pedestrian or, more likely, the car driver. The road was inaugurated in 1932, on the tenth anniversary of the fascist seizing power. The Roman Forum had been the meeting place of the old Romans. Via dell'Impero was built for fascist military parades.<sup>87</sup> (fig. 7.8)



**Fig. 7.7:** The Roman Forum as it looked in Rydelius' days. The houses to the right were demolished during the construction of Via dell'Impero. Uppsala University Library.

The first edition of *Rom på 8 dagar* was published before the construction of Via dell'Impero and before the excavation of the imperial fora. As Rydelius writes a practical guidebook, she does not mention things that cannot be seen, so in the first edition she only stops briefly at Trajan's forum and mentions its numerous cats.<sup>88</sup> In the 1938 edition, Rydelius calls the building of the Via dell'Impero "the most important of the changes which Mussolini's regime has effected in Rome" and

<sup>86</sup> Velia, Melograni (2008) 125. For demolitions, see Painter (2005) 22, Baxa (2010) 84.

<sup>87</sup> Baxa (2010) 84. Military parades, e.g. Painter (2005) 25. Inauguration, Estermann-Juchler (1982) 56.

<sup>88</sup> Rydelius (1927) 32.



**Fig. 7.8:** Via dell'Impero, one of the new illustrations in the fourth edition of *Rome in 8 days* (1938).

claims that “even those who loved Rome as it was fifteen years ago must admit, that the construction of the new street, which also meant the uncovering of the imperial fora, has combined practical and aesthetic purposes well.” However she adds that a road in a tunnel might have been preferable, as it would have enabled more extensive excavations of the imperial fora.<sup>89</sup> In this edition, several new plates had been added of Via dell'Impero, as well as other sights. Rydelius liked to be in charge of her own books, and was probably responsible for choosing the photographs, both for the first edition of *Rom på 8 dagar* and of other books in the “eight-series”.<sup>90</sup> The literary style also indicates that she has written the texts. The caption of the picture of Via dell'Impero calls it a “monumental street”, while the caption of the photo of the Arc of Constantine more surprisingly does not mention the classical emperor, but instead that the fascist aviator Balbo passed through it after his transatlantic flight to Chicago in 1933.

<sup>89</sup> “[O]ch även den, som älskade Rom, sådant det tedde sig för femton år sedan, måste medge, att den nya gatans framdragning, som också medförde friläggning av kejsarfora, väl kombinerat praktiska och estetiska syften.” Rydelius (1938) 16.

<sup>90</sup> Burman (2016) 74–75.

Rydélius suggests that the reader take a cab and drive slowly down Via dell'Impero, looking at the imperial fora. The cab stops outside the “interesting marble maps of the Basilica of Constantine, which in an interesting way demonstrate the concept of *la romanità*, Rome’s dominion over the world.”

In black, light green and white marble, they show Rome’s development from a shepherd’s village – the size of a thumb-nail – a small white marble point in the black world of the barbarians. During the reign of Augustus the white marble spreads around the Mediterranean, under Trajan – when the Roman empire was at its peak – it is comprised of large areas in Asia and Africa and the fourth map shows a big white spot in the black Africa: Abyssinia. Undeniably clever propaganda!<sup>91</sup>

Rydélius might approve of the fascist excavations and traffic solutions, which facilitated everyday life in Rome. However, she could not refrain from using a sarcastic tone when mentioning their attempts at world domination.

Evidently, the demolitions carried out around the Via dell'Impero did not affect Rydélius like those around the Theatre of Marcellus. She shows no sentimentality whatsoever for the demolished medieval houses and the flattened Velia hill. This district did not have a Goethe to defend them, but there were other lingerers of somewhat lower intellectual standard:

Before the construction of the Via del [sic] Impero Rome’s stray cats had a sort of pensione at the Foro Traiano, where they lived a happy-go-lucky life thanks to a donation by an animal-loving English lady. Now they are said to have moved to the Pantheon, where no new-fashioned changes have been made and where a cat can enjoy the sun on classical ground some meters beneath the street level.<sup>92</sup>

In the first edition, Rydélius had mentioned the cats at the forum of Trajan. Now they join causes with Goethe and form a continuity between the old and the new Rome. Poetry and soft fur could be seen as the antithesis of hard fascism. Their vulnerability is, in a way, an act of resistance against the changing of the times.<sup>93</sup>

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**91** “Men låt oss återvända till Via del Impero, som vi kör långsamt fram för att stanna utanför Konstantinbasilikans intressanta marmorkartor, vilka på ett intressant sätt demonstrerar idén om *la romanità*, Roms herravälde över världen. I svart, ljusgrön och vit marmor skildras Roms utveckling från herdarnas by – stor som en tumnagel – en liten vit marmorpunkt i barbarernas svarta värld. Under Augustus har den vita marmorn spritt sig kring Medelhavet, under Trajanus, då romarriket nådde sin största utsträckning, omfattar det stora områden i Asien och Afrika och den fjärde kartan visar en stor vit fläck i det svarta Afrika: Abessinien. Onekligen en skicklig propaganda!” Rydélius (1938) 66. This passage was removed in Rydélius (1954) 69.

**92** “Innan Via del Impero anlades hade Roms alla hemlösa katter ett slags pensionat på Foro Traiano och levde ett sorglöst liv tack vare en donation av en djurvänlig engelsk miss. Nu lär de ha flyttat till Pantheon, där man inte gjort några nymodiga förändringar utan där en katt ännu kan sola sig på klassisk mark några meter under gatans nivå.” Rydélius (1938) 42–43.

**93** Today, the cats live among the ruins of Largo di Torre Argentina, which ironically enough was excavated during the fascist era. It is uncertain how many of the modern tourists that care or even know about Goethe.

A less prominent change in the cityscape was the uncovering of Augustus' mausoleum in 1937 and the display of the Ara Pacis the year after. When the first edition of *Rom på 8 dagar* was published the former was used as a concert hall, which is given a brief mention in the book.<sup>94</sup> The Ara Pacis, which was kept in the Museo delle Terme di Diocleziano, is not mentioned at all.<sup>95</sup> (fig. 7.9)



**Fig. 7.9:** The so-called *liberazione* of the Augusteo, consisting of the demolition of the later additions. American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive.

In October 1934 Mussolini officially started the demolition work around the mausoleum – he liked being photographed with a “piccone”, a pickaxe – and buildings in modern, fascist style were later erected. The ground level around the mausoleum was also lowered, as if it was the right of a citizen of fascist Italy to walk on the same ground as the old Romans. The newly restored mausoleum was inaugurated at the 2000 year anniversary of Augustus' birth in September 1937. Ara Pacis was reconstructed and awarded a new site between the mausoleum and the Tiber.<sup>96</sup> In the 1938 edition, Rydelius mentions the uncovering of the mausoleum, but without value

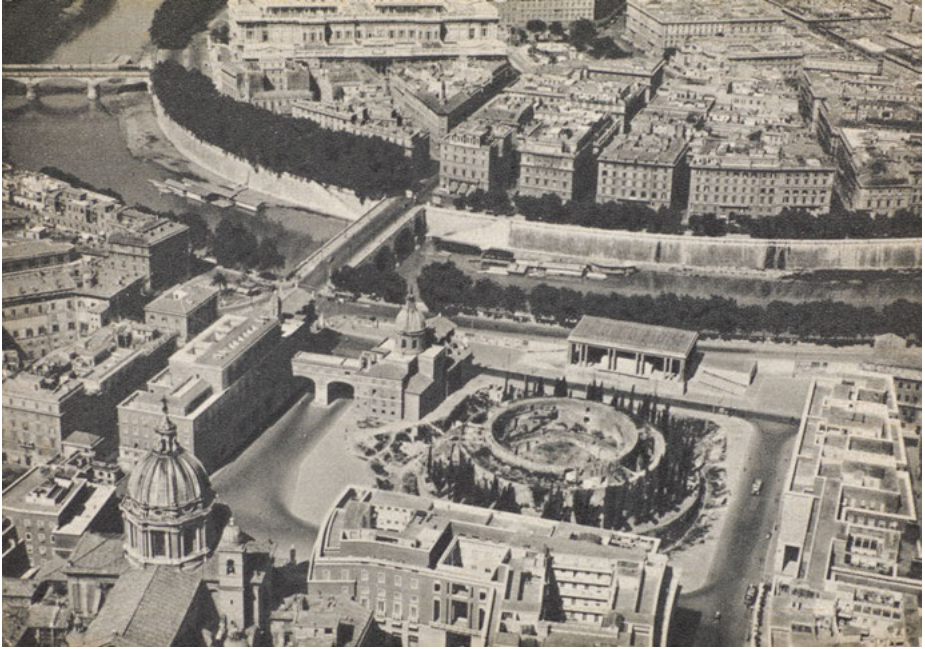
<sup>94</sup> Rydelius (1927) 57.

<sup>95</sup> Rydelius (1948) 77–78.

<sup>96</sup> Painter (2005) 73.



judgement. It is possible that she had not seen it. In the 1948 edition, however, Rydelius describes the altar and emphasizes the ugliness of the building that housed it – “a horrid modern building, shaped like a red stone cube”.<sup>97</sup> At this time, the altar could not be visited. (fig. 7.10)



**Fig. 7.10:** The mausoleum of Augustus after the demolitions. Uppsala University Library.

In 1954 the new, modernized edition of the book, was published: *Med Ellen Rydelius i Rom*. After the war, Sweden prospered, the welfare state was developing and from 1951 people in Sweden had the right to a three weeks holiday and thus a chance to go abroad. Rydelius herself was getting old. When the first edition was published she was 42, now she was 69 – old enough to have started receiving her state pension.

Now she had come to terms with the building which housed the Ara Pacis but either her views of the area around the mausoleum and Ara Pacis had changed or she had reached the age and fame when she could speak her mind. She describes the uncovered mausoleum as a “gigantic, round, naked mass of brick” and mentions that the Romans call the surrounding houses Sing-Sing. “We, who remember the

<sup>97</sup> “en ful modern byggnad i form av en röd stenkub”. Rydelius (1948) 76.

Augusteo from some decades ago, when the mausoleum was the foremost concert hall in Rome, spacious, beautiful and with splendid acoustics and surrounded by a close-packed plebeian block, mourn the view we have today.” Ara Pacis is today housed in a striking white building by the American architect Richard Meier, inaugurated in 2006.<sup>98</sup>

Rydelius certainly does not mince her words. She missed the Rome of her youth. The passage ends: “As a concert hall, the Augusteo had world wide fame.”<sup>99</sup>

Rome has always been the city of power – the emperor’s and the pope’s. After Italy’s unification in 1861, the relations between the city of Rome and the pope were far from perfect. The pope stayed in the Vatican and refused to acknowledge the secular Italian state. Mussolini’s attempts to reach a reconciliation finally succeeded and the Lateran treaty was signed in 1929, making the Vatican an autonomous state. This was a diplomatic achievement, which Mussolini wanted to commemorate. According to his habit he did so by interfering with the city plan, a new major street was constructed between Castel Sant’Angelo and the church of S. Pietro. As a result, the medieval district called the Borghi was demolished. One Italian researcher has called this demolition “la violenza più rovinosa che subì la città” – “the worst violence the city has experienced”.<sup>100</sup>

In the first edition of *Rom på 8 dagar*, Rydelius advises her reader to sit down “at the little piazza in front of Piazza San Pietro” for a vermouth or a coffee. Here, at Piazza Rusticucci, Rydelius and her reader turn their backs towards the Borghi and their eyes towards the church of S. Pietro. Rydelius does not describe the Borghi, as these blocks consisted of quite ordinary Roman houses, not something to dazzle the tourists. When she once more meets the view of S. Pietro’s in 1954 she muses on how a ‘true Roman piazza’ should look, how the houses should meet at an obtuse angle and that a fountain or a statue should mark the centre of the square: “And we romantic travellers, who knew Rome thirty odd years ago, remember with tender sadness how pleasant it was sitting at a café, looking out over the sunny piazza and the basilica.”<sup>101</sup> This late edition is the first one where

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**98** “Vad vi nu ser är en jättelik, rund, naken murstensmassa djupt nersänkt i marken med cypresser i en ring och ett stycke därifrån väldigt moderna höghus med arkader. Husen kallas av romarna Sing-Sing på grund av de små fönstren. Augusteos friläggning är ett sorgligt exempel på hur man kan förstöra en stämmingsfull vrå av Rom, där antikens minnen och nutidens liv förr sammansmälte till en harmonisk enhet. Vi som minns Augusteo för några decennier sedan, då mausoleet var Roms förnämsta konsertsal, stor, vacker och med förträfflig akustik och omgiven av ett tätt bebyggt folkligt kvarter, sörjer över den syn man nu ser.” Rydelius (1954) 176–177.

