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Rome: the city of memories. Or, why and how reconstruct and visualize ancient and post-antique Rome using digital technologies?

The "AIS ROMA", diachronic and phase maps of (ancient) Rome in the WWW Long version 2015, München*

(Talk, delivered at "The International Symposium Reconstruction and the Historic City: Rome and Abroad - *an interdisciplinary approach*, LMU München, 17-19 October 2012")

1. slide: Title of the talk

2. slide: The objective of the research project "AIS ROMA"

It is necessary to discuss reconstructions of ancient Rome not only because the buildings of this period have only survived in part but also because there are so many different perspectives on reconstruction. With this as my starting point, my presentation is divided into two parts. Part I deals with a distinct scholarly perspective, and Part II with a perspective that scholars and tourists share. Part I is dedicated to a special kind of 'memory': the more than 1,000 years of international scholarship on Rome that creates pitfalls for anyone who tries to reconstruct the ancient city today. I will discuss examples from the Palatine, the Forum Romanum, the Capitoline Hill and the area between the *Velia* and the Esquiline that I have come across in my own map-project called "AIS ROMA" which I am conducting together with Franz Xaver Schütz and further cooperation partners.

My second slide showed the City of Rome within the Aurelian Walls of late antiquity, built 271-275 AD. I am in the course of drawing maps of Rome within those Walls and the **slide 2.** showed how far I had gotten with my diachronic map in 2012 (the area within the Aurelian Walls measures 13,72 square kilometers, I have so far drawn 7 of them), having started in 2003. Because the ancient City of Rome is much discussed, I do not only proceed in mapping new areas, but constantly have to change already drawn ones. To keep abreast with the rapid progress in this field, the obvious solution for us was not to draw paper-based maps, but to create an information system, with which the constant changes can more easily be accomplished. This information system is called "AIS ROMA" (i.e. "Archaeological Information System related to Rome")¹ that Franz Xaver Schütz and I have developed for the purpose ourselves².

* The first draft of the here published 'long' version of my talk, delivered at "The International Symposium Reconstruction and the Historic City: Rome and Abroad - *an interdisciplinary approach*, LMU München, 17-19 October 2012", dates from December 24th, 2012 (later additions refer to some works that were published in the meantime. The Appendix *A topographic error, the statuette of Euripides in the Louvre and a head of a boy wearing a cap in the Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini* was added as a result of email-correspondence conducted from 2014-2015); for the 'short' version of this text, cf. Häuber 2014b. I wish to thank the following individuals: Karina Türr and Lavinia Cozza for providing me with portrait photographs of Wilhelm Menning and Lucos Cozza respectively, and for kindly granting me the permission to publish them; Franz Xaver Schütz, whom I thank for discussing this text with me, has also taken photographs for me; Amanda Claridge supported my work thanks to her much appreciated 'telephone-help-line'; and Gordon Winder has revised the English of my text. Valerie Scott, Francesca Deli and Beatrice Gelosia (the librarians of the library of The British School at Rome [BSR]), Ruth Lucy Toepffer, and my colleagues at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (LMU) München, Maria Beck, Andrea Beigel and Monika Popp, as well as Ingo Herklotz (Universität Marburg) and Esther P. Wipfler (Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte München), provided me with books and references. The *Photo Parker 961* shown here is kept in the

The reasons were manifold, after testing in the beginning commercial GIS-software³, we found that their performance was much too slow considering the masses of data that an information system covering the entire City of Rome would have to cope with. On the other hand, we wished to integrate into my own Rome maps cartographic data of old maps, for example that of Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli (1748)⁴, and wanted to locate that information as precisely as possible into the current digital cadastre/ the photogrammetric data, an aim that proved to be impossible to achieve with commercial GIS-software.

We are applying GIS-technology in the "AIS ROMA" with which I draw my maps, but we do not call our information system a GIS. The reasons are complex and Franz Xaver Schütz has explained the reasons in his talk at this Symposium (cf. n. 1). My maps are based on the official photogrammetric data of the Comune di Roma, now called Roma Capitale, which leads us to our cooperation partners: first of all the classical archaeologist Prof. Eugenio La Rocca (now Università di Roma "La Sapienza"), who, when Sovrintendente ('General Director') of the Beni Culturali of the Comune di Roma, generously provided us in March of 1999 with the photogrammetric data⁵, and Dott.ssa Susanna Le Pera and Dott. Luca Sasso D'Elia, likewise classical archaeologists of Roma Capitale, whom we first met in October of 1997, when Prof. La Rocca decided to collaborate with us in our project "FORTVNA". In addition, the classical archaeologist Prof. Filippo Coarelli (Università degli Studi di Perugia) and the ancient historian Prof. John Bodel (Brown University), to mention only those, who were able to come to this Symposium.

Unfortunately the geographer Prof. Michael F. Goodchild, the famous GIS-expert (at the time University of California, Santa Barbara), whom we had asked to be one of our three keynote-speakers, could not come. This is also true for the ancient historian and classicist Prof. Nicholas Purcell (The University of Oxford, Brasenose College), who had accepted our invitation to be one of our Discussants, and for the Egyptologists Dr. Rafed El-Sayed and Dr. Konstantin C. Lakomy (both Universität Göttingen), all of whom are our cooperation partners, and for the classical archaeologist PD Dr. Jochen Griesbach (Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg). The latter three had accepted to give presentations at this Symposium. Many more scholars, some of whom are here with us as well, have greatly supported our relevant research and are still doing so, for example the ancient historian and classicist Prof. T.P. Wiseman (The University of Exeter), the classical archaeologist Prof. Amanda Claridge (The University of London, Royal Holloway & Bedford New College), the archaeologist Prof. Francesco Buranelli (Segretario della Pontificia Commissione per i Beni Culturali della Chiesa, Città del Vaticano) and the ancient historian Prof. Christopher Smith (Director of the British School at Rome).

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¹ Cf. Schütz, Häuber 2003; and now the contribution of F.X. Schütz in the Symposium volume; cf. Schütz 2014.

² Häuber, Schütz 2004; Häuber 2005; Häuber, Schütz 2006. The information system "AIS ROMA" is based on the photogrammetric data of the Comune di Roma (now Roma Capitale) - for those, cf. *infra*, n. 5 - and on the object-oriented software "FORTVNA", into which functionalities of 3/4D-GIS are incorporated. This F.X. Schütz and I developed for the purpose ourselves in the research project FORTVNA (1994-2001).

³ Cf. Häuber, Schütz 1997.

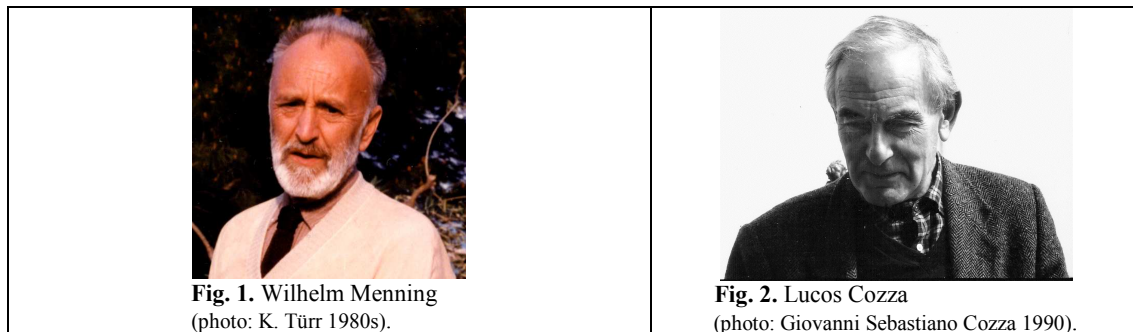
⁴ For that map, Ehrle 1932 and now Le Pera 2014.

⁵ Cf. La Rocca 2001; Häuber 2014a, pp. XVI-XVII.

3. slide: I dedicate this talk to a painter, the late Prof. Wilhelm Menning⁶ (Fig. 1), head of the *Kunstseminar* (art seminar) Duisburg

**and to his colleagues, the classical archaeologist Dr. Karina Türr, the ancient historian and Etruscologist Dr. Stephan Türr, the late sculptor Kurt Sandweg⁷ and the artist Martin Goppelsröder
(Prof. Menning and his colleagues took us students of the art seminar in September of 1972 to Rome)**

and to the late classical archaeologist and expert in the topography of ancient Rome, Prof. Lucos Cozza⁸ (Fig. 2) whom I first met in 1981 in the library of the British School at Rome



The trip to Rome in September of 1972 was very well prepared because apart from the two scholars, Karina and Stephan Türr, all the others thought they would never go there again. In return for sponsoring our trip, our chancellor had suggested that we should produce ourselves artworks while in Rome to be shown in an exhibition afterwards⁹, both of which we actually did. Prof. Menning alerted us to famous books about the City of Rome and its history, books about artists, who had worked in Rome, as well as about famous artworks in Rome, such as the Laocoon group in the Vatican Museums, for example by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Ferdinand Gregorovius, Jacob Burckhardt, Egon Friedell and Marie Luise Kaschnitz¹⁰. He told us about the trips of north European artists of past centuries to the City, as well as about the places in Rome, where they had stayed and worked in. 1972 was the year of the re-opening of the Glyptothek in München, where the now de-restored Aeginetes were on display¹¹, ancient Greek pediment sculptures from the temple of Aphaia on the island of Aegina in Greece, which we went to see together with Kurt Sandweg because our teachers found it appalling that they had been de-restored. Because we had not seen those sculptures in their previous, restored form by the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen, we

⁶ Born in Mediaș on August 22nd, 1912, he died in Erlangen on December 25th, 1998.

⁷ Düsseldorf October 11th, 1927 - November 18th, 2008 Düsseldorf; cf. *Kurt Sandweg*, p. 35. I thank Martin Goppelsröder who was so kind as to present me with a copy of this book.

⁸ Born in Rome on April 21st, 1921, he died in Rome on June 27th, 2011. When I first met Lucos Cozza, he was professor at the Università degli Studi di Perugia; cf. now Coates-Stephens, [Lavinia] Cozza 2014, *passim*.

⁹ This exhibition of our artworks was on display at the Niederrheinisches Museum Duisburg in 1972/73. When in Rome, I had *inter alia* made drawings of the 'Esquiline Venus', a Roman marble statue in the Musei Capitolini, and, because I could not capture its ethos, decided to study Classical Archaeology as a second major.

¹⁰ Cf. Lessing 1766; Gregorovius 1856; Burckhardt 1860; *id.* 1913; *id.* 1874; Friedell 1927; *id.* 1991; Kaschnitz 1955.

¹¹ Ohly 1972, pp. 58-60; Grunwald 1977; cf. the observations by Borbein 2004, p. 35, concerning this attitude of "de-restauro" in Germany that took place since the 1950s.

visited, when in Rome, with a special permit the Villa Albani to see plaster casts of those sculptures in their restored form. We discussed also publications about *Kronprinz* Ludwig, the future king Ludwig I of Bavaria, who, during his stay in Rome had managed to buy the Aeginetes and had commissioned Thorvaldsen to restore them¹². 1972 was also the year, when Federico Fellini's movie *Roma* came out, which we all went to see before our trip to Rome.

As not otherwise expectable, we all had a more or less long list of single architectures and artworks we wanted to see in Rome, from the Stazione Termini, where we would arrive by train, and the section of the so-called Servian city Wall of the 6th/ 4th century BC, standing right in front of this train station, all the way to the Vatican, with Giacomo Manzù's bronze doors at the Basilica of St. Peter and the sculptures and fresco paintings by Michelangelo Buonarroti within St. Peter and in the Palaces of the Popes. We were thus at first glance almost ordinary visitors to Rome, who try to see as many sights as possible and read guide-books that suggest certain itineraries, but we had also obtained special permits to see privately owned buildings that are not open to the public. Also because we had the obligation to produce ourselves artworks while in Rome, we distinguished ourselves from other visitors to Rome. We thought for example that it would be a good idea, not only to record the well-known sights, but also to capture parts of the cityscape. We were therefore especially interested to find the beautiful roads and architectural ensembles, shown in Fellini's *Roma*, since we wanted to draw them. I tell you this as a warning right in the beginning, because it proves that reconstructions may be in a certain way deceptive: by wandering on foot for two weeks through the entire city of Rome we found out, as was later confirmed at home, that Fellini had shot his entire movie at Cinecittà¹³, which means, the ensembles that we had taken for existing *vedutes* of Rome's cityscape turned out to be *reconstructions*.

Since I have had the good fortune to work with Prof. Dr. Jürgen Schmude and Prof. Dr. Gordon Winder at the Research- and Teaching Unit of Economic Geography and Tourism-Research of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (LMU) München since March of 2011¹⁴, I have reflected again upon the experiences back in 1972 and realized that my being a tourist when I come to Rome is an important part of the kind of research I am conducting. Our teachers of the art seminar had tried very hard to make us students *not* to behave like tourists when in Rome, which is regarded in Tourism-Research, as I have only learnt now, a typical concern of many tourists¹⁵. Martin Goppelsröder had therefore given us Mark Twain's satirical report on his own trip together with some compatriots to Europe and the Holy Land, called *The Innocents Abroad*, first published in 1869¹⁶, nevertheless we proved to be at least as 'innocent' as those. Further, the multidisciplinary of this art seminar has influenced my scholarly approach to the City of Rome - this leads me directly to the British School at Rome¹⁷, where I should find since December of 1980 a similar atmosphere, because the lucky people who may stay there with a scholarship are likewise *artists and scholars*. My own experience with our professors of art was that they treated us as younger colleagues from the

¹² Thorvaldsen's restorations were de-restored in 1963-64; for the entire history of the Aeginetes, cf. Wünsche 2011.

¹³ Cf. for example Bawden 1976, p. 134 s.v. CINECITTÀ: "... It has frequently been used for international productions, especially for large scale projects such as ... FELLINI'S *Roma* (1972)".

¹⁴ I am employed there since December 2010, but we only moved to München in March of 2011.

¹⁵ Cf. Popp 2010, pp. 15ff. I thank my colleague Monika Popp (LMU München) for the reference.

¹⁶ Cf. Ayck 1974, pp. 36-44, fig. on p. 42 (title page of the first edition of this book), p. 141.

¹⁷ "... the British School at Rome [is] Britain's leading humanities research institute abroad and one of the most prestigious foreign academies in Rome"; cf. <<http://www.bsr.ac.uk/>>.

first day they accepted us as their students¹⁸. Therefore, the ideas that our teachers discussed with us at this trip to Rome in 1972 still keep me busy today. At the time, none of us was able to solve the questions we had on site, and I will tell you in the following some examples. It were Prof. Lucos Cozza, the ancient historian and classicist Prof. T.P. Wiseman (University of Exeter) and other scholars, whom I met since December of 1980 in the library of the British School at Rome and in the Comune di Roma/ Roma Capitale, who taught me a suitable approach to solve such problems: the study of the topography of (ancient) Rome.

4. slide: One of Lucos Cozza's most important research interests: the Severan marble plan. Left: the wall of the Severan marble plan (205-08 AD) in the *Templum Pacis*. Right: Claridge 2010, Hall of the Marble plan. Reconstruction of original veneer panelling scheme

For those of you, who did not know Lucos Cozza¹⁹, it was him, who studied and documented in 1948²⁰ in a measured plan the 'morphology' of the ancient wall²¹ at the *Templum Pacis* in Rome, to which once the largest Rome map ever made that we know of was attached, the Severan marble plan (18,10 m wide and 13 m high, with north at the bottom, in total ca. 235 square meters of plan, the scale was ca. 1: 240, the plan is datable to 205-208 AD²²). Only about 10 % of the marble plan have survived, and 5 % of those fragments are securely located thanks to Cozza's brilliant idea to reconstruct the scheme of the original marble veneer panelling, into which the plan was incised²³. Lucos Cozza thus enabled countless scholars after him to work with this ancient Rome plan, a tool of absolutely immeasurable potential, especially because only the fragments of this Severan marble plan document parts of the urban fabric of the ancient city²⁴. Lucos Cozza is therefore for Part I of my talk, in which I will present you my scholarly problems related to my maps, the ideal reference person.

5. slide: Cozza, *Rom wie es war und wie es ist* (s. d.)

Interestingly, Lucos Cozza is also for Part II of my talk, in which I will discuss reconstructions that scholars and tourists alike are interested in, the ideal reference person, as I wish to show you with this slide. When in Rome in 1972, all of us bought ourselves *Rom wie es war und wie es ist*²⁵, which was published in several languages. Amanda Claridge only

¹⁸ After having successfully passed an exam, at the time called *Mappenvorlage* (presentation of the artworks created by the student).

¹⁹ Cf. *supra*, n. 8.

²⁰ Cf. Ferrea 2006, pp. 45-46 with ns. 11, 12, fig. 9: "Il rilievo realizzato in seguito da Lucos Cozza nel 1948, pubblicato nell'edizione del complesso del 1960 [with n. 11: "PM (i.e. Pianta Marmorea), pp. 175-195, tav. LXI"] (fig. 9), costituisce indubbiamente un insostituibile strumento per la ricostruzione della pianta marmorea, con la precisa indicazione e descrizione di tutti gli elementi presenti sulla parete laterizia, primi fra tutti i fori per le grappe che sostenevano le lastre, che consentono di ricavarne la tessitura", with n. 12: "Una ripresa fotogrammetrica della parete è stata eseguita in tempi recenti per conto della Sovrintendenza Comunale con la supervisione di Susanna Le Pera e Luca Sasso d'Elia". The results have been shown and discussed by S. Le Pera in her talk at this Symposium; cf. *ead.* 2014, pp. 68-87; Tucci 2004, p. 185 with n. 1. For the Severan marble plan, cf. Häuber 2014a, pp. 799-800 with ns. 7-8; for details of the Severan marble plan, cf. La Rocca 2014, pp. 23-39, figs. 1; 7.

²¹ Santangeli Valenzani 2006, p. 57, fig. 4.

²² Coarelli 1980, p. 121; *id.* 2003, p. 152; Tucci 2004, p. 185.

²³ Claridge 1998, p. 153, fig. 64; *ead.* 2010, p. 171, fig. 65, p. 173; Tucci 2004, p. 185.

²⁴ Cf. now E. La Rocca, in: Häuber 2014a, p. XIII.

²⁵ Cozza, without date.

told me much later that Lucos Cozza was also the author of this booklet for tourists which shows photographs of the current situation of ancient buildings, as well as reconstructions of their appearance in antiquity, seen from the same angle. Again these are *vedutes* of ensembles of buildings that our little group was so much interested in.

6. slide: The temple of Apollo and the so-called House of Augustus on the Palatine
Carandini, Carafa 2012 - My own map (Fig. 3)

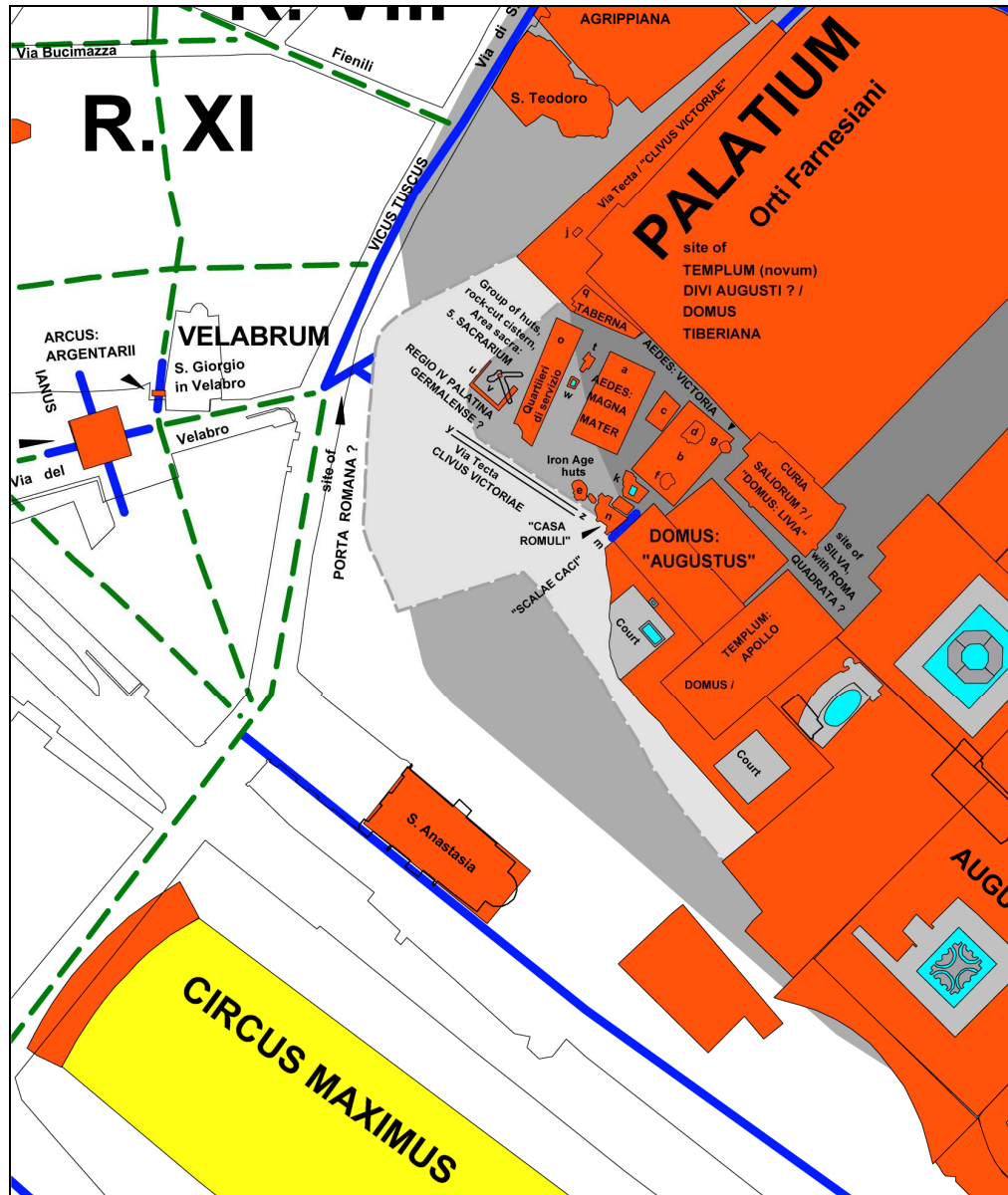


Fig. 3. Map showing the so-called house of Augustus on the Palatine. C. Häuber, "AIS ROMA".

I have shown in my **slide 6**, a bird's eye view reconstruction which was copied from the *Atlante di Roma antica* ('Atlas of ancient Rome') by Andrea Carandini and Paolo Carafa²⁶, as well as a detail of my own diachronic map (**Fig. 3**) of exactly the same area. Note that on my maps all ancient names are written with capital letters. When a name is followed by a question

²⁶ D. Bruno, in: Carandini, Carafa 1 2012, pp. 233-235, tavv. 70-72, ill. 10-12; the here discussed slide is ill. 10 (= Coarelli 2012, p. 363 fig. 113).

mark, this means that the relevant suggestion is fairly recent and that so far no consensus has been reached concerning this identification; the ground-plans of ancient buildings are coloured red; ancient roads are drawn as 3 m wide dark blue lines; post-antique roads as 3 m wide light blue lines; reconstructed ancient roads as dotted green lines. My map is "2D", the compared "3D"-image is also based on a ground-plan, but the underlying philosophy is quite different - apart from the different orientation. Because my maps are based on the photogrammetric data of the Comune di Roma/ Roma Capitale, north on them is in the upper-middle border.

Whereas Franz Xaver Schütz and I reduce the reconstructions of ground-plans to a minimum, the reconstruction in the *Atlante di Roma antica* is based on two principles: analogy (with different buildings, in this case a House at Pompeii) and symmetry (assuming that the architectural remains documented on site are parts of larger, symmetrical units)²⁷. In addition to that, the reconstruction of this huge building as the House of Augustus rests on two assumptions, (1) that small architectural remains found underneath the Church of S. Anastasia belong to the *domus* (House) of Republican date, excavated immediately to the west and east of the temple of Apollo, and (2) that all these remains belong to the same palatial *domus* which may securely be identified as the House of Augustus (or rather of Octavian, as Augustus was named until 27 BC). These assumptions have been refuted by other scholars. The shortest distance between S. Anastasia and the so-called House of Augustus is ca. 75 m (**Fig. 3**, labels: S. Anastasia; DOMUS / TEMPLUM: APOLLO; DOMUS "AUGUSTUS").

