Roma Antica, Sacra, Moderna: The Analogous Romes of the Travel Guide

MAARTEN DELBEKE AND ANNE-FRANÇOISE MOREL

Vous dites: il faudrait montrer dans ce livre le rôle que peut jouer Rome dans la vie d'un homme à Paris; on pourrait imaginer ces deux villes superposées l'une à l'autre, l'une souterraine par rapport à l'autre, avec des trappes de communication que certains seulement connaîtraient sans qu'aucun sans doute parvînt à les connaître toutes, de telle sorte que pour aller d'un lieu à l'autre il pourrait y avoir certains raccourcis ou détours inattendus, de telle sorte que la distance d'un point à un autre, le trajet d'un point à un autre, serait modifié selon la connaissance, la familiarité que l'on aurait de cette autre ville, de telle sorte que toute localisation serait double, l'espace romain déformant plus ou moins pour chacun l'espace parisien, autorisant rencontres ou induisant en pièges.

—Michel Butor, *La Modification* (1957)

ABSTRACT

The guidebook is not merely a registration of the city and its historical evolution or of the changing preferences of visitors but rather a device that selects and arranges aspects of the city—real as well as imaginary—into a coherent representation of that city. This is particularly the case in Rome, a city composed of three different entities: the ancient, the Christian, and—from the second half of the seventeenth century onward—the modern capital, each with their own monuments and histories. From the sixteenth century onward, Roman guidebooks use the categories of *Roma antica*, *Roma sacra*, and *Roma moderna* to define and represent these three components. In this essay, we argue that the changing application of these labels in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflects not only the far-going physical transformation of the city during that period but also new ways of thinking about the identity of Rome. The reconfiguration of the three “Romes” in the space of the guidebook,

operated by means of a continuous rearrangement of sections, illustrations, and descriptions, illustrates how successive authors and publishers attempted to fit the three well-established categories onto reality. An examination of how English visitors reacted to Rome will demonstrate how effective the categories of *Roma antica*, *sacra*, and *moderna* were in organizing the perception of the contemporary city and its analogs.

INTRODUCTION

Rome has played an important role in the history of the guidebook genre.¹ In antiquity, the Urbs had been the subject of many descriptions and encomia (Fleury & Desbordes, 2008). The persistent lure of its monuments even after Rome lost most of its prestige and population led in the mid-twelfth century to the emergence of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, a topographical description weaving together historical information with legendary accounts of the imperial and papal city. Originally not intended as a guidebook, the *Mirabilia* soon was read as an account of the ruins and ancient monuments that Rome offered to visitors (Miedema, 1996). From circa 1300 onward, a religious complement developed listing Roman churches, the relics they held, and the indulgences that could be obtained by visiting them: the *Libri indulgentiarum*. Despite the sometimes vigorous criticism leveled at the legendary character and historical inaccuracies of the *Mirabilia*—for instance, in Francesco Albertini's *Opusculum de Mirabilibus Novae and Veteris Urbis Romae* (1510)—it persisted well into the sixteenth century, under varying titles. Sometimes the title *Mirabilia* applied to the expanding section on churches, and this was carried over in an Italian translation of 1540, when it was titled *Le Cose Meravigliose* (Howe, 1991, p. 35).

The continuing popularity of the *Mirabilia* notwithstanding, the publications and guidebooks of Roman antiquities by such humanists as Andrea Fulvio and Bartolommeo Marliani and the research into ancient Roman architecture combined with the emerging production and distribution of ever more sophisticated printed images of antiquities to reshape the scope and ambitions of the Rome guide.² Far from being linear and teleological, this long and complicated process entailed a permanent negotiation between entrenched practices and innovations, spurred by such diverse factors as the development of new printmaking techniques, the expanding book market, shifts and developments in scholarship and the arts, changing profiles and expectations of visitors, and the political and religious ambitions that were articulated in the city. Many of these phenomena have been the subject of fine studies, and it is not the ambition of this essay to chart this process in detail (Chabaud et al., 2000; San Juan, 2001, pp. 57–93; Zorach, 2008; Décultot, 2010). Rather, we want to examine the evolution between the mid-sixteenth century and the begin-

ning of the eighteenth century of one particular branch of printed guides of Rome, the books that appeared as *Le Cose Maravigliose dell'Alma Città di Roma* between 1557 and 1643 and under variations of *Roma Antica e Moderna* from 1643 onward.³ These guidebooks were modular in nature. They could contain a section on antiquities; a section on churches; a guided tour of the city; lists of popes, emperors, and indulgences; and a description of the marvels of the world.⁴ There are significant variations in the way different publishers, and buyers, combined these sections across a proliferation of editions. Still, a clear, linear pattern emerges in the occurrence of illustrations within different sections of the guidebooks as well as in the arrangement of the subject matter.

We argue that this pattern reflects changing ideas about Rome. The guidebook, we contend, is not merely a registration of the city and its historical evolution or of the changing preferences of visitors but rather a device that selects and arranges aspects of the city—real as well as imaginary—in order to shape a coherent representation of that city; the guidebook acts as its analog (de Bruijn, 2007). The representation obviously depends on the “real” city as well as on the expectations of visitors. Yet we hope to show that the categories at work in the representation have a life and a history of their own. They may be inert, impervious to the real world or, on the contrary, conduits to reconfigure an unchanging reality in accordance with various agendas and desires.

In Rome particular categories carry considerable weight: *Roma antica*, *Roma sacra*, and *Roma moderna*. They describe the three cities that are present in the Urbs: the ancient, the Christian, and—from the second half of the seventeenth century onward—the modern capital. The categories pertain to one “real” city shaped by the complicated, even dysfunctional relationship among those three entities. After all, ancient Rome partly vanished when the Christian capital emerged on the ruins of the pagan city it sought to imitate. This process accelerated in the period under consideration, when the entire city became the capital of a global religious body engaged in fierce confessional struggles. In this period, the early Christian city that mattered so much to the legitimacy of the Early Modern papacy was heavily reconfigured as well. The papacy also initiated the transformations that by the mid-eighteenth century would turn Rome into a modern cosmopolitan city that soon called attention to its own achievements. In sum, it could be argued that “*Roma antica*,” “*sacra*,” and “*moderna*,” too, are intricate analogs; classical Rome stands to the Capitol Hill as Christian Rome to the Vatican, and St. Peter’s is built with the marble lifted from the Forum.

