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**The Perception of Ancient Monuments in an Urban
Context:
The Case of the Imperial Fora in Rome**

PhD program in Management and Development of Cultural Heritage

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Contents

Contents.....	V
List of Figures.....	IX
List of Tables	XI
Vita.....	XII
Publications	XII
Abstract	XIV
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1	9
The sense of ruins in the wester tradition: persistence and change.....	9
Introduction.....	9
1.1 The role of ruins in the contemporary world	10
1.1.1 Between poetry and city: the idea of ruins in Walter Benjamin	10
1.1.2 The contemporary definition(s) of ruins	13
1.2 Perception of ruins, between words and images	18
1.2.1 The sense of sight and perception.....	19
1.2.2 Observation and description of objects	26
1.3 From the perception of ruins to the perception of space.....	39
1.3.1 Ruins as part of a space.....	39
1.3.2 The “Spatial Turn”.....	42
1.4 Ruins and perception of the past in Antiquity	45
Chapter 2	61
The Imperial Fora’s ruins in the modern district: definition of the context	61

Introduction.....	61
2.1 Topographical and chronological boundaries of the research.....	62
2.1.1 The area under investigation	62
2.1.2 Chronological boundaries of the research	65
2.1.3 The extension of the area under investigation	71
2.2 The Imperial <i>Fora</i> : genesis, architecture and transformation in Antiquity....	78
2.2.1 The area before the Imperial Fora: morphology of the valley	78
2.2.2 The area before the Imperial Fora: the Republican district	81
2.2.3 The Imperial Fora	86
2.2.4 The function of the Imperial Fora and their use until the 5 th century A.D. 114	
2.3 The Imperial <i>Fora</i> : from Late Antiquity to the 16 th century.....	116
2.3.1 Transformations in Late Antique Rome.....	118
2.3.2 Transformations in the Fora: towards an urban district.....	121
2.3.3 History of the area under investigation, between the 6 th and the 16 th centuries.....	123
Chapter 3.....	137
Archaeological ruins and residential areas between the 16th and the beginning of the 19th century: analysis of the sources.....	137
3.1 Filling the voids: the birth of a new urban district and its growth.....	137
3.1.1 Between Pope Sixtus IV and Pope Paul III: the Pantani area.....	139
3.1.2 The expansion of the city under Pope Pius V: the reclamation of the area 143	
3.1.3 The Cardinal Michele Bonelli and the rise of the Quartiere Alessandrino	147
3.1.4 Urban and social growth between the 17th and the beginning of the 19th century	153

3.2	Main sources	159
3.2.1	Graphic Documents	160
3.2.2	Literary Documents	167
3.2.3	Archival Documents	177
3.2.4	Methodology	184
3.3	Perception of ruins as historical and literary elements	186
3.3.1	The iconographic tradition	189
3.3.2	The literary tradition: topographical descriptions of the city and guidebooks	195
3.4	Perception of ruins as functional elements in the district	233
3.4.1	Topographical landmarks in the city.....	237
3.4.2	“Antiquitates Urbis”	268
3.4.3	Excavation and protection of ruins	283
Chapter 4	.....	297
Conclusions	.....	297
Appendixes	.....	307
Appendix A	.....	307
Appendix B	.....	321
Appendix C	.....	339
Appendix D	.....	399
List of Abbreviations	.....	467
References	.....	468
Figures	.....	516
Tables	.....	554

List of Figures

1. The area of the Imperial For a.
2. The area around the Column of Trajan, after the demolitions under the French Government.
3. Plan of the Imperial Fora and reconstruction of the medieval street network in the 9th century .
4. The Imperial Fora and the extension of the area under investigation.
5. The Imperial Fora and the extension of the area under investigation.
6. The Imperial Fora and the extension of the area under investigation.
7. Plan of Rome by L. Bufalini, 1551.
8. Plan of Rome by E. Du Perac, 1574.
9. The valley and the hill, before the Imperial Fora.
10. Reconstruction of morphology and heights of the valley of the Imperial Fora, before the Imperial Fora.
11. The Servian Walls in the area of the Imperial Fora.
12. Street network of the district, before the construction of the Imperial Fora.
13. The Forum of Caesar, plan.
14. Forum of Caesar, the two-levelled porticoes surrounding the square.
15. Forum of Caesar, the portico and the square.
16. The Forum of Caesar, in Caesar's project .
17. The Forum of Caesar in Augustus' project.
18. The Forum of Augustus, plan.
19. Forum of Augustus: the square and the temple of Mars Ultor.
20. The Forum of Peace, plan.
21. Forum of Peace, the unpaved square and the temple of Peace.
22. The Forum of Peace, 4 different stages.
23. The Forum of Nerva, plan.
24. Forum of Nerva, the so-called "Colonnacce", today.
25. Forum of Nerva, the he so called "Colonnacce" in the Quartiere Alessandrino, 19th century.
26. Drawings of the ruins of the Forum of Nerva in the 16th century.
27. Tthe Forum of Trajan, plan.
28. A. Bartoli, reconstruction of the southern wall of the Forum of Trajan
29. View of the southern wall of the Forum of Trajan. Simone del Pollaiuolo.
30. The Markets of Trajan, plan.

31. The Markets of Trajan, reconstruction by Inklinc.
32. The southern sector of the area of the Imperial Fora in a view from the Codex Escorialensis.
33. L. Bufalini, plan of Rome, 1552.
34. A. Tempesta, plan of Rome, 1593.
35. A. Tempesta, plan of Rome, 1593, detail.
36. Plan for the enlargement of via Alessandrina.
37. G.B. Nolli, plan of Rome, detail, 1748.
38. E. Du Perac, the area around the Column of Trajan, 1577.
39. G.B. Piranesi, the so-called "Colonnacce" in the Forum of Nerva.
40. G.B. Falda, engraving: "Chiesa dedicata alla Madonna di Loreto de Fornari nella Regione de Monti", 1700.
41. G. Vasi, Chiesa e Monastero di S. Maria Annunziata, Arco dei Pantani, 1756.
42. Document 206, mentioning an ancient wall in the church of Ss.mo Nome di Maria (1749).
43. Document 206 (1749).
44. The area northern to the libraries in the Forum of Trajan.

List of Tables

1. Churches used as Topographical Landmarks in archival documents
2. Ruins used as Topographical Landmarks in archival documents
3. Churches used as Place-Names in archival documents
4. Ruins used as Place-Names in archival documents
5. Ancient Arches mentioned in the archival documents
6. The Column of Trajan mentioned in the archival documents
7. Cripta, Grotte mentioned in the archival documents
8. Mentions of Antiquitates in the archival documents

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Abstract

The aspect of a modern city is the result of a process of transformation and evolution of its elements over centuries: the growth of the city, in connection with the evolution of the society, creates over long time spans dynamics of urban fabrics that lead old and new buildings to live together. Modern cities result therefore from the stratification of layers from different periods: each of them had its own ruins, its own past and its own way of perceiving the ruins from the past.

The present research deals with the main question of the perception of ancient ruins in the city of Rome and in particular on the area of the Imperial Fora between the 16th and the 19th century. The interest is in particular in the role that ruins had for those people who lived, worked or travelled in the area previously occupied by the Imperial Fora , where a dense district developed over the ruins between the 16th and the 19th century. Since the specific interest is on the perception that people living in the city had of ruins and ancient monuments, the research is centred on the analysis of written sources, with a focus on topographical descriptions, guidebooks, and archival sources. In this framework, the present research investigates how people living in the district perceived, approached and referred to the ruins still visible in the district, as well as the ways in which transformation of the urban setting affected and changed the perception which artists, scholars, travellers and inhabitants had of the ruins.

Introduction

What perceptions, reactions and practices do ruins trigger and raise in the context of their long and multifarious lives across time?

This quite general question represents a fundamental starting point for the present research, focusing on a very specific, though extremely complex and multifaceted case study: the area of the Imperial *Fora* in Rome, in the period between 16th and the 19th centuries (Fig. 1).

Before explaining the reasons leading to the choice of such a case study, it seems important to synthetically define the notion of ruins underpinning the whole research. Needless to say, the study of ancient ruins and their uses and perceptions in modern or contemporary urban contexts is a very complex one, which can count, though, on significant and substantial scholarly elaboration and reflection. Indeed, a specific aspect of ruins creates the object of the present analysis, as the notion of ruin is intended as portions of ancient buildings, which had increasingly lost their original functions and had been partially destroyed by catastrophes, contemporary use, natural deterioration or simply time. More specifically, whenever ruins in modern Rome are analysed in this work, the attempt is at considering the many different 'Pasts' (Roman times, Late Antiquity, Medieval times) ruins embody at the same time. Moreover, the attempt is at considering even the gap (perceived or not) between ruins and people living in the modern city, as well as the ways both ruins and people are affected by the passing of time.

In this sense, the area of the Roman Imperial *Fora* represents a very promising context by which these issues can be investigated. Far from being simply abandoned in the late Imperial period, the area under investigation kept in fact attracting people starting from Late Antiquity. Then, after multifarious events had occurred in the Middle Ages, the area once occupied by the ancient Imperial squares was increasingly affected by important building activities sponsored by Popes, aristocratic families, and private citizens between the 16th and 19th centuries. This period is largely under-investigated (apart from specific investigations on specific pieces or buildings) as it seems to be perceived by modern scholars as "in between" two different epochs. This very character makes it all the more interesting from the perspective adopted in this study: the re-discovery of ancient remains, and the subsequent discourse on their perception,

preservation or re-use, can thus be deeply investigated while operating in a well-defined context, both from a topographical and chronological point of view.

More specifically, the main aim of this research is to verify whether ancient ruins, topographically absorbed in the new residential district known as *Quartiere Alessandrino*¹, were intended either as “other” (“works of art”, memories of an ancient past and conspicuous elements for the new urban landscape) or, as an alternative, as mere functional elements for the daily life of ordinary people. As we will see, the two aspects are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

In order to answer these questions, two different kinds of documents have been collected - through bibliographic and archival research in the main libraries and archives in Rome - and then analysed: on the one hand, topographical descriptions and guidebooks for pilgrims visiting Rome, published since the beginning of the 16th century. On the other hand, private documents and official acts, at present collected in historical archives in Rome and largely unpublished. This second category mainly concerns the private life of the inhabitants of the district as documented by notarial acts, sales contracts, churches and parishes registers, tax payments, authorisations to conduct excavations, etc. Very meaningful information can be derived from these documents, as toponyms given to or originated from ancient ruins.

The collected sources have been qualitatively examined in order to highlight the relationship between toponyms and the associated monumental ruins. At the same time, whenever possible, the analysis of the collected sources has also investigated the link between the use of specific toponyms and the type and chronology of the source in which they occur.

Accordingly, the distribution of different place names has been examined on the basis of a chronological division into three main periods, which have been isolated within the larger time frame of this research: the beginning of the 16th century; the second half of the 16th century; the period between 17th and 19th centuries. In this general context, the work has been divided in four main chapters.

¹ I have decided to translate all the names of the ancient Imperial *Fora* into English, as usual in the scholarly literature. As to smaller ancient and medieval complexes (i.e. *Grande Emiciclo*, *Piccolo Emiciclo*, *Aule di Testata*, *Grande Aula*, *Basilica Ulpia*, *Basilica Aemilia*, *Basilica di Massenzio*, *Torre delle Milizie*, *Quartiere Alessandrino*), ancient streets, churches and districts, I have decided instead not to translate them, simply transcribing them in italics.

Chapter 1 is devoted to a theoretical introduction to the theme of ancient ruins and their perception both in the ancient and contemporary world. As it is well-known, this is a highly debated and multifaceted topic, and the review of the existing literature has provided me with fundamental tools to analyze the archival material on which this work is specifically focused.

In the first part of Chapter 1 the very concept of ruins has been investigated and approached from different points of view: e.g. the role and description of ruins in written and iconographic sources; the use and re-use of ancient ruins in contexts (chronological and topographical) different from the original one; the role (both positive and negative) of ruins in the formation of new urban landscapes.

Ancient and modern theories of perception have been outlined, specifically focusing on modern scientific attempts to reconstruct possible behaviours of people living in and interacting with ancient ruins.

Chapter 2 focuses on the relationship between modern Rome as an urban landscape and the ruins of the Imperial *Fora*, that is the *Forum* of Caesar, the *Forum* of Augustus, the *Forum* of Peace, the *Forum* of Nerva, the *Forum* of Trajan. In the period between the 16th and 19th centuries, these ancient monumental squares were in fact incorporated into the modern district called *Quartiere Alessandrino*, demolished in the first half of the 20th century, so that a careful examination of the several transformations which affected this area of Rome was deemed necessary.

Still, due to the broad and complex monumental and chronological nature of the case study, the first paragraph of Chapter 2 has been mainly devoted to the explanation of the reasons leading to the definition of the topographical and chronological boundaries of this research.

Furthermore, since the ruins of the Imperial *Fora* constitute the hinges on which different temporal dimensions and perceptions as well as practices depend, it seemed fundamental to illustrate them in detail. For this reason, Paragraph 2.2 provides a general overview of the Imperial *Fora* in their original setting and appearance.

Similarly, the last paragraph of this Chapter (2.3) deals with the post-antique history of this urban district (6th – 16th centuries). This long period is considered, for the scope of this research, as a kind of premise to allow me to briefly outline the different processes which affected and transformed ancient buildings into ruins, and produced the topographical and perceptual contexts on which the present study is focused.

Indeed, no substantial and consistent documentation is available for the period between the 6th and the 8th centuries A.D., since from the 9th century the

development of this urban district has resulted in an increasing presence of the ruins of the Imperial *Fora* in the written documents.

Unfortunately, as a result of the slow, though evident, abandonment of the area and the general demographic decrease in terms of population, a new break affects the available documentation from the 11th century on. Only in the 16th century, the starting point for the present research, does a new, substantial process of urban development and an increase in population result, again, in a conspicuous role for ancient ruins documented by the type of written archival sources considered in this work.

Indeed, the initial paragraph of the following Chapter 3 is entirely devoted to a historical introduction to the period under examination (16th – 19th centuries). Needless to say, this paragraph has the fundamental role of contextualizing all the transformations (and related processes and practices) affecting the urban district known as *Quartiere Alessandrino*, as well as the architectural remains of the Imperial *Fora* which constituted an integral part of this neighbourhood.

Since the analysis conducted in the present research is mainly based on written sources (both literary texts and archival documents), the second paragraph of Chapter 3 represents an attempt to clearly define the different types of texts which have been collected and then examined in relation to their "use" of the ancient ruins.

Although graphic sources fall outside of the framework of the present research, the iconographic documentation cannot be completely set aside. Drawings and paintings produced in the period under investigation explicitly show the different degrees of the artists' interest in ancient ruins and they allow us to better define the physical and cultural context in which the written documents were produced. As a result, the iconographic tradition is recalled here as a frame of reference for the analysis of the contemporary written tradition, the latter being carried out against the background of the data inferred from the analysis of the former.

A much wider space has been then obviously accorded to the presentation of the two main types of written sources at the basis of the research.

On the one hand, literary sources: that is "topographical descriptions" and "guidebooks of Rome", namely texts written not for specific and private needs, but to be released and used by a relatively large number of readers. This typology of text, essentially shaped on the basis of the literary tradition of the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* and the *Indulgentiae Ecclesiae Urbis*, provide us with useful information about the attitude scholars had towards ancient ruins, thus allowing for the reconstruction of

the bond authors had with monumental remains in their physical consistency, and for an outline of the evolution in the perception of the ruins of the Imperial *Fora*.

On the other hand, archival documents: that is written sources not intended for a large public, produced by administrations, institutions or private entities with a specific and practical use. These documents can be considered as more "telling" from our point of view, as they reflect administrative activities and interests, as well as practical everyday uses of the urban space of which ruins were a part. While registering how ruins of the Imperial *Fora* were considered by people living in that very area, thus providing us with a very specific and detailed overview on the topic, this type of document, when analysed on a case-by-case scale, also provides interesting information concerning the topography of the area, the social context of the district or the movement of antiquities from the site to the museums or private collections.

The last two paragraphs of this Chapter are thus devoted respectively to the analysis and interpretation of literary texts (Paragraph 3.3.) and archival documents (Paragraph 3.4.).

The picture we can draw on the basis of the examination of topographic descriptions and guidebooks for people visiting the city of Rome testifies to a progressive shift in terms of perception of the monumental remains of the Imperial *Fora*. Nevertheless, from the study of literary tradition it clearly emerges how authors of both topographical descriptions and guidebooks always consider ancient ruins as testimonies of ancient history as well as of an ancient and glorious past, which is irretrievably lost.

A quite different picture emerges from the analysis of the archival documents. In this case, three approaches towards ancient ruins can be detected, very different from-although frequently overlapping with- one another. Indeed, while testifying to the behaviours of ordinary people living and operating within the new district, archival texts refer to ancient monumental remains of the Imperial *Fora* either as topographical landmarks and place-names, or ancient elements belonging to the past, or eventually as something to be excavated, preserved and investigated.

Resulting from the observations of Paragraphs 3.3 and 3.4, a final Chapter (Chapter 4) is devoted to some final remarks emerging from the present research.

In particular, what seems important to stress here is that, far from limiting our investigation to a restricted and already well-studied group of documents, in which the approach towards ancient ruins by artists and literates can be clearly detected, the present study has tried to enlarge the approach to the topic.

To this aim, we have considered not only literary texts produced in the period between the 16th and the 19th centuries, but also contemporary archival documents, permitting the role and behaviours to emerge of both administrative institutions and often anonymous or ordinary beholders (either private citizens or religious groups) living, working or operating in the area of the ancient Imperial *Fora*.

Finally, the thesis is completed with 4 appendices.

On the basis of the work carried out by Alfonso Bartoli², Appendix A collects drawings from the 15th and 16th centuries in which monuments and ruins are depicted. Although only some of the drawings have been reproduced, all of them are accompanied with their original captions, as well as basic information on the artist and minor technical observations.

Appendix B instead is devoted to the listing of all the examined “topographical descriptions”, in chronological order. Together with the transcription of the most interesting parts (that is those concerning the area under investigation), each of the items is completed with the main metadata (author, title of the work, publication year, etc.). For all the sources listed in Appendix B, a reference is present at least once as a footnote in previous chapters of the work.

Also, the examined “guidebooks” have been collected in Appendix C, in chronological order. As in the case of “topographical descriptions”, a transcription of the most interesting parts is given (that is those concerning the area under investigation), together with the main metadata. For all the sources listed in Appendix C, a reference is present at least once as a footnote in previous chapters of the work.

Finally, Appendix D is devoted to listing the “archival documents”, both published and unpublished, which have been collected in a specifically designed relational database. The database, in particular, could represent an important tool for scholars and future research. Documents are presented in chronological order, independent of the archives in which they are preserved. After a short presentation of the criteria according to which the relational database has been created, the collected documents are presented, completed with the most important metadata: archival signatures, object of the document, topographic references, churches mentioned in the text, activities and events involving ancient monumental remains. Each document listed in Appendix D is duly referenced at least once in the footnotes of the pertinent chapter of the work.

² BARTOLI 1914-1922.

The final appendices constitute a fundamental part of this work, and should be regarded both as a tool for the reader of this thesis and as a basis for possible future research on the topic.

Chapter 1

The sense of ruins in the western tradition: persistence and change³

Introduction

The appropriation of ancient architectural elements (capitals, fragments of columns, sculptures etc.) and their use in new contexts (*spolia in re*), and the creation of new objects based on ancient models (*spolia in se*), are both important aspects of the phenomenon of “reuse”.

Salvatore Settis has conducted a considerable number of studies on this phenomenon since the 1970s⁴. He has illustrated reuse from medieval times to the neoclassical period, underlining the massive presence of ancient monuments - especially in Italian cities and in Rome - which acts as an enormous *potential* source, and which are characterised by an aura which assumes different roles depending on cultural contexts. S. Settis has also stressed the importance of the analysis of the social practices which underpins the phenomenon and the existence of “artistic practices” and rules based on the transmission of specific skills leading to the reuse of themes and schemes. In his view, “Continuity”, “Distance” and “Knowledge” embody three main different approaches to ancient material culture in the post-antique era.

In the present research, I will focus on the reuse of Imperial *Fora*’s ruins in post-antique Rome, and their consequent perception and appreciation. In the contemporary world, indeed, the concept of ruins can be analysed within different perspectives and embraces a wide spectrum of disciplines, such as literature, philosophy, art,

³ For a dense bibliography on the topic, I refer to the collected bibliographies in the following recent publications: RELITTI RILETTI 2013, VILLES EN RUINES 2015 and FORZA DELLE ROVINE 2015.

⁴ SETTIS 1970, 1986a, 1986b, 1994.A

archaeology, architecture, landscape studies, sociology and many others. A considerable number of publications over the last 25 years attest to the interest shown by contemporary researchers towards the concept of ruins, and the attention given to the fascination engendered by ruins in contemporary arts and society.

The present work adopts a research trajectory that Marcello Barbanera has successfully defined as “Metamorphosis of Ruins”, developing previous crucial research such as the pioneering collective three volume work "*Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*", edited by Salvatore Settis (1984-1986)⁵.

Barbanera's work investigates the manifestations of art inspired by antiquities, the perception and cultural role of ruins from Antiquity to the present time, as well as the use of ruins in contemporary cities and art.

1.1 The role of ruins in the contemporary world

1.1.1 Between poetry and city: the idea of ruins in Walter Benjamin

The contemporary debate on ruins owes many of its topics to W. Benjamin's reflections: indeed, in his perspective, modernity is presented as an experience of ruination.

In the work entitled "*Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels*", written and presented in 1926 to access the position of university lecturer (refused by the board of examiners) W. Benjamin studied one of the darkest periods of German and European art.⁶ His dissertation focused on the characteristics of the production of that period - the use of allegory and anticlassicism - but its true object was the ideology of

⁵ RELITTI RILETTI 2009 and BARBANERA 2013. In these texts, the author conceives the “metamorphosis” as a transformation which occurs both inside and outside the ruins: a change in the way people perceive ruins (RELITTI RILETTI 2009, pp. 15-58 and pp. 89-178) and a change in the aspect of the ruins over centuries (RELITTI RILETTI, pp. 83-85 and pp. 359-482). The same word “metamorphosis” has been used in 2001 and in 2013 in the title of two international *colloquia* on ruins held in Athens and Paris (METAMORPHOSE DES RUINES 2004; VILLES EN RUINES 2015). Apart from terminology, see SETTIS 1986.

⁶ BENJAMIN 1999 [1963].

contemporary art inspired by the same objections to the classicist harmony that Benjamin noticed in German Baroque art.

In discussing poetry from German Baroque, W. Benjamin noticed that its noblest products were created just putting together different fragments - ruins -, without a specific scope. In the poems he analysed, history - according to his interpretation - is an allegory which is presented as a ruin embodying the progression of a relentless decline. Not only Marc Augé's vision of ruins⁷ but also the stress contemporary studies puts on how ruins embody the decline of history, can then be traced back to Benjamin. The relationship between history and nature in German baroque poetry led Benjamin to establish an analogy between allegory and ruins:

*“Allegories are in the field of thought, what ruins are in the field of things”*⁸.

According to Benjamin, in fact, in the allegorical gaze, all images are ruins because they lose their symbolic beauty, and so are incomplete and fragile. This possibility of seeing the incompleteness and the frailty of nature was not imaginable, according to Benjamin, within the culture of German classicism, while it was a kind of ideal foundation of German Baroque. This famous comparison, which brings with itself the concept of metaphor⁹, has been used as a starting point for the definition of ruins in many recent works.

Since the object of the present research is the perception of ruins in a changing urban context, the connection between ruins and cities in Benjamin's work is worth further consideration. In his view (later taken up by M. Augé), urban archaeology represents the best model of intertwinement between memory and the city, since the task of archaeologists is to dig beneath the surface of the modern city and to unearth the evidence of past life. W. Benjamin, in his works where he defines “archaeology of modernity”, wants to excavate the city, in order to discover personal and collective history¹⁰. As effectively stated by Giorgio Agamben, for Benjamin the relationship

⁷ See *infra*, paragraph 1.1.2 for M. Augé's definition of ruins.

⁸ Translation by the author. The comparison between allegories and ruins is in the chapter called “*Allegoria e dramma barocco*” (BENJAMIN 1999).

⁹ Ruins became in fact one of the strongest metaphors of western culture (RELITTI RILETTI, p. 15).

¹⁰ “Archaeology, that reverses the course of the past and raise the shadow that the present throws on it, is the only way to access the present” (AGAMBEN 2015, p. 11, the translation from French is by the author).

with the past is neither a psychological problem nor an individual one, but rather a political and collective problem¹¹.

Ruins represent a relevant category also within Benjamin's investigations of the character and experience of the metropolis and the modern city¹². According to Benjamin, buildings, spaces, monuments and objects are reflexive structures of human social activity. He directed his interest towards the city as a site of commodity, the aesthetic of merchandise and the burgeoning mass consumerism with the aim of comprehending the experience of modernity through the examination of some of its most despised representatives, marginal and disregarded figures. The metropolis would express the subjugation of nature by humankind and would present a deceptive image of past and present. In this context, the modern would reveal itself as a ruin: the truth of an object would become understandable only when it reaches the point of oblivion, and when the context in which it originally existed has disappeared. In other words, according to Benjamin a process of reconstruction of the meaning of the object, including its relationship with past and present, can arise only from the destruction of the deceptive appearance of an object induced by the existence of its context. We can recognize in these words the very nature of ruins, close to disappear and without any connection with the original context anymore.

Between 1924 and 1930 Benjamin wrote some texts including short descriptions of the cities that he had visited: Naples, Moscow, Weimar, Marseilles, Paris, San Gimignano, Bergen. In his description of cities, for example, the metropolis is defined as a labyrinth, a ruin (a site of decay) and a theatre (a place of spontaneity); the overall idea of the modern city is that it is a huge ruin itself. In the description of Naples for example, the contemporary rather than the classical forms of life constitute the focus of attention. Ruins of classical civilizations are therefore mentioned in terms of their contemporary utility, as attractions for tourists, as the ruins of Pompeii. Benjamin considers Naples as a ruin itself, demanding careful excavation and rescue: in Naples he recognises the merging of different forms of old and new architecture, which is a typical element of a landscape of ruins, and the impossibility of distinguishing buildings whose "ruination" process is still in progress from dilapidated ones. Therefore, in this city, the modern and the ancient are indivisible, and new elements are not distinguishable from previous entities which are already ruins. Because of

¹¹ AGAMBEN 2015, p. 11.

¹² For the analysis of Benjamin's ideas of cities and ruins present in works other than the "*Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels*", see GILLOCH 1996 and LESLIE 2006.

these reasons, Benjamin reads the process of construction in Naples as the process of creation of instant ruins¹³.

Ruins are, according to Benjamin, the elements through which we should read history, in which they are a natural and a social phenomenon at the same time. The work in which Benjamin more extensively engages with the issue of cities and ruins – intended thus as a social phenomenon – is probably the “Arcades Project”, an unfinished project written between 1927 and 1940¹⁴. The arcades, built in Paris on the occasion of Napoleon’s return from the Egyptian campaign, were luxurious department stores, acting as the symbol of a new mode of consumerism. They were later swallowed, under Napoleon III, in the project of modernization of the city, to enable the passage of state vehicles. In Benjamin’s vision, these places became victims of the reorganization of the city that turned Paris into a place for touristic contemplation. More than one century after the construction of these spaces, the arcades are presented as a ruin, and a disrupted sense of time descends on them; the department stores are already aged, and the luxury shops of the arcades linger in the city as grand junk rooms. The arcades are ruins, as well as the bourgeois interior setting, they are something belonging to the past, something archaic. Benjamin investigates the decomposition of an epoch, the age of industrial capitalism, which is presented as a ruin. Honoré de Balzac had already spoken about the ruins of the bourgeoisie, and these ruins were then visible in the time of Benjamin (1920s – 1930s): ruins of past promises, beyond which there was devastation. The effects of capitalism are compared with those of Mt. Vesuvius’ catastrophe, which destroyed Pompeii, when ruins were turned into history.

1.1.2 The contemporary definition(s) of ruins

Referring strictly to the object of the present research, instead, with ruins we mean only the relics of ancient buildings and monuments; we mean landscapes of ruins, where both the human and the natural forces have played an important role.

¹³ Worth noticing is the connection with what Augé observes about the presence of elements from different periods in the same landscape (AUGÉ 2004, p. 101-104) and about the modern city as incapable of building ruins any longer but only rubble (AUGÉ 2004, p. 99).

¹⁴ The original title is “Passagenwerk”.

Scholars have provided, in the last 20 years, a multi-faceted range of interpretation of ruins. Ruins assume a specific role in retrieving the past and triggering cultural memories, as demonstrated by Jan and Aleida Assmann¹⁵. Simon Shama, instead, focuses on landscapes and their relationship with memories, describing any landscape as the result of transformation by human intervention and as a product of our culture¹⁶. Christopher Woodward, instead, investigates ruins as source of inspiration for visual artists and writers¹⁷.

When we talk about the evolution of the concept of ruins in western tradition and about the perception of ruins over the centuries, we actually refer to a multi-faceted situation. The object of contemporary discussions about ruins in the western tradition includes both remains of buildings and fragments of ancient artefacts such as sculptures¹⁸; the notion of ruin includes both ruins from Antiquity and ruins of modern cities produced, for example, by the horrible wars of the 20th century.

M. Augé, for example, has approached ruins from the anthropological perspective: he studies current events and looks at ruins as those elements of the past that a society can identify¹⁹. Augé is in fact interested in the dynamic aspect of perception and how, for example, our perception and fruition of ancient paintings, sculptures, buildings etc. differ from the perception and ways of fruition in Antiquity. This gap, this contrast between the ancient and the modern perception of the object would trigger the pleasure of looking at ruins from the past in the modern observer: according to Augé, the perception of this gap means perceiving the “pure time”²⁰.

¹⁵ ASSMANN 1997, ASSMANN 2002.

¹⁶ SHAMA 1995.

¹⁷ WOODWARD 2001.

¹⁸ RELITTI RILETTI 2009, p. 50, ROSSI PINELLI 2009 and 2015. I would also like to bring forward the international colloquium held in Athens in 2001 (METAMORPHOSE DES RUINES 2004). On that occasion ruins were studied and examined as media of inspiration for the arts, by focusing on them in archaeology and arts in Greece between 1870, that is when archaeology was recognised as a methodological tool, and 1914, just before the beginning of the First World War. A few years later, in 2006, the publication entitled “Rovine e macerie. Obliare, rimemorare, riedificare” collected a series of papers presented during a conference held in Pompeii: they reflect on the philosophical meaning of the term ‘ruin’ and on the potentially different semantic meanings that it embodies, with particular attention to the present times.

¹⁹ The author starts by mentioning examples from a quite recent past: ruins of buildings without a defined status from no more than one century ago in the Ivory Coast, in Mexico and in Guatemala, of which Europeans are the creators, or the restorers or the visitors. In the second part of his work, he builds on the idea that time defines ruins, through the analysis of the cities of Rome, Berlin and Paris.

²⁰ AUGÉ 2004, pp. 23-26.

According to the French anthropologist, a distinction can be drawn between the remains from the ancient past in the contemporary world (“ruins”) and the remains of modern cities created by wars (“rubble”)²¹. The diverse relationship with time would make the difference between these two entities.

As amply noticed in the scholarly literature, the original settings of ancient monuments and cities are not relevant to the landscape of ruins and to the fascination coming from it. The landscape of ruins, according to Augé, does not reproduce any specific landscape of the past, but it alludes to a multitude of landscapes from different periods, characterised by a temporal indefiniteness. In this “time out of history”²², ruins exist and live through people who stare at them, perceive them and describe them to other people.

“Rubble”, instead, would be the ruins of modern cities, devastated by the violence of wars and other catastrophic events in the 20th century²³. Here catastrophic events create effects which are comparable to those caused by time in the case of ancient ruins (the presence of a lost past and, at the same time, of an uncertain present) with the difference that catastrophes creating the rubble are part of the contemporaneity themselves.

The author defines this as the “paradox of the ruins”; the violence that provokes modifications in the space also starts in fact the process of disappearance of ruins, as both an idea and a physical reality. As long as the devastated cities are yards in fact, they are like ruins, they contain different pasts and a promise for the future, but as soon as a reconstruction of the devastated cities occurs, the focus shifts to the present, thus destroying the concept of ruins itself: a new functionality would be created and the past would be deleted²⁴.

The exhibition “La Forza delle Rovine” showed together for the first time all the different kinds of ruins - “ruins” and “rubble” -, considered separated for a long time²⁵. In the presentation to the exhibition, the curators state that they want to treat ruins as

²¹ AUGÉ 2004. The distinction between “ruins” and “rubble” is present only in the Italian version of the book title (“Rovine e Macerie”). The title of the French original version in fact (“Le temps en ruines”) does not allude to this typological difference but, through a play upon words, it underlines the role of time in creating ruins, which is the theme underpinning the whole book.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 41.

²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 85-96.

²⁴ In the same way, he considers the restoration of ancient monuments as the elimination of the gap between ancient and modern, and therefore as the elimination of the sense of ruins.

²⁵ FORZA DELLE ROVINE, p. 11. See also the 2007 conference (RELITTI RILETTI 2009).

a wide cultural phenomenon, in order to trigger reflections. In their vision this means not only including the use of ruins made by artists of different periods²⁶ or the contemporary use of ancient ruins²⁷, but also the ruins produced in the modern era and often linked to tragic modern events (wars and catastrophes) and to the cultural afterlife of historical eras like communism and colonialism²⁸.

Rome, of course, is an important case-study in defining ruins in the contemporary discourse. M. Augé takes Rome (the central area of the city), a huge ruin itself without a specific time, where people can enjoy that kind of “pure time” that only ruins can give²⁹. Rome’s contemporary layout is the result of different events of destruction/reconstruction and the reunion of different temporalities that had never been together before.

Paul Zanker stresses the dichotomy of protection of ruins and development of the modern city³⁰. Talking about the different approaches towards the ruins in Rome (visiting the ruins, caging the ruins and restoring the ruins), he reflects on the value of ruins as elements which provoke emotional reactions. As M. Augé, P. Zanker also thinks that restoration activities preserve the status of ruins, but at the same time, while repairing and replacing pieces, they remove the ancient material therefore making ruins lose their aura. In order to reduce distance with people, he proposes the reuse of some archaeological spaces, so that the citizen can be in contact with ancient remains. Contemporary reflections on ruins concentrate on two features which characterize their presence in contemporary societies: their ambivalent role and their peculiar relationship with nature. In particular, the ambivalence of the relationship between ruins and time is explicitly reflected upon by a number of contemporary scholars³¹. On the one hand, in fact, ruins can be and have been considered as the phantoms of a past once intact; on the other hand, and often by the very same viewer (we can think for example of Flavio Biondo), they can be considered as the physical evidence of that past and an anchor for its memory. These multiple roles of ruins bestow the sense of

²⁶ See for example WOODWARD 2001.

²⁷ See for example BIGIOTTI-CORVINO 2015.

²⁸ See for example DILLON 2011. These kinds of ruins are usually linked, as Augé said, to the willingness of reconstruction in order to delete the “horrors” of the modern world that transformed those cities in ruins. This makes clear and evident the difference existing with ruins from Antiquity.

²⁹ AUGÉ 2004, pp. 101-104.

³⁰ ZANKER 2010.

³¹ FORZA DELLE ROVINE, p. 11.

long duration and a value of identity on them³²: looking at ruins, we look not only at something that has passed, but also at something that, in spite of everything, endures in time. Ruins can thus be the image of a *memento mori* and an explicit allusion to the transience of every human work, to the destruction of cultures and the decline of all the civilizations. On the other hand, and yet at the same time, ruins can also function as symbols of resilience to destructive events. This ambivalence makes ruins something incomplete and fragmented, triggering reflections on the incomplete and fragmentary nature of existence.

This ambivalence of ruins, symbol of a past that is still present, is strictly linked to the sequence of death and rebirth of the “past”: a periodic and irregular process, which took a very specific and peculiar form - called “Rinascimento” - in 14th century Italy thanks to a conscious wish for (and a program of) a rebirth of the “classic” from ruins. Such a wish and program were carried out by the numerous humanists who recovered, reconstructed and studied texts as well as physical remains from Antiquity³³.

According to M. Barbanera, though, this conscious dualism between death and life, between oblivion and memory embodied by ruins, originated in our culture quite recently, after the industrial revolution³⁴. Thanks to the speeding up of production and communication systems, the notion of time changed, and ruins started to function as anchors to the past, like something that keeps the memories and does not allow the past to be completely eradicated by acceleration. Before this moment, according to Barbanera, ruins were perceived as a different thing, with different suggestions and meanings.

From this ambivalence of ruins comes the particular relationship they share with nature as well. According to the philosopher and sociologist George Simmel, the transition of ancient architecture into the state of ruins means the triumph over human activities and brings a sense of melancholy³⁵. A human work - the architecture – is turned into a product of nature. This tension between human and natural forces bestows a particular charm on ruins, which evokes presence and absence at the same time. Moreover, this tension is also physically evident in ruins, in the contrast between the verticality of human forces and the crush provoked by natural forces.

³² The role of ruins as an element that defines the cultural identity will be part of a further work.

³³ SETTIS 2004, p. 86.

³⁴ RELITTI RILETTI 2009, p. 16.

³⁵ Simmel’s idea on the relationship between ruins and nature is presented in RELITTI RILETTI, pp. 18-19, FORZA DELLE ROVINE, p. 29.

1.2 Perception of ruins, between words and images

Although the role and utility of ruins are nowadays highly-debated topics, especially with reference to the contemporary world, ruins themselves have always been an important presence in past societies, because they were caused by natural deterioration, catastrophes or the passing of the time. Past communities, exactly like ours, lived in landscapes marked by the traces of previous occupations: they observed and used those traces to “serve the interest and the needs of their present lives”³⁶.

The way in which these traces of the past were perceived, has changed throughout time, and with it both their objective appearance and the beholders’ individuality and culture have been changing as well. In 1968, the art historian P. Zucker, elaborating on the aesthetics of ruins and the fascination for them, described the relationship between ruins and the observer, whom Zucker indicates as “the interpreter”:

“The image of the ruin [...] becomes as much an echo of the variety of feelings in the interpreter’s cultural climate as that of the age in which the building was constructed. Changing from country to country, from century to century, sometimes from generation to generation, the image of the ruins is always ambivalent and open to manifold interpretations”.³⁷

Zucker stresses therefore the importance of carefully analysing the cultural context in which ruins are mentioned, as well as the specific objects, values and meanings to which ruins make reference to within every specific context, starting from the very word.

As in Zucker’s work, in the present research as well, the subjectivity of the viewer, the cultural environment and the consistency of ruins are at the basis of the analysis of the perception of ruins. The present work does not focus on the fascination for ruins, but on the effects that the visual perception of ruins had on people living in the area or passing through it.

³⁶ VAN DYKE – ALCOCK 2003, p. 1.

³⁷ ZUCKER 1968, p. 3.

On this basis, the present and the following paragraphs intend to offer a theoretical background against which the analysis of the alteration in the perception of specific ruins during centuries will be carried out. It is devoted therefore to a general understanding of the phenomena of sight and perception of objects and spaces. The perception itself changes according to subjective elements dictated by personal characteristics of the observer or by cultural features, being at the same time strictly related to memory. Moreover, since the present work uses written texts as its main sources, this paragraph also aims at giving an overview of the main issues concerning the possibility of retrieving the perception of objects (buildings or works of art) from written words; it concerns therefore the interplay between visual and linguistic media, with special attention due to the role played by genres³⁸.

Actually, as M. Squire has recently observed, sight is “*the sense that the graeco roman antiquity theorised above all others*”³⁹. The study of both texts and images therefore can help us understand how ancient people interpreted what they saw. As a consequence, and according to M. Squire’s theories, the connection between sight and written documentation is fundamental for the study of visual perception⁴⁰.

Dealing with the perception of ruins in the present work, we are therefore going to clarify what is intended by “perception”, and to outline how the concept of “ekphrasis” can play a very important role in our context.

1.2.1 The sense of sight and perception

The analysis in the present work is focused on the relationship between objects (in this case ruins) and the observer⁴¹, as well as on the effects that the vision of these

³⁸ Paintings and photographs will be used as sources only for the later period under investigation, just to confirm/deny or to complete information gathered from the texts.

³⁹ SQUIRE 2016a, p. 1.

⁴⁰ See paragraph 1.2.2. Making a comparison with M. Squire’s work, it is worth specifying that, while the present work focuses only on the perception of a specific category of things in the written documentation, M. Squire explores not only sight as a sensory perception, but also the ways in which ideas about sight shaped ancient epistemologies of cognitive understanding.

⁴¹ Apropos to the creation of a relationship between the observer and the object, J. Berger, talking about the existence of different “ways of seeing”, said that “we never look at just one thing, we are always looking at the relation between things and ourselves” (BERGER 1972, p. 9). He also claimed that what we know affects the way we see things: the relationship between us and the object perceived becomes a dynamic

objects provokes in the observer; we call here this whole relationship “perception”, which contributes to shape the meaning associated with the objects.⁴² This relationship is established in different ways, according to the subjectivity of the observer, the cultural context and the period⁴³. Observers perceive ruins – buildings or remaining parts of buildings and monuments – as images⁴⁴ and one of the main senses involved is sight⁴⁵.

relationship, where the observer’s past experience or knowledge actually changes the way he sees and understands things (BERGER 1972, p. 8).

⁴² We cannot give here a compendium of all the philosophical and phenomenological studies about perception. M. Merleau-Ponty focused his interest on the re-composition of the break between the *subject* and the *extraneous body* opened by Cartesian thoughts. In *Le visible and le invisible* he broaches the phenomenon of perception referring to the perception that we should have of ourselves, the perception to be in the world (p. 31). He underlines that the main issue is the fact that, when we are in contact with things, things become subjective, contrary to what happens in science, where things are always objective. Arts and paintings, instead, according to him, make the “things” and the “being” interpenetrate each other, since the painting needs not a simple glance, but an insight which can move inside the painting. Among the other philosophical studies on perception we can remember also M. Foucault’s thoughts, and the studies about perception of the “Gestalt Psychology”. In the 19th century, some authors (i.e. F.W.J Schelling, G.W.F. Hegel) discussed in particular the “temporality” of subjective vision, describing perception as a temporal process depending on a mixture of what we see in the present and what we know from the past (for an account on the idea of perception and subjective vision in the 19th century, see CRARY 1988).

⁴³ The importance given to the role of the “observer” goes back to the first decades of the 19th century, right after some scientific studies in philosophical and physiological field about perception. Subsequent to these studies in particular to those investigations of the physical function of the eye, new tendencies evolved: the tendency to increasingly tie “observation” to the body and the tendency to measure and assess perceptive phenomenon. Linked to these tendencies a new concept of objectivity evolved: vision was not depending on an objective reality anymore, but on the observer himself. Moreover, vision started to be seen inside temporality; the “instantaneity of vision” was doubted and perception was seen as a continuous process. Observation became therefore more and more independent from external reality and dependent on the human body. For a deeper examination of the scientific studies of the beginning of the 19th century and for an overview about the new tendencies consequently developed, see CRARY 1988. A discussion on subjective perception, specifically for the ancient period, is in some of the works by J. Elsner, in particular ELSNER 1995 and 2007b.

⁴⁴ In the text, we will often refer to the vision of ruins under investigation as “images”. It is clear that with image we do not intend “a sight which has been created or reproduced in paintings or photographs” (BERGER 1972, pp. 9-10), but the sight that was impressed in the observer’s mind and that has been later reproduced in the texts he wrote, therefore embodying a way of seeing. Considering the view of ruins as an image, like the view of a painting or a statue, allows us to take into consideration the discussions on views and descriptions of works of art made during previous centuries.

⁴⁵ “Sight” is just one of the terms to express the act of viewing in English. The differences among all the terms that can be used to express the same concept with different shades of meaning will be explained in detail later in the paragraph.

Sight is the first channel of acquisition of an image, through which we leave our body and take possession of what we look at⁴⁶. Many studies, in the last few years, have focused on human senses, on their use and expression throughout history: our attitude to smell, sound, taste and sight has been analysed from ancient times up to the present day⁴⁷. Nevertheless, among all the senses, sight is probably the most complex and powerful in terms of communication.

According to R. Osborne in fact, everybody establishes a relationship with the world through all five senses but, while we usually receive only basic messages through words, smells or texture, we always both send and receive complex communications in visual languages⁴⁸.

The attitude of the viewer towards images, which we have called “sight” (the act of viewing in an objective way), changes according to different elements and can stimulate different ways of vision and comprehension of images⁴⁹. There is a recognized “dualism of the gaze and the glance” to indicate the observation of the object⁵⁰. We distinguish between “gaze”, which is prolonged and contemplative and acts in a tranquil interval, and “glance”, which is instead a furtive and quick look

⁴⁶ I am referring here to theory of the French philosopher M. Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961), according to whom the perception of our body allows us to perceive what is around us: according to the French philosopher in fact, “*Le corps propre est dans le monde comme le cœur dans l'organisme: il maintient continuellement en vie le spectacle visible. [...] La perception extérieure et la perception du corps propre varient ensemble parce qu'elles sont les deux faces d'un même act. [...] Mais en éprenant ainsi contact avec le corps et avec le monde, c'est aussi nous-même que nous allons retrouver puisque, si l'on perçoit avec son corps, le corps est un moi naturel et comme le sujet de la perception*” (MERLEAU-PONTY 1945, pp. 236-239). For an in-depth analysis of M. Merleau-Ponty's ideas about perception, see *infra* in the paragraph.

⁴⁷ Among the most recent studies on the senses, see for example the collection edited by C. Classen (CLASSEN 2014) consisting of six volumes, each one focusing on how the past looked through the senses, from the Late Antiquity to the present time (TONER 2014, NEWHAUSER 2014, ROODENBURG 2014, VILA 2014, CLASSEN 2014a and HOWES 2014). For the investigation of the senses in the antiquity in particular, see instead the series edited by M. Bradley, where each volume is dedicated to the analysis of one of the senses in antiquity (BUTLER-PURVES 2015, BRADLEY 2015, SQUIRE 2016, RUDOLPH 2018). See also some recent conference sessions exploring all the senses in Antiquity, such as “Smelling Rome”, *Classical Association Conference, Bristol 2015* and “Sensing Rome: sensory approaches to movement and space”, *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Roma 2016*.

⁴⁸ OSBORNE 2011, p. 17.

⁴⁹ Between the 1980s and in the 1990s, gaze/look/glimpse/stare have been studied and theorised with reference to the comprehension of visual art, to understand the work of art as a “visually perceptual object”. Recently, this topic has attracted less attention (OLIN 1996, p. 208). Some of the starting points for the 20th century study on the gaze are A. Riegl, J.P. Sartre, M. Merleau Ponty, J. Lacan, J. Berger, S. Alpers and M. Fried.

⁵⁰ BRYSON 1987, p. 94. The use of the French terms is discussed in BRYSON 1987, p. 93.

where the attention is always elsewhere⁵¹. The “gaze”, which tries to relate and penetrate the object looking for a relation with it⁵², is therefore outside the temporality and prevails over the “glance”⁵³.

Even if theorizing on gaze is not particularly popular today, there is still not a unique theory or a single adequate definition. We can use here the definition which interprets “gaze” as “the way in which people look at visual arts and perceive them”, considering however not only works of art but also any other object (then also ruins), since “any object can be animated by the gaze”⁵⁴. The “gaze”, depending on the subjectivity of the observer, has in fact an important role in shaping the perception of the object and can be understood as “part of a language of gestures that change according to the attitudes of the one gesturing and the one viewing”⁵⁵.

One of the most interesting theories of “gaze” was elaborated in last century by M. Foucault, who also analysed its role in society and based it on the historical reverse of the order of visibility and invisibility⁵⁶. In connection to visibility, Foucault speculates about power, reflecting in particular on the circumstance that, while power functioned through visibility in the past, in the modern era it is invisible and anonymous while visibility and being visible concern, instead, the ones who are under the power's control⁵⁷.

As far as ruins of the imperial *Fora* in Rome are concerned, it is clear that the perception of them has changed not only across time, but also in the same period, according to the different gazes of which they were the object. The comprehension,

⁵¹ On “gaze”, see BRYSON 1987, BRYSON 1990; DE CERTAU PORTER, 1987; SNOW 1989; KERN 1996. A good summary on the topic is OLIN 1996. Studies on gaze in the last decades have focused mainly on three different wide topics: on the relationship between the observer and the object and the consequent “redefinition” of the observer (psychoanalytic discourse); on the relationship between the depicted gaze and the viewer (positional discourse); on the differences between male and female seeing (gender discourse). Scholars have then identified other specific kinds of gaze that are believed to be “socially organised and systematised as is the gaze of the medic” (OLIN 1996, p. 208), like the “Tourist Gaze” in the contemporary society (URRY 2002²).

⁵² ELSNER 2007A, p. 21. (BERGER 1972, p. 9)

⁵³ BRYSON 1987, p. 95. As J. Berger said, looking at things is “always looking at the relation between things and ourselves”.

⁵⁴ OLIN 1996, p. 217.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁶ M. Merleau-Ponty had already used the terms “visible” and “invisible” to substitute the term “perception” which, according to him, had a much too strong connotation of consciousness. For a comparison between Foucault and Merleau-Ponty on “gaze”, see CROSSLEY 1993 and COMETA-VACCARO 2007.

⁵⁷ FOUCAULT 1975. He theorizes a structure for the surveillance - the Panopticon - where power functions automatically on the basis of visibility and invisibility, namely on the basis of the gaze: the prisoner is seen but does not see and he experiences a feeling of being constantly subjected to the gaze.

interpretation and perception of ruins could have changed therefore according to the kind of observer and relative personal background (for example a resident in the area, or a worker, a pilgrim, or a traveller) and according to the attention and scope of the very act of looking⁵⁸. Attention could vary in fact from a general view of ruins, to an appreciation of decorations and the symbolic system of architecture, to a deeper observation that reminded the observer of the ancient and glorious past, giving the ruins a specific meaning.

Due to different ways of looking at images, based on personal and cultural elements corresponding to different levels of comprehension and perception, the connection between sight and perception is evident. Perception is the way in which people interpret and record what they see. There are no rules in the relationship object-observer, since perception depends on the subjectivity of the interpreter and on his/her cultural environment; as R. Osborne has recently reminded, “there is not a unique meaning for sight, as well as for images and words, the meaning is just the one that is given by the interpreter”⁵⁹.

M. Squire has recently edited a book that investigates ancient ideas about sensory seeing from different perspectives⁶⁰. In the introduction he remarks about the existence of a difference recognised in literary studies between “visual” (the physiology of seeing) and “visuality” (determined instead by cultural and historical elements). He acknowledges therefore a difference between what we have called “sight” and what we have called “perception”; “Both how and what we see” – he says – “are conditioned by our surroundings and adaptable to them”. Notwithstanding the development of this kind of studies, he underlines how difficult it is in the end to assign the different aspects analysed to one of these categories or to the other one⁶¹.

⁵⁸ We are leaving aside the evident, acknowledged and discussed difference between the role of these monumental buildings in the context in which they were created, and their role in the modern era, when they completely lost the functions they previously had. The focus here is on the modern era and on the roles the monuments played for the population once they had already lost their original functions.

⁵⁹ OSBORNE 2011, p. 11.

⁶⁰ SQUIRE 2016. It is only in the last 30 years, with the explosion of visual culture and with the “Visual Turn” (late 20th – 21st century), that art historians have been interested in studying the different ways in which different cultures approach the act of looking. From these studies came the awareness that, while the act of seeing can be considered “transhistorical”, meaning that it does not change across history, visual perception changes across time.

⁶¹ SQUIRE 2016A, pp. 5-6. He remarks about the consideration that visual culture studies had of the different ways in which different cultures have approached sight, in order to understand the historical texts.

The process of perception has been theorised about and discussed, from a philosophical, historical, art historical and phenomenological perspective, since the beginning of last century. In our context, the reflections proposed by M. Baxandall are particularly useful to clarify the idea of perception to which we have been referring. Talking about the differences between the description of a piece of literature and the description of a picture Baxandall notices:

“A picture on the other hand, or our perception of it, has no such inherent progression to withstand the sequence of language applied to it. An extended description of a painting is committed by the structure of language to be a progressive violation of the pattern of perceiving a painting. We do not see linearly. We perceive a picture by a sequence of scanning, but within the first second or so of this scanning we have an impression of the whole”⁶².

In another essay Baxandall explains also the difference between the image itself, the act of seeing the image, and the act of thinking about having seen the image:

“Firstly, the nature of language or serial conceptualization means that the description is less a representation of the picture, or even a representation of seeing the picture, than a representation of thinking about having seen the picture. To put it in another way, we address a relationship between picture and concepts”⁶³.

It recurs in these words, again, the “relationship” established between the object and the observer, between the object and the concepts that originates from the act of looking at the object. The author goes on stressing that what is recorded in descriptions of works of art is the emotional and psychological effect that pictures have on us:

“Secondly, many of the more powerful terms in the description will be a little indirect, in that they refer first not to the physical picture itself but to the effect the picture has on us, or to other things that would have a comparable effect on

⁶² BAXANDALL 1979, p. 460.

⁶³ BAXANDALL 1985, p. 11.

us, or to inferred causes of an object that would have such an effect on us as the picture does”⁶⁴.

“Perception” is then how we describe the complex of effects arising from the relationship established between the object and the observer, the effect arising from a mixture of an intimate perception and a series of cultural and social values in a specific period.

As it is arguable from this short outline of the attempts at defining notions such as “sight” and “perception”, it is all the more problematic to reconstruct personal psychological processes and reaction to sight in the past. What matters in the context of the present research is to gain a sense of at least some features which have differentiated the “public eye” from the “private eye”⁶⁵ – and all possible “eyes” between these abstract notions – in the appreciation of ruins between the 16th and the 19th centuries. With “private eye” is meant the perception that people living, working or travelling in the area of the Imperial *Fora* had of the ruins; with “public eye”, instead, the perception that public institutions had of the same monuments. In this process, since we are broaching the perception of ruins in the past and not in the present, we have to take into account not only the investigated observers’ subjectivity, but also our own subjectivity: we look in fact at the ancient sense of sight, through “the prismatic lenses of our cultural conditioning”⁶⁶, probably giving it a meaning different from what it had in the past. Contrary to smells or sounds in fact, when we try to imagine the sense of sight that people had in the past, we have a real and concrete *visual stimulus* that automatically creates a connection between the past and the present time⁶⁷.

We can say for example that such monumental and representative buildings have certainly generated a collective and shared perception and comprehension of the monuments in a certain period. Nevertheless, as much as we try to “see as the others saw”, we are now looking at ancient remains with our “modern and public eye”, using

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*. Talking about the description of works of art, also R. Webb and M. Cometa underline how these are not descriptions of reality but description of the impact of the perception of the reality on the viewer/writer: the description is about the emotional and psychological effects and allows the reader to live again the same perceptive experience (WEBB 2009, p. 128; COMETA 2012, p. 90).

⁶⁵ The expression has been modelled on Foucault’s definition of “period eye” (see *infra*, Paragraph 1.2.2. for a detailed analysis of the “period eye”).

⁶⁶ SQUIRE 2016a, p. 2.

⁶⁷ OSBORNE 2011, p. 17.

the lens of our culture. With these caveats in mind, we will try to analyse the texts that record both private and public perception of ruins, in order to understand if a shared comprehension and identification of ruins can be assessed and if ruins bore different and even contradictory meanings for different categories of observers⁶⁸. We will pay particular attention, moreover, to the possibility of detecting, in different times, how private viewers and institutions perceived and considered these fragments of ancient monuments⁶⁹.

1.2.2 Observation and description of objects

In describing the purpose of the present work, the discussion has focused on different issues: “sight” as the act of looking at ruins; “perception” as the set of values and emotions observers attached to looking at ruins; the communication of this “perception” through written words.

Since in the following chapters we will use different typologies of textual sources to investigate the perception of the Imperial *Fora*’s ruins throughout the Modern era, it is crucial to understand the conventions of a genre – the *ekphrasis* – that is based on written descriptions of objects (in our case, the ruins perceived by viewers).⁷⁰ In other words, we will use descriptions in literary and archival sources (*words*) in order to grasp how inhabitants and institutions perceived the remains (*images*). *Ekphrasis* indeed is considered as the more traditional form of relationship between literature and visual arts, and also – in a wider sense – between what can be said and what can be seen⁷¹.

The current debate within literary theory addresses both the distinction between verbal and visual and the wide spread of this genre in modern and contemporary literature.

⁶⁸ ELSNER 1995, p. 3.

⁶⁹ This approach is similar to the one used for the study of works of art in their context of production.

⁷⁰ On *ekphrasis* throughout the centuries, see BECKER 1995; BORG 2005; ELSNER 1995; 2002; 2004; 2007B; 2010; HEFFERNAN 1993; KRIEGER 1992; NICOLAI 2009; SQUIRE 2015; VENTURI-FARINETTI 2004; WEBB 1999; 2009; see also the contributions in BARTSCH-ELSNER 2007; MARINO-STAVRU 2013; RATKOWITSCH 2006.

⁷¹ Many publications, in the last decades, have confirmed that modern literature links the word *ekphrasis* to issues related to the system word-image or text-image. See for example: KRIEGER 1992 and HEFFERNAN 1993.

Many trends of studies have developed since the second half of last century, each one with a specific characteristic⁷².

One of the main issues in approaching *ekphrasis* today is, however, the strong difference between the ancient and the modern use of the term⁷³. In modern scholarship, it is often used to indicate specifically a “description of a work of art”⁷⁴. In ancient literature instead works of art were not at the centre of this genre, and visual arts and their translations into written texts were not discussed as a subject.

As to Antiquity, *ekphrasis* could be in fact a description of a person, a place, a battle, as well as of a building, a painting or a sculpture⁷⁵: it was “the ancient literary genre that involved the precise description of objects or places, either real or imaginary”⁷⁶. This genre was taught in the Greek schools throughout the Roman Empire; *ekphrasis* actually was “a speech that brings the subject matter vividly before the eyes”, no matter what the subject was⁷⁷. In other words, it was a rhetorical exercise with the purpose of exposing to readers or listeners the conditions of a missing object, as if it were before their eyes⁷⁸. Its main characteristic was its quality of vividness, defined in Greek as *enargheia*, since it brought the subject vividly (*enargōs*) before the listener or reader’s eyes: ancient *ekphraseis* had the capacity to “materialize” what was described, in front to the reader or listener’s eyes, as if this audience were present at the events or in front of the described object.⁷⁹

⁷² In the British environment, researchers have discussed *ekphrasis* in broader discourses on representation, while the German environment has focused more on *ekphrasis* as a genre, including it in a wider study precisely dedicated to descriptions of works of art and images, a tradition inaugurated by J.J. Winckelmann. Finally, we cannot fail to mention two other strands of studies to which *ekphrasis* has been strictly linked: semiotic and philosophic studies on images and their link with society, particularly developed in France and in Anglo-Saxon countries (studies by Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Roland Barthes, Georges Bataille). In the Italian context, instead, researchers have often focused their attention on the construction of typologies for the analysis of literary and artistic *ekphrasis*.