I wanted to show on my diachronic map the exact borderline between the living rock of the Palatine and the adjacent substructures (drawn as a light grey area on my map **Fig. 3**, bordered by a dotted line since we do not know their original extensions), because none of the excavation plans published at that point showed this²⁸. We, therefore, went to see Prof. Patrizio Pensabene and his collaborator Enrico Gallochio at the Università di Roma "La Sapienza" in Rome²⁹ - Pensabene has been excavating in the area of the temple of Magna Mater (Cybele) since the last 30 years, and Enrico Gallochio was so kind as to draw this borderline for me, a cartographic information I have then incorporated into my map. We learn from literary sources that in front of the temple of Magna Mater - located to the west of the so-called House of Augustus (cf. **Fig. 3**, label: AEDES: MAGNA MATER) the *ludi Megalenses* used to be performed in honour of this goddess, and I wanted to know, where exactly those theatrical performances had taken place (on the living rock or on a substructure). I also learnt from Gallochio that the many remains of substructures between the so-called House of Augustus and the Church of S. Anastasia which are visible above the ground (not indicated on my map) had at that point not been thoroughly studied and mapped.

I am not going to discuss this reconstructed part of ancient Rome in detail, but follow on my here shown map **Fig. 3** the results of T.P. Wiseman's research on the House of Augustus and the Temple of Apollo³⁰, as well as Amanda Claridge's³¹ research on the Temple of Apollo, which is why I have labelled the house in question on **Fig. 3**: DOMUS: "AUGUSTUS", indicating with the inverted commas that this is in my opinion the so-called House of

²⁷ So Carafa 2012, p. 51.

²⁸ On my map here **Fig. 3** I have integrated the cartographic information contained in a plan published by Pensabene 2007; cf. Häuber 2014a, p. 303 (with references).

²⁹ On November 30th, 2010 and on May 23rd, 2011.

³⁰ Wiseman 1987-2014a and 2014b; cf. Lipps 2014; E. La Rocca, in: La Rocca *et al.* 2008, pp. 226-241; Coarelli 2012, p. 577 s.v. Casa di Augusto, p. 587 s.v. Tempio di Apollo.

³¹ Claridge 1998, pp. 128-134; *ead.* 2010, pp. 135-144; cf. now *ead.* 2014.

Augustus. I am glad that Peter Wiseman, Amanda Claridge and Filippo Coarelli are here with us to discuss this topic and that Amanda will present her relevant research at this Symposium.

To sum up my first point: reconstruction begins already with ground-plans, which is why those have to be as accurate as possible. And: every reconstruction must be accompanied by a text. I have explained my here shown map of the Palatine **Fig. 3** in a manuscript and intend to publish it [in the meantime I have updated this map by incorporating new findings].

7. slide: Do you know the difference between Harvard University, a washing machine and a scholar, studying the topography of ancient Rome?

The motto of Harvard University is	Washing machine	Scholar of topography
VERITAS (truth) ³²	truth / not truth	truth / not truth

The former GMD, Gesellschaft für Mathematik und Datenverarbeitung in Bonn

At the beginning when Franz Xaver Schütz and I thought of developing a research tool (which we now call “AIS ROMA”) - especially for newcomers to the field topography of ancient Rome - we planned to visualize the reasons for the many different opinions in this field of study concerning one given research topic, for example the location of an ancient toponym. We, therefore, went in 1998 to the (former) *GMD, Gesellschaft für Mathematik und Datenverarbeitung* ('Society of Mathematics and the Processing of Data') in Bonn to discuss our problems. We described the complicated situation and the scholar whom we met, Dr. Peter Vos, after listening to our presentation, replied the following: well, you have indeed very heterogeneous data from many different disciplines and I understand your problem. For me, a mathematician, the situation is instead very simple. I distinguish only in: true / not true, which is by the way the principle on which washing machines function: true / not true. Or like computers you could add which 'understand' only: electricity / no electricity, or 1 and 0. In retrospect, especially after T.P. Wiseman's talk at our Symposium, I would say: lucky washing machine, at least that 'knows' what the truth is, and it 'acts' accordingly.

Further discussions with scholars of other disciplines showed us more reasons, why it is impossible to visualize *why* scholars come to certain decisions. Our idea had been to compare the bibliographies and other data, quoted by the various authors themselves, but we were told that some authors quote only scholars of their own 'school', which leaves the question open, whether or not they know different opinions or simply decide to ignore them, and realized ourselves that often information is given 'between the lines' that the relevant authors know perfectly well but do not find worth quoting. As a result of those enquiries, we came to the conclusion that it is much easier to *map* the different opinions of scholars by labelling their identifications of extant or documented ancient landscape features and of extant or documented ancient architectural remains accordingly. And that is exactly what I try to do on my maps.

³² **Slide 7.** showed a paper napkin of the Faculty Club of Harvard University (where I was a guest in November of 1990). It features the ">Harvard Shield<, the College arms - a shield with the Latin motto "VERITAS" ("Verity" or "Truth")... "; cf. <<http://www.harvard.edu/history>>.

8. slide: Three locations of the temple of Iuppiter Stator on my own map

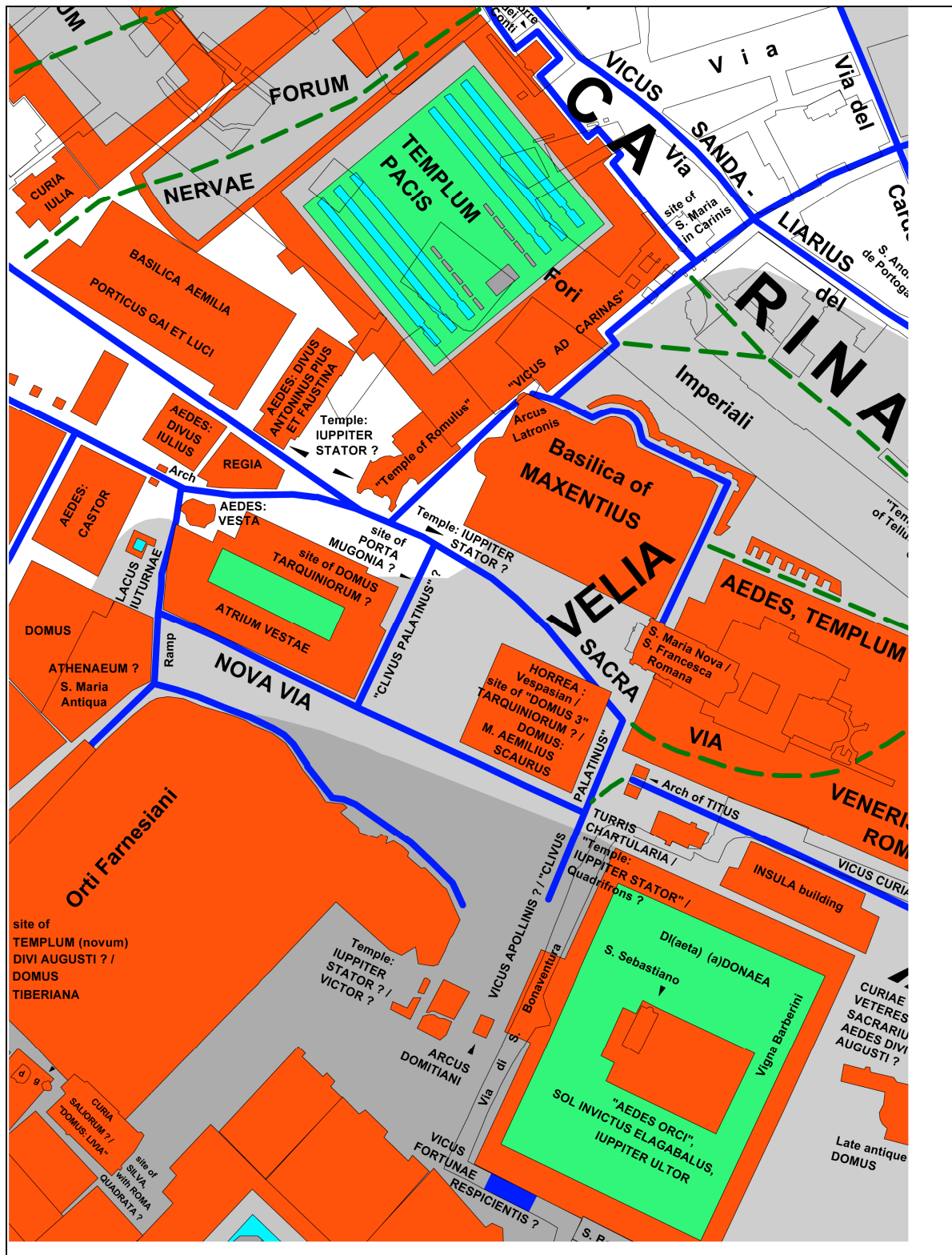


Fig. 4. Map showing the five different locations suggested for the temple of Iuppiter Stator. C. Häuber, "AIS ROMA".

On this detail of my diachronic map of Rome (Fig. 4), I have marked 3 locations of the ancient temple of Iuppiter Stator.

9. slide: Two more locations of the temple of Iuppiter Stator on my own map (Fig. 4)

I will not explain to you here the arguments of the relevant five authors. This I have summarized in my already mentioned forthcoming publication on the Palatine - without knowing this, T.P. Wiseman in his talk at our Symposium and I have chosen the same vexed problem of the topography of ancient Rome to show you how little we actually know about this subject. This, my second example, is also connected to my first example. Because, provided we knew where the temple of Iuppiter Stator stood, this would have consequences for the location of the House of Augustus³³. To repeat my own intentions: I have mapped those five suggestions in order to help newcomers to the field to realize that currently so many different opinions exist concerning the location of this temple. As we have heard in T.P. Wiseman's talk, there are endless consequences, when we start to follow up either one of these suggestions. The reason for that is a phenomenon, which I suggest to call a 'cluster of toponyms', meaning that in the case of the temple of Iuppiter Stator, as in so many other ones, a group of other toponyms is attached to it. This means that one of these can only securely be located, provided all the others can convincingly be identified, either with neighbouring architectural remains, or else with near-by landscape features. And if that should not be possible, the author in question should be able to explain, why this or the other topographical feature(s) does or do not exist any more.

To give you one example for a 'cluster of toponyms': In Franz Schubert's famous *Lied*, called *Der Lindenbaum*, we read: "Am Brunnen vor dem Tore, da steht ein Lindenbaum ..." ³⁴ ('at the well outside the [city-]gate, there is a lime-tree ...'). Taking this for a text, which describes the topography of a place existing in reality, we may assume that there is probably also a city-wall.

³³ Cf. Wiseman 2009, p. 531 with n. 27. See now Coarelli 2012, p. 582 s.v. *Iuppiter Stator*; Zevi 2014; for the map shown on my **slides 8. and 9.**, cf. now Häuber 2014a, p. 875 at map 6.

³⁴ Cf. Häuber 2001, p. 81: "Das von Franz Schubert [1797-1828] vertonte Lied >Der Lindenbaum< des Dichters Wilhelm Müller (Müllerliederzyklus, 1827, Nr. 5) schildert in der ersten Zeile ein auch aus deutschen Märchen wohlbekanntes Ensemble ..."; cf. p. 58.

10. slide: The various city-walls of Rome on my own map (Fig. 5³⁵)

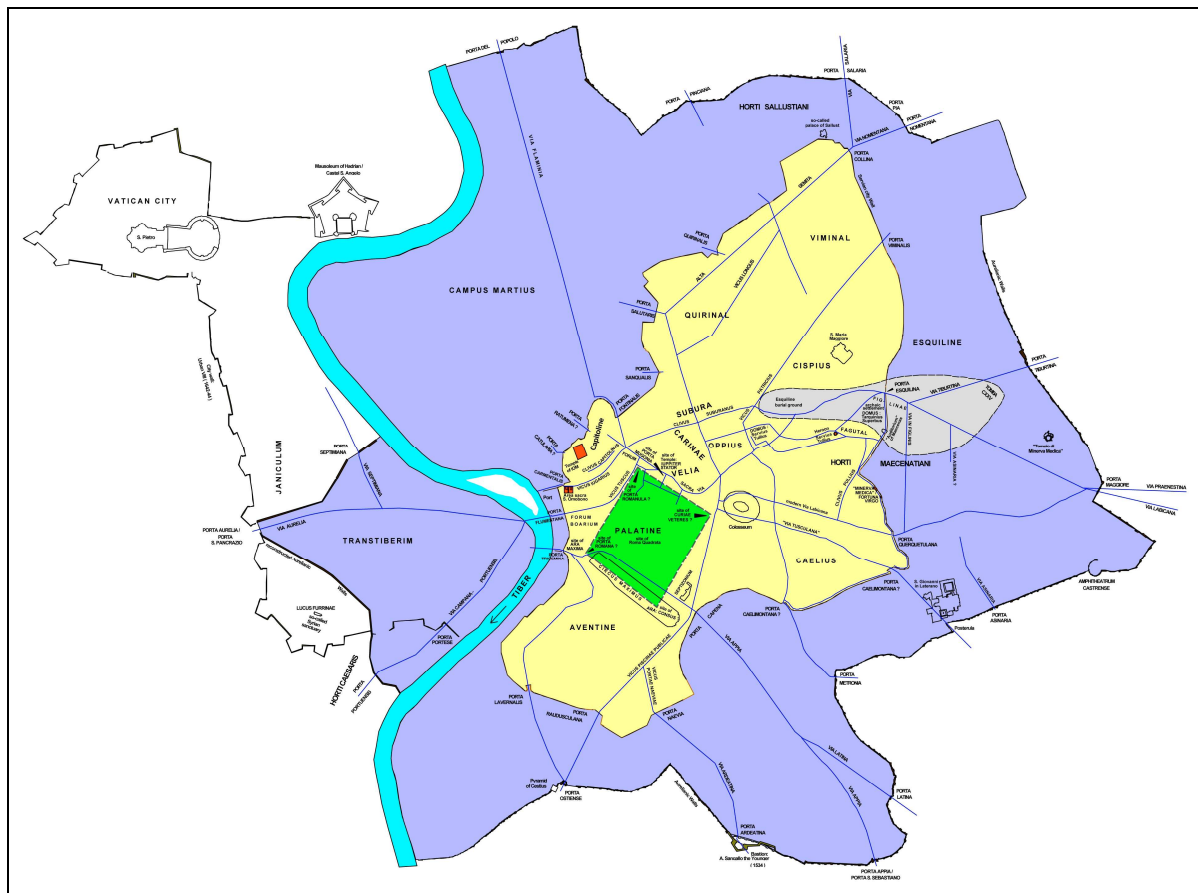


Fig. 5. Map showing Rome's various city walls. C. Häuber, "AIS ROMA".

Another typical possible pitfall in studying the topography of ancient Rome is provided by the fact that the city-walls of Rome had numerous gates, the names of which we know from ancient literary sources. There were altogether three ancient city-walls, (1) the wall of the pre-urban settlement on the Palatine (that wall has in part been excavated, the settlement itself is datable to the 10th century BC). Ancient tradition attributed this settlement to the mythical founder of Rome, Romulus, who had in their opinion founded Rome in the middle of the 8th century BC (this supposed city *Roma quadrata* is drawn on **Fig. 5** as a green area between four recorded ancient toponyms, bordered by a dotted line because we do not know the precise locations of those toponyms, nor the actual size of *Roma quadrata*), (2) the so-called Servian city-wall, built in the 6th century BC and restored in the 4th century BC (which borders the yellow area on my map), and (3) the Aurelian Walls, the first phase of which was built 271-275 AD (which border the violet area on my map). I could tell you many examples, in which the names of city-gates in Rome have been attributed to the wrong city-walls³⁶. One of the reasons being the fact that the so-called Servian city-wall - that only survives in small sections - was unknown for many centuries, which is why the names of its gates were attributed to gates in the still standing Aurelian Walls. This set of problems creates even nowadays a lot of confusion, especially, when scholars do not check on which

³⁵ For this map and the following, cf. Häuber 2014a, pp. 873-874 at [Inserted box on Map 3]; Häuber 2013, p. 152.

³⁶ Cf. Häuber 2005, p. 16 n. 37 (the reason for the erroneous location of the temple of Mars by a recent author was *inter alia* an error of this kind).

knowledge those scholars, whom they quote (who may belong to one, two, three or more generations before their own), had based their own relevant opinions.

Scholars, who do not consider this set of problems, err sometimes because they do not have a map, in which the current *status quaestionis* relating to this topic is visualized and that shows all those city-walls *together*. In one respect, the situation on the left hand bank of the Tiber (on **Fig. 5** on the right hand side), which I have referred to in the examples mentioned above, is very clear: the (green) pre-settlement on the Palatine lies within the much larger (yellow) Servian city, and that lies within the (violet) area of the city protected by the Aurelian Walls. Things are different on the right hand bank of the Tiber (on **Fig. 5** on the left hand side). Here my map shows only two city-walls, those protecting the violet area are again the Aurelian Walls, but in the *Transtiberim* (today: Trastevere) this city-wall is mostly reconstructed³⁷. The wall that protects the larger area was built 1642-44 by Pope Urban VIII and was drawn after the photogrammetric data of the Comune di Roma/ Roma Capitale. The latter wall is still standing and many of you will know one of its gates, the Porta Portese. On the same (archaic) road, the *Via Campana-Portuensis*, used to stand in 470 m distance to the south-west the now destroyed *Porta Portuensis* of the Aurelian Walls, **Fig. 5** shows also that in Trastevere the course of the former Aurelian Walls and that of the modern city-wall, built by Urban VIII, crossed each other at a point near-by. These facts taken together: the crossing of the courses of these city-walls, the disappearance of the Aurelian Walls in this area and the similarity of the names of these two city-gates - *Porta Portuensis* and Porta Portese - have caused a great deal of confusion in current scholarship³⁸.

³⁷ This feature of my map is based on maps published in Carandini, Carafa 2012. The extant parts of the Aurelian Walls are drawn after the photogrammetric data of the Comune di Roma/ Roma Capitale, the reconstruction of parts of the so-called Servian city Wall is my own; cf. now Häuber 2014a, pp. 261-291, **Appendix I**; Map 3, inserted box.

³⁸ Cf. now Häuber 2014a, p. 433 with n. 105, p. 444 with ns. 210, 211.

All the above mentioned examples seem simple, when compared with the topographical problems related to the Capitoline. You see on **Fig. 6** another detail of my diachronic map of Rome. It shows first of all that the 'Capitoline Hill' or 'Campidoglio' used to have two distinct parts in antiquity that were called *Capitolium* and *Arx* respectively. I will refer in the following to architectural fragments that are on display at the excavated section of the ancient road called *Clivus Capitolinus*, at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, and precisely below the 'Tabularium' that overlooks the Forum Romanum.

12. slide: Architectural fragments dating to the Republican period, found at the foot of the Capitoline Hill and attributed to five different buildings: Pirro Ligorio 1528, R. Delbrück 1907, C. Reusser 1993, H. v. Hesberg 1995, P.L. Tucci 2005, P. Pensabene (personal communication), published in C. Häuber 2005

Since I have already published this example³⁹, I wish to mention only a few points: none of the here mentioned contemporary authors knew that those fragments have been attributed to so many different buildings (Pirro Ligorio: temple of Saturn, R. Delbrück: porticoes on top of the Tabularium, C. Reusser: temple of Fides on the *Capitolium*, H. v. Hesberg: temple of Honos and Virtus on the *Arx* and P.L. Tucci: temple of Iuno Moneta on top of the 'Tabularium'. P. Pensabene suggested to me [personal communication] that Pirro Ligorio refers to the here discussed architectural fragments and that they certainly do not belong to the temple of Saturn because of their building material, travertine. He himself does not attribute those fragments to a specific architecture known from ancient literary sources). The reason for that is the fact that the authors who published those fragments recently studied only a very small area on the Capitoline. This means, had they studied the scholarly debate related to the entire Capitoline Hill and its immediate surroundings, they would have had the chance to realize the problem - but only provided they had studied it *diachronically*. One thing is clear: as in the case of the five different locations suggested for the temple of Iuppiter Stator, not all five attributions concerning those architectural fragments can possibly be true.

13. slide: Location of the architectural fragments at the foot of the Capitoline Hill on my own map

Fig. 6 shows a detail of my diachronic map. The architectural fragments in question are on display on the ancient road CLIVUS CAPITOLINUS, precisely on its north-west side, and for someone going in south-west direction up to the *Capitolium*, immediately behind the AEDES: DEI CONSENTES. On the opposite side (to the north-east) of this road stands the temple of Saturn, labelled: AEDES: SATURNUS.

What is the reason for the just mentioned confusion? The answer is very simple: for many centuries the true location of the main market place of the City of Rome, the Roman Forum, had been forgotten, see on this map the label: FORUM ROMANUM, which indicates its true location. Scholars in past centuries had tried to locate the Roman Forum, *inter alia* by studying another of such already mentioned 'clusters of toponyms', which centers around the *Saxum Tarpeium* ('the rock of Tarpeia'), that, as we know from literary sources, had been visible from the Forum Romanum. T.P. Wiseman⁴⁰ has studied the four different locations on the Capitoline Hill that in the past have been identified with the *Saxum Tarpeium* (together with the resulting four different locations of the Forum Romanum). Wiseman's location of the *Saxum Tarpeium* on the south-east side of the *Arx* is now *communis opinio*, but although also one of the above mentioned contemporary authors, who discussed the architectural fragments, accepted this⁴¹, he overlooked that previous authors, on whose opinion he had based his own

³⁹ Häuber 2005, pp. 23-34, figs. 2-5; cf. for the text 'Pirro Ligorio 1528', mentioned here, *op.cit.*, p. 30 with n. 155, where it is quoted *verbatim*; cf. for 'P. Pensabene (personal communication)', *op.cit.*, p. 31 n. 161, there are also discussed 'R. Delbrück 1907, C. Reusser 1993, H. v. Hesberg 1995, and P.L. Tucci 2005'. I have shown in my talk as **slide 12.** the drawings after these architectural fragments published by Delbrück 1907-1912, I, pp. 44-46, Abb. 41-42; cf. II, Taf. 3.

⁴⁰ Cf. T.P. Wiseman, "Saxum Tarpeium", in: *LTUR* IV (1999), pp. 237-238, fig. 114; Häuber 2005, p. 33 with n. 192.

⁴¹ Reusser 1993, p. 30 n. 40, p. 35 n. 11, p. 113 n. 1; cf. Häuber 2005, p. 33 with n. 192.

hypothesis, had (erroneously) located the *Saxum Tarpeium* on the *Capitolium* right above S. Omobono, a Church to which we will come back in a minute.

Further difficulties, which this author did not realize, lie in the fact that the ruin of the ancient temple of Saturn had accommodated in post-antique times various buildings, for example the Church of S. Salvatore de Statera. This fact had been forgotten soon after the temple had been cleared of most of these later additions in the early 19th century in the course of its first (undocumented) 'excavation'; the remains of this Church have only recently been excavated and published by medieval archaeologists⁴². When Pirro Ligorio described in 1528 the architectural fragments discussed here, he referred to this Church (which existed at his time), by saying that they had occurred in its vicinity, as well as in the vicinity of a hospital, the former location of which I have likewise marked in **Fig. 6** (to the south-west of the temple of Saturn), see the labels: AEDES: SATURNUS / S. Salvatore de Statera; site of the Ospedale di S. Maria in Portico per le donne⁴³. My map shows that this hospital had also been accommodated in an ancient building, which is indicated by a red area.