The relation among these analogs is mediated at least partly in the guidebook, which becomes a virtual analog to a composite reality. The emergence of the “modern” city would destabilize the quite neat separation between “*Roma antica*” and what was initially thought of as “*Roma*

moderna" (or Christian Rome) in the *Mirabilia/Indulgentiae*. It would also spur the emergence of "Roma moderna" (i.e., the contemporary city) as a distinct image of the city. If the progressive reconfiguration of the three Romes in the space of the guidebook reflects the friction inherent to the historical evolution of the city, it also bears witness to how successive authors and publishers attempt to fit the worn and well-known categories of the imaginary cities onto reality. Illustrations will turn out to play a crucial role in making the analogy between the city and the guidebook work, not only as important points of contact between the book and the real world but also as agents for the progressive reconfiguration of the imaginary cities.

Exactly this capacity was recognized very early on, as will emerge from a contemporary critical reaction to the use of illustrations in the family of guidebooks under consideration. This criticism will set the stage for our examination of the changing patterns in the illustrations and structure of the guidebooks themselves. These changes will usher the modern city into the representation of the city. An examination of how one particular group of visitors reacted to Rome will demonstrate how effective the categories of "Roma antica," "sacra," and "moderna" were in organizing the perception of the contemporary city and its analogs. English, non-Catholic visitors are able to come to terms with Rome because "modern Rome" allows them to turn their attention from all that they deem superstitious.

VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE ROME

In the Holy Year of 1600, a new and expanded pilgrim's guide to Roma appeared, *I Tesori Nascosti nell'Alma Città di Roma*, written by Ottavio Panciroli. The title of the work, *The Hidden Treasures of Rome*, is a program: what Rome offers the pilgrim is invisible, namely the indulgencies acquired through prayer and devotion. Accordingly, the work pays much attention to devotional practices, especially those that have to do with the Jubilee (Panciroli, 1600, pp. 33–71). Still, it is Panciroli's ambition to provide a real guide to the actual city, and in his exposition on the "subject of the work," addressed to his "devout readers," the author explains the relation between the visible and invisible Rome. In this exposition, Panciroli clarifies this relation by comparing ancient and Christian Rome and the way they appear in the contemporary city. He also argues that his guidebook casts the contemporary city in a different light than other guidebooks, most notably those of the family that are the subject of this essay. The index of this difference is the use of illustrations.

Panciroli starts his exposition by drawing an analogy between Jerusalem and Rome.⁵ Earthly Jerusalem is a "clear, and illustrious figure" of the heavenly Jerusalem. Ancient Rome, whose imperial rule over the world has been transformed into the "spiritual, and holy" rule of the Vicar of Christ, is "like a shadow, and a figure" of the Christian city.

Panciroli explains that his guide will not deal primarily with "that ancient Rome," in part because that Rome has been described so often but mostly because he is interested in the Rome "where Christ . . . is *seen* in his earthly Vicariat, . . . where in the holy college of cardinals the majesty, glory and splendor of the Holy Church is *seen*; where no road, no gate, no square isn't *illustrated* with some memorable act of Christ's soldiers," where countless relics are being worshipped and, finally, "where people gather to *see* the caves, cellars, caverns . . . as if they were beautiful palaces, and marvelous gardens." Still, subject permitting, Panciroli will treat ancient Rome, too, because Christian Rome has settled in its ruins. In this "whole we shall discover secrets that are no less attractive than marvelous." These are the "hidden treasures" of Rome (1600, pp. 10–11).

Panciroli thus casts ancient Rome as the substratum for the rites, institutions, and monuments of Christendom. Just like the earthly city of Jerusalem offers a glimpse of its heavenly counterpart, so the ancient predecessor of Christian Rome is like a scene for the new, Christian empire. Unlike Jerusalem, however, ancient Rome is not an image or a figure of an invisible reality. It renders Christian Rome visible not because of its presence but thanks to its disappearance. As such, it has not only made place for the new Rome but also indicates the importance of what remains invisible in the contemporary city. Panciroli compares the decayed and eroded marvels of Rome with the subterranean, and therefore invisible, spaces of the catacombs and caves, the new monuments of Christianity (Ditchfield, 1995, p. 87). Anno 1600, the apparent and visible splendor of the palaces and gardens of ancient Rome are as invisible as the most cherished monument of the Christian city. Contrary to these monuments, however, the ancient marvels are lost, and the contemporary visitor will look for them in vain. But if one searches carefully in the debris of ancient times, guidebook in hand, he will be rewarded with the much more valuable treasures of Christian Rome.

Exactly this attention for what is invisible, Panciroli continues, distinguishes his work from other guidebooks, most notably "the works of Fra Santi." Here, Panciroli refers to the guide *Le Cose Maravigliose dell'Alma Città di Roma* as it was published from 1588 onward with a text expanded by the Augustinian Santi Solinori, and his *Stazioni delle Chiese di Roma*, published in the same year (Caldana, 2003, p. 171). As will be argued in the next section, these editions are historically important because they are illustrated for the first time with small woodcuts of church facades. Panciroli's reference is an important contemporary criticism of this development in the guidebook literature. According to the author, he needs to compare the *Tesori Nascosti* with Fra Santi's illustrated guidebooks to rebut accusations that he ignored the printer's privilege of Fra Santi's work. He argues that the privilege concerned first and for all the images of "some churches from Rome with pyramids erected by Sixtus V," illustrations he

deems unnecessary unless to “represent some [Roman] antiquities of which all trace is lost and are therefore hard to understand” (1600, p. 12). In other words, contrary to the illustrations of *Le Cose Maravigliose* and the *Stationi*, which repeat what exists, Panciroli’s few images only supplement the text and do not show what is present in the contemporary city.

Panciroli continues his word to the reader by pointing out that all authors of guidebooks have the task of arranging many diverse objects “in such a manner, that they form a well-ordered story (*Historia*),” so that both believers and unbelievers will see the greatness and majesty of the Roman Church in the age and origin of its institutions and practices. All this together will place “in front of everyone’s eyes . . . a small image (*imagine*) of that ancient and modern Rome together” (1600, p. 14). And in his guidebook, this image is shaped by the alphabetically arranged description of the churches with their relics, liturgy, and indulgencies, a description that is based on nothing in the work of Fra Santi but of “older and more serious” authors, by whom Panciroli means church historians. Panciroli thus stresses again that the guidebook is an instrument to generate an image of Rome and that the task of the text is to provide aspects of the city that are not immediately present. The guide points out what takes place within the visible frame and stresses that Rome becomes what it is in the conjunction of the visible with the invisible. That conjunction is provided by the guidebook, an “image” that one should place in front of one’s eye, which astounds the devout visitor and converts the unbeliever (p. 14).