⁷³ For a detailed analysis of the difference between the uses of the term *ekphrasis* in the ancient and modern world, see WEBB 1999 and 2009.

⁷⁴ L. Spitzer was the first to talk about the ekphrastic genre in this sense (SPITZER 1955 p. 206; COMETA 2012, p. 19).

⁷⁵ Among the ancient *ekphraseis* specifically dedicated to works of art, it is worth recalling the description of Achilles’ shield in Homer’s *Iliad* (18, 478-608) and the descriptions of paintings in Philostratus’ *Eikones* (*Poem*, 2): all of them describe their subjects in a very vivid way.

⁷⁶ GINZBURG 2010, p. 8.

⁷⁷ WEBB 2009, p. 1.

⁷⁸ The term *ekphrasis* comes from the Greek verb *ekphrazein*, meaning “expressing”, “telling in full” (from *phrazō* = “to tell, to declare, to pronounce” and *ek* = “out”).

⁷⁹ See also LAUSBERG 1998.

The tradition of describing objects was embedded, in Antiquity, not only in rhetoric but also in oratory, historiography, poetry, where it was nevertheless not considered as a specific genre⁸⁰.

In the ancient handbooks of rhetoric (the *Progymnasmata*), which included a number of exercises proposed to students, *ekphrasis* was usually among of the last ones since it was considered among the most difficult exercises. Considering the four different *Progymnasmata* surviving (by Theon, 1st century AD; by Hermogenes, 2nd century AD; by Aphthonios, 4th century AD; by Nikolaos, 5th century AD), works of art as a category were not of a particular importance⁸¹. Statues and paintings as specific subjects of *ekphrasis* appeared only in the later handbook by the 5th century AD sophist Nikolaos from Myra⁸². Here for the first time explicitly discussed is the fact that artworks can be the subject of *ekphraseis*:

“We compose *ekphrasis* of places, times, people, festivals, done things: of places, for example, fields, harbours, lakes; of times, for example, spring, summer; of persons, for example, priests, Thersites, and such; of festivals, like the Panathenaia, the Dionysia, and things done at them; and, all in all, we use this *progymnasma* for many things. It differs from narration in that the latter examines things as a whole, the former in part; for example, it belongs to a narration to say «the Athenians and the Peloponnesians fought a war» and to *ekphrasis* to say that each side made this and that preparation and used this manner of arms.

Whenever we compose *ekphrasis*, and especially descriptions of statues or pictures or anything of that sort, we should try to add an account of this or that impression made by the painter or by the moulded form; for example, that he painted the figure as angry for this reason, or as pleased; or we shall mention some other emotion as occurring because of the history of what is being described. Similarly in other cases also, explanations contribute to vividness. We shall begin with the first things and thus come to the last; for example, if the subject of the *ekphrasis* is

⁸⁰ See ELSNER 2002.

⁸¹ This is, as we will see in the following section of this text, the main difference with the modern definitions. Moreover, in the ancient use of the term, the importance was focused not on the subject of the *ekphrasis*, but on the effect that it had on the audience.

⁸² KENNEDY 1977, p. 167; WEBB 2009, pp. 39-60; COMETA 2012, p. 28.

a man represented in bronze or in a picture or some such a way, after beginning with a description of his head we shall move on to the rest, part by part. In this way the speech becomes alive throughout”⁸³.

In this definition, the author distinguishes two different types of *ekphrasis*: descriptions of places, times, people, festivals and actions on one side, and descriptions specifically of statues, paintings or “anything of that sort” on the other side. We can therefore imagine that from this period on, *ekphrasis* of works of art was a subcategory, a specific kind of *ekphrasis*, but it is also likely that readers from the ancient world generally recognised *ekphrasis* of works of art as a “paradigmatic example of Ekphrasis”⁸⁴.

On the basis of this short excursus on Antiquity, the difference between ancient and modern *ekphrasis* is twofold⁸⁵. First, in the ancient world *ekphrasis* is not limited to the description of works of art (even if there are famous and celebrated examples in that sense) and we cannot therefore talk about description of works of art existing as a genre from the ancient time and persisting in the modern period. Second, the means used by the author to make descriptions was the word in the ancient world (the texts were usually recited by an orator) and a written text in the modern time.

Where does the reference to works of art come from then? How and why did *ekphraseis* start to have only works of art as subjects? R. Webb has identified a “process of restriction” (restriction of the kind of objects *ekphrasis* refers to) that definitely changed the meaning of *ekphrasis* in modern culture and brought to the identification of it with a “description of a work of art”⁸⁶.

The term *ekphrasis* has been used to specifically indicate a “description of a work of art” only starting from the late 19th century: the term *ekphrasis* was not used by G.E. Lessing in his *Laokoon* (1766), even if he discussed the relationship of poetry to

⁸³ Nikolaos from Myra, *Progymnasmata*, p. 69 (translation in English from KENNEDY 1977, p. 167).

⁸⁴ ELSNER 2002, p. 2.

⁸⁵ WEBB 1999 and WEBB 2009.

⁸⁶ WEBB 2009, pp. 5-6. R. Webb affirms that the meaning of *ekphrasis* as a “description of works of art” became of common use because of an error in a translation of a German text from the *Reallexicon des klassischen Altertums*, (published by F. Lübker in 1914) which was used as the base for the first Oxford Classical Dictionary in 1915. While in the original German text *ekphrasis* was defined as a “rhetorical description, mostly of a painting”, in the translation by J.D. Denniston used for the dictionary the adverb “mostly” was removed and *ekphrasis* became a “rhetorical description of a painting”. It is clear that the new definition was accepted also because of the “converging interests on the description of works of art in a range of disciplines” (WEBB 1999, p. 10).

painting, or P. Friedländer in his *Johannes from Gaza und Paulus Silentarius: Kunstbeschreibungen Justinianischer zeit* (1912), who used the word *ekphrasis* only for ancient texts.⁸⁷

Indeed, only from the middle of the 20th century it was applied both to modern and ancient literature, thus starting to play also an important role in the formation of art criticism⁸⁸. Different definitions of the term *ekphrasis* have been given in the last decades, alternatively expanding and contracting its meaning; L. Spitzer defined it in 1955 as “the poetic description of a pictorial or sculptural work of art” thus limiting it to poetry and to works of art⁸⁹. Scholars have sometimes corrected and manipulated ancient definitions of *ekphrasis*, in order to get them closer to the modern definition they supported. R. Barthes for example, in his treatment about ancient *ekphrasis*, deleted, among the subjects, the actions and the events (non-static subjects) and added works of art.⁹⁰

A few decades later, in 1992, M. Krieger delineated *ekphrasis* as “every attempt, within an art of words, to work towards the illusion that it is performing a task we usually associate with an art of natural signs”⁹¹; he included in this definition all the visual objects and not only the representations of visual art, claiming at the same time the impossibility of representing by words what is given by visual⁹². J.A.W. Heffernan

⁸⁷ WEBB 2009, p. 5 (in particular footnote 11) and pp. 9-10; WEBB 2009, pp. 31-32. J.A. Heffernan used for example, in 1993, the term *ekphrasis* writing the history about “how paintings and sculptures have been represented by poets, ranging from Homer’s time to our own” (HEFFERNAN 1993, pp. 1-2). For a collection of famous *ekphraeseis* of works of art, from the medieval time until the 18th century, see VENTURI-FARNETTI 2004. For an account of the meaning of the term in the 19th century, see WEBB 1999, pp. 15-16.

⁸⁸ As S. Goldhill said, “the critical gaze, which is the sign of the art historian, finds its institutional origin here”, meaning in the ancient *ekphrasis* (GOLDHILL 2007, p. 2). Similarly, J. Elsner said, “Art History [...] is nothing other than *ekphrasis*, or more precisely an extended argument built on *ekphrasis*” (ELSNER 2010, p. 11). For some examples showing the importance of *ekphrasis* of ancient and modern works of art, as the basis of art criticism, see COMETA 2012, p. 15.

⁸⁹ SPITZER 1955, pp. 206. It was with the work by L. Spitzer that the term *ekphrasis* came to the attention of many scholars and started to be used with a meaning restricted to works of art, narrower than the meaning it had in the ancient world.

⁹⁰ BARTHES 1982.

⁹¹ KRIEGER 1992, p. 9. For Krieger, *ekphrasis* is a conflict between “natural signs” (signs of visual arts) and “arbitrary signs” (signs of verbal languages). He recognizes *ekphrasis* in all those cases in which verbal signs seek to represent the visual and/or seek to emulate - with a vain attempt - the spatial features of the visual object. In this conflict, the language is asked to be frozen into a special form, but words cannot come together at an instant, because they have no space. In making this distinction between visual arts and language, he recalls Lessing’s tradition (LESSING 1991 [1766]).

⁹² KRIEGER 1992, p. 22: “The visual emblem and the verbal emblem are complementary languages for seeking the representation of the unrepresentable”.

gave later a wider definition of *ekphrasis*, indicating it as “the verbal representation of visual representation”, stressing its value as a “theory of description” and making a distance from the rhetorical discussion on *enargheia* that had a great effect in the audience’s mind⁹³.

Exactly because of its gradual and uneven evolution, the term *ekphrasis* is today often used in different ways and the modern literature is lacking of a universally accepted definition⁹⁴. Moreover, scholars do not agree about which works can be included in this genre, so that we should even wonder about the existence of a unique phenomenon that can be defined as *ekphrasis*⁹⁵.

The last two definitions quoted above, the ones by M. Krieger and J.A.W Heffernan, moved in particular from G.E. Lessing’s previous tradition, focused on the difference between painting and poetry, and between spatial and temporal signs⁹⁶, to the level of representation where the most important thing is the possibility that words and image have to work together, to communicate something about reality⁹⁷.

The modern definition of *ekphrasis* grew therefore from the ancient one: restricting it to the subject of works of art and expanding it to texts other than rhetoric, both ancient and modern. It is also for this reason that, notwithstanding the deep and widely recognised difference, some authors still see an existing continuity between the ancient and the modern theory of *ekphrasis*: focusing not on the purpose of *ekphrasis* but on its technique, it is possible to grasp a continuity between ekphrastic theories of the past and of the present time⁹⁸. R. Webb has condensed the differences between ancient and modern meaning of *Ekphrasis* in few words worthing a mention:

“Now the term had been thoroughly removed from its ancient meaning and context. Instead of designating a dynamic mode of writing thought to have an immediate impact on its audience and whose range of

⁹³ HEFFERNAN 1993, p. 3

⁹⁴ The use of the term is in fact related not only to works of art, but also – on a broader level – to the relationship between texts and images (no matter the subject), thus getting closer again to its original definition.

⁹⁵ WEBB 1999, p. 7.

⁹⁶ LESSING 1991 (1766).

⁹⁷ COMETA 2012, pp. 30-31.

⁹⁸ R. Webb has pinpointed in 2009 a “genealogical connection between the ancient and the modern definitions, a connection reflected in the primacy of the visual in both” (WEBB 2009, p. 37). M. Cometa has recently tried instead to individuate the continuity of *ekphrasis* from ancient to modern culture, in order to underline the deep historicity of this technique in the western tradition on the one side, and the different issues that ekphrastic texts propose in different periods, on the other side (COMETA 2012, pp. 15-16).

subject-matter could include images of action and movement, *ekphrasis* came to be iced of a work of literature in which the movement was found only in the flow of language, whose subject matter was still, objectified, making the poem itself an object of detached interpretation rather than an active *stimulus* to imaginative involvement”⁹⁹.

The author affirms then that the term does not have today the same meaning it had in the past and proposes to define *ekphrasis* simply as “a description of a work of art”¹⁰⁰. What is immediately clear from all these definitions is that the range of meanings has been very wide in recent time, but also that *ekphrasis* cannot be all these different things at the same time. To make order in this wasteland of definitions, J. Elsner and S. Bartsch have recently edited a volume of the journal *Classical Philology*, entirely dedicated to this topic and collecting essays that explore *ekphrasis* from different perspectives¹⁰¹. In their introduction to the volume, the editors try to summarize the history of the term in the last century, giving also a new and - in a sense - wider definition: *ekphrasis* is described as “words about an image, itself often embedded in a larger text”, focusing not only on its descriptive features but also on its “evocative resonance”¹⁰². Discussing about *ekphrasis*, they stress the interpretative operations behind it and the subjectivity of the interpreter, especially in the case in which the description deals with something that is not there¹⁰³.

Taking into consideration the later definitions and discussions on *ekphrasis*, we can generally describe it as the relationship existing between words and images, between verbal and visual dimension. An analysis in this sense goes back to the so-called “Pictorial Turn” discussed at the end of the last century that had at the centre of its

⁹⁹ WEBB 1999, p. 17.

¹⁰⁰ R. Webb acknowledges that the term is today broadly used in four different ways which retrace the steps of the evolution of the term. It is used in fact with the same meaning it had in the ancient world (1); for those examples of ancient *ekphrasis* that described works of art (2); to refer to any ancient texts dealing with works of art (3); in relation to texts of any genre from any culture or period of history (4).

¹⁰¹ BARTSCH-ELSNER 2007.

¹⁰² BARTSCH-ELSNER 2007A, p. i-ii.

¹⁰³ In the same volume, two essays by S. Goldhill and J. Elsner focus instead on the viewer and on the formation of the viewing subject. In particular, S. Goldhill states that *ekphrasis* itself creates a viewing subject, stressing the importance, in this process, of the sociological and intellectual background (GOLDHILL 2007), while J. Elsner’s attention is addressed to the analysis of self-reflections on gaze existing in poems and on the attention paid to gaze in the Roman world (ELSNER 2007A).

theoretic reflection on the comparison between verbal and visual dimensions¹⁰⁴. With “Pictorial Turn” we usually refer to a new approach in visual studies and in art history that recognizes the importance of the *presence* of an object, over its *presentation*¹⁰⁵. This means that while in the past, objects were considered mainly for their meaning (their social or political meaning for example), after the “Pictorial Turn”, “the physical properties of objects and images are as important as their social function”¹⁰⁶. In this new context, a visual object has its own presence and can “engage with the viewer in ways that stray from the cultural agendas for which it was conceived and which may indeed affect us in a manner that sign systems fail to regulate”¹⁰⁷.

We can individuate the influence of the “pictorial turn” on the ekphrastic theory in the works by W.J.T. Mitchell, particularly interested in the relationship between text and image¹⁰⁸. Mitchell uses three different ways to graphically designate this relationship, according to the “status” of this relationship: *image/text*, to indicate the presence of a gap in the representation; *image-text* to generally indicate a relation between visual and verbal; *imagetext* to indicate instead “synthetic works that combine image and text”¹⁰⁹. This means that, according to Mitchell, we should consider the two media - texts and images – at the same level, deleting therefore any gap between the two¹¹⁰.

At the basis of visual culture and of the “Pictorial Turn” as defined by Mitchell, we have to consider Foucault’s works and experience. Visual culture has borrowed from him, for example, the theory of “gaze”, the analysis on “vision device” and the analysis on “scopic regime”. Many studies from the last decades have plainly

¹⁰⁴ MITCHELL 1994. For a history of the “Pictorial Turn” and the development of “Visual Culture”, see, among others, DIKOVITSKAYA 2005 and MOXEY 2008.

¹⁰⁵ The interest in the “presence” of an object, i.e. an interest in “its capacity to affect us, its aesthetic and poetic appeal, its status as a presentation”, have occurred in many fields: not only in art history, but also in philosophy, science, sociology and anthropology (MOXEY 2008, p. 133).

¹⁰⁶ MOXEY 2008, p. 132. In this context, where the focus is on the object itself and on its power, rather than on its social meaning, scholars and art historians of the second half of the 20th century reevaluated M. Heidegger and M. Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenological approaches (HEIDEGGER 1971 [1935] and MERLEAU-PONTY 1964).

¹⁰⁷ MOXEY 2008, p. 133. The idea that objects have a social life and that they can change role during their life, comes from A. Appadurai’s theories on the existence of a social life of objects (APPADURAI 1986).

¹⁰⁸ MITCHELL 1994

¹⁰⁹ (MITCHELL 1994, p. 89, footnote 9). Mitchell claimed that “we should regard literature and language as the meeting ground of these two modalities, the arena in which rhythm, shape, and articulacy convert babbling into song and speech, doodling into writing and drawing” (MITCHELL 1980, p. 566).

¹¹⁰ “Language can stand in for depiction and depiction can stand in for language because communicative, expressive acts, narration, argument, description, exposition and other so-called ‘speech acts’ are not medium specific, are not proper to some medium or other” (MITCHELL 1994, p. 160).

recognised Foucault's role in the Pictorial Turn¹¹¹, but his role in the history of *ekphrasis* is still not clear¹¹². In this field, he has contributed in discussing the relationship between images and texts, and especially the way of thinking that comes up when a text wants to evoke an image.

Foucault is particularly interested in the artistic phenomenon because of the power that images have on the reader and, making descriptions of works of art, he gives us examples of what he considers to be *ekphrasis*. In the description of the painting *Las Meninas*, given in the first chapter of *Les mots et les choses*, he defines *ekphrasis* as a "fight", as a comparison between verbal and visual, where verbal and visual, texts and images, can never perfectly coincide¹¹³:

"The relationship between language and paintings is an endless relationship. [...] You will try in vain to tell what you see: what you see is not in what you tell; and in vain you will try to show, through images, metaphors and comparisons, what you are telling"¹¹⁴.

Their perfect correspondence is just a utopia. Even more interesting is Foucault's approach to *ekphrasis*, when he mentions works of art: since works of art are embedded in everyday life, we cannot make an *ekphrasis* of them, but rather a simple description. In this case, what remains of the work of art is just the reflection in the viewer's gaze. The introduction to *Les mots et les choses*, guides the reader and helps his/her sight to move on the painting, so as to make the reader become an active spectator of the image, actually "experiencing" it. Foucault's *ekphrasis* is therefore modern but also ancient, because, giving voice to the images or to new characters, he uses rhetorical techniques¹¹⁵.

Ekphrasis as a contention between literature and visual arts, between expressible and visible, with a meaning that is fairly close to the one adopted in this work, had an important role in Baxandall's work. It found its place in his main field of investigation, the issue concerning comparison between words and images, that is between two

¹¹¹ ALPERS 1976, MITCHELL 1994, KRIEGER 1992, HEFFERNAN 1993.

¹¹² For a discussion about the ways of *ekphrasis* in Foucault, see COMETA 2007.

¹¹³ FOUCAULT 1978 (1966), pp. 23-30.

¹¹⁴ COMETA-VACCARO, p. 47.

¹¹⁵ COMETA 2007, p. 51.

different media¹¹⁶. It is interesting here to deepen Baxandall's work, because it describes many of the concepts which we have analysed in this paragraph, from the meaning and role of sight in past and present societies to the use of written words to describe objects.

Baxandall was generally fascinated by the possibility of reconstructing the "sight" of past periods, but he was also aware that it was impossible to completely acquire the cognitive style from another culture. In these thoughts, the issue of the language had a central role: words used to describe what we see reduce the complexity of our perception of the world but, at the same time, they are the means to give us back a "lost sight" of the past, because they bear a specific visual interest, different from ours. Baxandall has discussed a lot about the limits of literary language within artistic discourse¹¹⁷ and his thought is characterised by a dichotomy: he recognizes the absurdity innate in "*verbalizing about pictures*", but he also acknowledges the need of description and verbal language – even if inappropriate –, to explain the work of art¹¹⁸. Talking in particular about the language of art criticism, he acknowledges the irreproducibility of the visual medium (the painter's language) through verbal language, and he affirms that what is in descriptions of works of art is not a representation of the picture, but "a representation of thinking about having seen the picture"¹¹⁹. It is therefore a representation of the effect that pictures have on us, the representation of the relationship between image and "concepts" that is established when the image is observed.

His main concern was therefore the absurdity of employing the language medium (words) to describe a visual medium (images) on the one side, and the consequent

¹¹⁶ M.A. Holly has for example described Baxandall's work with these words: "Among many other things, Baxandall's scholarly career has been a sustained reflection on the impossibility of closing the gap opened up between words and images in the practice of art history that he inherited," (HOLLY 1999, p. 6). More recently, F. Peri has underlined that, notwithstanding the importance given by the art historian to the role of social forces in modelling works of art, we can identify the relationship between language and work of art as the *file rouge* of M. Baxandall's work (BAXANDALL 2009 (2003), p. 196, "Afterword" by F. Peri).

¹¹⁷ Particularly in the article "The Language of Art History", a consideration on the nature of the language used to describe works of art, first published in 1979 (BAXANDALL 1979) and republished in different editions later. The same article was also the basis for the introduction to the later work *Patterns of Intention. On the historical explanation of pictures*, published in 1985.

¹¹⁸ "It seems characteristic of the best art critics that they have developed their own ways of meeting the basic absurdity of verbalizing about pictures." (BAXANDALL 1979, p. 461).

¹¹⁹ BAXANDALL 1985, p. 11 e pp. 124-125. The difficulty of expressing images through words is also due, according to him, to the fact that a text is linear and progressive while the image described is based on a quick sight around.

necessity of a visual reference to make the description as precise as possible. To get over this “absurdity”, he theorized the so-called “ostensive method”, based on the presence of the object described. This point makes a huge difference with the idea of *ekphrasis* in Antiquity. In Antiquity, in fact, *ekphraseis* were exactly used to “reproduce” before the eyes of listeners or readers what could not be seen, to give people a substitute, a mental image, a double of the work that was physically not available. The “ostensive method” by M. Baxandall instead needs the presence of the object before the eyes of the reader and, at the same time, guides the reader in the exam of the object, like in the introduction to *Les mots et le choses* by M. Foucault¹²⁰. The importance given by M. Baxandall to the image itself and to its presence, together with the need to recognize the visual qualities of the images and to assign them an autonomous logic different from the verbal system, probably made him one of the inspirers for the “Pictorial Turn” born at the end of the last century.

Notwithstanding his scepticism about the possibility for language to reproduce images (even with the image before the eyes), in one of his last works Baxandall wound up by accepting verbal descriptions of a work of art, as long as they follow and reproduce the vision, the scanning process of the image by the eye¹²¹. These descriptions are therefore an interpretation because they are based on a subjective and arbitrary judgment that depends also on the language available to the authors in different periods¹²² and on mental schemes of the observer that, according to him, can play as a filter for the interpretation of reality¹²³.

From this theory comes also M. Baxandall’s belief about the importance of the cultural and social context for art history, whereas he means visual experience as determined by society¹²⁴. He starts from the idea of “relative perception”, stating that, because of scientific reasons linked to the physiology of the eye, visual perception is different from one man to the other, and each of us has different visual experiences, different

¹²⁰ BAXANDALL 2009 (2003), “Afterword” by F. Peri, pp. 200-201.

¹²¹ BAXANDALL 2009 (2003), p. 134-136: it concerns the description of the Laokoon by Jacopo Sadoleto (1506). C. Ginzburg (GINZBURG 2010, p. 8) has underlined M. Baxandall’s new positive approach.

¹²² In *Giotto and the Orators* (1971) the author analyses the use of Latin under humanism and claims that the kind of language available has shaped the taste of humanist authors from different periods. For a critical discussion about the role of the language in M. Baxandall’s theories, see DE LUCA 2015, pp. 36-40.

¹²³ COMETA 2012, pp. 121-123.

¹²⁴ BAXANDALL 1988², “Foreword”: “Social facts, lead to the development of distinctive visual skills and habits: and these visual skills and habits become identifiable elements in the painter’s style”.

knowledge and different skills of interpretation¹²⁵. From this assumption, which fits with what we have already discussed about “perception”, he goes on speaking about a “culturally relative pressure on perception”. With this expression he means that some cultural elements (habits, expectations) play a big role in conditioning men’s visual processes and that each cultural period has its own characteristics and features in the perception of images that are determined by the society which has influenced the viewer’s experience¹²⁶ this is what the author calls in his book “the period eye”. Every observer (even in the same period) will therefore have a different perception of the images and will therefore do a different discourse on it.

To conclude this overview on the *ekphrasis*, we can now discuss which of the various definitions given by scholars in the last decades do we consider *ekphrasis* in the present work. We can refer to the texts analysed in the present works (texts from the 16th-19th centuries containing information about the ruins of the area of the Imperial *Fora*) as kinds of *ekphrasis*, because we deal with the relationship between an object (ruins perceived by the viewer) and its description in a written text, being this the subject of *ekphrasis* as defined by S. Bartsch and J. Elsner¹²⁷.

First, we intend to stray from the modern definition given by R. Webb and L. Spitzer. These definitions limited *ekphrasis* to works of art, while the subject of *ekphrasis* considered here is wider, embracing also places, buildings and events occurred in the area under investigation, similarly to what is expressed in M. Krieger and J. Heffernan’s definitions, moving therefore towards the ancient idea of *ekphrasis* again. Moreover, the modern definitions by R. Webb and L. Spitzer were also limited to “description” *stricto sensu*, while here *ekphrasis* does not regard only the static and the objectified, but rather descriptions, narrations and simply mentions are considered as subjects. We agree instead with the modern definition of *ekphrasis* by J.A.W. Heffernan regarding the genre: not limited to rhetoric works, as in the case of the

¹²⁵ BAXANDALL 1988², p. 29: “An object reflects a pattern of light on to the eye. The light enters the eye through the pupil, is gathered by the lens, and thrown on the screen at the back of the eye, the retina. On the retina is a network of nerve fibres which pass the light through a system of cells to several millions of receptors, the cones. The cones are sensitive both to light and to colour, and they respond by carrying information about light and colour to the brain. It is at this point that human equipment for visual perception ceases to be uniform, from one man to the next.” M. Baxandall is among the first authors introducing the physiology of the eye in the art-historian discourse (DE LUCA 2015 p. 59).

¹²⁶ BAXANDALL 1988², p. 36.

¹²⁷ BARTSCH-ELSNER 2007.

Progymnasmata, or to poetic description, as L. Spitzer and M. Krieger theorized, but expanded to texts other than rhetoric, both ancient and modern¹²⁸.

Dealing with descriptions and mentions of monuments embedded in our texts, we can therefore appropriate Jas Elsner's definition of *ekphrasis* in a wide sense: "from a formal analysis to a florid evocative description to a highly and complex analysis of a deeper meaning, from the mere mention of an object to its dismissal, from encomiastic praise to vituperative attack"¹²⁹. Moreover, in the present work, we stress the importance of the interpretative operation behind *ekphrasis* and we consider, like in S. Bartsch and J. Elsner's ideas, an important point the fact that *ekphraseis* are all interpretations of the viewer suggested by contemporary social and cultural conditions¹³⁰. Finally, this notion of *ekphrasis* comes also from M. Baxandall's considerations of the effects that images have on us.

So far, we have seen how we can include the subject under investigation in this work in the ekphrastic theory. But how can this help in the research as a whole?

The analysis of the theory on *ekphrasis* and the comparison between it and the present work certainly fosters the comprehension of which elements should be analysed. An example is the comparison with M. Baxandall's considerations upon his ostensive process, which brings us to reflect on the presence of the object described in the case of our texts: where are the objects described in the texts? Are they in front of the eyes of people who wrote the texts?

In some cases, such as the guides, the descriptions of the building present in a street, or those documents using the buildings as points of reference, it is more likely that writers had these objects in front of their eyes. Nevertheless, as we will see in detail later, sometimes guides described parts of the monuments as if they were not ruin, but architectures still complete and standing in the area; this was surely a process, as M. Baxandall says, based on the observer's memory and culture rather than on his/her real perception.

Yet, if we think that M. Baxandall considered the best *ekphrasis* as the one containing an identifiable visual path¹³¹, we should also wonder which was the real effect of

¹²⁸ In particular, no texts used in this work can be considered "poetic". Voluntarily avoiding poetic texts as sources is a choice at the basis of the present work (for the reasons under this choice see paragraph. 3.2).

¹²⁹ ELSNER 2010, pp. 11-12.

¹³⁰ J. Elsner talks about descriptions as "betrayals", since they can never fully replace the object: "they are not the image but they are a primary interpretative act" (ELSNER 2010, pp. 12-13).

¹³¹ DE LUCA 2015, pp. 48-49.

ekphraseis describing monuments not existing anymore, like those sometimes present in the guidebooks.

With these premises in mind, the subject of *ekphraseis* in the present work – mainly buildings or parts of buildings – is of a particular interest.

1.3 From the perception of ruins to the perception of space

1.3.1 Ruins as part of a space

Ruins are elements of ancient buildings in different states of conservation. Nevertheless, ruins of ancient monuments are not just elements of architecture, but also part of a landscape and should be considered as part of a visual space so that, when we see or think of them, we would situate them in the space of which they are a part¹³². Imperial *Fora*'s ruins, which are under investigation in this work, have been constitutive elements of the living space across centuries, shaping and characterizing it, shifting from public to private destination¹³³. This work seeks to record and analyse not only the relationship between observer and ruins, intended as specific parts of ancient monuments, but also the relationship between the viewer and the ruins intended as a constitutive part of space; indeed, Imperial *Fora*'s remains played a role as focal point around which a proper district developed in the Modern era. Not only has the way in which people perceived and considered the ruins changed across centuries, but also the way in which people perceived the space that was created by and around those ruins, as well as the way in which people experienced that space and moved within it has undergone a change¹³⁴.

¹³² Berger recognizes a strict relationship between the human being and the space (BERGER 1972, p. 11).

¹³³ For a detailed analysis of changes in the use of the Imperial *Fora* (from private to public and vice versa), see in particular *infra*, paragraph 2.2 and 3.1.

¹³⁴ As already stated, the sources for this kind of analysis will be the same as the ones used for the analysis of the perception of ruins: i.e. written documents preserved in the archives. Of particular interest then will be the guides of the city showing a path and those texts which allow us to identify in the ruins topographical (= spatial) references.

T. Syrjama has clearly explained this interest in the spatial experience by analysing late nineteenth-century Rome as a polyphonic and kaleidoscopic lived space:

“Studying people’s sense of place, or in other words their mental maps, is a demanding task in a contemporary context, but is even more difficult when we wish to study the past of a city. We have remnants of the physical city but we have no one to interview regarding how these sites were understood and seen. We also have different kinds of texts and subtexts, and we have drawings, paintings and photographs, but spatial experiences are rarely dealt with explicitly. People do not usually think about their relationship with cityspace, unless something special happens to question their assumptions. They document their daily itineraries to an even lesser degree. To those who produced written or visual material, the relationship with a city was in most cases self-evident and not worth explaining”¹³⁵.

This spatial approach to the relationship between people and space arose among scholars (mostly geographers) who were looking at the relationship between society and space, following H. Lefebvre’s approach. Attention to space has also been developed in connection with *ekphraseis*: Krieger recognizes for example *ekphrasis* in all those cases in which verbal signs (texts) seek to represent the visual and the spatial features of an object¹³⁶.

Many studies have been conducted on Rome, its urban layout and planning, and on its architectural environment in different periods, but these elements have often been treated from the perspective of physical structures, without considering the presence of people and human experience in them¹³⁷. Together with the reconstruction of the perception of ruins, the present work aims therefore also at retracing the spatial experience of people who have lived in the spaces of the area of the Imperial *Fora* between the 16th and the 19th century.

¹³⁵ SYRJÄMÄ 2006, p. 13.

¹³⁶ KRIEGER 1992, p. 9: “My interests lead me to extend the literal interest in *ekphrasis* to the widest possible probing to the ekphrastic principle; they lead me to search for a theory that would account for all the spatio-temporal possibilities within the poetic medium”.

¹³⁷ SYRJÄMÄ 2006, p. 13. The author mentions two works that have succeeded in “highlighting everyday living in the city”: BARTOCCINI 1985 and PICCIONI 1984.

Recent studies on the ancient world have also shown a strong interest in understanding ancient spaces, not confining therefore the study to the architectural or stylistic features of sculpture and architecture, but trying to understand the way in which ancient people perceived and used space. Great attention has been given in the last 10-15 years to the reconstruction of the perception of space, acknowledging that the organization of the space itself is a mental perception that can be understood only if put into its specific historical context.

Some of these studies have attempted to reconstruct ancient Romans' idea of space¹³⁸, while others have focused on a specific topic, such as the characterization of public and private spaces or the idea of public spaces as closed, separated from other elements of the city¹³⁹. Other studies instead, moved from the need of investigating daily routines within the civic spaces, and focused, for example, on the distribution of honorary statues within public spaces as a tool to interpret the social construction of the ancient community¹⁴⁰.

Space has been studied not only from the point of view of functions (public, private or sacred), but also from that of everyday life. Among the most recent research lies some collective studies on the "moving city": beside ancient senses, there is also a tendency to investigate movements in the space throughout the city, for instance processions, a topic that encompasses the study of the street system¹⁴¹. In these cases, the intention is to use movement through space as a key element to understand the ancient city. The basic tool is the examination of movement from archaeological and historical records, which is used both to better understand the society that had generated them and to physically reconstruct ancient spaces. Such a tendency can be

¹³⁸ LA ROCCA 2015.

¹³⁹ COARELLI 2007, LA ROCCA 2006. The attention in this case was directed to the identity between urban and social spaces, explaining the isolation of ancient public spaces (= *fora*) from the urban context as an answer to political needs of the city.

¹⁴⁰ TRIFILO 2008.

¹⁴¹ Among the most recent works, see ÖSTENBERG, MALMBERG, BJÖRNEBYE 2015 and LAWRENCE, NEWSOME 2011. These publications consist of many contributions by different authors and their editions were stimulated by several conference sessions both on theoretical and practical themes. Among these conferences, we can remember "Movement in the ancient city: new approaches to urban form and theory", *Theoretical Archaeology Group Conference – York (2007)*; "Spatial organization and the Roman city", *Classical Association Conference, Birmingham (2007)*; "Interaction in the Roman city: understanding movement and space", *European Association of Archaeologists Annual Conference, Malta (2008)*; "The Spatial turn and beyond: Roman cities and the archaeology of daily life", *18th Theoretical Roman Archaeological Conference, Amsterdam (2009)*; "Formal approaches to visibility analysis in ancient architectural spaces and cultural landscapes", *43rd Computer Application and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology, Siena (2015)*.

traced back also to museum studies. Indeed, nowadays also museum displays follow a contextual approach, the result being that objects are not the main and only focus anymore¹⁴².

1.3.2 The “Spatial Turn”

Approaching the issue of space allows us also to move away for a while from the specific subject of the work – that is the perception of ruins from the Imperial *Fora* in Rome - and to have a look at the area under investigation from a contemporary perspective. As already remarked in the introductory chapter, the interest in the present research was in fact born from the contemporary situation of the archaeological area of the Imperial *Fora*, and from the need to understand the role of ruins and space in the contemporary situation for the people living in the city and using this space as a space of the city.

Today, this area can be in fact considered as a “space” where all the archaeological and urban emptiness caused by history are clearly visible and where it is difficult to understand the heritage in its integrity. What would be necessary in this area is a new idea of space – shaped on the idea of space across centuries but linked to the present time - with new spatial relations, capable of merging the excavation and the urban context and of changing the identity of the space itself¹⁴³.

In the case of the area of the Imperial *Fora*, two elements will be important to understand the kind of perception of the space: i.e. an “external” and an “internal” element.

The “external” element is an objective datum and is made of the physical consistency of ruins visible in each period and of their physical relations with the new constructions of the urban context¹⁴⁴. The “internal” element consists instead of the general socio-cultural characterization of the observer’s eye on the one side, and of the ways in which the observer physically and mentally approaches ruins on the other side.

¹⁴²LA ROCCA 2013, p. 175.

¹⁴³ ERCOLINO 2013.

¹⁴⁴ Visibility and therefore appreciation of the ruins depended in fact both on the effective portions of the ancient monuments that were preserved in each period and on the evolution of the urban context that had incorporate and – in some cases – removed part of the ancient monuments.

Referring to the latter, we can imagine for example the observer as someone who occasionally visited the area and therefore looked with attention at ruins or, contrarily, as someone living or working in the area and therefore regularly walking in that space: in the latter case he/she would have probably looked at ruins without paying attention to them. Still even in the case in which walking in the space can be considered as something habitual, elements of the surrounding space can be perceived with a different meaning. They can become visual signs, and be “used”, experienced and addressed as points of reference and spatial landmarks also in written texts.

According to these preliminary considerations on the area of the Imperial *Fora*, and in order to better explore its informative potential, it seems necessary to insist on the origin of the well-established tradition of spatial analysis studies.

Indeed, we can trace this interest back to the so-called “Spatial Turn”, when, in the 1990s, the spatial paradigm had propagated among social and human sciences (Sociology, Economy, Geography, Anthropology, Psychology, and Art History). With the “Spatial Turn”, spatiality became a key concept in the traditional literary analysis of time and history, generating also a new attention for the microcosms of everyday life¹⁴⁵.

Space has, of course, always existed and the need to reflect on space was not new at all at the moment of the “Spatial Turn”¹⁴⁶. R.T. Tally claims in fact that the “Spatial Turn” can be read as a “re-emergence of spatiality in critical thought, for the history of perception of space and time”¹⁴⁷.

The term “Spatial Turn” was coined in 1989 by the geographer E. Soja in the context of his research on postmodern conditions¹⁴⁸. Nevertheless, the interest in geographical influences on biographical and sociocultural developments was surely encouraged by the French theories on space elaborated by H. Lefebvre and M. Foucault.

Also H. Lefebvre, in his *The production of space*, claims a dialectical connection between space and social relations. What he was interested in was not the production *in* space, but the production *of* space, meaning that social relations produce and shape

¹⁴⁵ For a recent and complete compendium on the history of the “Spatial Turn”, see TALLY 2013.

¹⁴⁶ For a brief synthesis of the history of the concept of space in modern philosophy, see TALLY 2013, pp. 27-30.

¹⁴⁷ TALLY 2013, p. 17. Before the “Spatial Turn”, this matter of space and place existed but was under represented. Already at the beginning of the 20th century, for example, the philosopher G. Simmel had pointed out that space is “socially produced”.

¹⁴⁸ SOJA 1989. The term has been coined on the basis of the previous and already mentioned “Visual Turn” and “Iconic Turn”.

the space. From H. Lefebvre's investigation on spatiality¹⁴⁹, E. Soja took also his idea of the "Thirdspace", a combination and extension of the real material world and of a represented space¹⁵⁰.

M. Foucault had incredibly prophesized and already recognised 40 years ago that the "great obsession" of the 20th century, the "epoch of the simultaneity and of the dispersed" would be space and he had foreseen the shift from the temporal to the spatial organization of knowledge¹⁵¹.

Foucault's sense that the 19th century had preferred temporality and history is borne out in the vast literature of the era; in the 19th century space only mattered because it was the location where historical events happened and was still seen by philosophy as static and empty dimension, that is as a mere background to historical events, in the 20th century space, spatiality and movement in the space acquired a new position for many writers and theorists¹⁵².

Foucault's interest in architecture and spatial organization inspired many scholars to turn their interest towards the spatial dimension of human activities, starting to use the space itself as an analytical tool. T. Tally has even re-read Foucault's spatial analysis of power and knowledge as a cartographic analysis, as part of a larger project that he called "cartographics"¹⁵³. We can say that space and spatial relations formed a basis for Foucault's entire philosophical project.

In Soja's view, after the "Spatial Turn" the spatial imagination and the geographical approach replaced the framework of historicism. The interest in spatial theories led in literary and historic studies to an increasingly dense use of thematic maps,

¹⁴⁹ LEFEBVRE 1991 (1974).

¹⁵⁰ SOJA 1996, p. 119.

¹⁵¹ FOUCAULT 1986, p. 22: "the great obsession of the nineteenth century was, as we know, history [...] The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. We are at a moment, I believe, when our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects with its own skein". W.J.T. Mitchell instead did not acknowledge this strict separation between time and space: "spatial form is the perceptual basis of our notion of time and because of this we cannot consider space or time as the alternative or the antithesis to the other one". He keeps on denying that literary works achieve spatiality only by refusing temporality, reason why we cannot speak of spatial forms as "static" or "frozen" (MITCHELL 1980).

¹⁵² TALLY 2013, p. 33.

¹⁵³ With "cartographics" T. Tally means "a set of critical practices that seek to engage with the issues of spatial relations in connection with cultural and social theory" (TALLY 2013, p. 113). He refers in particular to Foucault's *Surveiller et punir* (FOUCAULT 1975), where spatial relations are fundamental to the organization of the social field: here Foucault acts as a cartographer, mapping all the power relations that produce a social domain (TALLY 2013, p. 127).

representing literature in space and space in literature, also trying to bring literary studies closer to scientific studies. Maps, “one of the most powerful and effective means humans have, to make sense of their place in the world”¹⁵⁴, have become therefore a powerful analytic tool to investigate the spatial distribution of data and phenomena. Their strong importance comes also from the empowered use of GIS (Geographic Information System) in these disciplines, which allows a layered representation of different kinds of data, to such an extent that GIS is considered at the basis of the “Spatial Turn”¹⁵⁵.

Spatial analysis, together with the use of GIS, are today intensively applied and used by archaeologists to study social aspects of ancient communities. They are used for example to analyse the spatial distribution of archaeological sites in order to understand social phenomena, to create “archaeological maps” merging different layers of data, or to study the communications roads of a certain region¹⁵⁶.

“Spatial Turn” has brought a deeper interest in the perception of spaces. It is easy then to understand why tools and methodologies derived from this cultural and scientific tendency will guide this research toward an investigation of the modalities through which people have experienced the area of the Imperial *Fora* in Rome over different periods. Accordingly, the study of the space will be a core element in the present analysis. The development of different and new “ways of seeing” - to use J. Berger’s expression -, born from different personal, cultural and social elements, radically alter the experience of the places¹⁵⁷.

1.4 Ruins and perception of the past in Antiquity

From ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia and China, up to the Graeco-Roman world, the way in which societies have experienced their past has increasingly changed and

¹⁵⁴ TALLY 2013, p. 2.

¹⁵⁵ BODENHAMER – CORRIGAN – HARRIS 2010, p. vii: “Within a GIS, users can discover relationships that make a complex world more immediately understandable by visually detecting spatial patterns that remain hidden in texts and tables”.

¹⁵⁶ Space Syntax is another tool widely used among historians and archaeologists to investigate the relationship between society and the built environment.

¹⁵⁷ TALLY 2013, pp. 17-18.

evolved through Renaissance, Enlightenment and Positivism, becoming a proper science (Archaeology) only in the last century. These experiences with the past were all based on an equilibrium between “memory and oblivion”, “orality and writing”, “materiality and immateriality”.

After focusing in the previous paragraphs on the role of ruins in modern societies and on the related issues of sight and perception of spaces, the present paragraph wants to go back to the origin of the relationship between societies and ruins, focusing on Antiquity.

It is conventional to remember that “fascination with the past”, also called “backward looking curiosity”¹⁵⁸ is not something specific to a particular era: observing and interpreting traces of previous generations – regardless of their distance in terms of time – has been recognized as an ancestral feature and need of the human being. As A. Schnapp has effectively shown, “each society, poor, simple or undeveloped as it might be, needs to secure its contact with the past”¹⁵⁹. The perception of the past however changes across time; *perception of ruins* is not excluded from this process. As we have already noticed, not only the perception but also the physical and contextual conditions of ruins is subject to change, thus affecting also their perception. In Antiquity, just as today, people could understand or misunderstand (intentionally or unintentionally) ruins, leaving untouched or destroying these “archaeological evidence”, so that different interpretations of what was visible existed. The perception of ruins and their understanding produced, in different times and within different landscapes, different kinds of “sense of past”, and contributed to the formation of a collective memory.¹⁶⁰

The definition “sense of past” is widely used in modern literature to define the general attitude towards ruins in past societies: we can therefore consider the studies on this topic alongside of what we have just defined as “*perception of ruins*”¹⁶¹. Buildings

¹⁵⁸ The definition is taken from ZUCKER 1968, p. 1.

¹⁵⁹ SCHNAPP 2002, p. 136.

¹⁶⁰ See GARCIA MORCILLO, RICHARDSON, SANTANGELO 2016, which explores in particular the role which different attitudes towards buildings, monuments and statues from the past (leaving them untouched or renewing them) had on the formation of collective memory.

¹⁶¹ Modern literature on the relationship between a society and its ruins (especially ancient societies - see *infra* for an in-depth analysis on this topic), often refers to this issue talking about the “sense of past” and about the ways in which “the past” was represented in ancient literature and art (see for example SCHNAPP 2013b). Since the general term “past” is used, it might seem that this literature refers generally to the elements from the past, and not necessarily to those elements from the past that are “in ruins”. However, going throughout this literature it is easy to understand how the past, perceived and then proposed by ancient

and architectures destroyed by the time come to be surrounded by a sense of melancholy, as described by the German philosopher G. Simmel, who identifies ruins as “the catastrophic moment when the equilibrium between spirit and nature in the architecture moves towards the nature, putting the ruins into a sense of melancholy”¹⁶². As A. Schnapp noticed, “ruins” in the sense of ruined monuments are not the only concrete materialization of the past, which can take different shapes in different cultures and be linked, for example, to oral tradition or collected corpora¹⁶³. The “sense of ruins” or “poetic of the past” contributed to the development of an “antiquarian melancholy”, as described by A. Schnapp¹⁶⁴. According to the French scholar, antiquarians, observing and interpreting the surviving evidence of the past in the present - no matter the genre or the size of the object – attributed a meaning to these objects, thus revealing the past¹⁶⁵.

The relationship with ruins from the past inevitably involves the phenomenon of antiquarianism, intended as the interest in Antiquity and its remains, and conceived as the “link between past and present”¹⁶⁶.

Antiquarianism as the interest in Antiquity is intrinsically linked to Archaeology and to the rise and evolution of the discipline¹⁶⁷. Until the middle of the 19th century, no distinction existed between antiquarian and archaeological studies¹⁶⁸. Modern

cultures in literature and art, is always a ruined past. We can therefore state that the literature referring to the “sense of the past” is actually dealing with the issue of the “perception of ruins” - as it is examined in the present work – and it focuses on the attitude towards the remains of the past and on the reactions that people had, looking at them.

¹⁶² SIMMEL 1919.

¹⁶³ A. Schnapp provides an interesting point of view on those cultures which do not have any material ruins. He says in particular that these cultures, if compared to those rich in ancient buildings, whose function is often unknown, benefit from this condition because they can feel free in new creations (SCHNAPP 2013c, pp. 199-200 and pp. 202-203).

¹⁶⁴ With these words, A. Schnapp defines the relationship of people with the past, whatever this relationship was and whatever the means through which they expressed this relationship was (SCHNAPP 2003).

¹⁶⁵ A. Schnapp refers in particular to M. Casaubon's ideas about antiquarians (M. Casaubon, *Treaise of use and custom*, London 1637). According to him evidence from Antiquity – the ruins – “represent former times, with a strong impression, as if they were actually present” (SCHNAPP 2003, pp. 4-5).

¹⁶⁶ SCHNAPP 2013a, p. 1. The acknowledgment of the important role of antiquarianism in the relationship with the past, especially in ancient societies, goes back to A. Momigliano (MOMIGLIANO 1984). For a recent and worldwide panorama on the practice and history of antiquarianism, see the collection of papers edited by A. Schnapp (SCHNAPP 2013).

¹⁶⁷ SCHNAPP 2002, p. 135; BARBANERA 2015.

¹⁶⁸ MOMIGLIANO 1984, p. 39. People interested in their own past, in Antiquity, were defined “antiquarians” until the middle of 19th century. Later on, they started to be defined as Archaeologists or Historians, while the term Antiquarian acquired a negative meaning.

archaeology as a fully-fledged discipline appeared on the scene at the middle of the 19th century, in the context of the emergence of positive science in Europe¹⁶⁹. After this moment, Archaeology, emancipated from the antiquarian tradition, and using new methodologies such as typology, stratigraphic excavation and technological studies¹⁷⁰, has thus evolved into a science based on the modern method of historical research¹⁷¹.

Up to this moment we can therefore consider Antiquarianism as the expression of the “sense of past”.

The objects under investigation by antiquarians, the “monuments”, have never been precisely defined: the interest of antiquarians was not in fact confined to a unique kind of object, but it included buildings, sculptures, ordinary objects and also texts. The types of information collected and interpreted were therefore different from one antiquarian to another, and many of them preferred to focus on just one class of material¹⁷². Moreover, their purposes of “publishing monuments” were different¹⁷³: some of them aimed, for example, at advertising their own collection; others intended instead to preserve the memory of the artefacts¹⁷⁴.

The Antiquarian as “a student of the past who is not quite a historian” has existed since Classical Antiquity and can be considered, especially for past societies, as the embodiment of the relationship with the ruins from the past¹⁷⁵. In analysing the role of antiquarians in ancient societies, modern literature has focused the attention on their

¹⁶⁹ CLARKE 1998, p. 16; SCHNAPP 2002, p. 135.

¹⁷⁰ SCHNAPP 2002, pp. 139-140.

¹⁷¹ MOMIGLIANO 1984, p. 4. From this moment, Archaeology was based and built upon statements by eyewitness or on documents and other materials that were contemporary to the events they attested.

¹⁷² J.J. Winckelmann, for example, had a particular literary interest on the monuments (see LOLLA 2002, p. 432).

¹⁷³ The expression “publishing monuments”, to indicate the antiquarian attention to the monuments is taken from J.J. Winckelmann’s “*Monumenti antichi inediti (scil. unpublished) spiegati e illustrati da Giovanni Winckelmann Prefetto delle antichità di Roma*”, 1767.

¹⁷⁴ LOLLA 2002, p. 432.

¹⁷⁵ SCHNAPP 2013 a, p. 1. The meaning of the word “antiquarian” frequently changed from past to recent times. In the past, it indicated the man who, beside the historian, looked after material remains, collecting and interpreting objects and monuments. Today instead, after the separation between Antiquarianism and Sciences, different specialists such as “archaeologists”, “historians”, “ethnologists” play this role, and the world “antiquarian” has acquired a negative meaning, labelling mostly a trader in antiquity, to the extent that describing a scholar as an antiquarian is today considered as an offense.

role in preliterate societies, confirming therefore the existence of antiquarianism even in societies with no written tradition¹⁷⁶.

A. Schnapp has for example stressed this aspect in his analysis of Antiquarianism in ancient societies, where he classifies societies on the basis of the practice of writing¹⁷⁷: on the one side, those civilizations such as Egypt and the Graeco-Roman world characterized by the communication between generations entrusted to writing; on the other side, those civilizations in which the only medium for the transmission of knowledge from generation to generation is oral communication (prehistoric civilizations of Europe). In this way, he acknowledges the fact that written tradition has not been the only means by which ruins are recognized and remembered, and a "sense of past" exists.

Since the present research wants to analyse written descriptions of monuments in order to understand the "sense of past" in different periods, this paragraph focuses on civilizations with a written tradition¹⁷⁸: these civilizations, according to Schnapp, referred to a monumental past characterised by the accumulation of antiquities¹⁷⁹. In these societies, written texts were always the medium to ensure the communication

¹⁷⁶ MURRAY 2013, p. 12 and SCHNAPP 2014. The focus on preliterate societies led the attention in particular on prehistoric societies and on the question "how to write history without historical documents" (MURRAY 2013, p. 12). On this topic, B.G. Trigger has underlined how "the creation of prehistoric archaeology required that antiquaries liberate themselves from the assumption that continued to restrict their vision": artefacts and monuments (written monuments, coins, inscriptions, landscapes, etc.) could also provide a historical knowledge, as well as written records" (TRIGGER 2006, p. 120). On the other side, the attention given to the preliterate societies brought also to an interest in Archaeology, as the discipline that helps in understanding prehistoric history, filling at the same time the gap created by the lack of any other source.

¹⁷⁷ SCHNAPP 2015, p. 27. According to A. Schnapp, the practice of writing, transmitted from one generation to one other,

is the mark of this relationship in the antiquity. For the civilizations with a written tradition, if inscriptions and writings are lost, or if people are not capable to decode them anymore, the monuments are just objects that we are not capable to interpret, rather than ruins.

¹⁷⁸ Talking about the "sense of past" in fact, we have previously noticed the remarkable link existing between what is seen, and its description in the literary tradition (see paragraph 1.2.2).

¹⁷⁹ SCHNAPP 2013c, p. 202. According to A. Schnapp the line of the civilizations with a written tradition starts with the Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures and continues with the Greek, the Roman and the Medieval cultures first and with the Renaissance and the Enlightenment later. He also considers the Eastern tradition of the Chinese culture. He acknowledges, however, that ancient Egypt laid the foundations for the antiquarian practices which created an environment where the relationship with the present was connected also to the practice of social memory (SCHNAPP 2003, p. 11).

between generations, but the ways of “preservation, conservation and exaltation of memory” were different according to periods and contexts¹⁸⁰.

As Schnapp has brilliantly shown, the consciousness of the passing time - an element that still today characterizes the relationship with ruins - already existed in Egypt and the Ancient Near East¹⁸¹. Egyptians also cared about their past: they discovered, excavated and restored, for example, statues from their predecessors, animated by the needs related to religious, cultural and political memory¹⁸². More than the past itself, ancient Egyptians underlined the importance of a continuity between past and present: this continuity originated exactly from the recovery of ancient traditions and from the use of excavation as a tool for memory. Moreover, scribes and scholars used to recover objects from the past and to keep them for religious reasons, giving birth to what could be called today a process of “collection”¹⁸³.

Mesopotamians used writing as a medium of communication between generations, and they looked at the tradition and at the continuity with the past. Every new construction was actually a process of reconstruction: before starting a new construction, they considered it important to rediscover the traces and the origins of ancient buildings, and they marked every building activity through an inscription on the bricks of the foundations. While reconstructing then, they looked therefore for inscriptions from the previous periods, focusing on the continuity between predecessors and successors and celebrating the piety of the sovereign.

In the Mesopotamian tradition the attention to the past was therefore translated into an interest in the process of excavation and documentation, as well as it is for archaeologists today¹⁸⁴. At that time, however, antiquarianism and collecting were part of religion and politics¹⁸⁵.

Both in Egypt and Mesopotamia this link to the past made possible a projection towards the future, respectively with the construction of the pyramids, solid

¹⁸⁰ SCHNAPP 2015, pp. 47-58. Talking about civilizations without a written tradition, A. Schnapp also highlights the difference between the Eastern and the Western antiquarian tradition. On this topic, see in particular SCHNAPP 2003 and SCHNAPP 2014a.

¹⁸¹ On the notion of antiquity in the Ancient East World see, among others, AUFRÈRE 1998 and LACKENBACHER 1990.

¹⁸² SCHNAPP 2003, pp. 6-7.

¹⁸³ SCHNAPP 2015a, p. 162.

¹⁸⁴ SCHNAPP 2015, p. 165.

¹⁸⁵ SCHNAPP 2015, pp. 47-58.

architectures contrasting the erosion of time, and through the inscription on the bricks of foundation.

From Greece we have evidence of a further medium ensuring the memory of the past: i.e. the poet, who stated that his words were stronger than every building and could survive in time. In the Greek tradition, poets were in fact the mediators between present and future times and their art was essential to ensure the memory of important men¹⁸⁶.

Even if the term "ruin" comes from the Greek verb *ereipo*, meaning "to fell", "to knock down", this term was not much used in the Classical period, being ruins probably not an important topic until the Hellenistic period¹⁸⁷. The Latin tradition instead had a different sensibility towards ruins¹⁸⁸; ancient Roman poets, looking at ruins, discovered the "impermanence" of things and of the world¹⁸⁹. In the Roman tradition a new idea was linked to the ruins and to the past; the consciousness of the frailty of human kind and of the power of nature which could make beautiful cities disappear. In the ancient Graeco-Roman world, ruins were not considered as an aesthetic object - as it often happens in modern art history - but just as an element of the metaphysical reflection about the frailty of human beings.

In this context, the purpose of this paragraph is to retrace the history of these different ways of perceiving ruins in the past (i.e. of different senses of past), by adopting the wide "*perspective comparée*" proposed by A. Schnapp¹⁹⁰.

It is important to underline that in this analysis of the different approaches to ruins and Antiquity throughout time, the focus is not on the objects themselves (even if, as we have said, they might intrinsically change throughout time, because of deterioration problems), but rather on the categories in which these objects are included and on the way in which these categories are created: ruins as a heroic symbol of the past, ruins as reminiscent of the impermanence of life, ruins as elements of cultural identity, ruins as elements of cultural memory, ruins as monuments to be

¹⁸⁶ SCHNAPP 2015, p. 63.

¹⁸⁷ SCHNAPP 2015, p. 64. Few are the mentions of a destroyed city in Greek authors. Among them, A. Schnapp recalls Simonides' verses which make clear the awareness of the role that time has in creating ruins: time threatens all the things in the world and everybody is subdued to time (SCHNAPP 2015, p. 65).

¹⁸⁸ The Latin term "*ruina*" comes from the verb *ruino*, which had exactly the same meaning as the Greek *ereipo*.

¹⁸⁹ This characteristic of ruins, "the impermanence", also gave the title to an essay by A. Schnapp: "*Ruines, permanence de l'impermanence: un essai de conclusion*" (SCHNAPP 2013c).

¹⁹⁰ SCHNAPP 2015.

unearthed or to be protected, etc. The interest is therefore in the values given to ruins, in the words and the expressions that people used to voice those values¹⁹¹. What we look for in the present work is therefore the relation between the terminology used to refer to ruins and the general conditions of the period¹⁹². The terms employed and the ways in which ruins are addressed in different periods and by different categories of people depend on the cultural conditions of the period, becoming at the same time cultural expressions themselves¹⁹³. It is therefore reasonable to say that the ways in which ruins were addressed consequently affected and changed the ways in which these ruins were perceived, understood and valued¹⁹⁴.

Referring to the area under investigation in the present work, our interest is to assess when the modern idea of ruins arose and to understand the motivation behind the willingness to excavate: was it religion, politics or simply curiosity? In order to fulfil this task, we need to go back to the perception of ruins in the past.

Romans indicated as “antiquarians” those people interested in Antiquity and in remains of the remote past. The idea that the relationship with the past can take many different forms, even within the very same society, is particularly relevant in our context: we deal, in fact, with societies whose relationship with the past cannot be doubted. Among the very many forms in which this relationship was expressed (antiquarianism, visual arts, written literary and non-literary texts, rituals of different kinds), though, we have chosen to analyze non-literary written documents as possible sources enabling us to recover a specific sense of past, the one of communities and people using the area of the Imperial *Fora* for different purposes (residence, work, travel, visit and so on)¹⁹⁵.