Because S. Salvatore de Statera (and therefore the temple of Saturn) had erroneously been located by some authors north of S. Omobono,

14. slide: Location of the former Church of S. Stefano "de Fovea" on my own map (Fig. 6)

a Church, which you see here, label: S. Omobono (and this erroneous location of S. Salvatore de Statera depended on the erroneous location of the *Saxum Tarpeium* above S. Omobono, mentioned earlier), this author did not realize that at the site in question had stood the contemporary Church of S. Stefano "de Fovea"⁴⁴. Also the Church of S. Omobono represents the center of an own 'cluster of toponyms'. The just described error could not be recognized because of two facts, which further complicate the situation: (1) the orientation of S. Omobono had been changed after the major landslide occurring on the Capitoline Hill, mentioned by T.P. Wiseman in his talk. The new Church of S. Omobono was built in the second half of the 15th century and was oriented north, towards the road currently called "Vico Iugario". This is the still standing Church of S. Omobono, the ground-plan of which is marked in the photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale. I drew this ground-plan on my map with a thin black line. Like the previous Church (that had been severely damaged by the landslide) it is accommodated in the ancient temple "B" within the "Area sacra [di] S. Omobono", but the previous Church had been oriented south, towards the road currently called "Via Bucimazza"⁴⁵. This change of orientation of the Church of S. Omobono means that firmly dated or datable topographical descriptions of past centuries like: 'opposite S. Omobono' or 'behind S. Omobono', are only understandable, provided the relevant author knows which orientation the Church had at the given date - the here discussed author did not realize this, when analysing one of these modern literary sources. (2) hospitals usually had, when built (or already existing) at Pirro Ligorio's time, a house for men and a house for

⁴² Cf. Häuber 2005, pp. 31-32 with ns. 168-173.

⁴³ Cf. Häuber 2005, p. 33 with n. 184, fig. 5, label: B; cf. now Häuber 2014a, Map 5.

⁴⁴ Cf. Häuber 2005, p. 32 with ns. 180, 181: "Diese beiden Kirchen [*scil.* S. Salvatore de Statera and S. Stefano 'de Fovea'] sind nun nicht etwa identisch, denn sie werden beide im Pariser Kirchenkatalog von ca. 1230 genannt", 'these two churches are not identical, since both are mentioned in the Paris catalogue of churches of ca. 1230' (with references). For the location of the Church of S. Stefano "de Fovea", cf. now Häuber 2014a, Map 5.

⁴⁵ Cf. Häuber 2005, p. 32 with n. 179; cf. now Häuber 2014a, Map 5.

women. The latter fact is crucial for the understanding of Pirro Ligorio's report on the architectural fragments mentioned above, but none of the authors, discussing his account, knew this simple fact. I came across this custom while integrating into my diachronic map the ground-plans of the buildings once belonging to the old *Ospedale di S. Giovanni in Laterano* on the Caelian that appear on the large Rome map by Giambattista (G.B.) Nolli (1748), who documents there as his index number 13 a "Sped.[ale] di S. Giovanni per le donne"⁴⁶. My hypothesis that this could also have been the case with a hospital somewhere near S. Omobono proved to be true. All the above mentioned errors taken together had far reaching consequences for this author's⁴⁷ own (erroneous) location of the temple of Fides which once stood on the *Capitolium*.

I have on purpose described this, my so far most complicated example, in more detail, because I wish to stress that solutions to problems like this are only obtainable thanks to an interdisciplinary or even transdisciplinary approach. We need in this example to know, for what purpose the ancient buildings (here the temple of Saturn) that we archaeologists are in the first place interested in, had been used in post-antique periods (here for example for the Church of S. Salvatore de Statera), before they were thoroughly excavated and studied. We need also to know all available archival data and old maps related to this area, and we need to know the customs of past centuries, knowledge, which enables us then to find on such old maps and in archival documents, that in this area there had been an 'Ospedale di S. Maria in Portico' (which had, of course, changed its name several times over the centuries and is documented on all old maps of Rome, for example also that of G.B. Falda, 1676), to which two separate buildings had belonged, one for men and one for women. The hospital for the "Uomini feriti" ('wounded men'), as it is called on Nolli's large map (1748), had been accommodated in a building immediately to the south of that for the women, which is currently housing the fire brigade, see the following label on my **slide 13**.⁴⁸ (**Fig. 6**): Cortile Caserma Vigili Urbani. Of course, the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae (LTUR)* edited by Eva Margareta Steinby⁴⁹ follows exactly the same methodological approach as is suggested here, by often describing an ancient building known from ancient literary sources in two entries, one regarding its history in antiquity, the second its history in the medieval period, both written by relevant specialists, but in the case of the temple of Saturn⁵⁰ the buildings, which its ruin had later accommodated, are unfortunately not mentioned. Besides, when the here discussed author published his book⁵¹, there existed no map, into which all of the following information is integrated, identified and labelled: the former two contemporary Churches of S. Salvatore de Statera and of S. Stefano "de Fovea", as well as both buildings belonging to the former hospital called 'Ospedale di S. Maria in Portico' or otherwise.

⁴⁶ Cf. Ehrle 1932, p. 7, no. 13. This detail of my diachronic map is also published on the internet: <http://www.rom.geographie.uni-muenchen.de/horti/maecenas/hm_map6.html>; cf. now Häuber 2014a, pp. 14-15, 259, Map 3; for Nolli's map, *op.cit.*, p. XI and Map 2.

⁴⁷ Reusser 1993, *passim*; cf. Häuber 2005, pp. 23-34, figs. 3-5. I have mentioned this example in my *Topographisches Manifest* ('topographical manifesto'), cf. Häuber 2013, p. 151 no. 14: "... Dies ist häufig bei den frühen Kirchen Roms zu beobachten, die im Laufe ihrer langen Geschichte ... ihre Gestalt und *Orientierung* und sogar ihren Standort, aber nicht ihren Namen geändert haben ..." (my italics). Cf. for one of my own errors which is of a similar type, *infra*, Appendix A *topographic error, the statuette of Euripides in the Louvre and a head of a boy wearing a cap in the Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini*.

⁴⁸ Cf. Ehrle 1932, p. 17, index nos. 967, 969; Häuber 2005, pp. 32-33 with ns. 182-184; cf. now Häuber 2014a, Map 5.

⁴⁹ Cf. *LTUR* I-VI (Roma 1993-2000).

⁵⁰ F. Coarelli, "Saturnus, aedes", in: *LTUR* IV (1999), pp. 234-236.

⁵¹ Reusser 1993.

Because it is essential that users of my maps have the chance to check the data (apart from published scholarly texts, cartographic data and archival material), on which my reconstructions of the (ancient) topography of a given area in Rome are based, I am especially glad that the classical archaeologist Dott.ssa Susanna Le Pera, the archivist Dott. Paolo Buonora, the architect and architectural historian Prof. Micalizzi and the classical archaeologist and land surveyer Dott. Luca Sasso D'Elia are here with us. They have already managed to provide the scholarly community free access on the internet with some of the just mentioned historical maps and cadastres of Rome that are *inter alia* kept in the Archivio di Stato di Roma at S. Ivo alla Sapienza - georeferenced, accompanied by all relating information and ready to use⁵². Personally, I have already profited immensely from these tools. Fortunately for all of us here, these scholars are currently in the course of working on even greater projects that relate to maps and plans, archival material and photographs of objects owned by Roma Capitale and other institutions, as they will show us in their presentations at our Symposium. As with the already mentioned Severan marble plan, these post-antique maps and other data may be regarded as tools for the study of the City of Rome in all its aspects and periods that are of absolutely immeasurable potential.

15. slide: The controversy concerning the locations of the toponyms *Velia*, *Carinae*, *Mons Oppius* and *Fagutal* (Fig. 7)

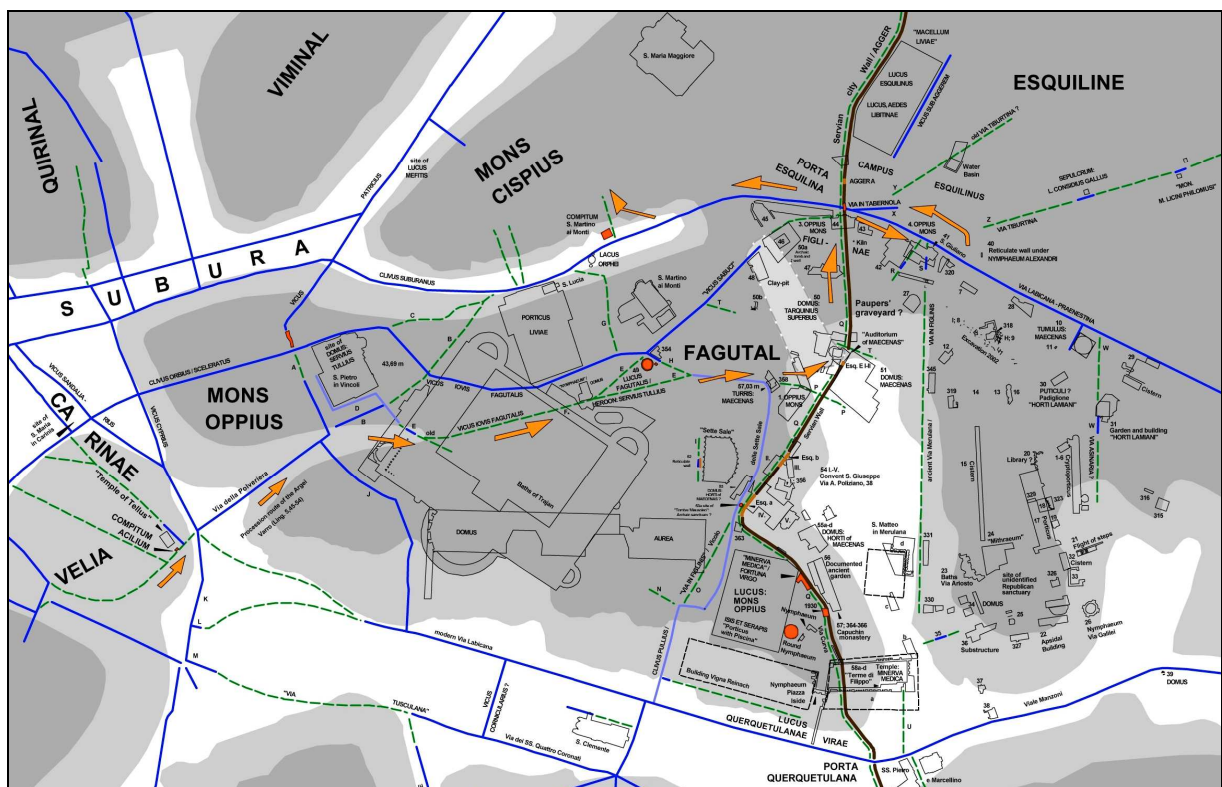


Fig. 7. Map showing the toponyms *Velia*, *Carinae*, *Mons Oppius* and *Fagutal*. C. Häuber, "AIS ROMA".

⁵² I thank Susanna Le Pera for alerting me to the fact that the 'Catasto Pio-Gregoriano' is now provided in digital form; cf. <<http://www.dipsuwebgis.uniroma3.it/webgis/>>.

With this, my most complicated example, I reach the end of Part I of my talk. **Fig. 7** shows you a map which I have also published on the internet, accompanied by texts⁵³. It shows one part of the archaic procession of the priests called *Argei* that has been described by Varro (*Ling.* 5,45-54). I show you this map because of a variety of reasons: one of the aims that I am pursuing with my maps is to support people, who want to visualize processes within the city like the one shown here, which is indicated by the yellow arrows. On the other hand this map shows the toponyms *Velia*, *Carinae*, *Mons Oppius* and *Fagutal*, the locations of which are controversial (we know from ancient literary sources that the hill-top *Fagutal* was part of the *Mons Oppius* and that both the *Mons Oppius* and the *Mons Cispius* belonged to the Esquiline; cf. **Figs. 5; 7**). Again, all these toponyms are the centres of own 'clusters of toponyms', but the main difference between those multifaceted scholarly opinions lies in the fact that most scholars locate the *Fagutal* near the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli (a Church located slightly to the east of the lettering 'MONS OPPIUS' on **Fig. 7**), whereas a smaller group of scholars locates the *Fagutal* near the Church of S. Martino ai Monti and near the cistern called 'Sette Sale' (as I do on my maps, see the lettering 'FAGUTAL' on **Fig. 7**). Both hypotheses have consequences for all the other here mentioned toponyms.

Which one of these hypotheses is correct? I believe Filippo Coarelli's suggestion⁵⁴, whom I follow on my maps. In addition to Coarelli's own arguments, I believe his hypothesis is true, because scholars, who locate the *Fagutal* near S. Pietro in Vincoli, neglect much of the research that has been conducted since the 1970s⁵⁵ on the eastern part of the *Mons Oppius* (an area comprising the eastern half of **Fig. 7**), especially in the course of an exhibition and other research projects, initiated by Eugenio La Rocca⁵⁶. An enormous wealth of archaeological finds had occurred while building the new quarters on the Esquiline at the turn of the 20th century and they, as well as the ancient topography of the area, have been discussed in the course of these research projects. A recent analysis of part of this material proves that the highest point of this area (57,03 m above sea level), where in my opinion the *Fagutal* should be assumed (the site occupied by the lettering 'FAGUTAL' on my map **Fig. 7** and the adjacent area to the north-east), was occupied by an archaic settlement that had previously been overlooked⁵⁷. In addition, Latin inscriptions found in this area prove that Iuppiter was worshipped here, which is a clear indication that the hypothesis to locate the *lucus* (sacred grove) of *Iuppiter Fagutalis* in this area is true. Besides, Iuppiter was always worshipped on the highest hilltops, the alternative location of the *Fagutal*, the area where the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli stands, is only 43,69 m high (cf. **Fig. 7**). Unfortunately it is very true, what T.P. Wiseman wrote in a different context: "New discoveries usually cause more problems than they solve"⁵⁸. This is why the sheer length of the process needed to understand those masses of new archaeological finds that had occurred in this area since the 1870s, is no real

⁵³ <http://www.rom.geographie.uni-muenchen.de/horti/maecenas/hm_map1.html>;

<http://www.rom.geographie.uni-muenchen.de/texts/hm_text1.html>;

<http://www.rom.geographie.uni-muenchen.de/texts/hm_text2.html>;

<http://www.rom.geographie.uni-muenchen.de/texts/hm_text3.html>; cf. now HÄUBER 2014a, pp. 355-394, **Appendix V**, Maps 3; 9.

⁵⁴ Cf. F. Coarelli, "Argei, Sacraia: Regio II - Esquilina, 1.", in: *LTUR* I (1993), p. 123; *id.* 2001; Häuber, Schütz 2004, pp. 110-113; Häuber 2014a (cf. *supra*, n. 53).

⁵⁵ Beginning with the important article by Rodríguez Almeida 1970-71, this 'wave of publications' is still going on; cf. Häuber 2014a, pp. 883-945 (bibliography).

⁵⁶ Cima, La Rocca 1986; *id.* 1998; cf. Cima, Talamo 2008; Häuber 1986/1991-2014a.

⁵⁷ Cf. the texts quoted *supra*, n. 53; cf. now Häuber 2013, pp. 152, 155, Abb. 1, labels: PORTA ESQUILINA; FIGLINA; ARCH. SIEDLUNG; FAGUTAL; and Häuber 2014a, pp. 355-394, **Appendix V**, esp. p. 387, Map 3; map in inserted box, labels: ESQUILINE; PORTA ESQUILINA; FIGLINA; archaic settlement; FAGUTAL.

⁵⁸ Wiseman 2006, p. 53.

surprise. This is also true for the new remains of ancient buildings and topographical features, which likewise appeared at that stage, and which, considered together with previously known data, plus data found by re-excavating some of the sites in recent years, allow only now the attempt to reconstruct the ancient history, topography and landscape of this area⁵⁹.

From the archaic procession of the priests called *Argei* on the *Mons Oppius*, the last example in Part I of my talk, in which I have shown you a distinct scholarly approach to reconstructions of ancient Rome, we move in Part II to a different aspect of reconstructions, one, which is interesting for scholars and tourists alike. We therefore turn to a different area of the City, the Porta del Popolo in the Aurelian Walls, and to an event that took place about 2000 years later.

16. slide: Martin Luther's entry into Rome through the Porta del Popolo occurred in 1511

Lucas Cranach der Ältere 1526 portrait of Martin Luther (1483-1546)⁶⁰

My own map (Fig. 8) - The Church of S. Maria del Popolo

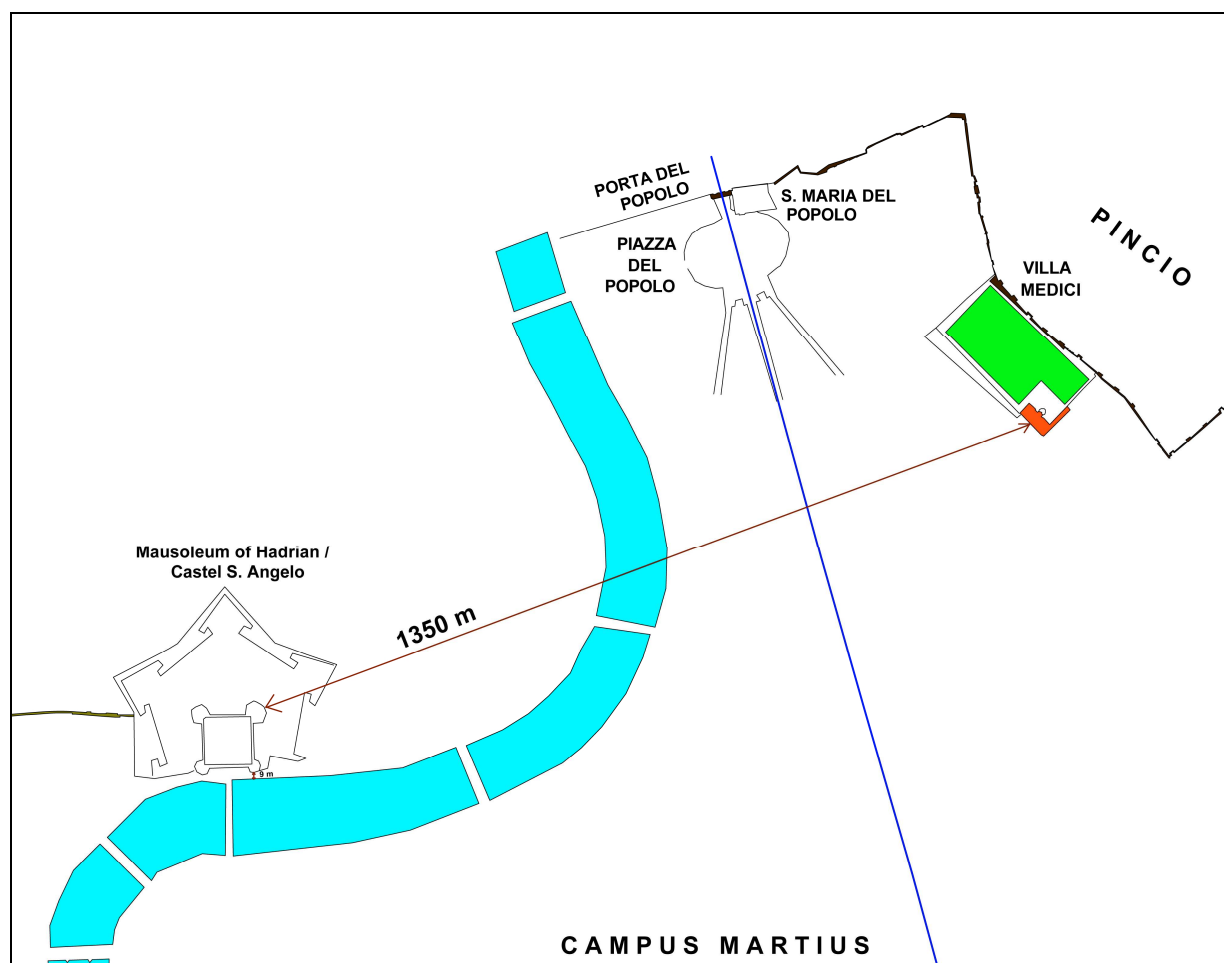


Fig. 8. Map showing Castel S. Angelo, Porta del Popolo, S. Maria del Popolo, Piazza del Popolo and Villa Medici. C. Häuber, "AIS ROMA".

⁵⁹ Cf. for example the relevant attempts in Schütz 2013; and Häuber 2014a, *passim*, esp. pp. 365-366.

⁶⁰ Krischer, Wendt 2011, fig. on p. 86.

When in Rome in 1972, Prof. Menning led us to the Porta del Popolo, which I showed in my **slide 16**. from outside because for about 1500 years this was the main entrance of Rome in the north⁶¹. This means that also all the pilgrims, artists and other visitors to Rome from north European countries had entered the 'Eternal City' through this gate - this was for many of these people a very special moment in their lives that could be experienced with deep emotions⁶². Of course we have only about (or even by) some of these visitors written records, but our teachers wanted at least in the case of two of these individuals that we should try to imagine what their feelings might have been like. In the case of Martin Luther, Prof. Menning even suggested to 'follow his path' from the moment he arrived at the Porta del Popolo all the way to the Vatican. In retrospect, I wish to alert you with this example to the great importance that itineraries have in the shaping of the image of a city and in the shaping of our memories of it. Itineraries through the city of Rome were already published in antiquity and some of these have actually survived⁶³. Since the Middle Ages countless guide-books have been written about Rome for all kinds of pilgrims and visitors and in many different languages, which have greatly influenced our understanding of the City⁶⁴. I am therefore glad that Filippo Coarelli⁶⁵ and Amanda Claridge⁶⁶ are here with us, who have written Rome guides, as well as our cooperation partner Gordon Winder, who will tell us the experiences he has made while writing alternative city guide books of the City of Auckland for a very specialized audience⁶⁷.

I have shown on my **slide 16**. also the inner side of the Porta del Popolo. This side of the city-gate carries a monumental inscription commemorating the entry into Rome of Christina of Sweden, to whom I will come back later, because she was in 1972 the second person, whose entry into Rome we studied. Adjacent to the inner side of the Porta del Popolo there is the Church of S. Maria del Popolo. On my **slide 16**. appeared also the façade of this Church and in addition my map (**Fig. 8**), in which the Porta del Popolo, the Church of S. Maria del Popolo and the circular Piazza del Popolo are marked.

When Luther came to Rome in 1511, he was not yet a Reformer - his later fame explains, why great German artists made portraits of him, like Lucas Cranach the Elder. Heinrich Gelzer wrote about Luther: "A vow had led young Luther into a monastery; another vow (added to a commission from his monastery) took him to Rome"⁶⁸. At that stage, Luther was an Augustine monk, which is why he stayed overnight at the former Convent of the Augustines, which had belonged to the Church of S. Maria del Popolo, and stood adjacent to it in the south-east. This Convent⁶⁹ was destroyed in the early 19th century to make space for the much enlarged Piazza del Popolo, designed by Giuseppe Valadier (cf. **Fig. 8**). We had no problems to imagine that, because we were used to similar procedures (with less beautiful results) in post-war Germany. Luther's further walk towards the Basilica of St. Peter was quite a different matter and also in retrospect I must admit that it would be extremely difficult to

⁶¹ Cf. *TCI-guide Roma 1999*¹⁰, p. 698.

⁶² Cf. Wünsche 2011, p. 9, about Carl Haller von Hallerstein, one of the four future 'excavators' of the Aeginetes on Aegina (1811): "Am 12. November 1808 durchschreitet er sichtlich bewegt die Porta del Popolo".

⁶³ For example by Strabo of Amaseia (Pontus; ca. 64 BC - after 21 AD), *Geographia* 5,3,8, C236 (on the *Campus Martius* in Rome); cf. T.P. Wiseman, "Campus Martius", in *LTUR*, I (1993), p. 223; N. Purcell, "Strabo", in: *OCD*³ (1966), p. 1447.

⁶⁴ Cf. Schudt 1930; M. D'Onofrio 1999; Le Pera 2014; Rossetti 2000, quoted after Gordon 2014, p. 263 n. 1.

⁶⁵ Coarelli 1980-2008.

⁶⁶ Claridge 1998; *ead.* 2010.

⁶⁷ Cf. now Winder 2014.

⁶⁸ Gelzer 2009, p. 22; 1. ed. 1847.

⁶⁹ For that, cf. Buonora *et al.* 2014, figs. 2; 19.

reconstruct a possible itinerary, because the earliest measured map we could use for the purpose, that by Leonardo Bufalini, was only published in 1551.