Le Cose Maravigliose

The illustrated guidebooks *Le Cose Maravigliose dell’Alma Città di Roma* . . . en de *Stationi delle Chiese di Roma* are the target of Panciroli’s word to the reader. Some discussion must have existed about the originality of Panciroli’s guidebook, but his apology is more than a rebuttal of an accusation of plagiarism. It defines how a guidebook shows the city and more specifically how the past but still palpable ancient city and early Christian Rome are present in contemporary reality.

The relation between what the guidebook and the city show is very different in *Le Cose Maravigliose*. As mentioned at the outset, since circa 1540, an Italian translation of the Latin *Mirabilia / Indulgentiae* circulated under the title *Le Cose Maravigliose*, a list of churches with a short description of their foundation, indulgencies, and stations. A similar title, *Le Cose Maravigliose dell’Alma Città di Roma. Dove si Tratta delle Chiese . . . , che Sono in Essa . . . Con un Breve Trattato delle Antichità, Chiamato La Guida Romana* was used from 1557 for Andrea Palladio’s *Descrittione de le Chiese, Stationi, Indulgenze & Reliquie de Corpi Santi in la Città de Roma* (1554), a nonillustrated, short and popular guide that provided similar information as the *Indulgentiae*. After the seven main churches of Rome (San Giovanni in Laterano, San Pietro in Vaticano, San Paolo Fuori le Mura, Santa Maria Maggiore, San

Lorenzo, San Sebastiano, and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme), Palladio organized the *Descrittione* according to four circuits: first the Isola Tibertina, then Trastevere, then the Borgo, and finally three zones east of the Tiber. This innovation, which would have allowed the pilgrim or curious visitor to visit all churches, would remain unaltered until 1610 and was influential until the eighteenth century (Caldana, 2003, p. 112). Palladio conceived his *Descrittione* explicitly as a counterpart to his *Antichità di Roma*, a description of ancient Rome that was first published also in 1554 (Howe, 1991, pp. 25–26; Caldana, 2003, pp. 186–187; Hart & Hicks, 2006). This work is written as a thematic reconstruction of the ancient city, still according to the conventions of the *descriptio urbis* that also structured the *Mirabilia*. Chapters deal with the foundation of Rome, the city wall, the gates, access roads and bridges, palaces, statues, public institutions, and the different quarters, or *rioni*. The only contemporary building with its own lemma is the Vatican Palace.

With the edition of 1557, Palladio's name disappeared from the *Descrittione*, just like the original title, and the text was published as *Le Cose Maravigliose* together with *Le Antichità*, in which Palladio was still mentioned as the author.⁶ The composite work was often republished, for instance in the 1588 version that Panciroli referred to. In this edition, a double dedication to Pope Sixtus V (1585–1590) is followed by a short description of the seven main basilicas and Santa Maria del Popolo (*Cose Maravigliose*, 1588). The description of the churches of Rome is followed by an index of churches and stations and a short treatise on acquiring indulgences (77r–79r). Then follows “the Roman guide for strangers, who come to visit the antiquities of Rome, one by one, well composed, and short” (79r–85r). This is a guided tour of the city divided in three days, according to Panciroli, the kernel of the guidebook (Panciroli, 1600, pp. 12–13). It had been included in the *Cose Maravigliose* for the first time in 1557 and leads a hurried and physically fit visitor past the remnants of ancient Rome, ending abruptly with: “Under the great palace of Orsini you'll find the statue of sir Pasquino, and I leave you with him, until after your lunch, because there are no other antiquities that I know of.” Then follows a catalogue of all popes, emperors, and kings from the beginning of time to the present. Then, continuing the pagination but with its own frontispiece, follows Palladio's *Antichità di Roma*.

The 1588 edition largely follows the structure of previous editions but, as mentioned earlier, Santi Solinori has reworked its text. Also, the first section on the churches of Rome is now illustrated with woodcuts (Howe, 1991, pp. 41–43; Caldana, 2003, pp. 113–114)⁷ (figs. 1 and 2). The illustrations were produced by the Roman publisher and bookseller Girolamo Franzini, and they offer quite stylized representations of mainly church facades (*Dizionario Biografico*, 1960, vol. 50, pp. 273–274). These woodcuts belong to the more extended corpus of illustrations that the Franzini fam-

Figure 1. *Le Cose Maravigliose dell'alma Città di Roma* (1588, frontispiece). (Photograph by author.)

ily owned and was used in other publications as well. It was again Franzini who published in 1588 Fra Santi's *Stationi delle Chiese di Roma*, and there we find largely the same views of church façades (Waetzoldt, 1969, p. 5). Franzini's editions of Bartolommeo Marliani's *Topographia urbis Romae* and Andrea Fulvio's *Antichità di Roma*, in 1588, include illustrations of

Figure 2. Andrea Palladio (Fulvio, 1588 ; frontispice). (Photograph by author.)

ancient monuments and depictions of modern buildings and statues (Fulvio, 1588; Waetzoldt, 1969, pp. 4–5). In fact, Franzini published his sets of illustrations separately, without text, in four extremely rare series: the *Templa deo et Sanctis eius Romae Dicata*, *Icones Statuarum Antiquarum Urbis Romae*, *Palatia Procerum Romane Urbis*, and *Antiquitatis Romane Urbis Studio* (Franzini, 1589; Waetzoldt, 1969, p. 5).⁸ This strongly suggests that the

decision to illustrate only the part with churches in *Le Cose Maravigliose/Le Antichità di Rome* of 1588 was motivated by other concerns than the availability of the images.

Franzini explains his motivation to represent the churches of Rome in this manner in his dedication to Pope Sixtus V; he wanted “to some extent, and according to my small powers, to imitate the example of Your Holiness, by collecting, and representing in small figures almost all, or at least the most important and most venerated temples or churches of this city” (Waetzoldt, 1969, p. 4). Illustrating the *Cose Maravigliose* would represent the Rome of Sixtus and participate in its architectural and urbanistic program. At Sixtus’s funeral, it was said that the view of Rome “would kindle the holy images that he carried in his heart, and that he rejoiced in particular if we would have the same experience when traveling through the city” (McGinness, 1982). This “kindling” of “holy images” was accomplished during Sixtus’s pontificate by accelerating the process his predecessors had initiated of drawing new axes through the city that would make the uninhabited part of Rome more accessible. The crossroads in this new network of roads were marked with fountains and newly erected and exorcized obelisks, and they were activated by means of an invigorated liturgy of the station churches (Gamrath, 1987; de Blaauw, 1999–2000; Cole, 2009). These interventions were propagated in different media such as prints, medals, and poetry (Madonna, 1993).