**99** “Som konsertsal hade Augusteo världsrykte.” Rydelius (1954) 177.

**100** Melograni (2008) 128, Painter (2005) 69–70.

**101** “Huslängorna som omger en äkta romersk piazza vill gärna möta varandra i trubbig vinkel, konturen rör sig i beständigt brutna linjer, så att den sluter sig om torget som en månghörning. Mitt på torget står en fontän eller staty, den markerar just centralkompositionen, den idylliska

she reviews the construction of the Via della Conciliazione. Her judgment was not lenient: “The construction of this dull street, which brutally broke up the unity of Piazza S. Pietro, is one of the worst street regulations that have occurred in the thirties. Through this, part of the beautiful blocks Borgo Nuovo and Borgo Vecchio disappeared, as well as the little Piazza Rusticucci close to the entrance of Bernini’s colonnade.” (fig. 7.11)<sup>102</sup>



**Fig. 7.11:** View from the cupola of St Pietro overlooking Piazza Rusticucci. Uppsala University Library.

From this evidence, one might assume that Rydelius was an architectural conservative. This is not the case. In her other guidebooks, she shows an interest in modern architecture, and in *New York på 8 dagar* she talks enthusiastically of the sky-scrapers and the “proud profile” of Manhattan, and as we have touched upon earlier, the 1938 edition of *Rom på 8 dagar* shows interest in contemporary architecture.<sup>103</sup> A photo shows the post office at the Piazza Bologna, and in the caption she calls it “beautiful”

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avrundningen. Och vi romantiska resenärer, som kände Rom för ett trettioårligt år sedan, minns med vemod, hur trivsamt det var att sitta vid ett kafé och blicka ut över det soliga torget och basilikan.” Rydelius (1954) 37, 40.

<sup>102</sup> “Framdragningen av denna trista gata, som brutalt bröt sönder Piazza S. Pietros enhet, är en av de olyckliga gaturegleringar som ägde rum under 30-talet. Därigenom försvann delar av de vackra kvarteren Borgo Nuova och Borgo Vecchio och den lilla Piazza Rusticucci nära ingången till Berninis kolonnad.” Rydelius (1954) 37.

<sup>103</sup> Rydelius (1939) 10.



and built in “the simple, functionalist style, which you often find in the modern districts”.<sup>104</sup> Functionalism was the predominant architectural style in Sweden at the time, and perhaps her reader could relate to the Italian interpretation of the concept. Rydelius also dedicates Thursday afternoon to shopping or a trip to Città Universitaria, “the magnificent student city” and the sports stadium Foro Mussolini, now called Foro Italico.



**Fig. 7.12:** A contemporary postcard, showing the Foro Mussolini. Uppsala University Library.

Rydelius discusses Mussolini’s ideas on architecture and his commission to the architect Marcello Piacentini to build the campus “not only for Rome but for Italy, and not only for our days, split as they are by artistic antagonism, but for coming centuries!” Rydelius’ description of Città Universitaria is filled with superlatives – she seems impressed by every building, especially the library, which she claims “fills every book lover with delight”. The only thing she does not like is the statue of Minerva, which she thinks a little too “posed”, but after entering “the high portico of six plain pilasters beneath an architrave” she calls the bar in the portico “elegant” and exclaims “oh, how Italian!”

Her view of Foro Mussolini is less enthusiastic – possibly Rydelius was not a sports-fan – and is more of an enumeration of its different elements. Here, she

<sup>104</sup> “den enkla, funktionalistiska stil, som man ofta finner i de moderna kvarteren”. Rydelius (1938), opposite 136.

mentions the “Monolito Mussolini”, an obelisk engraved with the words “DUX” and “MUSSOLINI”.<sup>105</sup> In the 1954 edition, the descriptions of the university and the Foro Italico are much the same, although Rydelius has removed the passage on Mussolini’s instructions to the architect. She still discusses the obelisk, but now with the addition that it is the only place in Rome where “the name of the fascist dictator is still displayed”.<sup>106</sup>

## Reviewing Rydelius’ views of Rome

Rydelius’ *Rom på 8 dagar* was a new kind of guidebook on the Swedish market. It was resolutely anti-Baedeker, more dedicated to leisurely strolling through the eternal city than to covering all sights. The book was intended for an educated, upper-middle-class tourist, but it sold well even after the war, when new groups started to travel and when coaches and airplanes slowly replaced trains. The book presents a surprisingly wide range of monuments, many of them thoroughly. Its small, handy format was practical, but what really attracted the audience was the narrator, who with a friendly air took her reader by the arm and guided us through Rome. Its popularity meant that it was printed in ten editions over a period of thirty years, all of them revised to be up to date.

We have seen how Rydelius time and time again condemned the result of Mussolini’s city-planning projects. She viewed the uncovered mausoleum of Augustus as ugly, she regarded Via della Conciliazione as “dull” (in contrast to the demolished Borghi, which she called “beautiful”) and mourned the loss of Piazza Montanara. On the other hand, she thought Via dell’Impero was practical, she appreciated the excavated imperial fora and regarded the beauty of the Theatre of Marcellus as much more apparent after the restoration. She cared about classical Rome, and she was suspicious towards the imperial claims of the fascists. To her, Rome was more than ancient monuments – it was a city of dirty, winding alleys and murky old buildings. She was no friend of straight angles and practical streets – she much preferred the old Rome, and summoned up dead poets like Goethe and ruin-loving cats in defence of the old city.

There is no wonder that Rydelius liked to surround her guidebook to Rome with myths about its creation. She wrote guidebooks to many cities, but this was her first.

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**105** “inte endast för Rom utan för Italien, och inte bara för vår tid, så upprörd och splittrad av konstnärliga motsättningar, utan för kommande sekler!” The library: “fyller varje bokälskare med tjusning.” The statue is called “tyvärr alltför poserande.” “Då vi trätt igenom den höga portiken av sex släta pilastrar under en arkitrav, finner vi – ack, så italienskt! – till höger en elegant bar”. Rydelius (1938) 132–133.

**106** “det enda ställe i Rom där fascistdiktatorns namn står kvar”. Rydelius (1954) 203–205.

Moreover, Rome was something special – Rome was emotional. In her last editions, Rydelius depicts not only the actual city, but also the Rome made of dreams, a city to which you could escape for a *Roman Holiday* – as Audrey Hepburn's princess did in 1953, at the time when Rydelius was revising her book for the fifties. Even in the first edition she asserts: "One always returns to Rome – that is more certain than returning to your first love."<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> "[M]an återvänder alltid till Rom, det är vissare än att man återvänder till sin första kärlek." Rydelius (1927) 180.

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Arnold Witte, Eva van Kemenade, Niels Graaf and Joëlle Terburg

## 8 Codifying the Genre of Early Modern Guidebooks: Oskar Pollak, Ludwig Schudt and the Creation of *Le Guide di Roma* (1930)

### Introduction

Ludwig Schudt's *Le Guide di Roma. Materialien zu einer Geschichte der römischen Topographie* (1930; Fig. 8.1) was and still is a pioneering bibliography within the field of research into early modern guidebooks to Rome. It was instantly recognised as a seminal work; the introduction to the *Choix de livres anciens rares et curieux en vente à la librairie ancienne Leo S. Olschki* (1936) which thematically focused on books about Rome, described it in the following manner: "It is the only extant bibliography that deals in a methodical and critical manner with this vast and complex subject of guidebooks to Rome . . . It is a precious tool for research and consultation of which one would wish there would appear a second, corrected and augmented edition."<sup>1</sup> Although various other bibliographies of guidebooks to Rome were published both before and since, *Le Guide di Roma* is still considered an indispensable tool for scholars; it has set the standard for the study of the development of early guidebooks up to the present day. For example, in 2014 Enrico Parlato stated that "In 1930 this phenomenon has been catalogued and masterfully reconstructed from its very beginnings until the modern period – from 1475 to 1899 – by Ludwig Schudt; a study that is rightfully famous and still today presents an indispensable tool for orientation in such a vast and varied material."<sup>2</sup> Schudt's major contribution is that his book not

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1 *Choix de livres* (1936) VII: "C'est le seul ouvrage bibliographique existant qui traite méthodiquement et avec critique le sujet vaste et complexe des guides de Rome . . . C'est un précieux instrument de travail et de consultation dont on doit souhaiter une seconde édition corrigée et augmentée.

2 Parlato (2014) 54: "Tale fenomeno è stato catalogato e magistralmente ricostruito, dai suoi esordi fino all'età contemporanea – dal 1475 fino al 1899 -, da Ludwig Schudt nel 1930, studio meritatamente famoso e ancora oggi strumento insostituibile per orientarsi in una materia così vasta e variegata." See also Hendrix (2014) 5: "The classical study on Roman guidebooks is L. Schudt, *Le guide di Roma: Materialien zu einer Geschichte der römischen Topographie*, Wien, Filser, 1930 . . ."

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**Note:** The research for this article was carried out by Eva van Kemenade, Niels Graaf and Joelle Terburg under the supervision of Arnold Witte, during a traineeship at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome. The authors wish to thank the many people that helped, assisted and advised them during this research, especially Alberto Caldana, Michael Schmitz and Lothar Sickel at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome, Friedrich Polleroß at the Art History Institute of the Universität Wien, Elisa Saltetto at the Österreichische Historische Institut in Rome, and Janet Mente at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome.

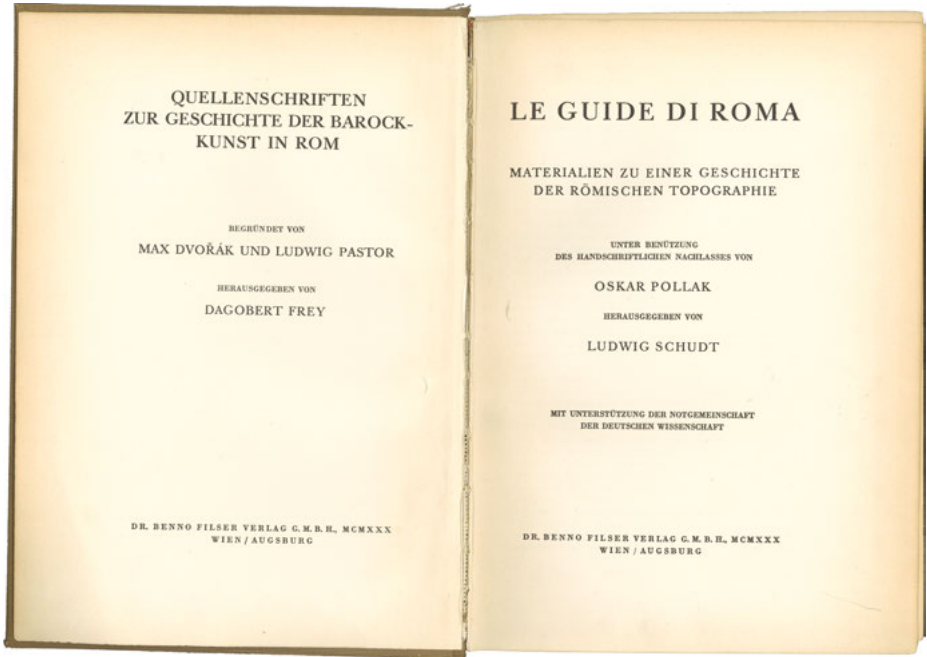


Fig. 8.1: Title page of Ludwig Schudt, *Le Guide di Roma*, Vienna/Augsburg 1930. Photo: KNIR.

only consisted of an extensive bibliography, but also offered the reader a long introductory text offering an interpretation of the phenomenon.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, Schudt's book also circumscribed the traditional limits to the genre, determining what is, and what is not, considered to be a guidebook.

Traditions, however, are constructions in which historical events are moulded into a pattern and valued accordingly by the historian; this is also the case with Ludwig Schudt's bibliography. As a "site of knowledge", it is thus neither fully rational nor uncomplicated. This coincides with the issue of historical practice, meaning the analysis of what historians do when they "perform" their research.<sup>4</sup> Recently, it has been suggested that historians should expand the frontiers of this performative analysis to the academic use of archives. Instead of positing that the

<sup>3</sup> Early bibliographies were never considered as influential as Schudt's, for they either covered only part of the period or they were not as comprehensive and structured, and most importantly, lacked any interpretative discussion. Key publications among these early bibliographies are Martinelli (1653), Mandosio (1682), Ranghiasi (1792), Calvi (1908), and Calvi (1910). Most recent is Rossetti (2000), which extended the period to the end of the nineteenth century and also included guidebooks to particular collections and museums. For a more detailed discussion of early bibliographies on guidebooks to Rome, see Caldana (2003) 39.

<sup>4</sup> See Becker/Clark (2001), and Risbjerg Eskildsen (2008) 425–453.



archive were a neutral repository of facts for historical scholarship, scholars should investigate what role archives ‘actually played’.<sup>5</sup> In other words, scholarly activities should begin with an exploration of the practice of collecting and selecting, and only then move on to describing and analysing. So, in order to uncover the process that eventually led to the codification of the genre of guidebooks, this article analyses the personal dimension of one of its principal bibliographies: *Le Guide di Roma*. It will focus on the “doings” that took place in the creation of this publication, arguing that it is embedded in scholarly methods and the social world of the bibliographer. Public libraries played a crucial role in its creation, but so did booksellers and private book collections.

Finally, as Schudt’s work was heavily dependent on a manuscript bibliography of early modern guidebooks to Rome, compiled by Oskar Pollak, the latter holds a crucial but hitherto neglected position in the preparatory process, and thus also in the final product. In researching the genesis of Schudt’s classification of the printed guides to Rome, its antecedents should be traced in Pollak’s work, and its impact on the subsequent codification of the genre. What will become clear is that both selection and subsequent analysis of the genre are the result of concepts and values of judgement that pertained to the discipline of art history in the period around 1900. From this, it also follows that the *Guide di Roma* can no longer be considered an authoritative study of early modern guidebooks without taking into account how the historical codification of this genre around 1900 deviates from present-day criteria of what a guidebook is, and how its genre developed under the influence of early modern travel cultures and cultural exchange.