My little map **Fig. 8** shows three roads fanning out at the south-side of the Piazza del Popolo, this detail of the modern topography is called the *Tridente Mediceo* ('Medicean trident'). But because Susanna Le Pera will concentrate on this area in her talk, I am not going to discuss this first section of Luther's walk from S. Maria del Popolo to the Vatican. And because Francesco Buranelli will show us in his talk the area of the Vatican, where Luther's itinerary ended, I will not show you the relevant stages of the development of that area either⁷⁰. My little map **Fig. 8** shows also the Villa Medici on the Hill called Pincio and a brown line leading to the portal of the Villa - this is related to a story told about Christina of Sweden to which I will come back later.

17. slide: Two postcards showing Castel S. Angelo, Via della Conciliazione, the Bernini colonnades and the Basilica of St. Peter. Apart from the castle Castel S. Angelo none of these existed already when Martin Luther visited the City of Rome

Prof. Menning's plan that we should re-enact Luther's shock about the new Basilica of St. Peter was a great success. We knew that Luther saw only its building site, but we could imagine that the mere size of this Church and that of all its details should have deeply impressed him. Although this is not my major concern here, let me add the observation that, contrary to what was thought in the 19th century and still in 1972 about Luther's motives to become a Reformer, more recent scholars do not consider this aspect of Luther's experiences in Rome at that stage as of so much importance any more⁷¹.

Let's go back now to the discussions in 1972 again. We had already learnt, when still at home, that it is absolutely essential in case of the Imperial Fora in Rome to integrate the remains of their ground-plans into the current layout of the city to get precise ideas concerning their sizes and exact locations⁷². In order to get a better understanding of all this, we drew ourselves relevant plans, which we carried with us when visiting those sights. The unexpected experience we went through the day we tried to imagine the final part of Luther's itinerary to the Vatican was that this is not only true for the Imperial Fora, but in fact for the whole City of Rome, which is a palimpsest consisting of many more 'time-layers' than any other city. And because we were interested in *all* of these time-layers, because each of those periods has left outstanding architectures, our confusion was total.

For my talk I had deliberately chosen postcards that show the buildings in question, because apart from the famous itineraries through Rome it is these sights, as captured in earlier centuries on paintings or etchings (the so-called *vedute*), and nowadays on postcards, that

⁷⁰ Cf. now Le Pera 2014; and Buranelli 2014.

⁷¹ Cf. Genthe 2010, p. 64: "Seine erste Romreise 1510 verschärfte Luthers Zweifel an den Heilmöglichkeiten der Kirche. Die Renaissance-Päpste legten mehr Wert auf ihre weltlichen Interessen und ihr kulturelles Leben (Michelangelos Gemälde in der Sixtinischen Kapelle, Bau des Petersdoms), als auf den christlichen Glauben. Die ausgedehnte Verwaltungsstruktur und der mechanistisch-juristische Umgang mit Glaubensinhalten (Ablasspraxis) waren schon seit längerem Grund für Kritik ... Leider hatte die Kritik keine Folgen und die Reformbestrebungen der Konzilien fruchteten nichts. Seine >reformatorische Entdeckung< machte Luther aber nicht aufgrund dieser Missstände". I thank Esther P. Wipfler (Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte München) for the reference.

⁷² So for example also Claridge 1998, p. 147 with fig. 60; *ead.* 2010, p. 161 with fig. 60.

shape our 'memory' of cities like Rome, and of course also our expectations. In our free time, when we students walked by ourselves through the City, hoping to find suitable motives we could draw, we managed for example to pass three times one of the most famous Renaissance Palazzi (Palazzo Farnese) without noticing it, because by judging from the guide-books we knew, all of us had imagined it as having totally different proportions. 'Hunting down' famous sights does not help to understand a city, of course, because these buildings are like famous arias of an opera or songs of a musical that everyone knows - only when one sees this opera or musical on stage, the *context* of these 'highlights' will be fully understood.

In order to teach us contexts, Prof. Menning had thought of guiding us through Rome, 'following the paths' of famous visitors, which could help us to understand their time. He chose apart from Martin Luther the poet and scientist Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, because his sojourn in Rome and Italy had a great impact on Goethe's own work, and *Kronprinz* Ludwig, the future king Ludwig I of Bavaria, because he had been an important sponsor of artists, and entrusted the elaboration of the latter two itineraries to *me*. The fact that he asked me this and the confidence with which I accepted this task, reminds me in retrospect, in which unusual atmosphere we were working at the art seminar. Unfortunately, I did not succeed in planning either one of these itineraries, and I tell you this here, because later, when living in Rome (1980-85) and working there occasionally as a tourist guide, I made very similar experiences again. When it comes to famous people of the past, who resided in Rome or visited the City, tourists have sometimes seen a *vedute* of the period, in which the building or the street in question appear - in my case the Villa Malta, where *Kronprinz* Ludwig had lived and received many artists - but they have no idea, how this place is currently called, how and where they can find information about this subject, as well as access to the building in question, and even in case they stand right in front of it, they may not recognize it, because the entire surroundings have changed. The reasons for my own frustration then are very complex, but these problems can all be solved.

I should like to call the reason, why I could not find Villa Malta in 1972 although it still exists today, the 'camouflage effect' that often prevents buildings or topographical features from being recognized. This is for example also very often the case with re-used ancient 'pagan' temples. Examples outside Rome studied in scientific excavations can sometimes help to recognize similar examples in Rome that are either much more destroyed, or only documented on old maps. This is why research like that undertaken by the Egyptologists Dr. Rafed El-Sayed and Dr. Konstantin Lakomy in a re-used temple at Tripheion-Atripe in Upper Egypt is also of importance for the study of seemingly disappeared 'pagan' temples in Rome⁷³. By calling this phenomenon 'camouflage effect', I wish to stress that in cases like that the problem lies not primarily in the real properties of the topographical feature or architecture in question, but rather in our own perception of it. I have described all the here summarized problems in a 'topographical manifesto'⁷⁴, and integrate, therefore, as much information as possible into my maps, hoping to support the possible 'users' in solving problems of the sort mentioned here.

⁷³ For those examples, cf. now El-Sayed 2014; and Häuber 2014a, pp. 51-75, 95-106, 163-167, 799-802.

⁷⁴ Häuber, Schütz 2004, p. 109, "II.II. >Topographisches Manifest< - nicht nur gültig für Rom", which is based on real examples; updated now in Häuber 2013, pp. 150-152, as well as here, Appendix *A topographic error, the statuette of Euripides in the Louvre and a head of a boy wearing a cap in the Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini*.

18. slide: Eight ancient marble statues of Muses, found in Rome, once in the possession of Queen Christina of Sweden and now in the Museo del Prado at Madrid

K.M. Türr, 1971 - D. De Rosssi and P. Maffei 1704

But let's go back to the Porta del Popolo once again. As already mentioned, our teachers had discussed with us the entry into Rome through this city-gate of two people, Martin Luther and the abdicated Queen Christina of Sweden. As I wish to show you with this slide, the motive to discuss the latter was on the one hand very personal, because one of our teachers, Dr. Karina Türr, had just published her *Dissertation in Classical Archaeology*. In this book, she had also discussed the eight ancient statues of Muses⁷⁵, that had once been in the collection of Christina of Sweden, who had acquired them in Rome. Because of all this, we also visited many other places in Rome, where Christina of Sweden had stayed.

19. slide: Book cover, referring to Christina of Sweden's (1626-1689) interests in alchemy and showing a portrait of her

On the other hand, Prof. Menning could not have thought of any other visitor to Rome, who was in so many respects more different to Martin Luther than Christina of Sweden. Apart from collecting ancient sculptures, she had also a keen interest in music, theatre, science⁷⁶ - and also in alchemy⁷⁷. To the latter I will come back later.

20. slide: Queen Christina of Sweden's entry into Rome took place on December 23rd, 1655 through the Porta del Popolo

Christina, the daughter of the Swedish King Gustav II Adolph, one of the protagonists of the Thirty Years War on the protestant side, succeeded her father as heiress presumptive at the age of six. When eighteen, she became Queen of Sweden⁷⁸. In 1654, she abdicated, converted to catholicism and decided to live in Rome⁷⁹. From her triumphant entry - on horseback - into Rome on December 23rd, 1655⁸⁰ until her death in 1689 she lived in Rome, interrupted by long periods abroad, residing first in the Palazzo Farnese and later in the Palazzo Riario in Trastevere, which is now called Palazzo Corsini.

⁷⁵ Cf. De Rossi, Maffei 1704; Türr 1971. Most scholars (erroneously) assume that all eight statues were found in the Villa Hadriana near Tivoli. In reality four of them were found in the *Horti* of Maecenas on the Esquiline in Rome; cf. Häuber 1991, pp. 194-207; cf. now Häuber 2014a, pp. 518-521, 524-530, figs. 13; 14. For Christina of Sweden in Rome, cf. *TCI-guide Roma 1999*¹⁰, p. 913 s.v. Cristina di Svezia.

⁷⁶ Christina of Sweden has been much discussed in recent years; cf. e.g. the exhibition and its pertaining catalogue *Cristina di Svezia 2003*, in the production of which Susanna Le Pera was involved; and Biermann 2012 (with ample bibliography). I thank Ingo Herklotz for the reference.

⁷⁷ Cf. Di Palma *et al.* 1990; I had shown the cover of this book as my **slide 19**.

⁷⁸ Cf. *Cristina di Svezia 2003*; Buckley 2011, pp. 27ff.; F. Craaford, in: Di Palma *et al.* 1990, pp. 243-268; Bierman 2012, p. 20.

⁷⁹ Buckley 2011, pp. 210ff.; *TCI-guide Roma 1999*¹⁰, pp. 698-699; Biermann 2012, pp. 81-82, cf. *passim* and esp. pp. 14-82 (for her abdication).

⁸⁰ For her entry through the Porta del Popolo, cf. T. Bovi, in: Di Palma *et al.* 1990, p. 16: "Per il suo ingresso il Papa [Alexander VII] aveva dato incarico al [Gian Lorenzo] Bernini di rimuovere la facciata interna di Porta Portese [corr.: Porta del Popolo], scolpendovi sopra il motto <<Felici faustoque ingressui>> - anno dom. MDCLV"; *TCI-guide Roma 1999*¹⁰, pp. 698-699; Biermann 2012, pp. 10-11, fig. 1.

In retrospect, I wish to mention the queen here, because it is (1) typical for tourists to visit sights (in Rome), to which they have some kind of personal relationship, and (2) because we heard stories about Christina of Sweden when in Rome 1972, which sounded even more fantastic than the facts, for example the magnificent *fiesta*, given in her honour, when she arrived in Rome, an event documented on a painting⁸¹. As the following will show, we were often unable to distinguish between historical facts and stories, and that is also typical for many other tourists. I will also tell you why we - unconsciously - made up ourselves some (details) of the stories we told each other on site - which is also typical for tourists. Because that does not harm anyone, we might just as well ask, why worry? Nevertheless I try to provide with my maps and the accompanying texts, both of which I publish free access on the internet, reliable information, and the following hopefully explains you why.

21. slide: Mausoleum of Hadrian / Castel S. Angelo Carandini, Carafa 2012

The reconstructed ground-plan of the Mausoleum of the Roman emperor Hadrian (built in the 120s until 139 AD)⁸², which I showed as **slide 21.**, was copied after the *Atlante di Roma antica* by Andrea Carandini and Paolo Carafa⁸³, whereas in my own map (**fig. 8**), drawn after the photogrammetric data of Roma Capitale, the ground-plan of the building appears as it looks like today, the castle called Castel S. Angelo. The ancient tomb consists of a 'solid cylinder set in a square base, the cylinder was 225 Roman feet in diameter (ca. 64 m), 72 Roman feet high (or higher; ca. 21 m), rising out of a base 300 Roman feet wide (ca. 89 m), 40 Roman feet (ca. 15 m) high'⁸⁴.

Our little group reached Castel S. Angelo that day when we walked from the Porta del Popolo to the Basilica of St. Peter in order to 'follow the path of Martin Luther'. We came from the east and saw the building, in front of it a road, and to our left the Tiber.

22. slide: Kurt Sandweg, seeing Castel S. Angelo and its distance to the Tiber, said: "Das schafft sie nie" (she can't make it'), meaning Floria Tosca

Kurt Sandweg was my teacher in sculpture and when he shook his head and said, 'she can't make it', we all knew he was talking about the character Floria Tosca in Giacomo Puccini's⁸⁵ opera *Tosca* and following his eyes, we all imagined her jumping down from Castel S. Angelo in the direction of the Tiber - and agreed with him that she could not possibly have reached the river. Our historian, Dr. Stephan Türr, smiled and said: don't worry, the road in front of Castel S. Angelo did not yet exist at the time, when the opera *Tosca* is set - on the 17th and 18th June of 1800. Stephan Türr explained to us that the embankments of the Tiber together with the roads on both sides of the river, built on top of them, were only planned after the great flood of the river in 1870, and built in the 1880s-1890s. But we were sad that we did not

⁸¹ Cf. Colini 1977, colour plate after p. 78: "Festa a Palazzo Barberini in onore di Cristina di Svezia. - F. Lauri - F. Gagliardi (Museo di Roma)".

⁸² Claridge 1998, p. 370; *ead.* 2010, p. 411.

⁸³ Carandini, Carafa 2012, Tavole fuori testo no. 8, label: Sepulcrum Hadriani.

⁸⁴ Claridge 1998, p. 371; *ead.* 2010, p. 414; cf. Coarelli 1980, p. 366; *id.* 2003, p. 444.

⁸⁵ Giacomo Antonio Domenico Michele Secondo Puccini (Lucca 1858 - 1924 Bruxelles); his opera *Tosca* was first put on stage on January 14th, 1900 at the Teatro Costanzi in Rome (today: Teatro dell'Opera di Roma); cf. Unseld 2009, pp. 459-461 (S. König). My thanks are due to Ruth Lucy Toepffer who kindly alerted me to this reference.

have *vedutes* or maps of Rome at hand which could have shown us what the area around Castel S. Angelo had looked like in 1800. But note that our entire discussion was based on an error, as we shall see in a minute.

23. slide: *programme* of the opera *Tosca*

Theatre National

Opera de Paris 1982 - Sarah Bernhardt in the play by Victorien Sardou

Because I wanted to know, how the director of the opera would solve this - presumed - problem, I went on July 12th, 1982 in the *Opera de Paris* to see *Tosca* (this did not solve my problem though, since, as usual in all performances I saw so far - for example also in the Baths of Caracalla at Rome in the summer of 1985 - she just jumped into the off). On my **slide 23**, appeared two pictures from the *programme*. One was a water colour by Camille Corot (1796-1875) in the Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins⁸⁶, showing a *vedute* of the area, from which is clear that also before the embankments of the Tiber and the roads were built, Castel S. Angelo stood quite far away from the river. The picture on the bottom right on **slide 23**, was a photograph by Nadar⁸⁷, who has immensely contributed to the fame of the actress, he had portrayed here: Sarah Bernhardt, for whom Victorien Sardou had written the drama *La Tosca*, on which Puccini's Opera *Tosca* is based: we see Tosca (Sarah Bernhardt) in the second act, set in the Palazzo Farnese at Rome, after she has killed Baron Scarpia, who lies dead in front of her on the ground. As is well known, we cannot reproach Sarah Bernhardt for pretending to be athletic in her plays - *La Tosca* is rather a highly political drama. By reading now, as preparation for my talk, how Giuseppe Giocosa and Luigi Illica comment this scene, who wrote for Puccini the *libretto* of the opera *Tosca*, I realized that they do not say at all: 'Tosca jumps into the Tiber', but rather that she jumps *down* - meaning from one of the terraces of Castel S. Angelo, and thus to her death. This is, of course, perfectly possible, when considering the enormous height of this building.

24. slide: Details of my own map (Fig. 8)

Fig. 8 shows you the shortest distance between Castel S. Angelo and the Tiber, which measures *today* 9 m (the road is not indicated). This measurement refers to our just told error concerning the opera *Tosca*. After our discussion about Floria Tosca, we bought ourselves tickets and visited Castel S. Angelo. As soon as we had reached one of the terraces on top, someone of our group, looking in the direction of the Pincio, said: and from here or a point near-by Christina of Sweden must have shot the cannon ball, with which she hit the portal of the Villa Medici over there - to remind a friend of their appointment⁸⁸. This caused another

⁸⁶ Cf. *programme Tosca 1982*, 1. page.

⁸⁷ Cf. *programme Tosca 1982*, 21. page.

⁸⁸ It is debated, why Christina of Sweden (allegedly) shot this cannon ball from Castel S. Angelo towards the portal of Villa Medici, whom she had intended to meet with – and who was late, she herself (which sounds in my opinion more convincing than the alternative) or the other person, cf. *Rome the culture of water 2004*, pp. 14-15: "... **Fountain of Viale della Trinità dei Monti** ... the architect Annibale Lippi created an octagonal basin ... in which an octagonal base supports an ancient circular granite basin. At the centre, water spurts from a cannon ball with a peculiar origin. According to tradition, Queen Christina of Sweden ... actually fired it herself from the Castel Sant'Angelo in 1656. Being dreadfully late for an appointment at Villa Medici with the painter Charles Errard, the eccentric queen chose this unusual manner of making her presence felt". *TCI-guide Roma 1999*¹⁰, p. 371: "Sul piazzale prospiciente villa Medici è la graziosa *fontana* a tazza di Annibale Lippi (1587), dove da una palla di cannone, posta in luogo dell'originario giglio mediceo e che la fantasia popolare

vivid discussion, this time about militaria, of which I did (and still do) not understand a word. Anyhow, our question concerning the distance to the portal of Villa Medici I can answer now, as the brown line on **Fig. 8** indicates: the shortest distance between Castel S. Angelo and the portal of Villa Medici is 1350 m.

25. slide: View from Castel S. Angelo towards Villa Medici

By looking from Castel S. Angelo towards the Pincio, we had, of course, our doubts whether the story about Christina of Sweden hitting the portal of Villa Medici with a cannon ball could be true. Being up there and looking down to the ground, I had also doubts concerning another story which is connected with Castel S. Angelo - again, these doubts were based on an error. Now it was my turn to tell the others, because Prof. Menning had given me the relevant book.

26. slide: *Leben des Benvenuto Cellini, florentinischen Goldschmieds und Bildhauers, von ihm selbst geschrieben. Übersetzt und herausgegeben von Goethe, 1818 - Johann Wolfgang von Goethe*⁸⁹ - Works by the sculptor and goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571)

Parts of the autobiography by the Florentine sculptor and goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571) have been translated by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe⁹⁰ (1749-1832). Prof. Menning had given me this translation, because it was one of the few primary written sources of the Renaissance that I was able to read. Another source were Michelangelo's sonnets - which, because none of us students could read Italian, we only knew in Rainer Maria Rilke's translation⁹¹. Prof. Menning knew that I was interested in the Renaissance, Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna⁹², to whom Michelangelo had dedicated some of his sonnets, but also in the *Sacco di Roma* ('Sack of Rome') in 1527. My third example in Part II of my talk, Cellini, is thus connected in some respect to the first, Luther, because the mercenaries of the German Emperor Karl V, among others Lutherans⁹³, plundered Rome at the *Sacco di Roma* only, because the Pope, Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici; Pope 1523-34) was unable to pay them off, given the fact that he himself like his immediate predecessors had spent most of his money on art and building (e.g., the already mentioned *Tridente Mediceo*).

Cellini was an eyewitness of the *Sacco di Roma* (1527), being by chance in Castel S. Angelo, when that was set under siege. At that time he was employed by Pope Clement VII as goldsmith and musician (!). Cellini reports in his book, how he defended Castel S. Angelo during the *Sacco di Roma* as extremely successful artillery man - if we decide to believe his own account. Cellini reports also, what kind of commissions he received as a sculptor and

vuole sia stata esplosa da Castel S. Angelo da Cristina di Svezia, zampilla l'acqua dell'acquedotto Felice ...". For a photo of this fountain with the cannon ball, cf. *James Anderson, Fountain of the Villa Medici c. 1865*.

⁸⁹ The portrait of him which I showed in my talk was copied after *Bertelsmann Volkslexikon* (Gütersloh 1965) 655 s.v. Goethe: "Goethe vor einer Büste (Scherenschnitt)".

⁹⁰ Cf. Goethe 1818.

⁹¹ Cf. *Dichtungen des Michelangelo* without date.

⁹² Cf. Nobel 1946.

⁹³ Cf. Kinder, Hilgemann 1972, pp. 217, 237: "1519-56 Karl V. ... 1527 Sacco di Roma: Das kaiserliche Heer plündert Rom; (luth.[erische]) Söldner verspotten den gefangenen Papst".

goldsmith of other monarchs all over Europe. He describes for example in detail, how he made his most famous extant works (as sculptor and as goldsmith)⁹⁴.

What I found in 1972 most interesting in Cellini's book, is his description how he, being imprisoned (since 1538) under Pope Paul III (Alessandro Farnese; Pope 1534-49) on Castel S. Angelo, managed to escape⁹⁵. That happened some early morning in 1539. He used a linen rope fixed to a crenellation of the castle, and when standing on one of the terraces of Castel S. Angelo looking down, I could not imagine how on earth you can create from your bed sheets (in a prison!) a rope long enough to reach the ground. Reading this text again when preparing my talk, I realized he describes his bed (a "Strohsack" translates Goethe), a straw pallet, but no bed sheets, and also that he only mentions 'linen', without telling us, how he had gotten hold of this material. Anyway, after reaching safely the ground, he has to climb over another wall. Miscalculating its height, he jumps off too early, breaking his right foot. Unable to walk, he crawls towards the Borgo (the still existing city quarter immediately adjacent to the Papal Palaces 'in the Vatican' which are surrounded by walls that are today the boundaries of the Vatican City), hoping to reach the palace of the Duchess, the natural daughter of the Emperor (*scil.* Karl V), now married to Duke Ottavio and previously to Duke Alexander of Florence, as Goethe translates. But before Cellini can get there, a servant of Cardinal Cornaro sees him in the street and recognizes him. As a result of this, Cardinal Cornaro, who lives in the Papal Palaces (!), hides Cellini for some time and a medical doctor takes care of his broken foot.

⁹⁴ For the images which I showed in my talk, cf. Wolf, Millen 1968, p. 86: "Benvenuto Cellini (1500-71). Perseus mit dem Kopf der Medusa, 1553, Bronze, Höhe 200 cm mit Marmor- und Bronzepiedestal. Loggia dei Lanzi, Florenz". Cellini had made this bronze for the *Granduca di Toscana*; I have shown also *op.cit.*, p. 87: "Benvenuto Cellini. Das Salz- und Pfefferfaß von Franz I., 1539-1543. Gold und Email auf Ebenholzbasis, 31,3 x 33,5 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien". For both, E. Capretti, s.v. Cellini, Benvenuto, in: K. G. Saur, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, Band 17 Carter-Cesaretti, München, Leipzig 1997, pp. 495-498 (with ample bibliography); p. 496: "1527, während des Sacco di Roma, sucht er mit Clemens VII. Zuflucht in der Engelsburg und ist als Bombardier und Arkebusier an der Verteidigung beteiligt. Auf Befehl seines Herrn zerlegt er die päpstlichen Insignien und Juwelen und schmilzt das Gold ein ... [and, referring to Cellini's imprisonment on Castel S. Angelo:] Angeklagt, die Juwelen von Clemens VII. unterschlagen zu haben, wird er inhaftiert, kommt aber durch Kardinal Ippolito d'Este wieder frei". For a more detailed account, cf. M.H. Bernath, G.F. Hill, s.v. Cellini, Benvenuto, in: Thieme-Becker 6, 1912, pp. 270-277; p. 271f.: "Am 16.10.1538 wurde er nämlich unter der falschen Beschuldigung, während der Belagerung Roms (1527) Edelsteine und andere Kostbarkeiten aus päpstlichem Besitz unterschlagen zu haben, verhaftet und in der Engelsburg festgesetzt. Obwohl seine Schuld unerwiesen blieb, behielt man ihn in Haft, und auch nach seiner berühmten Flucht konnte er sich nur kurze Zeit der Freiheit erfreuen [shortly after his escape, Cellini was again imprisoned on Castel S. Angelo and only then followed the successful intervention by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este and others]".