Franzini’s *Le Cose Maravigliose* imitates this urbanistic program in the very first section of the guide, where the main basilisks are depicted with “their” obelisk (fig. 3). The woodcuts in the following enumeration of the Roman churches continue this logic. Also, because many of the illustrated facades are recent, the images reproduce how the architecture signposts the churches in the city fabric (Schlimme, 1999). They attach the text of the *Le Cose Maravigliose* to the “living image” of the city. In so doing, *Le Cose Maravigliose* positions itself differently with regard to contemporary Rome than *I Tesori Nascosti* would do twelve years later. The illustrations of the guide repeat and confirm the new image of the city, determined by the obelisks and church facades made visible by the new network of roads.

In the part on ancient Rome, this mechanism is not applied: *Le Antichità di Roma* still consists of short chapters without illustrations providing succinct historical descriptions of ancient Rome. This Rome is barely connected with what the city has to offer in 1588. The relation between historical, ancient Rome and the contemporary city is established in the three-day tour, an equally nonillustrated topographically arranged enumeration of remains and ruins. As will become clear, the changing position of this section in the course of the seventeenth century plays a crucial role in rendering “Roma moderna” present in the guidebook. In the edition of 1588, however, the tour emphasizes the difference between the *Cose Maravigliose* and the *Antichità*: the coherent and visible Christian

Figure 3. Santa Maria sopra Minerva (*Le Cose Maravigliose dell'alma Città di Roma*, 1588, p. 12). (Photograph by author.)

Rome can be found in the city; the capital of the Roman empire, reconstructed in the *Antichità*, cannot. The visitor keen to discover that capital will find only ruins. The guide thus seemingly presents a very sharp and functional division between a part (*Le Cose Maravigliose*) indexing the city by means of schematic, almost iconic illustrations that refer back to the

contemporary city and a part (the guided tour and *Le Antichità*) that reconstructs the old and vanished city just in words, thus promulgating its loss.

Still, together *Le Cose Maravigliose* and *Le Antichità* never suggest that in or behind visible Rome there exists another invisible city, as *I Tesori Nascosti* would do. The two sections together describe very clearly what makes Rome important—its contemporary Christian guise and its vanished ancient greatness. Ancient Rome is clearly considered a legitimate and full-fledged object of the visitor's interest. And nowhere does the diptych suggest a historical layering. The ancient Rome of *Le Antichità* is not a prefiguration of the Christian city of *Le Cose Maravigliose*. Neither are the ruined antiquities of the guided tour presented as the elements for a reconstruction of the heathen past or of the triumph of Christian faith. The simultaneous and often overlapping presence, in contemporary Rome, of ancient remains and parts of the Christian city is never indicated or subject to discussion, as for instance, in Franzini's edition of Fulvio's *Antichità di Roma* (Fulvio, 1588, dedication, pp. 137, 310, 316). Contrary to *I Tesori Nascosti*, the three parts of *Le Cose Maravigliose/Le Antichità* do not attempt to transform Rome into a whole that simultaneously encapsulates history and refers to a higher reality. The religious city and the ancient city are treated as two separate entities, and this is emphasized by their representation: the use of illustrations suggests that Christian Rome corresponds with what is visible in the contemporary city, ancient Rome with what has disappeared. Because of this differentiation, contemporary Rome finds a place in *Le Cose Maravigliose/Le Antichità* less easily than in *I Tesori Nascosti*. There, contemporary urban reality is a first stepping-stone toward the different hidden treasures held by the city; *Le Cose Maravigliose/Le Antichità* filter out this reality so that only the two Romes remain that really matter.

ROMA ANTICA AS THE FIGURE OF ROMA MODERNA

Between 1588 and 1643, several editions of *Le Cose Maravigliose/Le Antichità* are published, sometimes illustrated. French and Spanish translations appear as well (Caldana, 2003, pp. 226–228). In the edition of 1600, the body of churches is expanded, Palladio's *Antichità di Roma*, rewritten by Prospero Parisio and now also illustrated with the Franzini woodcuts, followed in the footsteps of the previously mentioned edition of Fulvio's *Antichità di Roma*, to which Palladio's text is deeply indebted. The illustrations of the obelisks in the Vatican, Lateran, and on Piazza del Popolo are now also listed in the chapter on ancient obelisks, together with other exemplars (*Cose Maravigliose*, 1600, pp. 276–283). Most of the new illustrations, however, are inserted into the section of the three-day tour, which is no longer included in the part of the *Cose Maravigliose* but sits unannounced in the middle of the *Antichità* (*Cose Maravigliose*, 1600, pp. 192–249). The walks are illustrated with schematic reconstructions of an-

tiquities. Ancient buildings that have been transformed into churches or religious objects, such as the Pantheon or the obelisks, are represented in their contemporary guise. The visit equally contains illustrations of secular “modern” buildings, such as the fountains built by Sixtus V or the sixteenth-century *palazzo* Farnese. This new organization of the illustrations means that in the *Cose Maravigliose* of 1600, for instance, the image of the Lateran obelisk is included three times, as part of San Giovanni in Laterano, as an ancient obelisk, and—in the visit—as both. The visit thus emerges as the device where modern Rome becomes the representation of both “Roma sacra” and “Roma antica.”

From this point onward, modern Rome progressively emerges as an object of interest in its own right, as becomes clear in the next important edition, the *Trattato Nuovo delle Cose Maravigliose* . . . , published by Pietro Felini in 1610 (*Dizionario Biografico*, 1960, vol. 46, pp. 92–94). The three-day tour is now inserted between the *Cose Maravigliose* and the *Antichità*, without illustrations (*Trattato Nuovo delle Cose Maravigliose*, 1969, pp. 208–221). In the second, now fully illustrated section, the number of thematic sections, originally entirely devoted to ancient Rome, is much expanded; they become small treatises on a variety of topics. For instance, the section *Delle Statue* is an illustrated gallery of ancient and modern sculptures in Rome (pp. 332–339).⁹ The section on obelisks recounts the interventions of Sixtus V, not the ancient history of the monoliths (pp. 310–322). A new chapter on book printing is illustrated with the façade of the Vatican library (p. 349).

These innovations accomplish the slow reversal in the representation of *Roma antica* compared to the initial editions. If secular modern Rome was originally a reality that needed to be wished away in order to discover the lost ancient city, the ancient city is now the substratum for the contemporary reality presented to the visitor. The implication is clear: secular modern Rome, too, is equal, if not superior, to its ancient model. Not only does the rise of Christianity make for a worthy new Rome but also the visible splendor of the new buildings and infrastructure across the city. Beside the stable section on the “modern” Roman churches—a part of the guidebook that is regularly updated but whose conception and structure remain unchanged—emerges a marvelous city (*Roma Antica e Moderna*, 1653, pp., 736–797).¹⁰ By acknowledging this evolution, which destabilizes the original strict separation between a “modern” Christian and ancient Rome, the *Trattato Nuovo* announces more general changes in the conception of Roman guidebooks that would occur from the 1620s onward. Spurred on by the agendas of ambitious pontificates like that of Urban VIII Barberini (1623–1644), authors such as Pompilio Totti, Alessandro Donati, or Fioravante Martinelli, whose *Roma Ricercata* became an instant success, publish guidebooks offering pride of place to recent accomplishments, often in juxtaposition with ancient marvels (D’Onofrio, 1990, pp.