¹⁹¹ A change in the terminology can in fact indicate a change in the way in which an object is perceived. A similar approach is used by A. Eriksen to analyse which kind of artefacts have been considered Antiquities, Historical Monuments, and Heritage from the mid-19th century to the present time, and to understand why they have been considered differently in different periods (ERIKSEN 2014).

¹⁹² This applies both to the general analysis of the idea of ruins from the Antiquity to the present time and to the specific analysis of the perception of ruins in the area of the Imperial *Fora* in Rome. A. Eriksen has defined this approach as a “discursive approach” (ERIKSEN 2014, p. 5; see also the Introduction to the present work).

¹⁹³ A. Eriksen, talking about the way in which people refer to Antiquity and Heritage says that: “they bear significance not merely as reverberation of social reality, but as active elements in it” (ERIKSEN 2014, p. 8).

¹⁹⁴ L. Hunt has stated something similar in her study about the French Revolution: she said that: “words did not just reflect social and political reality; they were instruments for transforming reality” (HUNT 1989, p. 17).

¹⁹⁵ The interest here is in particular on the relationship with the architectural remains of the past, and not with movable objects. This kind of relationship gave rise instead to the practice of collecting ancient objects. For a history of collection see K. Pomian’s work (POMIAN 1987), where the author describes the activity

To this end, it is relevant to briefly outline the tradition of the interest in ruins in the western tradition¹⁹⁶ and the focus on the Italian context, with a particular attention to the city of Rome.

The analysis of the relationship with ruins in Italy in the past, allows us to place the object of the present work – the perception of ruins of the Imperial *Fora* between the 16th and the 19th centuries – in a wider context, pinpointing differences and similarities with the same phenomenon in different contexts and periods. These comparisons help us locating our research into a stream of studies on the topic.

* * *

In the last few decades, scholars have paid attention – sometimes acknowledged as a repetitive and “intellectualistic” attention¹⁹⁷ - to the role and the meaning of ruins in the contemporary period, (with a particular attention to the production, preservation and reconstruction of them)¹⁹⁸. The role of ruins in Antiquity instead, has not received the same attention up to now, although interest in the topic is constantly growing¹⁹⁹. Each culture not only had its own past and its own way to look at and perceive ruins, but also encompassed ruins of different kinds and from different pasts. Some examples can clarify the point.

Roman art itself, explicitly mediated by the observation of ancient Greek art, represents a quite evident expression of relationship with a fragmented past, including ruins²⁰⁰. Borrowing an expression from the British scholar J.I. Porter, we can say that

of collection as the selection of objects from their everyday surroundings, because of their signification as vestiges of the past.

¹⁹⁶ While the role of ruins in the western tradition has been investigated since the 1990s, scholars have been interested in the role of ruins in the Eastern world just in the last few years. For a recent bibliography on this topic, see VILLES EN RUINE 2015. Among the others, A. Schnapp has recently focused his attention on the different ways in which Eastern civilizations have faced the cult of ruins, as well as on the comparisons between the Eastern and the Western approaches to ruins. He highlights that eastern civilizations have known the cult of ruins but, compared to the western ones, they used different strategies and went through different paths (see for example SCHNAPP 2003, 2014 and 2015). For a complete work on the idea of 'ruins' in Chinese culture, see instead HUNG 2012.

¹⁹⁷ PAPINI 2012, p. 122.

¹⁹⁸ As outlined previously in the present paragraph.

¹⁹⁹ See for example, among others, AZZARÀ 2010, PAPINI 2011, COLPO 2010. Other studies have focused instead on ancient ruins as a vehicle of memory.

²⁰⁰ Studying Greek sculpture has been in fact inseparable from studying later Roman imitations and adaptations. Reception studies are built into the very fabric of Classics as a discipline and into the subdisciplinary field of studying Greek and Roman art above all (SQUIRE 2015, p. 642).

“the past was mediated already in the past”²⁰¹, meaning that a relationship with the past was already existing in ancient times, but also that our sense of the past today could be shaped by the sense of the past in Antiquity.

In Antiquity as well, ruins were not a homogeneous category; ruins of a destroyed city or remnants of past societies or events were not perceived in the same way. Considering these differences, we can describe it as a relationship of memory and nostalgia, using J. Boardman’s expression²⁰².

It is in the Greek world that we can first discern the beginning of a reflexive attitude towards the material remains of the past, embodied by both texts - as obvious - and "organized ensembles of ruins", intentionally constructed and displayed as memorials: the case of the northern side of the Acropolis' wall, with its careful display of ruins resulting from the Persian invasion, represents the most blatant and monumental example of such an attitude²⁰³. It has been observed that in Classical Greek and Roman Antiquity ruins did not embody any “sentimental element” related to a "lost world" as they have done from the 15th century to today; this sounds, though, as an oversimplified statement, which does not take into account significant differences, related, for example to literary genres. As E. La Rocca has highlighted, though, it can

²⁰¹ PORTER 2008, p. 474. J.I. Porter focuses in particular to reception in Antiquity, and he writes in the specific context of the British “Reception Studies”. This branch of studies, focused on the ways in which Greek and Roman material – both literal and visual - has been transmitted, translated, excerpted, interpreted, rewritten, re-imaged and represented, is a fairly new area of prominence in anglophone scholarship, and finds its expression with C. Martindale and the so-called “Bristol School” (MARTINDALE - THOMAS 2006, MARTINDALE 2007). Contrary to the reception studies born at the end of the 19th century with A. Furtwangler, the Bristol school does not want to reconstruct original masterworks studying the Roman copies. Main interest of this school is the aesthetic power of an artwork that deletes the chronological difference between antiquity and modernity, invoking a mode of “thinking across times” (PRETTEJOHN 2012, p. 167). The weakness of this kind of approach has been recognised in the risk of assuming a “timeless aesthetic” not depending on the historical period analysed (SQUIRE 2011, SQUIRE 2015).

²⁰² BOARDMAN 2002.

²⁰³ MILLER 2013, p. 68. On preliterate societies see also SCHNAPP 2002, p. 136: “The gathering of ancient objects or traces is in all probability anterior to the beginning of recorded history”. We could call “Antiquarianism” this attitude towards the ruins, already present in the prehistorical world of old Europe but, as A. Schnapp says, it is a formal study of this attitude that marks the beginning of modern European antiquarianism (SCHNAPP 2013a, p. 5). On the Acropolis wall, see KOUSSER 2009. Since the focus of the present research is on the perception of imperial Roman ruins in the modern context of the city of Rome, I decided to start the excursus on the attitude towards the ruins from the Roman period, leaving aside the analysis of the same theme for previous and different cultures. Basic contribution on the topic of ruins in the Roman period are: LABATE 1991; AZZARÀ 2002; GRUNER 2005; COLPO 2010; HARTMANN 2010; PAPINI 2011. See also BARBANERA 2009 and LA ROCCA 2009. Here we do not analyse ruins in Pre-Greek and Greek cultures. For the relationship that the Greeks had with their past, see BOARDMAN 2002; for a synthesis on the idea of ruins in the Greek period, see SCHNAPP 2011 and PAPINI 2011.

in general be stated that ruins, in Classical Greek and Roman Antiquity, were just the inevitable result of the passing of time²⁰⁴. The main difference between Antiquity and the contemporary western culture, as far as the perception of ruins is concerned, would be therefore the lack, in the ancient period, of a predominant “sentimental element”, typical of the contemporary period: words about ruins in the ancient time only seldom conveyed feelings reproducing the same gap between ruins and himself/herself that the observer experiences today²⁰⁵.

Close analyses of literary sources from Roman antiquity mentioning ruins, has led scholars to identify a number of main topics that ancient texts regularly mention.

Among these topics, the vision of destroyed cities and the reaction to this vision is the most commonly evoked: occupation and destruction of other cities were in fact quite common experiences, both direct and indirect. Ancient authors describe therefore the reactions of generals and leaders in front of the defeated cities: no sentimentalism or aesthetic considerations, just personal reflections on the smallness of the human genre and on the uncertainty of human life²⁰⁶, including the destiny of Rome, which could change at any time²⁰⁷. Latin poets looked also at the ruins of glorious ancient cities of a very far past, like Troy or Carthage, and they mention sorts of pilgrimages in these ancient destroyed cities. For Latin poets, Troy became a real *topos* of the abandoned and destroyed city and the first example in ancient literature of ruins carefully observed and “studied”²⁰⁸.

In other cases, ancient authors portray important Roman politicians or military leaders, both during the Republican and the Imperial ages, crying before the cities they had defeated: L. Mummius for example, in front of Corinth; Furius Camillus, after the conquest of Veii and Titus after the conquest of Jerusalem. Crying, though, was a sort of ritual reaction in front of the conquest²⁰⁹.

²⁰⁴ LA ROCCA 2008, p. 257.

²⁰⁵ As outlined by P. Miller, sentimentality of ruins was born in the Renaissance, with the interest in excavation (MILLER 2013, p. 67).

²⁰⁶ Destroyed cities are warning on the variability of the destiny of people. This aspect has been discussed in PAPINI 2011 and PAPINI 2012, AZZARÀ 2020. Among the ancient texts see for example, Cic. *Fam.* 4,5,4; Sen. *Ep.* 14,91.

²⁰⁷ This awareness of the fact that also the destiny of Rome could change, appeared for the first time in Polybius (38.22.3) in a passage on the ruins of Carthage (AZZARÀ 2012, pp. 6-7).

²⁰⁸ PAPINI 2012, p. 64. See also SCHNAPP 2015, p. 64. R. Dubbini reminds for example of Caesar looking at the ruins of Troy as described by Lucan (*BC* 9.964-999): time destroys both nature and human works.

²⁰⁹ PAPINI 2011 and PAPINI 2012, p. 122-123.

All the examples presented above deal with the relationship of ancient Roman culture with ruins of other cities destroyed by Rome. We should also consider the case of the reaction in front of the presence of ruins in Rome and around Rome, ruins created by the time or by natural events like earthquakes²¹⁰: those ruins were perceived as an injury to the contemporary city and the area around Rome became the ideal place of an ideal past²¹¹. In this context, at the end of the 1st century BC, the evocation of ruins in Rome became also part of the celebration of Augustus' work of reconstruction of the city²¹².

The direct relationship with a destroyed city in which ancient Romans lived is well exemplified by ancient Roman paintings²¹³. R. Dubbini has identified two different kinds of paintings: paintings *of* ruins, where ruins are the main subject; paintings *with* ruins, where ruins are depicted together with other architecture²¹⁴. In both cases, ruins of Roman cities have the same value and the same meaning we have just described for ruins of other cities: they are part of a lost past.

Iconographic sources representing ancient ruins in the contemporary world give us the opportunity to talk about the physical relationship that Roman people had with the architecture of the ruins in the city, and about the attitude they adopted towards them. When we talk about the relationship that ancient people had with their ruins and therefore with architectural elements, we are also talking about the perception of spaces in the ancient Roman culture. This topic has been deeply analysed by E. La Rocca²¹⁵. He observes that the perception of space changed dramatically if seen from inside or from outside: a correspondence between the plan and the real perception of a monument was often totally missing²¹⁶. Moreover, the way in which Romans

²¹⁰ PAPINI 2012, p. 124; DUBBINI 2015, p. 154.

²¹¹ Whereas there are many cases of medieval texts talking about the ruins of ancient Rome it is not easy to find ancient Roman texts talking about the ruins of Rome: we wonder if there was a moment when Romans were in front of the ruins of their own city. R. Dubbini (DUBBINI 2015, p. 154-155) and S. Azzarà (Azzarà 2002, p. 8) quote for example the descriptions of Rome given by Livy (Liv. 4.20.7) and Ovid (Ov. *Fast.* 2.57-59; 5.131-132, 143-144) as the first descriptions of the ruins in Rome given by Romans.

²¹² For ruins as a topic of Augustan poetry, see for example LABATE 1991.

²¹³ For the representation of landscape of ruins in the ancient Roman period, see COLPO 2010.

²¹⁴ DUBBINI 2015, p. 155. She talks in particular about representation of ruins in wall paintings of the IV Roman style, such as the frescos from the Villa di Arianna in Stabiae (45-69 AD). See also COLPO 2010.

²¹⁵ LA ROCCA 2006, LA ROCCA 2014, LA ROCCA 2015.

²¹⁶ The main issue is the presence of massive high walls inside the monuments that eliminated the perception of the entire place, with its complexity.

perceived urban spaces differs from our contemporary urban perception, which is calibrated upon a system conceived in the Renaissance²¹⁷.

Considering ruins as architectural elements, we should probably consider also these aspects when we try to imagine the perception that ancient people had of ruins and when we think of the physical relationship of ancient Romans with their ruins. Moreover, architectural elements lacked in the past any sort of urban relationship one to each other and the new monuments were often inserted into the urban fabric without any attention to the existing elements, that is without any attention to the ruins from previous periods. It is therefore extremely difficult for us today to appreciate the real physical relationship people had with ruins in the past.

Scholars generally recognise that Rome had a great consideration for the architectural landscape, yet at the same time considered ruins as annoying memories of wars and destructions²¹⁸.

As we have just seen, ruins did not possess, in ancient Roman culture, a fascinating power comparable to the status they started to enjoy in the Renaissance and still enjoy today: the events they forced the viewers to recollect did not generally belong to a distant "finished" time. Such events were, on the contrary, too close in time to let ruins retain a fascinating aura²¹⁹. Distance, as brilliantly demonstrated by S. Settis, is a necessary element of the fascination with ruins²²⁰. As S. Azzarà has recently underlined, "the more the observer is far away from the ruins, the more ruins will have a symbolic and metaphysic meaning"²²¹. We go back therefore to the main difference between the perception of ruins in modern and ancient times: the lack of any sentimental element - or, better, of positive feelings and fascination - in ancient Roman culture would then be due to the lack of a significant gap between ruins and the viewer. During the Roman period in fact, the vision of ruins – often considered as "annoying" because linked to the idea of the war and too close to that period – triggered reflections on the impermanence of life in the observer as well as memories

²¹⁷ According to E. La Rocca, the main difference today is the use of a linear perspective system with a single vanishing point (LA ROCCA 2014).

²¹⁸ PAPINI 2012, p. 126; DUBBINI 2015, p. 158. They remember the *senatus consultum* "Osidiano" (47 AD): this act, created to regulate the buying and selling of building, underlines that ruins can't survive in a peaceful city, because they remind to war and destruction.

²¹⁹ According to Dubbini instead ruins in the roman period have a special relationship with time: they are seen as "different" by the observer, in terms of time and place, and because of this, they can still bring emotions to the observers (DUBBINI 2015, p. 157).

²²⁰ SETTIS 1986.

²²¹ AZZARÀ 2002, p. 1.

of wars, destructions and trauma: the “historical distance” needed to perceive ruins as a symbolic and fascinating element was missing²²².

A sense of curiosity towards ruins and a consideration of them as the symbol of the ancient grandeur of Rome seems to make its appearance in Roman culture only towards the end of the empire²²³. Scholars agree in identifying in Late Antiquity, and in particular in a text by Rutilius Namatianus²²⁴, the emergence of that “historical detachment” between ruins and the observer, as well as the rise of a different sensibility towards the ruins²²⁵.

²²² For the definition of a “historical distance”, see SETTIS 1986b, in particular pp. 449-451.

²²³ BARBANERA 2009.

²²⁴ Rut. Namat. 1.285-286.

²²⁵ See for example BARBANERA 2009 and AZZARA' 2012. As already said at the beginning of the paragraph, P. Miller identifies the birth of “sentimentality of ruins” during the Renaissance, with the interest in excavations.

Chapter 2

The Imperial Fora's ruins in the modern district: definition of the context

Introduction

The images of modern cities are the result of a stratification of layers from different periods: if seen diachronically, these images are, of course, the result of a dynamic process of continuous change just as the very relationship with both these images and/or specific layers of them are culture-, society- and time- dependent.

The present chapter focuses on the relationship of modern Rome with the Imperial *Fora's* ruins (the Forum of Caesar, the Forum of Augustus, the Forum of Peace, the Forum of Nerva, the Forum of Trajan) in the frame of the modern district called *Quartiere Alessandrino* between the 16th and the 19th centuries, which will be destroyed under the Fascist Regime in order to uncover exactly those ancient remains. This research implies observations on the viewers' perception of those ruins as well.

To better assess the present research, we have to define therefore which ruins and which past we want to take into consideration, as well as which city we refer to, in terms of space and time. We need therefore topographical reference systems that are useful to define the ancient area of Rome concerned here, and the part of the modern city in which these ruins are included.

First, we need to define the topographical and chronological boundaries of the research, explaining the reasons behind their choice (paragraph 2.1).

Second, it is important to diachronically draw the main architectural and topographical contexts (monuments, buildings, squares and streets) that will be included into the discussion of the *Quartiere Alessandrino* (paragraph 2.2). This

paragraph is intended to provide a picture of the original context of the monuments and the architectural elements mentioned in the texts under examinations. These topographical contexts are hardly identifiable today due to processes of isolation, incorporation, manipulation, destruction and use which have been taking place along such a long time span.

The last paragraph (paragraph 2.3) is focused on the post-antique history of the area up to the birth of the new district²²⁶ (6th-16th centuries). This phase of the long-lasting life of the area appears crucial with reference to the present research; during this time span, this area underwent different processes that transformed ancient buildings into ruins. This will help the reader understand the long-lasting process of transformation of ancient architectures and topographical contexts.

Documentation is not consistent across the whole period; few sources are available, for example, for the period between the 6th and the 8th centuries A.D., whereas the phase after the 9th century A.D. is more documented: this is the moment in which the urban development of the district started including the Imperial *Fora*'s ruins. From the 11th century on, almost the whole area will be then abandoned within the context of a general demographic decrease, to raise again only in the 16th century.

This second wave of population growth, starting in the 16th century, will be at the centre of the present research.

2.1 Topographical and chronological boundaries of the research

2.1.1 The area under investigation

Ruins of ancient monuments visible in the city of Rome during the 16th century were numerous. If we consider a stratified city like Rome, it is evident that already in the medieval period there were ruins from the previous centuries scattered about the whole city. After the end of the classical period, the city experienced a phase of decay:

²²⁶ For an in-depth analysis of the changing role of ruins across time and in different societies, see Chapter 1, in particular paragraphs 1.1 and 1.4.

in the 4th-5th centuries A.D., many of the Roman monuments were abandoned and lost, or changed their original functions, often becoming ruins in the following centuries²²⁷. At the beginning of the 9th century, the city started growing in dimension and population. The city expanded, partially occupying the ancient spaces: in this new context, the Roman buildings, which had lost their original functions and modified their connotations, were either physically incorporated into the new urban fabric, or surrounded by new buildings, often leaning against ancient monuments. Single and isolated elements of ancient architectures, like columns, capitals, sculptures, architraves, portions of walls and podia, were usually incorporated and reused with a different function in new buildings, while standing and intact monuments maintained their original integrity, but in a reshaped context. Between the 15th and 16th century, this process led to a new topographical setting. The city in fact had lost its original topographical connotation, and progressively acquired the image of a modern city: ruins from the Roman time were still visible in the modern context, but they were surrounded or flanked by, or enclosed in new districts, new urban blocks, new street networks: in other words, the topographical references had changed.

Notwithstanding the presence of many and different ruins from the Roman period in the whole city of the 16th century²²⁸, the focus in this research is in particular on the ruins of the Imperial *Fora* included into the *Quartiere Alessandrino*. The reasons for this choice are numerous and they are all linked to the history of this urban sector.

First, this area well testifies to the close connection between the ancient and the modern city. At the beginning of the 16th century, the monuments of the ancient Imperial *Fora* were completely included and reused in the new modern district, effectively being part of it and becoming elements of the new urban context.

Second, the topographical connotation of the area has changed many times from the ancient period to the modern one²²⁹; the area, as we see it today, is the result of many actions of construction and destruction which occurred between the 1st century BC

²²⁷ With the word “ruins” in this context I mean portions of ancient buildings from previous periods which have lost their functions in the new context and that had been partially destroyed by catastrophes, by natural deterioration or simply by time. An analysis of the idea of ruins along centuries is given in Chapter 2.

²²⁸ FIORE-NASSELRATH 2005.

²²⁹ R. Meneghini, who has been working in the area for many years, states that: “*Da un punto di vista strettamente archeologico, ossia rispetto alla stratificazione delle vicende umane, è difficile individuare un settore urbano altrettanto vasto e dalla storia densa e travagliata come quello dei Fori Imperiali di Roma. Neppure il vicino ed antichissimo Foro romano [...] può essere paragonato ai Fori Imperiali quanto ad antelanza e a tipologia di funzioni in un arco cronologico di più di tre millenni*” (MENEGHINI 2008a, p. 64).

and the present time. The destruction was mainly driven by political acts, and, especially in the 19th and 20th centuries, the ruins acquired a strong political and ideological value. As a result, this area also represents an interesting case study to investigate the role and the creation of the ruins' landscape over the centuries.

Third, a specific interest in the ruins and for the “rediscovery of antiquities” has involved this area in the last two centuries. In the 19th and 20th century, the Napoleonic Regime first and the Fascist Regime later, promoted excavations in the area, in order to unearth the ruins of the ancient city. However, the demolitions which in the 19th and 20th century brought the ruins of the ancient Imperial *Fora* to light again, at the same time deleted archaeological and material evidence of the *Quartiere Alessandrino* built over those very ruins between the 16th and the 19th century. All the layers between the ancient level and the contemporary one were neither preserved nor documented during these works²³⁰. A few sections of the archaeological stratigraphy were not removed during the excavations in the 1930s; they were covered and the area was used as a parking space. It was only between 1998 and 2008 that this preserved stratigraphy was scientifically investigated and studied by the *Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali* (Superintendence of Rome)²³¹. Thanks to these excavations, the topography, the physiognomy and the cultural context of the *Quartiere Alessandrino* has been partially reconstructed. Investigating the role of ancient ruins in such an urban context that had been completely destroyed acquires therefore a strong value also in terms of “reconstruction” of the cultural setting of a lost urban context, the *Quartiere Alessandrino*. The present research, fitting into this line of research, will provide other elements for the reconstruction of this disappeared context and its relationship with ancient ruins.

Indeed, while investigating the perception of ruins in a crucial sector of such a stratified city (i.e. Rome), this research will try to add new data, retrieved from the

²³⁰ The digging activity removed 16.460 sq. m of ancient stratigraphy, but the excavations were made without any scientific method. Indeed, they were not archaeological excavations in the modern sense; the interest was not in documenting the archaeological layers, but just in uncovering the ancient Roman level. Fieldwork was therefore extremely rapid, resulting in the loss of all the data which would have allowed for rigorous historical and archaeological reconstructions. Besides, the few data collected during the excavations were never published.

²³¹ For an overview on the archaeological excavations carried out in the area between 1998 and 2008, see MENEGHINI 2008a with previous bibliography.

study of different sources (archaeological, archival, and literary). It will then represent a tool for a new project of “*Archeologia Urbana*” in Rome²³².

Once the reasons of the focus on a specific area of the city of Rome have been outlined, we now give a brief account of the choice of the time span under investigation (16th -19th centuries) and a description of the specific borders of the area of interest, using modern topographical reference.

2.1.2 Chronological boundaries of the research

The period under investigation in the present research is included between the 16th and the 19th centuries. Yet, it is surprising that many of the studies about the area of the Imperial *Fora* after the classical period have focused their attention either on the period before the 16th century, or on the period after the beginning of the 19th century, whereas only few studies deal with the period between the 16th and the 19th centuries. They generally have an architectural approach, being interested in the topographical and urban evolution of the district, thus the time span 16th -19th centuries is analysed within a long-range period.

I would like to recall in particular the work by A. Roca de Amicis and the most recent one by M.G. Ercolino. The former focuses on the area of the *Pantani* (the ancient *Forum* of Augustus) in order to offer a typological analysis of the buildings existing in the area between the 16th and the 17th centuries²³³. The latter focuses instead on the area called *Campo Carleo* (the area of the ancient *Forum* of Trajan) and examines the topographical evolution of the area of the *Forum* of Trajan between the I century B.C. and the 1920's²³⁴. In particular, the present research follows the chronological periodization proposed by Ercolino.

It is also important to mention the collection of papers by B. Toscano, “*La città assente*”²³⁵. The work is entirely devoted to the *via Alessandrina*, the main street of

²³² BROGIOLO 2000.

²³³ ROCA DE AMICIS 1993.

²³⁴ ERCOLINO 2013. Even if M.G. Ercolino considers the long period from the ancient Roman times to the 20th century, the analysis is organized in three wide epochs: I. “*Il substrato archeologico*”; II. “*Nascita e configurazione del nuovo tessuto urbano*”; III. “*Tra XIX e XX secolo: variazioni per una nuova connotazione morfologica dell'area*” (ERCOLINO 2013, cap. II). Period II is exactly the period under investigation in the present work.

²³⁵ TOSCANO 2006.

the *Quartiere Alessandrino*, so that the papers describe, from different perspectives, the destroyed street and the destroyed district all around it, with a specific focus on the period during which this street was still in use (16th -19th centuries)²³⁶.

As to the archaeological studies, they are usually limited either to the period before the 16th century – when ancient ruins were still visible, isolated, and not included in the new urban district – or to the period after the 19th century, when ancient ruins were rediscovered under the built district. Apart from this scholarly relative neglect, several positive reasons have supported the choice of focusing the present analysis on the period 16th-19th centuries, which are of topographical, historical, and cultural nature. The aim of this work is to understand the role which the ruins had for those people who lived, worked or travelled in the area previously occupied by the Imperial *Fora*, between the 16th and the 19th centuries. In this respect, the 16th century has been chosen as the first term of the time range under investigation, because it is the moment when the district started to grow over the ancient ruins²³⁷. In the 16th century in fact, the topography of the area drastically changed as, by the will of the Popes, the area was reclaimed and transformed from an agricultural area full of swamps – as it was after the ancient period – into a new, populated urban district. It is at this moment that we register both a topographical transformation (new buildings, constructions and streets) and a historical change (the area became a new hub in the city).

In this sense, it is useful to recall the introduction to S. Passigli's work, in which those very topographical changes defining the starting moment for the present work are used as the final limit of the research:

*“Infatti fu l'intervento dei papi del XVI secolo a modificare completamente la topografia dell'area così come si era venuta formando fino ad allora: per questo motivo tali interventi costituiscono il limite cronologico finale dello studio”*²³⁸.

²³⁶ Intention of the editor was to collect papers that could “bring to the surface” the destroyed district, providing its social reconstruction in terms of streets, people, groups of people, crafts: contributions within an archaeological framework have been therefore deliberately excluded in the collection (TOSCANO 2006, pp. 9-10).

²³⁷ As mentioned by P. Fancelli, the ruins of the ancient Roman monuments had been “absorbed” by the new urban district and got lost in it, together with their memory (P. Fancelli, “Presentazione”, in ERCOLINO 2013, pp. 7-13).

²³⁸ PASSIGLI 1989, p. 274.

Also R. Meneghini stresses the changes in the topographical setting which occurred with the birth of the *Quartiere Alessandrino*. His analysis of the area stops just before the rise of the new district:

*“Per tornare alla topografia del quartiere dei fori nel Quattrocento, si può concludere sottolineandone la disomogeneità precedente all’intervento bonelliano. Per ora, alla fine del Quattrocento-inizio del Cinquecento le strade e gli edifici sono ancora quelli medievali”*²³⁹.

The second chronological term of this research is the very beginning of the 19th century and, again, several reasons led to this choice.

The first one is of a topographical nature and it is strictly linked to historical transformations of the area. The district built over the area of the Imperial *Fora* in the 16th century developed and grew in the following two centuries. While the type of houses built there changed during the period under investigation²⁴⁰, the interests that triggered the evolution and the transformations of the area were quite comparable, if not identical, during the whole period: the reclaiming of the area, the improvement of its external image, the restoration and expansion of religious complexes, and the building of new houses, shops and workshops. As already mentioned a key role in this sense was played by the Popes, who personally supported and funded the restoration of some ancient buildings, the construction of new houses and palaces, and the construction of a new street network.

By the middle of the 17th century, the area had acquired the connotation that it would keep until the beginning of the 19th century: many churches in the area were part of a very dense district with houses, shops and workshops, all displayed along a grid of new streets. The churches of *Madonna di Loreto*, *S.mo Nome di Maria*, *Spirito Santo* and of *S. Eufemia* in the northern area, around the column of Trajan; the huge complex of *S. Basilio/Ss.ma Annunziata* in the area of the *Forum* of Augustus; the churches of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo*, *S. Urbano* and *S. Lorenzolo* in the area of the old *Forum* of Trajan. As to the eastern area, close to the *Torre delle Milizie* in the Markets of Trajan, it was instead property of Arcioni and Foschi della Berta families²⁴¹.

²³⁹ MENEGHINI 2004, p. 201.

²⁴⁰ ERCOLINO 2013.

²⁴¹ For the presence of this family in the area, see paragraph 3.4.

The new look of the district, as well as the ideological and political ideas on which it relied, changed right at the beginning of the 19th century, when a strong historical and political turn affected the whole city. Napoleon's declaration of war on the Papal States and the constitution of the *Repubblica Romana* in 1798 had brought about the proclamation of Rome as an imperial city under French sovereignty; on February 2nd 1809, Rome was annexed to the Napoleonic Regime. During the following years, under the French Empire (1809-1814), urban growth was driven by Napoleon's decrees for the "*Embellissement de la ville de Rome*" (1811)²⁴². This political renovation influenced the topography of the area under investigation, causing the expansion of the district to stop, and the promotion of the design of a new city and the renovation of the existing urban blocks²⁴³.

At the same time, this political change also affected the interest in the ruins of the city, and in particular in the ruins of the ancient Imperial *Fora*.

Fascination with the ancient Roman world had been a characteristic of French society since the Renaissance period, so that at the end of the 18th century, the role of Classical heritage in French art and culture was significant: in the symbols of revolutionary France²⁴⁴, in the architectural elements, in literary themes and in the collection of antiquities. All of these elements were part of the French culture, and France's expansion in Europe gave this interest a new life²⁴⁵.

Under the French government in Rome (1809-1814), interest in the monuments from the ancient Roman time grew, and the rediscovery of ancient monuments was at the basis of new topographical and urban interventions in the city. The previously-mentioned Imperial Decrees for the *Embellissement de la ville de Rome*, issued by the Prefect Camille de Tournon in 1811, aimed at a cultural renovation of the city of Rome: unearthing and revealing ancient monuments on the one side, and providing employment for the poor people on the other side. The decrees had allocated 1 million francs per year for the excavation projects: making the River Tiber navigable, building

²⁴² LA PADULA 1958, 1958a, 1969. For a detailed analysis of the administration of antiquities under the French regime in Rome, see RIDLEY 1992. In this book, the author tells the story of the leading administrators in Rome, revealing details about the complexity of this organization, taken from the study of the documentation preserved in Roman and Parisian archives.

²⁴³ ERCOLINO 2013, pp. 285-292.

²⁴⁴ For instance, the eagles of the army, the fasces, the laurel wreaths and the names of institutions such as *Consulate* and *Tribunate* (PARKER 1937).

²⁴⁵ HAUTECOEUR 1953, HIGHET 2015. The Column of Trajan was the inspiration for many commemorative columns like the one in Place Vendôme. On the tradition of the Column of Trajan see SETTIS 1988; on the relevance of the Classical tradition, see SETTIS 2004.

a new bridge and restoring *Ponte Sisto*, reorganizing *Piazza Trajana* and *Piazza del Pantheon*, building a Market hall and realizing two public paths²⁴⁶. To administer these works, the *Commission pour l'Embellissement de la ville de Rome* was established in 1811 with the excavation of antiquities as a core point in its program. The presence of monuments and ruins from the ancient Roman Empire made Rome the “first city of the empire”; it was necessary to dig, in order to unearth the ancient city, and the area of the Imperial *Fora* – especially that of the *Forum* of Trajan – was at the centre of the Commission’s interest²⁴⁷.

In the area of the Imperial *Fora*, the project was to isolate the Column of Trajan, unearth the ruins of the ancient *Forum* of Trajan, and create a huge square around them²⁴⁸. In 1812, the French Government started the demolition of the modern buildings around the Column of Trajan - the *Conservatorio di S. Eufemia* and the *Monastero dello Spirito Santo* - in order to free the space around the column and allow the excavation work²⁴⁹. The topography of the area after the first modern demolitions by the French *Commission des Embellissement de la ville de Rome* is represented in the *Catasto Pio-Gregoriano* (1824) (Fig. 2).

What emerges from the analysis of the political situation under the French Government in the first decade of the 19th century, is a new interest in ancient ruins. As opposed to the previous period, in fact, in this moment remains of ancient monuments become explicitly an element of public interest²⁵⁰, thus creating a change in the history of the perception and use of the ruins of the district. The political, historical and topographical situation just described, defines therefore a new and different environment at the beginning of the 19th century. As a result, the present research will limit its analysis of the perception of ruins to the beginning of the 19th century, just before the beginning of the French Regime in Rome and the above illustrated changes.

This range of time fits perfectly with the aim of the present research: the interest is in fact in studying the perception of the ruins of the Imperial *Fora* as part of the modern urban district built around them. It therefore becomes reasonable to circumscribe the

²⁴⁶ LA PADULA 1969, pp. 105-133. For the text of the original decree, see ASR, Commissione per gli Abbellimenti di Roma, registro 5 (1811).

²⁴⁷ INSOLERA-BERDINI 2011, p. 13; BOYER 1957.

²⁴⁸ LA PADULA 1969, in particular pp. 119-121; UGGERI 1824.

²⁴⁹ For a detailed description of the demolition of these two buildings, see PAJNO-PORRETTA 2013, pp. 206-215.

²⁵⁰ RIDLEY 1992, p. 9.

analysis to the period of development of the modern district that is between the 16th and the beginning of the 19th centuries.

Actually, considering the topographical changes, it could seem reasonable not to stop at the beginning of the 19th century, but to go further with the analysis of the following decades, up until the 1930s when, under the Fascist Regime, the *Quartiere Alessandrino* built over the ruins of the ancient Imperial *Fora* was completely demolished for the creation of the new *Via dei Fori Imperiali*²⁵¹. Namely, it might seem reasonable to extend the analysis to the moment in which the area definitely lost the topographical integrity acquired with the creation of the district at the beginning of the 16th century. Nevertheless, even if the district, with its buildings and streets, was entirely demolished at the beginning of the 20th century, the genesis of this new urban change goes back to the French Administration's acts²⁵². Despite this, the idea slowly led to the "disembowelments", a series of cuts made in built cities, and realised under the Fascist Regime, between 1924 and 1932²⁵³.

Fascist "Disembowelments" of the city of Rome were strongly linked to Fascist ideology and to the "Mito della Romanità"²⁵⁴. In the fascist program, "disembowelments" had both practical and aesthetic reasons: on the one hand, they were necessary to modernize the city, creating new connections and providing better hygienic conditions; on the other hand, they aimed at cleaning the space around the ancient Roman-Imperial buildings, bringing them to light and ideally stating a connection with the new Rome²⁵⁵. It is quite clear that, even if one of the purposes of

²⁵¹ MANACORDA-TAMASSIA 1985; INSOLERA-PEREGO 1999. Even many of the streets of the district were destroyed in the same period like *Carinae, via di Marforio* (see the next paragraph for the description of these streets).

²⁵² LA PADULA 1969, pp. 116-119; VANNELLI 1995. The regulatory plan in 1931 was overtaken by a second regulatory plan in the same year that imposed many constraints on the planned demolitions.

²⁵³ The use of the word "Disembowelment" (*Sventramento* in the Italian context), goes back at least to Haussman's "*eventrement*" in Paris (middle of the 19th century). Its original meaning refers to the cure or massive surgery needed to save a badly infected organism; in this sense, it had been used by administrators and planners in the early 19th century (KOSTOF 1982).

²⁵⁴ NEILS 2007. The "Mito della Romanità" was used by the Fascism to legitimate its Regime and its idea of "National Regeneration", in order to transform Italians into the new Romans of modern times (GENTILE 1997).

²⁵⁵ During the Fascist era, the concept of disembowelment was also linked to the idea of the "aesthetic of demolition" (KOSTOF 1982). It was also associated with the idea of "violence" as an integral part of the idea of "National Regeneration" (GENTILE 1997) and, on the other hand, with the idea of "myth" as a notion of aestheticized violence (ANTLIFF 2007).

Mussolini was to “regenerate” the urban area, his main intention was to show a glorious past, and to guarantee continuity from that past to the regime’s present splendor and prosperity.

An analysis of the perception of ruins in the last two centuries (19th-20th centuries) would be of course of great interest. Indeed, the comparison with the period investigated in the present work (16th-19th centuries) could be an interesting topic for future research

As to the lack of interest in the life and perception of ruins between the 16th and the 19th century, it is probably due to the impossibility to adopt a strictly disciplinary approach given the marked and intricate interaction between elements from the ancient city and elements, taste, practices and regulations of the modern city. As a result, fundamental works for the study of this area, like R. Meneghini’s research on the medieval phases of the area, or S. Passigli’s studies on the population levels, limit their investigation to the end of the 15th century/beginning of the 16th²⁵⁶.

At the same time, many studies have focused on the transformations which occurred in the area during the 19th and the 20th centuries²⁵⁷, when the ruins acquired a completely new role and meaning in the urban context²⁵⁸.

2.1.3 The extension of the area under investigation

As already mentioned, the ruins of the Imperial *Fora* and the perception thereof constitute the object of the present work. It should be stressed, however, that it is not totally appropriate to talk about “the area of the Imperial *Fora*” referring to the period under investigation (16th-19th centuries), since there was not in this period an architectural nucleus identifiable as such. If this were still possible before the growth of the district in the 16th century, it became impossible after the development of the new district.

During this time, the Imperial *Fora* did not exist any longer; the integrity of the ancient complex had disappeared right after the end of Antiquity. Therefore, ancient squares and monuments cannot be taken as topographical references to define the extension

²⁵⁶ MENEGHINI 1989, 1993, 2004, 2006, 2008; MENEGHINI-VALCI 2014; PASSIGLI 1989.

²⁵⁷ It means Rome under the French Regime, *Roma Capitale* and Rome during the *Governatorato Fascista*.

²⁵⁸ See, among others, the following works: LA PADULA 1958, 1958a, 1969; RIDLEY 1992; INSOLERA-PEREGO 1999; INSOLERA-BERDINI 2011.

of the area under investigation. We need then to find a new topographical definition and precise spatial borders to identify the area under investigation, according to criteria and points of reference the contemporary "viewers" might appreciate, borders other than the colonnades, facades or exedras of the ancient squares. In other words, we will have to look for "contemporary landscapes", relying on geographic and spatial limits actually active and valid in the city of the 16th century as well as in the periods under investigation.

So far, we have generically used the expression *Quartiere Alessandrino*. This definition, however, is not precise enough, because the area under investigation does not exactly coincide with the modern district. Indeed, the area examined in this research includes the five Imperial *Fora*, but not the Southern portion of the *Quartiere Alessandrino* (towards the *Basilica di Massenzio*), where there were no ruins of the Imperial *Fora*. When the expression "ancient Imperial *Fora*" is used throughout this work, we refer to the following ancient monuments (from North to South): the *Forum* of Trajan, the *Forum* of Caesar, the *Forum* of Augustus, the *Forum* of Nerva and the *Forum* of Peace²⁵⁹. On the other side, the investigated area includes a portion out of the district: the area of the Markets of Trajan transformed, in the period under investigation, into a private area, with the presence of a monastery and a fortress²⁶⁰. This specific area, characterized by a tight entanglement between ancient ruins and modern district, has to be considered as a continuation of the *Forum* of Trajan from a topographical point of view.

Given the situation just described, we should find some alternative and long-lasting elements in order to circumscribe the space we want to analyse; these elements are the streets of the modern urban grid. In fact, the streets designed in the 16th century often retraced previous paths (Fig. 3) and remained in use until the beginning of the 20th century, when many of them were erased, together with the buildings of the district, in order to create the new *Via dei Fori Imperiali*²⁶¹. The presence of these

²⁵⁹ The *Forum* of Peace was characterized by a slightly different situation than the rest of the *Fora*. This area, a wide square with no marble floor, had been abandoned for a long time and the ruins of the ancient monuments had been almost completely removed (FOGAGNOLO-ROSSI 2008; TUCCI 2017). After the Classical period, the area was used to host farms, or even as a cemetery, and the urbanization of this sector only took place a few decades after that of the northern area (ROCA DE AMICIS 1992). Notwithstanding these differences, this area has been included in the present research because, even if the presence of ruins was very rare, still there was an admixture of archaeological and urban elements.

²⁶⁰ For a detailed topographical description of this area, see *infra*, paragraph 2.2.3, "The Markets of Trajan".

²⁶¹ MANACORDA-TAMASSIA 1985; INSOLERA-PEREGO 1999.

streets, deleted at the beginning of the 20th century but existing in the whole period investigated in this research, allows us to define the following topographic limits of the area here investigated (Fig. 4, 5, 6):

- via di Marforio* (western limit)
- via Macel de' Corvi* - *piazza della Colonna Traiana* – *via Monte Magnanapoli* (northern limit)
- salita del Grillo* – *piazza del Grillo* – *piazza delle Carrette* - *via Tor de' Conti* – *via del Colosseo* (eastern limit)
- via del Tempio della Pace* (southern limit)

The medieval city, indeed, inherited from Antiquity not only the monumental buildings, but also the street system: the boundaries of the study area, as described above, are all routes existing since the ancient times, except for *via Macel de' Corvi*, created only in the 14th century. Ancient streets were fixed and restored many times between the 9th and the 15th centuries²⁶². In the 16th century, with the urban renovation, the whole level of this area was raised, together with the streets: they were covered with large paving stones²⁶³ and continued to be in use between the 16th and the 19th centuries, becoming the major circulation roads of the district: they connected the northern sector to the Southern one and the eastern sector to the western one²⁶⁴. The topographical delimitation proposed here was consistent during the whole period considered in the present research.

Minor streets also, generally used to connect the houses with the major communication routes, were created *ex novo* with the birth of the new district since the first half of the 16th century²⁶⁵. Among the major streets, the *Via Alessandrina* in particular, the major axis of the district connecting piazza Traiana to the *Tempio della Pace* (i.e. *Basilica di Massenzio*), was built by the Cardinal Alessandrino after the reclamation of the area in 1536 and was later enlarged in 1862²⁶⁶.

Considering the extensive time range under investigation, some of the streets obviously changed their names through the centuries. In order to facilitate their

²⁶² For a detailed story of the district in the medieval period, see paragraph 3.1.

²⁶³ MENEGHINI 2017, pp. 283-293.

²⁶⁴ PASSIGLI 1989, p. 287.

²⁶⁵ See the categorization of streets made by E. Hubert: "*Les espaces de circulation*", "*Les espaces de rassemblement*", "*Les espaces de distribution*" (HUBERT 1990, pp. 104-115).

²⁶⁶ BARROERO 1983, p. 169; GORI 2006, p. 251.

identification, we will then use the names these streets had in the 16th century. In those cases in which the streets had different names before or after that moment, also these names are mentioned.

As to the basemap showing the borders of the area under investigation, we will use a plan of the city dating back to the beginning of the 19th century (*Catasto Gregoriano*): a discrepancy between the basemap and the names used is unavoidable, since the period under investigation is quite long and the names of the streets usually change across centuries (Figs. 4, 5, 6). Indeed, although the maps by L. Bufalini, 1551 (Fig. 7), and that by E. Du Perac, 1574 (Fig. 8) represent the topographical situation of the area in the 16th century, they are not reliable from a cartographical point of view. The choice to use a map from the 19th century to indicate the extension of the study area is then based on its completeness and its accuracy in terms of drawing and measurements²⁶⁷.

Via di Marforio (western limit)

The western limit of the area under investigation is *Via di Marforio*, a street going along the eastern slope of the Capitol Hill, from the intersection with *Via Macel de' Corvi* (northern border), to the church of *Santi Cosma e Damiano*²⁶⁸, that is the church built on the southern walls of the *Forum* of Peace (= southern limit). This street corresponded to the ancient Roman path called *clivus Argentarius*, connecting, the *via Sacra* to the *via Lata*, close to the Capitol Hill²⁶⁹. At the South, the limit corresponds instead to the border with the Roman *Forum*.

In its southern section *Via di Marforio* was actually the line between the *Quartiere Alessandrino* and the Capitol Hill, and in its northern section it was the line between the *Quartiere Alessandrino* and the *Quartiere S. Marco*, developed in the eastern area²⁷⁰. The street has been known by this name (*salita/calata di Marforio*) since the

²⁶⁷ The *Catasto Gregoriano* (1824) is the first cadastral map of Rome, promoted by Pope Pius VII in 1816. The basemap used in the *Catasto Gregoriano* is the map by G.B. Nolli (1748), updated with the variations occurred between 1748 and 1819 (FALCHI 2009). Nolli's map was the first correctly measured map of Rome.

²⁶⁸ GNOLI 1984, pp. 147-148.

²⁶⁹ For the correspondence between the ancient *clivus Argentarius* and the modern *Via di Marforio*, see PASSIGLI 1989, pp. 288-291.

²⁷⁰ For the genesis and development of the district of S. Marco, see BRANCIA DI APRICENA 2003 and 2008.

first half of the 16th century²⁷¹. The name probably came from *Marfuoi*, the name given to a statue representing a river and located close to S. Martina in the Roman *Forum*, close to the street. The statue had acquired that name either from the name of a family (*Marfoli*), or from its original location, close to the temple of Mars (*Mars Fori*)²⁷².

This street does not exist any longer, since it was erased in the 1920s for the creation of the new *via dei Fori Imperiali*.

Via Macel de' Corvi - piazza della Colonna Traiana – via Monte Magnanapoli (northern limit)

The northern border of the area is *Via Macel de' Corvi*. The street branched off *Via di Marforio* and passed behind the Column of Trajan, converging in the *Piazza della Colonna Traiana* and continuing towards the eastern sector. The name of this street in the 16th century comes from the *De Corvi* or *Corvini* family, who owned houses in the area around the Column of Trajan, as already witnessed in 1471²⁷³.

Among the streets taken as a limit of the area investigated here, this is the only street that is not part of the ancient street network²⁷⁴. In the 2nd century A.D. in fact, the area was occupied by the *Basilica Ulpia* and by the northern structures of the *Forum* of Trajan. The ruins of these buildings were still there in the 14th century: the oldest agglomeration of modern buildings and streets was realized in fact in the 9th century A.D., not in that area, but in the central sector of the ancient *Forum* of Trajan, at that time free from ancient structures and identified as the *Campus Kaloleonis*²⁷⁵. *Via Macel de' Corvi* was built only later, in the 14th century, when the area around the Column of Trajan was freed from the ruins and was organised with new small streets

²⁷¹ VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI 1953, vol. 4, p. 143.

²⁷² GNOLI 1984, p. 147. *Locus Marfori* is the common topographical reference in the 15th century. The statue was later moved, under the Pope Sixtus V, to the fountain on the Capitol Hill.

²⁷³ GNOLI 1953, p. 478.

²⁷⁴ For the street network existing in the area even before the creation of the Imperial *Fora*, see PALOMBI 2017, pp. 129-146.

²⁷⁵ For the interpretation of the structures built over the *Forum* of Trajan in the 9th century, see MENEGHINI 2001a, p. 158; MENEGHINI 2009. For the definition of the place-name *Campus Kaloleonis*, see instead PASSIGLI 1989, MENEGHINI 2011, pp. 161-162; SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2011, pp. 161-162; MENEGHINI 2009, pp. 214-215; MENEGHINI - SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007, pp. 153; MENEGHINI - SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2004, pp. 186-188.

and houses²⁷⁶. The street was created as a secondary street, to connect the area behind the Markets of Trajan to *via di Marforio* and to the district behind it, the *Quartiere S. Marco*²⁷⁷.

In 1568, Pope Sixtus V renovated the old *via Macel de' Corvi* and created the new *Strada Trajana* to connect the Column of Trajan to the *S. Marco* district²⁷⁸. After 1870, the street was called *via di Loreto*²⁷⁹.

Salita del Grillo – piazza del Grillo – piazza delle Carrette - via Tor de' Conti – via del Colosseo (eastern limit)

The north-eastern border of the area under investigation is the modern *via di Monte Magnanapoli*, *Salita del Grillo* and *Piazza del Grillo*; as to the south-eastern, it is represented by the modern *via Tor de' Conti*, *piazza delle Carrette* and *via del Colosseo*.

Actually, as far as the north-eastern limit is concerned, we could have chosen the wall of the exedra of the Markets of Trajan and the ancient *via Biberatica* behind it, since it originally circumscribed the area of the Imperial *Fora* and was also the limit of the *Quartiere Alessandrino*²⁸⁰. However, the ancient *via Biberatica* did not exist anymore as a communication route in the 16th century and therefore cannot be considered as a border. Indeed, the *via Biberatica* was the ancient street that split in two sections the Markets of Trajan, and that connected the district called *Suburra*, to the Quirinal Hill²⁸¹. The *via Biberatica*, used in Roman times only as a pedestrian street, survived the transformation of the area and remained as a travelling path during the middle

²⁷⁶ ERCOLINO 2013, pp. 149-150; see also ERCOLINO 2013, Tav. XV (13th century) and XVI (14th century): comparing the two plans, it is clear that *via di Macel de' Corvi* was created in the 14th century.

²⁷⁷ PASSIGLI 1989, p. 298.

²⁷⁸ GNOLI 1953, p. 334. We know that many houses and buildings in the area were expropriated on this occasion, to allow the construction of the new larger street (PROIA-ROMANO 1936, pp. 23-24).

²⁷⁹ GNOLI 1953, pp. 147-148.

²⁸⁰ The place name "*biberatica*" is not an ancient name: it is certified for the first time in the *Liber Pontificalis* (1003) as *Biberatica*, *Hiberatica*, *Liberatica* (MENEGHINI 1993a, p. 87). Its origin is still uncertain, probably coming from the latin *biber* (UNGARO 2000, p. 9) and connected to the presence of wells and water in the area (MENEGHINI 2009, p. 166, footnote 14). See *contra* another hypothesis according to which the name *via biberatica* comes from *via piperatica*: a street in the area of the Markets of Trajan that once hosted pepper shops (ZAPPATA 1993, p. 737, footnote 12).

²⁸¹ UNGARO 2007, pp. 76-83. On the complex of the Markets of Trajan, see BIANCHINI-VITTI 2017.

ages²⁸². As a matter of fact, the street was still in use during the 11th century and gave the name to the whole area behind the Markets of Trajan, called the *Regio Biberatica*²⁸³. However, the street gradually disappeared: the area along the *via Biberatica* became a private area and the street lost its public role, becoming just a private route between private gardens²⁸⁴.

As a result, a street situated further to the East side represents the eastern boundary of the study area. This will allow us to include in the present research also the area behind the ancient *via Biberatica*. Even if this area was out of the *Quartiere Alessandrino*, in the 16th century it was occupied by the ruins of the ancient Markets of Trajan, to be considered in continuity with the *Forum* of Trajan. Moreover, the area was crossed by travellers going to the area of the ancient *Forum* of Trajan and was considered in continuity with the district developed around the Column of Trajan, at the basis of the Quirinal Hill.

As to the south-eastern limit, instead, it is to be identified with the modern *via Tor de' Conti*, a street that connected the Coliseum to the area behind the Markets of Trajan (*Magnanapoli*), passing on the eastern side of the *Forum* of Nerva and of the *Forum* of Augustus²⁸⁵. *Via Tor de' Conti* retraced the ancient path behind the high wall in peperino stone which in antiquity separated the *Forum* of Augustus and Nerva from the *Suburra* district²⁸⁶. The street reached, up on the hill, the church of *S. Abbaciro*, which was built in one of the two hemicycles of the Markets of Trajan²⁸⁷.

Via del Tempio della Pace (southern limit)

The southern limit of the area under investigation is the modern *Via del Tempio della Pace*, running up the southern wall of the *Forum* of Peace.

²⁸² For a detailed description of this street and this area in Roman times, see paragraph 2.2.3, "Markets of Trajan".

²⁸³ PASSIGLI 1989, pp. 302-303.

²⁸⁴ BIANCHINI-VITTI, p. 45.

²⁸⁵ This street was called "*via quae vadit ad montem balneapolim*": it passed behind the *Torre delle Milizie* and probably replaced the old *via Biberatica* (PASSIGLI 1989, pp. 294-297).

²⁸⁶ The ancient topography of this area is still little known, even if it is an area very close to the well known *Forum* of Trajan and *Forum* of Augustus (PENTRICCI-SCHINGO 2000).

²⁸⁷ MENEGHINI 1992, p. 430; MENEGHINI 1993, p. 105.

Notwithstanding the proximity of the street to the ancient *Forum* of Peace, the name of the modern street comes from another ancient monument close to it: the *Basilica di Massenzio*, known between the 15th and the 19th centuries as the “*Tempio della Pace*”²⁸⁸.

In the 15th century the street was known as the “*strada che va a S. Pietro in Vincoli*”²⁸⁹, and actually retraced an ancient path: the so-called *clivus ad Carinas*. The *Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma* (Superintendence of the State in Rome)²⁹⁰ has recently discovered a portion of the ancient Roman street; the ancient street ran up the southern wall of the *Forum* of Peace and it was realized for the first time in the Flavian age, in connection with the construction of the *Forum*. The original level of the street was still in use during the medieval period and later, during the Renaissance period, it was raised to serve the new district²⁹¹. The street was finally destroyed in the 1930s, during the demolition of the whole district.

Although it was part of the *Quartiere Alessandrino*, the area south of *via del Tempio della Pace* is not part of the present research; indeed, while the sector north of the street had been occupied by houses and streets of the new district since the 16th century, the urbanization in this area occurred only later, and it represents therefore a different situation²⁹². Moreover, the ancient Imperial *Fora* did not extend behind the *clivus ad Carinas* (= *via del Tempio della Pace*): the *Forum* of Peace was in fact the southernmost monument of the complex.

2.2 The Imperial *Fora*: genesis, architecture and transformation in Antiquity

2.2.1 The area before the Imperial *Fora*: morphology of the valley

²⁸⁸ BLASI 1933, p. 411.

²⁸⁹ TUCCI 2017, vol. II, pp. 813-816 and fig. 310, 313.

²⁹⁰ Since 2017 it has been called *Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio di Roma*.

²⁹¹ REA 2010, pp. 188-190.

²⁹² The area on the southern side of the street was still occupied by private vegetable gardens in the 16th century.

When we talk about the Imperial *Fora* in Rome, we mean the monumental public squares built by order of the Roman emperors between the end of the 1st century B.C. and the middle of the 2nd century A.D., in the valley between the Palatine Hill and the Quirinal Hill. The area we want to investigate in the present research had its own identity and a marked connotation as a public space during the Roman Empire (1st century B.C. – 5th century A.D.).

The landscape of the area under investigation has changed many times along centuries²⁹³. We have already noted the historical events which modified the area in modern times: the reclamation and the following construction of the district in the 16th century on the one side, the destruction of the same district and the creation of wide squares around the ancient monuments in the 19th and 20th centuries on the other side. However, the landscape of the area had already experienced strong modifications between the 1st century B.C and the 1st century A.D., to accommodate the new Imperial *Fora*. The five Imperial *Fora* were built close to the old Roman *Forum* as a continuous series of architectural complexes in the valley between the Velia Hill, the Esquiline Hill, the Viminal Hill, the Quirinal Hill and the Capitol Hill²⁹⁴. The levelling of the site for the construction of the Imperial *Fora* is the first huge intervention in this area that modified the urban landscape, preparing the setting for the new context. The original morphology of the area is completely lost today, but we can imagine how the area was before the construction of the Imperial *Fora*, thanks to very recent investigations²⁹⁵.

The original limits of the valley are not all perceptible today because some of them were covered over by subsequent work already in Antiquity. While the north-eastern

²⁹³ For an overview of the history of the site from prehistory to late antiquity, see MENEGHINI 2007; MENEGHINI 2008; FILIPPI 2012, with the results of the most recent excavations in the area. On each single *Forum*, see as recent works DELFINO 2014 for the *Forum* of Caesar; MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2010 for the *Forum* of Augustus; MENEGHINI-REA 2014 (section: “Il *Templum Pacis*”) and TUCCI 2017 for the *Forum* of Peace; LA ROCCA-MENEGHINI-PARISI PRESICCE 2017 for the *Forum* of Nerva. Albeit no monographs to date exists on the *Forum* of Trajan, many articles were published after the most recent excavations.

²⁹⁴ On the characteristics of the area between the Imperial *Fora* and the Roman *Forum*, see PALOMBI 2004, p. 82.

²⁹⁵ Among the oldest investigations, there are the excavation works in the first decades of the 20th century under the Fascist Regime (DE ANGELIS D’OSSAT 1931, 1932 and 1946). For more recent studies of the morphology of the area, see QUILICI 1990; for a study of the morphology of the area from a more archaeological point of view, see LUGLI 1951; QUILICI 1979; HUYZENDVELD-PANELLA 1996; for topographical studies on the area, see TERRENATO 1992. On the original level of the area, see in particular AMMERMAN 1990a and 1990b.

and south-western limits consisted respectively of the Quirinal-Viminal-Esquiline Hills and the Capitol-Palatine Hills, on the northwest and southeast sides, the valley was blocked by two small hills which today no longer exist since they were destroyed at different points in time. (Fig. 9)

The north-western limit of the valley in particular consisted of the slopes of the Quirinal and Capitol Hills, which connected the two hills with a steep gradient in level²⁹⁶. Towards the Quirinal Hill the slopes reached 30-40 m in the area later occupied by the Markets of Trajan; at the centre of the valley instead, they went down 18 m and, towards the Capitol Hill, they went up again to reach the height of 20 m. The western portion of this saddle was levelled in the 1st century B.C. to make room for the construction of the *Forum* of Caesar, while the eastern one was completely removed in the 2nd century A.D. for the construction of the *Forum* of Trajan (see *infra*)²⁹⁷.

The whole area was levelled thus between the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. for the construction of the *Fora* and the height in the whole area resulted about 14 m.a.s.l..

The south-eastern limit of the valley consisted of a small hill called *Velia* that extended from the area later occupied by the *Domus Aurea* (on the Esquiline Hill) to the valley of the Coliseum²⁹⁸. The western slopes of this small hill had been already partially resected in the ancient time on different occasions (after the fire of 64 A.D. for the construction of the new district; in the 4th century A.D., for the construction of the *Basilica di Massenzio*), but the hill was completely removed only in the 1930s for the realization of *via dell'Impero*²⁹⁹.