⁹⁵ For Cellini's escape, cf. previous note. The reason for my interest in that escape was - of course - also very personal. Castel S. Angelo was in 1972 the only building in Rome where I felt immediately 'at home' because from 1954-1957 my parents had lived with me in the former *Palas* of the castle *Burg Ziesar* (the city of *Ziesar* belonged at the time to the *Bezirk Potsdam*) that was built in the Middle Ages by the bishops of the near-by *Brandenburg*. Behind the portal of the *Palas* of this castle there were some stone cannon balls like those which I saw on Castel S. Angelo. In addition, *Burg Ziesar* comprises a tower (a *Burgverließ*, 'prison'), called *Storchenturm* after a stork's nest. According to the stories told about this castle that I heard in my childhood, nobody had ever been able to escape from this prison. For *Burg Ziesar*, cf. *Brandenburger Land* 1993, pp. 26-33; pp. 26-27: view from the main tower of *Burg Ziesar* (the *Bergfried*) towards the city of *Ziesar*, with the top of the much lower *Storchenturm* in the foreground.

Cellini's text can be read under many different perspectives, mine back in 1972 was concentrated on the description of the castle and of its surrounding area. First of all Cellini's escape - although his description of the procedure is very detailed, we could not verify it on site. Because his book was published in his lifetime, we thought that his description should have sounded convincing to his contemporaries - although this is no guarantee that he said the truth. But because Castel S. Angelo and its surroundings have been changed so much since then, we simply gave up on that point. In retrospect, I would say: a thorough study of the building phases of Castel S. Angelo would certainly help to find out, whether or not Cellini's account sounds trustworthy. As I only found out later, we even know the prisons on Castel S. Angelo, but we do not know, where Cellini was kept. In a publication of graffiti, left by prisoners on Castel S. Angelo, Cellini is not among the authors of those graffiti, and the accompanying text does not mention that he was a prisoner there at all, but the author writes that the inscriptions published by him are a selection of the extant ones⁹⁶. The next thing I wanted to know back in 1972 was: where exactly wanted Cellini to go? At the time, none of us could solve this problem, because we did not know where in the Borgo the palazzo of the Duchess mentioned by Cellini was, what the Papal Palaces looked like at his time, let alone where exactly Cardinal Cornaro had resided. So also this little case-study ended with a great disappointment.

Now, the reconstruction of the Papal Palaces as they were like in Cellini's lifetime - where, as we have just heard, Cellini was hidden by Cardinal Cornaro after his escape from Castel S. Angelo in 1539 - is, of course, also interesting under other perspectives. A reconstruction in "3D" on computer was for example on display in 1998-1999 at the exhibition *Hochrenaissance im Vatikan*⁹⁷ in Bonn. Enterprises like this, as we all know, are only possible with an interdisciplinary and even transdisciplinary approach and they are in most cases either realized for a movie, or in the scholarly world for an exhibition. It is certainly not by chance that most of the people (their work or their time), chosen for Part II of my talk have been the subject of great movies and of great exhibitions: the ideas and case-studies so far told had after all been generated by the *artists* of our art seminar together with their colleagues, an archaeologist and a historian.

⁹⁶ Miglio 1984; especially p. 100.

⁹⁷ Cf. *Hochrenaissance im Vatikan 1999*. The director of the Vatican Museums, under whom this exhibition and its pertaining catalogue were created, was Francesco Buranelli.

27. slide: Cover of a book, dedicated to the 'Porta Magica' in the former Villa Palombara on the Esquiline



Fig. 9. Etching showing the 'Porta Magica' (from F. Cancellieri 1806).

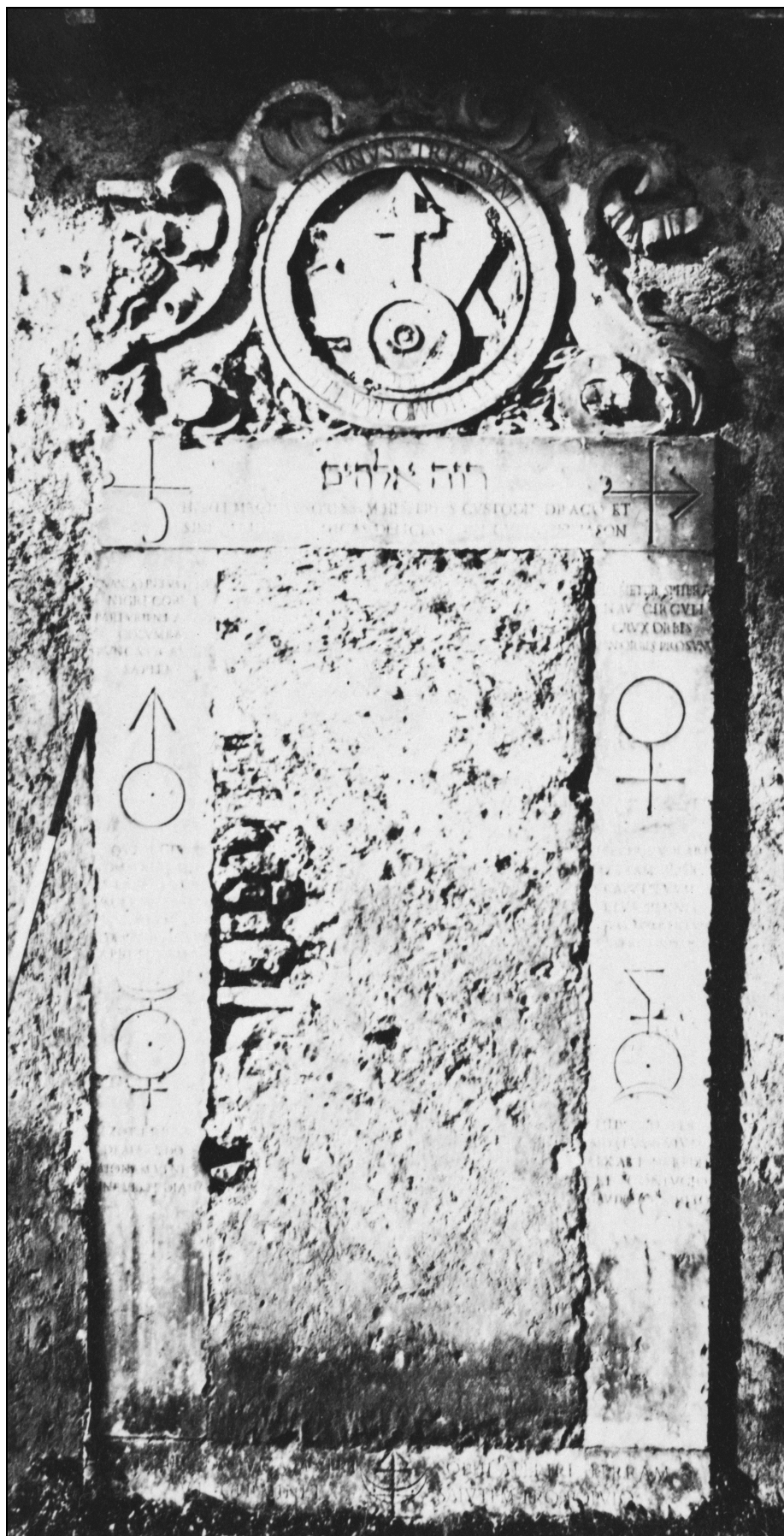


Fig. 10. The installation of the 'Porta Magica' at the surrounding wall of the former Villa Palombara. *Photo Parker 961* (1867-1868).



Fig. 11. The current installation of the 'Porta Magica' on the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II (photo: F.X. Schütz).

The book cover that I have shown on **slide 27**.⁹⁸ reproduces an etching (for that cf. **Fig. 9**) of a curious marble monument in Rome, the 'Porta Magica' ('Magic Gate'). It is so named because of its inscriptions in Latin and Hebrew as well as its seven signs, each of which represents a planet and a metal and is accompanied by a *motto*, written in Latin⁹⁹. Both the *motti* and signs express alchemistic beliefs, and individually, as well as in their entirety, they have magical meaning(s)¹⁰⁰. Thanks to this 'Porta Magica', the foreigner Christina of Sweden has even made it into the folklore of Rome. With this story about Christina of Sweden ends my talk, and in a certain sense, this example is also a combination of both of its Parts.

⁹⁸ Cf. Cardano 1990a (front cover); the etching is copied after Cancellieri 1806 (but has been changed), who was first to publish a representation of the 'Porta Magica' (his original etching, here **Fig. 9**, shows more clearly that the 'Porta Magica' was walled-up at the time; cf. Gabriele 1990, fig. on p. 27; D'Urso 1990, p. 44, fig. 45); cf. Cardano 1990b, p. 99 with n. 4.

⁹⁹ Gabriele 1990, p. 18, fig. 7: "sette segni-sigilli criptografici accompagnati da motti"; cf. pp. 18-21. According to P. Battistuzzi, Assessore alla Cultura del Comune di Roma, in: Cardano 1990a, in his "Presentazione" after the frontespizio (see also back cover): the 'Porta Magica' is a "monumento unico per il suo carattere di testimonianza epigrafica della cultura alchemica"; and Gabriele 2014 writes: "La Porta Magica costituisce la sola testimonianza plastica e architettonica della tradizione magico-alchemica occidentale, che grande diffusione e importanza culturale ebbe in Europa fin dal Medioevo ...". I thank F.X. Schütz for the reference.

¹⁰⁰ So Gabriele 1990, p. 21; cf. *passim*.

The 'Porta Magica' was commissioned (presumably in 1680¹⁰¹) by Marchese Massimiliano Palombara (Roma 1614 - 1685 Roma) for his Villa on the Esquiline. As has been realized only recently, he was himself the author of the entire iconographic programme of the 'Porta Magica'¹⁰², in addition he made his Villa the "luogo privilegiato di incontri con i principali studiosi dell'epoca"¹⁰³ ('his preferred meeting place with the foremost scholars of the period') - facts, none of which the reader would expect when hearing the folklore version of the story, to which I will come later. The recent thorough discussion of the 'Porta Magica' has demonstrated in more detail what was already known before: Marchese Massimiliano Palombara was not only an alchemist, who had a well stocked library on the subject, but was even himself the author of relevant texts, comprising those incised on the 'Porta Magica'¹⁰⁴. Christina of Sweden was also an expert in alchemy and Marchese Palombara was her *gentiluomo*¹⁰⁵ ('gentleman'; *scil.* in her service) since 1655/1656, when the abdicated Queen had put up residence in Rome for the first time. Marchese Massimiliano Palombara had in his Villa apart from ancient inscriptions (for example *CIL* VI 2234)¹⁰⁶ also some others showing his alchemistic beliefs, the texts of which he had written himself, these inscriptions (apart from those incised on the 'Porta Magica') are now dispersed¹⁰⁷.

I follow Mino Gabriele's reconstruction, according to which the small size¹⁰⁸ of this gate and the text of the Latin inscription on its architrave show that this little monument was the entrance to a 'magical garden of the Hesperides', where according to the inscription the golden fleece was kept. This unusual combination of two ancient myths (about the garden of the Hesperides *and* the golden fleece¹⁰⁹) shows that Marchese Massimiliano Palombara knew an ancient tradition, according to which gold can artificially be made by applying certain chemical operations¹¹⁰. Marchese Palombara himself wrote, that 'in his Villa there was a

¹⁰¹ Cf. Pirrotta 1979, pp. 28, 30.

¹⁰² So Gabriele 1990, p. 17; D'Urso 1990, p. 39 with n. 7; differently Pirrotta 1979, pp. 28, 30.

¹⁰³ Cardilli Alloisi 1990, p. 11; cf. Partini 1990, p. 29.

¹⁰⁴ Gabriele 1990, pp. 18-19 with ns. 10, 12, p. 21 with ns. 36, 41, p. 24 with n. 62, p. 25 with n. 67.

¹⁰⁵ Partini 1990, p. 29.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. now Häuber 2014a, p. 857, *s.v.* *CIL*, VI, 2234, fig. 1 on p. 29.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. D'Urso 1990, p. 39 with ns. 5, 7; Bornoroni 1990, p. 47.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. D'Urso 1990, p. 39: "Attualmente [on the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II, see here **slide 29.; Fig. 11**] la porta si trova ad una altezza di metri 2,35 dal suolo ed ha una ampiezza di metri 1,33".

¹⁰⁹ For gold and gold mining techniques, for example the so-called panning, which is hinted at in the myth of the 'golden fleece', cf. now Raub, Wipfler 2014 under "IV.A. Seifengold".

¹¹⁰ So convincingly Gabriele 1990, pp. 21-22 with n. 42, p. 22; cf. *id.* 2014: "Alcune delle epigrafi, le poesie e altri scritti di [marchese Massimiliano] Palombara magnificano gli *horti* della villa, descrivendoli come un *locus amoenus* ... e ricettacolo del mitico vello d'oro di Giasone. Così recitava un' epigrafe posta su uno dei portoni esterni della villa e trasmessa da Cancellieri (1806, p. 45): VILLAE IANUAM / TRANANDO / RECLUDENS IASON / OBTINET LOCUPLES / VELLUS MEDEAE / 1680 (Oltrepassando la porta della Villa Giasone scopre e ottiene il ricco vello di Medea 1680). Il dato non è irrilevante anche al fine di comprendere meglio l'opera poetica di Palombara, ricca di riferimenti arcadici, idiliaci e mitici strettamente coniugati con l'esperienza alchemica. Secondo una tradizione trasmessa da alcuni testi bizantini, specialmente dalla *Suda*, il lessico bizantino del X secolo ben noto nel Rinascimento, si credeva che il leggendario vello d'oro fosse una pergamena o un libro pergameneo contenete [!] i segreti dell'arte di fabbricare l'oro. Il fatto che Palombara si dichiarasse in varie occasioni possessore, quasi nuovo Giasone, di quel vello o libro iniziatico, pare suggerire qualcosa di più del favoloso riferimento, ovvero che nel suo giardino egli si dedicasse, oltre che alla prediletta *chrysopoeia* ['production of gold'] anche a un'ampia ricerca naturalistica e metallurgica, rivivendo e sperimentando una sapienza degna di quel mito. Infatti nei suoi *horti* pare si applicasse, accanto alle pratiche alchemiche, a metodiche investigazioni su erbe [for that cf. *infra*, n. 146], piante officinali e sulle virtù delle pietre e dei minerali, come documenta il ms. 1346 della Biblioteca Angelica di Roma, autografo di Palombara, che riporta numerosi passi di Dioscoride ... di Plinio il

grotto and a palisade surrounding the golden fleece'¹¹¹. This sounds as if he had something like an ancient sacred precinct, a *temenos*, within his Villa (but cf. *infra*). His grotto was, as Marchese Palombara wrote, 'the cave of Mercury, the most beautiful place in the world'¹¹². Unfortunately we do not know, whether or not Marchese Palombara actually had such a 'cave of Mercury' in his Villa¹¹³, which could in theory have belonged to his 'magical garden of the Hesperides', to which the 'Porta Magica' led. According to the belief of alchemists the 'cave of Mercury' contained the treasure given by God to humans to heal them from all illnesses, the *lapis philosophorum*. This treasure comprised seven metals¹¹⁴, and because the 'Porta Magica' refers also to seven metals, this could be an indication that Marchese Palombara had at least planned to build such a 'cave of Mercury', when he commissioned the 'Porta Magica'. Besides, the 'golden fleece' (which could also be understood as a book of wisdom; cf. n. 110) and the 'philosopher's stone' could have identical meanings for alchemists¹¹⁵, perhaps then Marchese Palombara had both in his 'cave of Mercury'.

Mino Gabriele suggests that the signs of the seven planets/ metals on the 'Porta Magica' could of course also have an eschatological meaning, hinting at the "viaggio dell'anima" (the 'journey of the soul'), as imagined by alchemists¹¹⁶. Anna Maria Partini explains this in more detail: the aim of 'alchemy or transformation magic' was to follow a prescribed *iter* ('path') with the aim of self-realization¹¹⁷. In the same vein argues the epigraphist Valentina D'Urso, who stresses the extremely high quality of all inscriptions covering the 'Porta Magica', and who suggests that the audience for those inscriptions must have been 'initiated' people¹¹⁸. If so, also Massimiliano Palombara should have been himself 'initiated', and this is precisely what other recent scholars suggest: he is believed to have been a member of a secret brotherhood of alchemists called *Rosacroce*¹¹⁹ (*Rosenkreuzer*, Rosicrucians). Members of this brotherhood were initiated and according to their own theology lived to serve humans, predicating altruism. The assumption that Marchese Palombara was a member of this secret brotherhood, to which many now famous scientists belonged, could explain the above quoted assertion that his Villa 'was the preferred meeting place of the foremost scholars of his day'. In his own writings, Marchese Palombara says that he had been endowed with his knowledge about alchemy by divine favour (this belief was typical for alchemists), and he often expresses the conviction that to keep silent is of the greatest importance¹²⁰, as well as that alchemists should anyhow live according to an ethic code¹²¹.

Although the inscription on the architrave of the 'Porta Magica' refers to the garden of the Hesperides *and* to the golden fleece, and thus to the belief that gold may be created artificially, the tone of all the inscriptions of the 'Porta Magica' is philosophical, or rather

Vecchio, di Giovanni Maria Bonardo ... e del medico e scienziato Gabriele Falloppio ..." (with ample bibliography).

¹¹¹ So Gabriele 1990, p. 22: "nei suoi horti vi erano una grotta e un vallo o palizzata che recingeva il vello d'oro".

¹¹² Gabriele 1990, p. 24: "Circa la grotta, che viene descritta sotto forma di parabola, il Palombara dice [with n. 55] trattarsi dell' antro di Mercurio, >il loco più delizioso del Mondo<"; cf. Partini 1990, p. 34.

¹¹³ So Gabriele 1990, p. 24.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Gabriele 1990, p. 24.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Gabriele 1990, p. 24.

¹¹⁶ Gabriele 1990, pp. 24-25.

¹¹⁷ Partini 1990, p. 29: "L'alchimia o >magia trasmutatoria<".

¹¹⁸ D'Urso 1990, p. 45.

¹¹⁹ So Gabriele 1990, p. 17 and *passim*; Partini 1990, p. 33.

¹²⁰ Cf. Partini 1990, *passim*.

¹²¹ Cf. Gabriele 1990, pp. 20-21 with n. 35.

hermetic¹²², and they do not contain recipes in the true sense of the word, that is to say, how gold could be produced. Anna Maria Partini suggests a different scenario than Mino Gabriele: instead of assuming a small garden of the Hesperides somewhere within Villa Palombara, she believes Marchese Palombara refers with 'garden of the Hesperides' to his *entire* Villa¹²³. According to her, Marchese Palombara, by erecting his 'Porta Magica', invited people by passing the threshold of this monument to enter his Villa - his garden of the Hesperides - where they could conquer like Jason the golden fleece, meaning that they could begin the self-transformation process that was the aim of alchemy, in which the ultimate state of personal perfection was *compared* with gold¹²⁴. The 'Porta Magica' may therefore be regarded as an example of spiritual rather than operative alchemy. But Marchese Palombara had also owned an inscription relating to the operative side of alchemy - that of *producing* gold, which was found within the area of his former Villa in the course of the 'excavations' in 1874. This inscription was unknown to Francesco Cancellieri, who had published in 1806 what seemed to be Marchese Massimiliano Palombara's entire collection of inscriptions related to alchemy that were on display in his Villa on the Esquiline (the texts of which had been written by Marchese Massimiliano Palombara himself¹²⁵), which means that at Cancellieri's time this inscription had obviously not been accessible.

Mino Gabriele's hypothesis that the 'Porta Magica' functioned as entrance gate to a magical garden of the Hesperides *within* Villa Palombara is certainly true. The precise location of this small magical garden, and thus the original location of the 'Porta Magica' within Villa Palombara, are unfortunately unknown¹²⁶. The following facts corroborate Gabriele's reconstruction. (1) we know that the Villa Palombara was surrounded by walls¹²⁷; (2) since the 'Porta Magica' is well preserved, it is plain to see that it could not be closed, for example by a wooden door. When the 'Porta Magica' was integrated into the surrounding wall of the former Villa Palombara, its opening was, therefore, walled up. That situation was first documented by Francesco Cancellieri in 1806, see the etching visible on **slide 27.; Fig. 9;** cf. **Fig. 10**. Now, considering the content of the inscription on the *threshold* of the 'Porta Magica', in which Massimiliano Palombara urges the visitor to his garden of the Hesperides to pass this threshold without hesitation¹²⁸ - in order to start his or her alchemical transformation-process - it is on purpose that the 'Porta Magica' was always open. This conception of the 'Porta Magica' precludes that it could originally have been incorporated (walled-up) into the surrounding wall of the Villa Palombara. Equally important as this peculiarity of the 'Porta Magica' itself, which has so far not been considered in this context, is

¹²² For the "Ermetismo" ('hermetic philosophy') of the period, cf. Lindberg 1990, pp. 36-45.

¹²³ Partini 1990, p. 31: "È un invito a varcare la soglia della Porta Magica, ad entrare >nella sua vigna<, dove solo >l'uomo heroico< saprà trovare quel grappolo che spremuto dà il >vino ermetico<. È la conquista del Toson d'Oro, che il Palombara offre a chi, nuovo Giasone, scopre e oltrepassa la porta della sua villa. La Porta Magica quindi dà l'accesso al >Visita Interiora Terrae<, cioè il passaggio attraverso la >porta< (attraverso le fasi del processo alchemico), dà la possibilità di evolversi, di integrare le facoltà comuni dell'uomo con altre più sottili, in modo da realizzare nell'uomo stesso quello stato superiore di perfezione e di chiarezza simboleggiato dall'oro degli alchimisti"; cf. p. 34.

¹²⁴ Partini 1990, p. 29.

¹²⁵ Bornoroni 1990, pp. 47-49, fig. 46 and fig. on p. 49; cf. Partini 1990, p. 35 with n. 32. Gabriele 2014 (cf. *supra*, n. 110).

¹²⁶ So Gabriele 1990, p. 26.

¹²⁷ Cf. Jatta, Tobia 1990, p. 97, figs. 91, 94 (showing the main entrance of the former Villa Palombara in the north, on the Strada Felice/ Via Sistina, as well as the adjacent surrounding walls).

¹²⁸ Cf. Gabriele 1990, p. 21: "SI SEDES NON IS (se siedi non vai ...). Il motto, vista la sua non casuale collocazione, ci pare un invito a chi si trova dinanzi alla porta, a vacarne la soglia senza fermarsi, e a interpretare il cammino dell'esperienza alchemica ...".

(3) the fact that the content of all its inscriptions is hermetic - Massimiliano Palombara would have run the risk to get into serious trouble¹²⁹ had he erected the 'Porta Magica' as an entrance gate in the surrounding wall of his Villa - that is to say adjacent to a public space. It is, therefore, no surprise¹³⁰ that the 'Porta Magica' does not appear on the many *vedutes* of this area published before Cancellieri's account (in 1806), but may instead be regarded as a proof of my assertion that the 'Porta Magica' could not possibly have been erected there in Marchese Palombara's own lifetime¹³¹.