5–20). Similarly, later compendia of pious institutions, like the *Eusevologio Romano* by Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza (1679), expand their scope to include descriptions of modern academies and libraries, again acknowledging the importance of contemporary life in the city. Finally, the fascination with contemporary art and art collections would give way to guides exclusively dedicated to these topics (Davis, 2005).

These innovations clearly influence the configuration of the guides in the *Cose Maravigliose* tradition. In fact, from 1643 onward, new editions drop the original double title and title pages and are published as *Roma Antica e Moderna*, further eroding the clear distinction between the *Cose Maravigliose* and the *Antichità*, and between the contemporary city as a whole and the Christian city. The churches of *Le Cose Maravigliose* are cast as “Roma moderna,” a problematic equation that would not last long (Caldana, 2003, pp. 124–125; Rossetti, 2000, G 719, 724, 735, 739, 747, 767, 778, 788, 828, 880, 891).

In the 1653 edition of *Roma Antica e Moderna*, the *Roma Antica* part contains, in addition to the short treatises on sculpture and fountains, a section with the facades of the new city palaces as part of the chapter explaining the division of ancient Rome in different *rioni*, a traditional feature of *Le Antichità di Roma* (*Roma Antica e Moderna*, 1653, pp. 736–797). In 1687, this particular chapter becomes a full-fledged third section of the guidebook under the title “Roma Moderna”; the guidebook is now called *Roma Sacra Antica e Moderna* (Rossetti, 2000, G 923, 1004). Indeed, according to the publisher:

It is fitting, after having sufficiently shown all the holy edifices in their present state, as well as the great deeds of the ancient Romans, to talk of modern greatness, by mentioning the palaces, libraries, museums, galleries, streets, gardens, villas and every possible remarkable matter that is presently known, arranged according to the fourteen *rioni*, for a better understanding on part of the foreigner.¹¹ (*Roma Sacra*, 1687, “Roma Moderna,” p. 1; Caldana, 2003, p. 132)

This section contains all the important collections of ancient sculpture, such as the Vatican collection, arranged under its apposite *rione*, the Borgo. The section with the three-day tour has disappeared. As mentioned earlier, the part on churches remains stable between 1588 and 1687, despite its changing name, from *Cose Maravigliose* to *Roma Moderna* to *Roma Sacra*. The text and illustrations follow recent developments, but the corpus of illustrations originally produced in 1588—and therefore definitely archaic in the seventeenth century—remains in use. From 1687, however, as a result from the increasing competition on the market, the woodcuts are supplemented with a limited number of copper engravings (Waetzoldt, 1969, pp. 8–14).¹²

ROME IN THE EYE OF THE ENGLISH TOURIST

The transformation of the *Cose Maravigliose* into *Roma Sacra Antica e Moderna* should be understood against the background of the historical transformation of Rome as a travel destination and the related development of the guidebook genre. In the course of the seventeenth century, the tourist traveler appears in Rome, like elsewhere in Europe (Krautheimer, 1985; San Juan, 2001; van Kessel & Schulte, 1997). The progressive emergence of contemporary Rome between the Christian and ancient city appeals to the interests of this category of visitors. Still, the permanence of the “religious” part of the guide until circa 1700, together with the fact that the contemporary city becomes present in the guidebook at the expense of ancient—not Christian—Rome, points to Rome’s uniqueness. The guidebook is so much invested in representing the two symbolical entities of the ancient and Christian capital that the contemporary city only slowly finds its footing. Still, its progressive emergence does suggest a transformation in the mutual relation between the city and the symbolically charged analogs it ought to represent. The difference between the partly invisible but present and essential city and its contingent, real analog fades away. First, only relevant as the container of the ancient city, contemporary Rome progressively assumes a similar presence in the guidebook as *Roma sacra* and *Roma antica*. As a consequence, *Roma sacra* and *Roma antica* no longer refer to a transcendent reality or a vanished empire but instead signify the religious and antiquarian aspect of the contemporary city.

This shift was spurred on by the changing constituency of travelers to the city, and it accommodated travelers who might have taken exception to Rome’s identity as the capital of Catholicism. One increasingly important group of such travelers was the English. From the seventeenth century onward, a trip to Rome became an essential part of the aristocratic education, and a stay in Rome was a compulsory episode in the “Grand Tour” undertaken after graduation in England.¹³ Because of the political and religious conflicts between the English crown and the papacy since the reign of Elizabeth I Tudor, the trip was not without its dangers, but it was deemed an essential social and cultural enrichment.

The Grand Tour mainly privileged ancient and modern Rome (Watkin, 2000, p. 51). Travel accounts bear witness to the intense exchange of knowledge, culture, and sometimes more intimate international relationships (Gash, 2010, p. 182). Despite this process of cultural exchange, differences between English and Italian accounts of Rome remained fundamental. If, as we have argued, the guidebooks in the *Cose Maravigliose* tradition indicate an intricate and evolving relation between “*Roma sacra*,” “*antica*,” and “*moderna*,” English guidebooks used the same tripartition to safeguard contemporary and ancient Rome from the taint of superstition. The old structure of the pilgrim guides, still present in the *Cose Maravigliose*, did not satisfy the expectations of the reformed traveler, who re-

quired information about curiosities, not the hagiography or indulgences of “Roma sacra,” and the antiquities and masterpieces of the modern city, not the objects of popish idolatry. Henry Cogan soon proposed an English translation (1654) of Fioravante Martinelli’s *Roma Ricercata*, one of the guidebooks geared toward the modern visitor published in the 1630s and 1640s. Martinelli’s audience consisted of the cultivated tourist who did not aspire to devotional or spiritual experiences but wished to refine his knowledge of art. In a series of walks, he was guided to the local attractions that consisted in equal part of ancient and modern Rome and included churches but no devotional comments. Elucidations are factual and encyclopedic. The categories of “Roma sacra,” “antica,” and “moderna” suited this program well. Five years after the first Italian *Roma Sacra, Antica e Moderna*, William Bromley published the first English guide following this same logic, his *Remarks in the Grand Tour* (1692). Here, the reformed travel guide uses the new configuration of the real and imaginary city to overcome the problematic association of Roman art and architecture with superstition.