It is in this context of hills and slopes that the architects made the first huge interventions in the area; they levelled the area first to make space for the *Forum* of Caesar and for the *Forum* of Augustus later. They fixed the level at ca. 14.5 m.a.s.l.

²⁹⁶ Before the recent excavations in the area, this portion of the hill connecting the Quirinal to the Capitol Hill was believed to be a “saddle”, a real connection between the two hills. After the excavations and the geological investigations made between 1998 and 2000, the archaeologists prefer to abandon the term “saddle” (“sella” in Italian) and to define it as a slope (“fianco scosceso”). On the “saddle” of the Quirinal, see TUMMARELLO 1989; the results of the most recent studies on this topic are collected instead in RIZZO 2001.

²⁹⁷ Compared to ancient studies about the saddle (DE ANGELIS D'OSSAT 1946), the most recent researches have resized the dimension of the slopes (RIZZO 2001; BIANCHI-MENEGHINI 2002; BIANCHINI 2003; MENEGHINI-UNGARO 2015).

²⁹⁸ PALOMBI 1997.

²⁹⁹ STACCIOLI 2017.

in the whole area; what was under this level was covered with an infill, while what was over this level was covered or permanently removed. Considering the levels of the Roman *Forum* documented by E. Gjerstad, the level of the Imperial *Fora* at the beginning of the Imperial age was related to the height of the Augustan level in the Roman *Forum* (ca. 12 m.a.s.l.).³⁰⁰ (Fig. 10).

2.2.2 The area before the Imperial *Fora*: the Republican district

The stratigraphy that testifies to the history of the area from prehistory to the present time has been almost completely eliminated by the demolitions made to build the new monumental squares in the 1st century B.C., and by the demolition works made in the area in the 20th century.³⁰¹ It is therefore almost impossible to reconstruct exactly the evolution of the area before the construction of the monumental squares. However, a portion of this stratigraphy has survived in the south-eastern area of the *Forum* of Caesar and it has been excavated and studied in the last decades therefore we can consider this portion of stratigraphy as a sample attesting the story of the whole area³⁰².

Among the most ancient evidence in the area, dating back to the 12th century B.C., are the remains of an ancient path coming down from the Esquiline Hill and heading towards the Tiber River. This path, bearing the traces of the chariots travelling along it, was probably part of a more ancient urban system³⁰³. During the most recent excavations, archaeologists have also found graves over the ancient street testifying to the change in use; this means that after the 11th-10th century B.C. the area was

³⁰⁰ GIULIANI-VERDUCHI 1987, pp. 52-66.

³⁰¹ For the history of the site before the construction of the Imperial *Fora*, see CAVALLERO 2014, 154-7 and FILIPPI 2012, pp. 143-163. During the work done in the 20th century which completely removed the stratigraphy over the Imperial *Fora*, some ruins from the ancient Republican period were found, but they were not taken into consideration and they were neither preserved nor documented. In the ancient time, the work done in the 1st century B.C. to build the *Forum* of Caesar had already eliminated the stratigraphy dating back to the period before the construction of the *Forum*.

³⁰² PALOMBI 2016, p. 57-59. There are no plans, drawings or descriptions of the buildings belonging to the period before the construction of the Imperial *Fora* found during the demolitions under the Fascist Regime. In this sense, the work by D. Palombi is excellent since the author tries to reinterpret these elements, in the light of ancient literary sources masterfully analysed.

³⁰³ DE SANTIS ET ALII 2010.

reorganised³⁰⁴. Dating back to the 9th century B.C. there are remains of some huts testifying to the presence of a small village.

However, the first real urban setting in the area dates back to the 6th century B.C., and the sections of the Servian walls found at the slopes of the Quirinal Hill (in *piazza Magnanapoli* and in the area of the *Militia Tower*) are clear evidence from that period. The Servian walls probably run in fact from North to South at the slopes of the Quirinal Hill; in the area later occupied by the *Militia Tower* instead they changed direction turning west and crossing the valley later occupied by the Imperial *Fora*, reaching the slopes of the Capitol Hill³⁰⁵ (Fig. 11).

Evidence of the urban context inside the walls have been found only in the area of the *Forum* of Caesar, the rest having been destroyed by the demolitions occurred between the 1st century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D. This evidence consists of a street crossing the area from North-West to South-East and, on the western side of the street, of two buildings. The street, which retraced the prehistoric path, was part of a larger network, and led to the *Porta Fontinalis* in the archaic walls³⁰⁶; the two buildings were two residential houses separated by a street, which were destroyed by a fire, and reconstructed and used until the 1st century B.C.³⁰⁷. Thanks to the recent excavations in the *Forum* of Caesar, A. Delfino has connected the traces of the fire documented in the *Forum* of Caesar with the famous Gallic sack of Rome which occurred at the beginning of the 4th century BC³⁰⁸. The reconstruction of the two houses might therefore be part of the reconstruction work done after the fire, and “part of a wider and long-lived urban project which also involved the conservative restoration of the Capitoline Hill and of its functions”³⁰⁹.

³⁰⁴ MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2009, pp. 11-17. Graves of a small necropolis have been found in the area later occupied by the *Forum* of Augustus and Caesar, during recent excavations carried out between 1998 and 2008 (DELFINO 2010 and 2014). For the hypothesis of the chariots' traces, see MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007, p. 18.

³⁰⁵ The *Porta Fontinalis* was located at the slopes of the Capitol Hill: this means that the Servian walls crossed from East to West the area later occupied by the *Forum* of Trajan. According to an old interpretation (TORTORICI 1991), the walls crossed the southern side of the area, from the *Salita del Grillo*. The excavations carried out by the Superintendence in 1995-1996, have allowed archaeologists to understand that a number of huge square tufa blocks on the *Salita del Grillo*, previously interpreted as part of the Servian walls, are actually part of a housing area (MENEGHINI 2003, pp. 230-234).

³⁰⁶ This is the only evidence in the area of the Imperial *Fora* for this period.

³⁰⁷ For the reconstruction of the settlement context, see DELFINO 2014, pp. 64-136.

³⁰⁸ DELFINO ET ALII 2008; DI GIUSEPPE 2010; DELFINO 2010a; DELFINO 2014.

³⁰⁹ CAVALLERO 2014, pp. 161-162. See also FILIPPI 2012, p. 159.

The area, with a new street coming down from the *Suburra* and heading west towards *Porta Fontinalis*, was characterised by the presence of houses and residences, but it was mainly devoted to commerce: this organization of the area persisted until the demolitions carried out in connection to the construction of the *Forum* of Caesar in the 1st century B.C.

Thanks to literary sources, we know in fact that in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., *tabernae*, workshops and shops occupied the southern area, while *insulae* and *domus* the northern one³¹⁰. Unfortunately, almost nothing of this district survived the 1st-century B.C. demolitions. However, during the excavations in the last two decades, archaeologists have found little evidence of this district in three different zones, the areas later occupied by the *Forum* of Peace, the *Forum* of Trajan and the *Forum* of Nerva.

The remains of a *Macellum* were found in the area later occupied by the *Forum* of Peace³¹¹: the *Forum Piscarium* and the *Forum Cuppedinis* were part of this complex, and they probably had been moved from the ancient Roman *Forum* to the slopes of the Velia Hill³¹². After the construction of the *Macellum* between the 3rd and the 2nd century B.C., a series of transformations in the area between the *Suburra* and the ancient Roman *Forum* occurred³¹³.

A section of a paved street left in the area of the column of Trajan testifies to a commercial district even in the northern portion of the area. G. Boni investigated the area around the column of Trajan at the beginning of the 20th century³¹⁴; he discovered the paved street and some walls of a nearby building which, according to his interpretation, could have been used not for commercial activities but as residences³¹⁵. Other remains belonging to the same context were found during the excavations carried out in 2009, when the Superintendence of Rome decided to remove the modern concrete slab covering the fence which had been built around the Column in the 19th

³¹⁰ *Domus* were especially in the area of the *Forum* of Augustus. Comments on the sources about residential areas are in TORTORICI 1991, pp. 85-89.

³¹¹ MORSELLI-TORTORICI 1989, pp. 68-71; PISANI-SARTORIO 1996b; PALOMBI 2005, p. 24; PALOMBI 2004, p. 84.

³¹² MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2009, pp. 24-25.

³¹³ PALOMBI 2016, p. 70 and fn. 119. Other buildings belonging to the same system were identified under the *Basilica Aemilia* in the Roman *Forum*.

³¹⁴ BONI 1907.

³¹⁵ This archaeological context was disturbed by the cut for the installation of the Column of Trajan: these circumstances led many archaeologists to doubt the existence of the saddle between the Quirinal and the Capitol Hill.

century in accordance with the project by P. Bianchi, who was the architect in charge of the works in the area under the French Administration³¹⁶. On this occasion, archaeologists found a series of rooms that have been interpreted as part of a commercial district dating back between the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.³¹⁷, and a street that was a branch of the ancient *via Flaminia*, probably leading to the Quirinal Hill³¹⁸. This evidence testifies to the use of the area as a commercial district, between the Mid-Republican age and the 2nd century A.D.³¹⁹.

In 1940, the archaeologist A.M. Colini found other buildings belonging to the commercial district of the 3rd - 2nd centuries B.C.; in the area later occupied by the *Forum* of Nerva, between the Temple of Minerva and the perimetral wall of the *Forum*, he found small rooms paved with *opus spicatum* and walls in *opus reticulatum*, aligned on a few lines. A few decades later, thanks to new investigations in the area, carried out by the University of Rome “La Sapienza”, the ruins of another public building were found in the same area³²⁰. Many of these structures, as well as the other structures of the commercial district, were oriented following the cardinal points. As a result, and after suggesting a possible connection between this orientation and the orientation of the orographic system (i.e. the hills and the valley), D. Palombi has proposed an interpretation based on an astronomic orientation³²¹.

Another important building occupied the area since the 2nd century B.C., the so-called *Atrium Libertatis*. Unfortunately, we know little about this building: literary sources give us interesting information about its function; it was the official seat of censors, and it was probably located on the slope of the Quirinal Hill, behind the area later occupied by the temple of *Venus Genetrix*³²². This important building was then

³¹⁶ For the project by P. Bianchi, see LA PADULA 1969, pp. 65-69; the original drawings by P. Bianchi are preserved in ASR, *Commissione per gli Abbellimenti di Roma, registro 1, f. 24* (1812). In 1812, the French Administration had decided to enlarge the square around the Column of Trajan, modifying the fence built under Sixtus V many decades before. On that occasion, the French Administration also decided to expand the excavation towards North (Palazzo Valentini) and towards South, thus uncovering the central area of the ancient *Forum* of Trajan.

³¹⁷ For the most recent excavations, see DELFINO 2015.

³¹⁸ PALOMBI 2004, p. 90. The street has been identified by D. Palombi as part of a dense street network that characterised the area before the construction of the Imperial *Fora* (PALOMBI 2016, pp. 129-145).

³¹⁹ MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2009, p. 27.

³²⁰ MORSELLI-TORTORICI 1989, pp. 118-119.

³²¹ PALOMBI 2016, pp. 96-98.

³²² CASTAGNOLI 1946. Others have located the *Atrium Libertatis* on the Capitol Hill (PURCELL 1993) or on the western side of the *Forum* of Caesar (AMICI 1994-1996). However, according to R. Meneghini, Castagnoli's hypothesis is the most likely (MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2009, p. 19).

involved in the urban transformations for the realization of the *Forum* of Caesar, and was later completely destroyed when the “saddle” between the Quirinal and the Capitol Hill was removed to gain space for the *Forum* of Trajan³²³.

In the Mid - Late Republican period, the slopes of the hills (Velia, Esquiline, Viminal, Quirinal and Capitol) and the valley delimited by them, were therefore occupied by a dense district made of commercial and residential buildings. The space was organised into at least four sections each with a different function³²⁴: the *Argiletum*, used as a communication route; the *Suburra*, where the working class lived; the *Corneta* and the *Latumniae*, both used as residential areas.

A dense street network crossed the whole area, but it is quite difficult to reconstruct it, due to a very fragmentary evidence. D. Palombi has recently provided a reconstruction of this street network, on the basis of literary sources and archaeological discoveries made during the excavations carried out in the 1990s and more recently³²⁵ (Fig. 12) According to Palombi, the street network was organised around two main elements: the *Argiletum* (Fig. 12,1) the ancient path that connected the Esquiline Hill to the Roman *Forum* and later retraced by the *Forum* of Nerva; and the path running along a section of the city walls (Fig. 12,6), which crossed the whole area from the Quirinal to the Capitol Hill, from the *Porta Sanqualis* to the *Porta Fontinalis*.

In the southern area he identifies other streets: the (Fig. 12,7) a very old street which survived, as we have seen in the previous paragraph, until the Fascist demolitions in the 1930s, and the *Carneta* (Fig. 12,8), a street probably used to reach the commercial area around the *Macellum*. In the northern area, Palombi identifies the *vicus Laci Fundani* (Fig. 4,4) and the *Clivus Lautumiarum* (*Clivus Argentarius*) (Fig. 12,3). The former is retraced by the modern *via della Salita del Grillo* at the slopes of the Quirinal Hill, witnessed by the presence of a sewer under *via della Salita del Grillo* and by the border of the *Forum* of Augustus. The latter was at the slopes of the Palatine Hill and was also used in medieval and modern times. Close to the *Forum* of Trajan, as identified by D. Palombi and by F. Coarelli³²⁶, there was also the *vicus Insteius*, the important street found by G. Boni at the beginning of the 20th century.

³²³ See *infra*.

³²⁴ For the identification and description of these four areas, see CAVALLERO 2014, p. 164.

³²⁵ PALOMBI 2016, pp. 129-146.

³²⁶ Varro mentions the *vicus*. PALOMBI 2004, p. 90; COARELLI 1999a, p. 168.

The landscape that we have tried to outline in this paragraph is likely to reflect the physiognomy of the area just before the construction of the Imperial *Fora*: small and larger streets going down from the hills to the valley, flanked by residential buildings, workshops and markets³²⁷.

The original morphology and orography of the area, together with the district developed in the valley between the 4th and the 2nd centuries B.C., was bound to disappear. The expropriations and the demolitions made for the construction of Caesar's and Augustus' *Fora* in the 1st century B.C. - 1st century A.D. and for the construction of the monumental *Forum* of Trajan in the 2nd century A.D. eliminated this part of the story of the area³²⁸.

These demolitions destroyed a huge part of an important and active urban district and, at the same time, also many older elements that had an important value for the definition of the urban space. The area hosted elements that had defined the urban space and the urban landscape since the archaic period: the Archaic and Republican walls, the *Pagus Succusanus* (an ancient administrative community in the city)³²⁹, the border between the three ancient Servian regions and between the fourteen Augustan regions. The insertion in this context of monumental buildings, like the Imperial *Fora*, and the elimination of the ancient elements for the definition of the space, not only changed the landscape in a considerable way, but it also affected its original ideological, political and religious meaning³³⁰.

2.2.3 The Imperial Fora

³²⁷ CAVALLERO 2014, p. 167. D. Palombi has also proposed to reconstruct the landscape of this region on the basis of the description in one of Terentius' comedies (PALOMBI 2005, p. 27).

³²⁸ PALOMBI 2008, pp. 299-300. It is worth mentioning that for the construction of the Trajan *Forum*, the saddle between the Quirinal and the Capital Hill was removed, definitely changing the morphology of the area. The area will experience another similar transformation later in the 20th century, when the Fascist Regime will destroy and delete forever the main important elements for the definition of the space of the new modern district built over the Imperial *Fora* and, together with them, will remove a portion of the Velia Hill, to make space for the new *via dell'Impero*.

³²⁹ The *Pagus Succusanus*, originally from the pre-Servian period, was located in the *Suburra*. According to Varro, the name *Suburra* came from the name of the *Pagus Succusanus* (PALOMBI 2008, pp. 302-304).

³³⁰ On the importance of this change also from a sacral and religious point of view, see the interesting theory by F. Coarelli, according to whom the Column of Trajan was erected to "purge" the fault of having destroyed the original border dividing the *Suburra* district from the *Campo Marzio* (COARELLI 1999, p. 6).

At the end of the Republican period, the area under investigation in the present work was affected by traumatic events that totally altered its image and function. As already underlined, the private residences and the commercial buildings characteristic of the area until the 1st century B.C. were erased for the construction of monumental squares which functioned as self-representation of a single man's power: the *Forum* of Caesar, of Augustus, of Domitian (*Forum* of Peace), of Nerva and of Trajan. In the time span of about two centuries, the monumental squares, expressions of the magnificence of the emperors, took the place of the ancient Republican district.

The monumental squares were wide, open areas, almost always paved with marble slabs, surrounded by high colonnades hiding small hemicycles; on one of the shortest sides of the squares, in the focal point, there was usually a temple dedicated to a god close to the emperor. These complexes were interconnected.

The whole architecture and decoration (reliefs, statues, sculptures) aimed at celebrating the emperor who had inaugurated that *Forum*, thus fostering his power: the Imperial *Fora* were, at the same time, spaces created for the self-representation of the emperor, for the celebration of the gods and for administrative, economic and juridical activities³³¹. As stated by P. Tucci about the *Forum* of Peace: "The origins of this building are embedded in a tale of dynastic change and competition for control of the city of Rome"³³².

Because of this structure, the *Fora* also functioned as sanctuaries in the new urban context: can this "religious" aspect of the area be retraced to the ancient Republican period? D. Palombi states that some of the ancient religious, political and social functions present in the area in the Republican period were preserved and rearranged in a new urban space – the Imperial *Fora* – which had assumed a completely different political and ideological meaning, with the construction of the monumental squares³³³. Scholars have tried to recognize the origin of these imperial temples in the Republican district: for instance, there would have been a previous phase of the temple of Venus Genitrix in the *Forum* of Caesar³³⁴. Others instead have linked for example the temple

³³¹ The presence of a temple within a *Forum* would be necessary to give validity to legal acts (NEUDECKER 2010, p. 261). On the places used for justice in the ancient Roman world, see the collection of articles in DE ANGELIS 2010 and in particular the articles by F. De Angelis, R. Neudecker and by M. Maiuro for the use of the Imperial *Fora* in Rome.

³³² TUCCI 2017, vol. 1, pp. 3-4.

³³³ PALOMBI 2016.

³³⁴ DELFINO 2014, pp. 248-251.

dedicated to Minerva in the *Forum* of Nerva, to the general war connotation given to the area in the Republican period³³⁵.

Obviously it is extremely difficult to support this kind of hypothesis, because of the lack of evidence. However, despite the change in the function of the area, it is possible to figure out the existence of a connection in terms of ancient cults and traditions between the temples of the emperors (the *Fora*) and the Republican district. Moreover, as to the focus of the present research, we can assume that both material and immaterial elements from the Republican landscape (i.e. architectural elements in the area and the general connotation of the area) had influenced the construction of the new Imperial *Fora*, being still present in the new and changed urban context.

Considering the area of the Imperial *Fora*, a usual mistake is to consider them one by one, focusing our attention now on the *Forum* of Caesar, now on the *Forum* of Augustus or of Trajan. However, it is important to stress that, when the *Forum* of Augustus was completed for example, also the *Forum* of Caesar was still in use. This means that, in the 2nd century A.D., the five *Fora* were all used together at the same time. E. La Rocca has stressed the importance of this element, when studying the architecture of the complexes and the movement inside them³³⁶.

All these considerations are extremely important when we try to imagine the “experience” of ancient people visiting the *Fora*, leaving aside the contemporary image and the perception we have of that area today.

The *Forum* of Caesar (Fig. 13)

At the end of the Republican period, after the population of the city had increased, the ancient Roman *Forum* used until that period was not wide and representative enough for the new city because it could not fulfil its functional and symbolic roles anymore³³⁷.

In this context, Julius Caesar, in competition with Pompey, took advantage of this situation and proposed a series of urban changes to solve the problem of the lack of space and, at the same time, to find a different way to express his power.

³³⁵ See for example the connection between the ancient cult of Volcano and the cult of Mars and Minerva in the *Forum* of Augustus and Nerva (PALOMBI 2016, pp. 271-278).

³³⁶ LA ROCCA 2006.

³³⁷ For an overview of the history of the Roman *Forum*, see FILIPPI 2012.

After Pompey had inaugurated a new beautiful stone theatre in the centre of the city – the theatre of Pompey in Campus Martius (55 B.C.) –, Julius Caesar proposed building a new “monumental building” as the expansion of the ancient Roman *Forum*, in the area northeast to it.

Actually, according to the original plans, it was not meant to be a separate building, but just an enlargement of the Roman *Forum*, as part of Caesar’s reorganization of the area to make new space for the city, and to commemorate his conquest of Gaul. M. Tullius Cicero, commissioned by Caesar to purchase the land for Caesar’s project, refers to the future *Forum* not as a *Forum*, but as a *monumentum*, meaning that the original project was different from what had been later realised³³⁸.

Cicero’s letter contains also other interesting information about the project: according to the plans the ancient Roman *Forum* had to extend to the *Atrium Libertatis*: “[...] *ut Forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus* [...]”³³⁹. Caesar’s project, *res gloriosissima* as defined by Cicero, had to occupy therefore the area between the ancient Roman *Forum* and the slopes of the Quirinal Hill, the area of the residential and commercial district developed in the area later occupied by the Imperial *Fora*. In order to complete his project, Caesar used a huge amount of money to expropriate these buildings and to level the slopes of the Quirinal Hill, thus obliterating forever the previous district³⁴⁰.

Julius Caesar dedicated the *monumentum* in 46 B.C.; it took the name from its dedicator, and hosted the temple of *Venus Genitrix*, the goddess who was patron and origin of the Julian line. The temple of the goddess, dedicated before the battle with Pompey, occupied the focal point of the *Forum*; the insertion of a temple devoted to the parent of the *Gens Julia*, meant the transformation of the square from a “public” square focused on people, to a “private” square devoted to Caesar and his family: as in the Hellenistic monarchies, Caesar wanted to express his power through architecture and art objects³⁴¹.

The *Forum* of Caesar was a rectangular square paved with travertine slabs. Thanks to the most recent excavations, we now know the dimensions of the entire extensions of

³³⁸ Cic. *Att.* 4.17.7. The letter is dated to 54 B.C. For the analysis of the word *monumentum* in Cicero’s letter, see ANDERSON 1984, pp. 39–41.

³³⁹ See the previous paragraph for the localization of the *Atrium Libertatis*. The indication of the proximity to the *Atrium Libertatis* was used at that time to define the borders of the new project northeast of the ancient Roman *Forum* and to give it a precise location that could be understood by Atticus.

³⁴⁰ AMICI 1991, pp. 21–22.

³⁴¹ For the construction of social identity in the Hellenistic context, see ALCOCK 2002.

the monument; it was 100 m long and 48,94 m wide³⁴². As for the other *Fora*, as we will show later, the construction of the complex was based on a strong symmetry. Along three of the four sides of the square, there were porticoes made of 2 lines of columns made of white marble from Luni, with a different intercolumniation for the two lines, while the porticoes along the long sides ended with small apses³⁴³. Recent excavations have also found that the porticoes did not have only one level, as proposed by C.M. Amici³⁴⁴, but were actually made of two levels, creating a height of about 14 m³⁴⁵ (Fig. 14, 15)

The fourth side was occupied by the Temple of *Venus Genitrix* hosting a statue of the goddess realised by the Greek artist Archesilaos, while a bronze statue of Caesar was placed in the middle of the square (the *Equus Caesaris*), beyond the presence of other statues³⁴⁶.

The original project foresaw a general reorganization of the area around the *Forum*, with the construction of a new Curia and the renovation of the *Atrium Libertatis*, to be transformed into a public library with the idea of building a complex of public buildings strictly linked to the name of Caesar's family³⁴⁷. The construction of a new Curia was approved by the Senatus only many years later, two years after the inauguration of the *Forum*, when the works were carried out by Augustus; under him, the new Curia was inaugurated as the *Curia Iulia*, and the *Forum* of Caesar was restored and extended towards South. In fact, archaeologists have established that the original square was actually 20 m shorter than the one we can appreciate today. As is easily visible in the plan realised by archaeologists, Augustus decided to transform the *Forum* and to extend it southwards, enclosing the new curia in the *Forum*³⁴⁸ (Fig. 16, 17).

Thanks to the most recent excavations carried out between 2006 and 2008³⁴⁹, we have evidence of these transformations, and we know that the *Forum* we know today is not

³⁴² The *Forum* of Caesar is the only *Forum* entirely uncovered and investigated, thanks to the last excavations in 1998-2000 (DELFINO 2014).

³⁴³ See AMICI 1991, pp. 44-46 for the remains of these apses found during the excavations.

³⁴⁴ AMICI 1991.

³⁴⁵ CAVALLERO, DELFINO DI COLA 2010. In particular, fn. 7.

³⁴⁶ MENEGHINI 2009, pp. 44 and 48.

³⁴⁷ MENEGHINI 2009, pp. 46-49. The idea was to open to the public (and not only to aristocratic families) cultural places like a library.

³⁴⁸ The *Curia* and the southern wall of the *Forum* have in fact the same foundation.

³⁴⁹ DELFINO 2010a; DELFINO 2014.

the *Forum* built under Caesar, but the result of the transformations made under Augustus.

The *Forum* was transformed again under Trajan, with the construction of the *Basilica Argentaria* on the western side of the square. The *Basilica Argentaria* was actually a portico made of two vaulted naves like an extension of the *Forum*. In order to make place for the *Basilica*, the western exedra of the *Forum* of Caesar was destroyed, while the eastern one was destroyed about one century later, to connect the *Forum* of Caesar to the *Forum* of Trajan. At the same time, the Temple of *Venus Genitrix* was rebuilt³⁵⁰.

The *Forum* of Augustus (Fig. 18)

Under Augustus, the *Forum* of Caesar was then restored and partially transformed. At the same time, north of this, a new *Forum* was under construction in the area between the *Forum* of Caesar and the *Suburra*. In 42 B.C., the day before the Battle of Philippi, Augustus had vowed to build a temple to Mars Ultor. After the battle therefore, he started the construction of the Temple of Mars Ultor, which was inserted into a new *Forum*. The construction of a new *Forum* was motivated by the need of new space for administrative and judicial activities: the Republican *Forum Romanum* and the *Forum* of Caesar were considered insufficient for conducting administrative activities, and Augustus decided to create a new space for this purpose. It is easy to imagine that behind Augustus' choice there was also the desire to imitate his predecessor, building a new complex for the administration of justice, as Julius Caesar had done some decades before. However, creating a new *Forum*, he faced the same problems as Caesar: the only available space to build a new *Forum* was a dense residential and commercial district³⁵¹. As well as the construction of the *Forum* of Caesar, the construction of the *Forum* of Augustus also needed expropriations: however, as opposed to his predecessor, Augustus undertook to limit the expropriations as much as he could. Because of this reason, as Suetonius reminds us, he would eventually build only a tight and cramped *Forum* (*angustius Forum*)³⁵².

³⁵⁰ AMICI 1991. For a recent graphic reconstruction of the complex under Augustus, see CARANDINI-CARAFA 2012, pl. 271-272: in absence of other data, the porticoes have been reconstructed like the porticoes from the time of Caesar.

³⁵¹ PALOMBI 2006. Very few elements from the residential district destroyed for the construction of the *Forum* of Augustus were found during the excavations (DELFINO 2010).

³⁵² Suet. *Aug.* 56.2.

The construction work lasted around 40 years and the new *Forum* was inaugurated in 2 B.C.

The *Forum* of Augustus was, as the *Forum* of Caesar, a rectangular square paved with marble slabs surrounded by porticoes³⁵³: the square was 70x70 m large, while the whole complex was 120 x 120 m (Fig. 19). The porticoes were 15 m wide, made of columns in *Giallo Antico* marble. Over the colonnades of the porticoes of the long sides stood an attic with caryatides alternated with shields bearing the head of Jupiter Ammon. Along each portico on the long sides, there were two hemicycles 40 m wide³⁵⁴.

On one of the short sides of the square (the eastern one), there was the temple of Mars Ultor, in the centre of a wall separating the *Forum* from the *Suburra* district. The temple was huge in dimension as compared to the square, and it dominated the whole *Forum*³⁵⁵. It was a Corinthian, octastyle, peripteral temple *sine postico* (the fourth side was actually the wall that separated the *Forum* from the *Suburra* district). Today only the podium and 3 of the 26 original columns are still there.

To the left and to the right of the temple, there were two passages that led to the *Suburra*, the district behind the *Forum*.

A chariot dedicated by the Senatus to Augustus was found in the *Forum*; Augustus himself tells us about this sculpture in his testament, but we do not know exactly what it looked like. It was probably quite large and located in the middle of the square, but we do not have any evidence of its original position, even from the most recent excavations that investigated the area between 2004 and 2006³⁵⁶.

The whole decoration of the *Forum* of Augustus (sculptures, reliefs and paintings) aimed at making the square a showcase of the mythological and historical characters of Rome's history and, at the same time, a showcase of the members of the *Gens Julia*.

³⁵³ As already underlined, symmetry was at the basis of the construction projects of these monumental squares.

³⁵⁴ The existence of the western hemicycles has been proved during the recent excavations (CARNABUCI 2010, pp. 105-128): they found the remains of a hemicycle on the northern side of the *Forum*, in the contact point between the Augustus and the Trajan *Forum*. There was probably another symmetrical hemicycle on the southern side of the portico, as it is testified to by the route of the *Cloaca Maxima* under the *Forum* of Nerva that appears deviated in correspondence to this small hemicycle (ANTOGNOLI-BIANCHI 2009, pp. 98-99 and pls. VIII, XVII). Only recently archaeologists have discovered that the 4 hemicycles all had the same size: around 40 m wide (CARNABUCI-BRACCALENTI 2011).

³⁵⁵ The temple was 36x50 m wide and it stood over a podium 3,55 m high.

³⁵⁶ The most recent excavation focused on the central sector of the northern portico, highlighting the presence of the original floor that was removed during the Medieval period (FELICI 2010).

The porticoes, the hemicycles and the temple hosted statues bearing a meaning in terms of celebration of the *Gens*. In the eastern hemicycles, there were statues of the most important members of the *Gens Julia*: Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius on one side, Romulus on the other side. Showing the son of Venus (Aeneas) and the son of Mars (Romulus) was a way to make a connection between Augustus' family and the history of Rome, therefore legitimating Augustus' power³⁵⁷.

The pediment of the temple hosted statues celebrating the ancestors of the *Gens Julia* as well³⁵⁸: Mars (at the centre of the pediment) and Venus (on Mars' right). According to the legend, Mars had generated Romulus and Remus, while Venus, from the union with Anchises, had generated Aeneas, the progenitor of the *Gens Julia*. The two gods were therefore the progenitors of the Roman people and celebrating them was a way to give importance to the origin of the *Gens Julia*³⁵⁹. In addition, other elements stressing the importance of the *Gens Julia* occupied the pediment³⁶⁰: next to Mars, on his left, Fortuna with a cornucopia, next to Venus and Fortuna two seated figures of goddess Rome on the left and Romulus on the right; in the two corners, the personifications of the Palatine Hill and the Tiber River³⁶¹. According to R. Meneghini, the roof was crowned with an acroterial statue representing a winged victory: the acroterium is represented in the relief from the *Ara Pietatis Augustae* and a bronze foot probably belonging to this winged victory was found in the *Forum*, in front of the temple, during the excavation work carried out in the 1930s³⁶². Under the pediment, there was the inscription of Augustus, which allowed archaeologists to date the temple to 2 B.C.³⁶³.

An entire room was then dedicated to the *Genius Augusti*; the end of the northern portico towards the East consisted of a room 24 m tall and today called *Aula del Colosso*. Here the floor was paved with marble slabs, while the wall behind the statue was coated with white marble slabs painted with the reproduction of a *velarium* (red and blue colours), while the northern and the southern walls were decorated with

³⁵⁷ ZANKER 1989.

³⁵⁸ We know how the front façade of the temple looked like, thanks to some reliefs on the *Ara Pietatis Augustae* - a monument from the Claudian Age – reproducing the main façade of the temple (FIG. 16).

³⁵⁹ According to P. Zanker, the statue of Mars is also a clear reference to Augustus and to his representation after his death (ZANKER 1989, p. 214).

³⁶⁰ MENEGHINI 2009, pp. 66-67.

³⁶¹ See the representation of the Temple of Mars Ultor from a relief in Carthage, today held in the Archaeological Museum in Algiers.

³⁶² MENEGHINI 2009, p. 65; RINALDI TUFİ 2002.

³⁶³ MENEGHINI 2009, p. 65.

marble pilasters. Between the pilasters, there were two works by *Apelles* representing Alexander the Great³⁶⁴.

If we think of the *Forum* of Augustus both in terms of architecture and decoration, we can understand that it was actually a celebration of the *Gens Julia* and a legitimization of Augustus' power and of his divine heritage. However, as we have previously noted, the *Forum* was built to create new space for the increased judiciary activities³⁶⁵; it was a huge tribunal for the city of Rome. Very recent research has argued that the two eastern hemicycles probably hosted the seat of the tribunal of the *praetor urbanus* and the other one of the *praetor peregrinus*, the most important tribunal in Rome³⁶⁶. The first one was located in the northern hemicycle and was used to solve disputes between Roman citizens; the second one was located in the southern hemicycle and was used to judge foreigners without Roman citizenship.

The *Forum* of Peace (Fig. 20)

About 70 years after the construction of the *Forum* of Augustus, the emperor Vespasian ordered the construction of a temple and a *Forum* dedicated to Peace to celebrate the triumph after the Judaic War. The *Forum* was built close to his predecessors' *Fora*: it was completed few years later in 75 A.D. and it was called *Templum Pacis*³⁶⁷.

After its construction, the *Forum* was extensively modified. It was seriously damaged by a fire in 192 A.D. under Commodus and later completely rebuilt by Septimius Severus: in particular, the room with the statue of Peace was restored, while the square was not transformed³⁶⁸. To this emperor it is attributed the so-called *Forma Urbis*

³⁶⁴ Plin. *HN* 35.27.10.

³⁶⁵ MENEHINI 2009.

³⁶⁶ CARNABUCI 1996, 2010 and 2012. The identification of the two hemicycles as the two tribunals was possible thanks to some wax tablets with juridical texts, found in a villa covered after the eruption of the Vesuvius in 79 A.D.: these texts contain a convocation of a testimony in the tribunal and the appointment point has been recognised in the hemicycle.

³⁶⁷ The name *Templum Pacis* was later extended to the IV Augustan *Regio* (*Regio Templum Pacis*). For the specific reason behind the use of the word "*Templum*" instead of "*Forum*", see *infra*. In the 19th century instead, the name "*Templum Pacis*" was used for the *Basilica di Massenzio*.

³⁶⁸ All the layers belonging to the fire were removed and all the coatings were renovated (MONTELLA 2014).

Severiana, which was displayed here³⁶⁹. In modern times, a great part of what was left of the *Forum* was completely destroyed during the excavation in the 20th century for the construction of *via dei Fori Imperiali* and some ruins of this *Forum* are still hidden under the street. Because of these modifications, it has been hard for archaeologists to reconstruct its original conformation³⁷⁰; thanks only to recent studies researchers have clarified the differences between the first phase of the *Forum* (under Vespasian) and the second one (the reconstruction under Commodus)³⁷¹.

Vespasian's politics were clearly inspired by Augustus, so that we can read the construction of the *Forum* of Peace in parallel with the construction of the *Ara Pacis Augusta*. Moreover, it was at the same time a way to "compensate" the destroyed city of Jerusalem³⁷² and a way to "return" to the citizens a wide area previously occupied by the emperor Nero. The monument was explicitly open to the public, becoming therefore an instrument of political propaganda. In the same way, the sculptures and the works of art exhibited in the *Forum* of Peace had been stolen by Nero and later "returned" to the population in the *Forum* of Peace.

The new *Forum* was built in the area of the valley that was left empty, between the *Forum* of Caesar, the *Forum* of Augustus and the slopes of the Velia Hill. However, in this area there were traces of some of the buildings belonging to the previous commercial and residential Republican district, like the *Macellum*, the *Forum Cuppedinis* and some private houses. These buildings were destroyed, the area was covered with an infill and the new *Forum* was built over it³⁷³.

Today we know how the *Forum* of Peace looked like when it was built thanks to the most recent excavations in the area, since until few decades ago reconstructions were based only on the presence of a fragment of the *Forma Urbis Severiana* portraying it³⁷⁴. Thanks to these excavations, today we know the architecture and the shape of

³⁶⁹ It was a map of ancient Rome made of marble slabs that was hung on the external wall of the church of *Ss. Cosma e Damiano*. Many fragments were found during the excavation in 1955-1956, with important findings in recent years. See lastly De Caprariis 2016.

³⁷⁰ CAVALLERO-DELFINO-DI COLA 2012, p. 209.

³⁷¹ MENEGHINI-CORSARO-PINNA CABONI 2009, pp. 197-199; TUCCI 2017, pp. 246-259.

³⁷² According to Gaggiotti, not only the temple was built to compensate the city of Jerusalem previously destroyed, but also the city of Jerusalem was previously called "Shalem", which meant "Peace" (GAGGIOTTI 2009, pp. 168-169).

³⁷³ MENEGHINI 2014, p. 285. Evidence of commercial buildings was found in the northern-western sector of the complex (FACCHIN 2014, p. 270).

³⁷⁴ MENEGHINI 2008, p. 84. Parts of the square and of the southwest portico had been investigated in 1998 – 2000 and 2004-2006 by the *Sovrintendenza Capitolina*. (CORSARO-MENEGHINI-PINNA CABONI 2009; MENEGHINI 2009, pp. 78-97; CORSARO 2014). Between 2000 and 2007, the *Sovrintendenza Speciale per i*

the *Forum* of Peace (Fig. 21). Different from the other *Fora*, it was very close to a square: it was 110 x 105 m wide and surrounded by porticoes on three sides (East, West, South). On these three sides, the porticoes were separated from the rest of the city by huge walls, and were accessible from the square by five steps (1,5 m) and paved with *opus sectile*. The columns were made of pink granite and they were 8,5 m high³⁷⁵, while the back wall was made of bricks. The porticoes were covered with a double pitched roof with marble roof tiles supported by an attic³⁷⁶. The porticoes were perfectly symmetrical and they were characterized, on the eastern and western sides, by two square exedras that probably hosted the staircases used to reach the upper levels of the porticoes. The northern exedra on the eastern wall still exists under the Torre dei Conti, while a section of the foundation of the specular exedra on the western wall has been identified during the most recent excavations³⁷⁷.

On the southern side of the complex, the portico had, in the centre, six columns in pink granite 15 m high and topped by a pediment: that was the *pronaos* of the Temple of Peace inside the *Forum*³⁷⁸. The temple was actually a *cella* separated from the front by a second line of six columns identical to the ones just described. In the *cella* there was the statue of the personification of Peace: the type of the statue is unfortunately unknown. For a long time archaeologists have thought that the statue was a figure seated on a throne with an olive branch in the right hand. A more recent hypothesis instead proposed a woman sitting on a throne with her palms up and bearing symbols³⁷⁹. Recent excavations carried out by the *Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni*

Beni Archeologici di Roma has conducted excavations in the room of the goddess (MOCCHIGIANI CARPANO ET ALII 2006, pp. 99-101; FOGAGNOLO-MOCCHIGIANI CARPANO 2009; SCARONIA 2014). Lastly, the University of Roma Tre, in collaboration with the *Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma* has been carrying out excavations in the *Forum* of Peace since 2011.

³⁷⁵ For the reconstruction of the height and for the decoration of the columns of the portico, see PINNA CABONI 2014.

³⁷⁶ CAVALLERO-DELFINO-DI COLA 2012.

³⁷⁷ MENEGHINI 2009, p. 83. R. Meneghini proposes a larger dimension for the exedra still included in the Torre dei Conti today, on the basis of the studies conducted by A. Colini in the 1930s (COLINI 1937). F. Cavallero, A. Delfino and V. Di Cola propose instead for this exedra the same dimension of the other exedras, on the basis of the symmetry of the monument (CAVALLERO-DELFINO-DI COLA, p. 209).

³⁷⁸ Fragments of this huge columns belonging to the *pronaos* and broken down in the middle ages were found during the excavations carried out by the *Soprintendenza Capitolina* (MENEGHINI 2009, p. 84 and fig. 99). The position of the fragments witnesses that they fell down from the external towards the internal side of the temple (COLETTA-MAISTO 2014, p. 307).

³⁷⁹ CAVALLERO-DELFINO-DI COLA 2012. This hypothesis is based not on iconographic sources but on the presence of two holes on the two sides of the statue, which, according to the scholars, served as a support for the raised arms of the statue. A. Colini (COLINI 1937) had already proposed the seated position of the statue, which was not considered certain anymore after the most recent excavations (FOGAGNOLO-

Archeologici di Roma between 2000 and 2007 have found evidence of the restoration of the *cella* in the 2nd - 3rd centuries A.D, after the fire. Thanks to these excavations we now know that the statue was posed on a podium 1,5 m high³⁸⁰.

On each of the two sides of the room of the goddess, there were two other rooms. The rooms on the eastern side are still under *via dei Fori Imperiali*; one of the western rooms was transformed into the church of Ss. *Cosma e Damiano*, while the other was excavated in the second half of the 19th century first and in 1955-1956 later³⁸¹. While the former room was probably used as a library³⁸², like the other two rooms still under *via dei Fori Imperiali*³⁸³, the latter was used to show the *Forma Urbis Severiana*, and other cartographic representations. In these rooms, there were also archives and some public offices, notably the *praefectus urbi*³⁸⁴.

The northern side of the *Forum* instead was completely different: no porticoes, but a colonnade protruding from the wall made of bricks. R. Meneghini and the team from the Superintendence of Rome have discovered, during the most recent excavations, the remains of a previous phase of this wall that testify to how the original plan of the *Forum* of Peace was extended to the North. In the first phase belonging to the Flavian age as well, the *Forum* had a perfectly squared shape. Still unknown is the motivation behind the change, which resized the dimensions of the square³⁸⁵, probably a modification of the original plan due to the later construction of the nearby *Forum Transitorium*³⁸⁶ (Fig. 22).

The plaza surrounded by the porticoes was not paved, with the exception of a band along the southern side, paved with slabs of white marble from Luni; since the southern side was not provided with a real portico, this paved band was an expedient

MOCCHIGIAN CARPANO 2009, p. 184). Scholars exclude the presence of this kind of sitting statue, at least for the podium reconstructed in the Severian age. On the two phases of the room of the goddess (the Flavian and the Severian), see also FACCHIN 2014 and MONTELLA 2014.

³⁸⁰ FOGAGNOLO-MOCCHIGIAN CARPANO 2009, p. 184.

³⁸¹ TUCCI 2017, vol. 1, pp. 126-154.

³⁸² One of the niches of the library has been recently identified and photographed by F. Cavallero and F. De Stefano (CAVALLERO-DELFINO-DI COLA, p. 209; CARANDINI-CARAFÀ, pl. 99A). Statues representing ancient Greek philosophers have been found in this area, thus validating the interpretation of the room as a library (MENEGHINI 2009, pp. 89-91).

³⁸³ MENEGHINI 2009, p. 85.

³⁸⁴ MENEGHINI 2009, p. 88, following an old hypothesis by F. Coarelli.

³⁸⁵ MENEGHINI-CORSARO-PINNA CABONI 2009, p. 193.

³⁸⁶ On this second hypothesis, see also TUCCI 2017, pp. 16-19 and ANTOGNOLI BIANCHI 2009, p. 102 and pl. VIII.b, where the transformation of the route of the *Cloaca Maxima* is seen as corresponding to the transformation of the monuments over the big sewer (MENEGHINI-CORSARO-PINNA CABONI 2009, fn. 22).

to connect the porticoes on the two other sides³⁸⁷. The rest of the *Forum* had just a dirt floor; in the middle, there were six *euripi* with a small channel in the middle surrounded by roses bushes³⁸⁸.

According to ancient authors, the *Templum Pacis* also hosted many statues, paintings and works of art; we do not know which statues and where they were located, but some bases found in the *Forum* bear inscriptions with the names of Greek artists³⁸⁹. Almost all the statues in the *Forum* of Peace were works of Greek artists, and this element witnesses a specific intent in the decoration of the *Forum*: either to create a connection with the content of the library, or to stress the high esteem of Greek culture³⁹⁰.

The *Forum* of Peace had therefore a design and a function different from the other *Fora*: it was a square garden surrounded by porticoes and enriched with beautiful works of art³⁹¹. This *Forum* was therefore a sanctuary but, at the same time, a place for study and meditation as well as a place for the display of statues³⁹². It was therefore different both from the previous *Fora* and from the next ones; it was not a place for the administration of justice, but an ideal representation of peace in the world after the civil wars and, at the same time, a place for the diffusion of culture. Its shape and its image were in fact different from the other *Fora* (not rectangular but square; there was not a separate temple but just a *cella* in the portico), and its denomination was

³⁸⁷ MENEGHINI 2014, p. 285.

³⁸⁸ Three of the six structures have been dug between 2004 and 2006: thanks to the seeds found during the excavations, the archaeologists could identify the plants adorning these structures (MENEGHINI 2009, pp. 80-81; MENEGHINI-CORSARO-PINNA CABONI 2009). For a description of these architectures, see MENEGHINI 2014, pp. 285-286.

³⁸⁹ During the last excavations, five foundations for bases of statues were found in the western side of the square and they probably corresponded to other five bases in the eastern side: they belonged to the renovation phase after the fire (MENEGHINI 2009, p. 93).

³⁹⁰ Many of the sculptures were works made by Greek sculptors like the famous *Polykleitos*, *Leochares*, *Praxiteles*, *Kephisódotos*, *Parthenokles*. On the presence of Greek sculptures in the *Forum* of Peace, see BRAVI 2009. On the decoration in the *Templum Pacis*, see instead CORSARO 2014.

³⁹¹ For a catalogue of the works of art in the *Forum* of Peace, see MENEGHINI-CORSARO-CABONI 2009, pp. 193-196. For the disposition of the statues in the *Forum*, see CORSARO 2014a.

³⁹² R. Meneghini has explicitly defined the *Forum* of Peace as a “public museum” (MENEGHINI 2009, p. 94). According to him, this *Forum* perfectly fits the idea of diffusion of culture spread at that time, as testified by Pliny (Plin. *HN* 35.10). Moreover, thanks to the results of the last investigations, archaeologists have understood that the works of art were displayed in the porticoes and were “protected” by a marble bar that allowed the visitors to admire the statues without being in contact with them (MENEGHINI-CORSARO-PINNA CABONI 2009, p. 193). For the general idea of Rome, and in particular of the Roman *Forum* as the preferred place for the display of cultural objects through time, see RUTLEDGE 2012.

different as well³⁹³: ancient authors called it not only *Forum Pacis*, but also “*Templum, Aedes, Temenos Pacis*”. As R. Meneghini has recently underlined, “this monument is not a *Forum* and, even if it were called *Forum* in late antiquity and is considered one of the five *Fora* today, it cannot be compared to the other four *Fora* close to it”³⁹⁴.

The Forum of Nerva (Fig. 23)

After the construction of the *Templum Pacis* under Vespasian, only a small space (45 x 170 m) in the valley was left for the construction of another *Forum*. It was a narrow space between the *Forum* of Peace and the *Forum* of Augustus that had already been occupied by a residential district since the Republican Age³⁹⁵. This area was called *Argiletum*³⁹⁶: it was originally a residential district from the Republican Age, defined by A. Viscogliosi as the “backbone” of the city, between the Esquiline and the Palatine Hills, between the Roman *Forum* and the *Suburra*³⁹⁷. The area, a natural valley between the hills, was crossed underground by the *Cloaca Maxima*, the big sewer of the city, realized probably in the 6th century B.C., to collect the wastewater from the hills and to bring it into the Tiber River³⁹⁸. Between the end of the 1st century B.C. and the beginning of the 1st century A.D., the area had been partially occupied by the *Forum* of Augustus and, in particular, by the two exedras built on the southern side of

³⁹³ MENEGHINI-CORSARO-PINNA CABONI, p. 190.

³⁹⁴ MENEGHINI 2014, p. 297 (translation by the author).

³⁹⁵ The University of Rome “La Sapienza”, together with the *Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma* has investigated the area of the *Forum* of Nerva between 1985 and 1986 (MORSELLI-TORTORICI 1989). Another archaeological campaign was done later by the University of Rome “La Sapienza” together with the *Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturali del Comune di Roma* (reports of these excavations have never been published; for a summary of the results, see LA ROCCA 1998). Thanks to these excavations, archaeologists have reconstructed the district in the area before the construction of the *Forum* of Nerva itself.

³⁹⁶ Scholars have thought for a long time that the *Argiletum* was actually a street, mentioned by Livy, which connected the Roman *Forum* to the *Suburra* district in the Republican age (LANCIANI 1890). E. Tortorici has proposed instead to identify the place name *Argiletum* with the commercial district built North-East of the Roman *Forum* in the Republican Age, assuming at the same time the existence of an important street that crossed the entire district, from the *Suburra* to the Roman *Forum* (TORTORICI 1991, pp. 32-55). Today this theory is generally accepted among scholars (see, among the others, VISCOGLIOSI 2009, pp. 202-203).

³⁹⁷ VISCOGLIOSI 2009.

³⁹⁸ BIANCHI 2010. According to E. Bianchi it was in 580 B.C., under Tarquinius Priscus, that the first works for the reclamation of the area and for the realization of the drainage system were realized. Today some tufa blocks, part of the *Cloaca Maxima*, are still visible in the *Forum*: these blocks are the external part of the covering of the channel and they still bear the track signs of the chariots during the medieval period when the marble slabs of the floor of the *Forum* had been removed.

the *Forum* of Augustus³⁹⁹. Both the remains of the Republican district and the two exedras of the *Forum* of Augustus were destroyed under the emperor Domitian (81-96 A.D.), for the construction of the *Forum* later inaugurated by the emperor Nerva. Ruins belonging to the residential district have been found during the 1996 excavations conducted by the University of Rome “La Sapienza” in the central and western area of the *Forum*⁴⁰⁰. The archaeologists have found the remains of a building with underground rooms, interpreted as part of a private residence devoted to the domestic staff⁴⁰¹.

The area had been also characterized by the presence of some public buildings, like the *Macellum*, a central provisional market for the city, dating back to the Republican period and restored many times until the Augustan Age⁴⁰². While the *Macellum* is documented only by ancient sources⁴⁰³, archaeologists have discovered during recent excavations other buildings around it, probably belonging to the same complex⁴⁰⁴. These rooms, restored and reorganised at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. following the orientation of the buildings existing in the area at that time (the *Forum* of Caesar and the *Forum* of Augustus), were probably still visible in the area when the work for the construction of the *Forum* started in 85-86 A.D.

Finally, before the construction of the *Forum* of Nerva, the area had already been partially occupied by the previous *Fora*. As we have noted previously in this paragraph, two exedras (hemicycles) 40 m large were built on the northern and southern side of the *Forum* of Augustus as part of the administrative space of the *Forum*, and they had partially occupied the *Argiletum*. Apart from the two exedras, the *Forum* of Augustus did not impinge on the *Argiletum* very much, and it was probably separated from the main street of the *Argiletum* district, by a bank of shops⁴⁰⁵. The two exedras built on the southern side of the *Forum* of Augustus were

³⁹⁹ See previously, in the present paragraph..

⁴⁰⁰ Reports of this excavation have been published in MORSELLI ET AL. 1996. The archaeologists have investigated the area under the floor of the *Forum*, identifying structures belonging to the construction stages before the realization of the monumental square.

⁴⁰¹ RINALDI 2015, pp. 22-23. According to the archaeologist, the building was realised at the end of the Republican Age and it was later restored in the 1st century A.D.

⁴⁰² MORSELLI-TORTORICI 1989, pp. 68-71.

⁴⁰³ This building is described in ancient sources like Livy (see MORSELLI-TORTORICI 1989, p. 68, fn. 210), but the very existence of the *Macellum* has never been proved through evidence, probably destroyed during the following urban renovations made in the district. A.M. Colini has proposed to identify some walls found in the area of the *Forum* of Peace with the *Macellum* (COLINI 1937, p. 29).

⁴⁰⁴ CARBONI-CORSARO 2015.

⁴⁰⁵ ANDERSON 1982, p. 104.

still standing when the work for the construction of the *Forum* of Nerva started under Domitian but they were destroyed to make space for the new *Forum*⁴⁰⁶.

Actually, the area had already been reorganised after the terrible fire in 64 A.D., which hit this part of the city with particular fury. At this time, the area was covered with an infill about 1,5 m high, in order to host a new urban project; taking into account the presence of the monumental squares, the project included the construction of a new huge building with five naves and porticoes all around⁴⁰⁷. However, this building was never completed because another urban plan was underway in the area at the same time, the construction of the *Forum* of Peace partially occupying this area.

The original northern wall of the *Templum Pacis* was later reused for the construction of the *Forum* of Nerva⁴⁰⁸: under Domitian, this northern wall was destroyed, to make space for the *Forum* of Nerva, and a new wall was built more to the South in the area. The ancient route of the *Cloaca Maxima* under the *Argiletum* testifies to the shape of the *Forum* of Peace in this first project. In this part of the valley the *Cloaca Maxima* originally ran parallel to the northern wall of the *Forum* of Peace (Fig. 22), but this path was interrupted to make space for a temple in the *Forum* of Nerva and it was replaced by a new section in the northern sector⁴⁰⁹.

The space left empty was not easy to organize, it was long and narrow (170 x 25 m), surrounded by the high walls of the other *Fora* and partially occupied by the two exedras of the *Forum* of Augustus. It was a challenge for the architects, to transform this space into a showcase of power as were the other *Fora*: a *porticus* like the one in the *Forum* of Augustus in fact would not have been clearly visible because of the narrow space available and because of the high walls. The works for the construction of the new *Forum* started under the emperor Domitian, in 85-86 A.D.: they required an extensive alteration of the whole area, including dismantling and destroying previous architecture in order to gain space⁴¹⁰.

⁴⁰⁶ As already noted, evidence of the two hemicycles were found during the investigations made in the area by the Superintendence of Rome in the last decades (CARNABUCI 2010; CARNABUCI-BRACCALENTI 2011).

⁴⁰⁷ According to A. Viscogliosi, this huge building was part of the original plan of the *Domus Aurea* by Nero (VISCOSGLIOSI 2008; 2009).

⁴⁰⁸ MENEGHINI-CORSARO-PINNA CABONI 2009.

⁴⁰⁹ MENEGHINI-CORSARO-PINNA CABONI 2009, pp. 193-194. For a deep analysis of the whole sector of the *Cloaca Maxima*, see ANTIGNOLI-BIANCHI 2009.

⁴¹⁰ Because of the huge dismantling work for the construction of the *Forum*, the original aspect of the area in that period is very difficult to reconstruct. A reconstruction has been possible only thanks to detailed excavations made in the area in the last decades: the results of the latest excavations are collected in LA ROCCA-MENEGHINI-PARISI PRESICCE 2015.

At that time the *Forum* was completely different from the *Forum* we know today. It was a square plaza included between the western hemicycle of the *Forum* of Augustus at East, the *Forum* of Caesar at North and the *Basilica Aemilia* at west (FIG. 25)⁴¹¹. In this first phase, the *Forum* was composed of a portico and a temple on the western side. Remains of the foundation of the first temple have been found during some excavations conducted by the Superintendence of Rome, between 1995 and 1997⁴¹². According to R. Meneghini, this temple, realised in the first phase of the *Forum*, was already dedicated to Minerva and was built right over the infill laid over the remains of the huge fire from 64 A.D., but there is not any evidence to demonstrate that the temple and the portico were actually ever completed⁴¹³.

In 87-88 A.D., in fact, the second phase of the construction of the *Forum* started under Domitian; the western hemicycle of the *Forum* of Augustus was demolished and the whole complex was extended eastwards⁴¹⁴. According to the new project, a new temple dedicated to Minerva was built on the opposite side. The new temple was similar to the older one, it was dedicated to the same goddess, Minerva, and it had the same dimensions and probably built partially reusing the marble decoration of the previous temple.

A few years later, in 95-96 A.D., in the last year of Domitian's empire, the area was completed; the new square was devoted to the emperor, and hosted many monuments built in honour of the emperor but, at the same time, it represented an element of topographical connection between different areas. The space, transformed from a closed to an open space, was no longer a connection between the *Suburra* and the *Forum Romanum*, but a connection between the three existing Imperial *Ford*⁴¹⁵.

⁴¹¹ MENEGHINI 2015. For a detailed description of the building, see in particular pp. 64-70.

⁴¹² The results of these excavations were not published at that time, but they are collected in a recent article by R. Meneghini (MENEGHINI 2015).

⁴¹³ Many scholars thought that the first temple in the *Forum* of Nerva was dedicated to Janus, because of some literary sources talking about a sanctuary dedicated to Janus in the area. H. Bauer found in the western area of the *Forum* the remains of a great foundation basement and he identified it as the foundation of the Temple of Janus, on the basis of literary sources like the *Ordo Benedicti* (BAUER 1976-1977; 1977). H. Bauer thought that the two temples (the Temple of Minerva on the East side and the temple of Janus on the western side) coexisted, similar in structure and dimension, at the two extreme sides of the long *Forum* of Nerva. This hypothesis has been denied by some excavations in the 1980s; archaeologists demonstrated that the foundation was not part of the Temple, but part of another Domitian's building never completed (MORSELLI-TORTORICI 1989, pp. 215-217; pp. 237-255).

⁴¹⁴ The foundation of the temple on the western side of the *Forum* was covered by the floor slabs of the new *Forum* and erased forever.

⁴¹⁵ A passage was created in the wall to ensure the connection between the *Forum* of Augustus and the *Forum* of Peace.

The new complex was only inaugurated under the new emperor Nerva, in 97 A.D.: it was a narrow space 114 m long and 45 m wide transformed into a real square through the insertion of a temple on the eastern short side and of porticoes along the long sides. Since the area was very narrow, there was not enough space for real porticoes on the two long sides: the colonnades were therefore built very close to the back walls and they looked like a portico⁴¹⁶. The Corinthian columns stood on high bases and, above the capital, the figured frieze and the elaborately carved *cornice* run continuously, coming out from the line of the wall in correspondence to the columns. Behind each column, in the wall, there was a pillar. A section of this colonnade has been preserved and it is still standing in the area, surrounded today by the modern streets and modern architecture: two columns with their frieze and the *cornice* run above them⁴¹⁷, the so-called *Colonnacce* (Fig. 24). Even when the area was completely covered by the Renaissance district, the *Colonnacce* were still visible and well identifiable (Fig. 25): they became therefore a perfect point of reference in the modern district⁴¹⁸. This portion of colonnade is probably, together with the Column of Trajan, the most famous and portrayed element of the whole area of the ancient Imperial *Fora* in modern time.