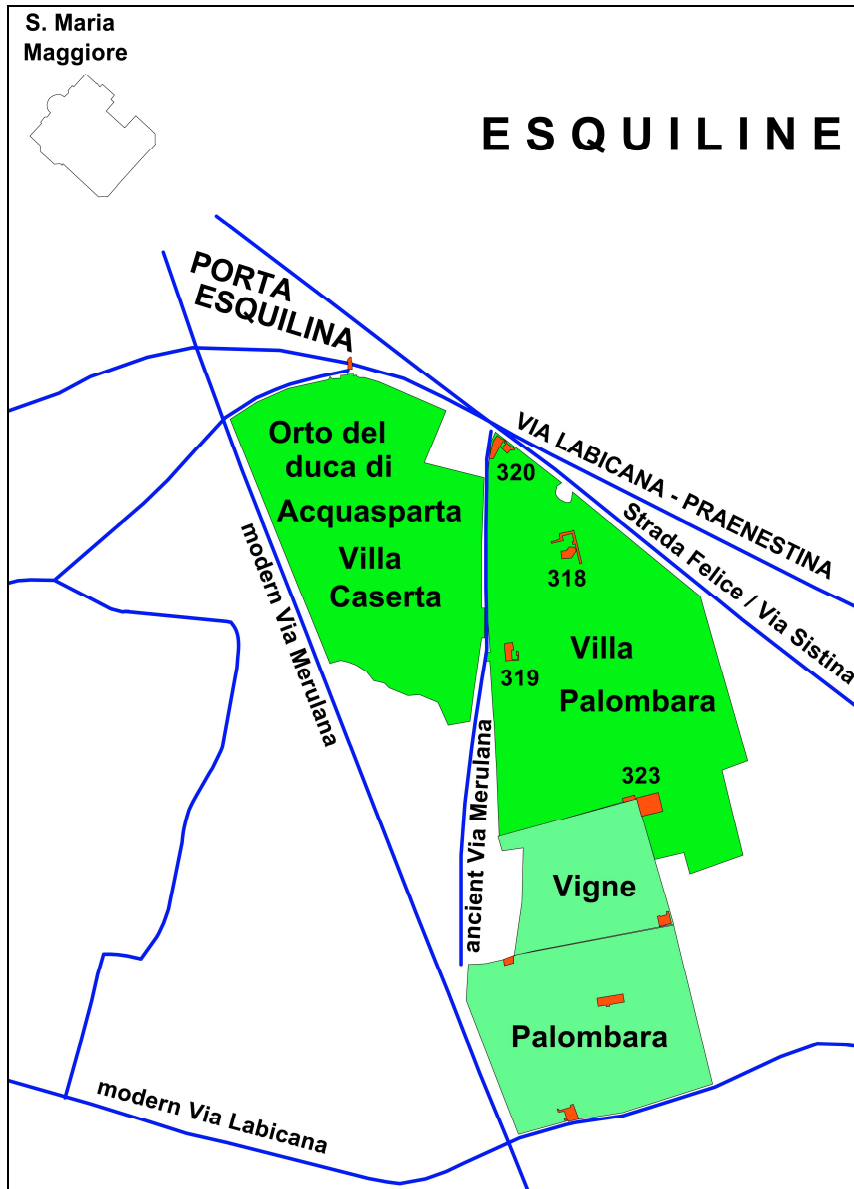


Fig. 12. Map showing the former Villa Palombara on the Esquiline. C. Häuber, "AIS ROMA".

¹²⁹ So Partini 1990, p. 35, quoted *infra*, n. 142.

¹³⁰ So Jatta, Tobia; cf. *supra*, n. 127.

¹³¹ Also Gabriele 2014 writes: "La collocazione originaria del monumento è incerta. Le testimonianze ottocentesche, anche fotografiche, la vogliono addossata al muro di cinta della villa, di fronte alla chiesa di S. Eusebio, lungo la via che conduceva da S. Maria Maggiore a S. Giovanni in Laterano [i. e. modern Via Merulana. This is not true; cf. *infra*, the text belonging to n. 143, and **Figs. 12; 14**]. Tuttavia, il simbolismo alchemico e iniziatico che la impronta e la riservatezza in merito più volte affermata dal medesimo Palombara ne suggerirebbero una primitiva posizione più discreta, probabilmente nei giardini della villa e non su una pubblica strada".

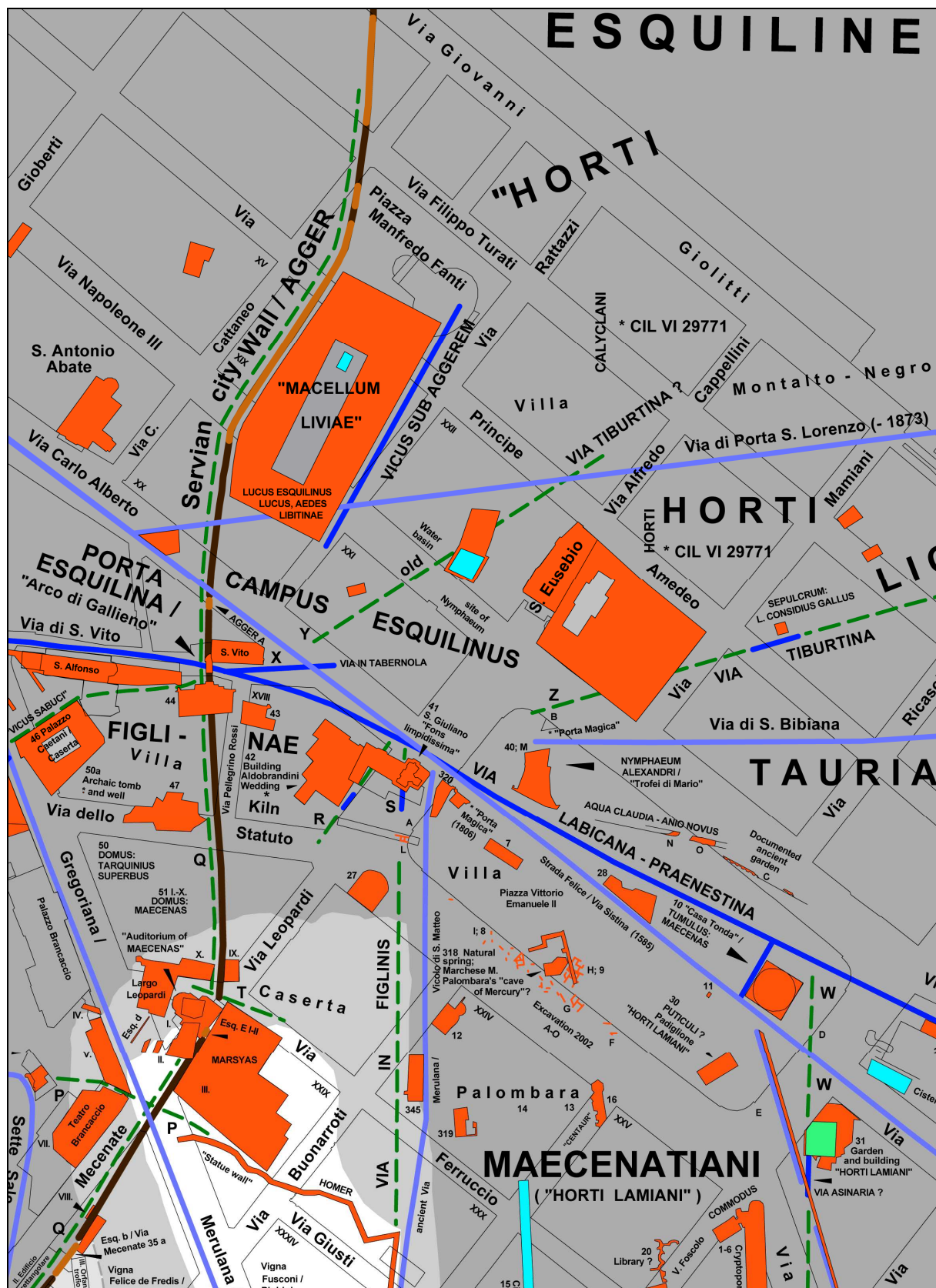


Fig. 14. Diachronic map showing the two known locations of the 'Porta Magica'. C. Häuber, "AIS ROMA".

The folklore version of these proceedings, told by Rodolfo Lanciani, who based his account on Francesco Cancellieri¹³², knows nothing about the magical garden of the Hesperides with the golden fleece within Villa Palombara, to which the 'Porta Magica' once belonged. It (erroneously) asserts instead that Marchese Palombara put up the 'Porta Magica' on the public road Strada Felice/ Via Sistina (cf. **Figs. 12; 14**. A section of it survives today in the roads Via Conte Verde and Via di S. Croce in Gerusalemme) that bounded his Villa in the north (this post-antique road is drawn as a light blue line on my diachronic map **Fig. 14**), close to the main entrance of his Villa, in order to 'publish' its content that he allegedly did not himself understand - hoping some future passer-by would possibly explain the content to him. The folklore version of the story asserts that these inscriptions contain the recipe to make gold, although their content was regarded as enigmatic - the Latin and Hebrew words of these inscriptions were understood, of course, but not their meaning, and the seven signs were thought of having some astronomical and cabalistic meaning. Alchemists were indeed interested in making gold, but that was not the most important aim of alchemy¹³³. The folklore version of the story neither explains the small size of the gate, nor why Marchese Palombara (allegedly) put up this small additional gate beside the large main entrance of his Villa, nor why its opening was walled-up (a fact which is only documented since 1806; see slides **27., 28.; Figs. 9-10**).

Lanciani wrote: the area on the Esquiline, the ancient history of which he had discussed on the previous pages, "acquired fresh notoriety in 1620, when they became the property of the Marchesi di Palombara and the scene of their mysterious meetings with Christina, Queen of Sweden, then engaged in the follies of necromancy, and in the search for the philosopher's stone and perpetual motion. Contemporary chronicles relate how the queen, having taken up her abode in Rome in 1655, set up a laboratory for experimenting in occult sciences, with the help of the most distinguished alchemists of the age. One day a youth ... presented himself before the queen, and asked permission to work in her laboratory, in order to investigate the manner of making gold. Having obtained this, he presented himself again to the queen, after a few days, telling her that he had need of going in search of a certain herb, in order to complete the operation, and entreating her to grant him a hiding-place in which to deposit during his absence two vases of a liquor which, mixed with the herb, would become gold"¹³⁴.

Because the young man did not return, the Queen "caused the hiding-place to be opened by force, and found the liquor solidified into gold in one vase and into silver in the other"¹³⁵. Marchese Massimiliano Palombara, "a famous alchemist"¹³⁶, when hearing this story, made fun of the Queen "for having allowed such a master in this art to escape without revealing his secret. The marquis was then occupying his Esquiline villa, where, one morning in 1680, he

¹³² Cf. Lanciani 1901, pp. 225-229; on p. 225 he quotes Cancellieri 1806, p. 42, n. 2.

¹³³ Cf. Friedell 1991, p. 242: "... wie ja überhaupt in jener Zeit gemeiner Goldhunger und edler Wissensdurst kaum voneinander zu trennen sind"; pp. 243-244: "Die Alchimie bezweckte übrigens keineswegs bloß Goldmacherei. Der geheimnisvolle Stoff, das >Arcanum<, das man suchte, sollte auch zugleich eine Panazee gegen alle Krankheiten sein, gleich dem Theriak [i.e. a drug containing opium] des Altertums. Man war damals überhaupt der Ansicht, daß es eine allgemeine erlösende Formel geben müsse, einen Generalschlüssel, der das Tor zu allen Geheimnissen öffnet: dies ist der tiefere Sinn des Steins der Weisen". Gabriele 1990, p. 24, comes to the same conclusion, when analysing Massimiliano Palombara's 'Porta Magica' and especially the fact that he himself claimed to have in his Villa a 'cave of Mercury': "... l'antro di Mercurio significò per gli alchimisti il luogo occulto, il recesso paradisiaco, dove viene custodito il tesoro donato da Dio ai mortali per guarirli dalle umane miserie e da ogni malattia, in breve, lo stesso *lapis philosophorum*".

¹³⁴ Lanciani 1901, p. 225.

¹³⁵ Lanciani 1901, p. 226.

¹³⁶ Lanciani 1901, p. 226.

saw an unknown person enter the gate on the side of the Via Merulana [see **Fig. 12**], and examine attentively the ground, apparently looking for some mysterious plant. Surprised by the servants, the pilgrim declared that he was in search of an herb of marvellous virtue, and that, knowing how much interested the proprietor of the villa was in the art of making gold, he wished to demonstrate to him that the work, though difficult, was not impossible"¹³⁷. - When I first read this in 1981, I thought (like many others): oho, the Queen has taken her 'revenge' on Marchese Palombara!¹³⁸.

The Marchese then invites the 'pilgrim' to demonstrate his work in his own laboratory in his Villa. "The pilgrim crisped and pulverized the herb gathered in the garden, threw it into a crucible, which was full of a mysterious liquor, and promised his host that on the next morning not only would the process be completed, but the secret should be revealed to him"¹³⁹. The next morning the 'pilgrim' had disappeared. "The guest had however liberally kept his promise, for not only from the broken crucible had flowed upon the pavement a long stream of the purest gold, but on the table lay a roll of parchment, upon which were traced and written various enigmas, which, says Cancellieri, no one has been able up to this time to explain, nor ever will. The Marquis Palombara caused a memorial of the mysterious pilgrim, and the recipes left by him for the manufacture of gold, to be cut in marble and exposed to the eyes of the public ..."¹⁴⁰ (meaning the 'Porta Magica' with its inscriptions, **Figs. 9-11**).

Anna Maria Partini asserts that according to Francesco Cancellieri the 'pilgrim' had transformed lead into gold¹⁴¹; she concludes: 'obviously Marchese Palombara had to keep silence about his hermetic activity (to avoid charges of the authorities of his time that were hostile against such doctrines), but also about his secret how lead could be transformed into gold, perhaps even performed in practice, for which the Porta Magica has become the symbol over the centuries'¹⁴².

Lanciani (Roma, 1845-1929) continues: "I remember having seen this curious monument of human idiosyncrasy in my youth, on the right side of the road which then led from S. Maria Maggiore to S. Croce in Gerusalemme, nearly opposite the ruin called the Trophies of Marius [see here **Fig. 14**, labels: Strada Felice/ Via Sistina (1585); 40; M; NYMPHAEUM ALEXANDRI / "Trofei di Mario"; * Porta Magica (1806); cf. *infra*]. The door was covered with strange symbols in Latin and Hebrew letters, and astronomical and cabalistic signs of obscure signification; and every week, the Magic Gate witnessed an assembly of aged and filthy beggars, trying to get the key to the meaning of the signs, and secure a good >estrazione< ['extraction'] from the weel of fortune"¹⁴³ - with n. 1: "The public lottery is

¹³⁷ Lanciani 1901, p. 226.

¹³⁸ Cf. Häuber 1990, p. 79 n. 225; *ead.* 1991, p. 234 with n. 506. See also Pirrotta 1979, p. 20 with n. 12.

¹³⁹ Lanciani 1901, p. 226.

¹⁴⁰ Lanciani 1901, pp. 226-227.

¹⁴¹ Partini 1990, p. 29 with n. 3: "effettuato una trasmutazione di >piombo in oro<", quoting Cancellieri 1806, pp. 42-49, where this is not explicitly stated, as I could verify in the library of the BSR on December 21st, 2012 (he describes this 'anecdote' on pp. 42-45; on pp. 45-49 follow the modern alchemistic inscriptions on display at the Villa Palombara [at Cancellieri's time], including those of the Porta Magica). Cancellieri's relevant text passage is quoted *verbatim* by Cardano 1990a, pp. 144-145; but see Bornoroni 1990 and the text belonging to *supra*, n. 125.

¹⁴² Partini 1990, p. 35 with n. 32: "È evidente che il Palombara doveva >tacere<, velare la sua attività ermetica, per salvarsi dalle accuse di qualche autorità dell'epoca ostile verso tali dottrine, e per custodire il suo >segreto< sulla >trasformazione del piombo in oro<, forse realizzato anche su un piano pratico, di cui la Porta Magica è rimasta attraverso i secoli l'emblema".

¹⁴³ Lanciani 1901, pp. 227-228. For Lanciani, cf. Häuber 2014a, p. 11 with n. 67 (with reference).

drawn every Saturday ..." ¹⁴⁴. In 1915 appeared a book, in which the 'pilgrim' of our story and alleged author of the inscriptions of the 'Porta Magica' had (erroneously) been identified with the hermetic philosopher Francesco Giuseppe Borri from Milan, one of the most prominent alchemists of his time - who, at the time of his alleged appearance as 'pilgrim' in Villa Palombara, was actually imprisoned on Castel S. Angelo (!). Thus the folklore version of these proceedings had become even more 'interesting' ¹⁴⁵.

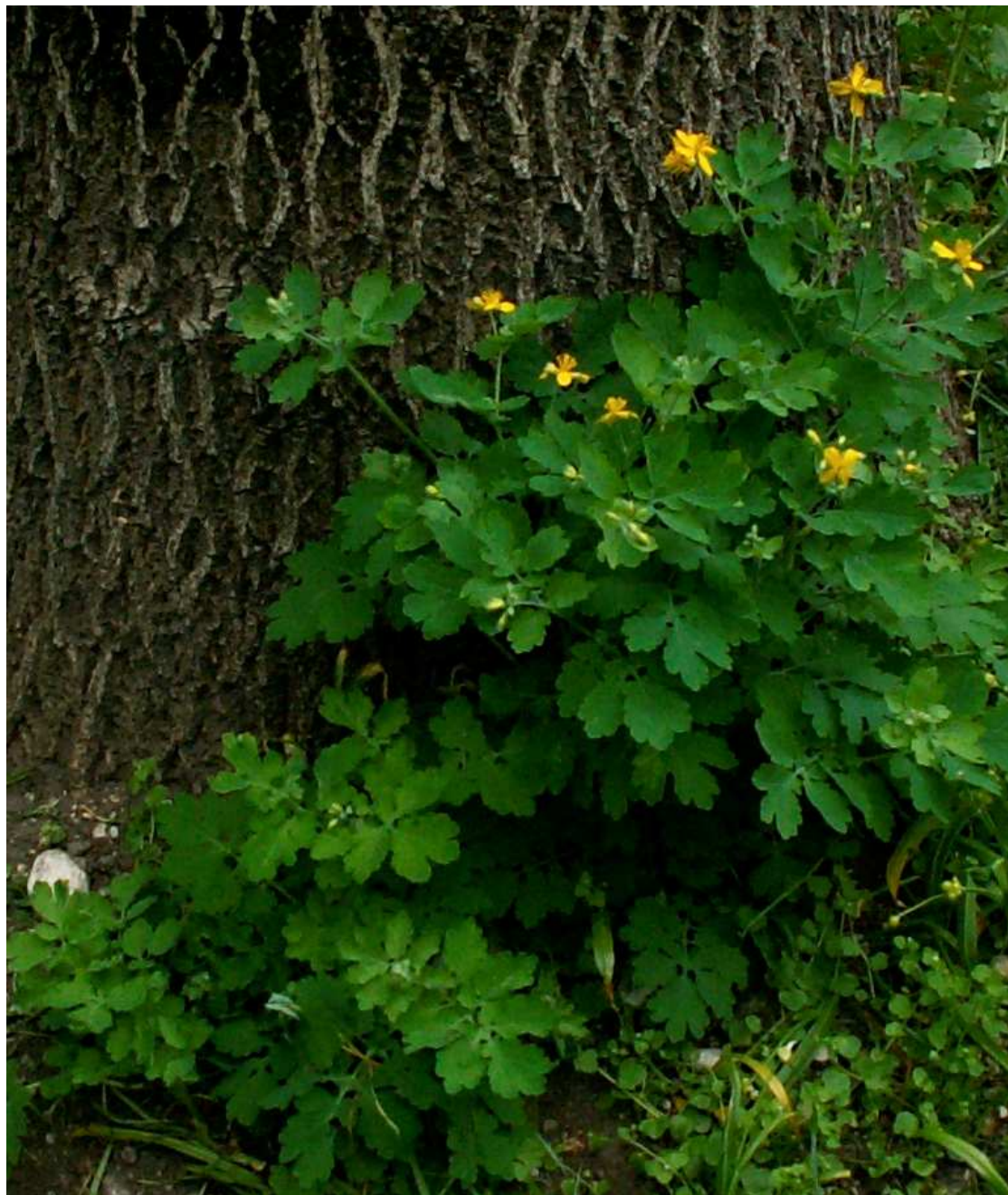


Fig. 13. *Chelidonium majus* L., *Papaveraceae*; celandine/ celidonia/ Schöllkraut (photo: F.X. Schütz).

¹⁴⁴ Lanciani 1901, p. 228 n. 1.

¹⁴⁵ This has been refuted by Gabriele 1990, p. 17; but followed by D'Urso 1990, p. 39 with n. 5; and likewise by Pirrotta 1979, pp. 27-30; *contra* also: Rotta 1990, pp. 106-107 with n. 16, who mentions the fact that during the period in question Borri was imprisoned on Castel S. Angelo.

After my talk I found out that the above mentioned 'herb gathered by the >pilgrim< in Marchese Palombara's Villa', that he had (allegedly) used to produce gold, is the well-known "*Chelidonium majus* L., *Papaveraceae*" (**Fig. 13**), called in English "Celandine, tellerwort, wollow-wort, devil's milk, rock poppy", in Italian "Cinerognolle, erba da porri, erba nocca, erba donna, erba maistra, hirundinaria, celidonia", and in German: "Schöllkraut", a medicinal plant containing substances which may be dangerous in uncontrolled doses¹⁴⁶. Imagining our alchemists heating (!) lead together with this plant in their crucibles, one can only hope that they survived these operations without suffering from serious health problems.

The position of the 'Porta Magica', as related in this folklore version of the story, is not only known from Lanciani's above quoted account, but also from a documentation of 1806¹⁴⁷. I have marked this location on my diachronic map (**Fig. 14**), as I will show you in a minute. There even exist photographs showing this location of the 'Porta Magica'.

28. slide: John Henry Parker (1806-1884) the initiator of *Photo Parker*

Photo Parker 961 (1867-1868), showing the 'Porta Magica' in situ integrated into the wall of the former Villa Palombara on the Esquiline (Fig. 10)

The Englishman John Henry Parker, portrayed at the end of his life in **slide 28**, which I showed in my talk¹⁴⁸, has in great deal contributed to the fact that we can now reconstruct many phases of the City of Rome with more confidence in detail. Parker was an entrepreneur who recognized the potential of the medium photography. He came to Rome (1864-1877)

¹⁴⁶ All quotes are from MADAUS 4 1988, p. 916; cf. pp. 916-927; p. 916: "Der deutsche Name Schöllkraut ist wohl eine Entlehnung aus dem griechisch-lateinischen *chelidonium*"; p. 917: "In der gelben Wurzel vermuteten die Alchemisten den Stein der Weisen"; p. 923: the substance "*Chelidonin* ist nach Ley [with n. 33] ein morphinähnliches Gehirngift ... [the plant contains the substance *chelidonine* which according to Ley (with n. 33) is a 'brain poison' similar to *morphine*]" p. 924: "H. Koopmann *) berichtet in der Führerschen Sammlung von Vergiftungsfällen von einer tödlichen *Chelidonium*vergiftung". His map on p. 916 shows the "Verbreitungsgebiet" (a map showing the range of this plant) of celandine/ celidonia/ chelodionium/ Schöllkraut; Italy is included. De Witt 1964, p. 129: "Schöllkraut ... jenes auf Schutt allgemein verbreitete Unkraut mit gelben Blüten ... Sein orangeroter Milchsaft wirkt leicht ätzend und läßt sich daher als Mittel gegen Warzen verwenden. Seinetwegen wurde die Pflanze im Mittelalter gegen Gelbsucht angewandt; denn nach der alten Signaturenlehre weist die Pflanze mit ihren Merkmalen auf ihre Heilwirkung selbst hin. *Die Alchimisten sahen in der gelben Farbe des Saftes und der Wurzel ein Zeichen dafür, daß sich die Pflanze zum Goldmachen eigne* [my italics], und deuteten ihren Namen *Chelidonium*, das heißt eigentlich Schwalbenkraut, um in *Coeli donum*, Geschenk des Himmels. Übrigens geht auch der Name Schöllkraut darauf zurück, daß das lateinische *Chelidonium* vom Volksmund an die deutsche Sprache angeglichen wurde". For Marchese Massimiliano Palombara's botanical research that this part of the folklore version of the story about the 'Porta Magica' seems to refer to, cf. *supra*, n. 110. My thanks are due to Ruth Lucy Toepffer, in whose library I could consult De Witt 1964.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Cardano 1990b, p. 100, fig. 98 (a map in which this location of the 'Porta Magica' is marked); cf. now Häuber 2014a, Map 3, labels: VIA LABICANA - PRAENESTINA; Strada Felice/ Via Sistina (1585); Villa Palombara; 320; * "Porta Magica" 1806. The * indicates its location in 1806.