## From Schudt back to Pollak

Within the conception of *Le Guide di Roma*, Oskar Pollak (1883–1915) holds a crucial position, as Schudt’s work was based on the former’s bibliography, compiled more than two decades before its publication.<sup>6</sup> This was acknowledged on the title page of the publication (Fig. 8.1), but was largely ignored at the time of publication and has not, as yet, been the subject of further research.<sup>7</sup> In modern-day historiography, little more is known about Pollak than his short-lived adolescent correspondence in the years around 1900 with his classmate Franz Kafka, in whom he seems to have incited an interest in the visual arts.<sup>8</sup> Pollak himself graduated from the University of Prague

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<sup>5</sup> Friedrich/Müller/Riordan (2017) 5.

<sup>6</sup> This was briefly discussed by Caldana (2003) 34–36.

<sup>7</sup> For a contemporary response mentioning only Schudt as author, see “Review” (1930).

<sup>8</sup> Ladendorf (1961) 294; see also Koch (1999) 391 and 643. For a general biography of Pollak, see Blumesberg/Doppelhofer/Mauthe (2002) vol. 2, 1060.

in art history and archaeology in 1907.<sup>9</sup> He wrote his PhD dissertation on the sculptors Johann and Ferdinand Maximilian Brokoff. This work was published in 1910 and, through its biographical lens, offers a history of the diffusion of the Austrian Baroque in Eastern Europe.<sup>10</sup> In the autumn of 1907, he had already received his first scholarship from the Austrian Historical Institute in Rome (Österreichische Historische Institut or ÖHI) – an institution to which he returned regularly in subsequent years. In 1910, Pollak became assistant to Max Dvořák at the Art History Institute of Vienna University and, in January 1914, he was appointed secretary at the Austrian Historical Institute in Rome, under the supervision of its then director, the historian Ludwig von Pastor.<sup>11</sup>

In 1915, just after the start of the First World War, his promising career came to an abrupt end when he died at the Isonzo Front, fighting as a volunteer against the Italians alongside the Austrians.<sup>12</sup> After his death, his manuscripts and notes were donated to the Art History Institute of Vienna University, where parts were edited by other scholars – such as his ample material on patronage under Pope Urban VIII, which was published in two volumes by Dagobert Frey in 1928 and 1931.<sup>13</sup> Ludwig Schudt, who as fellow at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome in the 1920s was finishing his thesis on the seventeenth-century guide to Rome by Giulio Mancini, was suggested by Von Pastor as the right candidate to complete the bibliography. Pollak's material on the guidebooks was, therefore, handed over to him in 1922 by the Austrian art historian, and Head of the Viennese Art History Institute, Dagobert Frey.<sup>14</sup>

In his introduction to *Le Guide di Roma*, Schudt describes the Pollak papers as consisting of three card indexes, of which the first lists the guides in alphabetical order, the second in chronological order and the third contains a list of monographs on the subject.<sup>15</sup> The manuscript also included a piece of paper on which Pollak had

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**9** Archiv der Universität Wien, Vienna: Rektoratsarchive – Akademischer Senat – Personalblätter (19.-20. Jh), 2908 Pollak Oskar, fol. 3r.

**10** Pollak (1910).

**11** Archiv der Universität Wien, Vienna: Rektoratsarchive – Akademischer Senat – Personalblätter (19.-20. Jh), 2908 Pollak Oskar, fol. 26r.

**12** Tietze (1915) and Pastor (1917).

**13** It can be assumed that either Franz Juraschek or Max Dvořák was responsible for the incorporation of his personal archive into that of the university's Art History department. See Archiv des Instituts für Kunstgeschichte, Universität Wien, Vienna: II – Nachlässe – Pollak, Oskar, 6.1: "Pollak Nachlass (altes Nachlassverzeichnis, tlw. Typoskript)". For the Frey publication, see Pollak (1928) and Pollak (1931).

**14** Wolff Metternich (1961–1962) 8.

**15** Schudt (1930) VII: "Das Manuskript Pollaks bestand aus drei Zettelkatalogen, von denen der erste ein alphabetisches und der zweite ein chronologisches Verzeichnis der Guiden enthielt. Der dritte Zettelkatalog enthielt die Monographien der einzelnen Bauwerke. Einige lose Blätter des Konvoluts enthielten Exzerpte vorwiegend aus den Werken von Richter und Jordan, auf einem weiteren Blatt waren einige ganz allgemeine Skizzen für die Disposition des Stoffs gegeben." (Pollak's manuscript consisted of three card catalogues. The first contained an alphabetic and the second a chronological

outlined how the material in his planned bibliography should be arranged. Schudt readily admits that Pollak's preparatory research was of enormous assistance in collecting the vast variety of different guidebooks, which the latter had traced in numerous public libraries, private collections and antiquarians' storage rooms. However, both he and Dagobert Frey emphasized that the content, consisting of the topographical description and classification of the books, was solely Schudt's work.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, they state that Pollak had researched the contents of Roman libraries only, leaving to Schudt the substantial task of consulting other important libraries outside of Rome and outside of Italy. Consequently, Pollak's contribution to the definition of the genre of early modern guidebooks, or how he came to study its development, has not entered the historiography of the genre.

## Contents of *Le Guide di Roma*

Before we can analyse the precise relationship between Pollak's groundwork and Schudt's additions and editing, it is important to outline the structure of the book as published in 1930. First of all, *Le Guide di Roma* is much more than a bibliography: it structures and classifies the genealogy of these guidebooks, moulding the genre into a certain pattern. In order to do this, the first part of the *Guide di Roma* focuses on the development of the genre, and therefore offers the reader the main concepts governing what the characteristics of a guidebook were considered to be in the early modern period; this part is subdivided into three chapters. It deals with approximately fifty guides, considered to be key publications, and their various editions, dating from the fifteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, although there is a particular focus on guides published between 1640 and 1760.

The description of the development of the genre starts with a short introduction on medieval *Mirabilia*, which, according to Schudt, provide only limited information on the architecture and interior embellishment of the church buildings in Rome.<sup>17</sup> They, therefore, derive their importance to the genre of guidebooks from the fact that the *Mirabilia* provided it with its basic quadripartite structure, in which a general history of the city is followed by a listing of all the churches, with a separate part on the seven main basilicas of the city, and a list of all the stations in

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index of guidebooks. The third card catalogue contained monographs of individual buildings. Some loose pages contained excerpts, mainly from the publications by Richter and Jordan. Another sheet contained some very sketchy ideas on the structuring of the material.)

<sup>16</sup> Schudt (1930) VI.

<sup>17</sup> Schudt (1930) 24: "Der Wert der 'Indulgentiae' für die Kunstgeschichte ist nicht allzu groß. Das Verzeichnis der Kirchen ist noch weit davon entfernt, auch nur einigermaßen vollständig zu sein." (The value of these 'Indulgentiae' for the history of art is not that great. The list of churches is still far from being complete.) For a modern discussion of late medieval guidebooks, see Miedema (2003).

the ecclesiastical calendar. Andrea Palladio's *Descrizione de le Chiese, Stationi, Indulgenze & Reliquie de Corpi Sancti* . . . (1554) is then presented as a key publication that illustrates the transition towards 'real' guides, as it provided a new geographical order for the description of the churches, with more information on their architectural and artistic qualities, and a discussion of other monuments in the city. Girolamo Franzini's publications of 1587 and 1588 embodied a further evolution into an influential type of guide – in later decades usually known as *Roma antica e moderna* – as it was the first with illustrations, while also offering a wealth of information on artists and modern works of art in the city. Therefore, in Schudt's eyes, Franzini's book represented the first real art historical introduction to Rome.<sup>18</sup> The next key publication, Pietro Martire Felini's *Trattato nuovo delle cose meravigliose* (1610), was designated by Schudt as a true landmark in the development of the genre.<sup>19</sup> It provided an entirely new order of *sette chiese*, which would be imitated until the eighteenth century, and further showed an increased interest in the city's monuments.

Schudt proceeds into the seventeenth century by stating that the genealogy of that era is less linear than in the *Cinquecento*; authors give a more particular stamp and direction to their guides. An element of increasing importance in his analysis is the originality of the text – whether an author is able to offer first-hand observations or is just repeating information taken from other guides. Therefore, Schudt divides the Baroque production into "scientific" guides and "non-scientific" guides, the latter generally defined as popular or minor publications that pay less attention to the latest developments in the city. Within the first group, Schudt singles out three key publications. Firstly, Pompilio Totti's *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (1636) instigated a new disposition: Rome was now described in terms of *giornate*, or days a visitor could spend in the city, that were organized around various *rioni*, or neighbourhoods.<sup>20</sup> The significance of Filippo Titi's *Studio di pittura, scultura ed architettura* (1674) lies in the fact that it mentioned many sculptures and paintings for the first time, which, according to Schudt, makes it a primary source for the study of Baroque art.<sup>21</sup> The third key publication, according to Schudt, is *Roma antica e moderna* (ed. 1745 and 1750) by Gregorio and Nicola Roisecco, in which the description of ancient Rome is for the first time interlaced with a description of modern Rome.<sup>22</sup>

In Chapter Two, Schudt discussed guides that, according to him, fall under the subcategory of scientific topography. The books in this subgenre give a thorough art

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<sup>18</sup> Schudt (1930) 31–32.

<sup>19</sup> Schudt (1930) 34–37.

<sup>20</sup> Schudt (1930) 43–47.

<sup>21</sup> Schudt (1930) 48–54.

<sup>22</sup> Schudt (1930) 56–60.

historical description of the Roman monuments from antiquity to the modern era.<sup>23</sup> Within this subcategory, he identified three key publications: *Sette Chiese* (1570) by Onofrio Panvinio, *Historia delle stazioni di Roma* (1588) by Pompeo Ugonio and Ottavio Panciroli's *Tesori nascosti* (1600). Schudt is entirely silent on what might differentiate these guides from the "scientific" guidebooks of the first subcategory, but it can be assumed, on the basis of his discussion of their contents, that topographical works were intended, not for travellers, but for antiquarians and humanists. This is also suggested by the fact that these texts were no longer subdivided into *giornate*, or days in which the city could be visited. On the other hand, the inclusion of Panciroli's *Tesori nascosti* is not consistent with such a demarcation; what it does offer is, again, an accurate description of all the art historical monuments from antiquity to the moment of publication. Here, we already see an indication of other criteria that have left their (implicit) mark on the codification of what a guidebook is.

The third chapter discusses the subcategory of pilgrim manuals, characterized according to their intention to provide the reader with an extensive description of sacred sites in Rome. These guides are also measured according to the criteria of whether or not they provide useful information on contemporary art in churches – the enumeration of relics and feast days of saints in particular churches is considered uninteresting. For that reason, rare texts, such as the *Sacro Pellegrinaggio* by Francesco Maria Torrigio (1625) and the equally precious *Tesori dell'anno Santo* by Marsilio Honorato (1649), are singled out by Schudt as being of particular value. These publications were not highlighted because they set a standard or were widely read, copied or imitated, in other words, meeting the criteria underlying this particular subgenre of book production, but because they offered valuable contemporary information on Baroque art. This anachronistic criterion is even more pertinently applied in the discussion of the subgenre of poetic descriptions – Schudt literally states that these poems very seldom contain interesting factual information on the works of art discussed. Finally, translations into other languages offer next to nothing in original information; Schudt states that they are mostly "worthless" – as they copy information from Italian guidebooks and are not based on the personal observations of their authors.

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**23** Schudt (1930) 95: "Unter wissenschaftlicher Topographie des modernen Rom verstehe ich eine möglichst vollständige Beschreibung der Stadt, die jedes einzelne künstlerisch oder entwicklungs-geschichtlich bedeutsame Monument, seien es Kirchen, Paläste, Villen, Brunnen oder die Obeliskten, die heute das Stadtbild bestimmen, nach der geschichtlichen und künstlerischen Seite hin gleichmäßig behandelt." (By the scientific topography of modern Rome, I mean the most detailed description of the city that uniformly discusses every single monument of artistic or historical significance, from palaces, villas and fountains to obelisks, which today determine the cityscape, with respect to their historical and artistic value).

Two appendices, on antiquarians and on volumes that deal with singular monuments, finally offer a brief description of books that, according to Schudt, fall outside of the strict boundaries of the genre of guidebooks. Antiquarian publications are, according to him, of little interest – because of the lack of references to contemporary artists and architects – while works on individual buildings, on the other hand, gain special relevance from the fact that these texts often contain a wealth of information on the artists involved at various moments in their construction and embellishment. This notwithstanding the fact that, as Schudt admits, books on single churches, palaces and villas can scarcely be considered as falling within the genre of guidebooks.<sup>24</sup>

## Selecting sources

What is indicative of Schudt's approach is the remark at the beginning of the third chapter: "With the last editions of Titi, Roisecco and Ridolfino Venuti. . . , the high tide of guidebooks comes to a halt. The reason is easy to see: the period of intensive building activities during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which represented the true creative period of Roman art, had ended."<sup>25</sup> This illustrates most clearly how, for Schudt, the genre of guidebooks was not a source about the culture of tourism and what visitors to Rome longed to see; instead, his interpretation was guided by questions of modern art and architecture. What is more, it undervalued what happened after 1800 in art and architecture – not because nothing was created, but because nothing he considered to be of importance was produced. Here, we see a depreciative evaluation of Classicist and nineteenth-century art poking through.