English travelers were of course made aware of Roman Catholic devotional practices, as forms of superstition that needed to be unmasked and disjointed from the artworks and buildings to which they pertained. According to William Bromley, this is one of the most important differences between the Roman Catholic (e.g., Italian) and reformed guidebooks. Catholic writers attempt “to conceal the grosser superstitions of the Church of Rome,” whereas a “Person of Quality” such as Bromley “shall conclude it is his to expose them” (Bromley, 1692, p. 155). “Roma antica e moderna” could be separated from “Roma sacra” and “Roma sacra” profaned by reducing all observations to critical judgments of taste (Sweet, 2010, p. 147). In a fictitious dialogue in which Bishop John Hurd casts Anthony Shaftesbury and John Locke as a proponent and opponent of the Grand Tour, respectively, Locke emphasizes the importance of this critical judgment as a judicious weapon against popish superstition:

I [John Locke] Know what it is to be said for the voyagers in Elizabeth’s time. We were just then emerging from ignorance and barbarity . . . yet methinks, they had done better to stay at home, and at least import the arts of Italy, if they were necessary to them in sager heads than their own. I say this, because it is no secret that the civility, we thus acquired, was dearly paid for; and that irreligion and even Atheism, were, by mistake, packed up with their other curiosities. (1617, pp. 102–103)

Many English travel guides of Rome limit themselves to a minimal and objective enumeration of facts according to the encyclopedic logic proper to the description of the Grand Tour (Batten, 1978, pp. 82–86). Henry Cogan, for instance, apologized to his reader for the succinctness of his descriptions in his *A Direction for Such as Shall into Rome* and spurred him on to study the enumerated buildings and works of art:

Now for a conclusion you are to note, that I have spoken of these Churches, but cursorily, and as it were by the way, without mentioning the many Chapdells [sic], shrines, reliques, indulgences, altars, statues, pictures, sepulchers, antiquities and a world of other rare, rich, and pretious things, which are in all variety to be seen in them; as will ocularly appear unto you, when you come to review and exactly observe them to your no little admiration and marvail. (Cogan, 1654, p. 275)

Another author, Robert Samber, had no qualms about refusing to describe *The Holy Trinity*, a masterpiece of Guido Reni in the Trinità de'Monti, "not to offend Protestant Ears" when translating François Raguenet's guide for an English audience (Samber, 1724, introduction). In sum, guides are short and their narrative is succinct, with little room for personal reflections. Travelogs leave more room for such reflections, but they most often revolve around judgments of taste. In a letter, written in the eighteenth century, Anna, Lady Miller admonishes her mother to consider churches no longer as depositories of popish idolatry but as collections of works of art and precious antiquities:

Let others dispose of their charities as they may, I am sure you will never build a church. However, as there are many more still to be seen in Italy, endeavor, if you can, to consider them rather in the light of collections of paintings, of sculpture, &c. Put priests and monks, with their croaking of masses, out of your head, and the separating these ideas which you have (I suppose) connected closely together, may enable you to read with less weariness, what you will frequently have accounts of from these regions of superstition and priestcraft. (1776, vol. 1, p. 220)

As the Grand Tour, and especially the visit to Rome, was intended to refine the taste of the English traveler, the city was first and foremost seen as a cabinet of curiosities, an attitude that can be found in equal measure in travelogs and guidebooks, as Rosemary Sweet has argued (Sweet, 2010, p. 148).¹⁷ As a result, travel guides emerge as endless enumerations of buildings and their content, in the words of Maximilien Misson, "an infinite number of things which have no coherence, nor any other relation than that of the neighbourhood of the Places where we find them; so that you must not expect any methodological connexion or conformity of Matter in those Observations which I promis'd to import to you" (Misson, 1695, p. 16). The descriptions of churches are short and concern mainly their architectural splendor, qualifying them as "noble" or "magnificent," or their author, "the great master" or "ingenious architect." The interior is treated as an enumeration of the most precious marbles, works of art, and antiquities; sometimes relics are mentioned. Addison prefers to structure his guidebook according to literary passages and medals pertaining to a work of art or building (Addison, 1705, pp. 303, 305).

The progressive erosion of the historical and spatial layering that characterized the Roman guidebooks of the sixteenth and early seventeenth

centuries is fully embraced here to make space for an array of sights and curiosia, which encompass such objects as papal ceremonial and the Vatican library (Bromley, 1692; Misson, 1695; Addison, 1705). The English guidebook adopted the epithet “Roma sacra” from their Italian models, but their reading of the city is entirely shaped by connoisseurship and a reformed religious point of view. “Roma sacra” is no longer the referent that organizes the relation between ancient and modern Rome but rather a particular curiosity available to the eager traveler. Thus, the English example suggests that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Rome has started to become a city like many others.

NOTES

1. This essay expands and refines an article originally published as Maarten Delbeke (2006), “*Roma antica, sacra, moderna*: de zeventiende-eeuwse herconfiguratie van de stad in reis- en pilgrimsgidsen,” *Spiegel der Letteren*, 48(2), 149–161. Much of the original research of this essay was done at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montréal, and the authors wish to thank Caroline Dionne for her unfaltering assistance. For the section on English travel guides, we wish to express our gratitude to the Yale Center for British Art that made this research possible. All translations are our own.
2. The most important repertoires of Rome guides are Schlosser Magnino, 1996; Schudt, 1930; Rossetti, 2000; and Caldana, 2003. See also Murray, 1972.
3. For the edition history of these guides, see Howe, 1991, pp. 38–46; Caldana, 2003, pp. 42–53, 107–119, 226–228; and Hart & Hicks, 2006, pp. xlv–lviii.
4. On the section with the marvels of the world, including a bibliography of the editions containing this section, see Isager, 1987, pp. 61–74.
5. For this, see Gatti Perrin, 1983; Fagiolo & Madonna, 1985; Labrot, 1997, pp. 319–340.
6. See a list of editions up to 1610, in Howe, 1991, pp. 173–174. For the editions from 1610 until 1643, based on Schudt, 1930, see Waetzold, 1969.
7. Howe points out that in 1588 another illustrated version of the *Cose Meravigliose* was published in Venice by Martinelli, which is less imbued with an admiration for the Rome of Sixtus V. Illustrated editions of the *Cose Meravigliose* had been produced since 1557, and other illustrated guidebooks had appeared earlier as well, such as Bernardo Gamucci’s *Le Antichità di Roma* of 1565. On the development of guidebook illustrations, see also Marshal, 2002; Delbeke & Schouwers, 2008, pp. 111–172.
8. Following earlier authors, Waetzold dates these editions 1596. The copy of the *Templa* and *Icones statuarum* held in the print collection of the Royal Library in Brussels, unknown to Waetzold, carries the date 1589 on the frontispiece.
9. See also Isager, 1987.
10. According to Caldana, the second edition of Panciroli’s *I tesoro nascosti* of 1625 is the first guidebook divided according to the *rioni* (2003, p. 159). In the guide *Roma sacra e moderna* of 1707 (Rossetti 2000, G 1050, 1120, 1128), the entire text is organized according to the *rioni*; the separate section with the churches disappears, just like the history of ancient Rome.
11. For a detailed overview of the development of the illustrations in the *Cose maravigliose* tradition from 1588 to 1687, see Waetzold, 1969, pp. 8–14.
12. In 1620, Richard Lassels was the first to use the term “Grand Tour” in his *Voyage of Italy* (Watkin, 2000, p. 55).
13. Misson (1695, p. 16) wrote: “I will not pretend to give you a particular account of all that I observed in it, but only endeavour to represent to you a general Idea of that famous City and afterwards proceed to communicate to you some particular Observations: I will entertain you with nothing but what is either new or little known, unless when I am oblig’d to resolve your Doubts, or answer your Questions. We see every day an infinite number of things which have no coherence, nor any other relation than that of the neighbourhood of the Places where we find them; so that you must not expect any methodological connexion or conformity of Matter in those Observations which I promis’d to import to you.”