¹⁴⁸ John Henry Parker was from 1870-1884 Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, which owns all his photo catalogues. I thank Helen Whitehouse (then at the Ashmolean Museum) for presenting me in January of 1983 with a copy of the portrait photograph of Parker which I have shown on **slide 28**. She wrote me the accompanying note: "John Henry Parker, 1806-1884 ... Photograph is copied from one in the Ashmolean Library; biographical details in the *DNB* [*The Dictionary of National Biography* XV (1921-22), pp. 250-251]. The medal perhaps relates to his being made a Cavaliere of the Order of SS. Maurizio & Lazzaro by the Italian Govt. [Government] in 1879?".

because of health problems and the photographs he commissioned and then sold in the collection *Photo Parker* are today of the greatest scholarly importance. Not surprisingly, given Parker's encyclopaedic interests, the *Photo Parker* showing the 'Porta Magica' *in situ*¹⁴⁹ (**Fig. 10**), is the only immediately published one¹⁵⁰ that we have of this situation. And as not otherwise expectable for the people mentioned in Part II of my talk, also to John Henry Parker has been dedicated a scientific catalogue¹⁵¹.

29. slide: The new installation of the 'Porta Magica' on the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II (Fig. 11)

After it was expropriated in 1873 (in the period 'Roma Capitale'), the Villa Palombara was destroyed to make space for the new quarters on the Esquiline. The 'Porta Magica' was removed in 1876¹⁵² from its previous place and (in 1888) put on display in the garden of the newly created Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II that occupies part of the area of this former Villa. There the 'Porta Magica' can still be studied today. The photograph (**Fig. 11**) shows the 'Porta Magica' after its recent restoration that occurred in 1989¹⁵³. In this installation of the late 19th century, the 'Porta Magica' is flanked by two modern marble statues of the Egyptian god Bes that had been 'excavated' in the 19th century on the Quirinal¹⁵⁴. Note that here the 'Porta Magica' is integrated into a block of earth on which is planted a (cypress) tree, a 'monument', to which I will come back below (when we visited the site on August 2nd, 2014, the cyprus tree had been removed in the meantime).

The 'Porta Magica' appears in a Rome guide for children under the rubric: "Sprechende Steine", where an interesting interpretation of its meaning and installation is offered: "Porta Magica. Dieses alte >alchemistische Tor< steht in einem Park in der Nähe des römischen Hauptbahnhofs. Es heißt, wenn man die geheimnisvollen Inschriften an der Tür richtig deutet, gelangt man durchs Tor in ein unbekanntes Reich. Die Wächter vor der Porta stellen den ägyptischen Gott Bes dar"¹⁵⁵.

30. slide: The former Villa Palombara on my own maps

When in 1981 I first read Lanciani's just quoted account on the 'Porta Magica', I wanted to know, where exactly the Villa Palombara was, that was not marked on any map known to me at the time, and where exactly within this Villa had been Marchese Massimiliano Palombara's

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Cardano 1990b, p. 99, fig. 97.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. *Un Inglese a Roma 1989*, p. 225. Copies of *Photo Parker* 961 are kept in the BSR and the DAI, Abteilung Rom. Jatta, Tobia 1990, pp. 94, 96, fig. 91, publish a photo of the 'Porta Magica' that is kept in the Archivio Massimo Roma (AMR). It was taken *in situ* on December 19th, 1872 by Principe Carlo Massimo.

¹⁵¹ *Un Inglese a Roma 1989*.

¹⁵² So Lanciani 1901, p. 229.

¹⁵³ Cf. Masini, Santangeli Valenzani 1990, p. 112, fig. 112; for the current location of the 'Porta Magica', cf. now Häuber 2014a, Map 3, labels: Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II; 40; M; NYMPHAEUM ALEXANDRI / "Trofei di Mario"; * "Porta Magica". The * indicates the current location of the 'Porta Magica'; and Schütz 2014, fig. 7.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Cardano 1990b, p. 105 n. 31; Masini, Santangeli Valenzani 1990; Rockwell 1990, pls. 8-10.

¹⁵⁵ *Für Eltern verboten! ROM 2012*, p. 59. I thank my colleague Maria Beck (LMU München) for kindly alerting me to this guide-book.

laboratory¹⁵⁶, in which he had allegedly tried to make gold. This case-study would have ended like all the previous ones of 1972, told in this Part II of my talk so far, had not the scholars of the Comune di Roma/ Roma Capitale - and of The British School at Rome - taught me the relevant methodology, with which problems of this kind may be solved.

The art historian Luisa Cardilli Alloisi (then at the Comune di Roma) kindly alerted me in 1983 to archival material concerning the expropriation of Villa Palombara in 1873, kept in the Archivio di Stato di Roma at S. Ivo alla Sapienza¹⁵⁷. The report which she mentioned to me contains very detailed information concerning this Villa and its adjacent Vigne ('vineyards') and all their pertaining buildings; further documents relating to Villa Palombara have been published by Barbara Jatta and Matilde Tobia¹⁵⁸, as well as by Nicoletta Cardano¹⁵⁹. The area in question is visible on numerous old maps since the 16th century¹⁶⁰. The same topographical features that appear on the maps contemporary to Marchese Massimiliano Palombara still appear on Nolli's large Rome map (1748) and some still in the 'Catasto Pio-Gregoriano' (drawn 1819-1824; published 1866)¹⁶¹. Because of the well-known precision of his map, I copied those features from Nolli's map, and thanks to the application of GIS-technology, I could draw the relevant section of my diachronic map (**Fig. 14**), as well as my map **Fig. 12**. The latter shows the Villa Palombara and adjacent to the south the Vigne Palombara. As we can see on this map, there were altogether only four buildings within Marchese Massimiliano Palombara's Villa that have on the 'Catasto Pio-Gregoriano' the numbers 318, 319, 320 and 323¹⁶² (the Casino Villa Palombara, the 'Villa building' proper). My map shows to the west of the Villa Palombara the "Orto del duca di Acquasparta"¹⁶³ (= Villa Caserta). I have marked this estate here as well, because four of the ancient statues of Muses, once in the collection of Christina of Sweden (see **slide 18.**) had been found there¹⁶⁴. That the Queen was able to buy these statues can possibly be explained by the fact that she was a friend of Marchese Palombara. On the right hand side of **slide 30.** appeared the relevant detail of my diachronic map (**Fig. 14**) that is also published on the internet¹⁶⁵. The research, on which this diachronic map is based, has shown that the four buildings that existed within Villa Palombara at Marchese Massimiliano Palombara's time had been accommodated in ancient structures¹⁶⁶ - which is why their ground-plans are drawn red on my maps.

It is interesting to note that neither Marchese Massimiliano Palombara, who owned ancient inscriptions¹⁶⁷, nor Christina of Sweden, an important collector of ancient art, nor any of the 'foremost scholars of the day', who frequently met with Marchese Palombara in his Villa,

¹⁵⁶ For that, cf. Gabriele 2014: "[il Marchese] Palombara disponeva di un <<laboratorio, nel pianterreno di un suo Casino>> sull'Esquilino (Cancellieri, 1806, p. 43) ...".

¹⁵⁷ Cf. *infra*, n. 179.

¹⁵⁸ Jatta, Tobia 1990.

¹⁵⁹ Cardano 1990a, pp. 143-157, Appendice documentaria, and *passim*; cf. Häuber 2014a, pp. 331-332 with ns. 412-420 (with further bibliography), Map 3.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Frutaz 1962.

¹⁶¹ Cf. *supra*, n. 52.

¹⁶² Jatta, Tobia 1990, p. 94 with n. 15, p. 123, Tav. 3; Häuber 2014a (cf. *supra*, n. 159).

¹⁶³ So Pietro Santi Bartoli (1635-1700), *mem.* 23; cf. Häuber 2014a, p. 525 with n. 13.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. *supra*, n. 75.

¹⁶⁵ <http://www.rom.geographie.uni-muenchen.de/horti/maecenas/hm_map6.html>; cf. now HÄUBER 2014a, Map 3.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Häuber 1990, p. 73 n. 214; the relevant document is quoted *infra*, n. 179.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. *supra*, n. 106.

took an interest in the ancient history of this area which was to yield in the centuries to come an enormous quantity of archaeological finds¹⁶⁸.

31. slide: The two known locations of the 'Porta Magica' on my own map (Fig. 14)

Fig. 14 shows further details of my diachronic map; the two known locations of the 'Porta Magica' are indicated by the relevant asterisk, labels: * "Porta Magica" (1806); * "Porta Magica". The location of the 'Porta Magica', documented in 1806, is the situation shown on *Photo Parker* 961 (**slide 28.; Fig. 10**) and described by Lanciani¹⁶⁹. I could only mark this former location of the 'Porta Magica' - which at that stage had been integrated into the surrounding wall of Villa Palombara - after I had drawn on my diachronic map the relevant features appearing on Nolli's large map (1748), especially the building number 320 of the 'Catasto Pio-Gregoriano', immediately to the south-east of which the 'Porta Magica' had been located at that stage. To get a better understanding of the complex topographical situation, I drew also another map that indicates the boundaries of the estates visible on Nolli's map (in case of the Villa Palombara the boundary was its surrounding wall); this map is also published on the internet¹⁷⁰. More to the north appears on my diachronic map (**Fig. 14**) the current location of the 'Porta Magica' on the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II, a situation, of which we have seen a photograph on **slide 29.**¹⁷¹ (**fig. 11**).

Currently the 'Porta Magica' is integrated into a block of earth (see my **slide 29.; Fig. 11**), surrounded by a travertine wall that is indicated in the photogrammetric data of the Comune di Roma/ Roma Capitale as a triangle (its sides measure 7,71, 9,68 and 8,64 m, its area 30,73 sq. m). I drew the ground-plan of this feature on my diachronic map **Fig. 14** with a thin black line - it represents perhaps an even more enigmatic 'monument' than the 'Porta Magica' itself, because it is an original remainder of the level of the terrain of this area before the new quarters of the Esquiline were being built. The difference between this previous and the current level of the terrain measures ca. 3 meter¹⁷², and between 3 and 4 m¹⁷³. The cypress tree (until recently) standing on its top was left *in situ*, the only surviving relic of a group of these trees that had stood next to a wing of the former Convent of S. Eusebio which, together with those trees, was destroyed in the process¹⁷⁴. The relevant part of my diachronic map

¹⁶⁸ For the ancient history of the area, cf. the important studies by J. Bodel, and now *id.* 2014; for the relevant references and the archaeological finds that have occurred in this area, cf. *supra*, ns. 55, 56; and Cardano 1990a, *passim*.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Lanciani 1901, p. 227: "... on the right side of the road which then led from S. Maria Maggiore to S. Croce in Gerusalemme [*scil.* the former Strada Felice/ Via Sistina (1585) which is copied on my diachronic map **Fig. 14** after Giambattista Nolli's large Rome map, 1748], nearly opposite the ruin called the Trophies of Marius".

¹⁷⁰ <http://www.rom.geographie.uni-muenchen.de/horti/maecenas/hm_map10.html>; cf. now Häuber 2014a, Map 18.

¹⁷¹ Cf. *supra*, n. 153.

¹⁷² Cf. Tedeschi Grisanti 1990, p. 63 with ns. 14, 15; Jatta, Tobia 1990, p. 105; Cardano 1990a, p. 148, under "1873 - 5 gennaio ... si continua col taglio delle terre a tre metri di profondità [behind the Trofei di Mario/ the *Nymphaeum Alexandri*]"; Häuber 2014a, p. 198 with ns. 13, 14.

¹⁷³ So Barbera *et al.* 2005, p. 305.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Tedeschi Grisanti 1990, p. 63: "... è significativo notare che gli sbancamenti eseguiti, in cui venne demolita un'ala del vicino convento di Sant'Eusebio fiancheggiata da cipressi, lasciarono in piede un setto di terra di forma triangolare alto circa 3 metri sormontato da un cipresso, sulla fronte del quale furono murati nel 1888 gli stipidi della Porta Magica (figg. 60-61)". The Church of S. Eusebio and its adjacent former Convent (with its now destroyed wing mentioned by Tedeschi Grisanti, *op.cit.*, which stood to the east of the Church and had a north-to-south orientation), are both visible on G.B.

which shows the current state of the buildings formerly belonging to the Church of S. Eusebio (cf. here **Fig. 14**), is also published on the internet¹⁷⁵. Franz Xaver Schütz, who is in the course of reconstructing the ancient landscape of this area, has based his work that he will present at the Symposium among other data on this curious triangular 'monument'¹⁷⁶.

Marchese Massimiliano Palombara's 'cave of Mercury' in the Villa Palombara rediscovered?; cf. my diachronic map on slide 31. (Fig. 14)

Why have I described this last example in so much detail? Because we may wonder - as I have only realized after my talk - whether the 'cave of Mercury' that Marchese Massimiliano Palombara himself asserted to have had in his Villa¹⁷⁷ actually existed and survived until the very moment in the late 19th century when his former estate with all its buildings was (almost) completely destroyed. I am referring to an ancient building comprising an accessible underground chamber with a natural spring that one could duely have called a cave or a grotto - as he himself had called his 'cave'¹⁷⁸. As we know from old maps (cf. *supra*) it was visible above ground at Marchese Massimiliano Palombara's time and has the number 318¹⁷⁹ on the 'Catasto Pio-Gregoriano' (drawn 1819-1824; published 1866)¹⁸⁰. See on **Fig. 14**¹⁸¹ the labels:

Falda's map (1676); cf. Ehrle 1931; Cardilli Alloisi 1990, p. 82 fig. 76, p. 93; Häuber 2014a, fig. 32a on p. 143. The ground-plans of these buildings are visible on Nolli's large map (1748. Nolli's map shows that the now destroyed wing of the former Convent of S. Eusebio extended to a point to the south of the northernmost point of the near-by 'Trofei di Mario' and that its west-east extension was as narrow as the remaining part of its ground-plan that is visible on **Fig. 14**. These facts are also visible on G. Vasi's *vedute* of 1753; cf. *infra*); cf. Ehrle 1932; Häuber 2014a, Map 1. The Church of S. Eusebio, the adjacent former Convent with the now destroyed wing and two of the cypress trees standing immediately next to this wing in the east are also visible on G. Vasi's *vedute* of S. Eusebio; cf. Vasi 1753, pl. 49, labelled: Chiesa di S. Eusebio / 1 Chiesa e Monasterio di S. Eusebio, 2 Acquedotti demoliti, 3 Strada che conduce a S. Bibiana, 4 Castello dell'acqua Marzia [= *Nymphaeum Alexandri* / 'Trofei di Mario'], 5 Strada che da S. Maria Maggiore va a S. Croce in Gerusalemme [= Strada Felice / Via Sistina (1585)]. Those two cypress trees stood, as Vasi's *vedute* shows, to the north of the former road Via di S. Bibiana. Comparing this *vedute* with my diachronic map (cf. here **Fig. 14**; Häuber 2014a, Map 3), in which the former Via di S. Bibiana and the 'Trofei di Mario' are likewise marked, as well as the ground-plan of the here discussed triangular 'monument', it is plain to see that one of the cypress trees, drawn by Vasi, could actually have been the tree that until recently had survived on top of the triangular 'monument'. Cf. here **Fig. 11**; and Schütz 2014, p. 118, fig. 7 (two photos showing the triangular 'monument' with the still existing tree).

¹⁷⁵ <http://www.rom.geographie.uni-muenchen.de/maps/Esquiline_Haeuber_02_20111104.jpg>; cf. Häuber 2014a, Map 3.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. now Schütz 2013; *id.* 2014.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. *supra*, n. 111.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. *supra*, ns. 111, 112, 133.

¹⁷⁹ Häuber 1990, p. 73 n. 214: "ASR Camerale III Roma Palazzi e Ville b 2100 1840-1878 Villa Massimo (Villa Palombara e Villa Giustiniani) no. 5, >L'anno 1873 li 21 Gennaro< [expropriation of Villa Palombara, owned by Principe Don Camillo Massimo; cf. Cardilli-Alloisi 1983, p. 256 with n. 9], *op.cit.*, p. 16 no. 2 [= 'Catasto Pio-Gregoriano' no. 318]: >Fabbricato a destra del Viale maestro, ed in prossimità dell'ingresso sulla via di S. Croce [= Strada Felice / Via Sistina (1585); cf. here **Figs. 12; 14**] ... Si eleva sopra una pianta di figura semiesagona sopra ruderi antiche, nei quali è ricavato anche un piccolo sotterraneo, al quale si accede per una scala esterna. E composto di un androne con pavimenti selciato di bastardoni in calce, e ricoperto da volta a botte, ha le pareti intonacate, ed a destra un pozzo con acqua sorgiva ..."; cf. Jatta, Tobia 1990, pp. 94-95, figs. 95, 96, p. 123, Tav. 3, p. 125, Tav. 5.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. *supra*, n. 52.

H; 9; 318 Natural spring; Marchese M. Palombara's "cave of Mercury"? It appears on the plan drawn by Costantino Sneider (Konstantin Schneider?) in the late 19th century¹⁸², from which it was copied into recent maps where it is marked with the number "9"¹⁸³; remains of it were rediscovered in a recent excavation (in the relevant plans it is marked "H")¹⁸⁴.

To conclude, facts and stories like those presented in this talk are the reasons for me to draw digital maps of Rome. These maps show both the ancient and the current topography, as well as buildings and roads of the post-antique phases of the city: many of these topographical features have disappeared in the meantime, and some buildings have either been renamed or adapted to different uses. I regard my maps as illustrations to my accompanying texts, although the real procedure is always the other way around: I find most of my solutions related to the topography of Rome by drawing maps. These maps, together with texts and a database, are also published free access on the internet, because I aim to provide quick and reliable information for enquiries like those related to the buildings and people mentioned in this talk. Printouts of these maps can be used on site, or interactively researched on computer. This means that the user can click on a toponym or building marked in those maps, or else search for the toponym or person in the relevant database. In either case, he or she will be led to the location of the given toponym on the maps, and will also find an explanatory text, a related bibliography, and links to institutions or projects that provide further information.

Appendix A topographic error, the statuette of Euripides in the Louvre and a head of a boy wearing a cap in the Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini

One of my own errors concerning the interpretation of a text related to the topography of Rome, which is of a similar type like the one discussed above¹⁸⁵ (and that occurs in fact very frequently in the literature), has made me now add an additional number to my *Topographisches Manifest* ('topographical manifesto'): "18. Texte aus früheren Jahrhunderten, in denen mehrere Funde in einen topographischen Zusammenhang gebracht werden, weisen häufig Formulierungen auf wie: >hinter, gegenüber oder neben demselben Grundstück ...<, die von späteren Autoren missverstanden werden können" ('texts written in previous centuries, in which several finds are discussed in the same topographic context, contain often descriptions like >behind, opposite or next to the same estate/ parcel/ plot of land<, that may be misunderstood by later scholars'¹⁸⁶).

I. - My topographic error

Under the headline "Horti Maecenatiani", Rodolfo Lanciani mentions in his undated handwritten note *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 13034 f. 81 *verso* (cf. *infra*, II.) among other sculptures which were found near the garden of the Church of S. Antonio Abate and within the "Villa

¹⁸¹ For earlier versions of this map, cf. <http://www.rom.geographie.uni-muenchen.de/horti/maecenas/hm_map6.html>; Häuber 2014a, Map 3.

¹⁸² Cf. Häuber 1990, p. 33, Abb. 20,2; Asor Rosa *et al.* 2009, p. 79, fig. 14. For Schneider's plan, cf. Häuber 1991, p. 57 with n. 250.

¹⁸³ Cf. Cima 1986, p. 55 ("strutture non identificate n. 9"), Pianta 2; Häuber 1990, Karte 1, no. 9.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Asor Rosa *et al.* 2009, p. 75, fig. 6, p. 79 with n. 13, figs. 13; 14 (in both this structure is labelled: H).

¹⁸⁵ Cf. *supra*, n. 47.

¹⁸⁶ Meaning with 'later scholars' for example myself.

Gaetani [corr.: Caetani¹⁸⁷]" - two estates that were both located on the Esquiline - the seated marble statuette of Euripides in the Louvre in Paris (inv. no. MA 343) that comprises a partly preserved inscription mentioning the titles of his tragedies. This statuette of Euripides is according to Lanciani's list "2. Horti Maecenatiani". Because of this heading and Lanciani's location of the lettering "HORTI MAECENATIS" on his map *FUR* (fol. 23¹⁸⁸) within the former Villa Caetani/Caserta (*scil.* to the south of the *Via Labicana-Praenestina*; cf. here **Fig. 14**), and a sculpture found in the "Villa Gaetani [Caetani]" that Lanciani mentions in his list immediately before the Euripides statuette¹⁸⁹, I erroneously wrote in an earlier study about the Euripides statuette in the Louvre¹⁹⁰: "FO¹⁹¹ (bezogen auf die Villa Gaetani¹⁹²): >accanto allo stesso orto¹⁹³ ... Ficoroni mem. 9<", erroneously assuming that Lanciani used the Ficoroni quotation only to identify the sculpture but suggesting a different findspot (i.e. next to the Villa Caetani/ Caserta), whereas Lanciani *op.cit.* referred to an estate close to the garden of the Church of S. Antonio Abbate (as indicated in Ficoroni, *mem.* 9; cf. *infra*, **III.**) - where another sculpture was found that Lanciani mentions in this list¹⁹⁴. As we shall see, that area was located to the north of the *Via Labicana-Praenestina* (for the reason of my misunderstanding, cf. *infra*, **VI.**).

II. - Rodolfo Lanciani, *Cod. Vat. Lat. 13034 f. 81 verso*

On June 22nd, 1988, I copied the relevant text by hand in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Because it is not published in Buonocore I 1997, which comprises the relevant volume of Lanciani's notes, I wrote Marco Buonocore an email, who was so kind as to answer me by email on December 18th, 2014: "... le trascrizioni che mi indica sono effettivamente presenti al f. 81v del VL 13034. Non furono da me recepite nel volume, in quanto si trattava di >indicazioni bibliografiche<. L'intento era infatti quello di privilegiare esclusivamente gli appunti diretti di Lanciani, e solo in qualche caso di trascrivere anche informazioni che Lanciani desumeva da bibliografia precedente ...".

I quote in the following Lanciani's relevant text *verbatim*.

Cod. Vat. Lat. 13034 f. 81 verso:

"Horti Maecenatiani

1. Incontro a s. Antonio, verso l'osteria di S. Vito ... si trovarono un vaso grande di 7 palmi lungo, ed altrettanto alto, con certi manichi molto capricciosi, e vi erano scolpite alcune maschere. Vi trovarono anche ritratti di filosofi, fra quali ... l'effigie di Socrate - Vacca 39 -

¹⁸⁷ As I have only been told recently, the correct name of this noble family was "Caetani"; the estate in question was also called "Villa Caserta"; cf. Häuber 2014a, p. 107 with n. 552; Map 3.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Häuber 2014a, Map 2.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. *infra*, **II.**: "2. Nel 1704 vicino all'orto di S. Antonio Abate >si trovò un erma di Omero, del quale poeta un'altra testa ... si era rinvenuta in un muro della villa del duca Gaetani (sulla via Merulana)". The here mentioned marble herm bust of Homer, found in the Villa Caetani/ Caserta, is likewise now in the Louvre at Paris (inv. no. MA 440); cf. Häuber 1991, p. 220 no. 25; *ead.* 2014a, p. 864 s.v. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Homer of the 'Hellenistic' type, marble herm bust, figs. 83a-c on p. 455.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Häuber 1991, p. 220 at no. 26.

¹⁹¹ I.e. 'findspot'.

¹⁹² Corr.: Caetani.

¹⁹³ 'Next to the same garden'.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. *infra*, **II.**: "2. Nel 1704 vicino all'orto di S. Antonio Abate >si trovò un erma di Omero ..."; cf. Häuber 1991, p. 220 at no. 25: marble herm bust of Homer, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo (inv. no. MC 557); Stuart Jones, *Mus. Cap.*, p. 235 no. 44 pl. 54; H. v. Heintze in *Helbig*⁴ II, 1966, p. 159 no. 1333 (according to v. Heintze, *op.cit.*, it was instead the other portrait of Homer in the same museum which Ficoroni had mentioned in his *mem.* 9; cf. for that, Stuart Jones, *Mus. Cap.*, p. 236 no. 46 pl. 54; H. v. Heintze in *Helbig*⁴ II, 1966, pp. 159-161 no. 1334; inv. no. MC 559).