Even though Schudt does reflect in his conclusion on the question whether early modern travellers to Rome made use of, i.e. referred to, these guidebooks – and he concludes here that the ancient ruins were often of far greater interest to them than the latest alterations and embellishments of more modern monuments – this perspective had little impact on how he defined the genre of guidebooks and which

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<sup>24</sup> Schudt (1930) 161: "Monographien und Guiden haben wenig Berührungspunkte miteinander. Zu Beginn dieses Abschnittes wurde auf die Verschiedenheit der Gesichtspunkte, von der beide Schriftengattungen ausgehen, hingewiesen. Im Verlauf der Darstellung sahen wir, daß sich eigentlich nur um den Vatikan eine ausgesprochene periegetische Literatur gebildet hat." (Monographs and guidebooks have little to do with each other. At the beginning of this section, the different perspectives from which both genres originate has been pointed out. During our discussion, we saw that a distinctly periegetic literature was actually only written about the Vatican.)

<sup>25</sup> Schudt (1930) 77: "Mit den letzten Auflagen Titis und Roiseccos sowie der noch zu besprechenden Topographie des Ridolfino Venuti ist die große Zeit der Guiden zu Ende. Der Grund ist leicht anzugeben: die umfangreiche Bautätigkeit, die sich im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, der eigentlich schöpferischen Epoche der römischen Kunst, entfaltet hatte, war abgeschlossen."

guides he considered key publications. What he does not even explain at all is the *reason* why publishers were urged to publish ever new and updated, and “modern” guides, and for what kind of a public, so the dynamics of the culture of early modern tourism to Rome are ignored completely. An analysis of the genealogy of guides as presented in *Le Guide di Roma* leads to the conclusion that original observations by the authors versus plagiarism constitute the two main poles of his value system. Schudt reserves his praise primarily for guides that provide an accurate inventory of works of art and their creators, not for those that were important to the culture of travelling.

Although his classification of the genre is today used by scholars from all kinds of disciplines, such as literary studies and book studies, *Le Guide di Roma* was principally conceived as a tool for art historians. In fact, Schudt explicitly refers to the function of his bibliography for art history; in his introduction he explains his emphasis on guides published between 1640 and 1760, in that this was the time “... when the guidebooks gained their main importance for the history of early modern art in Rome.”<sup>26</sup> In other words, the *Guide di Roma* does not offer an internal genealogy of the genre based on historical development of the contents of these guides and their contemporary use, but instead it singles out and evaluates guides from the perspective of the early twentieth-century art historian, introducing into its genealogy a pre-existing evaluation of certain periods of art history.

## Pollak’s “groundwork”

The particular purpose of *Le Guide di Roma* as an inventory of art historical sources was not conceived by Schudt, but by its initiator: Oskar Pollak. This was alluded to on the title page of the book and in the preface to Schudt’s publication by Frey, who stated, however, that he had handed over a mere unfinished card catalogue with many titles still to be checked, thereby diminishing Pollak’s contribution.<sup>27</sup> In fact, the card system that Schudt received to prepare the *Guide*

<sup>26</sup> Schudt (1930) 6: “. . . wo die Guiden ihre Hauptbedeutung für die Geschichte der neueren Kunst in Rom gewinnen.”

<sup>27</sup> Frey in Schudt (1930) VI: “Sein alleiniges Werk ist die Ordnung und Gruppierung des umfangreichen Materiales und vor allem die wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung hinsichtlich der Einstellung und Anordnung der topographischen Beschreibung, ihrer quellenmäßigen Grundlagen und des Filiationsverhältnisses der Ausgaben. In dieser Hinsicht muß das vorliegende Buch als seine durchaus selbständige Arbeit gelten.” (His [Schudt’s] personal contribution consisted in ordering and structuring the extensive material and, more particularly, in the scientific discussion of the goals and structures of topographical descriptions, their fundamental sources and the relationships between the works. From this point of view, the present book must be understood as his original contribution.) In his own introduction on page VII, Schudt states that “(. . .) mir die Notizen Pollaks

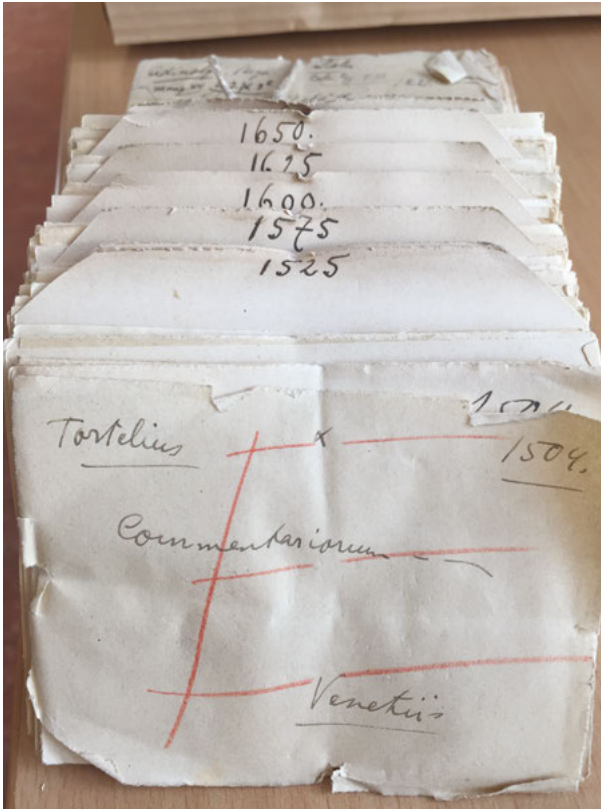


Fig. 8.2: Part of the chronological card index; Oskar Pollak Archive 6.6 Kartei B, AIK. Photo: Authors.

*di Roma* is still preserved in the archive of the Art History Institute in Vienna (Fig. 8.2). It shows that a large part of the preparatory work had already been carried out and that Pollak's contribution was actually more important than it was made to seem. Indeed, were it not for Pollak's initial interest in the subject of guidebooks, none of the book would ever have been written. His attention was originally attracted to these kinds of sources because he deemed them valuable for his research on Roman Baroque art. From his bimonthly reports on the research he conducted during his scholarship at the Austrian Historical

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vor allem für die Sammlung des Materials und die Bibliographie von sehr großem Nutzen gewesen; für den Text meines Buches dagegen habe ich nur einige ganz allgemeine Anregungen aus den übernommenen Aufzeichnungen ziehen können." (. . . Pollak's notes, in particular on the collection and bibliography, have been extremely useful to me; however, for the text of my book I have only been able to use some more general suggestions from his notes.)



Institute, it can be deduced that his bibliography was initially a side product of his main research, which centred on Francesco Borromini and Pietro da Cortona and the arts during the papacies of Urban VIII, Innocent X and Alexander VII. This is confirmed by Frey's preface in *Le Guide di Roma*, as well as the preface to Pollak's *Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*, which was published by Frey.<sup>28</sup>

Gradually, however, the bibliography developed into a project in its own right. Pollak's annotations grew into an extensive and detailed system of cards, on which were recorded meticulously the exact title and the libraries where he had consulted these books or references to certain editions he had found in the catalogues of booksellers (Fig. 8.3). In fact, as well as carrying out research in libraries, Pollak also started to buy copies of certain guidebooks for his own collection. In his bibliographical system, he indicated which copy he owned by means of an omega on the respective card (Fig. 8.4), and in these books themselves he either wrote his name (Fig. 8.5) and/or pasted his ex-libris (Fig. 8.6). A large part of his rare books is still preserved in two Roman collections: the majority lies at the Royal Netherlands Institute (acquired in 1925)<sup>29</sup> and an additional group has been traced in the collection of the Bibliotheca Hertziana (acquired in the same year).<sup>30</sup> The combination of the original card catalogue, with annotations and remarks, and the books of his own collection extant in these two institutions allows for a thorough re-evaluation of Pollak's contribution to Schudt's publication.

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**28** Frey in Schudt (1930) V: "Die erste Materialsammlung auf diesem Gebiete hatte Pollak wohl nur als Hilfsapparat für die von ihm vorbereiteten Monographien über Borromini und Pietro da Cortona angelegt. Es ist für seine streng historische Arbeitsweise sehr bezeichnend, daß diese Vorarbeit ihm unter den Händen über ihre besondere Zweckbestimmung hinauswuchs und aus ihren eigenen Problemstellungen heraus für ihn selbständige Bedeutung gewann." (The first collection of material in this area was probably started only by Pollak as a practical tool for his planned monographs on Borromini and Pietro da Cortona. It is characteristic for his strictly historical working method that this preparatory work outgrew this particular purpose and gained independent significance.)

**29** "Jaarverslag" (1925) xvi: "De afdeeling 'Topographie van Rome en van Italië' werd vooral uitgebreid en in meer dan een opzicht afgerond door den aankoop uit ons geschonken gelden, van een aanmerkelijk aantal, deels zeldzame, oude boekwerken uit de nalatenschap van Dr. Oskar Pollak, vóór den oorlog verbonden aan het Oostenrijksche Historische Instituut." (The section "Topography of Rome and Italy" was mainly expanded and completed in more than one respect through a substantial amount of, partly rare, old books from the estate of Dr. Oskar Pollak, who was affiliated with the Austrian Historical Institute before the war. This purchase was made with the help of a financial donation.)

**30** Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, Institutsarchiv, Schachtel 18,5: *Jahresbericht der Bibliotheca Hertziana 1924/1925* (mit 2 Anlagen und 8 photographischen Aufnahmen), 5: "Einen besonders glücklichen Kauf machte die Bibliothek aus dem Nachlass des im Weltkrieg gefallenen römischen Forschers Dr. Oskar Pollak. Es wurden hier einige Bücher über Rom erworben, die heute im Buchhandel fast unauffindbar sind." (A felicitous acquisition was made by the library from the estate of the Roman academic Dr. Oskar Pollak, who died during the Great War. A number of books on Rome were bought, which are, in today's book market, hard to find.) These acquisitions were recorded in two batches, in the *Zugangsbuch* of the Hertziana Library, under the year 1925.

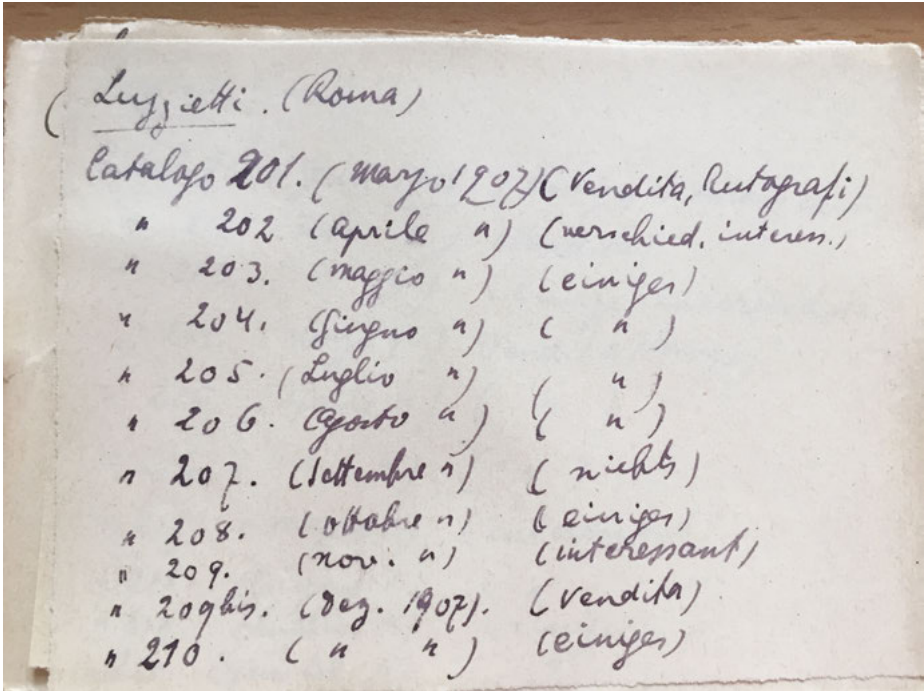


Fig. 8.3: Index card with references to the Luzzietti catalogues of antiquarian books. Oskar Pollak Archive 6.6 Kartei Literatur, AIK. Photo: Authors.

## On method and (personal) inspiration

The project of the *Guide di Roma* was slow in the making and came about as a result of the various possibilities offered by the Roman context. Pollak had already embarked upon the enormous task of gathering material on guidebooks during his first stay at the Austrian Historical Institute in 1907, as that year's list of ÖHI fellows and their research themes indicates.<sup>31</sup> Pollak's bimonthly reports from 1909 onwards mention his continuous quest for material. In February of that year, for example, he noted that "the gathering of material for the bibliography of guidebooks was greatly extended, by exploring the bibliographies and library catalogues of Coletti (1779), Haze (1821), Lichtental (1844), Borghese (1892–93), Mangoni (1893), and the sales catalogues of Loescher, Lang, Luzzietti and Benedetti."<sup>32</sup> Two months later, he had obviously

<sup>31</sup> Archiv des Österreichischen Historischen Instituts, Rome, I.5, *Mitgliederverzeichnis 1890/1–1908/9 (Mit Arbeitsthemen)*: "1907/08: Pollak dr. Oskar (5 Monate – 1. November 1907 – Ende März 1908. Danach bis Ende Juni als a.o. Mitgl. Borromini / Kunst-Bibliographie Roms / Rom (Umbrien)."