On the eastern side, there was the temple dedicated to Minerva. It actually leaned toward the eastern hemicycle of the *Forum* of Augustus already existing in the area. To hide this pre-existing structure, two curved walls were built on the two sides of the temple, therefore only the façade and the *pronaos* as visible elements were left on the square, whereas the back of the temple and the curved walls were hidden behind. This artifice allowed the architects to hide the asymmetry of the *Forum* caused by the presence of the northern hemicycle of the *Forum* of Augustus that, contrary to the southern one, had been preserved.

What is left of the temple today is only part of the foundation of the podium, partially still covered by the modern *via Alessandrina*, but we know quite well how it looked like in the Roman time⁴¹⁹. Even if the temple was destroyed by Pope Paulus V to gain construction material in the 17th century, it had been reproduced in many drawings between the 15th and the 17th centuries (Fig. 26). The *pronaos* of the temple had six

⁴¹⁶ The walls of the *Forum* were very high (almost 25 m), because they had to cover the view of the other *Fora* outside. The southern wall of the *Forum* leaned towards the wall of the *Templum Pacis*.

⁴¹⁷ The colonnade was originally made of 42 columns.

⁴¹⁸ For the use of the ruins as point of reference in the modern topography, see paragraph 3.4.

⁴¹⁹ MORSELLI-TORTORICI 1989.

Corinthian columns of the façade and three on the two sides, and it held the inscription to the Emperor and the tympanum. Behind the *pronaos*, there was the *cella* with the statue of Minerva, surrounded by columns⁴²⁰. Behind the temple, an elliptical portico hid the temple and the hemicycle from the side of the *Suburra*: this portico was called *Porticus Absidata* and became the entrance to the *Forum* of Nerva from the *Suburra*. It was a space that welcomed people from the *Suburra* with a rounded open space surrounded by a two-floored building⁴²¹. After the construction of the Temple of Minerva on the eastern side of the *Forum*, the open area was probably transformed into a water basin.

The decoration of the temple, as well as the decoration of the frieze over the porticoes, celebrated Minerva⁴²². The frieze above the columns was filled with mythological scenes; scenes of women spinning and weaving that have been interpreted in connection to goddess Minerva. Minerva was, in the Roman Empire, not only the goddess of war, but also the goddess of craftspeople and artisans: the *Argiletum* was mainly devoted to this, Minerva was considered therefore as the best goddess to be associated to the *Forum*, beyond Domitian's special affinity for her⁴²³. Indeed, it is likely that Domitian wanted to make Minerva the domestic goddess of the *Gens Flavia*, as Venus had been the domestic goddess of the *Gens Julia*, represented in the nearby *Forum* of Caesar.

The attic of the *Forum* was decorated with the personifications of *gentes* and *nationes* of the empire in high relief; it was a way to emphasize and underline Emperor's domain over the empire. One of these figures is still easily visible over the *Colonnacce*: archaeologists have identified it with Minerva for a long time⁴²⁴, but today its interpretation as the representation of one of the populations of the Empire (the so-called *Pirusti*) is well accepted.

After all the transformations listed above, the *Forum* of Nerva looked like all the other squares and it was entirely dedicated to Minerva, testifying to the strong bond between the emperor Domitian and the goddess. However, the space was too small and narrow, in comparison to the other *Fora* and Domitian decided therefore to start, even before the inauguration of this *Forum*, a new larger project to build a new *Forum*, levelling

⁴²⁰ For a detailed description of the marble decoration of the Temple of Minerva, see COLETTA-MAISTO 2015.

⁴²¹ For a detailed analysis of the structure and decoration of the *Porticus Absidata*, see NOCERA 2015.

⁴²² For a recent interpretation of the frieze, see PINNA CABONI 2009.

⁴²³ MENEGHINI 2009, p. 104.

⁴²⁴ This identification was based on the presence of the helmet.

the slopes of the Quirinal Hill. Nevertheless, he would not see this *Forum* completed; only Trajan would have inaugurated it many years later, in 112 A.D.

The Forum of Trajan (Fig. 27)

During the last years of Domitian's Empire (between 90 and 96 A.D.), in the same period in which the *Forum* of Nerva was completed, the construction work for the new *Forum* started⁴²⁵. The monumental squares realised until that moment had already occupied the whole valley between the Quirinal and the Capitol Hills, and no space was left for a new *Forum*, after the construction of the *Forum* of Nerva. The only way to gain new space was to level the existing *mons Egestus*, as recalled in the inscription on the basis of the Column of Trajan⁴²⁶. However, archaeologists today agree that there was not a mountain between the Quirinal Hill and the Capitol Hill, but only a slope steeply going from the area of the Markets of Trajan (*piazza Magnanapoli*), towards the centre of the valley, close to the *Basilica Argentaria* in the *Forum* of Caesar⁴²⁷.

The excavation work carried out to remove about 316.000 m³ of earth took at least one year and the work of about 1000 people per day was necessary to complete the project⁴²⁸. However, it is possible that right after the excavation operations to free the space, the area terraced in the meantime was not used for quite a long period of time before the work for the construction of the new building started⁴²⁹.

⁴²⁵ MENEGHINI-UNGARO 2015, p. 260. For this *Forum* see in particular AMICI 1983 MENEGHINI 1998a; MENEGHINI 2001b; MENEGHINI 2007; MENEGHINI 2009; PACKER 1997 (for the description of the architecture); BERTOLDI 1963, MILELLA 2004 (for the description of the architectural decoration). For a long time, scholars have thought that the works for the new *Forum* were launched by Trajan. According to the new dating however, based on the presence of brick stamps from the Domitian period in the lower levels of the walls in the *Forum* of Trajan, the emperor Domitian started the work with the demolition of the slopes of the hill (AMICI 1991; BIANCHI 2001; see also the next paragraph). However, E. Bianchi has recently recorded the presence of bricks made under the emperor Trajan in a retaining wall at the basis of the Capitol Hill, thus dating the construction of that wall to the Trajan period again (BIANCHI 2010a).

⁴²⁶ *CIL* 6. 960.

⁴²⁷ MENEGHINI-UNGARO 2015; for the morphology of the area, see paragraph 2.2.1. The presence of ruins belonging to a Republican district under the Column of Trajan, found by G. Boni and analysed again by A. Delfino, has definitively shelved the idea of a *mons* connecting the Quirinal to the Capitol Hill. For a complete description of the original orography of the area, see BIANCHINI-VITTI 2017, pp. 632-645.

⁴²⁸ BIANCHI-MENEGHINI 2002, p. 399-400.

⁴²⁹ MENEGHINI-UNGARO 2015, p. 260.

Works were carried out between 106 and 113 A.D.: the *Forum* was inaugurated in 112 A.D., while the Column of Trajan in 113 A.D. It was funded by the spoils of the conquest of Dacia, and it served as a monument to celebrate the Roman-Parthian wars project⁴³⁰. Apollodorus of Damascus designed the project, and the monument was given the same orientation as the other *Fora* already existing in the area. Thus, the new *Forum* extended into the previous area devoted to the administration of justice and it reached the *Campus Martius*.

The reasons behind the construction of a new *Forum* were twofold: imperial propaganda on the one side, the need of additional space for the administration of law on the other side, as the *Forum* of Caesar, Augustus and Nerva were no longer sufficient. The whole complex has been studied in depth since the 19th century, when different scholars worked intensively to draw the plan of the entire complex⁴³¹. Notwithstanding the commitment and the work of these scholars, many of their hypotheses about the original shape of the square have been disproved by the most recent excavations in the area, carried out by the Superintendence of Rome between 1998 and 2008⁴³².

The *Forum* of Trajan was a large square (108 x 98 m), floored with large white marble slabs (marble from Luni) and surrounded by porticoes on the eastern and western side. The southern side of the square hosted a “fake portico” with projecting columns, while the northern internal side of the square consisted of the southern external façade of the *Basilica Ulpia*⁴³³. Inside the square, along the main axis but towards the southern side, there was the huge statue of the emperor Trajan on a horse: the statue was made of bronze and it was standing on a high marble base decorated with reliefs representing weapons and trophies of defeated enemies⁴³⁴.

The whole complex was accessible from the northern side – from the *Campus Martius* – and the visitors crossed therefore the *Forum* from North to South. The visitors entered the *Forum* through a monumental entrance, a *pronaos* with eight columns in grey granite, 50 feet high. The *pronaos* was very conventional in shape, but higher than usual: the discovery of fragments of the huge columns of this *pronaos* had led archaeologists to locate in the area the huge Temple of Trajan and Plotina mentioned

⁴³⁰ Gell. NA 32.25.1.

⁴³¹ Among the others, we can remember A. Uggeri, J-B. Leuseur, L. Canina and F. Richter.

⁴³² For a presentation of the discoveries made in the last decades, see MENEHINI 2007 and 2009; a monographic publication about the new discoveries in the *Forum* of Trajan does not exist at this time.

⁴³³ See *infra* for a description of the monument.

⁴³⁴ The overall height of the statue was around 10/12 metres.

by ancient sources⁴³⁵. However, it seems reasonable to accept R. Meneghini's theory that denies the presence of a temple in this area and interprets instead the complex made of the column and the two libraries as a "temple"⁴³⁶.

Behind this entrance, there were the twin libraries and, between them, the Column of Trajan. The core of each library was a square room decorated on the interior with a double Corinthian order with the columns in *pavonazzetto* marble and all the other elements in white marble. Small steps between the columns have been interpreted as the access to the niches where the documents were preserved⁴³⁷, while along the two short sides there were wider niches hosting the statues of the emperor and Minerva. The libraries were accessible from the courtyard of the column and there were staircases inside to reach the second floor and, at the same time, the higher levels of the *Basilica Ulpia*.

Between the two libraries, there was the Column of Trajan (29 m high)⁴³⁸. The spiral shaped relief along the whole column represented the main scenes of the Dacian Wars led by Trajan, and it was well visible from the higher levels of the libraries. On the top of the column, there was the statue of the emperor made of gilded bronze, the only portion of the column visible from the square; we have to imagine that the column was completely surrounded by the two libraries, the *Basilica Ulpia* and the entrance. Behind the libraries, there was the *Basilica Ulpia*, the place devoted to the administration of law. It was a rectangular building (East-West oriented): inside it was divided into five naves by Corinthian columns made of grey and white marble (8

⁴³⁵ SHA *Hadr.* 19.9; Gell. *NA* 9.17.1. The overall height of the entrance was about 1/5 higher than the height of the entrance of the Pantheon. Columns belonging to this monumental entrance have been considered for a long time as part of the Temple of Trajan located North of the Column (LTUR, II, s.v. *Forum Traiani*, pp. 348-356; PACKER 1997; PACKER-BURGE 2003; CLARIDGE 2007).

⁴³⁶ MENEGHINI 2009, pp. 155-161. Investigations in the underground of Palazzo Valentini seem to disprove the existence of this temple and to demonstrate that the columns were part of the entrance to the *Forum* (MENEGHINI 1998 and 2001b). However, the debate is still open and while some scholars still propose the presence of the temple dedicated to Trajan and Plotina (CAVALLERO 2011; CAVALLERO-DELFINO-DICOLA 2012; BALDASSARRE 2013), according R. Meneghini, there is not enough evidence to validate the presence of a temple, and there was not enough space between the Column of Trajan and the Campus Martius for a huge temple like the one described by F. Cavallero.

⁴³⁷ Recent studies have shown that both the small steps and the double order of Corinthian columns were not part of the original project by Apollodorus of Damascus, but they were probably added after the Trajanic period: the niches were not originally built therefore to host books. R. Meneghini states that the documents belonging to the activities in the *Forum* of Trajan were actually preserved in the two hemicycles of the *Forum*, while he does not give a precise identification for the original use of the two "libraries". They might have been structures for the stairs, to reach the higher section of the column.

⁴³⁸ On the Column of Trajan, see: SETTIS 1988; COARELLI 1999b, MARTINES 2001; GALINIER 2007.

metres high); between the columns there was an architrave with a frieze representing Victories killing a Taurus and Victories with candelabra. The whole space was then divided into two levels, each one covered by very light and resistant concrete vaults⁴³⁹. On the two short sides of the *basilica* there were two apses where the walls were decorated with two orders of columns and an architrave with a frieze representing sphinxes and candelabra⁴⁴⁰.

The entrances, two avant-corps projected out from the *basilica*, were on the southern façade of the building which was actually the northern side of the square; above them, there were a frieze representing cupids and panels decorating the attic with weapons and trophies, separated by statues of the defeated Dacian barbarians.

On the two long sides, the square was surrounded by porticoes and, behind each portico, there was a huge hemicycle with a central niche. The *porticus* was made of 26 columns in *pavonazetto* marble with white capitals and a frieze with vegetal decorations. Above the frieze, the attic was decorated with *clipei* bearing the portraits of the members of the imperial family and statues of the defeated Dacian population, both in white and *pavonazetto* marble, supporting the entablature. Above the entablature, there were statues of the defeated Dacian population again: Dacians, even if defeated, were always represented as strong men with a haughty demeanor. Representing strong defeated enemies on the porticoes, as well as on the southern façade of the *Basilica Ulpia*, was a way to enhance and glorify emperor's power without humiliating the pride of the defeated enemy. Exalting the strength of the population defeated by the emperor meant in fact the acknowledgment of the value of this population but at the same time the exaltation of Emperor's strength⁴⁴¹.

The visitor would have entered therefore the *Forum* from the monumental *pronaos* at North, he would have then crossed the wide square admiring the porticoes on the two sides and the *Equus Traiani*, the equestrian statue located about 20 m southern the geometrical centre of the square, and he would have finally reached the southern wall which played the role of a background for the square. The original shape of this wall

⁴³⁹ E. Bianchi and R. Meneghini have recently made a new hypothesis for the covering of the two levels (BIANCHI-MENECHINI 2010).

⁴⁴⁰ MILELLA 2004, p. 57.

⁴⁴¹ The statues of the Dacian prisoners found in the area of the *Forum* of Trajan and today preserved in the *Museo dei Fori Imperiali ai Mercati di Traiano* are 17 in total and they are different in dimensions, in materials (different types of marble) and in the way in which the marble has been worked. L. Ungaro has identified 4 different types and has proposed their use in the attics of the porticos (type I and III), above the attic (type II), and on the southern façade of the *Basilica Ulpia* (type IV) (UNGARO 1993, UNGARO 2002).

has been reimagined many times: at the beginning of the 20th century, A. Bartoli thought that the southern wall was the entrance to the *Forum* and he imagined it as a straight wall with a big arch in the centre and two smaller arches on the two sides⁴⁴² (Fig. 28). During the excavations under the *Governatorato Fascista* in 1932, a fragment of this wall was discovered and led C. Ricci to reimagine the southern wall of the *Forum* of Trajan as a curved wall with only one arch⁴⁴³. Both these hypotheses had taken into account the presence of a colonnade projected from the wall. These reconstructions were based on some 15th-century drawings by Simone del Pollaiuolo representing the southern wall as it looked at that time⁴⁴⁴ (Fig. 29).

Only thanks to recent archaeological investigations (1991-1997 and 1998-2008), it was possible to establish the original shape of this section of the *Forum*. According to recent studies a huge wall made of three segments closed the southern side of the square: a straight wall in the centre, parallel to the northern wall, and two oblique segments on the two sides of this⁴⁴⁵. In the central sector, there was an *avant-corps* with eight columns in *giallo antico* 40 feet high, and a high attic on the top hosting the inscription to the Emperor; along the two oblique sides, also, there were columns protruding from the wall and, above them, a decorated frieze, an architrave and a cornice.

Behind this wall, there was a room retracing the same shape of the southern wall: a room 10 m large, with a marble floor (*porfido* marble) and a barrel vault⁴⁴⁶; archaeologists have given this room the name *porticus trisegmentata*⁴⁴⁷. Behind the *porticus*, between the *Forum* of Trajan and the *Forum* of Augustus, the archaeologists have found the foundations of a square courtyard with porticoes on three sides (North, East, West)⁴⁴⁸. This room has been interpreted as the connection between the two

⁴⁴² BARTOLI 1924. His hypotheses were based on some texts from the middle ages mentioning an “*Arcus Traiani*” (ASC, *Camera Capitolina, Credenzzone I, Stragrande I*, Tomo XXXVI, ff. 190-192 [a. 1526]). Even J.E. Packer has recently proposed the same shape for the southern wall of the *Forum* of Trajan, adding two other small arches on the two sides (PACKER 2001, pp. 54-55).

⁴⁴³ FORO TRAIANO. CONTRIBUTI 1989.

⁴⁴⁴ VISCOGLIOSI 2001, nn. 24 and 25; MENEGHINI 2009, p. 126-127.

⁴⁴⁵ MENEGHINI 1998 and 2001. During the investigations, archaeologists found the remains of the eastern portion of this wall, while the western portion is still under the street.

⁴⁴⁶ MENEGHINI 2009, p. 139. For the vault, see instead BIANCHI-MENEGHINI 2010, p. 214.

⁴⁴⁷ There is a connection with the *Porticus Porphyretica* known from ancient sources (SHA *Prob.* 2.1; *CIL* 15.7191) and probably identifiable with this room (MENEGHINI 2009, pp. 135-136).

⁴⁴⁸ It is likely that, to gain space for the construction of this room, Trajan ordered the destruction of the western hemicycle of the northern side of the *Forum* of Augustus (the western hemicycle of the southern side had already been destroyed for the construction of the *Forum* of Nerva). The activities which took

Fora: its floor was paved with marble slabs and, above the columns of the portico, there were an entablature and a decorated frieze⁴⁴⁹.

The whole complex, considering architecture and decorations together, expressed the Emperor's propaganda⁴⁵⁰: the height of the colonnades and of the façade of the *Basilica Ulpia* conveyed a sense of power and stability of the Empire. The marble decorations and the bronze statues testified the richness and prosperity of the Empire. The simplicity of the decoration was reminiscent of the Augustan period and the welfare of that period. The decoration of the *Forum* evoked and celebrated the military deeds and value of the emperor. The frieze of the Column, the chariots, the trophies, the pennants and the statues of defeated powerful Dacian barbarians stressed that the strength of the enemy did not take away from the victory of the Emperor. Looking at these images, the visitor was therefore constantly in front of multiple representations of the Emperor, celebrated as the winner in the whole complex.

The Markets of Trajan (Fig. 30)

Under the Emperor Trajan, another complex was built in the area freed for the construction of the *Forum* of Trajan: the complex that today is known as "The Markets of Trajan"⁴⁵¹. This complex, even if not properly a monumental square like the *Fora*, can be considered - from an architectural point of view - as part of the *Forum* of Trajan and, from a topographical point of view, between the 16th and the 19th centuries this area was definitely part of the *Quartiere Alessandrino*. This is one of the most preserved complexes from the 2nd century A.D. and it has been observed, portrayed, used and studied for centuries.

However, the reasons behind the construction of this building were completely different from those behind the construction of the *Fora*. While the *Fora* were built in fact to represent the Emperor, to show people this power and to host administrative and juridical activities of the city (archives, tribunal, etc...), the "Markets of Trajan" were built because of "structural" and "technical" needs. In connection with the

place in the destroyed hemicycle of the *Forum* of Augustus were probably moved to the hemicycles of the *Forum* of Trajan.

⁴⁴⁹ MENEGHINI 2009, p. 137. Before the last excavations (1998-2008), nothing was known of this room and archaeologists thought it was just a free area.

⁴⁵⁰ For a description of the decoration program and its meaning, see PACKER 2001, pp. 184-191.

⁴⁵¹ For a very recent publication, see BIANCHINI-VITTI 2017.

construction of the *Forum* of Trajan, the Markets of Trajan were built in fact to sustain and contain the Quirinal Hill, when its slopes (the so-called *mons Egestus*) had been removed to make space for the new *Forum*.

The demolition of the slopes of the Quirinal Hill was a huge and complex work which completely transformed the topography of the area: it was engineering work of the highest level, realised with different techniques and methodologies for different sections of the complex, in order to find in each case the best solution. After the removal of that part of the hill between the Quirinal and the Capitol, the slopes of the Quirinal Hill were characterised by big steps, derived from the stripping activity, thus generating many levels, later used for the new building⁴⁵².

The complex consisted in a solid structure tightly attached to the hill on which it was built; it was actually a structural support for the hill, especially at the lower level. It was made of blocks of diverse designs and heights (no more than four floors); the blocks were built on the artificial steps of the slopes, thus creating a complex articulated on different levels and directions and separated by public streets. The lower levels, intended to contain the hill, leaned toward the hill to sustain it, and the big hemicycle at the ground level (the same level of the *Forum* of Trajan) had been built exactly for this aim: it was an arch-shaped structure which, exploiting a pushing system, was intended to contain the hill⁴⁵³. The highest levels, instead, thanks to the use of domes and vaults, were open to the light on both sides (Fig.31).

Looking at and analysing the architecture and its function, it is easy to understand that the "Markets of Trajan" and the *Forum* of Trajan were designed and built at the same time as a unique complex. The coincidence between the eastern apse of the *Basilica Ulpia* in the *Forum* of Trajan and the hemicycle of the Markets of Trajan testifies to the two complexes being designed at the same time.

As noted in the previous paragraph, the demolition work on the slopes of the hill had already started under the Domitian's rulership, as demonstrated by many recent investigations. Brick stamps dated back to the Domitian period and found at the lower level of the structure, testify in fact that the works for the construction of the Markets and *Forum* of Trajan started at that time⁴⁵⁴. After the stripping of the hill under the

⁴⁵² BIANCHINI-VITTI 2017, pp. 621-623.

⁴⁵³ For a detailed description of the foundation and substructure works, see BIANCHINI-VITTI 2017, pp. 517-532, where the work has been analysed from a technical point of view.

⁴⁵⁴ BIANCHINI-VITTI 2017, pp. 22-23. Brick stamps from this period have been found in the retaining wall behind the *Basilica Argentaria* and in the area of the Temple of Venus in the *Forum* of Caesar (AMICI 1991; UNGARO-MENEGHINI 2015; LUGLI 1965; *contra*: BIANCHI 2010).

Emperor Domitian, the work stopped for few years, until Trajan resumed the whole plan, completely changing Domitian's project⁴⁵⁵; the buildings that we know today as part of the complex, with their foundations and sewers, were all started and completed under Trajan⁴⁵⁶. The new buildings and the *Forum* of Trajan were designed by the architect Apollodorus of Damascus, who was also involved in the whole organization of the construction yard and of the workforce⁴⁵⁷.

After the removal of part of the slopes, the old orography and topography of the area had been completely eliminated, as well as the old street network, and the area was reorganised; the architect designed the construction of many blocks at different levels, connected by staircases and separated by new streets. The complex was organised into three different blocks at three different levels, each with different functions: each block was then made of one or more constructions connected to each other.

If we imagine being at the level of the floor of the *Forum* of Trajan, we can assume this as the first level of the Trajan Markets. Here we find the first block, made of the *Grande Emiciclo* (a three floored construction built around the exedra of the *Forum* of Trajan), the two *Aule di Testata* on the two sides and the *Piccolo Emiciclo*, a semi-circular room. At the middle level (the entrance level to the museum today), there was the *Grande Aula*, a huge two-floor construction: a big space in the middle, surrounded by many small rooms on the two long sides, spread over two floors. At the highest level (the second floor of the *Grande Aula*), there was a four-floor building very close to the previous one, but without any connection to it. In total there were six levels connected by staircases.

These three blocks occupied the area between the Trajan *Forum* and the ancient *Suburra* district behind it and they were made of six levels in total⁴⁵⁸. They were separated by three important streets (*strada tra il Foro e i Mercati di Traiano*, *via di Campo Carleo*, *via Biberatica*) which ensured a connection between the Imperial *Fora* and the *Suburra* district at the higher level. There were three accesses to the

⁴⁵⁵ BIANCHINI-VITTI 2017, p. 22.

⁴⁵⁶ BIANCHINI-VITTI 2017, pp. 672-673.

⁴⁵⁷ The presence of many vaults in the complex has always been recognised as a signature of the architect Apollodorus. For a description of the covering system of the whole complex, see BIANCHINI-VITTI 2017, pp. 555-582.

⁴⁵⁸ The complex is today closed at the North by the modern *via di IV Novembre*, but in Antiquity it probably extended to *via delle tre cannelle*, as documented by R. Lanciani in the FUR (table 22). BIANCHINI-VITTI 2017, p. 25.

building: one at the middle level (the one used today as main entrance); one on the *via Biberatica*; and the third in the Trajan *Forum*, at the lower level.

Such a huge project could be accomplished by Trajan only thanks to the loot from the battles that he had conducted in Dacia in the years before⁴⁵⁹.

The name “Markets of Trajan” does not explain the function the complex had in the past, since the interpretation as a market is no longer accepted. This name was given to the complex only in the 1930s, when it was investigated under the direction of C. Ricci. At that time in fact archaeologists interpreted the small rooms in a line around the *Grande Aula* as a market: they were in fact very similar to the workshops at the ground level of the *insulae*⁴⁶⁰.

The definition of the complex as “Markets” is therefore misleading, since the complex hosted some shops, but not only⁴⁶¹; the different blocks of the complex, with different shapes and structures, had different functions.

Ancient sources considering this complex are scarce and it is therefore not easy to precisely define the function of such a huge complex made of more than 150 rooms. Since ancient sources do not provide a specific name for the Markets of Trajan, G. Lugli had extended the name “*Forum* of Trajan” even to the Markets of Trajan, so it would be possible that some of the activities of the *Forum* of Trajan were executed in the Markets of Trajan as well⁴⁶². On the other side, if we look at the decoration of the *Forum*, with a specific propaganda intention, and at the Markets of Trajan, without any rich marble decorations, we also might think about a difference in the use of the two structures⁴⁶³.

⁴⁵⁹ As declared in the inscriptions from the *Forum* of Trajan (see Gell. *NA* 32.25.1).

⁴⁶⁰ BIANCHINI-VITTI 2017, pp. 689-791. Contrary to the name of the Markets of Trajan, the names of the other monuments considered here – the *Forum* of Trajan, the *Forum* of Nerva, etc. – often occur (sometimes corrupted) in the documentation analysed in the present work and dated back between the 16th and the 19th centuries: the name *Mercati di Traiano* is never attested (not in this form, nor in a corrupted version) in the documentation analysed. For an overview of the place names used for this area in the medieval and modern period, see paragraph 3.3.

⁴⁶¹ The hypothesis of a market has been rejected also because of the fact that the complex is organised on many levels and the communication between the different levels with a chariot was not so easy; this situation was impossible for a market. For the interpretation of the complex in relation to the activity of the *Forum* of Trajan, see BIANCHINI-VITTI, pp. 691-694.

⁴⁶² Some administrative activities like those run by the *arcarii cesariani* (fiscal activities) or the rhetorical activities (BIANCHINI-VITTI 2017, p. 694).

⁴⁶³ Marble and painted walls in the *Forum* of Trajan, brick walls just covered by plaster in the Markets of Trajan (BIANCHINI-VITTI 2017, pp. 588). This difference in the kind of coating could underline a difference in the function of the two complexes.

Although there is not a shared interpretation on the function of the complex, all the scholars do agree on the fact that the complex was used for activities connected to the juridical and administrative activities taking place in the nearby *Forum* of Trajan, which was directly accessible from the Markets of Trajan: looking for a general function of the building, it is possible to agree with M. Bianchini who has recently endorsed the theory of a building used for the administrative activity of the *Forum*⁴⁶⁴. All the architectural elements of the Markets of Trajan can be interpreted as rooms devoted to the administration of justice: the *tabernae* (small rooms) of the *Grande Aula* are similar to the small rooms aligned along the squares of ancient cities. The *domus* hosted important officials like the *procurator*, or they were made of rooms used as archives. The hemicycle rooms were very similar to the apses of the *Forum* of Trajan, used as venues for the tribunals. The *Grande Aula* probably hosted, at the ground level, many different administrative offices linked to the juridical activities of the *Forum* of Trajan. The side rooms at the third level hosted instead, according to some archaeologists, the office of the *procurator Fori Traiani*, who was in charge of the administration and management of the whole *Forum* of Trajan. According to other archaeologists, some of the rooms were probably used to store and preserve the documentation produced during the trials in the *Forum* or probably as meeting rooms for affairs between the Roman officers and the suppliers. According to other scholars, the building was a headquarters for the firefighters⁴⁶⁵. In the hemicycle, at the lower level, we would have probably found shops, offices for the grain distribution (suppliers' offices) and other offices linked to the activity of the *Forum* as a tribunal. In conclusion, this was a multifunctional complex, where the structural function of the complex probably went hand in hand with a number of uses.

2.2.4 The function of the Imperial Fora and their use until the 5th century A.D.

After the completion of the complex built under the Emperor Trajan, the area was fully occupied by buildings: there was no more space for the construction of new

⁴⁶⁴ BIANCHINI-VITTI 2017, pp. 691-694.

⁴⁶⁵ MENEGHINI 2009, p. 705. This last hypothesis is based on some comparisons with the firehouse in Ostia.

buildings by the next emperors. All the initiatives of Trajan's successors mainly regarded the completion of some parts of the complexes, their restoration and renovation and, in some cases, their modification.

Already under Trajan some transformations of the existing complex of the Imperial *Fora* were done⁴⁶⁶, but it was just a bit later, under the Emperor Hadrian, that bigger transformations of the area occurred. Hadrian took part in the completion of the *Forum* of Trajan with the rearrangement of the area North of the *Forum*. He realised here the *Athenaeum*, a sort of school for philosophers made of three rooms with a rich marble decoration⁴⁶⁷; this complex, together with the two libraries belonging to the *Forum* of Trajan, conveyed to this area a specific cultural function. According to those scholars supporting the theory of the existence of the temple, the *Athenaeum* was also linked to the huge temple built North of the Column of Trajan and dedicated to Trajan and his wife Plotina.

In 192 A.D., under the empire of Commodus, a violent fire flared up in the southern side of the area of the Imperial *Fora*. The fire, generated in some houses close to the Trajan Markets, spread along *via delle Carine* and destroyed, as already seen, the southern side of the *Forum* of Peace, reaching the *via Sacra*, where it attacked the Temple of Vesta and the *Domus Tiberiana*. Septimius Severus carried out the restoration of the monuments and buildings damaged during this fire. Another fire devastated the area of the Imperial *Fora* again in 283 A.D. After the fire, the *Forum* of Caesar was completely rebuilt⁴⁶⁸ under the emperor Maxentius⁴⁶⁹; the curia was rebuilt and the south-western portico was transformed into a big hall, directly connected to the area behind the *Curia*, very similar to a basilica. At the same time, the temple of *Venus Genitrix* was rebuilt and enclosed in a huge wall that completely hid the northern internal façade of the *Forum* of Caesar.

Until the 4th century A.D. the Imperial *Fora* had been used for the administrative and juridical activities of the city and they had been continuously restored. The restoration

⁴⁶⁶ We are talking about the addition of the so called *Basilica Argentaria* close to the *Forum* of Caesar and about some transformation of the exedras of the *Forum* of Caesar done mainly to readapt the area for the new *Forum* (MENEGHINI 2009, pp. 50-52).

⁴⁶⁷ Archaeologists have recently identified the *Athenaeum Adriani* in some ruins unearthed in the area close to the Column of Trajan, during the excavation works for the new underground line (GALLI 2013; SERLORENZI-EGIDI 2013).

⁴⁶⁸ For a description of the transformations in the *Forum* of Caesar in Late Antiquity, see MENEGHINI 2010a.

⁴⁶⁹ For a long time it was thought that the reconstruction was made under the Emperor Diocletian. For some recent hypotheses about the new project by Maxentius, see BIANCHI 2010a.

work realised under the Emperor Maxentius was probably part of one of the last projects affecting the area: after this period the area was no longer restored or transformed⁴⁷⁰. Rome had lost its role as the capital of the Roman Empire, and the area started to be used by fewer people and to be abandoned.

In the 4th-5th centuries the area of the Imperial *Fora*, no longer used for juridical and administrative activities, started to be deprived of marble decorations, reused in order to produce construction material for new buildings. The marble decorations were removed, the huge walls started to be demolished and the area was completely abandoned, slowly losing its physical borders which had identified it as a closed topographical area for many centuries. To see a defined and topographically identified context in this area, we had to wait the birth of the *Quartiere Alessandrino* in the 16th century.

2.3 The Imperial *Fora*: from Late Antiquity to the 16th century

As we have seen in the previous paragraph, in the 4th and the 5th centuries A.D., the Imperial *Fora*, built to express emperors' power and to host administrative and juridical activities, gradually lost their original functions and were slowly abandoned: the first changes in the area under investigations occurred in the *Forum* of Peace and in the *Forum* of Augustus⁴⁷¹.

In this moment, the physical boundaries of the ancient Roman squares, which isolated each one of them from their surroundings, started to lose their structure and were gradually destroyed; after a few centuries, at the end of this process, the *Fora* would not exist as squares anymore⁴⁷². However, isolated portions of the Imperial

⁴⁷⁰ MENEGHINI 2020, pp. 53-55. However, the *Forum* of Caesar maintained its importance also in the 4th and 5th century, as testified by the reuse of the area as the venue of the *secretarium senatus*

⁴⁷¹ For a summary of the urban changes in Rome between the 4th and the 6th centuries, see LIVERANI 2009.

⁴⁷² It is important to remind that the physical boundaries of the ancient *Fora* (the walls surrounding the squares) do not correspond to the physical boundaries of the area under investigation in this research (see paragraph 2.1.1).

monumental buildings were still part of the landscape of the medieval city, albeit with different functions and topographical role: they were ruins.

The monuments built during the Roman Empire, as they were not used for administrative and juridical activities any longer, were abandoned and gradually deprived of their decorations, floor slabs and marble elements. It is important to stress that this transformation did not occur in the whole area at the same time; the *Forum* of Peace, for example, underwent the earliest transformations in the 6th century A.D.; in other *Fora*, as the *Forum* of Caesar and the *Forum* of Augustus, the loss of function occurred much later, in the 8th or 9th century⁴⁷³. With the abandonment and destruction of the buildings, the whole area was mainly used for the transition from the eastern to the western portions of the city or from the northern to the southern one. The lack of marble slabs on the floor generally caused the creation of swampy zones until the moment when the area of the old Imperial *Fora* - the heart of the political life under the Roman Empire - was remediated and converted into a residential area. Small houses, churches and monasteries were built – at different times – in some sectors, while other sectors were left empty for the cultivation of plants and vegetables; this transformation was the genesis of that process of urbanization and repopulation of the new district that would develop in the area in the 16th century⁴⁷⁴, giving the area a defined identity once more.

As seen in the previous paragraph, the Imperial *Fora* were built in sequence as distinct units, so they can be (and usually are) described according to both a chronological and a topographical criterion. After the completion of the *Forum* of Trajan, instead, the five *Fora* coexisted at the same time and underwent a simultaneous development. In addition, in Late Antiquity and in the Early Medieval era, their boundaries progressively became porous and ill defined; although it was likely to recognize the perimeter of the ancient *Fora*, during the Early Medieval period they did not exist as topographical units anymore. Therefore, a treatment of the whole area as a unique topographical unit in a chronological order seems more valid for this phase. Moreover, literary and archaeological sources do not provide us enough information to describe the story of each single *Forum*, even if the excavations carried out in the last 20 years

⁴⁷³ The *Forum* of Trajan, in particular, was the last to be abandoned, in the 9th century (see *infra*). Here, floor maintenance works are documented until the beginning of the 9th century, testifying that the area had been used as a square until that time (LIVERANI 2009, p. 22-23).

⁴⁷⁴ BIAMONTE 2006, p. 176.

have partially rediscovered the medieval levels of the Imperial *Fora*⁴⁷⁵. For these reasons, unlike the criterion adopted in the previous paragraph, the adoption of a rigid descriptive structure (i.e. the description of each *Forum* in a chronological order) would be misleading when referring to the period between the 5th and the 16th centuries A.D.

The medieval phase of the city has been unknown for a long time. As A. Augenti has noticed, even one of the most complete works about the medieval city – such as “Rome, profile of a city” by R. Krautheimer (1980) – offers quite a poor analysis of the archaeological evidence, if compared to the written and artistic documentation. Still, according to Augenti: “This was the best the author could do at that time”⁴⁷⁶. Archaeological interest in the medieval phase of the city generally developed in Europe in the 1980s, together with the idea of *Archeologia Urbana*⁴⁷⁷: “In the case of the Imperial *Fora*, as we have seen in the previous paragraph, investigations of the medieval phases of the site started only between the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st. However, archaeological information for this long period – from the 5th century A.D. to the 16th century A.D. gathered from recent excavations are quite rare: almost all of the late antique and medieval phases of the site had been deleted by the investigations carried out at the beginning of the 20th century⁴⁷⁸.

2.3.1 Transformations in Late Antique Rome

Between Late Antiquity and the Early Medieval period, the whole city experienced a deep transformation; the old dense and lively city, partially destroyed and abandoned, started to thin out and assumed a completely different aspect, slowly developing into the modern city. The new city, defined at the same time as a “place of memory” and “a concrete place”⁴⁷⁹, was characterised by ruins and abandoned or empty areas. Ancient monuments, once standing and well visible in the city, slowly turned into ruins: they were not used for their original functions anymore and ancient monumental

⁴⁷⁵ See the introduction for a description of the latest investigation works.

⁴⁷⁶ AUGENTI 2010, pp. 101-102.

⁴⁷⁷ For a definition of *Archeologia Urbana*, see BROGIOLO 2000. A discussion about the development of *Archeologia Urbana* is out of topic in this context.

⁴⁷⁸ See paragraph 2.1.

⁴⁷⁹ AUGENTI 2010, p. 104.

areas were often crossed by new streets. The new street network developed in this period is at the basis of the medieval city and testifies to a lack of continuity with the past; it resulted from the combination of sections of old streets, now reused and readapted to connect different parts of the city⁴⁸⁰.

Provided that each district of post-antique Rome has its own history and its own characteristics, we can notice, as a general trend, a similar change in the use of ancient public areas. Areas that in the past had been used for public meetings or for the administration of justice, after the ancient period became residential areas or, in other cases, were used for handcrafting activities or funerary uses⁴⁸¹.

Historians as S. Mazzarino and E. Lo Cascio have outlined how the city of Rome experienced a large and sudden decrease of population in the second half of the 5th century; compared with the previous century, the number of people living in Rome dropped from around 1 million to 50.000⁴⁸². The new medieval Rome became therefore an “empty” city, as emphasised by Cassiodorus at the beginning of the 6th century:

*“apparet quantus in Romana civitate fuerit populus [...] testantur enim turbas civium amplissima spatia, murorum, spectaculorum, distensus amplexus, mirabilis, magnitudo thermarum et illa numerositas molarum”*⁴⁸³

The causes of this collapse have always been identified with the wars which occurred in this period and especially with the so-called Greek-Gothic war (536-554 A.D.). Actually, when the Greek-Gothic war started, the city had already experienced a decrease in population, as the text by Cassiodorus indicates (530 A.D.). What was therefore the cause of this decrease in population? As explained by R. Santangeli Valenzani, tragic events like wars usually cause a sudden change, while a long and gradual decrease in population, like the one experienced in Rome during the 5th and

⁴⁸⁰ The level of the old streets from the ancient period was often raised, according to the new altimetric level of the medieval city. Information about the medieval street network can be derived from literary (HUBERT 1990) and archaeological data (MENEGHINI 2017).

⁴⁸¹ See AUGENTI 2010; SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007.

⁴⁸² For a long time, instead, historians have maintained that the population decrease started in the 4th century A.D. (MAZZARINO 1951; LO CASCIO 1997).

⁴⁸³ Cassiod. *Var.* 11.39.

6th centuries, is usually caused by structural changes in the economic and social system⁴⁸⁴. In the second half of the 5th century, indeed, a crisis of the imperial system and the breakdown of the food supply occurred.

This new context also affected the urban image of the city: two major effects were the abandonment of many public buildings and the consequent creation of “empty spaces” on the one side and the reuse of ancient and public buildings for different purposes on the other side.

At the same time, the rise of Christianity and the growing power of the Church in the city, albeit a gradual process, implied a different use of public spaces and a reshape of the religious topography. After the Edict of Constantine (312 A.D.), the new emperors delegitimised paganism and its places of worship; in 380 and in 399 A.D. Theodosius and Honorius respectively banned and prohibited the celebration of pagan cults. Consequently, Christians needed places for their meetings: small private residences started to be used for this purpose and were later turned into churches; ancient pagan temples were turned into Christian churches and new Christian Basilicas were built, deriving their shape and name from the homonymous ancient buildings⁴⁸⁵.

According to R. Santangeli Valenzani, the occupation of ancient public spaces by private buildings, the consequent reduction of accessible public areas, and the contemporary acquisition of many of the properties by the Church and the upper class were a direct consequence of the social, religious and demographical evolution started in the 4th and the 5th centuries and exploded in the 6th century⁴⁸⁶.

The presence of burial areas inside the ancient Aurelian Walls is a typical indication of the changes occurred in the medieval period: according to the ancient laws of the city it was in fact not possible to bury people close to the residential areas. During the Middle Ages, after the crisis of the 4th – 5th century and the consequent decrease in population, also the civic organization and regulations changed: small settlements grew around churches and monasteries and, close to them, an area was usually devoted to the burial of the members of these small communities.

⁴⁸⁴ For an in-depth analysis of the demographic changes, see MENEHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2004, pp. 21-29; see also SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007, p. 67-68.

⁴⁸⁵ KRAUTHEIMER 1987. See, in particular, pp. 19-47.

⁴⁸⁶ SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007.

All these factors affected the area of the Imperial *Fora* between the 6th and the 11th century, thus allowing us to consider this specific space as an urban microcosmos. This area, originally characterised by wide public squares, was slowly transformed into a residential district, with the presence of private buildings, quarries, workshops and burial areas.

2.3.2 Transformations in the *Fora*: towards an urban district

Notwithstanding the general desegregation of the ancient classical urban context in the whole city between the 4th and the 5th centuries, the area of the Imperial *Fora* seems to have survived unbroken in this period. Some commercial structures were located in the area of the *Forum* of Peace in the 4th century, probably in connection with the construction of the *Basilica di Massenzio*⁴⁸⁷; they occupied the free and unpaved open area surrounded by the porticoes, once occupied by the six *euripi*: the use of an area that was not paved with marble slabs was much easier. However, a text by Ammianus Marcellinus centred on Constantius II's visit to the city in 357 A.D., describes the city and in particular the area of the *Forum* of Peace and of the *Forum* of Trajan still in good conditions in those years⁴⁸⁸.

Until the 5th century, the area maintained its characteristics as a forensic space; even though some destructions and looting are already testified to in this period, the area probably stayed in relatively good conditions⁴⁸⁹. Since the 6th century, a process of transformation started, leading the area to its later (i.e. medieval) aspect, characterised by the deterioration of the buildings, the conversion of public spaces into private areas, and the use of ancient public spaces for burials and workshops⁴⁹⁰.

These transformations, as we have seen above, were probably largely due to the decrease in population that lowered the frequentation of the whole area. Besides, two more elements provoked the abandonment of the ancient *Fora*: the transformation of the juridical trials and the spread of Christianity. From the end of the 3rd century A.D.,

⁴⁸⁷ MENEGHINI 2009, p. 197.

⁴⁸⁸ Amm. Marc. 16.10.1-20; BIAMONTE 2006.

⁴⁸⁹ AUGENTI 1996, pp. 964-967. The abandonment and demolitions did not occur all at the same time in the whole city: the Coliseum, for example, was unbroken until the 5th century and the last games took place in the Coliseum at the beginning of the 6th century A.D.

⁴⁹⁰ SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007.

public trials had been moved from public buildings - like Basilicas and *Fora* - to the Prefects' offices. Some of the temples in the area under investigation, together with other public buildings, were transformed into churches and monasteries: what was previously conceived as a public space, progressively acquired a more private character. Indeed, together with the abandonment of several public buildings in the area of the *Fora*, and the transformation of many of them into churches, new residential and aristocratic buildings started to occupy the area after the 6th century⁴⁹¹. The new aristocratic buildings were often located over the ancient pagan monuments or close to them, and they were often built with reused materials. Between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century, a member of the aristocracy carried out the dismantlement of the temple of Mars Ultor in the *Forum* of Augustus to obtain marble and construction materials.⁴⁹²

Close to residential hubs, churches and monasteries, burial areas grew⁴⁹³. Other spaces in the area were used in the 6th and 7th centuries as quarry for materials and workshops; clear evidence of this has emerged during the most recent excavations in the *Forum* of Trajan, where archaeologists have found the remains of an ancient lime-kiln⁴⁹⁴.

However, up until the beginning of the 16th century - when the new *Quartiere Alessandrino* started developing - a 'public' dimension was still preserved, since the areas used as quarries or cemeteries were still accessible. Yet, with the development of the new urban district in the 16th century, the public nature of the area definitively changed with the construction of private houses and buildings.

⁴⁹¹ Even if churches are not fully-fledged private buildings, they were different from the ancient public temples: they were in fact property of specifically defined communities or congregations and, even if they were open to that community, they were a private property.

⁴⁹² An inscription is located on the podium of the temple, at the exact place where one of the columns was originally set up: the inscription is dated to the 5th - 6th century and this demonstrates that the column had already been removed when the inscription was realized. It is possible that the Temple of Mars Ultor appeared, between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century, quite similar to the present one (MENEGHINI - SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2009). The dismantlement of the rest of the marble, tufa and travertine elements from the *Forum* (the slabs from the square and the portico, the blocks from the foundations) was then pursued in the next centuries: we are not able to indicate precisely when this process started, but we can only say that it happened before the 10th century, because the traces of the removal of the floor slabs were covered by stratigraphy dating back to the 10th century (COUSI-FELICI 2010, p. 144).

⁴⁹³ See for instance the case of the *Forum* of Peace (FOGAGNOLO-ROSSI 2008).

⁴⁹⁴ MENEGHINI 1998a, pp. 132-135.

2.3.3 History of the area under investigation, between the 6th and the 16th centuries

As already mentioned, the temples in the area, such as that of Mars Ultor, started being dismantled; Christian religion quickly developed in the whole city and especially in the area of the Imperial *Fora*. Here, from the 6th century, Christian churches occupied ancient buildings and temples⁴⁹⁵.

The area of the Imperial *Fora* was gradually filled with Christian churches of Greek cult, many of which were built over the ruins of ancient temples or exedras. Many of them were built between the 7th and the 9th century, but we have evidence of the first church of a Greek cult built in the *Forum* of Peace in the 6th century A.D., the church of *Ss. Cosma e Damiano*, founded by Pope Felix IV⁴⁹⁶. The diffusion of Christianity in the 6th century was strictly linked to the eastern cults from the Greek world: this phenomenon was due to the byzantine conquest of Rome and to the occupation of the city by the Byzantine Empire⁴⁹⁷. The presence of churches implied burials and structures for pilgrims⁴⁹⁸.

⁴⁹⁵ Among the oldest churches in the area, we can remind the church of *S. Adriano* (6th century) established in the old *Curia* in the Roman *Forum*, the church of *Ss. Cosma e Damiano* (6th century), in one of the rectangular exedras of the *Forum* of Peace and the church of *Ss. Quirico e Giulitta*, close to the *Porticus Absidata* in the *Forum* of Nerva. In the 9th century were established instead the church of *S. Abbaciro*, in the northern exedra of the Markets of Trajan, the church of *S. Basilio*, over the ruins of the temple of Mars Ultor in the *Forum* of Augustus (see *infra*) and the church of *S. Nicolò de Columna*, close to the Column of Trajan. Other churches were built in the area of the *Forum* of Trajan in the next centuries: *S. Urbano* (13th century), *S. Eufemia* and *Spirito Santo* (15th century). For an overview of the churches in the area, see GORI 2006.

⁴⁹⁶ Among the churches belonging to a Greek cult in the area of the Imperial *Fora*, we should remind the church of *S. Basilio* and the church of *S. Niccolò de Columna*. The construction of this church was linked to spiritual monasticism, founded in the 8th-9th century; to the same period probably belongs the church of *S. Abbaciro*, identified by R. Meneghini in the apse North of the Markets of Trajan (MENEGHINI 1993, p. 94).

⁴⁹⁷ AUGENTI 1999.

⁴⁹⁸ Archaeologists have found about ten burials excavated in the open area, belonging to this period (MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2004, pp. 103-125). As to the structures for pilgrims, an example is the so-called *Xenodochium a VALESIS*, in the church of *S. Abbaciro* (MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2004, pp. 73-75).

Considering these data, we can visualize two different situations in the area of the Imperial *Fora* for this period. While the zone of the *Forum* of Peace and of the *Forum* of Augustus was characterised by the destruction of the old buildings, now substituted by churches, the remaining part of the area was not greatly changed if compared to the previous centuries.

However, with the beginning of the 7th century, the dismantlement of the ancient Roman buildings started also in the *Forum* of Trajan: this area was characterized by dismantling episodes and by the installation of workshops; recent archaeological excavations have discovered a limestone kiln settled in a small room behind the south-eastern porticos of the *Forum*. This kiln was used to transform into lime the marble fragments taken from that part of the *Forum*⁴⁹⁹. At that time, the interest was probably in the marble of secondary rooms and not in the marble of the floor of the square, so that the porticos and the central square were still untouched at that time⁵⁰⁰.

Middle of the 9th century

From the 9th century on, the overall situation radically changed; huge alterations in the area transformed it into a rural area in some parts, and into a residential area in some other parts. In the 9th century the population started to grow and reached its peak in the 10th century. This process radically transformed the area so that there were no more public spaces as in the ancient classical period, but only private and residential areas.⁵⁰¹

At the middle of the 9th century, in different zones, we can identify therefore many elements indicating a functional shift: the growth of aristocratic and popular residences, the abandonment of the zone, the transformation of some areas into rural areas and, at the same time, the development of new monastic and Christian buildings over the ancient Roman ruins. In particular, we can divide the area in two zones each

⁴⁹⁹ The limestone kiln was found during excavations in the area in 1997 (MENEHINI 1998a, pp. 132-133; 2001a, p. 155).

⁵⁰⁰ The marble slabs of the central square of the *Forum* will be removed only in the 9th century (see *infra*).

⁵⁰¹ For a description of the shift from public to private spaces between Late Antiquity and Early Medieval time, see SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007. In this paper, and against the common opinion, the author stresses how the change in the destination from public to private use occurred in the 8th-9th century, rather than in Late Antiquity.

with a completely different character: the area of the *Fora* of Caesar, Nerva and Peace, that was used and exploited as residential or rural areas, and occupied by new structures; the area of the *Forum* of Augustus and Trajan that was instead completely abandoned.

In the *Forum* of Caesar, at the beginning of the 9th century, the floor slabs were removed, leaving the preparation of the floor exposed to the air. On this level, two buildings were located, two simple huts made of perishable materials with a rectangular shape⁵⁰². It is unfortunately impossible to state if the huts were used as residences or just for animals. What is possible to state is that the area was used for agricultural purposes, because during the excavations archaeologists have also found traces of a cultivation system. Later in the 9th century, the level of the area was raised and a new cultivation system was settled, based also on the reuse of an ancient sewer of the *Forum* of Caesar⁵⁰³. Archaeologists have found traces of trenches and pits: in the trenches, they found grape seeds, while in the pits they found fruit seeds⁵⁰⁴. It was a large area, about 1000 m² and, according to R. Meneghini, Christians grouped around some of the churches in the Roman *Forum* probably used this area.

A similar situation occurred also in the area of the *Forum* of Peace, arguably used for agricultural purposes: at least two streets crossed this sector from east to west and there were no residences in the area. Only few traces of buildings were found, and it was not possible to identify them, with certainty, as parts of residences.

New residences occupied instead the area of the *Forum* of Nerva. This area was in fact characterised by the presence of the *Argiletum*, an ancient communication route, transformed in a proper street⁵⁰⁵. The presence of the street allowed the construction of some houses along its span, belonging to aristocratic families, which are the so-called *domus solaratae*⁵⁰⁶. These residences for aristocratic people were made reusing stone blocks (tufa), probably carved from older constructions then abandoned in the

⁵⁰² Traces of these two huts were found during the excavations between 2004 and 2005. For a detailed description of the structures, see MENEGHINI 2007, p. 144.

⁵⁰³ In particular, a channel in the west portico of the *Forum*, unearthed between 1998 and 2000 (DELFINO 2014, p. 158, footnote 759).

⁵⁰⁴ SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2001, p. 273.

⁵⁰⁵ For the presence of this street in the medieval context and for its function also after the 9th century, see MENEGHINI 2017, p. 289-293.

⁵⁰⁶ The name *domus solaratae* refers to the fact that these houses were two-floor house. For a description of this housing typology, see SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2011, pp. 80-89.

city⁵⁰⁷. A key feature of these residences was that the area dedicated to inhabitants was at the first floor, while the area for animals was completely separate, on the ground floor. Far from being a meaningless element, this represents the main innovation in the housing system.

Indeed, their transformation in the residential system was a very meaningful one⁵⁰⁸: it was the result of the abandonment of old buildings, like the *insulae*, and the acquisition of a new model, much simpler and probably derived from the rural world⁵⁰⁹.

A completely different situation is registered instead in the *Forum* of Augustus and in the *Forum* of Trajan. Both areas preserved their character as public areas until the 9th century⁵¹⁰. Apart from the destruction of the Temple of Mars Ultor between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century A.D., the two areas were intact until this moment: they were not used for purposes other than those connected with their character as public squares. People kept taking care of them and of their characteristic look. In the 9th century, the situation suddenly changed. The floor slabs were removed from both the *Forum* of Augustus and the *Forum* of Trajan so that the area soon became a swamp, as the rain water was not drained anymore⁵¹¹. The amount of marble fragments removed at that time can be estimated: according to R. Santangeli Valenzani in fact, the *Forum* of Augustus provided ca. 1200 m³ of travertine, which were re-used to produce about 600/700 tonnes of lime. The two adjacent areas were therefore abandoned⁵¹², and no traces of frequentation have been found in the stratigraphy from the 9th-10th century during the last excavations. In the whole area,

⁵⁰⁷ These buildings were found during the excavations conducted in the area between 1995 and 1997 (SANTANGELI VALENZANI 1997; 2001; 2004; MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2004).

⁵⁰⁸ SANTANGELI VALENZANI-MENEGHINI 2004; SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2004.

⁵⁰⁹ Even if it seems that this new residential model had spread in the city already in the 6th century, it does not mean that in the 6th century people stopped living in old residences: the transition was uneven in the different areas of the city. Moreover, in Rome, new houses and new lifestyle probably coexisted with the old ones for a long time (AUGENTI 2010, pp. 105-106).

⁵¹⁰ In the *Forum* of Trajan, the area was paved again after the dismantling of the floor.

⁵¹¹ COUSI-FELICI 2010, p. 143. The soil under the preparation for the floor was a high layer of clay related to the ancient bed of the Tiber River that prevented the outflow of water, allowing the stagnation of water (MENEGHINI 2017, p. 287).

⁵¹² The removal of marble slabs was probably organized by the public authority and the request for these material was probably due to the need of construction material, linked to the activities carried out by Pope Leo IV for the construction of the wall around S. Peter's church and other Popes (MENEGHINI 2009, p. 208; SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2001, p. 273).

archaeologists have found only abandoned layers dating back to the 9th-10th century, directly posed over the ancient preparation layer for the floor of the *Fora*⁵¹³. It can be speculated that the abandonment of the ancient Roman buildings and of the whole area was due to a catastrophic event, probably an earthquake.

The only difference between the two areas (*Forum* of Trajan and *Forum* of Augustus) was that, while the *Forum* of Augustus hosted a monastic complex, the complex of S. Basilio, founded by Greek monks over the podium of the Temple of Mars Ultor, the *Forum* of Trajan was still free of buildings⁵¹⁴. The complex of S. Basilio was completely destroyed in the 20th century during the works for the construction of the new *Via dei Fori Imperiali*, and the only limited information about the original complex comes from a brief article written by C. Ricci, the man in charge of overseeing the archaeological excavations at that time⁵¹⁵. Because of this, and because of the lack of archaeological information, the date of foundation of the complex is not sure. Traditionally, archaeologists have dated the foundation of the monastery back to the 9th century, when the monks escaped from the Saracens in Sicily; this date is based on the presence of some sculptures existing in the area dating back to the 9th century. Since the sculptural elements from the 9th century had been actually reused in a monastery founded in the 10th century, R. Meneghini and R. Santangeli Valenzani propose that the monastery was founded rather in the 10th century, in the years in which the power was in the hands of the prince Alberic (932-954)⁵¹⁶, a theory that I follow here.

Even if the complex was destroyed during the work in the 1920s, it is possible today to reconstruct its structure, thanks to the most recent archaeological excavations and to ancient photos preserved in the archive of the Superintendence of Rome. The monastery was a square building made of two floors, installed in the *pronaos* of the Temple of Mars Ultor: this big room (13x15 metres), covered with a cross vault, was probably used for the monk cells (at the first floor) and for the canteen (at the ground

⁵¹³ For the stratification in the *Forum* of Trajan, see MENEGHINI- SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2004, p. 183; for the *Forum* of Augustus, see COUSI-PISCHEDDA 2010, p. 150.

⁵¹⁴ MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007, pp. 139-141.

⁵¹⁵ RICCI 1930.

⁵¹⁶ See MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 1996, pp. 87-91. For its foundation in the 10th century, rather than in the 9th, see also BIAMONTE 2006. The first testimony of this monastery in the written documentation goes back exactly to the 10th century. More recently, R. Meneghini proposes to date the foundation of the complex in the 9th century (MENEGHINI 2009, p. 208).

floor). East of this, there was a large courtyard with a portico and, on the eastern side, close to the wall and to the *cella* of the temple, the small church⁵¹⁷. In the 12th century the level of the area was raised and the complex was acquired by the Knights of S. John Baptiste from Jerusalem, becoming the Roman headquarter of the order (*Priorato of S. Basilio*)⁵¹⁸. On this occasion, the complex was completely restored.

The 10th century

The 10th century was characterised by a peak in population growth in the city, especially in the area of the *Forum* of Trajan. Even the hypothesis about the foundation of the Complex of S. Basilio in the 10th century rather than in the 9th century, acquires more credibility if read using this perspective.

The situation of abandonment in the *Forum* of Trajan described in the previous paragraph, completely changes in the 10th century, when the area is occupied by residences and is characterized by an intense activity of construction⁵¹⁹.