REFERENCES

- Addison, J. (1705). *Remarks on several parts of Italy, in the years 1701, 1702, 1703*. London: Printed for Jacob Tonson.
- Barroero, L. (1990). Introduzione. In Baglione, B. (Ed.), *Le nove chiese di Roma*. Rome: Archivio Guido Izzi.
- Batten, C. (1978). *Pleasurable instruction, form and convention in eighteenth-century travel literature*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bromley, W. (1692). *Remarks in the grand tour of France, Italy, lately performed by a person of quality*. London: Printed by E. H. for Tho. Basset.
- Caldana, A. (2003). *Le guide di Roma. Ludwig Schudt e la sua bibliografia. Letteratura critica e Catalogo ragionato*. Rome: Palombi.
- Chabaud, G., Cohen, E., Coquery, N., & Penez, J. (Eds.). (2000). *Les guides imprimés du XVIIe au XXe siècle. Villes, paysages, voyages*. Paris: Belin.
- Cole, M. (2009). Perpetual exorcism in Sistine Rome. In M. Cole & R. Zorach (Eds.), *The idol in the age of art. Objects, devotions and the early modern world* (pp. 56–76). Ashgate, England: Aldershot.
- Cogan, H. (1654). *A direction for such as shall travell into Rome how they may with the most ease and conveniency view all those rarities, curiosities and antiquities which are to be seen there*. London: Printed for Henry Herringham.
- Le cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma: dove si veggono il movimento delle guglie, & gli acquedutti per condurre l'Acqua Felice, le ample, & commode strade, fatte à beneficio publico, dal Santissimo Sisto V.P.O.M. et si tratta delle chiese rappresentate in disegno da Gieronimo Francino . . . la guida Romana, che insegna facilmente à i forastieri à ritrovare le più notabili cose di Roma . . . l'antichità di Roma, breuemente raccolta, & vn discorso sopra li fuochi de gli antichi*. Nuouamente . . . ampliate dal reverendo padre Fra Santi de Sant'Agostino. (1588). Venice, Italy: Girolamo Francino.
- Le cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma, antifiteatro del mondo: con le chiese, et antichità . . . con l'aggiunta del dottor Prospero Parisio*. (1600). Rome: Gio. Antonio Franzini.
- Davis, M. D. (2005). Giovan Pietro Bellori and the *Nota delli musei, librerie, gallerie, et ornamenti di statue e pitture ne'palazzi, nelle case, e ne'giardini di Roma* (1664). Modern libraries and ancient painting in Seicento Rome. *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 68, 191–233.
- de Blaauw, S. (2000). Immagini di liturgia: Sisto V, la tradizione liturgica dei papi e le antiche basiliche di Roma. *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 33, 259–302.
- de Bruijn, W. (2007). Anticipating antiquity. Jean Jacques Boissard's *Topographia Urbis Romae* and the reworking of Rome. *The International Journal of the Book*, 4(3), 45–57.
- Décultot, E. (Ed.). (2010). *Musées de papier. L'antiquité en livres 1600–1800* (Catalogue, Musée du Louvre). Paris: Louvres Éditions.
- Delbeke, M. & Schouwers S. (2009). Roma antica, moderna e sacra. Piranesi en de *vedute*-traditie. In M. Delbeke, D. De Meyer, B. Rogiers, & B. Verschaffel (Eds.), *Piranesi. De prentencollectie van de Universiteit Gent* (pp. 111–172) (Catalogue, Museum voor Schone Kunsten Gent). Ghent, Belgium: A&S/Books.
- Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. (1960) (Vols. 46, 50). Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana/Treccani.
- Ditchfield, S. (1995). *Liturgy, sanctity and history in Tridentine Italy. Pietro Maria Campi and the preservation of the particular*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- D'Onofrio, C. (1969). *Roma nel seicento. 'Roma rinnovata dall'Architettura, Pittura e Scultura' di Fioravante Martinelli*. Florence, Italy: Vallecchi.
- Fagiolo, M., & Madonna, M. L. (1985). *Roma Sancta. La città delle basiliche*. Rome: Gangemi.
- Fléury, Ph., & Desbordes O. (Eds.). (2008). *Roma illustrata: Représentations de la ville*. Caen, France: Presses Universitaires de Caen.
- Franzini, G. (1589). *Icones statuarum antiquarum urbis romae. Templi deo et Sanctis eius Romae Dicata. Icones Statuarum Antiquarum Urbis Romae. Palatia Procerum Romae Urbis. Antiquitatis Romae Urbis Studio* (Rome: Ad sugnum fontis).
- Fulvio, A. (1588). *L'antichità di Roma . . . di nuovo con ogni diligenza corretta & ampliata, con gli adornamenti di disegni de gli edificij Antichi & Moderni . . .* Venice, Italy: Girolamo Francino.
- Gamrath, H. (1987). *Roma Sancta Renovata. Studi sull'urbanistica di Roma nella seconda metà del sec. XVI con particolare riferimento al pontificato di Sisto V (1585–1590)*. Rome, L'Erma di Bretschneider. *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, Vol 2.