<sup>32</sup> Archiv des Österreichischen Historischen Instituts, Rome, I.5, *Berichte 1909/10–13/14*: Bericht über den Monat Februar 1909: "Die Materialsammlung zur Guidenbibliographie wurde stark

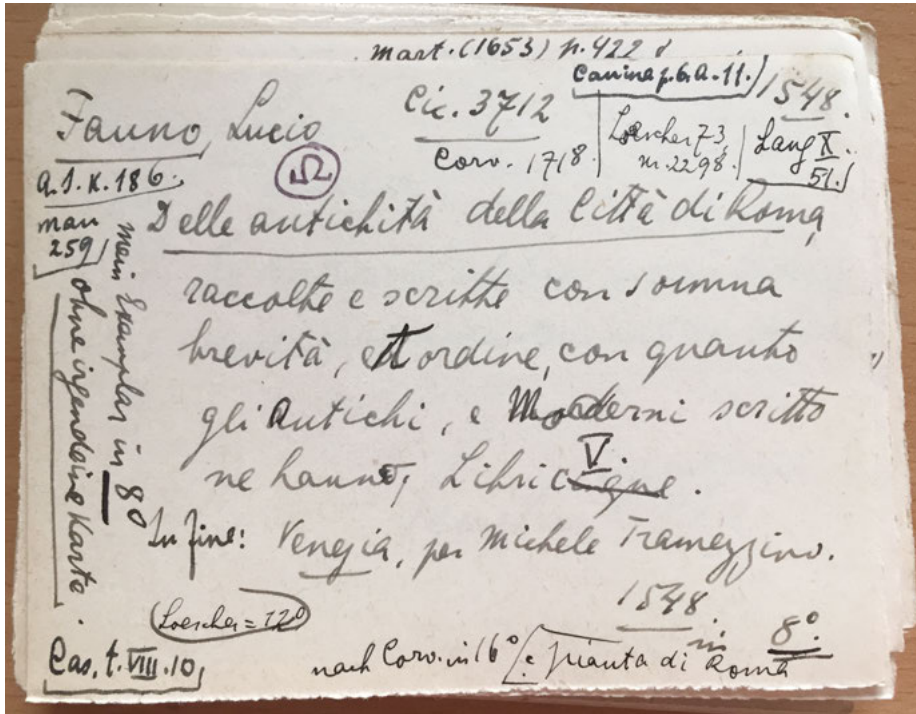


Fig. 8.4: Index card with title description of Lucio Fauno, *Delle Antichità della Città di Roma* with ownership mark. Oskar Pollak Archive 6.6 Kartei A, AIK. Photo: Authors.

progressed to studying particular publications, such as Martinelli, Platner-Bunsen and Jordan, which also referred to earlier guidebooks – so he continued collecting bibliographical references.<sup>33</sup> In subsequent months, he sifted through the catalogues of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, the Biblioteca Casanatense, the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, as well as other sources.

vermehrt, indem die Bibliographien, resp. Bibliotheks-Kataloge von Coletti (1779), Haze (1821), Lichtental (1844), Borghese (1892–93), Mangoni (1893), ferner die Lagerkataloge von Loescher, Lang, Luzzietti und Benedetti exzerziert wurden”

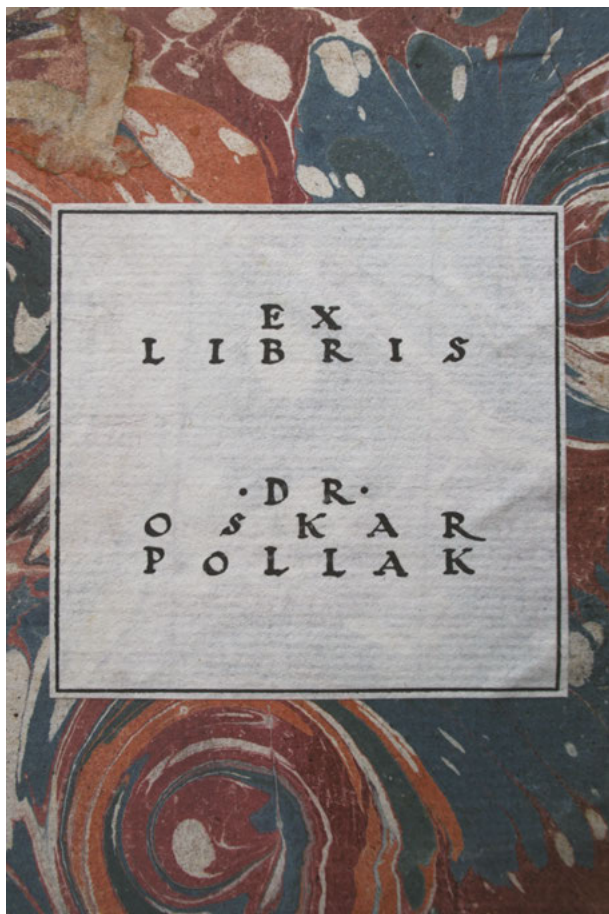
<sup>33</sup> Archiv des Österreichischen Historischen Instituts, Rome, I.5, *Berichte 1909/10–13/14*, Bericht über die Arbeiten im Monate März. 1909: “Die Bibliographie der römischen Stadtführer und Topographien wurde weitergeführt, indem die Werke: Martinelli (*Roma ex ethnica sacra*, 1653), Platner-Bunsen (*Beschreibung Roms*, 1829), Jordan (*Topogr. d. St. Rom* 1901), welche kritische Besprechungen der topographischen Hauptwerke und der wichtigen Guiden enthalten, durchgesehen wurden.” (The bibliography of guidebooks to Rome and topographical descriptions was supplemented by checking the works of Martinelli (*Roma ex ethnica sacra*, 1653), Platner-Bunsen (*Description of Rome*, 1829), Jordan (*Topogr. of the city of Rome* 1901), which contain critical reviews of the main topographical works and the important guides.)



Fig. 8.5: Title page of Pompilio Totti's *Ritratto di Roma Moderna*, Rome 1652. KNIR DR 37. Photo: KNIR.

What is interesting in Pollak's approach is that he combined various strategies: firstly, he consulted the card catalogues of Roman libraries both large and small as well as the printed catalogues of other private libraries, such as of that of Paolo Borghese, Prince of Sulmona<sup>34</sup>; secondly, he consulted earlier publications that referred to this genre of books; and thirdly, he also consulted sales catalogues of booksellers, both in Italy and in other countries. The citation given above already mentioned Loescher, Luzzietti (Fig. 8.3) and Benedetti, who all had shops selling

<sup>34</sup> *Catalogue* (1892–1893).



**Fig. 8.6:** Ex-libris of Oskar Pollak, in Gregorio Roisecco, *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome 1765. KNIR DR 21. Photo: KNIR.

both new and old books in Rome, and Lang, an antiquarian bookseller in Vienna.<sup>35</sup> In Pollak's archival material in Vienna, pages that were taken from the catalogues of various other antiquarian bookshops have been reused as flyleaves. Amongst those can be found pages from the catalogues of the Libreria Lubrano and the Libreria Economica of Salvatore Iorio in Naples, the Libreria Antiquaria Internazionale Libero Merlino in Rome, the Libreria Dante in Viterbo, Romagnoli dall'Acqua in Bologna (Fig. 8.7), and even the British bookseller Mayhew in Walthamstow.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Clegg (1906) 252 for Roman booksellers.

<sup>36</sup> This material can be found in various folders of the Pollak papers in the archive of the Department of Art History of the Universität Wien (AIK).



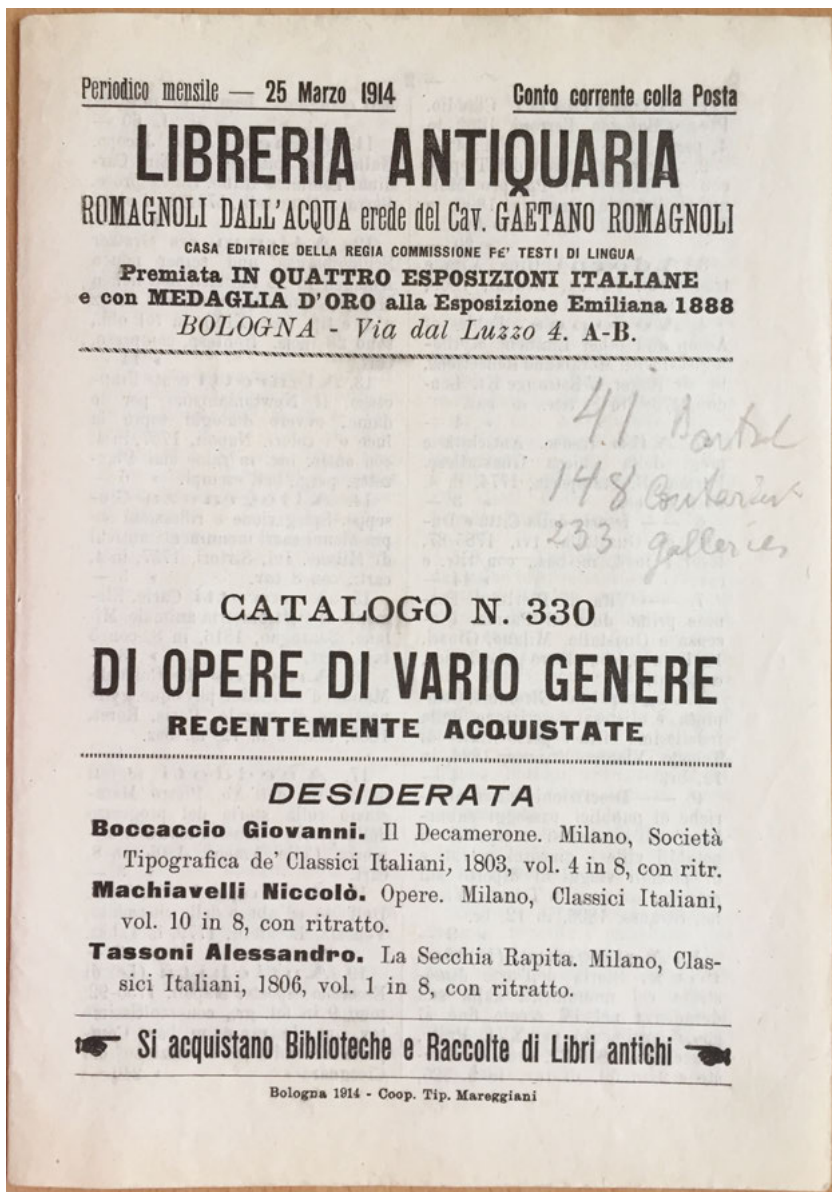


Fig. 8.7: Catalogue of the Libreria Antiquaria Romagnoli dall'Acqua. Oskar Pollak Archive 1.1-7, AIK. Photo: Authors.

Moreover, he started to collect rare books himself, especially guidebooks to Rome. It is impossible to establish when he started doing so, but it is plausible that he was buying copies of certain guides as early as 1908. He did not buy these books

because he was unable to read them elsewhere – Pollak had access to many, if not most, rare book collections in Rome. He bought them, unsurprisingly, because he deemed these books to be valuable sources for his own academic research. It was within the framework of these academic interests that he gathered his collection and constructed his manuscript, whose time scope, purpose, method and focus of content is directly reflected in *Le Guide di Roma*. It is important to note that the genealogy of Schudt's classification is in fact a rather accurate reflection of Pollak's personal collection. It is certainly no coincidence that the majority of books present in his collection have ended up as “key publications” in *Le Guide di Roma*. For example, of the various editions of the Rossini guides he possessed two, of the Martinelli ones he owned no fewer than six, and furthermore he had copies of the Ugonio, Panciroli, Totti, Roisecco and Franzini guides.<sup>37</sup>

Even more relevant is the fact that, as with the selection of “key publications”, the evaluations that Pollak had already started to formulate also had a clear impact on Schudt's introductory text. Apart from the many underscores and marginalia in the copies he owned, which hint at his specific research interests, Pollak was also in the habit of writing small evaluations on their flyleaves. These both assessed the usefulness of the book at hand for art historical research, and in many cases also made comparisons between various editions of the same guide.