Archaeologists have found much evidence related to aristocratic houses in the area, dating back to the 10th century. Among others, it is important to highlight the discovery of some blocks that were part of at least three housing lots along the medieval communication roads, located in the old square of the *Forum*⁵²⁰. These housing lots had a small garden inside and were surrounded by fields for the cultivation of vegetables and fruit. Two houses have been reconstructed: one of them was 25x19 metres wide and the other one 25 x 10 metres wide. The houses were built with tufa or *peperino* blocks, taken from the ancient Roman monuments and used to create a sort of *opus quadratum* with the addition of some bricks⁵²¹. Another house

⁵¹⁷ The Knights of St. John would have later transformed the church into a hospital (BERNACCHIO 2002). See *infra*.

⁵¹⁸ PIETRANGELI-PECCHIOLI 1981.

⁵¹⁹ The stratigraphy belonging to this period has been investigated during the archaeological excavations in 1998-2000: archaeologists have found evidence of this construction activity and infill dating back to the 10th century A.D., thus confirming this century as a *terminus post quem* for the new constructions (MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007, pp. 151-153). This situation of reoccupation did not stir interest in the area of the *Forum* of Peace, which was still an agricultural area, or in the area of the *Forum* of Augustus, which was occupied only by the monastery surrounded by its field.

⁵²⁰ MENEGHINI 2001a, p. 158.

⁵²¹ SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2003, pp. 120-121.

from the same period has been identified in the area of the so-called *Corte Porticata*, south of the square: ruins of a wall made of tufa blocks, marble and architectural decorations were found during some investigations in 2005⁵²². However interesting it is to imagine this house as part of the same complex of houses in the square of the *Forum*, we have to remember that it was separated from the others by the huge southern wall of the *Forum*, thus being completely isolated.

In the area of the ancient square, R. Meneghini has also found some walls probably part of an ancient church, identified as the church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo*⁵²³. The complex renovations of the church, occurring in the 12th century, almost totally obliterated the previous phase. However, R. Meneghini could still identify some walls belonging to the previous phase (probably a private chapel) that he has dated back to the 10th century⁵²⁴.

If we read the presence of these houses in connection with the presence of a private chapel in the 10th century, it is possible to identify a *curtis* in this area in this period. The *curtes*, as defined by R. Santangeli Valenzani, were aristocratic residences, property of very important members of the society of the period⁵²⁵: *domus solaratae*, fields, baths and private chapels for the *dominus*' family were parts of these complexes. As reconstructed by R. Meneghini, the *Curtis* in the *Forum* of Trajan was probably owned by an aristocratic by the name of *Kaloleo*, a member of Prince Alberic's entourage; in this area he had his own palace with fields around it and, inside the palace, a private chapel later transformed into the church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo* in the 12th century. The name of the church (*S. Maria in Campo Carleo*) and that of the area (*Campus Kaloleonis*, later *Campus Carlo Leonis* and *Campo Carleo*) would derive exactly from *Kaloleo*.⁵²⁶

While the *Forum* of Trajan experienced this residential expansion, the areas of the *Fora* of Augustus and Peace remained open areas for rural activities also in the 10th century.

In the area of the *Forum* of Caesar we register instead notable changes. As well as in the *Forum* of Trajan, the level was raised by some metres: the old fields and wine

⁵²² MENEGHINI 2009, p. 220.

⁵²³ MENEGHINI 1992.

⁵²⁴ MENEGHINI 1992a; 1998b; 1999.

⁵²⁵ For a definition of the *curtes*, see SANTANGELI VALENZANI 1994.

⁵²⁶ MENEGHINI 2001a, pp. 161-162; 2009, pp. 214-215. For the history of the church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo* in the medieval time, see MENEGHINI 1992.

yards remained under the infill, and a new communication route was located in the area, connecting the *via Lata* (west of the *Forum* of Trajan) to the houses in the *Forum* of Nerva and to the *Clivus Argentarius*. Along this new street, new residences were built: small houses, very simple in plan (one or two rooms on one single floor), and realised with materials recovered in the area along with raw clay. Inside, there were just a few simple elements: the floor and a hearth; outside, some pits probably used to collect food. The traces of these houses have been partially destroyed and deleted by the works made in the 1920s and 1930s, however some evidence has been found during the last excavations, between 1998 and 2000⁵²⁷. These houses were organised in a small complex and they are defined “*domus terrinae*”⁵²⁸; compared to the *domus solaratae* in the *Forum* of Nerva, they are smaller and used by a lower level of population.

As well as in the *Forum* of Trajan, in this area there was probably a single man behind the development of the district: this man has been identified as *Leo Protoscrinarius Sedis Apostolicae*, Pope Leo VIII (963-965). He was probably the owner of the whole area and he was present in the place names; the area was known with the toponym “*de ascesa prothi*”, a name that is still reflected in the name of the modern streets⁵²⁹.

It is possible therefore to connect the two churches (*S. Maria in Campo Carleo* and *S. Lorenzo ai Monti*) to the first urban agglomerations in the two *Fora* of Trajan and Caesar and, probably, to the *curtes*, developed in those areas; this reconstruction reveals also a well-defined social organization.

The 10th century has been therefore interpreted as the beginning of the new medieval district, from which the one developed in the 16th century originated. Considering the changes occurring in the 10th century, I would therefore identify this moment as the one in which the particular relationship that people had with ruins evolved: there were no more isolated ruins in a public context, but appropriation and inclusion of ruins within residential and private spaces of the district occurred.

⁵²⁷ SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2001, MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007, pp. 146-150. Archaeologists have found evidences of 5 houses, but the houses were probably many more and the small “village” probably extended towards the temple of *Venus Genitrix*.

⁵²⁸ The name comes from the very poor materials they were made of. For a description of this housing typology, see SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2011, pp. 58-60 and 91-97.

⁵²⁹ See paragraph 2.1.3. R. Meneghini also makes a connection to the church of *S. Lorenzo ai Monti*, also called *S. Lorenzo de Ascesa*.

The 11th and the 12th century

I have already stressed how the population growth reached its peak in the area in the 10th century.

In the following centuries however (11th and 12th century), the small villages developed in the *Forum* of Caesar (mainly composed of the *domus terrinae*) and in the *Forum* of Nerva (composed of the *domus solaratae*) disappeared. The whole area became a swamp, while its altimetric level was raised to face the problems linked to the marsh, until the inhabitants decided to totally abandon the small villages⁵³⁰. Until the 15th century, swamps and marshes characterised the whole sector, which was thus named *Pantani*⁵³¹. In the *Forum* of Caesar houses were abandoned in the 11th century and the area became a swamp, later defined “*lo pantano*”⁵³². In the *Forum* of Augustus, recent archaeological excavations have identified the abandonment layer from the 11th century⁵³³.

The only zone in which the urban district survived after the 10th century and continued to evolve is the area of the *Forum* of Trajan. The area was a swamped area only for a short period in the 9th century, after which it was depurated and occupied by the new district born around Kaloleo’s *curtis*⁵³⁴: as said, the complex evolved into a denser district and the old chapel was transformed into the church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo* in the 12th century. Only the presence of massive ruins such as those of the *Basilica Ulpia*, still perfectly standing until the 15th century, probably guaranteed great conditions for the creation of a district in the *Forum* of Trajan⁵³⁵.

⁵³⁰ SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2001, p. 281. For a detailed description of the stratigraphy in the different areas, see MENEHINI 2017a.

⁵³¹ For a recent study on the “*Pantani*” area, see MENEHINI 2017a.

⁵³² The place name was originally mentioned by P. Adinolfi and R. Lanciani, and later studied again by A. Roca de Amicis (LANCIANI 1901, pp. 44-45; ROCA DE AMICIS 1993, footnote 9).

⁵³³ Archaeological investigations have actually identified three different mud layers of abandonment: the deepest one referred to the abandonment in the 11th century, the middle one was actually a deposit made to level and remediate the area before the construction of the new district in the 16th century, and the highest and more recent one was instead a layer used to level the area before the realization of the modern flower beds on the two sides of the new *via dei Fori Imperiali*. For a detailed description of the stratigraphy in the *Forum* of Augustus, see COUSÌ-PISCHEDDA 2010.

⁵³⁴ All the layers related to the abandonment and to the swamp have been archaeologically studied during the last investigation in the area (1998-2008).

⁵³⁵ MENEHINI 1989; 1998a.

All around it, instead, lands were transformed into fields belonging to the churches located in the area: the church of *S. Adriano* in the *Forum* of Caesar; the church of *Ss. Cosma e Damiano* in the *Forum* of Peace; the church and monastery of *S. Basilio* in the *Forum* of Augustus.

Considering the whole period between the 9th and the 15th centuries, we should therefore judge the entire area abandoned, with the only exception being the area of the *Forum* of Trajan, where the residential nucleus will play an important role in the future development of the district in the 16th century⁵³⁶.

The 13th century

Between the 10th and the 16th century, the area was not the site of other building activities, but only swampy areas and fields. However, at the margins of the whole area, between the *Forum* of Peace and the Markets of Trajan, a fortification line was built in connection with a competition between aristocratic families.

From the 12th century aristocratic houses were located in the close area of the Markets of Trajan and in the gardens around what is today known as the *Torre delle Milizie*, where the important Arcioni family owned a big portion of land. Here there were probably not only residences, but also places to host animals⁵³⁷. At that time, the *Torre delle Milizie* was actually a *palatium*, hosting private houses⁵³⁸. To the 13th century we can instead date the creation of the first fortification in the same tower; at this moment a corner of the old *palatium*, once used just to host houses for private people, was transformed into a fortification made of tufa blocks and bricks⁵³⁹.

In the same century, another area was characterised by the presence of a tower: the area of the old *Forum* of Peace. Here, as we have seen before, the area of the ancient

⁵³⁶ The entire area will be populated again only in the 16th century, and the process will start exactly from the small district born over the ruins of the *Forum* of Trajan in the 9th century and “survived” in the next centuries.

⁵³⁷ MENEGHINI 2009, p. 221.

⁵³⁸ Evidence of these houses has been found during some investigations in the *Torre delle Milizie* in 1994 (PRISCO 2000).

⁵³⁹ For a description of the different phases that led to the fortification of the tower, see BIANCHINI-VITTI 2018, pp. 45-50.

Forum was used in part as a dumping ground for slaughterhouse remains and in part for agricultural purposes⁵⁴⁰.

In this context, during the 13th century, while one of the two halls of the *Forum* had already been occupied by the Christian church built by the will of Pope Felix IV in the 6th century⁵⁴¹, the other one (the north-eastern one) was transformed into a fortified tower called *Torre dei Conti*. Archaeological data unfortunately does not help in precisely defining the date in which the tower was built, but its construction is usually linked to Pope Innocent III, who was a member of the Conti family and ruled as Pope between 1198 and 1216⁵⁴². The tower was related to the agglomerate of houses built close to the *Basilica di Massenzio* (south of the *Forum* of Peace) and belonging to the same Conti family. It was surrounded by a fence, beyond which fields and other houses extended⁵⁴³. The construction of the tower has been connected with the close *Torre delle Milizie* in the Markets of Trajan: both these towers were properties of the same family (Conti di Segni family). This family was in conflict with another important family in the area, the Capocci family, for the control of the area of the *Suburra*, behind the Markets of Trajan. At the beginning of the 13th century, this contraposition ended with the construction of a fortified line dividing the properties of the two families and connecting the two towers (*Torre delle Milizie* and *Torre dei Conti*). It was something similar to a defence system, made of two towers and a wall line⁵⁴⁴. The situation of this period is well represented in a drawing from the *Codex Excurialensis* (16th century), where it is possible to identify the towers, the crenelated wall and the free area all around them, just before the development of the *Alessandrino* district (Fig.32)

As to the district born in the 10th century in the *Forum* of Trajan, in the 13th century it reached its medieval aspect, mainly characterised by two-floored houses with a stretched plan along the streets, having the short side (6 metres long) along the street and the long side (15-18 metres) perpendicular to the street, with a courtyard in the

⁵⁴⁰ The western part of the area was occupied by the church of Ss. Cosma e Damiano.

⁵⁴¹ TUCCI 2018, vol. II, pp. 629-649.

⁵⁴² MENEGHINI 2013, p. 37. The tower was freed from other buildings during the works of the *Governatorato Fascista*, in the 1930s (DIEBNER 2012; PORRETTA 2012).

⁵⁴³ The *Torre dei Conti* can be interpreted as part of the typical family complexes developed in Rome between the 12th and the 13th century. For a description and a summary of bibliography about these complexes, see ESPOSITO 2012.

⁵⁴⁴ MENEGHINI 2013, pp. 37-38.

background⁵⁴⁵. These houses, defined as “*case a schiera*”, occupied the whole area of the *Forum* of Trajan and probably fostered the beginning of dismantling of the eastern sector of the ancient *Basilica Ulpia*⁵⁴⁶.

In the same area, a new church was built in the 13th century: the church of *S. Urbano*, built in 1263 and dedicated to the Pope Urban⁵⁴⁷. The church and the related monastery had been built inside an existing building, identified by the archaeologists at the beginning of the 20th century as the hospital of the Knights of St. John from Jerusalem, based in the close *S. Basilio* complex in the *Forum* of Augustus⁵⁴⁸.

The 14th and the 15th century

In the following two centuries, just before the huge urban expansion in the 16th century, the area did not experience many changes.

There were still two different zones: the northern area, once the area of the *Forum* of Trajan, full of houses and religious buildings in a dense district⁵⁴⁹; the southern area, once the area of the *Fora* of Augustus, Caesar and Peace, occupied by some churches and religious buildings (*S. Urbano*, *S. Lorenzo ai Monti*) and the fields all around them.

The district born in the *Forum* of Trajan continued to develop around the churches (*S. Lorenzo ai Monti*, *S. Maria in Campo Carleo*) and it was inhabited by a dense and varied population. Thanks to archival sources, historians and archaeologists as S. Passigli, R. Meneghini and N. Bernacchio, have tried to reconstruct the social composition of the groups inhabiting the district, describing the provenance, the professions and the characteristics of these people⁵⁵⁰.

⁵⁴⁵ For a detailed description of the housing typology in this period, see ERCOLINO 2013, pp. 124-130.

⁵⁴⁶ Investigations conducted by the Superintendence of Rome aimed at studying some collapsed walls from the *Basilica Ulpia* still on site, deducing that the collapse of the vault should have definitively occurred in the 15th century (MENEHINI 1989, pp. 553-557).

⁵⁴⁷ The ruins of the church have been identified during the excavations in 1998 (MENEHINI 1999). See also MENEHINI-VALCI 2014.

⁵⁴⁸ CESCHI 1933, pp. 390-391. See also MENEHINI 1999, pp. 63-64; BERNACCHIO 2002; MENEHINI 2004, p. 192.

⁵⁴⁹ For the housing typology, see ERCOLINO 2013.

⁵⁵⁰ See PASSIGLI 1989; MENEHINI 2004; MENEHINI 2006; FRATRARCANGELI 2006.

The southern and free area, instead, was mainly connected to and owned by the churches and monasteries occupying the area: those areas that were not swamped were indeed used for agricultural purposes, often linked to the religious life. The first Christian churches established in the site in the previous centuries (i.e. *S. Adriano*, *SS. Cosma e Damiano*, *S. Basilio*), were not poles of attraction for the inhabitants anymore. As S. Passigli has noticed, the general process of depopulation representative of the whole city in this period, is particularly evident in this area quite far away from the religious and economic hubs, and often filled with water because of the obstruction of the ancient sewer⁵⁵¹. However, the wide fields around the churches were occupied in these centuries by small and scattered buildings, property of the churches themselves. These properties, both houses and fields, were located in the *Pantani* and were rented to private people and often used as shops⁵⁵².

Additionally, the big monastic complex built over the temple of Mars Ultor in the *Forum* of Augustus owned houses and shops in its surroundings. Notwithstanding the presence of some houses in the *Forum* of Augustus, the area was mainly devoted to agricultural activities; the archaeological investigations have in fact identified a stratification from the 12th to the 15th centuries testifying to layers made of soil particularly suitable for cultivations⁵⁵³.

* * *

The topographical situation described above makes it clear how many different phases the area of the *Imperia Fora* has experienced before the 16th century. In the overall period, a conversion of the function of the spaces is evident: from public and political activities in the ancient period, to private and residential needs. After the loss of the original function of the Imperial *Fora* as tribunals, the area was abandoned for some centuries; the period between the 5th and the 9th centuries is a transitional phase in which the area is used neither for public nor for private activities, but is only used to gain construction material. It is only in the 9th century in fact that we notice the

⁵⁵¹ PASSIGLI 1989, pp. 281-282. The *Cloaca Maxima*, the ancient Roman sewer running under the *Forum* of Nerva and the *Forum* of Caesar, did not work anymore at that time.

⁵⁵² Venettini, a notary living in *via di Marforio* in the 15th century, regulated many of these renting contracts (See paragraph 3.4)

⁵⁵³ COUSI – PISCHEDDA 2010, pp. 151.152.

conversion into a residential and private area, with the creation of the first villages. From this moment on, the area is characterised by an evolution of the residential area, with the foundation of new *domus*, *curtes* and churches that often include the ruins of the ancient monuments, and with the development, in the 12th-13th century, of a fortified system made of towers. All these different ‘pasts’ will converge and contribute to the district developing in the area between the 16th and the 19th centuries and, as such, they will appear in the written documentation produced in the same period. The ruins from the past will have therefore, over the whole development period of the district, different values: they will be, at the same time, part of the ancient city and elements in use in the contemporary life of the new *Alessandrino* district.

Chapter 3

Archaeological ruins and residential areas between the 16th and the beginning of the 19th century: analysis of the sources

3.1 Filling the voids: the birth of a new urban district and its growth

In the 16th century the aspect of the district experienced an important change, with the recovery of the area called “*Pantani*” and the consequential construction of a new entire neighbourhood called “*Alessandrino*”⁵⁵⁴. Between the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, the development of three different, though contiguous, residential *nuclei* can be observed: one around the Column of Trajan, one in the area of the “*Pantani*” and one around the *Torre de’ Conti* (i.e. the ancient *Forum* of Peace). These events formed the structure and the appearance of the district, as well as the typology of buildings, for the two following centuries.

The new aspect of the area consisted in a very dense network of houses and buildings: the ancient courts were enlarged, the previously existing free areas were confined in

⁵⁵⁴ The name “*Pantani*” was used in the 15th century to identify the area of the *Forum* of *Augustus* and the *Forum* of *Caesar* (BERNACCHIO 2010, p. 166, n. 25). For the story of the area until the 15th century, see paragraph 2.3, whereas for the origin of the name of the district, see *infra*.

courtyards behind the new buildings and the houses acquired new elements, mainly towers⁵⁵⁵.

The ancient medieval quarters that had developed in the area between the 12th and the 13th century disappeared, making room for a new modern district, built on top of an infill that had concealed the ancient level of the city. As a result of these transformations, the remains of structures and decorations pertaining to the Imperial *Fora* were almost totally hidden.

In this new context, how did people perceive the ruins of the ancient Imperial *Fora*? The new 16th century setting of the area brought a change in the relationship between ruins and the built city and, therefore, the way in which ruins were perceived by the people living and using the area⁵⁵⁶. A number of researchers have defined the approach to ancient ruins in this period as “pragmatic”⁵⁵⁷. Starting from these studies, this chapter aims at investigating two main elements: on the one hand, the motivations that led to the above-mentioned urban changes, as well as the physical effects that these changes had on the district and on the ruins; on the other hand, the “pragmatic” approach to ruins, that is the consideration of ruins as hinges of the relationship between past and present, in particular, of the new functions, status and role given to ancient structures in the modern context.

From the second half of the 16th century, Rome gradually witnessed a long period of urban growth: large areas of the city centre were reclaimed and filled with new houses and organised according to a new street network⁵⁵⁸. The impulse for this new expansion of the city had probably started in the previous century, due to the return of the Pope from Avignon in 1417 and the consequential arrival of new comers: among

⁵⁵⁵ For a description of the building typology see ERCOLINO 2013, pp. 211-242: here the author applied the methodology proposed by A. Cavallari Murat in the study of Turin (CAVALLARI MURAT 1968).

⁵⁵⁶ Obviously, the transformation of urban spaces has an implication on the “spatial use” of the area. For a closer examination of the implications of urban changes on spatial practices in the ancient city of Rome, see the studies by J. D. Newsome (NEWSOME 2010, NEWSOME 2011, LAURENCE-NEWSOME 2011) and the results from the two-year interdisciplinary program “*Spacethrough time (Transformations of Roman Identity in Rome: The Roman Forum from the Earliest Urban Settlement to the Fall of the Empire)*” carried on by the University of Cambridge and funded by the European Commission (https://cordis.europa.eu/result/rcn/196756_en.html).

⁵⁵⁷ See for example ROCA DE AMICIS 1993, p. 111; UNGARO 1995.

⁵⁵⁸ The evolution of the city in the 16th century has been studied by many scholars interested in the architectural and urban history of the city of Rome as well as by historians. Among others, LANCIANI 1906, INSOLERA 1980 and ROCA DE AMICIS 1993 have given a thorough overview of the urban development; TOMEI 1938, WILDE 1989, CANIGLIA-MAFFEI 1979 and BASCIÀ-CARLOTTI-MAFFEI 2000 have proposed a building typology; DELUMEAU 1957 and TOSCANO 2006 have approached the story of the evolution of the district from a social point of view.

them, and in addition to the Curia and its employers, also bankers, merchants and artisans decided to live in Rome, working for the new bourgeois city and thus increasing its population.

The city experienced its first urban expansion under Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484), with a huge program of road repairs, new streets, new bridges and house renovations. The 1527 "Sack of Rome", slowed this process down, both in terms of population growth and architectural as well as urban development⁵⁵⁹.

The Popes after Sixtus IV⁵⁶⁰ tried to continue his work, improving the street network in the area of *Campo dei Fiori* and consolidating the new districts in the Tiber bend, in Trastevere and Borgo.

This specific concentration in the area around both sides of the Tiber (including the Vatican area) also concurred to a parallel moderate "interest" in the area of the ancient Imperial *Fora*, which underwent substantial urban renovations starting from the middle of the 16th century⁵⁶¹, even though some sporadic and minor interventions can be observed even before the second half of the century.

3.1.1 Between Pope Sixtus IV and Pope Paul III: the Pantani area

Though the main interests of the Popes focussed on the areas around the Tiber, we can identify some intervention in the area under investigation already in the first half of the century, and in particular in the square around the Column of Trajan. At the beginning of the 16th century, Pope Alexander VI gave the so-called *Macel de' Corvi* (that is the area around the Column of Trajan) to the *Confraternita dei Fornari*, in order to build the new church of *S. Maria di Loreto*, a project envisioned by Antonio da Sangallo⁵⁶². The construction works started in 1507 and took several years to be completed, even if the church was already used in 1534⁵⁶³.

The election of Pope Paul III in 1534 (1534-1549) and his interventions in the urban context brought a new development for the city and a new interest in the area around

⁵⁵⁹ On Sixtus IV and his activity in Rome, see BENZI 1990.

⁵⁶⁰ Namely Innocentius VIII (1484-1492), Alexander VI (1492-1503), Julius II (1503-1513), Leo X (1513-1520) and Clement VII (1523-1534).

⁵⁶¹ WILDE 1989, pp. 295-302.

⁵⁶² ARMELLINI 1887, pp. 399-400. For the project and the construction of the Church, see BENEDETTI 1968, BERTUCCI 1987.

⁵⁶³ The church was completed only in 1580.

the Column of Trajan. Paul III fitted into the line of his predecessors, working towards urban renovation; unlike his predecessors though, he considered Rome as a whole and planned a series of interventions all over the city⁵⁶⁴. He prepared Rome for the arrival of the emperor Charles V in 1536, the aim being to show the king how the city had changed since the “Sack of Rome” in 1527⁵⁶⁵. Therefore, the “*Via Triumphalis*” was arranged, a triumphal procession in the city that followed an established itinerary, from the *Via Appia* through to *Via di S. Sebastiano*, *via di S. Gregorio* and the Roman *Forum*, up to the Capitol Hill. Crossing important areas of the city, passing through triumphal arches and other ancient passages, the procession aimed at re-enacting a Roman triumph. In order to realise this path, the *Maestri delle Strade* built new streets in the city, paying special attention to ancient ruins⁵⁶⁶: some of the ancient Roman monuments were “isolated”⁵⁶⁷ and separated from the rest of the city, to show the emperor the remains of the ancient city of Rome⁵⁶⁸. Moreover, to realise the first portion of this itinerary – from the southern entrance of the city to the Capitol Hill - many houses in the area of the Roman *Forum* were destroyed and people living in those houses were moved to a different neighbourhood called “*Suburra*”, behind the huge walls of the Imperial *Fora*⁵⁶⁹.

At the same time, the square around the Column of Trajan and the north-western sector of the area of the Imperial *Fora* were involved in a project of general renewal

⁵⁶⁴ INSOLERA 1980, p. 102. Paul III's projects interested the area of Campo dei Fiori, Campo Marzio, the Banchi district and the area around the Capitol Hill.

⁵⁶⁵ The reorganisation of the city for the arrival of Charles V included improving the southern access to the city, enlarging *Piazza SS. Apostoli* and *Piazza S. Marco* and building the tower of Paul III on the Capitol Hill.

⁵⁶⁶ In the 16th and 17th century, the *Maestri delle Strade* had a very important role in the urban renovation of the city. They were usually architects tasked with the administration and planning of new streets. As an example, they were in charge of repairing roads but also defining the land properties in the design of new streets (WILDE 1989 vol. 1, p. 280).

⁵⁶⁷ The Italian verb “*isolare*” is generally used to indicate the activity that, from the beginning of the 19th century, led to free the ruins and the monuments from the buildings around them, accenting them and often losing the relationship with the surrounding context.

⁵⁶⁸ In his book on excavations in Rome, R. Lanciani talks about the triumphal access in the city by Charles V, and the archaeological discoveries made during the works for the *Via Triumphalis*: “*a cagione dei lavori di scoperta e di isolamenti di alcuni monumenti classici, e del taglio e dello spianamento di nuove strade, che furono eseguiti in tale circostanza sotto la direzione dei maestri delle strade Latino Giovenale Marinetti, e Angelo del Bufalo de' Cancellieri*” (LANCIANI 1902-1912, vol. II, pp. 63- 70).

⁵⁶⁹ This operation resulted in the erasing a district to make space for an important and celebrative road: this idea, that had interested the area of the Imperial *Fora* in 1536 for the first time, will be at the basis of new demolition works in the 20th century. The urban and ideological legacy of the entry of Charles V culminated in fact with the opening of the *Via dell'Impero* in 1930s (SCOTT 2014).

of the Capitol Hill and its slopes, that started from the renovation of the street network⁵⁷⁰. An old medieval street at the slopes of Capitol Hill, called *Descensus Leonis Prothi*, was in fact renewed and turned into the new “*via di Marforio*”, a road that had to host the imperial parade of Charles V⁵⁷¹. This new path retraced an older one, existing in the area since the Middle Age and at that time used to move in the abandoned area of the Imperial *Fora*⁵⁷².

These events increased interest in the area during the first half of the 16th century. On the one hand, the transformation of the old medieval street into the new *via di Marforio* allowed the renovation of the urban district along it; on the other hand, the draining of the *Cloaca Maxima* fostered the reclamation of the area and prepared the conditions for the future expansion of the district⁵⁷³. These conditions promoted the construction of a new street - later called *Via di Testa Spaccata-Via delle Chiavi d'oro*⁵⁷⁴ - that connected the area of the slopes of Capitol Hill to the Column of Trajan. Together with the new street, new houses were built along that route, in an area that until the beginning of the 16th century was free from buildings.

In this context, the Column of Trajan, the most visible and still standing ruin in the area, became the new centre of the district. In the previous centuries, it had been covered by other buildings: the small church of *S. Nicolò de Columna* was built attached to it, while the nuns of the monastery of *Spirito Santo* had used the Column as a bell tower, fixing a bell to one of the small windows of the tower⁵⁷⁵. At the beginning of the 16th century, the Column of Trajan was freed from old and poor constructions around it, before the arrival of Charles V in the city: Pope Paul III

⁵⁷⁰ For a focus on the history of the Capitol Hill see the PhD dissertation by M. Brancia di Apricena on the evolution of the Church of S. Maria in Aracoeli between the 9th and the 20th century (BRANCIA DI APRICENA 2000).

⁵⁷¹ The name of the road during the ancient roman time was *Clivus Argentarius*, later transformed into *Descensus Leoni Prothi*, because of Leone VIII was living there when he was a *protonotaro*. The new street took instead the name from *Marforio*, a statue representing Neptune and displayed in that street, close to the “*Forum of Mars*” (= *Forum of Augustus*), from which it took his name. For the story of the street, see PASSIGLI 1989, pp. 288-291, BLASI 1933, pp. 177-178, and GNOLI 1984, p. 154.

⁵⁷² The new *via di Marforio*, at the border of the area of the imperial *Fora*, plays an important role in the present research, marking the southern limit of the area under investigation. For a definition of the borders of the area under investigation in this work, see paragraph 2.1.

⁵⁷³ The one realised at the beginning of the 16th century was the first attempt made to drain the ancient sewer. The second and more effective draining of the *Cloaca Maxima* occurred a few decades later, before the real expansion of the urban district over the ruins of the ancient Imperial *Fora*.

⁵⁷⁴ Differently from *via di Marforio*, this street did not exist before and it was created in the 16th century. This is why I have decided not to take it into consideration as a landmark for the area under investigation.

⁵⁷⁵ LANCIANI 1902-1919, vol. I, fig. 32; vol. II, p. 131.

demolished the small church of *S. Nicolò de Columna* and the small houses all around it⁵⁷⁶. The clearing of the area around the Column of Trajan was in fact part of the program of refurbishment of the new axes carried out by the Pope and, at the same time, of his program of isolation of the most symbolic monuments from the ancient Roman past.

As a result, the area around the Column and that in front of the new Church of *S. Maria di Loreto* became a new hub, where the *Maestri delle Strade* created a square, the new “*Piazza Traiana*”, well visible in the plan by L. Bufalini (1551) (Fig. 32). The new square was bordered by the churches of *S. Maria di Loreto* and *S. Bernardo* on the northern side, by the monastery of the Spirito Santo on the southern side and by private houses on the eastern and western sides. Moreover, “*Piazza Traiana*” and the new inhabited area were closely connected to the church of *S. Lorenzo ai Monti*.

As to the area of interest for this research, we can thus conclude that, in the middle of the 16th century, it was divided into two main zones⁵⁷⁷: the northern sector, around the Column of Trajan, with small houses and churches, also being the only inhabited zone; and the southern sector, which was free from constructions and buildings. Apart from few houses and churches (*S. Urbano*, *S. Lorenzo ai Monti*, *S. Basilio*) the area beyond *via dei Carbonari* (i.e. the area once occupied by the *Fora* of Augustus, Nerva and Caesar) was characterised by the presence of gardens⁵⁷⁸ (“*Orti*”): it was still a swamp zone, known as the “*Pantano di San Basilio*”⁵⁷⁹.

⁵⁷⁶ It is possible that the basis of the Column of Trajan was partially visible before the destruction of the church of *S. Nicolò de Columna*. On the date of the destruction of the Church see *contra* C. Hülsen: according to him, the church was destroyed only later, between 1560 and 1577 (HÜLSEN 1927, pp. 394-396).

⁵⁷⁷ BERNACCHIO 2017, p. 31.

⁵⁷⁸ M.G. Ercolino has demonstrated that some houses were already present in the area in the second half of the 16th century, close to the oldest *via dei Carbonari* (ERCOLINO 2013, p. 212).

⁵⁷⁹ The toponyms “*Orto di S. Basilio*” and “*Contrata di S. Basilio*” were already used at the end of the 14th century (PASSIGLI 1989, pp. 315-316), while the toponym “*Pantani*” spread only in the 15th century. Starting from the 15th century, the toponyms “*Pantani*”, “*Orto dei Pantani*”, “*Pantani di S. Basilio*” indicated not only the swamp area around the monastery of S. Basilio, but also the western area once occupied by the *Forum* of Caesar (BERNACCHIO 2010, p. 166, n. 25). This area would have been filled with new constructions only at the end of the 16th century, after its reclamation (see *infra*). The composition of the infill has been analysed during the recent archaeological investigations in the *Forum* of Augustus, between 2004 and 2006 (EVANGELISTA-PISCHEDDA 2010). According to these analyses, the swamp was the result of a unique and big river flood over the “valley” of the Imperial *Fora*: an area where the water did not discharge easily because of the morphology of the terrain. However, the area was not covered by water the whole year: during the summer, there were probably some dry areas.

However, under the papacy of Pope Paul III, the most impressive changes in the urban setting occurred in other areas of the city: on the Palatine Hill, in the *Rione “Ponte”* and in *Campo Marzio*⁵⁸⁰.

3.1.2 The expansion of the city under Pope Pius V: the reclamation of the area

It was only a few decades later, under Pope Pius V (1566-1572), that the city began to expand at the edge of the inhabited zone, in areas essentially untouched until that time. Together with the Campo Marzio, the growth of the city at this time also included Borgo, Monti and Pantani.

Therefore, it is from the second half of the 16th century that the city experiences a real urban growth and development⁵⁸¹. In this context, historians agree that the most considerable phase of urban growth in the city can be dated at the end of 16th century and concerned the southern-western portion of the “*Rione Monti*”, that is a natural valley between the Oppian, the Quirinal and the Viminal Hills, also known as the “*Pantani*”⁵⁸². During the Roman period this was the area occupied by the *Fora* of Augustus, Caesar and Nerva and by the close and densely populated district called “*Suburra*”⁵⁸³.

It is important to stress that a new district in this area could not have grown without the recovery and reclamation of the area by Pope Pius V, who also had a direct link with the area, as a member of one of the families who owned it.

Architect A. Roca de Amicis has investigated the recovery process from an urban point of view: while this urban development has often been pinpointed only in connection to the archaeological value of the area, de Amicis has highlighted, instead,

⁵⁸⁰ INSOLERA 1980, pp. 103-112.

⁵⁸¹ DELUMEAU 1960, p. 121: he stresses how the real growth of the city occurred only after 1559. However, scholars generally accept a periodisation of Renaissance Rome divided in two blocks: before and after the election of Pope Paul III in 1534, after the Sack of Rome (WILDE 1989, vol 1, p. 286).

⁵⁸² The *Rione Monti* was previously known as *Montis e Biberatica* and took its name from the presence of the hills (*montes*) in the area. For a history of the district, see BARROERO 1982. For the history of the area before and after the reclamation works, see MENEGHINI – SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2009; BERNACCHIO 2010; DI FABBIO ET AL. 2010; EVANGELISTA – PISCHEDDA 2010; PUGLIESE 2010.

⁵⁸³ As underlined in the previous paragraph, the district, rich and densely populated during the ancient Roman period, was abandoned during the medieval era because of the swamps and the unhygienic living conditions.

its role as the starting point of the urban growth of the district, stressing the existence of a “practical” relationship with ancient ruins. According to him, the ruins in the area were adapted “to practical needs with autonomous criteria”, such as the use of the ancient partitions of the *Fora* as limits and borders of the new properties in the area⁵⁸⁴. Two conditions have been highlighted as crucial to the growth and transformation of this district⁵⁸⁵: first, the “*Pantani*” area was close to areas that already had a high-density residential aspect. Second, a small number of owners were involved in the possession of the whole area: the Knights of S. Giovanni from Jerusalem owned the monastery of *S. Basilio* and many of the surrounding lands, while other lands in the same area were property of the Ghislieri family (the family of Pope Pius V) and of the Della Valle family⁵⁸⁶. These few owners not only had many financial resources, but could also control and influence the decisions of both the Church and the local administration.

Michele Ghislieri had in fact become the new Pope Pius V in 1566. R. Lanciani describes him as someone “uninterested in antiquities”; at the same time though, Lanciani connects Pius’ name to the new topography of the area in the 16th century, and especially to the “*Pantani*”⁵⁸⁷ area. The interest of Pope Pius V in this area can be summarised in two episodes: the restoration of the complex of S. Basilio and the general reclamation of the area.

The restoration of the complex of S. Basilio, which was in a poor structural condition, is the first clue of a new interest in this zone. The complex, founded by Greek monks over the ruins of the Temple of *Mars Ultor* in the *Forum* of Augustus in the first half of the 9th century, had entered the property of the Knights of S. Giovanni of Jerusalem at the end of the 12th century⁵⁸⁸. In 1566, Pope Pius V decided to move the “*Priorato*” of S. Basilio from the “*Pantani*” to the Aventino hill, and to assign the entire complex in the “*Pantani*” to the association of the “*Monache della Santissima Annunziata*”, a religious association helping Jews who had converted to Christianity⁵⁸⁹. With this change in owners, especially due to the very nature of the association of the “*Monache*

⁵⁸⁴ ROCA DE AMICIS 1993, p. 111.

⁵⁸⁵ ROCA DE AMICIS 1993.

⁵⁸⁶ PUGLIESE 2010.

⁵⁸⁷ LANCIANI 1902-1912, vol. IV, p. 11.

⁵⁸⁸ MENEGHINI 2009, pp. 208-211. The Knights of Jerusalem will become Knights of Rhodes first, and Knights of Malta later.

⁵⁸⁹ The exact date is 26 November 1566, as testified by the *Bolla Cupientes*. (LANCIANI 1920.1912, vol. IV, p. 29).

della Santissima Annunziata” definitively represented the “appropriation” by the Church of the ancient Roman and pagan symbols, just before populating the area.

As a result, the link of those ruins with the ancient Roman and pagan times weakened significantly, as they acquired a new role in the modern and Christian district. As we will explore, since the 16th century people living in the area will perceive them as modern and anonymous elements, rather than as memories of ancient Roman monuments, unlike writers and artists, who would instead continue mentioning ruins as elements of the ancient and glorious past,⁵⁹⁰. The cases in which the mention of ruins is linked to the idea of antiquity are indeed rare in texts other than those written by scholars and artists. The statue on top of the Column of Trajan is an example of modern re-appropriation: the Column of Trajan originally hosted the statue of the Emperor, to celebrate his victories. During the Middle Ages the statue was removed and was lost. In 1587, Pope Sixtus V will provide the column with a new statue of St. Peter. The Column of Trajan, a symbol and landmark in the ancient city and at the same time the most evident monument left from the ancient Imperial *Fora* in the modern city, will therefore host the statue of a Christian saint, thus turning the Column itself into a symbol of Christianity and into a landmark of the new Christian topography⁵⁹¹.

The second important event in the area, before the growth of the district, was the reclamation of the “*Pantani*” area. While the expansion of the district around the Column of Trajan at the beginning of the century was the result of an individual, although papal activity, the authorities in the city, together with private personalities, planned instead the development of the district in the central area of the ancient Imperial *Fora*. In this operation, members of important families (Ghislieri, Della Valle) who owned the area played a major leading role. However, they had the possibility to proceed with the works in the area only thanks to some measures adopted by the authority of the city: the Municipality of Rome carried out works to provide the area with infrastructures to accommodate new houses and inhabitants. The *Cloaca Maxima* – the ancient big sewer also serving the Imperial *Fora* - did not work properly at the time, as it had broken in the first section close to the *Torre dei Conti*, and was obstructed in more than one segment. This was in fact the first cause of the swamps

⁵⁹⁰ For the analysis of the texts and the analysis of the role of ruins in these texts, see paragraphs 3.3 and 3.4.

⁵⁹¹ Some historians have read this event in the frame of the “Holy Rome” promoted by Pope Pius V (see ROCA DE AMICIS 1993, p. 112).

in the area. In 1582, the Municipality decided to reclaim the area and clean the ancient sewer but, after a while, a reconstruction of the old channel appeared unavoidable. Therefore, in 1583 the Municipality reconstructed the first section of the ancient *Cloaca Maxima* and connected it to another existing sewer called “*Chiavica di Spoglia Christi*”, which served the houses along via di Campo Carleo⁵⁹².

Later, in 1584, the area was refurbished with a new sewer, the “*Chiavicone della Suburra*” that retraced the path of the older sewer, but at a higher level⁵⁹³. To complete the reclamation of the area, the whole zone was covered by an infill that raised the ancient gardens about 3 metres above the their existing level. This solution was adopted in order to avoid the problems related to water and humidity, and to remove any difference in altimetry, in order to allow an easy connection with the surrounding areas⁵⁹⁴. Thanks to the raise in the soil level, one of the arches of the ancient *Forum* of Augustus, which had been impossible to reach in the previous period, became an inevitable step for people crossing the area: this arch was known at the time as the “*Arco dei Pantani*”.

After the recovery of the sewer system, the Municipality decided to demolish some small houses, making room for the new streets of the district. *Via Alessandrina*, the major axis of the “*Pantani*”, was thus realised in 1584 by Cardinal Alessandrino: it was the continuation of the old *via di Campo Carleo*⁵⁹⁵. The Cardinal also obtained the authorisations to open two other streets in the area: *via Cremona* and *via Bonella*. *Via Cremona* was the continuation of the route *via di Testa Spaccata* – *via delle Chiavi d'oro*, built at the beginning of the 16th century in the northern sector of the area, with a rectified path. *Via Bonella*, the last street built in the area, was perpendicular to the

⁵⁹² The name of the sewer “*Chiavica di Spoglia Christi*” comes from the name of the street *via di Campo Carleo* and from the name of the church of S. Maria in Campo Carleo, called also *Spoglia Christi* after a painting inside the church, representing Christ (GORI 2006, p. 247).

⁵⁹³ This channel is today functioning again: not as a sewer, but as a gallery that, passing under the modern *Via dei Fori Imperiali*, connects two unearthed sections of the ancient *Forum* of Nerva (MENEHINI 2009, p. 237).

⁵⁹⁴ The infill has been documented for the first time during the excavation conducted by R. Lanciani at the end of the 19th century (LANCIANI 1889), who dated this activity in the period between 1574 and 1576. In fact, A. Roca de Amicis has demonstrated that this activity occurred in 1584 (ROCA DE AMICIS 1993, p. 116, n. 18). The same infill has also been documented during the recent excavations in the area (EVANGELISTA-PISCHEDDA 2010).

⁵⁹⁵ The old *via di Campo Carleo* ended in front of the church of S. Maria in Campo Carleo. Despite the creation of the new street, the church was not modified, so that it occupied part of the road. The church was demolished only in the second half of the 19th century, to rectify *via Alessandrina* (ASC, Comune Moderno Preunitario, Governo Pontificio, Tit. 61 (Cimiteri), busta 8, fasc. 455, prot. 3579 (Aprile 1862).

first two and linked the monastery of S. Basilio to the *Campo Vaccino*⁵⁹⁶. The district was now served by important streets that crossed the whole area, connecting the square around the Column of Trajan to the area of the Basilica di Massenzio and to the highly populated district called “*Suburra*” behind the huge ancient wall of the *Forum* of Augustus.

3.1.3 The Cardinal Michele Bonelli and the rise of the Quartiere Alessandrino

With new sewers and without marshes, the area was ready to host the new district: according to A. Roca de Amicis there was not a unitary design in the progression of the construction works⁵⁹⁷. Instead, according to M.G. Ercolino, the development of the district was planned in advance, as evidenced by two plans showing the new setting of the district and the new streets to be built and the subdivision of the area⁵⁹⁸. A few years before the reclamation of the area, in 1568, Pope Pius V had appointed his nephew Michele Bonelli, called the *Alessandrino*⁵⁹⁹, as the Prior of the Knights of Malta⁶⁰⁰. This position gave him the possibility to manage the properties of the Order, so that the revenues could be used to construct new buildings in the area. The *Gran Priorato* controlled a huge area around the Monastery of S. Basilio, corresponding to the ancient *Forum* of Augustus. In this wide area, mainly characterised by swamps, the *Gran Priorato* already had some properties close to the *Torre de' Conti*⁶⁰¹. The cardinal *Alessandrino* inherited, from the *Gran Priorato*, the land and the few existing buildings around the old monastery of S. Basilio and promoted the construction of new buildings, so as to increase his assets. The houses built from 1584 to populate the district were therefore not a renovation of older medieval houses, but new

⁵⁹⁶ The other street crossing the area from East to West – *via dei Carbonari* – was an old route already present in the area at the beginning of the 16th century (ERCOLINO 2013, p. 213).

⁵⁹⁷ ROCA DE AMICIS 1993, p. 117.

⁵⁹⁸ ERCOLINO 2013, p. 212, figs- 86, 88. According to the author, the two plans also attest that the area close to *via dei Carbonari* was already occupied by houses when the new district was built in 1584.

⁵⁹⁹ The nickname “*Alessandrino*” came from the city of Alessandria, in the north-western Italian region of Piemonte: Michele Bonelli was in fact born in Bosco, close to Alessandria.

⁶⁰⁰ ZIPPEL 1921, p. 202.

⁶⁰¹ *Via Tor de' Conti* was in fact a medieval street already existing in the area in the 14th century (PASSIGLI 1989, pp. 294-295).

constructions in the reclaimed area previously occupied by gardens⁶⁰². The houses already owned by the *Gran Priorato* were in fact located behind the huge wall of the *Forum* of Augustus, in the eastern area, along the medieval street *via Tor de' Conti*⁶⁰³. This situation is also documented by some of the plans realised in the 16th century, before the growth of the new district. The new houses were built, instead, on the southern side of the wall, very close to the structures of the monastery of S. Basilio. The members of the Della Valle family, the other important landowners in the area, operated in the same direction on their property, located in the western section of the area and corresponding to the ancient *Forum* of Caesar. They used the money earned from managing the properties of the family in order to allow for the development of the new district. The means used in both cases to facilitate the construction of new houses were known as “*Emphyteusis*” (*Enfiteusi*): the land owners (Cardinal Bonelli and members of Della Valle family) ‘rented’ their lands to different private tenants, giving them the possibility to build new houses at their own expense. The private renters had then the possibility to live in those houses, or to rent or sell them, thus earning money. They made small speculations, but these properties were divided among different individuals and were therefore not in the hands of the same family⁶⁰⁴. Considering the process, it is not difficult to understand why many of the renters in the new district came from the professional sector. Workers and bricklayers arrived in Rome from northern Italy to take part in the numerous new construction activities. Through the *enfiteusi* system, they obtained the lands, built new houses in those lands and then rented them to other people⁶⁰⁵.

Both the area under the control of Michele Bonelli (the area of the “*Pantano di S. Basilio*” in the ancient *Forum* of Augustus) and that owned by the Della Valle family

⁶⁰² Recent excavations in the area of the *Forum* of Augustus have shown how before 1584, the central area of the square was occupied only by gardens. For an analysis of the stratigraphy, see DI FABBIO ET AL. 2010 and EVANGELISTA-PISCHEDDA 2010.

⁶⁰³ MENEGHINI-BERNACCHIO 2017, p. 35. The *Liber Prioratus Urbis* registers the properties of the *Gran Priorato* in 1333: among others, the *Gran Priorato* owned houses along the modern *via Baccina*, *via Tor de' Conti* and *via di Campo Carleo*. The original document does not explicitly state the location of these houses. We accept the hypothesis according to which these houses were located along *via Tor de' Conti*. S. Passigli proposed this thesis in 1989 (PASSIGLI 1989, p. 296) and N. Bernacchio later confirmed it (BERNACCHIO 2010, in particular pp.160-170).

⁶⁰⁴ ROCA DE AMICIS 1993, p. 115.

⁶⁰⁵ Also some architects, like Giovanni and Marsilio Fontana (1585) and Martino Longhi il Vecchio (1579), lived in the area in this period (FRATRARCANGELI 1999, FRATRARCANGELI 2006, PUGLIESE 2010). For an overview of the inhabitants of the new district between the 16th and the 17th century, see BERNACCHIO 2010, BERNACCHIO-MENEGHINI 2017, in particular pp. 65-73.

(a wide garden in the ancient *Forum* of Caesar) were divided in “*lotti*” which were filled with new buildings. Together with the creation of the “*lotti*” and of the main roads, smaller and secondary streets were created inside the main street network: *via del Priorato*, connecting *via Alessandrina* and *via Cremona*, *via della Marmorella* and *via del Ghettaarello*⁶⁰⁶. The growth of the district was incredibly fast. In six years (1584-1590), more than 35 new houses were built in the Della Valle property. The area was also cleared of the pottery workshops that had been settled there during the medieval period, when this part of the city was still a marsh zone. The workshops, which polluted the environment for people living close to them, were therefore moved to the southern area (the area of the ancient *Forum* of Peace), not yet an urban sector⁶⁰⁷.

A look at the area under investigation at the end of the 16th century, after the beginning of the populating process, reveals the configuration of three different regions. The old populated area around the column of Trajan, with quite low social level houses⁶⁰⁸; the area around the monastery of S. Basilio, property of the Cardinal Bonelli and the western area (the area of the ancient *Forum* of Caesar) property of the Della Valle family.

A dense street network served the whole neighbourhood, composed of the medieval streets already existing before the reclamation of the area (*via di Marforio*, *piazza della Colonna Trajana*, *via di Campo Carleo*, *via del Grillo*, *via Tor de' Conti*, *via dei Macelli* once called the *Argiletum*)⁶⁰⁹, and the new streets built together with the new district (*via Alessandrina*, *via Cremona*, *via Bonella*, *via del Priorato*, *via della Marmorella* and *vicolo del Ghettaarello*). The old medieval streets, in their renovated aspect, and their new continuation guaranteed connections in the district between the heavily populated area of *Macel de' Corvi* and the area at the slopes of the Capitol Hill between the area around the Column of Trajan on the North and the area around the *Torre dei Conti* and the *Suburra* on the South-West. The new streets, instead, provided a connection between houses, workshops and churches in the area, crossing the old “*Pantani*”. The plan by A. Tempesta realised immediately after the expansion

⁶⁰⁶ ROCA DE AMICIS 1993, p. 119.

⁶⁰⁷ MENEGHINI 2009, p. 238. For an overview of the activity of pottery workshops in the close area of the *Forum* of Trajan, see MENEGHINI 2006.

⁶⁰⁸ People living in the district referred to those houses as “*in ruina*”.

⁶⁰⁹ These streets were part of the established medieval street network (PASSIGLI 1989, pp. 287-300). In the present work, these streets define the area under investigation: see the paragraph 2.1.1 for the motivations behind this choice.

of the district (1593) clearly represents this situation. The area appears as perfectly integrated in the urban context and not as a marginal area anymore (Figs. 34, 35).

In this context of urban growth, under the papacy of Pius V, many existing buildings in the area around the new district were renovated. In 1574 the Conti family transferred the *Militiae* complex to the nuns of Santa Caterina, who turned it into a monastery through the inclusion of the ruins of the Markets of Trajan. The church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo* was renovated in the same period. During the renovation works, marble fragments originally belonging to the *Forum* of Trajan were found⁶¹⁰. The area was full of new buildings that did not take into account the design of ancient ruins. The topography of the ancient Imperial *Fora* was still present in the area, but it was hidden under the new infill and not directly perceivable in the district.

In the second half of the 16th century, even the northern part of the area, around the Column of Trajan, was renovated with the restoration of old buildings and the creation of new ones.

Here in fact, the church of *S. Maria di Loreto* was finally completed (the construction had begun in 1507) and the two monasteries on the other side of the Column of Trajan, built over the square of the ancient *Forum* of Trajan, were renovated and enlarged. The monastery of *S. Bernardino*, in particular, was given to the nuns of *S. Eufemia* and transformed into the Monastery of *S. Eufemia* in 1570, while the Monastery of *Spirito Santo* was enlarged in 1582, just before the district in the “*Pantani*” area started growing⁶¹¹.

Many other construction works and restoration activities are registered in the northern sector of the area under Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590). Felice Perretti, the cardinal of Montalto, was in fact elected Pope in 1585, right after the reclamation of the “*Pantani*” and the formation of the new district. His commitment in urban and social renovations of the Papal State is very well known, as well as his new regulatory plan that provided for the creation of a system of new road axis linking the most important Basilicas in the city⁶¹².

In his analysis of Sixtus V’s activity in Rome between 1585 and 1590, R. Lanciani has underlined a contradictory attitude towards ancient ruins⁶¹³. On the one hand,

⁶¹⁰ Flaminio Vacca, *Memorie*. Cfr. LANCIANI 1902-1912, p. 26.

⁶¹¹ The entrance to the two churches was on *via di S. Lorenzo ai Monti*, while the entrance to the two monasteries was on the square in front of the Column of Trajan. For the story of the Monastery of *S. Eufemia*, see PAJNO-PORRETTA 2012.

⁶¹² FAGIOLO-MADONNA 1992.

⁶¹³ LANCIANI 1902-1912, vol. IV, pp. 131-133.

Sixtus' interest seems to concentrate on “*tor via l'antichità diformi con ristorare quelle che n'havavano bisogno*”⁶¹⁴, with no care for properly recording the innumerable archaeological discoveries made during the urban works under his pontificate. On the other hand, Pope Sixtus V had appointed a dynamic and resolute man, Orazio Boari, as the “*Commissario alle antichità*”, with the task of controlling and allowing excavations in the city. This decision, needless to say, suggests a strong interest in the excavation of antiquities.

Sixtus' V activity also affected the northern area of the ancient Imperial *Fora*. The area around the Column of Trajan and the area of *Piazza Trajana* and *Macel de' Corvi* were both affected by a deep reorganisation of the urban layout, the restoration of old buildings and the construction of new buildings.

It was in this area that in 1586 cardinal Bonelli, who had already promoted the development of the “*Quartiere Alessandrino*” a few years before, bought the old Palazzo Zambeccari, locted behind the church of *S. Bernardo* (later transformed into the church of “*Santissimo Nome di Maria*”)⁶¹⁵ to turn it in his own residence. The building was considered as the completion of the urban process that had brought about the creation of the “*Pantani*” district in the adjacent area. Consequently, the new *Palazzo Bonelli* should have had a magnificent southern façade, overlooking the Column of Trajan. The project was never completed though, probably because of Cardinal Bonelli's death, and the southern side of the palace remained occupied by few poor houses⁶¹⁶.

The area around the Column of Trajan had become a proper square previously in the 16th century. The Column, the symbol of ancient Roman greatness and, at the same time, of the new Christian city, was the centre of a wide area free from houses, ruins and other buildings, with *Palazzo Zambeccari* as the northern ‘scenery’ for the square. Indeed, *Piazza Trajana* suddenly acquired a great importance, also attracting the interest of a very influential personality like Michelangelo. It is not by chance that the artist decided to settle down in *contrada Macel de' Corvi*, close to the square, the church of *S. Maria di Loreto* and the Column⁶¹⁷.

⁶¹⁴ These are the words he used to reply to people accusing him to be “*rivolto alla distruzione dell'antichità di Roma*” (LANCIANI 1894, p. 151).

⁶¹⁵ For a history of the building between the 16th and the 18th century and for its different owners, see COLA 2012.

⁶¹⁶ Even if the magnificent facade in front of the column was never realised, the building still had an entrance on the southern side.

⁶¹⁷ BERNACCHIO-MENEGHINI 2017, p. 66.

Looking at the Column as one of the most beautiful and best preserved elements of the glorious city of Rome, Michelangelo started considering the possibility of better organising the space around it. In this sense, and probably thinking of this area as the counterpart to *Piazza del Campidoglio* (that he had already arranged between 1534 and 1538), Michelangelo presented a project for a new *Piazza Trajana* to the Municipality⁶¹⁸. The project, as well as the one of a new façade of Palazzo Bonelli, was never realised. Still, they demonstrate the interest that the Column raised in architects and artists.

In the general context of this urban renovation and construction of a new road system, Pope Sixtus V decided in 1585 to connect *Piazza S. Marco* to *Piazza Trajana* and then to *piazza S. Maria Maggiore*, on the Quirinal Hill. Some small and poor houses in the area were demolished and the new *strada troiana* (*via Macel de' Corvi*) was built⁶¹⁹. As previously mentioned, the final aim of this project was to renovate the area around the Column of Trajan, transforming this part of the ancient city into a symbolic spot and landmark of modern Rome. In 1588 the statue of St. Peter was posed on top of the Column of Trajan. Contextually, the enclosure around the monument was re-organised and a huge square connecting *piazza Trajana* to *piazza SS. Apostoli* was planned, at the expense of some of the buildings between the two squares.

Despite the fact that the project was never realised, it is clear that at the end of the 16th century the Column of Trajan had definitively become a symbol in and of the modern city, with the final result of transforming the surrounding square into a connecting point between the area of the hills (Quirinal and Viminal Hills) and the urban district at the slopes of the Capitol Hill.

The following two centuries, until the demolitions at the beginning of the 19th century, were characterised by the intensification and renovation of the buildings (churches, houses, streets) in this area and by the rise of a further district in the neighbouring area⁶²⁰.

Indeed, after the creation of the district around the Column of Trajan at the beginning of the 16th century and the population of the “*Pantani*” in the second half of the same

⁶¹⁸ SETTIS *et al.* 1988, p. 584.

⁶¹⁹ LANCIANI 1902-1912, pp. 138-140. R. Lanciani stresses the interest that Sixtus V had in the Column of Trajan and in the square around it, when he talks about the discovery and excavations of the ancient *Forum* of Trajan.

⁶²⁰ Renovations and transformations of buildings and infrastructures in the area will be often connected to a transformation of the social status of the inhabitants. For an overview on the events that occurred in the 17th and 18th century see BERNACCHIO 2017.

century, the 17th century witnessed the new population of an area very close to the “*Pantani*”, that is the area around the *Torre de’ Conti*, corresponding to the ancient *Forum* of Peace⁶²¹. This neighbourhood, characterised by adjacent open fields experienced urban growth at the beginning of the 17th century. Whereas Bonelli and Della Valle families had played an important role in the growth of the “*Pantani*” district, the Conti family assumed a leading role in the growth of the district around the *Torre de’ Conti*. Similarly to what had happened in the *Pantani* area, also the Conti family, owner of the land, understood the potentiality of the *enfiteusi* system and took advantage of it. They rented their land to private tenants who exploited the land by building houses at their own expense and then rented them out.

The method and the instruments adopted for the development of this urban district and for the creation of new streets was therefore very similar to the one adopted in the “*Pantani*” area. The construction of new streets was functional to the development of the district. In this process, an agreement between private owners and public administration was necessary, private owners would build the streets for public use, receiving in return a payment by those using them.

Still, unlike the process that brought Pope Sixtus V to build new roads in the area of the *Pantani*, the construction of new streets in the district of *Torre de’ Conti* involved densely populated areas, whereas the streets in the *Pantani* area had been built with the main scope of connecting huge important buildings in the district to the most populated areas of the city⁶²².

3.1.4 Urban and social growth between the 17th and the beginning of the 19th century

At the end of the 16th century we can therefore distinguish three built areas, close to one another: the area around the Column of Trajan, the area in the “*Pantani*” district (ancient *Fora* of Augustus and Caesar) and the area around the *Torre de’ Conti*

⁶²¹ The area around the *Torre de’ Conti*, South of *via dei Macelli* (the old *Argiletum*), between *via dei Macelli* and the Basilica of Massentius, is not under investigation in this research: see paragraph 2.1.3.