- Gash, J. (2010). From Cleland to Byron: The unexpurgated British version of Italian art. *Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies*, 33(2), 181–194.
- Gatti Perron, M. L. (Ed.) (1983). *“La dimora di Dio con gli uomini.” Immagini della Gerusalemme celeste dal III al XIV secolo*. Milano, Italy: Sacro Cuore.
- Hart, V., & Hicks, P. (2006). *Palladio's Rome. A translation of Andrea Palladio's two guidebooks of Rome*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Howe, E. D. (1991). *Andrea Palladio and the churches of Rome*. Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.
- Hurd, R. (1617). *Dialogues on the uses of foreign travel, considered as a part of an English Gentleman's education: between Lord Shaftesbury and Mr Locke. By the editor of Moral and Political Dialogues*. Dublin, Ireland: Printed by John Beale.
- Isager J. (1987). *Le cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma e Le sette meraviglie del mondo nell'età di Sisto V. Analecta Romana Instituto Danici*, 16, 61–74.
- Krautheimer, R. (1985). *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655–1667*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Labrot, G. (1997). *Roma caput mundi. L'immagine barocca della città santa 1534–1677*. Naples, Italy: Electa.
- Lassels, R. (1670). *The Voyage of Italy : or a compleat journey through Italy*. Paris, France: John Starkey. (Original work published 1620)
- Madonna, M. L. (1993). *Roma di Sisto V. Le arti e la cultura*, Rome: De Luca.
- Marshall, A. (2002). *Mirabilia Urbis Romae. Five centuries of guidebooks and views. Cat. Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto.
- Mc Guinness, F. J. (1982). The rhetoric of praise and the New Rome of the Counter Reformation. In: P. A. Ramsey (Ed.), *Rome in the Renaissance: The city and the myth*. Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.
- Miedema, N. R. (1996). *Die Mirabilia Romae: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Überlieferung mit Edition der deutschen und niederländischen Texte*. Tübingen, Germany: Niemeyer Verlag, 1996.
- Miller, A. (1776). *Letters from Italy describing the manners, customs, antiquities, paintings &c of that country, in the years MDCCLXXI and MDCCLXXI to a friend residing in France*. Dublin, Ireland: Printed for W. Watson.
- Misson, M. (1695). *A new voyage to Italy, With a description of the chief towns, churches, tombs, libraries, palaces, statues and antiquities of that country*. London: Printed for R. Bently.
- Murray, P. (1972). *Five early guides to Rome and Florence*. London: Farnborough.
- Panciroli, O. (1600). *I tesori nascosti nell'alma città di Roma*. Rome: Luigi Zannetti.
- Roma antica e moderna nella quale si contengono chiese, monasterij, hospedali, compagnie, collegij, e seminarij, tempj, teatri, anfiteatri, naumachie, cerchi, fori, curie, palazzi, e statue, librerie, musei, pitture, sculture, & i nomi de gli artefici . . .* (1653). Rome: Giacomo Fei.
- Roma sacra, antica e moderna: figurata, e divisa in tre parti, nella prima delle quali si contengono tutte le chiese . . . Nella seconda si contiene la genealogia di Romolo, la serie de i re, consoli, e imperatori, teatri, anfiteatri, naumachie, cerchij, fori, curie, palazzi, & altre antichità. Nella terza si contiene la descrizione dello stato presente secondo l'ordine di quattordici rioni . . .* (1687). Rome: Giovanni Battista Molo.
- Rossetti, S. (2000). *Rome. A bibliography from the invention of printing through 1899. I. The guide books*. Florence: Olschki.
- Samber, R. (1724). *Roma Illustrata or a description of the most beautiful pieces of painting, sculpture, and architecture, antique and modern, and near Rome*. London: Printed for W. Mears.
- San Juan, R. M. (2001). *Rome. A city out of print*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- Schlimme, H. (1999). *Die Kirchenfassade in Rom: 'Reliefierte Kirchenfronten' 1475–1765*. Petersberg, Germany: Imhof.
- Schlosser Magnino, J. (1996). *La letteratura artistica. Manuale delle fonti della storia dell'arte moderna*. Florence, Italy: La Nuova Italia.
- Schudt, L. (1930). *Le guide di Roma: Materialien zu einer Geschichte der römischen Topographie*. Vienna, Austria: B. Filser.
- Sweet, R. (2010). The changing view of Rome in the long eighteenth century, *Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies*, 33(2), 145–164.
- Trattato nuovo delle cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma: ornato de molte figure, nel quale si discorre de 300. & più chiese. Composto da F. Pietro Martire Felini. . .* (1969). Berlin, Germany: B. Hessling (Anastatic reprint; original work published 1610). (Quellen und Schriften zur bildenden Kunst, 3).

- van Kessel P., & Schulte, E. (Eds.). (1997). *Rome-Amsterdam. Two growing cities in seventeenth-century Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Waetzold, S. (1969). *Trattato nuovo* von 1610. In *Trattato nuovo delle cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma: ornato de molte figure, nel quale si discorre de 300. & più chiese. Composto da F. Pietro Martire Felini. . . .* (p. 11) Berlin, Germany: Bruno Hessling (Photographic reprint; original work published 1610).
- Watkin, D. (2000). The architectural context of the grand tour. In C. Hornsby (Ed.), *The impact of Italy: The grand tour and beyond*. London: The British School at Rome.
- Zorach, R. (Ed.). (2008). *The virtual tourist in Renaissance Rome. Printing and collecting in the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Maarten Delbeke is associate professor at the Department of Architecture and Urban Planning of Ghent University. He leads the project *The Quest for the Legitimacy of Architecture in Europe 1750–1850* at Leiden University, funded by a Vidi grant from the Dutch Science Foundation (N.W.O.). He works on the theory of art and architecture from the early modern period to the nineteenth century and writes on contemporary architecture. He is the coeditor of *Bernini's Biographies. Critical Essays* (Penn State University Press, 2006), *Foundation, dedication and consecration in Early Modern Europe* (Brill, 2011), and *Translations of the Sublime* (Brill, 2012) and the author of *Sforza Pallavicino and Art Theory in Bernini's Rome* (Ashgate, 2012).

Anne-Françoise Morel is an art historian. She specializes in the history and theory of architecture of the Early Modern period in England. Her doctoral thesis, "Glorious Temples and Babylonian Whores, Church Architecture in England 1603–1736 according to Consecration Sermons," will be published with BRILL–Leiden in 2014–2015. In addition to a research project (FRFC-FNRS) at the UC-Louvain-la-Neuve on Baroque Figurative Thinking, Morel is conducting research on the ethics and aesthetics of religious architecture in eighteenth century France and England (FWO–Ghent). Her research has been published in international peer-reviewed journals including *Architectural History* and source notes in the history of art, and awarded by the Paul Mellon Centre and the Yale Center for British Art where she was a visiting fellow in 2011.