Such is the case with Pompeo Ugonio's *Historia Delle Stationi di Roma* (1588), evaluated as a key publication in *Le Guide di Roma* and present in Pollak's collection at the Hertziana library (Fig. 8.8).<sup>38</sup> In his discussion of this topographical description, Schudt cites verbatim the note Pollak wrote on its flyleaf: “Splendid academic work; very independent. It draws on the entire earlier literature but evaluates it critically. It is particularly valuable for its very clear descriptions of the state of individual churches and the changes they underwent during this period.”<sup>39</sup> Another example is Pompilio Totti's *Ritratto di Roma moderna*

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<sup>37</sup> Rossini, *Il Mercurio Errante* (Schudt 289 and 296) is KNIR DR36 and DR35; Martinelli, *Roma ricercata* (Schudt 229, 231, 233, 238, 239, and 245) are the copies at BHR Dg 450-2440 (this is the 1644 edition Pollak had not yet indicated as his own in his card system), Dg 450-2502, probably Dg 450-2601 and Dg 450-3771, and KNIR DR14 and DR47; Martinelli Vasi, *Itinerario Istruttivo di Roma* (Schudt 310) is either BHR Dg 450-3770 or Dg 450-4181/a1; Ugonio, *Historia delle Stationi* (Schudt 438) is BHR Dg 450-1880; Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti* (Schudt 439) is KNIR DR18; Totti, *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (Schudt 184 and 211) are BHR Dg 450-2380 and Dg 450-2621; Roisecco, *Roma antica e moderna* (Schudt 214) is KNIR DR 21-23; Franzini, *Roma antica e moderna* (Schudt 220) is KNIR DR7 (missing).

<sup>38</sup> BHR Dg 450-1880.

<sup>39</sup> Schudt (1930) 99 and Pompeo Ugonio, *Historia delle Stationi di Roma*, Rome 1588 (BHR: Dg 450-1880 Coll. rom), flyleaf: “Ausgezeichnete wissenschaftliche Arbeit; ganz selbständig, verwendet die gesamte [In Pollak's handwritten note it says “ganze”] ältere Literatur, aber prüft sie kritisch. Besonders wertvoll wegen der sehr klaren Beschreibungen des Zustandes der einzelnen Kirchen und der Veränderungen, die sie in seiner Zeit erlitten.”

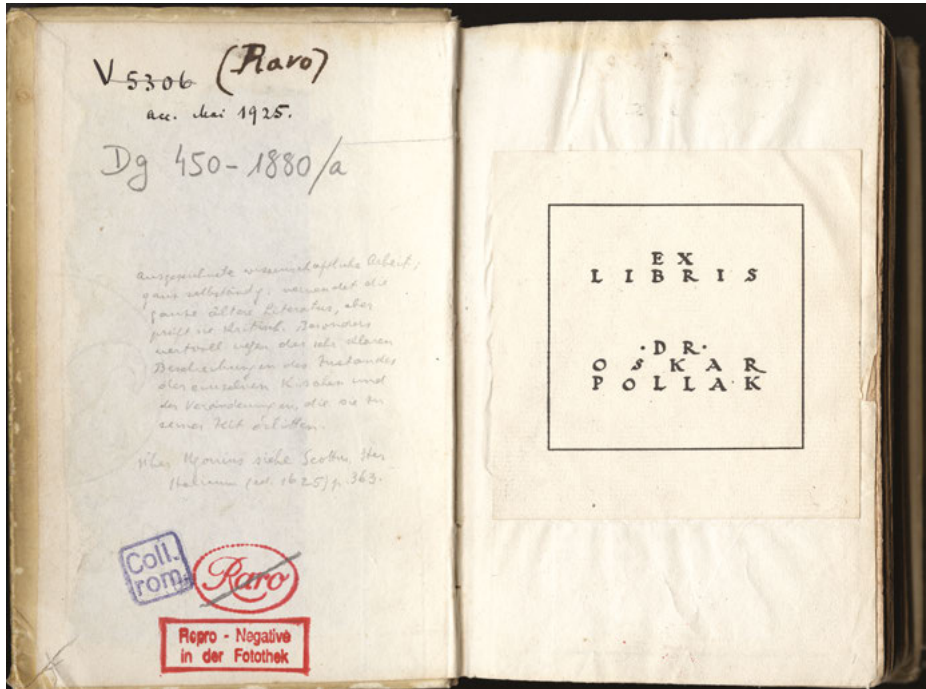


Fig. 8.8: Flyleaf and title page of Pompeo Ugonio's *Historia Delle Stationi di Roma*, Rome 1588. BHR 450-1880/1. Photo: Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome.

(1638),<sup>40</sup> about which Pollak wrote on the flyleaf of his personal copy that it was closely modelled on Panciroli's *Tesori nascosti* (1625),<sup>41</sup> and he noted on p. 96 that entire sections had even been copied verbatim from it. He further remarked in the 1652 Totti copy he also owned that the author had made ample use of Felini's *Trattato Nuovo*.<sup>42</sup> All of this was adapted by Schudt, who deemed Totti a “compiler” and not an author; he discussed all the passages where Totti “plagiarised” other guidebooks.<sup>43</sup>

In 1925, ten years after Pollak's death, part of his rare book collection was sold to the Hertziana library in Rome. Schudt, who was librarian of the Hertziana at that time and who had been in possession of Pollak's manuscript since 1922, was probably responsible for the acquisition of these books for this institution. It is highly probable that Schudt also saw Pollak's books at the Netherlands Institute, either before or after they were sold – even though he only refers to one single copy present at the latter

<sup>40</sup> BHR Dg 450-2380.

<sup>41</sup> KNIR: DR18

<sup>42</sup> Totti, *Ritratto di Roma Moderna*, Rome 1652 (Schudt 187), copy KNIR DR37, flyleaf and p. 96.

<sup>43</sup> Schudt (1930) 44.



institution.<sup>44</sup> In any case, between 1925 and 1930 he had plenty of time to research Pollak's collection and to study his predecessor's methods and approach towards the genre, as is apparent from both Pollak's manuscript and the notes in his books. In doing so, Schudt also followed Pollak's implicit and explicit criteria in valuing these books, sometimes even explicitly incorporating the latter's evaluations. In any case, the *Guida di Roma* reflects, on various levels, the decisive impact of Pollak's research.

## Collecting early modern books around 1900

Now that we have been introduced to the way Pollak used his books, we must ask ourselves how he collected them. Was he able to buy whichever book he wanted, or were his acquisitions restricted by what was on offer or other factors, such as price? To answer these questions, it is necessary to reconstruct the antiquarian book market as it existed at the beginning of the twentieth century, both in Rome and elsewhere.

In last decades of the nineteenth and the first twenty years of the twentieth century, the antiquarian book market in Italy expanded and developed.<sup>45</sup> This had a lot to do with the many bibliophiles from the end of the nineteenth century on: in 1899, the periodical *La Bibliofilia*, which still exists today, was founded by Leo Olschki, himself an antiquarian bookseller and publisher of books. The book trade in Rome itself also flourished in the last decades of the nineteenth century, after the city had become the capital of a united Italy. Its growing number of national cultural and educational institutions fed the need for books.<sup>46</sup> Booksellers also became increasingly specialised from the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>47</sup> While up until then, many of them had sold antique and modern books side by side, from that time some of them started to specialise solely in selling old and rare books: *librai antiquari* or *librerie antiquarie*. And their book sales were promoted through catalogues: booksellers frequently published inventories of their old and rare books on sale, sometimes as often as once a month.

Unfortunately, these catalogues listing old and rare books have now become rare books themselves.<sup>48</sup> Some of them have been preserved, however, and these catalogues provide an idea of the way they were organized according to particular materials, and how these also directed Pollak's attention. In 1914,

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<sup>44</sup> Schudt (1930) 280, nr. 328: "Nibby-Porena. *Itinerario di Roma e suoi dintorni di A. N. corretto ed ampliato secondo le ultime scoperte e gli studi più recenti dal Prof. Filippo Porena*. Nona edizione. Roma, Ermanno Loescher & Co. 1879, XXX, 494 S. 8° (Bibliothek des holländischen historischen Instituts in Rom.)"

<sup>45</sup> Cristiano (1986) 67.

<sup>46</sup> Cristiano (1995) 7, Vian (1993) and Windholz (2008) 239.

<sup>47</sup> Dorini (1938) 143 and Cristiano (2002) 86–87.

<sup>48</sup> Balsamo (1987) 67. See Cristiano (2002) 86 for a description of the exceptional Bonamici collection in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence that contains 1300 booksellers' catalogues from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century.

for example, the antiquarian bookseller Ermanno Loescher published a catalogue on the theme “Arte Italiana”, of which 65 of 171 pages were dedicated to “monografie di città e regioni”. Of those 65 pages, no fewer than 18, numbering 306 items, are filled with city guides to Rome, mostly early modern.<sup>49</sup> Six out of 39 titles in Pollak’s collection are listed in this catalogue; however, the description of the bindings and state of the books show that he did not buy these six particular copies. This shows that he was able to obtain those books he was interested in without too much effort.

Finally, we have to ask where he used to buy his copies. Given the international market for rare books, and the presence of material from booksellers from all over Italy, Vienna, and even the United Kingdom in his archive at the Institute of Art History at Vienna University, he might have obtained them anywhere. We do know he used such catalogues, as his monthly reports, cited above, mentioned the use of these sources to compile his bibliography.<sup>50</sup> It is significant that the four antiquarian booksellers he named in his reports were all located in Rome. Also, in his *Schlussbericht* or final report on the months spent at the Institute in 1909, written on the first of July 1909, Pollak stated that he had studied the most important antiquarian and auction catalogues of the last twenty years “mostly from Rome.”<sup>51</sup> As Pollak was in Rome almost uninterruptedly from 1908 until his death in 1915, it seems very probable that he tried to find these books in Rome itself, rather than in Vienna or elsewhere.

The copies in his own collection preserved at the Hertziana Library and the Royal Netherlands Institute give a few more concrete indications. In four of his books, Pollak actually provided information, written in pencil on the end flyleaf, on how and when he acquired these books.<sup>52</sup> Three out of the four were purchased in Rome, and he also gave the date and the price he paid in Italian lire. The books were bought within a period of four years. The dates on which the books were purchased are all days when Pollak was present in Rome, as evidenced by the reports he wrote for the Austrian Institute. Another three-volume work supports the hypothesis that Pollak bought his books in Rome: they are pasted with a bookseller’s sticker (Fig. 8.9).<sup>53</sup> The

<sup>49</sup> See Cristiano (1995) on Loescher.

<sup>50</sup> Archiv des Österreichischen Historischen Instituts, Rome, I.5, 1908–1909: Report Oskar Pollak, 3-1-1909.

<sup>51</sup> Archiv des Österreichischen Historischen Instituts, Rome, I.5, 1908–1909: Report Oskar Pollak, 7-1-1909: “meist aus Rom” (Mostly from Rome).

<sup>52</sup> Bürger, *Musées de la Hollande*, 1860 (TM 440 4580-2): “11.III.1910, L. 1,10”

Martinelli, *Roma ricercata nel suo sito*, 1644 (Dg 450-2440): “Rom 24.III.11, L. 10,-”

Ugoni, *Historia delle stationi* 1588 (Dg 450 1880 a coll.rom.): “Rom 11.V.1914, L. 14,-”

Martinelli, *Roma ricercata nel suo sito*, 1658 (Dg 450-2580): “Rom 13.V.1914L. 9,-”

<sup>53</sup> Chattard, *Nuovo Descrizione del Vaticano*, Rome, 1762, 3 vols. (KNIR Signature: DR Rjd cha I-III)

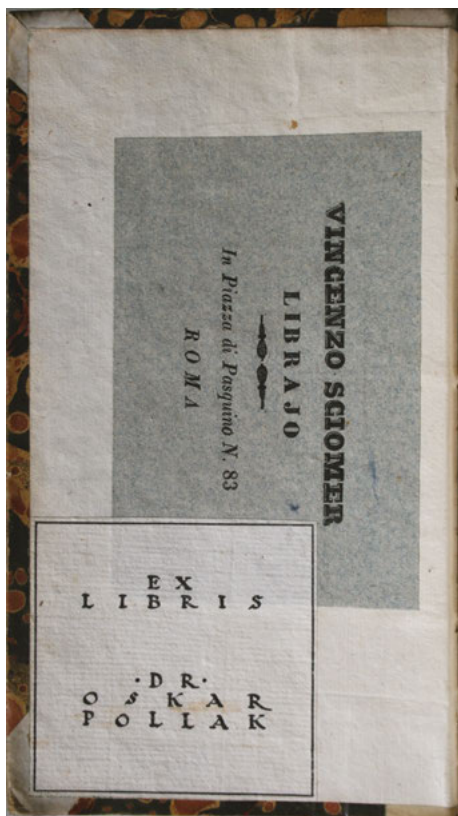


Fig. 8.9: Flyleaf of Chattard, *Nuova Descrizione del Vaticano*, Rome, 1762, vol. 1. KNIR DR Rjd cha I. Photo: KNIR.

bookseller is Vincenzo Sciomer, who had his store (and publishing house) on Piazza di Pasquino, 83, in Rome.

It is thus not hard to imagine that, while working with these catalogues as a source, he found a book of particular interest to him, now and then; and, also, that he was able to buy the exact copies he was interested in. It is even likely that he went to these booksellers in person to have a look at the actual copy before he decided to buy it. In any case, given the relatively low prices for these rare books, Pollak will not have had financial restrictions to acquire them. And those books were already the key publications that constituted his genealogy of the genre, or became so as a result of his particular attention to these copies. Schudt adopted this framework in his 1930 publication of the material, together with the evaluations Pollak had written in a number of his personal copies that had ended up in the library of the Hertziana – so these were easily available to him.