2. Nel 1704 vicino all'orto di S. Antonio Abate >si trovò un erma di Omero, del quale poeta un'altra testa ... si era rinvenuta in un muro della villa del duca Gaetani (sulla via Merulana). >Accanto allo stesso orto poco dopo ... fu trovata una figura di Euripide sedente di tutto rilievo con una tavola di marmo nella quale erano scolpiti i titoli delle sue tragedie - Ficoroni mem. 9 [with further references] ...".

III.- Francesco Ficoroni, *mem.* 9 (1790)

Francesco Ficoroni, *mem.* 9 (published in: Carlo Fea, *Miscellanea* 1790¹⁹⁵, pp. CXXI-CXXII). P. CXXI: "9. Nell'anno 1704, sul monte Esquilino vicino all'orto dei Canonici Regolari di s. Antonio abate si trovò un erma di Omero; del qual poeta un'altra testa egregiamente lavorata si era rinvenuta in un muro della villa del duca Gaetani posta accanto alla strada, che da s. Maria Maggiore va a s. Giovanni in Laterano. L'una, e l'altra sono ora nel Museo Capitolino (a). Accanto allo stesso orto poco dopo vi fu trovata una figura di Euripide sedente di tutto rilievo con una tavola di marmo, nella quale erano scolpiti i titoli delle tragedie di questo poeta nel seguente modo: [then follow until p. CXXII the titles of Euripides's tragedies that are extant in the pertaining inscription] ...

(a) [This footnote refers to one of the two herm busts of Homer mentioned in the text]".

P. CXXII: "[referring to the Euripides statuette in the Louvre he writes:] Questa ora è nel Museo Kircheriano (a) ...". In the latter footnote Fea comments *inter alia* on the pertaining inscription.

IV. - The "orto di S. Antonio Abate"

We should of course ask what Lanciani's passage (in *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 13034 f. 81 verso; cf. *supra*, II.): "2. Nel 1704 vicino all'orto di S. Antonio Abate"¹⁹⁶ could mean because the location and size of the "orto di S. Antonio Abate" were in 1704 not necessarily the same as those of the "antica vigna del monastero di Sant'Antonio", where in March of 1880 the marble head of a boy wearing a leather cap should (allegedly?) be found that is currently on display in the Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini (inv. no. MC 872); for that cf. *infra*, V.

On G.B. Falda's large map (1676) is documented the property belonging to his index no. 24: "Antonio Abbate, Hosped. R. Monti" (cf. Ehrle 1931). For the Church, Convent and Hospital of S. Antonio Abate; cf. Vasco Rocca 1978, p. 174 s.v. Chiesa di S. Antonio Abate. At Falda's time the Church stood on the predecessor of the current road Via Carlo Alberto, where it is still to be found today. Behind the Church and Hospital of S. Antonio Abate there were in the north-west a formal garden and in the north-east another garden, both surrounded by walls, which divided those areas from the adjacent "Giardino [= Villa] Montalto" that surrounded the property of S. Antonio Abate on three sides; the ground-plan of the entire estate belonging to S. Antonio Abate was rectangular. On Nolli's large map (1748), the estate is labelled: "S. Ant Ab.^e" and the two buildings that belonged to it have the index numbers 45 ("Ch. di S. Antonio Abate e Casa de' Canonici Reg. di d.[etto] Santo di Vienna in Francia") and 46 ("Sped. di S. Antonio Abate"; cf. for both, Ehrle 1932, p. 8). A small triangular section of the originally rectangular estate, to the north-east of the Church of S. Antonio Abate, did at that stage not belong to the estate any more, but instead to the surrounding "Villa Negroni già Montalto". On the other hand, the garden/ Vigna belonging to S. Antonio Abate had been enlarged in the meantime by an area immediately adjacent to the former rectangular estate in

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Ridley 1992, p. 135 n. 11; p. 145: "... Fea began his amazing literary productivity with a series of editions: ... the famous *Miscellanea* (1790) which included the notes of Vacca and Ficoroni ..."; cf. pp. 145-146 (for his important achievements as Papal Antiquarian).

¹⁹⁶ Which Lanciani, *op.cit.*, had quoted after Ficoroni, *mem.* 9. For that, cf. *supra*, III.

the north-west; this area had previously belonged to the Villa Montalto. Antonio Federico Caiola¹⁹⁷ has published a map of the Villa Montalto made by G.B. Cipriani (1836), on which the area of the "Chiesa e Monastero di A. Antonio Ab." is indicated; its location and size are the same as on Nolli's large map (1748). This is also true for the plan from "Murray's *Handbook of Rome and its Environs*, ninth edition" (1869), published by T.P. Wiseman¹⁹⁸.

None of the garden/ Vigna areas belonging to S. Antonio Abate that were documented on Falda's and Nolli's maps and on maps created in the 19th century were located within the later city block Isolato XIX, to which we will now turn (cf. *infra*, V.). The future Isolato XIX should be located immediately to the south-east of the gardens/ Vigna that had once belonged to the Church S. Antonio Abate, as documented on all available maps.

V. - Marble head of a boy wearing a cap in the Centrale Montemartini (inv. no. MC 872) My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette, who has asked me¹⁹⁹, whether I have studied the finds that had occurred in 1880 in the "Vigna des Klosters S. Antonio auf dem Esquilin", especially this marble head of a boy wearing a leather cap in the Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini. Hoping thus to find out more about Lanciani's "orto di S. Antonio Abate" (cf. *supra*, IV.), I happily checked my earlier research.

According to Ersilia Caetani Lovatelli 1880, p. 163 with n. 1, this head of a boy was found "Nel mese di marzo del corrente anno [1880] in quella parte appunto dell'Esquilino che corrisponde all'antica vigna del monastero di Sant'Antonio". In the pertaining footnote 1, she writes: "Zona I. Isolato XIX". The plan, in which this "Zona I" and the city block "Isolato XIX" are marked, was only published in 1914²⁰⁰. This Isolato XIX is currently bounded by the roads Via Carlo Cattaneo (on Lanciani's *FUR*, fol 23, this road is labelled: Via Mazzini), Via Principe Amedeo, Via Rattazzi and Via Napoleone III²⁰¹ (cf. **Fig. 14**). In antiquity almost the entire area of the (later) Isolato XIX was occupied by the 'Macellum Liviae'²⁰² (**Fig. 14**, labels: XIX; "MACELLUM LIVIAE"). This could in theory mean that the head of the boy discussed here was found within this public building. But this was probably not the case: considering what was said above (cf. *supra*, IV.), Caetani Lovatelli had obviously not realized that the city block XIX does *not* cover the area of the former "orto"/ Vigna of the Church of S. Antonio Abate. My guess is that Caetani Lovatelli's assertion, according to which the head was found 'within the area of the former Vigna of S. Antonio Abate', could

¹⁹⁷ Caiola 1996, p. 192 fig. 1; cf. his fig. 3 on p. 193: "Planimetria di villa Montalto-Massimo" (1836), where the location and size of the estate belonging to "S. Antonio" are also identical with their representation on Nolli's map.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. T.P. Wiseman 1992, p. 94, fig. 10.

¹⁹⁹ In an email of January 18th, 2015.

²⁰⁰ Cf. *BullCom* 42, 1914, Tav. V-VI. For the problems resulting from the decision to publish this plan with so much delay, cf. Häuber 2014a, p. 657 with ns. 45-47 (with references).

²⁰¹ Cf. for those roads my diachronic Map 3 in Häuber 2014a - note that there I have erroneously labelled the wrong Isolato with the lettering "XIX" (the next one to the north-west, XV, which is currently bounded by the following roads: Via Gioberti, Via Principe Amedeo, Via Carlo Cattaneo, Via Napoleone III. Ironically Isolato XV covers part of the former "orto di S. Antonio Abate"). In the course of my here summarized research, I checked again the plan of the Isolati (*supra*, n. 200), found the true location of Isolato XIX, and have corrected the lettering on my diachronic map accordingly (cf. here **Fig. 14**; the extant sections of the Servian city Wall in this area were drawn after Carandini, Carafa 2012, Tavole fuori testo 16).

²⁰² For that, cf. *FUR*, fol. 23; Häuber 2014a, pp. 375-376 with ns. 189-190, Map 3.

be true. In order to verify this idea, we should of course check the relevant documentation of the late 19th century, in case there is any²⁰³.

The identification of this boy is debated; cf. Caetani Lovatelli 1880 ("fanciullo auriga", 'boy charioteer'); and *BullCom* 8, 1880, p. 288 no. 10; Himmelmann 1975, p. 30, Taf. 21, 22a; Häuber 1991, pp. 187-188, cat. Sala ottagonale no. 224 (with previous literature; *contra* the identification as a jockey); La Rocca 1998, pp. 211-212, figs. 9-11; Bell 2008, *passim*. Hans Rupprecht Goette is in the course of publishing this head and a copy after the same prototype; cf. H.R. Goette forthcoming in Festschrift for St.G. Miller (he interprets the prototype as a representation of a young athlete).

VI. - The reason for my error

Considering what was said so far, my relevant confusion (cf. *supra*, I.) was obviously caused by the fact that Lanciani at the time, when he wrote the note *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 13034 f. 81 *verso* (cf. *supra*, II.), had located the *Horti* of Maecenas to the north of the *Porta Esquilina* and *outside* the Servian city Wall²⁰⁴ (*scil.* to the north of the *Via Labicana-Praenestina*; cf. here **Fig. 14**). As a consequence of this (in my opinion erroneous) assumption, he had attributed in this note the here discussed statuette of Euripides to those *Horti*²⁰⁵. For this statuette, cf. *infra*, VII.-IX.

VII. -The Euripides statuette in the Louvre (inv. no. MA 343)

My thanks are due to Frank G.J.M. Müller for asking me in an Email correspondence²⁰⁶, whether I could tell him something about the findspot of this Euripides statuette; as a result of my relevant research I found my here described error (cf. *supra*, I.; VI.). Without being aware of this fact, Müller discussed in an earlier publication²⁰⁷ some of the same sculptures as Lanciani in *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 13034 f. 81 *verso* (for that, cf. *supra*, II.). Müller's²⁰⁸ hypothesis that the Roman 'Aldobrandini Wedding' wall-painting was found in the same area as this Euripides statuette, is wrong²⁰⁹ (cf. *infra*, VIII.). His further idea²¹⁰ that the 'Aldobrandini

²⁰³ For the *Registri dei Trovamenti*, cf. Häuber 2014a, pp. XXIX, 655-656, 622 (they are now in the course of being digitized in order to be made available free access, cf. Le Pera 2014, p. 81 with n. 65). On January 23rd, 2015, I therefore asked Emilia Talamo (Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini) in a telephone conversation for advice, who was so kind as to tell me that according to the documentation available to her this head of a boy was found on the "Esquilino" (without indication of its precise findspot). La Rocca 1998, p. 211 with n. 37, figs. 9-11, writes: "... testa di fanciullo [the here discussed head] ... rinvenuta nella vigna della chiesa di Sant' Antonio sull'Esquilino ... I dati della scoperta sono generici, siamo comunque ai margini degli *horti* di Mecenate e dei Lamiae, la cui esatta delimitazione, come è noto, non è conosciuta".

²⁰⁴ For this assumptions, cf. now Häuber 2014a, p. 314 with n. 230 (with reference).

²⁰⁵ In Häuber 1991, p. 220 at no. 26, I had not considered these facts in my reasoning.

²⁰⁶ From November 17th-26th, 2014.

²⁰⁷ Müller 1994, pp. 174-176.

²⁰⁸ So Müller 1994, p. 175. Müller 1994, pp. 174-176, fig. 80, based his conclusions concerning this Euripides statuette on Ficoroni 1745, "104 ff.", as he quotes him on p. 175; cf. *infra*, VIII., where Ficoroni's relevant text is quoted *verbatim*.

²⁰⁹ For the findspot of this wall-painting within a different area than Müller *op.cit.* suggests, namely that which I myself take for that of the *Horti* of Maecenas (i.e. to the *south* of the *Via Labicana-Praenestina*), cf. now Häuber 2014a, p. 777 with ns. 1-6, Map 3, label: 42 Building Aldobrandini Wedding. This ancient building had accommodated the former Convent of S. Giuliano that stood immediately adjacent to the west of the former Church of S. Giuliano; for that, cf. Häuber 2014a, Map 3, label: 41 S. Giuliano. For the relevant detail of this map that shows both buildings, cf. here **Fig. 14**.

Wedding' shows the myth of Phaedra and Hippolytos according to the tragedy *Hippolytos Stephanophoros* by Euripides - which was the reason for Müller in this earlier publication²¹¹ to be interested in the findspot of this Euripides statuette in the first place - has likewise been refuted²¹². Müller suggested: "The most natural supposition is that this statuette came from the library²¹³ of an admirer of Euripides. The list of titles will have functioned as a convenient summary for users of the library"²¹⁴. According to Müller, "All these pieces of evidence²¹⁵ suggest the existence of a sizeable ancient villa complex in or near the garden of Sant' Antonio. This complex must have been *within* the Agger of Servius Tullius [my italics], close to the Porta Esquilina. If our hypothesis is correct, this was probably one of the houses or residences situated on the borders of the Horti Maecenatiani"²¹⁶.

VIII. - The findspot of the Euripides statuette in the Louvre according to Francesco de' Ficoroni 1745

Ficoroni 1745, pp. 104-106 writes: "Essendosi in questa operetta parlato più volte del Colle Esquilino ... di marmi scritti, e d'altre rarità, che ivi si sono scoperte, stimo bene di referir qui brevemente alcune altre anticaglie molti anni sono scavatevi ... riferiscono queste gli Ermi di Omero, e d'Euripide, come anche un marmo appartenente ad esso Euripide, in cui si vedono incisi a caratteri Greci i titoli delle sue tragedi [i.e. the marble statuette in the Louvre discussed here] ... Il sito preciso, in cui ritrovossi il predetto memorabil marmo, è dopo le piazza della Basilica Liberiana [S. Maria Maggiore], e la Chiesa di S. Antonio de' RR. PP. Francesi [S. Antonio Abate; cf. here **Fig. 14**], nell'orto a sinistra, il cui recinto di mura, fabbricato sopra ad antiche arcate di portici, termina a pochi passi nella piazza di S. Giuliano, e di S. Eusebio.

Sul principio dunque di questo orto nell'anno 1704 facendosi le fondamenta per il casino, che si vede sull'angolo di forma per altro bisbetica, gli operarj rompendo la volta d'un gran portico, trovarono dentro co' residui di pitture un Erma d'Omero, che venderono al Cavalier Percival Irlandese, che casualmente vi si trovò passando. Indi a non so che mesi scavandovi d'appresso Giuseppe Mitelli per ricerca di materiale da fabbricare, mi venne a riferire d'avervi scoperto un largo grottone, o sia portico, tutto ripieno di pitture. Onde essendovi accorso, ebbi nel medesimo tempo la sorte di vedervi scavare l'Erma di Euripide, ed il detto marmo, su cui erano incisi i titoli delle sue Tragedie, ambedue rarità da me subito comprate.

Le pitture poi della volta, e ne'muri laterali d'esso portico, i quali erano di straordinaria grossezza, consistevano in rabeschi, festoni, e piccole figure, non molto dissimili da quelle, che ancor si vedono preservate in un de' grandiosi portici del Palazzo di Tito ...".

Ficoroni's just quoted description allows the identification of the estate where the statuette of Euripides in the Louvre (inv. no. MA 343) was found: it was bounded in the south by the current Via Carlo Alberto (in Lanciani's *FUR*, fol 23, this road is labelled: Antica Via di S. Eusebio), the former Via di Porta S. Lorenzo (for both, cf. here **Fig. 14**, labels: Via Carlo Alberto; Via di Porta S. Lorenzo (- 1873)) and a road which at the time led from the "Antica

²¹⁰ Müller 1994, pp. 47-166.

²¹¹ Müller 1994, pp. 174-176.

²¹² Cf. Häuber 2014a, p. 779 with n. 26.

²¹³ So also Häuber 1991, p. 220 at no. 26 [i.e. the Euripides statuette in the Louvre discussed here], quoting "Neudecker [1988], 71 mit Anm. 709: Ausstattungsstück für eine Bibliothek".

²¹⁴ Müller 1994, p. 174 with n. 546.

²¹⁵ I.e. the sculptural finds recorded for this area; cf. Müller 1994, pp. 174-175, fig. 80, where he lists some of the same finds like Lanciani, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 13034 f. 81 *verso* (for that, cf. *supra*, II.).

²¹⁶ Müller 1994, pp 175-176 with n. 553 (with reference).

Via di S. Eusebio" to the Church of S. Eusebio, which Lanciani (*FUR*, fol. 23) labelled: Antico viale di S. Eusebio (the latter is referred to by Ficoroni, *op.cit.*, as "piazza". Today that area is covered by a section of the road running around the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II, between its junction with the Via Carlo Alberto and the Church of S. Eusebio). This entire area was located to the *north* of the *Via Labicana-Praenestina*²¹⁷ (cf. here **Fig. 14**) On Nolli's large map (1748) the estate in question is labelled "Orto" and he marks within its area a "largo grottone, o sia portico" which has on his map the index number 39: "Ruine credute della villa di Mecenate"²¹⁸. The area in question is also visible on the *FUR*, fol. 23²¹⁹, where Nolli's "grottone/ portico" with the index number 39 is not marked.

Mauro De Filippis (erroneously) suggests a different findspot for the statuette of Euripides in the Louvre. He writes in his article "Scavi nella Villa Montalto Negroni Massimo": "Nel 1704 l'abate Francesco Ficoroni scrisse di uno scavo condotto presso il muro di confine della villa con l'orto dei Canonici Regolari di S. Antonio Abbate", nel quale furono scoperte un' erma di Omero e una statua di Euripide seduto, poi trasportate l'una al Museo Capitolino e l' altra al Museo Kircheriano"²²⁰, quoting in the pertaining footnote 14: "Fea 1790, pp. 121-122; STUART JONES 1912, vol. I, p. 235, n. 44, tav. 54 (Omero)"²²¹. He thus refers to Ficoroni's *mem.* 9 (cf. *supra*, **III.**). Contrary to the assertions of De Filippis, Ficoroni does not say in his *mem.* 9 that this herm of Homer and the statuette of Euripides were found within the *same* estate, nor that this estate (nor rather, that any one of these two different estates) may be identified with the former Villa Montalto Negroni Massimo.

IX. Conclusions

As usual, Lanciani does not indicate in his *FUR* (fol. 23) all the architectural finds that were recorded in the 'excavation' notes of the late 19th century for the area discussed in paragraph **VIII**. No later scholar has studied and mapped those architectural finds in their entirety, nor those mentioned by Ficoroni in 1745 (for those cf. *supra*, **VIII.**). The estate in question, where according to Ficoroni 1745 the Euripides statuette was found, was almost entirely located *outside* the Servian city Wall (cf. here **Fig. 14**) and reached in the north almost to the (later) city block Isolato XIX (cf. *supra*, **V.**). In antiquity most of the area of the city block Isolato XIX had been occupied by the '*Macellum Liviae*'²²² (cf. **Fig. 14**, labels: XIX; "MACELLUM LIVIAE"). Part of the estate, where the Euripides statuette occurred, had in antiquity likewise belonged to the '*Macellum Liviae*', but by far the largest part of it had been part of the *Campus Esquilinus*²²³. Later this estate was occupied by the city block Isolato XX (which is currently bordered by the following roads: Via Carlo Alberto, Via Rattazzi, Via Napoleone III and Via Carlo Cattaneo), by the Isolato XXI (currently bordered by: Via Carlo Alberto, Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II, Via Napoleone III and Via Rattazzi), as well as by the Isolato XXII (currently bordered by: Via Napoleone III, S. Eusebio, Via Principe Amedeo and Via Rattazzi; cf. here **Fig. 14**, labels: XX; XXI; XXII; CAMPUS ESQUILINUS). One thing is clear, during the imperial period, when this statuette of Euripides was made, there had been no private *domus* or *villa* within the area that was (later) covered by the estate in question.

²¹⁷ Cf. Häuber 2014a, Map 3.

²¹⁸ Cf. Ehrle 1932, p. 8; and Häuber 2014a, Map 1, for the relevant detail of Nolli's large map.

²¹⁹ Häuber 2014a, Map 2.

²²⁰ De Filippis 1996, p. 15 with n. 14.

²²¹ Cf. *supra*, n. 194.

²²² For that, cf. *supra* n. 202.

²²³ Cf. Häuber 2014a, pp. 313-315, 333-334, 436 with n. 134 (with references), Map 3, label: CAMPUS ESQUILINUS.

Besides, Ficoroni is a very dubious figure. Ronald T. Ridley writes about him: "[the Papal Antiquarian Francesco] Bartoli announced [in a report addressed to Pope Clement XI²²⁴] bluntly that illegal exporters were circumventing customs controls and duties ... He later mentioned another device for cheating: after a licence was granted, ordinary antiquities were replaced by rare ones. And here Bartoli named a famous figure who was to him as Commissario very much a persona non grata: Francesco Ficoroni, interpreter to foreigners and collector of antiquities which he sold at great profit. Bartoli thus appealed to Clement to prevent this despoiling of the city"²²⁵. In the pertaining footnote Ridley writes: "Ficoroni's *Memorie* (in Fea, *Miscellanea* [1790] 1.118-177) are full of references to illicit excavations and the precious objects that Ficoroni managed to obtain from them, especially gold from graves (see esp. 174f, 177)"²²⁶. He concludes: "... Bartoli ended by alerting the Pope to the most notorious contravenors of the antiquities law. Ficoroni again received special mention; for example, Bartoli did not believe that his statue of Domitian came from Frascati"²²⁷.

We must of course also consider in our reasoning the question whether or not the here discussed statuette of Euripides in the Louvre actually possesses any properties that could allow the conclusion that its findspot may with certainty be identified as a private residence - as has been suggested (cf. *supra*, VII.). My thanks are due to Hans Rupprecht Goette who shared his thoughts about this sculpture with me. He wrote, "... daß ich an der Deutung der Statuette als Euripides Zweifel habe a) wegen der Ikonographie und b) wegen der tiefgreifenden Überarbeitung, die bis zu den inschriftlichen Eintragungen reicht ..." ²²⁸. If it could be demonstrated that this statuette does *not* represent Euripides, it would follow that the ancient architecture where it was found was not necessarily a library, and thus by implication part of a private *domus* or *villa*. Besides, since this statuette was not found in a scientific excavation, we do not know whether or not it had occurred in a secondary context.

Finally we should ask ourselves whether, and if so, *how* errors like those discussed in this Appendix matter for scholars who try 'to reconstruct historic cities' like for example those who attended the Symposium in München 2012, where I presented most of the ideas published in this text. In his capacity as discussant, the geographer Gordon M. Winder writes in the Symposium volume (under the title "The Work of Reconstruction"): "... We know that this work is never ending ... our cities refashion themselves every day thus burying our reconstruction work under a new mountain of dislocated fragments some of which we may even subsequently recognize as being of our own making. Yet we press on with the work of reconstruction ..." ²²⁹.

The realization that assertions of the kind discussed in this Appendix turn out to be errors - and the following corrections of these errors - can take very much time that all of us would prefer to spend otherwise. So far I believed that errors of this kind are *rare* and could therefore be avoided. This is why I had hoped to make a useful contribution to the methodology of the field 'topography of ancient Rome' by providing a typology of possible errors in a 'topographical manifesto'. This was also the reason why I had decided to write this Appendix²³⁰. For all of us who are working in this field, Winder's just quoted observation

²²⁴ Ridley 1992, p. 135 with note 110 (with reference).

²²⁵ Ridley 1992, p. 135 with n. 111.

²²⁶ Ridley 1992, p. 135 n.111.

²²⁷ Ridley 1992, p. 135.

²²⁸ Hans Rupprecht Goette, email of January 24th, 2015.

²²⁹ Winder 2014, p. 270.

²³⁰ Cf. *supra*, ns. 47, 74.

allows now the conclusion that our (own) work can *always* turn out to be based on errors. Paradoxically this provides a 'consolation': we can relax, because there is no way to escape this fact.

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