⁶²² ROCA DE AMICIS 1993, pp. 139-140. At the end of his paper about different kinds of urban growth, the author tries to compare the development of the street network in the area of “*Pantani*” to the creation of new streets in the city, under Sixtus V. The author highlights the difference between streets opened because of the will of the Pope and streets that were instead opened to serve the growth of the new district.

(ancient *Forum* of Peace). In these areas, resulting from similar processes, the network of houses and streets was homogenous: they were parallel and orthogonal streets that did not retrace at all the shape or traces of the ancient ruins; small houses of the same type (1 or 2 levels, with a wide open area in the backyard) and few public spaces⁶²³. The surrounding lands, in the area of the Quirinal Hill, were occupied by gardens, villas and big monastic complexes. These elements also contained and limited the expansion of the new districts in that direction⁶²⁴.

At the same time, during the same period, the old “*Pantani*” area, now renamed as the “*Alessandrino*” district, witnessed a reinforcement and a continuous growth. Two relevant transformations can be observed: a change in the social composition of the population and the restoration of a number of churches and religious complexes in the area.

Many of the existing churches in the area, such as the church of *S. Urbano*, the church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo*, the church of the *Santissima Annunziata*, built during the medieval period, were in decay in the 17th century⁶²⁵.

Starting from the northern side of the district, we can look at some of them. The two churches with monasteries in front of the Column of Trajan (*Spirito Santo* and *S. Eufemia*), were founded in the 15th century over the ruins of the *Basilica Ulpia* in the *Forum* of Trajan. Whilst the Spirito Santo church did not experience many changes after the 16th century the church of *S. Eufemia*, which hosted young Roman girls in its conservatory to give them a religious education⁶²⁶, was completely renovated at the end of the 16th century under the control of Mario Arconio (1575-1635), an artist and architect who lived very close to the church, in the new “*Alessandrino*” district, and specifically in *via Alessandrina, Contrada Campi Carlei*⁶²⁷.

Two additional churches were in *Contrada Campi Carlei*: the Church of *S. Lorenzolo* and that of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo*. The last one, built in the Middle Ages over the ruins of the southern wall of the *Forum* of Trajan and restored in the 12th century with

⁶²³ ROCA DE AMICIS, p. 142. For the definition of the house typology, see in particular ROCA DE AMICIS 1993 and ERCOLINO 2013.

⁶²⁴ LABROT 1969.

⁶²⁵ For an overview on the churches existing in the area, see BARROERO 1983 and GORI 2006.

⁶²⁶ Archaeologists have investigated, during the recent excavations made for the Jubilee Year 2000, a part of the church that was destroyed at the beginning of the 19th century. They found some small medals that testify the reverence of the young girls for the saints (BERNACCHIO –MENEHINI 2017, pp. 156-158, cat. FT8971-FT8981).

⁶²⁷ LOMBARDI 1996, p. 60.

a different orientation, was finally restored by Mario Arconio, who realised a simple main façade of the building and some of the paintings inside, with no substantial architectural works. Indeed, unlike the other churches, *S. Maria in Campo Carleo* was not “adapted” to the new street system realised in the “*Pantani*” area. When the *Maestri delle Strade* built *via Alessandrina*, exactly in front of the new entrance of the church, it in fact occupied a big portion of the street. However, even though the presence of the church significantly narrowed the *Via Alessandrina*, the church was neither moved nor transformed or demolished until the middle of the 19th century, when it was destroyed to enlarge the street (Fig. 36)⁶²⁸.

Restoration works in the 17th century involved two further churches: the church of the *Santissima Annunziata*, built over the temple of *Mars Ultor* in the *Forum* of Augustus and the church of *S. Urbano* in the area of the *Forum* of Trajan. The church of the *Santissima Annunziata* was restored for the first time in 1566 under Pope Pius V, and then once again at the beginning of the 17th century. On this occasion, the architects Giacomo della Porta and Carlo Lombardi repaired the architectural structure of the bell tower, the loggia and the dormitory. A few years later, in 1639, the painter Marco Tullio Montagna realised some paintings for the church.

The aforementioned architect Mario Arconio took part also in the restoration project for the church of *S. Urbano*. The complex of *S. Urbano*, composed of the church and a monastery, existed in the area of the *Forum* of Trajan since the second half of the 13th century⁶²⁹. In 1600, a Jubilee year, Cesare Baronio and Fulvia Conti Sforza obtained permission to restore the church and the adjacent monastery: their goal was to transform them into a hostel for young girls, known as “*zitelle sparse*”, who left the adjacent college of *S. Eufemia* in front of the Column of Trajan. The complex was then restored, partially reusing ancient structures, partially building new sections *ex-novo* and demolishing some poor houses in the area⁶³⁰. The renovation of the church was consistent with the expansion of the district: the orientation of the main façade was in fact modified in order to align the building to the new *via Alessandrina*. The church was transformed again at the middle of the 17th century, between 1655 and 1661, when the complex was enlarged in order to include adjacent houses, thus resulting in a large unique architectural complex.

⁶²⁸ BARROERO 1983, p. 169; GORI 2006, p. 251.

⁶²⁹ For a history of the church of *S. Urbano*, see ARMELLINI 1887, pp. 651-652, GORI 2006, pp. 269-281, MENEGHINI-VALCI 2006

⁶³⁰ CESCHI 1933.

As already noted, one of the most active architects engaged for the restoration of the churches in the area was Mario Arconio, who lived in the *via Alessandrina*. He was not the only architect living in the neighbourhood in this period. The first inhabitants of the new district, right after its construction at the beginning of the 16th century, were in fact construction workers coming from northern Italy (bricklayers and master builders)⁶³¹. These artisans arrived in Rome to work in the construction enterprises of the Popes, and they were often involved in the building of their own new houses located in the rented land⁶³². In the first half of the 17th century, the situation changed after some important events.

In 1588, Pope Sixtus V had given to the “*Università dei Pittori*” the church of S. Martina (between the *Forum* of Caesar and the *Forum Romanum*) as a place to meet, pending the restoration of the church of S. Luca on the Esquiline Hill. A few years later, in 1593, in the same church of S. Martina, Federico Zuccari founded the *Accademia di S. Luca*⁶³³. After the installation of the *Accademia di S. Luca* in the church of S. Martina, many artists chose to live in the close and new district over the ancient Imperial *Fora*: painters, sculptors and architects came to settle down in this area, often embellishing the district with their work. Even those who decided not to live in the neighbourhood, as in the case of the architect Pietro da Cortona (1596-1669), were involved in the restoration of the buildings in the area. However, he was very close to the Church of S. Martina and to the Church of S. Eufemia in the area. It is not surprising then that he restored and restyled the church of S. Martina (to which he left his inheritance) and left many of his works to the church of S. Eufemia (whose inheritance he was appointed as guarantor of)⁶³⁴.

Among the artists who lived in the area and embellished it, we can also consider architect Carlo Fontana (1638-1714) who rented a small house close to the church of *Spirito Santo*, transforming it into an artist studio, and the heirs of architect Martino Longhi, who lived in *via Alessandrina*, close to S. Basilio⁶³⁵. Another architect,

⁶³¹ BERNACCHIO 2017, p. 37;

⁶³² FRATRARCANGELI 1999; FRATRARCANGELI 2006.

⁶³³ For the history of the *Università dei Pittori* and the *Accademia di S. Luca*, see SALVAGNI 2009.

⁶³⁴ On Pietro da Cortona, see BRANCIA DI APRICENA 1998 and CERUTTI-FUSCO-VILLANI 2002. On Pietro da Cortona's works in the Church of S. Eufemia and his inheritance, see PAJNO-PORRETTA 2013, p. 157 and p. 161.

⁶³⁵ For a history of the Fontana family and their houses, see BONACCORSO-LUCCI 2008, in particular pp. 465-467. For a detailed description of the properties of the architect from the Longhi family in the district, see instead PUGLIESE 2010.

member of the Longhi family, had chosen to live in the new district which had grown over the ancient Imperial *Fora*: Flaminio Ponzio (1561-1613), who worked on the renovation of the family building in *via Alessandrina*, and was later appointed by Pope Paul V as his personal architect.

The district, as it has just been described, was destined to disappear with the interventions and excavations in the 19th and 20th aimed at recovering the ancient structures of the Roman site for their “antiquarian value first and propagandistic value later”⁶³⁶.

The period preceding the beginning of these events, namely the 18th century, saw the completion of the urbanisation of the area under investigation, together with new phases of restoration of the churches and some of the buildings in the area.

As N. Bernacchio has recently demonstrated, the population of the “*S. Basilio*” district, in the area of the old “*Pantani*”, was completed in the 18th century by the Aldobrandini family, which used the same methods the Cardinal “*Alessandrino*” had adopted before⁶³⁷. N. Bernacchio succeeded in identifying the extension of the *S. Basilio* district at the beginning of the 18th century and according to her it extended to the East and West of the big wall of the *Forum* of Augustus, in an area dominated by the Monastery of the Santissima Annunziata.

Together with the completion of the district, many churches were restored during the 18th century, especially in the northern area. During this period, the Column of Trajan was still an important point of reference in the district. A void in the immediate area around the column, gave the possibility to see the basis of the column and to reach the original level of the Column and of the *Forum* of Trajan⁶³⁸.

As to the area between the column itself and *Palazzo Bonelli*, in 1694 the church of *S. Bernardo* was given to the confraternity of the *Santissimo Nome di Maria*, that decided to immediately start the restoration of the building, adapting the old church to its new role and to the general appearance of the city in the 18th century⁶³⁹. New restoration works took place also later, between 1736 and 1741. During those years the structure of the church was also enlarged to the detriment of some of the old poor

⁶³⁶ ERCOLINO 2013, p. 219.

⁶³⁷ BERNACCHIO 2010. The author has studied the composition of the district on the basis of some lists recording the payments that people living in the area made to the *Gran Priorato di S. Basilio*.

⁶³⁸ Here Pope Sixtus V had realised a wall to sustain and contain the earth all around the void.

⁶³⁹ MARTINI-CASANOVA 1962.

houses still present in the area which were demolished to make room for the new church of *Santissimo Nome di Maria*.

Ancient ruins from the Imperial *Fora* were therefore “incorporated” into the new district that was born at the beginning of the 16th century and continued to grow during the next two centuries. Some of these ruins, the ones that were still standing and in good condition e.g. the Column of Trajan and the huge wall of the *Forum* of Augustus, remained “isolated” in the urban context and well visible in the new context. Many other ruins and remains from the ancient Roman *Fora* complexes had been completely covered by the infill used to reclaim the area, and therefore forgotten. However, the same infill had given the possibility to reuse some of the ancient ruins as a practical path, like in the case of the *Arco dei Pantani*⁶⁴⁰

The plan by G.B. Nolli (1748) shows the situation of the area at the end of this first and long period of investigation (Fig. 37). We can appreciate the district at its highest level of expansion, just before the first demolitions at the beginning of the 19th century.

* * *

A. Roca de Amicis has considered the construction and the growth of the district between the 16th and the 18th century, in relationship with the ancient Roman ruins present in the area. According to him, the creation of the district was an operation conducted:

*“con assoluta autonomia di intenti nei confronti delle preesistenze romane, drasticamente negate con la colmata di terra oppure utilizzare quando strettamente necessario, come l’arco della recinzione augustea”*⁶⁴¹.

In using these words, A. Roca de Amicis aims to stress how the topography of the new district at the end of the 16th century and even later did not retrace at all the topography of the ancient Roman district. On the contrary, he recognises that only the

⁶⁴⁰ See paragraph 3.4.1.

⁶⁴¹ ROCA DE AMICIS 1993, p. 119. This is the same consideration expressed more recently by L. Ungaro. According to her, an idea of “pragmatism” was at the basis of the consideration that people had of ancient ruins between the 16th and the 18th century (UNGARO 1995).

churches already present in the area before the population process imposed some constraints to the design of the new district and to the direction of its development. According to Roca de Amicis, a good example of this shift could be represented by the role played by the street network in this area and the way it changed from the ancient Roman period to the period investigated here. While being simple routes linking the closed squares of the Imperial *Fora*, they then became routes linking small houses and workshops in the 16th century. Two totally different functions, then, explaining the deep difference in the design and direction the street network assumed in the two different periods.

Even R. Meneghini has underlined the same aspects. According to him, the organisation of the district at the end of the 18th century did not take into account the existing architectural ruins in terms of design, and the only elements that had conditioned the evolution of the district were the churches⁶⁴².

Nevertheless, even if the presence of ruins other than the Column of Trajan is neither visible in the plans of the district realised in that period nor at a macroscopic level, people living in the district and using those spaces still felt and perceived their presence. Rediscoveries of marble elements during the construction works for new houses, the name of ancient ruins still used in the toponymy, the role the visible ancient ruins had as a point of reference for people walking and travelling in the area: these are all small, ephemeral and yet important aspects of the reuse and perception of ruins in the urban district. These aspects will be analysed on a deeper level in the following paragraphs.

3.2 Main sources

The present study is centred on the analysis of written sources, its aim being the investigation of the perception of ancient ruins in the area of the Imperial *Fora* between the 16th and 19th century. In particular, the focus is on topographical descriptions, guidebooks, and archival sources. Such a survey fills a gap in the very rich literature about the modern and contemporary tradition of this particular area,

⁶⁴² MENEGHINI 2009, pp. 239-240. The only exception, according to him, was the huge wall of the *Forum* of Augustus that separated the area from the *Suburra*.

insofar as many scientific works have analysed how the ruins of the Imperial *Fora* have been portrayed in paintings, drawings and enclosures, while rarely literary sources and written sources, other than literature and poetry in particular, have been the object of close and systematic scrutiny. This research is therefore not focusing on the huge and already well-investigated amount of graphic documents produced in the period between the 16th and the 19th century, that portrays the city of Rome or the ruins of the imperial *Fora*. Rather, it focuses on the contemporary written documents, both literary documents describing what was visible at the time and documents produced for different purposes.

The analysis of graphic sources falls therefore outside of the present work. However, the iconographic tradition has not been completely set aside. Graphic sources are in fact very explicit in showing the interest in the ruins of ancient Rome. It is therefore extremely useful at least to outline a phenomenon that reveals the interest in ruins from the artists' point of view. This gives us also the possibility to define the physical and cultural context in which the written documents were produced. The iconographic tradition will then be used as the framework for the analysis of the literary tradition, the latter being carried out against the background of the data that can be inferred from the analysis of the former⁶⁴³.

3.2.1 Graphic Documents

The period under investigation (16th-19th century) – identified on the basis of topographical, historical and cultural factors – is also a moment of change in the cartographic representation of Rome. However, before the beginning of the 18th century, when topographic and cartographic representations are realised as a scientific method, the distinction between pictorial and topographic views of the city was quite blurred. Between the 16th and the 18th century in fact, the city of Rome is portrayed in many different graphic media: paintings, drawings and engravings. In the 16th century, as we have seen, Rome was a vivid and evolving "modern" city made of bricks, travertine, and marble; at the same time, the signs of the millennial city fascinated engravers, designers and painters. Many of these artists arrived in

⁶⁴³ Moving to the beginning of the 19th century, this consideration becomes even more important if we bear in mind that a huge part of the written sources from this period documents drawing activity (for example written sources about the activity of the *Pensionnaires* from the French Academy in Rome).

Rome from different countries: as written documents like guidebooks⁶⁴⁴ make particularly clear, pilgrims and artists started travelling around Europe already in the medieval period, moved by the need to visit Rome and other holy cities⁶⁴⁵. Rome thus became the favourite destination for what art historians have defined as a “laic pilgrimage”, an erudite travel in search of humanistic sources⁶⁴⁶. In the 16th century, Flemish artists like Posthumus, Marten von Heemskerck, Jan van Scorel arrived in Rome to admire the city and its *Mirabilia*. In their paintings, they analytically studied and reproduced ancient ruins, always adding some details linked to their culture, giving therefore very precise and detailed images of the ruins, but presenting them out of context⁶⁴⁷. However, paintings and drawings realised by Italian and European artists (especially Flemish and French artists) made the image of Rome circulate in Europe, fostering the art market and the trade of the image of the city⁶⁴⁸. In the 16th century, ruins were not only part of a picturesque and sublime landscape, but they had become something to know, to study and to measure, as a high example of ancient architecture. In the 16th century, ruins had therefore become part of the living city. Responding to the need for studying and measuring the ruins, between the 15th and the 16th century, artists made drawings of the ruins with this specific intent. Artists’ culture was based in fact on the knowledge of antiquities and part of their activity consisted in studying, measuring and drawing the ruins of ancient Roman monuments⁶⁴⁹. Reproducing antiquities in drawings did not simply mean copying from reality, it was a real process of creation, involving the artists' authorship⁶⁵⁰. In this regard, some researchers have underlined that many literates from all over the world became aware of the landscapes of the Italian peninsula thanks to illustrations from the second half of the 16th century⁶⁵¹. Drawings, engravings and paintings were in fact at that time a means to portray and show the image of the city as it was seen

⁶⁴⁴ Cf. par. 3.3

⁶⁴⁵ BEVILACQUA 2018, pp. 19-23.

⁶⁴⁶ On this point see DE SETA 2014, p. 34.

⁶⁴⁷ DE SETA 2005, pp. 14-16.

⁶⁴⁸ *Eadem*, pp. 16-17.

⁶⁴⁹ VISCOGLIOSI 2000. In particular, A. Viscogliosi has studied the production by Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane (1484-1546) and the architects Baldassarre Peruzzi (1481-1536) and Sallustio Peruzzi (-1572).

⁶⁵⁰ E. GOMBRICH 2002 [1960], p. 78-79. As already mentioned, a very interesting case, in this sense, is represented by the work of Marten van Heemskerck: see ROSSI PINELLI 1986, in particular pp. 194 ff..

⁶⁵¹ DE SETA 2014, Introduction. He refers especially to “travel literature” spread in particular between the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century.

and perceived by artists. Compared to written documents, visual documents had a stronger impact.

It is also for this reason that iconographic sources of the city of Rome are more widely investigated than written sources⁶⁵². Drawings are in fact the most visible evidence documenting antiquities in Rome between the 16th and the 19th century and, at the same time, the most widely spread and appreciated. In other words, it is thought that the relationship people had at this time with their past was mainly mediated by- and is primarily detectable through- drawings⁶⁵³.

Considering the iconographic tradition, we can identify two different kinds of documents produced: on the one hand, plans and maps of the city, produced with different techniques since the middle of the 15th century and partially depending on the well-established, though literary, tradition of the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* and on the other hand, paintings and engravings reproducing views of the city. The second category of documents shows the perception of the city and its ruins that artists travelling or living in the city had. Because of this reason, this second category is much more interesting in the context of the present research.

However, in the period under investigation, one of the earliest expressions of interest in the ruins of Rome came out in a document that should have been combined with a map of the city of Rome: the letter written by Baldassarre Castiglione on behalf of Raphael, to Pope Leo X⁶⁵⁴. The letter, dating back to 1519, is one of the most important documents about arts in the first half of the 16th century: it was supposed to be accompanied by a plan of Rome and an “antiquarian description” of the city. Unfortunately, Raphael died just a few months after having written the letter and nobody completed his project.

⁶⁵² Many are in fact the studies on the iconographical representation of the city between the 16th and the 19th century. For an overview of the iconographic production of the ancient ruins of the city in this period, see, among the others, COEN 1996, VISCOGLIOSI 2000, FIORE-NESSELRAH 2005 (and in particular, the papers by P. Fancelli and A. Viscogliosi), CIRULLI 2006, COEN 2017. For a collection of drawings, see also BARTOLI 1914-1922 and Appendix A).

⁶⁵³ An example, is the study of B. Cirulli, who has recently proposed a detailed excursus on the iconographic sources about the area of the *Pantani* (CIRULLI 2006). In her work she goes through the iconographical documentation of that area from the creation of the district at the beginning of the 16th century, until its destruction at the beginning of the 19th century.

⁶⁵⁴ Four versions of the letter exist (including the printed edition based on a lost manuscript once in possession of scipione Maffei), two in Mantua (Archivio privato Catiglioni and Private Archive), one in München (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) and the printed edition Padova (COMINO 1733). On the critical edition and commentary of the letter, see DI TEODORO 1995 and DI TEODORO 2005.

Still, the letter is extremely interesting in the context of the present research, as it deals with two main themes: the protection of monuments from the past (par. I-VI) and the work for the creation of a map carefully and orthogonally reproducing the city (par. XIII-XXI).

The author of the letter says that he wants to draw a plan of Rome and in particular of ancient Rome:

*“Essendomi, adonque, comandato da Vostra Santità ch’io ponga in disegno Roma antica, quanto conoscer si po da quello che hoggi di si vede, con gli edifici e che di sè dimostrano tal reliquia, che per vero argomento si possono infallibilmente ridurre nel termine proprio come stavano [...]”*⁶⁵⁵.

*“Havendo a bastanza dechiarato quali aedifici antichi di Roma sono quelli che noi vogliam dimostrare et anchor come facil cosa sia conoscere quelli da altri, resta ad insegnare il modo che noi havemo tenuto in misurarli e disegnarli, acciocchè chi vorrà attendere alla architettura sappi oprar l’uno e l’altro senza errore e conoscha noi nella description di questa opera non ne esser governati a caso e per sola praticha, ma con vera raggione [...]”*⁶⁵⁶.

These words document the author’s intention of reproducing in the form of drawing the antiquities of the city. Two aspects are particularly relevant in the context of the present research: the first is that Baldassarre Castiglione aspired at using the ruins of the city, not to draw them as they were at that moment, that is as ruins, but as remains able to guide the virtual reconstruction of the ancient buildings and monuments, as they might have looked in antiquity. The second relevant aspect is the attention given to distinguishing ancient from modern buildings. Both aspects will in fact be present in the maps of Rome produced in subsequent times, between the beginning of the 16th century and the end of the 18th century; both aspects are, moreover, discussed and analysed also in the written documents mentioning ancient ruins⁶⁵⁷. Be it as it may,

⁶⁵⁵ Baldassarre Castiglione, *Lettera a Leone X*, par. VI, Manuscript from Mantova (Mantova, Archivio Privato Castiglioni, Documenti Sciolti, a) n. 12. DI TEODORO 1999, p. 67.

⁶⁵⁶ Baldassarre Castiglione, *Lettera a Leone X*, par. XII, Manuscript from Mantova (Mantova, Archivio Privato Castiglioni, Documenti Sciolti, a) n. 12. DI TEODORO 1999, p. 72. The text follows with the explanation of the technique used.

⁶⁵⁷ See *infra* paragraph 3.3 and 3.4.

even if Raphael's project was never completed, a new attention to the topography of the ancient city and to cartography developed right after 1520⁶⁵⁸. This is not the right context to go into depth with the development of this genre. Still, we cannot avoid mentioning the maps of the city realised by L. Bufalini (1551-1561), recently defined by M. Bevilacqua as a perfect integration between ancient and modern city. This map, a zenith reproduction of the city (a top view) became in fact the model for other maps realised in the following two centuries. The maps of the city realised by Mario Cartaro (1576) and Matthaus Greuther (1618) are in fact based on the map by L. Bufalini, with some adjustments.

Beside the reproduction of the zenithal view of the city of Rome, another kind of view of the city spread, that is the bird's eye view. These plans reproduced the city from an "unreal" point of view, giving at the same time a precise idea of its topography, thanks to the combination with L. Bufalini's map. In the maps by Pirro Ligorio (1552), Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1561), Etienne Du-Perac (1577) and G. B. Falda (1676) the topography of the city is correct, but the facades of the buildings record in fact an impossible view. Interesting in these maps is the different attention paid to ancient and modern monuments respectively: while modern buildings are standardised, the reproduction of ancient monuments is quite detailed. These maps play therefore the role of an encyclopaedia, summing up all the information available about the city and classifying them.

A real change in the cartography representing Rome occurred in the 18th century, with the *Nuova Pianta di Roma*, by G.B. Nolli (1748)⁶⁵⁹. The innovation was in the measurement campaign which preceded and prepared the redaction of map, so that in the end it can be considered as a "scientific" and "exact" work reproducing the city of Rome⁶⁶⁰: no more unreal bird's eye views, no more "ideological *imagines*"⁶⁶¹ of the city. Just a real and "objective" reproduction of the city, as technically perfect and precise as possible⁶⁶².

⁶⁵⁸ For a detailed descriptions of the maps of Rome produced in this period, see, among the others, FRUTAZ 1962, INSOLERA 1980 and the recent works by M. Bevilacqua (BEVILACQUA 2005 and BEVILACQUA 2018).

⁶⁵⁹ Many studies have been devoted to Nolli's map. For the description of the drawing method in Nolli's map, see TRAVAGLINI-LELO 2013, with previous bibliography.

⁶⁶⁰ Nolli exploited his experience in the realisation of the *Catasto* of Milan (BEVILACQUA 2004a, pp. 22-24).

⁶⁶¹ Definition after M. Fagiolo (FAGIOLO 2004, p. 11).

⁶⁶² Compared to earlier maps, Nolli's map (1748) presents several qualifying and innovative aspects such as the precision and claimed stylistic "neutrality" of the drawing; the representation of all churches, but also courtyards; the complete representation of urban furniture; the representation of gardens and vineyards with

As far as the ruins of the city and their perception are concerned, it is worth noticing that Nolli's map was actually conceived as an "archaeological" map, fixing on paper ruins and antiquities of the Eternal City. However, the initial interest in the antiquities of the city was later flanked by a precise reproduction of the medieval and contemporary city: in the end, Nolli's map represents the city in the 18th century, with its stratified history. It is not surprising, then, that it was later used as a basemap for the cadastral maps realised in the 19th century and for the first *Catasto* of the city of Rome, that is the *Catasto Pio Gregoriano* (1824), as well as for many modern archaeological studies on the city of Rome. After Nolli's map in fact the old bird's eye view maps were abandoned to leave room for the new scientific *Catasti*. If we go back to the period under investigation here, we should notice that it coincides with a significant turning point in the history of the cartographic representation of Rome (16th-19th century) and with the development of an increasingly subjective view of the city with its ruins and its modern buildings⁶⁶³. During the 16th century, and increasingly in the 17th and 18th century, Rome, with its complex topography and varied landscape of hills and valleys, attracted then several artists and became a testing ground for their abilities. Flemish artists in this period were able to draw and paint quite accurate views of the city, defining the urban context and the architecture involved with a high degree of accuracy⁶⁶⁴.

We should nonetheless underline that ancient and modern Rome were often considered – at least in paintings - as two different and separate entities, a difference which is at times reflected by two different styles of representation. On the contrary, the written sources under investigation do not present this distinction and the descriptions of the ancient and modern city are often mixed in the same text.

An example of the "distinctive" approach is offered by the twin paintings by Giovanni Paolo Panini "*Roma Antica e Roma Moderna*" realised at the middle of the 17th century, they represent the two different aspects of the city separately. When the "two cities" were represented as coexisting realities, actual ruins from the ancient city enjoyed a special figurative mobility in terms of the possibility of being decontextualized as independent elements so that they could be often inserted within

different vegetation; an archaeological reconstruction of the ancient monuments, including the numerous ones which had disappeared by that time (BEVILACQUA 2004, p. 12).

⁶⁶³ The parallel between the evolution of the urban district and the evolution of the perception of ruins is a core element in this research and I will further discuss it in the concluding remarks of the present work.

⁶⁶⁴ See for example the work made by Gaspar van Wittel who arrived in Rome in 1674 and realised his views for cardinals and popes, between 1680 and 1723.

invented contexts, thus creating a scenery that has never existed. While the ruins corresponded to the actual ruins visible in the area represented, the modern elements in the painting were not identifiable as existing elements. The unreal modern buildings around the ruins, typical of the genre called *capriccio*, functioned as frame and setting able to give a special visual evidence to the main "character" of the painting, that is the ancient ruin of a temple or whichever ancient building⁶⁶⁵.

In the 18th century, the "scientific" map by G.B. Nolli triggered a new way of representing the city: "ideal views" or "*capricci*" started falling into disuse, in favour of "exact" representations of the city. In this new context, the distinction in the interest towards either the ancient or the modern city is still remarkable and is identifiable in the works by G.B. Piranesi (1720-1778) and G. Vasi (1710-1782), admiring the "*Magnificenze*" of the ancient city the former, and the buildings from the modern city the latter⁶⁶⁶.

G. Piranesi arrived in Rome in 1740, attracted not only by the magnificence of Roman antiquities, but also by the intense building activities, both private and public, ongoing in the city. He started to understand the city through the *Pensionnaires* of the French Academy of Arts. He was interested, at the same time, in their visionary reproduction of the grandiosity of the ancient city and their care for detailed analysis of the monuments⁶⁶⁷. He was also extremely interested in cartography and the precision of cartographic data. It was in this context that he met G.B. Nolli and he worked with him, as a pupil, on the first scientific map of Rome⁶⁶⁸. Notwithstanding this proximity to G.B. Nolli, the relationship that G. Piranesi had with ruins and antiquities evolved in a completely different way, contrary to G.B. Nolli, he promoted a "restored" image of the ancient city, reproducing "speaking ruins" from antiquity and completely deleting medieval and modern phases of the city⁶⁶⁹. He represented the ruins visible

⁶⁶⁵ See for examples works by G. Paolo Panini (1691-1765) and by Canaletto (1697-1768). On *Capriccio*, see CORBOZ 1985.

⁶⁶⁶ On the work by Piranesi, see in particular Pinto 2012; P. MILLER, "*Piranesi and the Antiquarian Imagination*", in S. LAWRENCE and J. WILTON-ELY, (ed.), *Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, New York: Abrams, 2007, 123-38; on the production by G. Vasi, see COEN 1996. For a detailed and comparative analysis of the works by the two artists and the relationship with the city, see the papers collected in BEVILACQUA 2004.

⁶⁶⁷ The analysis of ancient monuments, made of observation and measurement activities, gave him important stimuli for the creation of the table of the *Prima parte di architettura, e prospettive* (1743) (ROBINSON 1986).

⁶⁶⁸ BEVILACQUA 2004a. For the interest G. Piranesi had in cartography, see CONNORS 2011.

⁶⁶⁹ The term "Speaking Ruins" ("*Ruine Parlanti*") was used by G. Piranesi to describe the ruins he represented in his works.

in the city at that time, completely isolating them from the modern context, as if the latter did not exist at all. At the same time, he also represented those ruins that were not visible at that time, being them hidden under the medieval and modern city. This “condemnation” of modern Rome as a way to exalt ancient Rome was at the opposite of what G.B. Nolli had done through the objective and scientific representation of the city.

The attention of the engraver G. Vasi was instead totally on the modern city, with its squares, streets, churches and convents: a complex body made of religious and non-religious institutions. In his work, as he would say, the representation of ancient Rome was marginal, since he was interested in representing and reproducing the contemporary city and its everyday life⁶⁷⁰. His work, “*Magnificenze di Roma Moderna*” resulted in 10 books, each one containing 20 tables describing, in a topographical order, the modern *Magnificenze*. It was almost totally devoted to modern buildings: 5 books described the churches, 2 described houses of religious orders and the remaining books described gates, squares and bridges of Rome. In so doing, G. Vasi aimed at reproducing the buildings with an interest for details, rather than for their general appearance: even if he was not interested in the monuments of ancient Rome, and even if he was not able to reproduce the scenography of some of the modern squares, he wanted to provide an impression of monumentality of the modern city⁶⁷¹.

3.2.2 Literary Documents

Ancient ruins in the city of Rome between the 16th and the 19th century are documented also by literary texts⁶⁷². In the present research these documents are used as sources to study the perception of ruins in the period and in the area under investigation. The literary sources taken into consideration in the present research span from the 16th to the 19th century; they belong to the tradition of the *Mirabilia*

⁶⁷⁰ GORI SALLOSI 1992, GORI SASSOLI 2004, COEN 1996. Representations of antiquities in Vasi’s work are limited to very symbolic places as Campo Vaccino, the *Coliseum*, the *Forum* of Nerva and the “Palazzo Augustale” in front of the *Circus Maximus*.

⁶⁷¹ GORI SASSOLI 2004, p. 35.

⁶⁷² The other type of sources used in this work (archival sources), even if falling under the category of written sources, is not a “literary” production: archival documents are nowadays preserved in archives but were generally produced for administrative needs (see next paragraph 3.4).

Urbis Romae and the *Indulgentiae Ecclesiae Urbis*. As it is well known, the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* are descriptions of the city of Rome written since the 12th century, to lead medieval travellers through the ruins of the city: they were usually one paper in size and focused on late antique city. The *Indulgentiae Ecclesiarum Urbis* (this is a definition by L. Schudt) are instead booklets of 4-12 pages, written starting from the first half of the 15th century. Their aim was to list the *Indulgentiae* in the churches of Rome, without any mention of artistic elements. These two genres are not under investigation in the present work, but they are of interest for us as a starting point for the development of guidebooks and topographical descriptions⁶⁷³.

Literary sources used in the present research are Topographical Descriptions and Guidebooks of Rome, namely texts written not for specific and private needs, but to be released and used by a relatively large number of readers⁶⁷⁴. Topographical descriptions of Rome and guides of the city provide us with similar information about the attitude scholars had towards the ruins, even if guidebooks, with their specific purpose of showing the city to pilgrims and visitors, were usually more detailed in the descriptions⁶⁷⁵.

Thanks to these texts, we can reconstruct the bond authors had with ruins in their physical consistency and we can try to outline an evolution in the perception of the remains of the Imperial *Fora*.

⁶⁷³ For a bibliography on the topic, see CALDANA 2003, pp. 107-119 (in particular note 33) and pp. 185-186; D. DE FILIPPI, "Modelli e forme del genere corografico tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento", in *Acta Conventus Neo-latini Upsaliensis*, Leiden- Boston 2012, pp. 25-79. On the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* see, among others, FRUGONI 1986, D'ONOFRIO 1988, SANTANGELI VALENZANI 1999, AINI 1999 and, in particular on the area of the *Forum Pacis*, TUCCI 2001.

⁶⁷⁴ Starting point for a selection of topographical descriptions is the work by R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti (VALENTINI ZUCCHETTI 1953). As to the guidebooks, the annotated catalogue by L. Schudt (SCHUDT 1930) can still be considered today as his most exhaustive typology of guidebooks of Rome, together with the more recent paper by F. Tarzia on guidebooks of Rome in the 17th century (TARZIA 2002). For a critical review of the catalogue by L. Schudt, see instead CALDANA 2003. Foreign writers and texts different from the topographical descriptions are not taken into consideration in this work, as well as diaries and routes made by foreign travellers. For an overview on foreign literary sources, see DI BENEDETTI 2006, pp. 17-30. Compared to the iconographic tradition, the interest in how literary tradition saw, perceived and "reproduced" the ruins is less studied. However, if compared to archival sources, literary sources are better known and accessible: the topographical texts and the guides are all published, studied and quite easily accessible in libraries. An excellent collection is preserved in the Biblioteca Hertziana and it is accessible also through digital texts. On the contrary, almost all the archival sources are unpublished and difficult to access in the archives.

⁶⁷⁵ For a focus on the ruins of a city as a literary *topos*, see TAYLOR 1990.

In other words, these texts, together with the above-mentioned drawings, address ruins considering them as magnificent elements from the ancient past and, at the same time, express how artists appreciated, studied and documented ancient *Magnificentiae*⁶⁷⁶. Until the 15th century, literature about ruins of the city was characterised by a sort of condemnation of the remains of the ancient city: they were in poor conditions, not protected and simply abandoned. External forces (i.e. Nature and Time) had ruined the monuments from the past. Texts from this period were not real descriptions of monuments based on a direct vision and they often mentioned ruins simply quoting historical names. Few words written by F. Petrarca after his arrival in Rome in 1373 can help us understand the relative disinterest in the careful description of ruins, and the attention paid to the magnificence and solemnity of those very ruins, to be considered as symbols of a glorious past:

*“Tanta di sì grandi cose è in me la meraviglia e lo stupor che mi ha sopraffatto che avvenne in me il contrario di quello che tu sospettavi, poiché mi ricordo che dal venir qua mi solevi sconsigliare temendo che la vista di queste rovine mal rispondendo alla fama loro e al concetto che fatto sui libri io me ne avevo, il mio amore per quella non se ne avesse a illanguidire”*⁶⁷⁷.

Indeed, Petrarca highlights the tension between the importance accorded to ancient texts in the reconstruction of the glorious past of Rome and the impact deriving from seeing its ruins⁶⁷⁸.

As noticed by V. De Caprio, the image of the ruins of Rome was in fact often established on the basis of literature, rather than on the real observation of ruins themselves⁶⁷⁹.

In the 15th and 16th century instead, literature takes on a new approach towards the ruins of the city. The emanation of the first “law” for the protection of monuments on the one hand⁶⁸⁰, and the urban development of the city on the other hand, fostered a

⁶⁷⁶ In the society of the 15th and 16th century, ruins were an example from the glorious past and, at the same time, a vehicle of architectural and archaeological knowledge (FANCELLI 2005, p. 619).

⁶⁷⁷ F. Petrarca, *Familiars*, II, 14 (CRETONI 1962, p. 24).

⁶⁷⁸ DE CAPRIO 1987, p. 26.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁶⁸⁰ The previously mentioned *Bolla Papale* by Pio II (1462).

“scientific” interest in the ruins, beside a general interest in them as elements of the modern city. All these aspects are strongly evident in literature.

As a result, in the 15th century the first literary expressions of a different approach towards the ruins can be observed. Poggio Bracciolini is considered to be the first author describing ancient buildings on the basis of direct observation.

In the first book of his *De varietate fortunae* (1431-1448)⁶⁸¹, we find the most famous description of the ruins of Rome from the 15th century. Here, monuments are listed by category and they are described in a realistic way. The author often states that he had to clean vegetation from them in order to observe them, thus giving us interesting information about the general condition of the monuments in the city.

Roma Instaurata by Biondo Flavio (1444)⁶⁸² instead, shows an interest in scientific research. The author writes in fact about the restoration of monuments with a “scientific” approach, based on reading of classics, study of inscriptions, and study of the conditions of surviving monuments. With Biondo Flavio, the topography of Rome made a step forward, leaving behind the old medieval tradition and laying the foundations for the new humanistic tradition and modern archaeology. In the following centuries, many authors would increasingly show a deep interest in documenting the ancient ruins of the city. Some of them gave objective information about the ancient ruins, paying attention also to the modern history of the city, as in the case of Andrea Fulvio and his *Antiquitates Urbis* (1527)⁶⁸³. Other authors, like Lucio Fauno (*Delle Antichità della città di Roma*, 1548)⁶⁸⁴ or Lucio Mauro (*Le antichità della città di Roma*, 1546)⁶⁸⁵ strictly stuck instead to their interest in the ancient city, with no attention to the modern context. In the 17th century, the “*Ritratto di Roma Moderna*” by Pompilio Totti (1638)⁶⁸⁶ is considered instead as a text with a scientific purpose, describing modern churches in the different regions of the city⁶⁸⁷. Also Flaminio Vacca (1538-1605)⁶⁸⁸ adopted a scientific approach, behind his *Memorie* we can perceive his attention in detailing the circumstances of the

⁶⁸¹ Appendix B2.

⁶⁸² Appendix B3.

⁶⁸³ Appendix B7.

⁶⁸⁴ Appendix B8.

⁶⁸⁵ L. Mauro, *Le antichità della città di Roma. Brevissimamente raccolte da chiunque ne ha scritto, ò antico ò moderno*, Venezia 1556.

⁶⁸⁶ Appendix B12.

⁶⁸⁷ CALDANA 2003, pp. 120-124.

⁶⁸⁸ Appendix B11.

archaeological findings, always recalling in whose property the discoveries were made. As A. Claridge has underlined, this method was used not only to precisely describe the location of a finding, but also to identify which site was best to excavate further⁶⁸⁹.

Beside topographical descriptions, also guidebooks of the city of Rome are analysed and used as sources in the present research⁶⁹⁰. They provide us with analogous information about the attitude scholars had towards ruins.

Guidebooks, written originally for pilgrims in the Holy City and later also for travellers, usually described a tour or an itinerary, which crossed the most important areas in the city (in terms of churches and/or antiquities). The area of the ancient Imperial *Fora* was always considered in these itineraries. These guides followed specific routes describing what a traveller or a pilgrim would have seen along that path, and the itineraries often have the same structure of guidebooks from different periods. These documents are of great interest in the present work: they can help us understand not only what was visible or not, but also what was actually taken into consideration by the authors and in which way. Moreover, since they are repetitive and uniform, with similar structures in different periods, they are easily comparable, thus allowing us to investigate how approaches to ruins evolved over time⁶⁹¹.

The guidebooks published in the 16th century are guides for pilgrims moved by a sense of worship for the Holy City⁶⁹². These publications were inspired by the previous *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* or *Indulgentiae Ecclesiarum Urbis Romae* and included a presentation of the churches where it was possible to gain *Indulgentiae*, with a list of stations and relics. Apart from the churches, only few other religious points of interest were reported in the guidebooks, pilgrims were in fact looking just for “piety and holiness in the eternal city”⁶⁹³. However, especially in this period, it is not always easy to distinguish between guidebooks and topographical descriptions of

⁶⁸⁹ CLARIDGE 2004, pp. 38-39.

⁶⁹⁰ For an annotated catalogue of the guides of the city of Rome see: CALDANA 2003. For a general presentation of the genre see, among the others, FAGIOLO-MADONNA 1984, FRANCESCANGELI ET AL. 1984.

⁶⁹¹ There was not any creativity nor originality in these texts. Authors of guides were not asked to write their works on the basis of artistic criteria or with a narrative imagination: guidebooks had to be purely functional.

⁶⁹² The first guidebooks recorded in this work are from the beginning of the 16th century, because the production of the previous period has been considered too similar to the *Mirabilia Urbis* and to the *Indulgentiae* (CALDANA 2003).

⁶⁹³ This definition is by A. Caldana: “all’inizio il pellegrino cercò molta pietà e sacralità nella città eterna” (CALDANA 2003, p. 98).

the city as they had similar traits and structures⁶⁹⁴. One of the differences between guidebooks and topographical descriptions recorded by A. Caldana is the list of churches which is always present in the first ones, not always in the second ones⁶⁹⁵.

As already underlined, the first guidebooks are still very similar to the *Mirabilia Urbis* and they were written in Latin. Since the beginning of the production of guidebooks, Latin guidebooks and lists of churches were translated in Spanish, German and French, while the translations in Italian occurred only quite late. The first Italian edition of a guidebook is dated to 1541, when an old version of the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* was translated as “*Le cose meravigliose della città di Roma, con le indulgentie de di en di, che sono in tutte le Chiese di essa tradotte de Latino in Volgare*” (1110)⁶⁹⁶. Despite this, some of these translated guidebooks, such as the one dating 1541 or the one from 1557⁶⁹⁷, only provided lists of the churches and of the *Indulgentiae* to visit day by day (“*de di en di*”).

Instead in the second half of the 16th century, and especially in the 17th century, many Italian editions of the same guidebooks became available, together with an enormous variety of many other different guides.

Around 1560 in fact, some guidebooks started demonstrating an increasing interest in ancient works of art, also providing more thorough historical and artistic information. This shift from the previous tradition of guides occurred right after the urban changes in the city and, as far as the Imperial *Fora* are concerned, after the growth of the urban district over the ancient ruins in the area⁶⁹⁸.

According to A. Di Nola, who has studied the guides of the city of Rome as a source to determine the religious feeling⁶⁹⁹, this change was due to a sort of “*scristianizzazione*” and “*laicizzazione*”, occurred after a complex evolution of the social context that had brought a separation between religious and laic spheres⁷⁰⁰. The middle of the 16th century was therefore a turning point for many points of view. The urban changes, that we have described above, probably activated modifications in the

⁶⁹⁴ CALDANA 2003, pp. 120-121.

⁶⁹⁵ Indeed, this is not always a valid criterion to distinguish the two types of texts.

⁶⁹⁶ Appendix C4; CALDANA 2003, n. 10.

⁶⁹⁷ Appendix C5; CALDANA 2003, n. 19.

⁶⁹⁸ CALDANA 2003, pp. 171-172.

⁶⁹⁹ See the Pdh Thesis by A. Di Nola (DINOLA 1987) and his further publications (DINOLA 1988, DINOLA 1988a, DINOLA 1999).

⁷⁰⁰ DINOLA 1987, p. 7.

social context that were also reflected in the literary and graphic productions, oriented by either a religious or artistic interest⁷⁰¹.

Once this difference is made clear and leaving aside those texts that were aimed specifically at pilgrims or focused only on churches and *Indulgentiae*, it is possible to analyse the perception of ruins which emerges from those guidebooks which provide a catalogue or a description of the monuments of the city,⁷⁰².

Some of the oldest guides propose incorrect identifications of the ancient Roman monuments. In these cases, incorrect identifications of monuments can often serve as precious index fossils to identify the relationship between the guidebooks or "families" of them⁷⁰³. Even if a comparison between the different guidebooks could allow us to discover whether people correctly identified ancient monuments, the focus of this research is on the analysis of the perception of ruins as elements from the ancient past, both as ruins isolated from the context, and as ruins contextualised within the contemporary city.

With the beginning of the 17th century, a new trend in the guidebook tradition can be identified. As we have seen, before this moment authors of guidebooks never completely ignored the religious part of the description, and they continued paying attention to both churches and antiquities⁷⁰⁴. In fact, in the 17th century a process of separation starts, on the one hand, several works will mainly concentrate on the presentation of churches; on the other hand, publications showed a new interest in both modern and ancient Rome, having as a consequence an increasing reduction of the number of churches mentioned⁷⁰⁵. This separation will also result, from the middle of the 18th century, in the publication of guidebooks entirely dedicated to ancient Rome.

⁷⁰¹ See paragraph 3.3.

⁷⁰² Neither diaries are taken into consideration in the present research. For a description of diaries, see MIGLIO 1992, p. 21. The guidebooks analysed in the present work are those catalogued by L. Schudt as "Guidebooks with scientific aims", "Guidebooks for divulgation", "Topographical works" (CALDANA 2003, pp. 120-133; pp. 134-142; pp. 153-168).

⁷⁰³ As an evident mistake, J. Caspar Goethe confused the square around the Column of Trajan with the square around the *Colonna Antonina* (DI BENEDETTI 2006, p. 22).

⁷⁰⁴ CALDANA 2003, pp. 120-121.

⁷⁰⁵ A. Caldana has underlined the separation between guidebooks devoted only to churches and guidebooks with an interest in the "artistic" appearance of the city. Actually, guidebooks with an artistic approach were also those with a lower level of interest in the list of churches and a stronger interest in ancient and modern Rome.

Guides describing in the same itinerary ancient and modern elements appeared in the 17th century, examples of this approach are the works by P. Rossini, G. Roisecco and M. Vasi⁷⁰⁶.

In this period, beside the ancient monuments, authors started in fact describing some elements from the modern district, this attitude is also clear and evident from the descriptions of the area once occupied by the Imperial *Fora*, characterised in the second half of the 16th century by a modern district built over the ancient ruins. These words from a guidebook dating back to 1625 exemplify this situation:

*“Si chiama questa contrada li Pantani, così detta per la bassezza del sito, dove concorrendo molt’acque, e fermanovisi, restò per qualche tempo disabitato, ma sotto Pio V si cominciò con nuove fabbriche, e belle strade a nobilitare. Fu questa strada detta Alessandrina dal cardinal Alessandrino, nipote di Pio Quinto, che l’adornò di molte case”*⁷⁰⁷.

From such a description we can understand the idea travellers had of the area of the Imperial *Fora* after the explosion of the urban district, that is, not only as an area once populated by huge and important monuments, but also as a modern district in the city with its streets and “urban issues”.

In the second half of the 18th century, with new opportunities of travelling throughout Europe emerging, a new need, i.e to directly look at ancient monuments became substantial and relatively widespread⁷⁰⁸. In this new context, intellectuals did not admire ancient ruins isolated from their context any more, but they had the possibility to appreciate and conceive them inside archaeological complexes or in natural landscapes⁷⁰⁹. Guidebooks became therefore useful tools for the erudite public of the Roman circle⁷¹⁰.

⁷⁰⁶ DI BENEDETTI 2006, p. 16, n. 6. Appendix C33, C38 and C39.

⁷⁰⁷ PANCIROLI 1600(1625); CALDANA 2003, n. 112.

⁷⁰⁸ At the end of the 18th century, two works dedicated to travels in Italy came out from the French illuminist milieu: the *Voyage pittoresque ou description de Naples et de Sicilie* (1781-1786) by the Abbé de Saint-Non and the *Voyage pittoresque de îles de Sicile, de Male et de Lipari* (1781 and 1787), by Jan-Pierre Houel.

⁷⁰⁹ BARBANERA 2015, p. 8.

⁷¹⁰ DI BENEDETTO 2006, p. 32. Many studies have been done on the *Grand Tour* in Italy in the 18th century and on the travel in Italy (GARMS 1982, BRILLI 1987; MAILLOUX 2013;). On the *Grand Tour*, see also the recent collection by C. De Seta (DE SETA 2014).

A good idea of the huge amount of guidebooks of the city of Rome published between the 16th and the 19th century, can be gained from the catalogue published by L. Schudt at the beginning of the 20th century⁷¹¹. Schudt's study took into consideration printed books which had as their main subject the city of Rome, or even single monuments of the city⁷¹². While studying this literary genre, the German scholar was particularly interested in analysing the relationship between the descriptions of the city of Rome and its actual urban aspect, with a particular attention to the mention of the historical, artistic or architectonic aspect. Schudt's study was mainly aimed at establishing when guides started providing valid information from a scientific and critical point of view, so as to use them for art historical analysis.

Still, using L. Schudt's work as a reference point, the present research does not deal with guidebooks from a bibliographical point of view. On the contrary, the goal is to use these texts as a complex of documents that, together with other kinds of sources, can provide us with information about the different attitudes people had towards the ruins and the remains of ancient monuments.

Besides Schudt's work and the annotated catalogue by A. Caldana, it seems there are no other publications analysing these kinds of sources from this specific point of view. As noted above, A. Di Nola has used guidebooks of Rome as a source to find information about the religious feelings people had in different centuries. In other words, she used guidebooks as a source for tracing back history of the religious mentality⁷¹³. Similarly, in the present research, guidebooks are used in order to try to reconstruct the history of "appreciation" and "perception" of ruins and antiquities, going beyond the exclusive artistic interest.

From a methodological point of view, and unlike Schudt's work, topographical descriptions and guidebooks have been here collected in chronological order⁷¹⁴. L. Schudt, instead, lists in fact guidebooks according to typologies: "*Indulgenze*"; "*Guide con finalità scientifica*"; "*Guide di divulgazione*"; "*Topografia scientifica*"; "*Libri devote*"; "*Libri su Roma Antica*"; "*I monumenti di Roma: le*

⁷¹¹ SCHUDT 1930, CALDANA 2003. The catalogue includes 215 titles but, as annotated by the author, it is not exhaustive. Literature on the guidebook is wide; among others, see also FAGIOLO-MADONNA 1984; FRANCESCANGELI *ET AL.* 1984, PAZIENTI 2013, SICARI 1991. On travellers and pilgrims, see also DE SETA 2018.

⁷¹² This collection also includes antiquarian and topographical works.

⁷¹³ DI NOLA 1987, DI NOLA 1988A, DI NOLA 1988B, DI NOLA 1990.

⁷¹⁴ For the catalogue of literary sources, see Appendix B (Topographical descriptions) and Appendix C (Guidebooks).

monografie". In the present work, the choice of the chronological criterion is based on the opportunity to look at literary changes across time, as well as on the hypothesis that the topographical, urban and social transformations of the urban contexts might be reflected by this type of source. For this reason, and at risk of transcending the chronological limits of this research, also some of the guidebooks dating from the 15th century have been considered.

As previously mentioned, topographical descriptions and guidebooks generally included mentions of ruins as elements from the ancient and glorious past. Taking for granted that this is the primary reason why ruins were recorded in these texts, in the present research I have tried to understand whether, along the whole period, it is possible to detect differences in the way ruins were recorded, addressed or remembered.

However, looking at literary sources from the whole period, we can assume that at the beginning of the period under investigation the attention was focused mostly on antiquities as elements to be included in topographical description. In the 15th century such an interest was probably due to the persistence of an ideal image of the city of Rome that writers had inherited from the description of ancient classical writers and from the *Mirabilia*⁷¹⁵: an ideal image of the city partially and not totally abandoned in the following centuries.

On the other hand, guidebooks usually describe the contemporary city, not always considering ancient elements and architectures. This difference makes us reflect on the fact that guides do not provide a description of the real world, but just the description of how authors perceived that world. This means that, depending on the author of the guidebook, different ideas and purposes will emerge from the text. There is no doubt that the vision of an author (both of writings or drawings) is always mediated by his own personality⁷¹⁶. Also in the case of our documents, C. De Seta warned about the possibility of mistakenly considering these guidebooks as descriptions of the "real world"⁷¹⁷. On the contrary, and according to B. Toscano, while exploring the existence of ancient ruins in a modern city, these literary works "correct" the mystified vision of the district as populated only by ruins, as emerging from many of the contemporary drawings and descriptions⁷¹⁸.

⁷¹⁵ DI BENEDETTO 2006, p. 16.

⁷¹⁶ See chapter 1 on the importance of the observer in this process.

⁷¹⁷ DE SETA 1982, pp. 127-138.

⁷¹⁸ TOSCANO 2006, p. 21.

Considering these elements, we can state that it is not possible to talk about a unique kind of perception of the area of the Imperial *Fora*. We should rather think that the area was perceived in different ways, depending on different observers and audiences.

3.2.3 Archival Documents

The last category of sources used to investigate the perception of ruins consists in archival documents. With this definition, I refer to written sources not intended for a large public, such as documents produced by administrations, institutions or private entities with a specific and practical use. These documents can be considered as more "realistic" from our point of view, as they reflect administrative activities and interests as well as practical everyday uses of the urban space.

The interest in this kind of sources is twofold. First, they register how ruins in the area under investigation were considered by people living in that area, providing us with a specific and detailed overview on the topic. What we can understand from the analysis of these documents is not the sort of interest in the ruins shown by artists fascinated by the magnificence of the past, but the impact ancient monumental remains had on the everyday life of common people living in the city.

Secondly, these kind of sources provide interesting information depending on the ways in which they were produced. Many studies reconstruct the topography of the area on the basis of archival documents⁷¹⁹, the social context of the district⁷²⁰ or the movement of antiquities from the site to museums or private collections⁷²¹. However, these studies neither focus on the way in which documents were produced, nor on the reasons for their production. Instead the present research focuses on the production of the archival texts as well as their practical function which are considered as distinctive features and elements that can provide a specific and meaningful point of view on the topic under investigation.

Archival documents have also often been used in urban studies, that is research on the development of the urban context, especially in the medieval time. However, the use

⁷¹⁹ MENEGHINI 1992, MENEGHINI 1993, MENEGHINI-TURCHETTI 1993.

⁷²⁰ FRATARCANGELI 2006, FRANCHI-SARTORI 2001.

⁷²¹ DE TOMASI 2013.

of cadastral maps for the reconstruction of ancient topography is predominant, and it differs from the function archival documents have in the present research⁷²². A recent interesting work in the Italian context is one on Padua's medieval architecture, in which archival documents have been collected and analysed to explore the transformation processes in the urban space⁷²³. In this work, data from stratigraphic analysis of buildings and bibliographical, archival, and cartographic data about the city were collected and integrated, recording all the residential evidences in between the 11th and the 15th century⁷²⁴. Written descriptions of cadastral parcels contained in archival documents were then transcribed into tables and used to identify parcel locations on the map and to draw their measures and shapes⁷²⁵. Combining analysis of the parcels with old cartography, the study was able to identify inherited aspects of the building from previous structures, underline the persistence of some plots, and verify the correspondence between parcels and buildings.

Unlike graphic and literary documents, it is not possible to retrace the history of the production of archival documents. Still, we can provide an overview of the different kinds of documents examined, analysed and collected in the present research.

The following archives have been examined and investigated in the present research: *Archivio di Stato di Roma* (ASR)⁷²⁶, *Archivio Segreto Vaticano* (ASV), *Archivio del Vicariato* (AVR).

In each of the archives, and with the help of the inventories of the collections, all the documents mentioning the area of the Imperial *Fora* have been retrieved, read and transcribed, when considered of interest for the topic under investigation⁷²⁷. Drawings and paintings preserved in the archives, have not been collected but only used as a support in the analysis of the larger context⁷²⁸.

⁷²² See for example the research project on medieval cities in Wales (CLARKE – LILLEY – VETCH 2011, LILLEY 200, LILLEY 2010, LILLEY, LLOYD, TRICK 2007).

⁷²³ For the ARMEP Project see VALENTE 2012.

⁷²⁴ BOARETTO-VALENTE 2011.

⁷²⁵ Problems in the registration of the data were encountered mainly because of the numerous versions of the owner's name. Topology was used to identify locations on the basis of the closeness of elements. For a description of the methodology used, see VALENTE 2011.

⁷²⁶ In brackets the abbreviations of the archive names used alongside the text.

⁷²⁷ It is clear that the collection of documents presented here is not exhaustive. Many others are collections that could be investigated in the same archives. We can consider the collection of documents presented here as a starting point for this research, to be extended to other documents in the near future.

⁷²⁸ See paragraph 3.2.1 for the graphic sources.

In addition to this, it is important to highlight the fact that the following archives have not been considered in this research: the *Archivio Centrale dello Stato di Roma*, collecting documents produced by the juridical and administrative organs of the Italian State, the *Archivio Storico Capitolino*, collecting instead documents produced by the Municipality Administration between 1870 and today⁷²⁹, the *Archivio di Documentazione Archeologica*, preserving documents produced by the *Soprintendenza Speciale Archeologica di Roma* since 1879. Such an exclusion is based mainly on the time span under investigation in the present research, basically different from that of the documents preserved in the above-mentioned archives⁷³⁰.

The majority of the documents analysed has been retrieved in the *Archivio di Stato di Roma*. This archive collects documents dating exactly from the period under investigation. Documents collected in the *Archivio di Stato di Roma* were produced by the Papal State Administration (between the middle of the 15th century and the birth of *Roma Capitale* in 1870), by the Roman administration after the birth of *Roma Capitale* in 1870 and by the Central Italian Administration (Ministries), in the 19th and 20th century. Besides we also find documents produced by notaries, private families (family archives) and religious institutions (church and conservatories archives), between the 15th and the 20th century.

The archives also hold documents produced by private institutions (Archives of Religious Congregations and Hospitals; family archives). The documents identified in this archive, and used as sources in the present research, belong to the following archival collections.⁷³¹

⁷²⁹ The *Archivio Storico Capitolino* actually collects some documents produced under the *Comune Antico*, between the 15th century and 1847. Some of these documents have been taken into consideration in the present research (ASC, Credenzione I, Ispettorato Edilizio).