## Conclusion

*Le Guide di Roma*, which is generally identified as the blueprint for studies of the genre of (early) modern guidebooks to Rome, at first sight seems to be a reasonably neutral bibliographical study of the evolution and production of a particular genre. However, the question of access to, and selection of, sources lies at the centre of the history of the shaping of this academic bibliography. Taking a closer look at how the project evolved makes clear that it is actually a construction determined by the very specific art historical interests of both Oskar Pollak and Ludwig Schudt. And, contrary to what has been assumed thus far, it was not Schudt who selected and organised the material into a certain structure, but it very much derived from Pollak's research practices in Rome, between 1907 and 1915. Criteria such as the originality of the text – meaning whether its author had actually looked at the contemporary state of monuments in the city and the works of art present there – and plagiarism had already been formulated by Pollak, and Schudt adopted these unquestioningly. The only aspect that seems to be attributable to the latter is the division of guidebooks into several subgenres. In Pollak's archival material, there is no trace of such a demarcation – although we do find terms such as 'scientific guides' on the flyleaves of his copies. Finally, *Le Guide di Roma* can be seen as an academic response to the developments in the antiquarian book market; in quite a few booksellers' catalogues, guidebooks had already been recognized as a particularly interesting genre for book collectors.

What can also be deduced from the analysis of *Le Guide di Roma* is that tracing and evaluating archival material and especially early modern publications had become Pollak's main method to art historical research; the object and its formalistic or aesthetic qualities were no longer the main issue. We might call this a 'historical turn in art history'. In his request for admittance to *Habilitation* proceedings in 1913, he wrote in his *Vorlesungsprogramm*, or proposal for lectures to be given upon obtaining this title, that, in a seminar for an advanced level course, he would deal with "a critical exegesis of newer, published sources, especially of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that until now have never been the subject of lectures."<sup>54</sup>

He never gave these lectures, however – when he arrived in Vienna in 1915, the First World War intervened and he volunteered to be sent to the Italian Front. Thanks to Von Pastor, Frey and Schudt, the manuscript was finally published and, as a result, this kind of historical source material became more and more *de rigueur* for art historians. As our analysis of the practices through which *Le Guide di Roma* came into being has also made clear, however, the entire project was guided by implicit and explicit art historical criteria; and it

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<sup>54</sup> Archiv der Universität Wien, Vienna: Rektoratsarchive – Akademischer Senat – Personalblätter (19.-20. Jh), Pollak 2908, fol.5r (Beilage 6): "kritische Exegese jüngerer Quellenschriften, besonderes des XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhunderts, die bisher noch nie Gegenstand von Vorlesungen gebildet haben."

was heavily influenced by the marketing of antiquarian booksellers. Pollak's practice of consulting these catalogues, and of acquiring his own copies of certain guides, were fundamental for the structure the book as published in 1930. Thus, the application of both its framework and its catalogue to other disciplines, without taking into account its prehistory of "doings", should be undertaken with caution.

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Anna Blennow and Stefano Fogelberg Rota

## Appendix I: Must-See Monuments – the Colosseum in Guidebooks through the Centuries

How does the guidebook image of a monument change over time, and in what ways do the instructions provided by the guidebook vary depending on cultural and chronological context? These questions were addressed in the “Topos and Topography” project with reference to several case studies of separate monuments. What follows is a brief overview of a selection of guidebooks’ treatment of one of ancient Rome’s most iconic heritage places: the Colosseum.

The medieval Einsiedeln manuscript mentions the Colosseum only once, in itinerary VIII. This route follows the papal procession route from Ponte S. Angelo to the Lateran. The Colosseum is labelled somewhat anonymously as *Amphitheatrum*, the amphitheatre, and is characterized in the text solely as a landmark to the left of the route. A couple of centuries later, in Master Gregory’s *Narratio de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae*, the Colosseum emerges as an overwhelming building structure rather than as a symbol of Rome and Antiquity. The rhetorical commonplace of Rome’s indescribable grandeur is beginning to develop in the Middle Ages, and our amphitheatre is thus described by the author in a single phrase: “Because who would be able to express its ingenious construction and magnitude in speech?”<sup>1</sup> Similar terms of physical hyperbole are also used towards the end of the sixteenth century by Georg Fabricius, who wrote that the Colosseum is “of such a great height that it is only with difficulty that human eyes can perceive its summit”.<sup>2</sup>

The Renaissance, however, brought a new clarity and detail to the descriptions of these monuments. When we meet the Colosseum in Andrea Palladio’s mid-sixteenth century *Antiquitates Urbis Romae* (first edition 1554), we get a short and historically correct description: it was built by emperor Vespasian, and the name Colosseum derives from the colossal statue of Nero once situated nearby. Gladiator combats and animal fights were performed here, and 5,000 wild animals were slaughtered in its opening ceremony. Palladio then briefly describes the physical appearance of the amphitheatre: only half of the original structure in travertine still stood at that time; the building is round on the outside and oval on the inside, and almost as tall as the adjacent Caelian hill. The Colosseum could seat 85,000 spectators.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Osborne (1987) chapter 31: *Quis enim artificiosam compositionem eius et magnitudinem sermone exequi poterit?*

<sup>2</sup> Fabricius (1587) 30–31, *altitudinis tantae, ut visio humana ad eius summitatem aegre conscendat.*

<sup>3</sup> Hart/Hicks (2009) 34.



**Fig. 1:** “Coliseum, tagen ifrån Norra Sidan” (“The Colosseum, taken from the north side”). Drawing by Gustaf Georgsson af Sillén (1762–1825). Sillén (1787–1793). Uppsala University Library.

A more ambivalent attitude towards the Colosseum was displayed during the Baroque era. On the one hand, the monument was admired as one of the most intact and magnificent buildings of Roman antiquity. On the other hand, the distressing thought of the Christian martyrs executed in the arena was underlined. The counter-reformation thus paradoxically prized a monument that symbolized the persecution of the Christians. But the will to formulate that paradox is typical for the Baroque, and evident in Giacomo Lauro’s illustration of the Colosseum in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. In his work, Lauro depicts the round building reconstructed in its ancient splendour, but at the same time, he cuts out and removes a fourth of it, as if it was a cake, thereby revealing its interior. This abstraction gives us a view of the construction of the building, but also reminds us that the amphitheatre never can be whole again, but survives in a deconstructed state, deprived of function. In the empty space of the removed part of the building, Lauro depicts a couple of strolling men, while plants flourish on the ruin in order to point out the pious guidebook illustrator’s triumph over the pagan injustices which occurred there.

Similarly, in Fioravante Martinelli’s *Roma ricercata* (1644), the connection with the Christian martyrs meant more than the overwhelming impression of the monument itself: “You see before you the grandest amphitheatre of Titus Vespasian, called the Colosseum, better known for the honour won there by holy martyrs than

for the excellency of the building.”<sup>4</sup> Remarkably enough, he then describes the structure of the building at length, and focuses especially on the many holes that “you can see” in the outer walls of the amphitheatre, which used to contain metal brackets for holding the travertine blocks together. Martinelli also provides some text sources for this phenomenon. Then, he goes on to reveal that it was Theoderic – the Ostrogothic ruler of Rome in the beginning of the sixth century CE – who first allowed the Romans to use stones from the increasingly ruined monument, and that Pope Paul II used building material from the Colosseum in the construction of palazzo Venezia, Cardinal Riario for the Cancelleria palace, and Cardinal Farnese (later Pope Paul V) for his palace on the eponymous piazza. Just as in Lauro’s *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, the Colosseum is almost ritually deconstructed in the text, while the typical guidebook manner of addressing the reader is evident in formulations like “you see” – the traveller is, it seems, supposed to stand in front of the very monument when reading Martinelli’s book.<sup>5</sup>

The iconic status of the Colosseum is cemented during the centuries to follow. Richard Lassells, author of an influential Grand Tour guidebook at the end of the seventeenth century, describes it as “one of the rarest pieces of antiquity in Rome”, “another wonder of the world: and I wonder indeed, how such prodigious stones could either be laid together in a building, or being laid together, could fall.”<sup>6</sup> Thomas Nugent, in his *The Grand Tour* from the middle of the 18th century, praises the “prodigious” Colosseum above all because its size, capable of holding four times more spectators than the amphitheatre at Verona.<sup>7</sup> John Murray, author of one of the first “modern” guidebooks to Italy in 1843, calls the Colosseum “the noblest ruin in existence”. Further, no monument is as familiar to “all classes” as the Colosseum, through the works of artists and engravers; but, Murray underlines, the descriptions and drawings are far surpassed by reality. He then promises that he shall not “attempt to anticipate the feelings of the traveller, or obtrude upon him a single word which might interfere with his own impressions, but simply supply him with such facts as may be useful in his examination of the ruin”. The visitor is then advised to climb to the top of the building, from which the view is “one of the most impressive in the world”, and Murray affirms that most travellers usually visit the monument by moonlight “in order to realise the magnificent description in ‘Manfred’”, the poem by Lord Byron which was standard reading when visiting the Colosseum in the 19th century.<sup>8</sup>

In the 1926 Baedeker guide to Italy “from the Alps to Naples”, the Colosseum has two stars (according to the Baedeker system of giving one star to a monument worth

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4 “Havete in vista il superbissimo Amfiteatro di Tito Vespasiano mezzo disfatto, chiamato il Coliseo, più celebre per li trofei acquistati da i SS. Martiri, che per l’eccellenza della fabrica.”

5 Martinelli (1662), 84–85.

6 Lassells (1698) 17–18.

7 Nugent (1749) 214–217.

8 Murray (1843) 269, 272, 277–279, 294–296, 338.

seeing, and two stars to an absolutely spectacular monument). “The largest of all theatres, and one of the most important monuments in the world”, the book boldly states. The suggestive imagery of the blood of the Christian martyrs still has its place in the narrative, even if rather downplayed, but the dominant theme of the monument description is every single measurement and every number related to the building: circumference, height, length, capitals, pilasters, arcades. It is as if a modern version of Palladio has measured up the whole building for us in minute detail, but with greater accuracy: Palladio’s 85,000 spectators is adjusted to around 40,000–50,000. But suddenly, in the last sentence of Baedeker’s description, a leftover from nineteenth-century Romanticism enters the picture: “The Colosseum delivers an indescribable visual effect at night, by moonlight – it is only then that the enormous ruin appears to its greatest advantage”. Thus, even in the dry Baedeker, sense is finally defeated by sensibility.<sup>9</sup>

In Henrik Schück’s *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna (Rome. A Passage Through the Centuries)*, the narrative framework often allows the layers of history to be transparent and overlapping. The intersection between Antiquity and the Middle Ages, as well as later periods, is a general theme in Schück’s book, also with regard to the Colosseum. “After having served as living quarters for the Frangipane family, the amphitheatre came into the possession of the ‘Roman people’ in the fourteenth century, when the arena was used for bull fights, among other things; subsequently, it was donated at the end of the same century to the brotherhood of *Sancta Sanctorum*, who established a hospital, a nunnery, and a chapel to S. Maria della Pietà – visible on Piranesi’s etching – in the building. Above, a stage was built, on which passion plays were performed as late as in the seventeenth century, and as late as in our own time, the Colosseum – where so many Christian martyrs according to tradition has met their death – has been a popular pilgrim destination.”<sup>10</sup> Schück substitutes the measurements of Palladio and Baedeker with the grid of history, and perhaps because his book is less of a practical guidebook, where an actual visit is not necessary, he does not give instruction about moon-lit visits.

The “Swedish Baedeker”, journalist and author Ellen Rydelius, describes the Colosseum both as monument and symbol in her *Rom på 8 dagar (Rome in eight days)*. The amphitheatre appeared in silhouette on the cover of the book in all editions

<sup>9</sup> Baedeker (1926) 299–300: “Das größte aller Theater und eines der bedeutendsten Gebäude der Welt”; “Einen unbeschreiblichen Eindruck macht das Kolosseum an hellen Mondabenden, weil dann die Massen der Verfall des Einzelnen gegenüber erst zu ihren Recht kommen.”

<sup>10</sup> “Efter att ha tjänstgjort såsom hyreskasern och såsom bostad åt ätten Frangipane kom amfiteatern på 1300-talet i ‘det romerska folkets’ ägo, då man bl. a. använde arenan till tjurfäktingar; sedan skänktes den i slutet av samma århundrade till Sancta Sanctorums brödraskap, vilket här inrättade ett sjukhus, ett nunnekloster och det på Piranesis stick synliga kapellet S. Maria della Pietà. Ovanför lades en skådebana, på vilken passionsspel uppfördes ända in på 1600-talet, och ännu i vår tid har Colosseum – där så många kristna enligt traditionen lidit martyrdöden – varit en omtyckt vallfartsort.” Schück/Sjöqvist (1949) 124–125.

up to 1951, and is described – with an evident echo of the “real” Baedeker – as “the largest theatre in the world, never surpassed as regards dimensions and imposing effect”.<sup>11</sup> Continuing in Baedeker style, known facts are duly presented, until Rydelius goes on to excel in a dramatically emotional narrative. “This building has seen many tragedies”, she tells, and suggests that the animal slaughter of its opening ceremony perhaps was the more innocent, compared with the blood of the Christian martyrs and the sighs of the Jewish war prisoners who had to construct the amphitheatre. “Return [to the Colosseum] at night – preferably a moon-lit night”, she urges, and explains that this is the best moment for seeing the ancient arena, filled with Roman spectators, with the mind’s eye. Lastly, she quotes the famous sentence attributed to the medieval author the Venerable Bede: “As long as the Colosseum stands, Rome shall stand; when the Colosseum falls, Rome shall fall; and with Rome, the world. . .”

Thus, we have seen that between the sixteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century the status of the Colosseum became consolidated as an unquestionable wonder and must-see for every traveller. The amphitheatre’s iconic status has turned it into the symbol of both Rome and Antiquity, visible on websites, ashtrays and postcards, so that guidebooks of today almost do not have to explain why the Colosseum is the ultimate must-see monument in Rome – and actually the information we are provided with often tells us only that the Colosseum is utterly spectacular, not why and how. In the *Rough Guide*, it is described as “awe-inspiring”, as the symbol of Rome and of the entire ancient world. The reasons for this are suggested by the fact that the “enormous structure” still is “relatively intact”, that it is “readily recognizable”, and that it “unlike the Forum, needs little historical knowledge or imagination to deduce its function.”<sup>12</sup> *Lonely Planet* labels the Colosseum as “the most thrilling of Rome’s ancient sights”, an iconic monument and a compelling sight, but adds some historical notes to underline the complexity of the thrill: the arena is “a monument to raw, merciless power. It’s not just the amazing completeness of the place, or its size, but the sense of violent history that resonates”. Interestingly, the guidebook also states that “you’ll know what it looks like”, but that “no photograph can prepare you for the thrill of seeing it for the first time”.<sup>13</sup> But as always, hyperbolically raised expectations bring the risk of disappointment. The *Blue Guide* is sensitive to this risk, and points out that although the Colosseum, “an emblem of Rome’s eternity”, nowadays is located in a “rather unattractive setting”, and that even if its interior still “retains an extraordinary atmosphere”, the spectacular view inside the Colosseum is “less effective” than it used to be because the wooden floor is now removed. But the *Blue Guide* also shows its

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**11** “Världens största teater, som aldrig blivit överträffad i fråga om dimensioner och imponant verkan”. “Denna byggnad har sett många tragedier.” “Återvänd hit en kväll – allra helst en månskenskväll”. “Så länge Colosseum står, skall Rom bestå. När Colosseum faller, skall Rom falla. Och med Rom hela världen. . .” Rydelius (1948) 120–122.

**12** Dunford (2014) 87–88.

**13** Garwood/Blasi (2013) 7; 62; Garwood/Blasi (2012) 11.

dependence on the earlier guidebook tradition – absent in the *Rough Guide* and *Lonely Planet* – by connecting with the Romantic appreciation of the building, as well as providing some literary quotes about it from Charles Dickens, who in the nineteenth century described Colosseum as “the most impressive, the most stately, the most solemn, grand, majestic, mournful sight, conceivable”, and one that “must move all who look upon it”.<sup>14</sup>

Nowhere else is the hyperbolic guidebook discourse as evident as in the descriptions of the Colosseum. By following the monument through the historical guidebooks and up to our own time, we can trace the gradual increase of its symbolical value, first as the physically most overwhelming of Rome’s ruins, and a parallel to the rhetorical discourse on Rome as the grandest place on earth despite its ruinous state; and then, from the sixteenth century and on, the Colosseum becomes the very symbol of Rome itself, to the extent that it now must be the single most recognisable monument of Rome and perhaps of Antiquity.

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<sup>14</sup> Macadam (2000) 117–119.

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## Appendix II: Itineraries through Trastevere from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century

One of the main aims of guidebooks – or texts with some kind of guiding function – is to organize the matter they present to their reader in a both manageable and attractive way. Sometimes the content of a guidebook is chronologically or stylistically ordered, but more often the order is topographical. The reader of a guidebook – who most often is also a traveller – must be able to navigate the city in an easy and time-saving manner in order to see as much as possible of it within a certain time frame. It is for this purpose that the guidebook is organized according to routes, day walks and strolls.

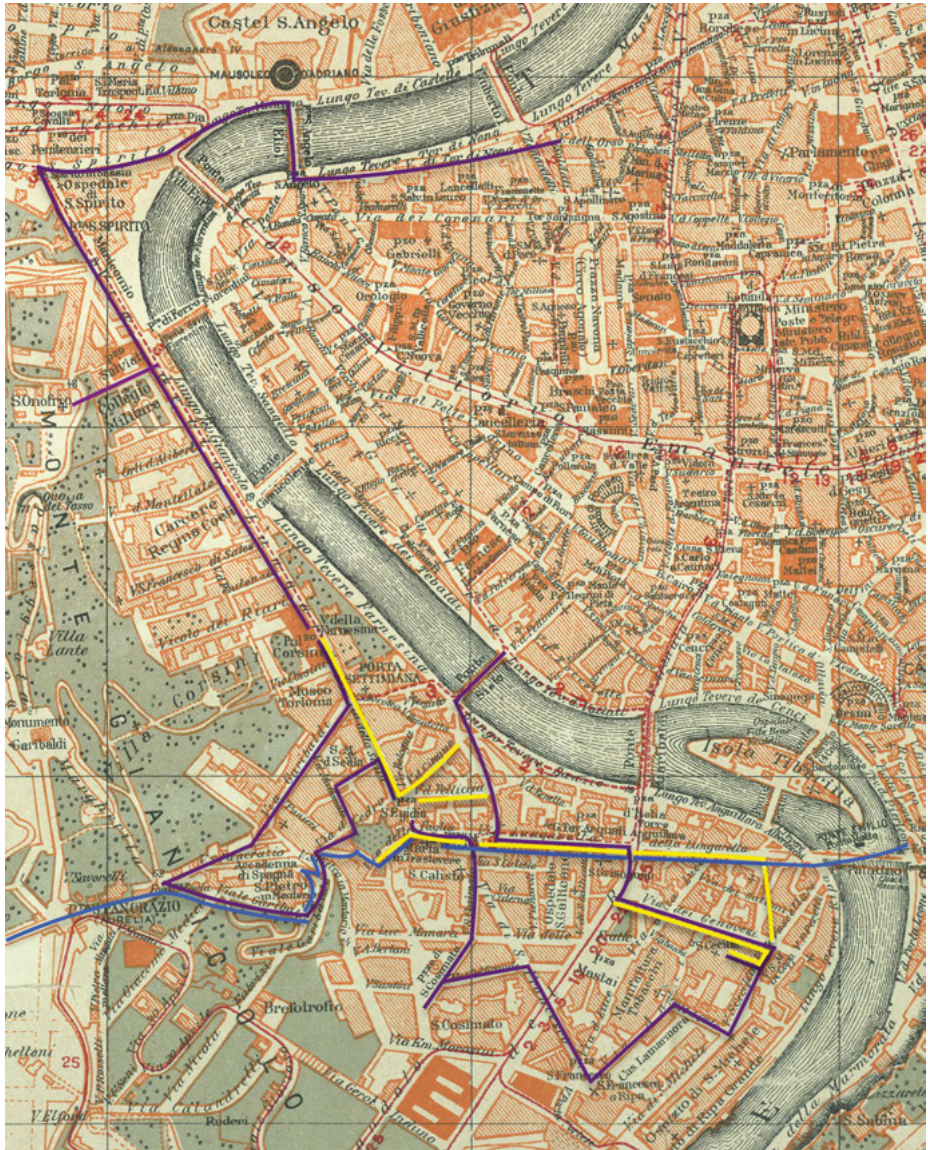
Within the “Topos and Topography” project, three guidebooks stand out particularly in this regard: the Einsiedeln manuscript with its eleven routes across the city; Fioravante Martinelli’s *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (*Rome researched on site*) with its ten *giornate* (day walks), and Ellen Rydelius’ *Rom på 8 dagar* (*Rome in 8 Days*) for its obvious organization in eight sections.

As an illuminating example, we have here chosen to illustrate how these three guidebooks present Trastevere (see Fig. 1). This district is well delimited, thanks to its position on one side of the Tiber, and is often depicted as particularly homogeneous because of its picturesque medieval character and eccentric inhabitants.

The itineraries of the Einsiedeln manuscript start, almost always, from a city gate and end with another city gate. They consist thus of a line between point A to point B. Martinelli’s tours, instead, are circular in form, beginning and ending usually at via dell’Orso, north of Piazza Navona, where most of the inns which housed seventeenth-century travellers were located. Rydelius moves more freely around the city, passing through several districts at the same time, often with the help of a cab.

The routes of the Einsiedeln manuscript (marked in blue on the map) pass through Trastevere in the most direct way. From the city gate located on the Gianicolo hill (porta S. Pancrazio of today, at that time *porta Aurelia*), past the church of S. Pietro in Montorio (where, around the year 800, only a smaller sanctuary devoted to St. Peter was located), the route heads downhill to the three main churches of S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Crisogono and S. Cecilia. These churches are in their present form impressive constructions dating from the twelfth century – the medieval pilgrim who followed the routes of the Einsiedeln manuscript visited the more modest buildings from the early Middle Ages. In the excavations beneath of S. Crisogono it is, however, still possible to see the evocative remains of the eighth-century frescoes, which decorated the walls of the old church. Going along the via Lungaretta of today, the itinerary continues to the so-called *Pons Maior*, the main bridge, which stands now as *Ponte Rotto*, “the broken bridge”, with only one arcade in the river. It was replaced in the late nineteenth century by the modern Ponte Palatino. Interestingly, the Einsiedeln





**Fig. 1:** The three itineraries through Trastevere. Illustration by Anna Blennow. Map: *Pianta di Roma, colle linee delle tramvie e degli autobus, 1927*, Uppsala University Library.

manuscript follows the streets in Trastevere that were the final stretch of the oldest road from the Etruscan cities north of Rome down to the cattle market by the Forum Boarium on the other side of the river. The other itineraries in the manuscript are, nearly always, also firmly based upon ancient routes, as a comparison with



archaeological maps, such as the *Forma Urbis Romae* by Rodolfo Lanciani, shows. Thus, we can observe how the medieval cityscape developed along the lines of the ancient roads in unbroken continuity.

Fioravante Martinelli moves, in part, around the same sites as the *Einsiedeln* manuscript, but follows a different plan (marked in purple on the map). Starting from via dell'Orso, he crosses the river by Castel S. Angelo, and makes a detour on the slope of the Gianicolo to visit S. Onofrio and pay homage to the grave of the poet Torquato Tasso. He then continues on via della Lungara, in the northern part of Trastevere, and passes, among other sites, villa Farnesina and palazzo Riario (later on, palazzo Corsini and Queen Christina's abode). After that Martinelli directs his reader once again up the hill to the Gianicolo, in order to see S. Pietro in Montorio. Yet another detour goes to the church of S. Maria della Scala, before Martinelli mimics the *Einsiedeln* manuscript on his way to S. Maria in Trastevere. However, instead of following on via della Lungaretta, as the medieval pilgrim did, he takes another sightseeing tour to the southern part of Trastevere in order to see the churches of S. Cosimato and S. Francesco a Ripa. On his way back to via dell'Orso, across Ponte Sisto, Martinelli's traveller is invited to visit a great number of churches, including S. Cecilia, San Giovanni dei Genovesi and S. Crisogono.

Finally, what does Ellen Rydelius chose for her reader in Trastevere? In fact, the district is a bit unfairly treated in the first editions of *Rom på 8 dagar*. However, from 1938 and onwards, greater space is devoted to it. From the ninth edition of 1958, Rydelius starts her tour in Trastevere (marked in yellow on the map) from the Porta Settimiana and the restaurant *Checco er Carrettiere*, which is still there today – a typical trait in Rydelius guidebook is to give great relevance to restaurants and bars. After that we move in the opposite direction, compared with Martinelli, to reach Palazzo Corsini. Then we turn back in order to visit S. Maria della Scala and are let free to enjoy “Trastevere's most characteristic and grimest neighbourhood – Piazza S. Egidio, Vicolo del Cinque [...] Via della Pellicia, Via della Paglia och Piazza dei Renzi” (“Trasteveres mest karakteristiska och smutsigaste kvarter – Piazza S. Egidio, Vicolo del Cinque [...] Via della Pellicia, Via della Paglia och Piazza dei Renzi”). Notably, Rydelius' movements here follow those of the *Einsiedeln* manuscript – the reconstructed route from around the year 800 partly follows via della Paglia. Typically, it is the medieval districts that, in Rydelius' time, were characterised both by poverty and picturesque street life. Just as her predecessors, Rydelius takes her reader to S. Maria in Trastevere and then on via della Lungaretta on the way to S. Cecilia. Rydelius departs from Trastevere in modern fashion on a bus leaving from viale Trastevere.

The comparative analysis of the three texts shows that there is a general consensus on the sights of interest to be visited by the travellers. The *Einsiedeln* manuscript treats the most important medieval landmarks on the most effective route; Martinelli's pious focus leads to several stops at churches, and makes several detours, up and down from the Gianicolo hill, to see them all; while Rydelius' limited selection of sites conversely

offers both city life and restaurants. Thus, the intended readership and the purposes of the three texts direct the choices of monuments and tours.

Despite the timespan of more than a thousand years, it is still possible – as the workshops of the “Topos and Topography” project have shown – to follow the three routes exactly as they were laid out. And when we, modern-day travellers, experience the same Roman monuments described by authors from three different historical epochs, yet another step is taken in the eternal guidebook tradition.

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