⁷³⁰ Also the Archives of the Superintendences generally collect documents from the second half of the 19th and from the 20th century. The following archives have been therefore excluded from the present research: *Archivio della Soprintendenza Speciale di Palazzo Altompe* (Superintendence of the State), *Archivio Storico* and *Archivio Disegni della Nuova Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali* (Superintendence of the Municipality).

The *Archivio di Documentazione Archeologica*, being focused on archaeological remains could be extremely interesting in the study of ancient ruins. Nevertheless, it has been created after the second half of the 19th century. Moreover, as part of an institution specifically established for the protection of monuments, it provides a particular point of view, focused on that very period. The analysis of documents preserved in this archive and in the others just mentioned could be part of future research, the final aim being the investigation of how the perception of ruins changed after the middle of the 19th century.

⁷³¹ D'ANGIOLINI – PAVONE 1981-1994 (*Archivio di Stato di Roma*); LUME 1994. Collections are listed in alphabetical order.

- *Camerali III* (15th-19th century). It collects documents from the Camera Apostolica that is the financial, administrative and juridical organ taking care of all the affairs of the Church. The collection is organised according to the municipalities involved.
- *Collegio dei 30 Notai Capitolini* (14th-17th century). It is a collection of notarial acts produced by Roman notaries from the *Collegio dei Notai Capitolini*. Part of the collection is made of acts on private disputes and inheritances.
- *Confraternita della Ss.ma Annunziata* (1687-1873). It includes documents about inheritances and donations to the confraternity. Some of the properties donated or inherited were located in the area of the Imperial *Fora*.
- *Congregazione del Buon Governo* (1572-1870). It collects documents produced by the *Congregazione del Buon Governo*, established in 1588 by Pope Sixtus V, together with another 14 congregations for the administration of the Church and the Papal State. This congregation had to control municipal activities as regards to taxes and administration of streets (especially in the 19th century).
- *Commissione per la Conservazione delle chiese di Roma* (1810-1821). It collects documents produced by the Commission including reports and accountings in regards to the expenses for the churches.
- *Commissione per gli abbellimenti di Roma* (1810 - 1817; 1830 – 1832). It contains reports and correspondences of the meetings of the Commission on the following topics: navigation on the Tiber River, bridges, botanical gardens, markets, expenses, demolitions and monuments. The last two topics are the most interesting in regards to the present research.
- *Ospedale della Consolazione* (1309-1878). Here all the documents produced by the confraternity can be found in regards to the management of the assets of the confraternity. The hospital was located in *Rione Monti*, close to the area of the Imperial *Fora* and it had properties in this area.
- *Ospedale del Ss.mo Salvatore* (12th century – 1890). It collects statutes and documents produced by the confraternity, and dispositions regarding privileges of the hospital. Of particular interest are the records about properties in the area of the Imperial *Fora*.

- *Pii Operai catechisti rurali in S. Lorenzo ai Monti e S. Maria ai Monti* (1681 – 1868) It collects documents about the administration of properties and assets of the church. The church was located in the area under investigation.
- *Presidenza delle Strade* (1464-1833). It collects administrative documents (juridical documents are collected instead in the *Tribunale delle Strade*) about the management and maintenance of streets, lighting, and plants. Of particular interest are the documents preserved in the section called *Taxae Viarum* (documents regulating the payment of taxes for the use of water and sewerage system) and recording all the owners of a building that had to pay taxes for the maintenance of the street. These kinds of documents give us not only information about people living in the district, but also about the name of the streets and the terms used to describe the position of the houses.

Besides the documents preserved in the *Archivio di Stato di Roma*, some other documents providing interesting information for the present research were found in the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, the Archive of the Holy See that keeps collections of different private and public institutions regarding administrative and pastoral activities of the Pope. Here two collections in particular have been examined:

- *Archivio del Gonfalone* (15th – 19th century). Like the other archives of churches and confraternities, even this one collects document about the management of properties of the confraternity. Some of these properties were located in the area of the Imperial *Fora*.
- *Visite Apostoliche* (16th-17th century). This collection contains reports of the visits made on behalf of the Pope, to check any potential disorder or disobedience of the rules. These visits became frequent and institutional after the *Concilium* of Trento (1546-1563). Many of these visits occurred in the churches within the area of the Imperial *Fora*, thus describing the churches and their surroundings.

Other documents used in the present research are preserved instead in the *Archivio del Vicariato*. This archive hosts about 150 collections of churches, basilicas, confraternities, monasteries, and other institutions. For each of them, the books recording baptisms, weddings and deaths are kept in the archive. These documents are useful to investigate the social composition of the district and to gain information about location names.

Finally, many notarial acts have been read and transcribed not directly from the archives but from the collections of copies made by C. Corvisieri⁷³² and R. Lanciani⁷³³, and preserved in the *Biblioteca Vallicelliana* by the former, in the *Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* in Rome by the latter.

Considering the whole corpus of documents collected, we can divide them in two broad typologies: private and public documents.

Many private documents are useful to reconstruct the social context and the daily life in the area under investigation and for different periods:

- notarial deeds (documents concerning inheritances and disputes about properties in the area);
- lists of properties and goods belonging to the churches built in the area;
- lists of properties and goods that churches (both established in the area and not) had in the area of the Imperial *Fora*;
- lists of people baptised, married or buried in the churches in the area of the Imperial *Fora* (“Battesimi”, “Matrimoni”, “Morti”);
- permissions for restoration of the buildings in the area;
- permissions for excavations in the area.

Needless to say, these documents provide us with information about how ruins in the area were named and how they were considered in the modern topography. Notarial acts regarding the sale or transfer of properties also give information regarding the consistency and the status of monuments, ruins and streets in different periods. The same is true for documents from the 18th and 19th centuries, recording requests by private people asking for the permission to build new houses or to carry out works in the area (documents from the *Ispettorato Edilizio*)⁷³⁴.

It is important to stress that in some of the private documents just described, we can find not only a description of the status of ancient monuments, buildings, churches and streets, but also an expression of the personal opinion or consideration of the author. Personal opinions in these documents are not openly expressed, but can be

⁷³² *Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Fondo Corvisieri*. The collection is made of 13,000 documents containing information about medieval topography of the city.

⁷³³ *BIASA, Fondo Lanciani*.

⁷³⁴ *ASC, Ispettorato Edilizio, Fondo Contratti*.

often inferred and detected from a lexical analysis of the texts. As an example, the use of adjectives such as “*diruto*” (Doc. 53) or “*ruinoso*” convey to the reader a negative consideration of the monument discussed, while words such as “*di meravigliosa grandezza*” (Doc. 152) express an appreciation.

Among public documents, the most significant part of materials comes from the offices involved in the administration of the city and of its monuments over the years. Examples of this are the documents produced by the *Presidenza delle Strade*, the *Commissione per gli Abbellimenti di Roma*, and the *Commissione per la Conservazione delle Chiese di Roma* that, together with the information about administrative activities, also give descriptions of the area. Even if they were produced by public bodies, these documents provide very helpful information about the status of the ruins in the district and the consideration that authors and recipients of the documents had of the ancient monumental remains. Some of these public documents also give information about restoration or excavation works to be done in the area (see for example documents produced by the *Camera Apostolica*).

All the documents collected are therefore different in chronology (15th-19th century) and in the kind of archive in which they are preserved. State and Municipal archives⁷³⁵, archives linked with the Roman Church (intended as an institution)⁷³⁶ and archives of researchers⁷³⁷. Some of these documents have already been used by scholars to investigate the story of some of the monuments in the area⁷³⁸, while many others are still unknown.

However, a collection and a catalogue of all the documents could also help future studies investigating ancient Roman buildings, the urban context and the district developed over the Roman ruins of the Imperial *Fora* and destroyed during urban works in the 19th and 20th century. In particular, these documents could allow for a new reading and analysis of those works carried out at the beginning of the 19th century by the Napoleonic Regime to unearth the ancient *Basilica Ulpia*, as well as the works made at the end of the 19th century by the municipality for the creation of the new street called *via Cavour*, and the huge disembowelments carried out under

⁷³⁵ *Archivio di Stato di Roma, Archivio Storico Capitolino.*

⁷³⁶ *Archivio del Vicariato, Archivio Segreto Vaticano.*

⁷³⁷ *Fondo Corvisieri, Fondo Lanciani.*

⁷³⁸ See for example BERNACCHIO 2010 or MENEGHINI 1993.

the Fascist Regime, in order to unearth the ancient Roman monuments and to create the new *via dell'Impero*⁷³⁹.

There is one more aspect these documents are an interesting source for, that is the issue of their accessibility. Original documents are stored in historical archives in Rome which are accessible public institutions. Nevertheless, the consultation of these archives is a long process, especially because documents related to the topic we are interested in are hidden in many different collections and not always easily identifiable. Digital archive resources, both the scanning of documents from archives and the creation of on-line and open-source databases and inventories, might enhance archives' accessibility. This is an important topic in contemporary cultural policy in Italy, in particular concerning two main issues. The first one is the evaluation of economic and financial problems linked with restoration and enhancement projects for archives (often promoted by bank foundations)⁷⁴⁰. The second one concerns those operations established by the Italian Code of the Cultural and Landscape Heritage as the main body of public administration in Cultural Heritage: *protection, enhancement and public enjoyment*⁷⁴¹. In this context, the process of digitisation, often thought of as a tool for preservation of Cultural Heritage, could also play a role in enhancing the value of these documents⁷⁴².

3.2.4 Methodology

In the present work, written documents (literary and archival documents) have been considered and catalogued in a chronological order. As to the two kinds of written sources (literary and archival sources), I found it extremely interesting and important to take both of them in consideration. The interest here is focused on the effects that the presence of ruins inside a district had on people living in the that district. Various sources can give different perspectives on how the area was used.

⁷³⁹ INSOLERA-PEREGO 1983. 1+

⁷⁴⁰ GUERCIO 2008.

⁷⁴¹ Italian Code of the Cultural and Landscape Heritage. D.lgs. 22 gennaio 2004, n.42 (from now on simply "Italian Code of the Cultural and Landscape Heritage"), art. 3.1 (Protection), art. 6.1 (Enhancement); art. 6.1, 3.1, 2.4, 1.3,4,6 (Public Enjoyment).

⁷⁴² GUERCIO 2008.

There are, of course, differences in the characteristics of the documents and therefore in the analysis that can be done of them. Differences mainly depend on the purpose for which documents were produced, but also on the authors and on the audience of the texts: were they documents produced intentionally to be read by the public or, on the contrary, were they documents to be read only by people interested in the administrative scope of the document? Were the authors literates or public officials? As an example, guidebooks were written for a diverse public (pilgrims). They were printed in many copies and distributed. They were also written with a specific scope so that they lead pilgrims and visitors through the city, highlighting what pilgrims would have seen along the route. Mention of monuments, ruins and other elements were therefore expressively for the reader and the authors sometimes directly addressed the reader using verbs in the second person, to catch their attention. Moreover, guidebooks are the product of a serial production and different versions of the same guide were written across the centuries. This aspect makes it possible to follow the continuity or transformation of these documents across the centuries.

A different discourse, instead, should be done for archival documents. These were usually produced with a very specific and practical goal, mainly concerning administrative issues. Mentioning or describing monuments, ruins and other elements in the district was not therefore the object nor the aim of the documents. On the contrary, these references had rather a practical function that was to link the original purpose of the document. Mentions of ruins or ancient monuments usually appear in archival documents to locate properties or to describe the elements the documents refer to. Moreover, archival documents were not mass-produced and cannot be considered as a genre. For each document, we have today just one edition (the one preserved in the archive) and it would not be useful to look for an evolution of the genre, as for guidebooks.

On the basis of these differences, we can also imagine different ways in which ruins were considered according to different contexts. The presence of ruins was probably perceived in a different way by people living in the district and by artists drawing ancient and modern elements of the district (or by travellers passing through the area). Once we acknowledge the existence of differences in the way various kinds of documents looked at monuments we will also have to acknowledge that the effects ruins had on different authors may differ consistently. Therefore, it is only by comparing different approaches to ancient ruins we will be able to better understand and appreciate the specific topic we aim to investigate.

3.3 Perception of ruins as historical and literary elements

Extant documentation concerning the area of the ancient Imperial *Fora* between the 16th and the 18th centuries, testifies to two different ways of considering ruins, as well as to two different types of motivations behind mentioning, reproducing or describing them.

On the one side, ruins were understood as signs and relics of a magnificent past and taken into account as such. Their historical value, as witnesses of the past, was therefore strongly emphasized. On the other side, they were a full-fledged element in a new district and, consequently, they were considered as part of the contemporary topography.

In this paragraph, we will analyse the former approach to ancient ruins, i.e. their consideration as historical evidence, full of historical “value”. This kind of “value” was recognised mainly by artists (i.e. painters and architects as well as writers and literates), scholars, students and travellers. For them, the ancient elements in the district were, above all, the remains from the ancient Roman world and they were therefore considered as such⁷⁴³. We will also investigate what can be inferred from extant documents as to the perception of those same remains held by the inhabitants of the new district⁷⁴⁴. We will therefore try to answer the following question: did the transformations of the urban setting change the perception of the ancient ruins held by artists, scholars, travellers and people living and working in that area?

To frame the meaning of this specific “sense” of the ruins, we need to go back to the 15th century, at the beginning of the Renaissance period⁷⁴⁵. From the beginning of the 15th century ruins of monuments from the ancient Roman time remaining in the whole city were considered beautiful examples of the art from the past; they had to be recognised not only as witnesses of ancient history, but also as exemplary models (of architectural forms, for example) to study, document and copy. The interest in

⁷⁴³ Ancient elements in the district were both the still untouched ones (such as the Column of Trajan) and the ruined ones (such as the remains of the Temple of *Mars Ultor* in the *Forum* of Augustus or the columns in the *Forum* of Nerva).

⁷⁴⁴ For the investigation of the way in which people living in the area perceived the ruins, see paragraph 3.4.

⁷⁴⁵ For an overview on the role of ruins and architecture in Early Renaissance, see BENZI 2000 and in particular, in this collection, the paper by L. Vattuone (VATTUONE 2000).

textually and visually documenting these ruins spread in this period, together with the beginning of humanism, when the city experienced a modification of its medieval shape, due to the high number of people moving to Rome, and because of the consequent changes in the urban settings⁷⁴⁶.

Ruins from the past became therefore models and sources of inspiration for artists and architects. Contemporary architecture was a sort of imitation and copy of Antiquity, yet still in continuity with it: artists and architects used drawings and written texts to study and document the past, and they “reused” this past through *spolia*, restoration works and the imitation of ancient ruins in new buildings⁷⁴⁷.

Starting from the 15th century, the area of the Imperial *Fora* was considered one of the most important destinations for students interested in “ruins” from the past; from those ruins, they got the inspiration for the creation of new architectural elements. Students came to the area of the ancient Imperial *Fora* to draw and to reproduce architecture and marble fragments they found there⁷⁴⁸.

In that same period there occurred an important event concerning the general perception of ancient monuments: the release of the *Bolla Papale* by Pope *Pio II*. With this document, dating to 1462, the destruction of ancient buildings was prohibited:

*“Che siano tramandati ai posteri i vecchi e antichi edifici, ornamenti e massimo decoro di detta città, testimonianza delle virtù antiche e incitamento ad eguagliarle.”*⁷⁴⁹

Scholars generally consider this document as the first attempt to protect Antiquities in Rome⁷⁵⁰: this was the first time in which ruins (“*ruina*”) were considered not only as

⁷⁴⁶ Some historians have stressed the role played by the fall of Constantinople in 1453 as an element increasing the importance of Rome in the Christian world and fostering therefore the movement of people to Rome (see for example FANCELLI 2005, p. 57).

⁷⁴⁷ Both *spolia* and restoration works can be considered, in the 15th and in the 16th centuries, as expressions of a new architecture imitating and continuing the Classical one. In particular, and according to P. Fancelli, *spolia*, mainly marble fragments removed from ancient buildings, played a fundamental role in this attempt to retrieve and restore the Classical world (FANCELLI 2005). See also SETTIS 1986.

⁷⁴⁸ UNGARO ET AL. 1995, p. 27.

⁷⁴⁹ Papal Bull “*Cum almam nostram Urbem*”, released by Pope Pio II on April 28th, 1462.

⁷⁵⁰ RIDLEY 1992, p. 18. P. Fancelli states instead that the real protection of ancient monuments started only later, under Paolo III in 1534, when he established the role of *Commissario alle antichità* (FANCELLI 2005, p. 58). However, the authorities of the city of Rome had already expressed an idea of protection of ancient monuments in the 14th century through the *Statuta Urbis Romae* (1363): these documents dictated that ancient buildings should not be ruined (“*De antiquis edificiis non diruendis*”). On this topic, see paragraph 3.4.

something bringing “prestige and decorum” from the past to the contemporary city, but also as a high example of ancient “*virtus*”: something to be studied and then imitated⁷⁵¹.

The consideration of the ruins of the ancient Imperial *Fora* as part of the mythological and magnificent past, to be admired and imitated, is therefore strictly linked to the rise of the idea of protection of monuments that spread in the city of Rome in the 15th century; the recognition of the importance of ruins as models probably led to their protection.

In this context, Biondo Flavio is considered as the first writer who effectively showed a different attitude towards the ruins from ancient Rome⁷⁵²: according to G. Simoncini, Biondo Flavio not only expressed sadness for what had been destroyed – like many of the previous writers-, but also an exaltation of what had remained from the past⁷⁵³. The aim of Flavio’s work was to “renew” the knowledge of ancient Rome hidden under the contemporary city, identifying the ruins visible in the city and precisely locating the massive complexes described by ancient historians.

The protection of monuments, together with their interpretation as objects to be studied, documented and imitated is therefore at the basis of the idea of ruins as “an element of the ancient past”. The starting point for such an interpretation, in literary and iconographic documents as well as in terms of protection of monuments, can be dated to the 15th century⁷⁵⁴. As G. Simoncini has recently underlined talking about the historian Biondo Flavio:

“La tendenza a considerare la Roma antica non più solo dal punto di vista antiquario, come un semplice oggetto di ammirazione, ma anche dal punto di vista progettuale, cioè come un modello cui ispirarsi si accompagnò a un più generale interesse per la conservazione

⁷⁵¹ Actually, if we consider the urban history of the city in the 15th century, the situation seems to be completely different from this idea of “protection”: the 15th century saw in fact an intense activity of looting materials from ancient monuments, in order to build the new city. However, if we look at the whole context, we can infer that creation and spread of acts aimed at defending ancient architectural remains were due exactly to the proliferation of these looting events.

⁷⁵² Flavio Biondo. *Romae Instauratae* (1444): Appendix B3. See also SETTIS 1984-1986.

⁷⁵³ SIMONCINI 2004.

⁷⁵⁴ The topic of conservation and protection of monuments will be discussed in paragraph 3.4. A fundamental contribution in this regard is S. SETTIS, *Battaglie senza eroi. I beni culturali tra istituzioni e profitto*, Milano 2005.

dell'antico di cui lo stesso Biondo al suo tempo fu il principale interprete."⁷⁵⁵

3.3.1 The iconographic tradition

Looking at the iconographic sources reproducing the city between the second half of the 16th century and the beginning of the 19th century, it is worth stressing that the contemporary city is almost totally absent from the representations of the area of the Imperial *Fora*⁷⁵⁶. While this aspect is conceivable until the beginning of the 16th century, when the area was characterised by few houses scattered in wide fields around the ancient ruins, it is quite unexpected in the second half of the 16th century and in the next two centuries, when the new district was completed and the street network became very dense. Notwithstanding the proliferation of the district, as B. Cirulli has recently noticed, the modern city does not appear often in the contemporary graphical representations of the area from this period⁷⁵⁷.

The graphic documents reproducing the area of the Imperial *Fora*, show that the ruins in the area are always represented and idealized, becoming a symbol of an ancient value in the city⁷⁵⁸.

The interest in the ancient ruins in the area of the Imperial *Fora* was obviously extremely high; the area had been the political centre of the city in the ancient past, and in the 16th century it hosted physical testimonies of the magnificent buildings which characterised the area during the Roman Empire.

Churches, on the other hand, were elements of the modern and contemporary city and therefore almost absent in the graphical representations of the area. There are just few drawings representing the churches in the area (*S. Urbano, SS. Quirico e Giulitta, S. Basilio, S. Eufemia, S. Salvatore, S. Maria in Macello Martyrum, S. Lorenzo ai Monti, S. Maria in Campo Carleo, S. Nicolò, S. Maria di Loreto*) and some important

⁷⁵⁵ SIMONCINI 2004, pp. 96-97. For the consideration of Rome by Biondo Flavio, see also JACKS 1993 and GUNTHER 1997.

⁷⁵⁶ See paragraph 3.2 for a description of the sources used in this research.

⁷⁵⁷ CIRULLI 2006, p. 61.

⁷⁵⁸ The term "Idealized" is intended here to indicate that in some drawings ruins were "reconstructed" and represented not just as such, but as parts of the entire monuments of which they were originally part (this occurred especially until the first half of the 16th century). As we will see *infra*, the same situation emerges from the analysis of literary sources.

buildings (such as *Palazzo Bonelli*, *Palazzo del Grillo*, *Palazzo Conti*, *Palazzo Ceva*, *Palazzo Ghislieri*)⁷⁵⁹. Those houses built in the new Alexandrine District which we have previously mentioned as houses built or lived by famous and important architects from the contemporary period (like the houses of Flaminio Ponzio and Martino Longhi, or the houses built by the architect Mario Arconio)⁷⁶⁰ were not of interest to the artists.

B. Cirulli has recently identified two different attitudes towards ruins by the artists of the Renaissance period: 1) representation of ruins as an element in the landscape; 2) ruins as an element from the ancient past from which artists could learn and study architecture.

In the first case, we can refer to the works of artists like the Anonimo Escorialense (*Codice Excurialense*, 1504-1506), Martin van Heemskerck (*Römische Skizzenbücher*, 1532-1535), Giovanni Dosio (*Libro delle Antichità*, 1560-1569) and Étienne Dupérac (*Vestigia delle Antichità di Roma*, 1575)⁷⁶¹. These artists usually represented the city as it was, with its ruins and its modern elements. The collections of drawings by M. van Heemskerck, G. Dosio and É. Dupérac include for example the area of the *Forum* of Nerva with the temple of Minerva, while G. Dosio represents in his drawings the area of the Markets of Trajan⁷⁶². However, sometimes, their will to document the city and its antiquities brought them to reproduce ruins and monuments which were not actually there anymore, and to try to “reconstruct” the ancient context.

Even if focused mainly on ruins, some of the drawings produced in this period can still help us in discovering the elements of the modern city; if we analyse the different attention given by the artists to different parts of the city, and if we look at the different points of view they used, we can retrace the general aspect of the modern city. There are, for instance, many drawings reproducing the Column of Trajan in the second half of the 16th century when, after the demolition of the small church and houses leaning

⁷⁵⁹ CIRULLI 2006, p. 61. *Contra*, we should note that churches and modern buildings are represented, together with ruins and antiquities, in the collection of engravings by G. Vasi (VASI 1758: in particular, volumes 6, 7, 8 were dedicated to churches, convents and monasteries).

⁷⁶⁰ See paragraph 3.1.

⁷⁶¹ BRIGANTI 1996, pp. 5-10; GREENHALG 1984, pp. 113-167.

⁷⁶² See GRELE 1987, pp. 13-18 for the drawings by M. van Heemskerck; see ACIDINI 1976a and ACIDINI 1976b for the drawings by G. Dosio; see GRELE 1987 pp. 71-96 for the drawings by E. Du Perac.

against the column, it was possible to see the base of the monument once again⁷⁶³. G. Dosio and É. Dupérac reproduced for example some views of the area⁷⁶⁴; in these cases, the ancient monument was the main subject of the reproductions, though artists also registered the dense district of houses around the column with a similar accuracy⁷⁶⁵ (Fig. 38.). We therefore have a clearer picture of the area of the Column of Trajan that, even after being freed from small and poor houses during the papacy of Paulus III, was still characterised by the presence of buildings belonging to the new district born after the half of the 16th century⁷⁶⁶.

As already mentioned, a second possible interpretation of the way ruins were considered and included in the contemporary iconographic tradition has been recently suggested. According to B. Cirulli, some of the artworks in which ancient monuments are reproduced result from the attempt to study and learn from ancient architecture. In this sense, artists, as well as students and architects look at ruins as useful elements to know the past. Such a “public use” of ruins mainly involved people neither living in the area, nor using it. Artists and architects aimed at visiting the area of the ancient Imperial *Fora* specifically to copy and study monuments and beautiful architectural fragments.

We can get an idea of the type of drawings produced by architects to study the monuments in the area from the collection of ancient drawings edited by A. Viscogliosi⁷⁶⁷. Viscogliosi has collected ca. 100 drawings reproducing the ruins of the Imperial *Fora*, dating to the period between the 15th and 16th centuries. Some of them are by famous artists, such as Giuliano da Sangallo, Giovan Battista da Sangallo, Andrea Corner and Simone del Pollaiuolo (also known as “Il Cronaca”)⁷⁶⁸ (see for

⁷⁶³ The presence of the church of *S. Nicolò* and of the small houses around the column has been interpreted by scholars as a motivation for the low number of drawings reproducing the Column of Trajan between the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century: the column was hidden behind modern architecture and it was not possible to admire it (CIRULLI 2006, p. 71)

⁷⁶⁴ See for example: Giovanni Antonio Dosio *La Colonna Traiana*, 1560-1565, disegno. Firenze, Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe; DU PÉRAC 1575, tav. 33, “Disegno della Colonna Trajana, che fu da lui drizzata ...”.

⁷⁶⁵ CIRULLI 2006, pp. 68-69. According to R. Meneghini, one of the drawings by E. Du Perac also represents the walls in ruins of the eastern *Biblioteca* in the Forum of Trajan, today completely lost (MENEHINI 1989, p. 554).

⁷⁶⁶ What is evident is therefore the coexistence of ancient and modern monuments. See paragraph 3.1 for a chronology of the events.

⁷⁶⁷ VISCOGLIOSI 2000.

⁷⁶⁸ VISCOGLIOSI 2000, nn. 1-17: drawings by A. da Sangallo il Giovane (nn. 1-17); nn. 18-67: drawings by other artists in the first half of the 16th century; nn. 68-81: views of the area in the first and second half of the 16th century. The collection of drawings is not exhaustive for the category and is not a “scientific”

instance, Fig. 29). These drawings are of great importance for scholars interested in the ancient monuments today, also because they preserve the memory of elements, which have totally or partially disappeared during subsequent centuries.

In the drawing tradition just described, A. Viscogliosi has pinpointed the first half of the 16th century as a turning point⁷⁶⁹, marking a different approach and way of representing ruins⁷⁷⁰. Indeed, until the end of the 15th century, artists like Giuliano da Sangallo and Simone del Pollaiuolo did not want to reproduce the ruins *per se*, even in those cases in which the focus was on ruined buildings. On the contrary, they tried to “reconstruct” the original appearance of those very monuments, also completing the missing parts of the buildings⁷⁷¹.

A totally different approach can be observed at the beginning of the 16th century, in the work of Antonio da Sangallo. Representations are now aimed at depicting ancient ruins in their actual status, together with all the surrounding modern buildings. Not an idealization of the monuments from the past, but rather a “realistic” representation of a city in which ruins play their spatial, symbolic and figurative role along with other (even modern) elements of a composite landscape.

It is important to stress how both A. Viscogliosi and B. Cirulli have identified the middle of the 16th century as the turning point marking the shift from an artistic tendency to “reconstruct” the original appearance of the ancient monuments to a new approach, according to which the remains of the ancient monuments were to be seen together with the surroundings and contemporary buildings⁷⁷². It is possible that such a shift was also favoured by the changes in the urban organization of the area and its topography.

In the new urban context, ruins were “absorbed” by modern architecture; such a process of “appropriation” by the new district involved many ancient Roman monuments, often transforming ancient pagan elements into Christian symbols⁷⁷³.

edition of the drawings, as the same author states in the introduction: it aims to discuss some architectural and topographical issues, through the analysis of the drawings.

⁷⁶⁹ We will see later that even in the literary tradition, the 16th century can be considered as a turning point: there is therefore a parallelism between iconographic and written sources.

⁷⁷⁰ VISCUGLIOSI 2000, p. 14.

⁷⁷¹ For an overview on the drawings of ancient Rome from the 15th century, see FIORE-NESSLERATH 2005.

⁷⁷² CIRULLI 2006.

⁷⁷³ See paragraph 3.1.2.

The process can be clearly observed in some of the engravings by G. Lauro, in which the “monumental” and “picturesque” effects of the ruins are reduced or restrained⁷⁷⁴. If we move to the actual monuments involved in such an artistic interest, there is no doubt that the focus of artists’ and architects’ attention was mainly on the Column of Trajan, a section of the wall of the ancient ‘*Biblioteche*’ in the *Forum* of Trajan, the Markets of Trajan, the high external wall of the *Forum* of Augustus and some sections of the temple of *Mars Ultor* enclosed in the church of *S. Basilio*, the podium and the columns of the Temple of Minerva in the *Forum* of Nerva, and some of the columns of the portico in the same *Forum* (the so called “*colonnacce*”)⁷⁷⁵.

Even if the idea of the original limits of the *Fora* was at that time completely lost, no doubt artists knew that walls, columns, architectural elements and, more in general, ruins they observed and drew were part of different monuments and complexes⁷⁷⁶.

This is probably one of the reasons which, at least in the case of the Imperial *Fora*, led these artists to abandon the vision of ancient ruins as “isolated” from the wider context, and to include all the modern elements of the area.

The drawings produced in this period are therefore strictly linked to the topographical and urban changes in the neighbourhood; drawings reproduce the elements of the urban district, according to what was visible at the time in which they were realised. Accordingly, drawings realised in different moments reproduced different elements, depending on the urban changes which occurred in the district. Needless to say, this allows us to look and use these drawings to retrace the main transformations in this urban sector.

As an example of this phenomenon, we could refer to the very famous and debated case of the Column of Trajan. Indeed, with the exclusion of G. Dosio, the column was probably not represented by artists in the first half of the 16th century, being covered by the church of *S. Nicolò* and other small and “*diruti*” buildings all around.

The demolition of the church at the middle of the 16th century and the work sponsored by Cardinal Alessandro Bonelli led to the isolation of the Column of Trajan, followed by a new arrangement of the street network and, consequently, of a new opportunity for artists, finally able to see, and then draw the entire column.

⁷⁷⁴ LAURO 1637. For a recent analysis see DI BENEDETTI 2006, p. 20

⁷⁷⁵ See paragraph 2.2.3 for a description of the monument.

⁷⁷⁶ The discourse on the knowledge of the borders of the different ancient complexes will be analysed *infra*, with the help of written documents and archival sources.

Later in the same century, the drainage of the *Cloaca Maxima*, allowed the growth of the district in the southern sector of the area; the consequent reclamation of the area made it possible to see the *Arco dei Pantani* from the new streets (*via Baccina* and *via Bonella*), so that it will be reproduced in the first views of the *Forum* of Augustus, like those in the collection by A. Giovannoli⁷⁷⁷.

After the urbanization of the “*Pantani*” area, the columns of the temple of *Mars Ultor* in the ancient *Forum* of Augustus and the “*Colonnacce*” in the *Forum* of Nerva became two of most represented ruins in the drawings from the 17th.

The Roman iconographic tradition from the 18th century is still rich in views and images reproducing “ruins” and archaeological subjects; many travellers visiting Rome in this period reproduced and/or documented its ruins through engravings and paintings⁷⁷⁸. The ruins of the city, and in particular those of the ancient Imperial *Fora*, are in this period the object of interest for two important architects and engravers, always in competition in their work: G. Vasi and G.B. Piranesi, who both moved to Rome at the middle of the 18th century to improve their knowledge and to foster their career⁷⁷⁹. They documented the area with their engravings, showing two different approaches towards the ruins⁷⁸⁰. G. Vasi made many representations of the district as it appeared at that time, with ancient ruins and modern buildings; his works are the only “realistic” images of how the district actually looked like at that time⁷⁸¹. The contemporary engraver G.B. Piranesi, instead, reproduced the area of the Imperial *Fora* with a different aim: not to represent the district as a whole, but simply to document its antiquities, often adopting very particular and evocative points of view (Fig. 39)⁷⁸².

Far from being of scarce interest, the differences in the approach by Piranesi and Vasi reveal the still existing tension between what we have already brought forward while talking about the 16th and 17th century: that is the contrast between the idea of ancient ruins as elements to be isolated from the contemporary district vs. their contextualization in the modern urban context.

⁷⁷⁷ GIOVANNOLI 1616, tavv. 21-23.

⁷⁷⁸ For a collection and analysis of this iconographic production, see DEBENEDETTI 1987.

⁷⁷⁹ G. Vasi arrived in Rome from Corleone (Sicily) in 1736; G.B. Piranesi arrived in Rome from Mogliano Veneto (Veneto) just few years later, in 1740.

⁷⁸⁰ These two different approaches are the same we have identified above.

⁷⁸¹ He made remarkable representations of the churches *S. Maria in Campo Carleo*, *S. Lorenzo*, *S. Urbano*, and of the squares *piazza Macel de Corvi* and *piazza della Colonna Traiana* (VASI 1752-1763).

⁷⁸² PIRANESI 1756; CIRULLI 2006, p. 94.

3.3.2 The literary tradition: topographical descriptions of the city and guidebooks

Notwithstanding the interest in graphic documentation, the main sources used in the present research consist in written documentation, meaning both literary and archival documents. Since the present section of the work aims at studying the consideration of ruins as pure elements of the ancient past, this paragraph will be focused on the analysis of those documents revealing this particular kind of perception by the beholder, that is literary documents.

Topographical description of the city and “guidebooks” have therefore been collected and analysed to investigate this approach to the ruins of the ancient Imperial *Fora*. All the mentions about antiquities and ancient ruins in the area have been individuated in the texts, extrapolated and transcribed⁷⁸³. In this framework, particular attention is given to the differences between texts talking about antiquities as they were in their original context (topographical descriptions), and texts considering instead antiquities as ruins in the modern context (guidebooks). Whereas the texts in the former category clearly express the admiration for antiquities as part of a glorious past, those in the second category are less explicit.

Considering literary sources on the whole, it is actually possible to state that most of the descriptions of the city, especially at the beginning of the period under investigation (16th century), focused only on the original nature of the described antiquities, with no attention to the modern environment.

Although the period under investigation starts at the middle of the 16th century, I decided to start analysing sources from the 15th century (topographical descriptions and guidebooks) in order to be able to detect any changes in the literary production at the middle of the 16th century. The sources are therefore presented in a chronological order and are grouped in four macro-periods, identified in connection with the topographical evolution of the urban context⁷⁸⁴.

⁷⁸³ For a description of the methodology used, see paragraph. 3.2. For the collection of the text analysed, see Appendix B and C.

⁷⁸⁴ The subdivision of the period under investigation and of the concerning literary production in four sub-periods, as well as their identification thanks to the topographical changes, already shows how the production is closely linked to the urban changes in the area. This aspect, at the centre of the present analysis, will be even clearer in the rest of the text.

The 15th century: Topographical descriptions before the growth of the new district

With the beginning of Humanism, in the 15th century, a new interest towards ruins spread in literary production. According to some scholars, one of the first documents showing such attention is the *Tractatus de rebus antiquis et situ Urbis Romae* by the Anonimo Magliabecchiano⁷⁸⁵. The work is still close to the previous *Mirabilia* in terms of structure: at a first sight, it seems just a manipulation of the medieval text⁷⁸⁶. However, it has something new in the context of the Humanist way of thinking, and which makes this text a topographical description of the city; there is an attention to antiquities not only in terms of what one can see or of the original nature of the monument, but also in terms of place-names. For each monument, the author provides also contemporary place-names, thus introducing a diachronic interest in ruins and an attention on the role of ruins in the contemporary society: using words such as “*ubi nunc est*”, “*ubi dicitur ... hodie*”, the author creates close links to the contemporary period.

Similar to a medieval *Mirabilia*, the text is organised according to categories of monuments, such as streets, bridges, palaces, baths, therefore, mentions of ancient buildings in the area of the Imperial *Fora* appear in different sections (in the section about the Hill, about the Palaces and about the Temples). Talking about the “*Palatia*”, that is the ancient *Forum* of Trajan and Nerva, the author locates the ancient monuments on the basis of the medieval buildings present in the area:

“[...] *Palatium traiani fuit in La Militia. Palatium Nervae fuit ubi nunc est Sanctus Basilius cum oratorio suo et triumphali arcu* [...]”.

The post-antique buildings – the tower (*Torre delle Milizie*) and the church (Church of *S. Basilio*) - are therefore topographical references for the location of the ancient ones, and the same elements are used to describe the Column of Trajan:

⁷⁸⁵ Appendix B1; VALENTINI ZUCCHETTI 1953, pp. 101-150.

⁷⁸⁶ This text is actually part of a wider historical work which includes the description of all the monuments of ancient Rome.

“Una fuit facta Traiano Ulpio Hspano, qui rexit annis decem et novem mensibus quindue, et corpus eius sub dicta columna fuit positum, et est ista Santi Nicolai Sub Militia”.

The Column of Trajan is used later in the text, to explain where the Temple of Trajan was:

“[...] ubi columna mirae altitudinis et pulchritudinis, compilatio historiarum imperatoris Traiani, ad Sanctum Nicolaum, ubi dicitur la Militia hodie, ex una parte fuit templum dicti Traiani, ex alia autem divi Adriani, ut in predictorum vita describitur [...] in maiore foro Traiani fuit templum sospitae deae [...]”.

Ancient monuments which, like the Column of Trajan, were still well visible and recognizable in the area, were therefore used in the same role as medieval towers and churches: to locate the ancient buildings in the area. The remains of ancient monuments were instead referring to the entire monument and not as they were (that is ruins); the text neither mentions the conditions of the monuments (no words like “ruina” are used) nor what was/was not visible of the ancient buildings.

Still, just few decades later, great attention to the status of ancient monuments was paid by Poggio Bracciolini (1431-1448) and his *De varietate Fortuna*⁷⁸⁷, likely to be interpreted as the first description of ancient buildings based on direct observation⁷⁸⁸. The aim of Bracciolini’s work was the description of “ruins” of the city, so as to give his readers an overview of those ruins.

In his work, as well as in all the other texts of the 15th century, mentions of the ruins of the Imperial *Fora* are still rare, and we can find just few lines dedicated to the description of the area under investigation⁷⁸⁹, as in the following example:

“[...] Est etiam murorum fabrica admodum insignis, quem locum S. Basilium vocant, haud longe ab Traiani Columna coclea, ubi Forum

⁷⁸⁷ Appendix B2; VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI, pp. 223-245.

⁷⁸⁸ Inscriptions were the main sources used by Poggio Bracciolini: he started a collection of inscriptions, with the aim – as he stated in *De Varietate Fortuna* - of preserving the memory of those important documents (*epigrafi*) that people were destroying (VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI 1953, IV, p. 224 and 133).

⁷⁸⁹ Moreover, in this period, texts describing the ruins of Rome were often part of wider works about ancient history.

This explains why the sections devoted to ancient monuments were not so extensive

*Traiani fuisse, ut credam, Ammianus Marcellinus monet, cuius structuram singularem sub omni caelo fuisse tradit, et in eius medio atrii equum aeneum magnitudine insigni: hodie quoque illius etiam desolati magnificentia multum eminet ceteris, in qua et nunc supersunt reliquiae nobilis porticus ingenti bus columnis subnixae. [...]*⁷⁹⁰

Even in these few lines, what first attracts our sight is the combination of ancient and contemporary elements. While citing ancient authors such as Ammianus Marcellinus to make his words more reliable, the author also mentions *murorum fabrica* and the *Forum Traiani*. Then, in the very same sentence he localizes the ancient remains, referring to the contemporary toponym (*S. Basilium vocant*). Secondly we notice a comparison between the original appearance of the *Forum* of Trajan, with its columns and its statues and its current situation consisting simply of remains (“*reliquiae*”) of those *magnificentia*.

At the same time, there are also texts describing Rome in the style of the ancient *Indulgentiae*. The *Descriptio Urbis Romae* by Nicolò Signorili (1430) is a brief political pamphlet on the Institution of the Roman State and on the rights of Roman people, with a description of the modern regions, of the offices, of the churches and of the relics inside churches⁷⁹¹.

In Signorili’s work we find a reference to the area of the Imperial *Fora*, in the context of a list of the churches in the second region (“*Duodecim Apostolorum*”):

“ In secunda partita, quae dicitur Duodecim Apostolorum, sunt ecclesie infrascriptae, videlicet: [...] Sancti Laurentii in Biberatica; Sanctorum Cirii et Io[hannis]; Sancti Salvatoris Criptis; Sancti Salvatoris de Miliciis; Sanctae Mariae Montis Valneanapolis; Sancti Nicolai ad Columnam Traianam; Sancti Laurentii de Ascesa; Sanctae Mariae in Campo Carlei...”

Even if these churches were very close to the ancient ruins, as testified to by their names (e.g. “*ad Columnam Traianam*”, “*Valneanapolis*” ...) the text does not mention all of the ancient elements present in the area. Indeed, the text was a description of the

⁷⁹⁰ Poggio Bracciolini, *De varietate Fortuna*, p. 524.

⁷⁹¹ Appendix B4; VALENTINI ZUCCHETTI 1953, pp. 151-208. The work by Nicolò Signorili must be understood in the cultural context of a moral and civil renovation of Rome, promoted by Martinus V: Nicolò Signorili was in fact one of the literary men very close to him.

medieval churches, so that the complete separation between ancient and modern city is not surprising and so represents the intent of the work. Nevertheless, at the end of his work Nicolò Signorili devotes some pages to the description of antiquities in Rome; he mentions the presence of arches, and sets out a wider section in which to present ancient inscriptions which he had collected and studied. In this section, he records ancient inscriptions to the emperors Nerva and Trajan, then mentioning the *Forum* of Nerva: “*Epitaphium scriptum in oratorium Nervae*” and the *Forum* of Trajan: “*Epitaphium, scriptum in pede columnae sitae in Foro Traiani*”⁷⁹². In the previous part of the work the ancient *Fora* were not taken into consideration, not even while talking about the churches built over their ruins, however here the ancient *Fora* are perceived as still existing, so that the localization of the ancient inscription is directly linked to the ancient topography of the Roman city. Even if the purpose of the work was to describe churches and modern buildings, a distinction between ancient and modern city is deeply present in the work.

We can formulate similar considerations looking at another description from the same period, mainly devoted to the Christian city: “*Che vuol dire Giubileo e della Bellezza e Anticaglia di Roma*”, by Giovanni Rucellai (1450)⁷⁹³. The author was in Rome in 1450 and on this occasion he decided to visit the city (both churches and antiquities) and to record what he saw⁷⁹⁴. His work is intended as a catalogue of the “*bellezze e anticaglie di Roma*” and even in this case, mentions of the ruins from the Imperial *Fora* are very rare⁷⁹⁵. After listing more and less important churches in the city, the author lists all the ancient monuments (“*anticaglie*”); he does not recognize any wall or structure as part of the ancient *Forum* of Nerva or Trajan, rather focusing on the main buildings such as the *Coliseum*, the Baths of Caracalla, and the triumphal arches⁷⁹⁶. The only monuments he mentions in the area of the Imperial *Fora* are the

⁷⁹² It is interesting to notice how, referring to the *Forum* of Nerva and to the *Forum* of Trajan, he calls the first one “*oratorium*” and the second one “*foro*”. For a description of the different ways in which authors address the *Fora* in the analysed texts, see paragraph 3.4.

⁷⁹³ Appendix B5; VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI 1953, pp. 399-419.

⁷⁹⁴ Giovanni Rucellai wrote the text during his stay in Rome for the Holy Year (1450). Considering the reason for his visit to Rome, it is easy to understand why he decided to start the description of the city from the churches.

⁷⁹⁵ As in the work by Nicolò Signorini, the section about ancient Rome was very short.

⁷⁹⁶ Errors in the identification of the monuments are very frequent in this text.

Column of Trajan⁷⁹⁷, and the *Torre delle Milizie*⁷⁹⁸; he describes only the monuments still in their integral whole, without mentioning any of the ruins all around them.

This text demonstrates two important things: on the one hand, that we are in a period in which the interest in the ancient city had been raised among literary people, despite the fact that the area of the Imperial *Fora* was still quite unknown and rarely visited, probably because of its general conditions. On the other hand, that the interest was still focused only on well-preserved monuments and not on ruins.

Indeed, already in the late 15th century, some authors included a detailed description of the area of the Imperial *Fora* in their work, always referring to the ancient and glorious past from an idealized perspective. One of these authors is Pomponius Laetus, an erudite man with a great fascination for Rome and the ancient culture. In his work “*Excerpta a Pomponio dum inter ambulandum cuidam domino ultramontano reliquias ac ruinas Urbis ostenderet*”⁷⁹⁹, he describes a tour in the city of Rome starting from what he considers as the hub of the city (the *Coliseum*) and then moving towards the Pincius Hill. In this walk, the area of the Imperial *Fora* is crossed and a long section of the work is devoted to the description of the area: compared to the descriptions of this area of the city previously published, the description by Pomponius Laetus is by far the most detailed one. The author provides a sort of topographical description, localizing the *Forum* of Trajan in the valley “*Inter Capitolium et Quirinalem collem ab aedificio Nervae, usque ad columnam coclidem et radices Capitolii*”. However, his interest is always in the ancient aspect of the monuments; the past *magnificentia* of the buildings is emphasized by using expressions like “*Porticus cum amplis et excelsis columnis et cum magnis epistiliis*”, “*mirabile opus*”, though the main focus is no doubt on the *Forum* of Trajan.

Indeed, the *Forum* of Caesar and the *Forum* of Augustus never appeared in this kind of text until the beginning of the 16th century, whereas the *Forum* of Nerva is often mentioned only as a topographic reference to explain where the *Forum* of Trajan was. It is only with L. Faunus in 1553⁸⁰⁰ that the *Forum* of Augustus will acquire its own identity in the topographical descriptions of Rome⁸⁰¹, while in the guidebooks, usually

⁷⁹⁷ “Una colonna a modo di campanile, d’altezza di braccia L vel circa, che fu facta per Adriano imperatore in luogo d’uno archo trionfale”.

⁷⁹⁸ “La Torre delle Milizie dove sono sur un canto due buone figure di marmo”.

⁷⁹⁹ Appendix B6; VALENTINI-ZUCCHETTI 1953, pp. 421-436.

⁸⁰⁰ Appendix B8.

⁸⁰¹ Among the topographical descriptions, we have identified an explicit mention of the *Forum* of Augustus also in the later works by A. Palladio, 1567 (Appendix B9) and P. Totti, 1683 (Appendix B12).

more detailed than descriptions, F. Albertini acknowledges it already in his work in 1510⁸⁰².

The beginning of the 16th century and the first guidebooks (1510)

As already underlined in the previous paragraph, the first guidebooks written at the beginning of the 16th century are similar to topographical descriptions, and it is often difficult to distinguish between these two genres.

An interesting example of a work strictly identified neither as a guidebook nor as a topographical description is that by F. Albertini, published in 1510⁸⁰³. This book is listed, in the present work, among the guidebooks, although it could also be listed among the topographical descriptions as it provides an organic consideration of both ancient and modern Rome⁸⁰⁴. The description of the city is organized in 3 chapters: the first two contain a description of the ancient city, the third one is about the contemporary city, considered from both a topographical and administrative point of view. This balance between two sections (the first two) dedicated to the ancient city and one (the third) dedicated to the contemporary city immediately shows a deeper interest in the ancient city, especially for the anomaly it presents in comparison with the trend we have so far described.

The first section of the book contains some mentions of the monuments in the area of the Imperial *Fora*: the *Forum* of Caesar, Augustus, Nerva (so-called *Transitorium*) and Trajan are cited in the section about the *Fora*; the *Turris Militis* and the Column of Trajan in the sections about “*Turris*” and “*Columnae Memorandae*”. The Column of Trajan in particular is mentioned twice, both in the section about the *Forum* and in that about the columns.

First to attract our attention in this guidebook is the very first mention of the *Forum* of Augustus and the *Forum* of Caesar. The acknowledgment of the ancient space in this guidebook, at the beginning of the 16th century, is surely much deeper than the acknowledgment given by the authors of previous descriptions. For each of the *Fora*, F. Albertini also describes some of the elements which originally decorated the

⁸⁰² Appendix C1. In the guidebook tradition, the Forum of Augustus was always mentioned from 1510 on. See for example the works by F. Albertini, 1510 (Appendix C1); B. Marliano, 1538 (Appendix C3); Contarini, 1569 (Appendix C7); Franzini, 1588 (Appendix C9); Panciroli, 1600 (Appendix C10).

⁸⁰³ Appendix C1; CALDANA 2003, n. 109.

⁸⁰⁴ CALDANA 2003, p. 153.

squares, and were still visible at the time: “*pulcherrimis columnis decoratum*” in the *Forum* of Caesar, “*aede Martis Ultoris*” in the *Forum* of Augustus, the columns in the *Forum* of Nerva (“*ut adhuc cubitales litterae dirutae apud. X ingentes columnas marmoreas apparent*”) and the “*columnam eius Coclidem in quo posuit lapidem marmoreum cum his literis*” in the *Forum* of Trajan.

However, even if four out of the five ancient *Fora* are identified by Albertini, no definition of their topographical limits is given. It is possible therefore to think that in this period erudite people and scholars acknowledged that the area was originally divided in many different squares, though they did not know this exact limit. Modern buildings (churches and towers) are mentioned in the section about antiquities, but they are used to set the location of the *Fora*. Accordingly, the author “uses” the church of *Ss. Cosma e Damiano* and the *Turris Comitum (Torre dei Conti)* – located on the western and southern limit of the ancient Imperial *Fora* - to introduce the area, but he does not mention the other churches in the area, even if they were well visible across the area, nor the names of the modern streets. It seems that, when talking specifically about the ancient squares, the author looks only at the ancient elements in the district, forgetting about the modern and contemporary churches and buildings⁸⁰⁵. On the other hand, in another section of the book, the ancient *Forum* of Nerva is used to describe the location of a medieval building such as the *Turris Militis*, thus giving importance to the medieval building as something to be described, and not only as something useful to set the location of ancient monuments.

We can better verify the attention of the author towards the medieval phase of the city from some of the names he uses for the monuments: to address the *Forum* of Nerva, he uses in fact the medieval name “*Forum Nervae sive Transitorium: quod a Traiani ad alia Fora trasiebat/apud palatium ipsius Nervae*”. Explaining the origin of this toponym, F. Albertini describes what he could see at that time, without transposing in words any “reconstruction” of the ancient monuments, as many contemporary artists did through drawings. Still, in this consideration of the contemporary context, the author does not use many words describing the status of the ruins, rather using terms

⁸⁰⁵ With reference to the modern streets, we also have to consider that in this moment new streets were not built yet and the area had just few paths that had been used since the early medieval period. The attention to quoting the names of the streets will be stronger, as we will see *infra*, in the second half of the 16th century, after the reclamation of the area and the construction of the new district.

like “*diruta*” or “*vestigia*” that help the reader understand that the monuments he is talking about are in ruins:

Turris Militiae est apud palatii Nervae Impe.⁸⁰⁶ In qua milites Traiani principis continebantur: quae primo habebat muroru circuitus: ut adhuc in aliquibus locis apparent vestigia: non longe a qua effossa fuere nonnulla marmora cum bis literis incisis.

The work by A. Fulvio, *Antiquitates Urbis*, published few years later (1527)⁸⁰⁷, is a similar topographical description providing descriptions of antiquities and more recent artworks in the city. Even if this text is not considered properly as a guidebook, it is extremely detailed in describing what remains from the ancient Roman buildings⁸⁰⁸. The area of the Imperial *Fora* is described as it appeared in the 16th century, with ruins of the ancient Roman buildings close to medieval towers. Ruins of the temples and of other buildings are not properly defined as such, but are recognised as old: “*Balnea Pauli, ubi nuc sunt in parte vetuste aedes*” or “*Iminet autem locus hic foro troiano / ubi adhuc extant triplici cocameratioe fornices/ et cryproporticus ex veteri structura*”.

The Trajan *Forum* is described with many details concerning the history of its construction, and with the description of the column, the *porticus* and the statues that originally decorated it:

Contiguum nervale foro erat Forum Traiani inter Capitolium et Quirinalem exstructum, ubi columna cochlidis adhuc extat erecta, fuit autem Forum ornatissimum cum templo et equo de neo eiusdem peinipis, ubi erant ornamenta ex toto terrarum orbe exquisita et

⁸⁰⁶ The name “*Palatium Nerva Imperatoris*” was used in the 16th century to call the complex around the *Milizia* Tower, namely the construction of the Markets of Trajan behind the exedra of the *Forum* of Trajan. This is a very common mistake in the literature of the period and we will find this mistake until very recent times. The confusion between the *Forum* of Trajan and the “*Palatium Nerva*” was probably due to the proximity of the *Forum* of Trajan to the columns of the temples in the ancient Forum of Nerva that was probably the most known at that time. A “*Palatium Nerva*” actually never existed in antiquity in that area, nor in the *Forum* of Nerva.

⁸⁰⁷ Appendix B7.

⁸⁰⁸ Even if also this work is very similar to a guidebook, we should include it among the topographical descriptions, because in this periods the guidebooks usually still included lists of churches in continuity with the old *Indulgentiae*.

*porticus adeo mirabile opus ut qui intuerentur non potuerint crederi
manibus hominum facta sed gigantum, cuius fragmenta nuperrime e
pfunda terra eruta vidimus*

The author talks about the Trajan *Forum* also in the description of the area at the foot of the Quirinal Hill here giving an interesting and detailed description of the eastern exedra of the *Forum* and of the hemicycle of the Markets of Trajan behind it:

*Iminet autem locus hic foro troiano / ubi adhuc extant triplici
cocameratioe fornices/ et cryproporticus ex veteri structura / curvata
forma immorem hemycicli reddetes a fronte theatrale caveam / ubi in
altero cornu visitur profunda ac vetusta aedis S. Abacyri [...]*

Analysing this text, we notice that it is often based on the contraposition between ancient and modern times; the author refers to the glorious past of the monuments and to their contemporary status. A detailed description of this portion of the ancient Trajan *Forum* like the one provided by Andrea Fulvio is not very common among guides and descriptions in the 16th-17th century. While the *Turris Militis* is usually always mentioned, because it was considered as a topographical reference to set the location of the *Fora*, the description of the exedra of the *Forum* of Trajan and of the hemicycle of the Markets of Trajan is often avoided. We find another detailed description of the same monument in the guidebook “*Libri quattro dell’antichità della città di Roma raccolte sotto brevità da diversi antichi et moderni scrittori*” by B. Gamucci (1569)⁸⁰⁹. Following a tradition that wrongly interpreted that construction as part of a bath (*bagni*) he describes the function of the arches through which the water flowed⁸¹⁰:

*“[...] gli archi de quali bagni essendo stati fatti a guisa di Tabernaculi
si veggono hoggi al pari della terra, e per la forma d’essi facilmente si
può conoscere come tutte l’acque che servivano per il bisogno de detti
bagni passavano per il mezo di quelli, acciocche con più agevolezza,
che con qual si voglia altro ordine, che vi si fosse fatto, n’andassero a
luoghi loro... appresso il sopradetto colle Quirinale si vede l’altra torre*

⁸⁰⁹ Appendix C6; CALDANA n. 180.

⁸¹⁰ The text actually refers to the arches at the ground level of the Hemicycle of the Markets of Trajan, used as small *tabernae* (see paragraph 2.2.3.)

da quella parte, che riguarda il foro Traiano la quale fu in quel luogo da Bonifacio VII edificata, e da lui fu detta delle militie, per haver gettato i suoi fondamenti sopra le rovine che v'erano de gli alloggiamenti de soldati di Traiano fatti da quello ottimo imperatore acciocche i soldati, che si ritrovavano alla guardia della persona sua si potessero riparare in quel luogo”.

It is interesting, in in this text, the reference to the contemporary situation of the moment, stressed by the use of the adverb “*hoggi*”. This adverb is used also to note the evidence visible at the moment in which the author wrote this guidebook. It generally refers to modern conditions of the *Fora*: in ruins or part of a modern complex.

The use of the term *hoggi*, in connection with the modern use and especially the modern names of the monuments do not appear only in this text, but also in the ones by B. Marliano, L. Fauno and L. Contarini (see *Infra*).

The hemicycle of the Markets of Trajan, at the slopes of the Quirinal Hill and close to the *Turris Militis*, was usually called *Balnea* of *Paulo Emilio* or, in a distorted version, *Balnum Neapoli*.

Looking at guides and descriptions from the 16th century, we can see how the two names of the ancient structure were both known and used.

B. Marliano for example, in his guidebook “*Urbis Romae Topographia*”⁸¹¹, published only 10 years later (1538), gives some information about the corrupted name of this monument⁸¹². He explains:

Haud ita multo post, eodem clivo Balinea Pauli stetit se ferunt qui locus corrupto Bagnanapoli nuc dicitur. [...]

The same information about the corruption of the name *Balnea Pauli* in *Bagnanapoli* (the area today known as *Magnanapoli*), is given also in two other works⁸¹³. The first

⁸¹¹ Appendix C3; CALDANA 2003, n. 173.

⁸¹² B. Marliano gives information also about the corrupted name of an arch in the Forum of Nerva, the *Arca Nervae*, often called *Arca Noei*: “*is locus corrupto vocabulo pro arcu Nervae, arca Noei dicitur*”. For the place-name *Arca Noei*/*Arcanoe* see PASSIGLI 1989, p. 312.

⁸¹³ These two texts are in Italian because, after 1540, guides are usually translated or directly written in Italian though the content is exactly the same.

one is the book by L. Fauno, about the antiquities of the city of Rome “*Antichità della città di Roma*” (1553)⁸¹⁴

“...*Presso la punta di questo colle (Quirinale) che riguarda a li Fori furono i Bagni di Paolo Emilio, onde i volgo chiama hoggi questo luogo Bagnanapoli invece di Balinea Pauli, e vi habitano monache*”

The second one is the guide by L. Contarini “*L’antiquità, sito, chiese, corpi santi, reliquie et statue di Roma*” (1569)⁸¹⁵:

“*Al: I bagni di Paolo Emilio dove furono?*
Lo: Furono proprio nella punta del colle, & hoggidi quel loco è chiamato Bagna Napoli invece di Balnea Pauli e all’altra parte del quirinale vi furono i tempj di Saturno, e di Bacco [...]”

Also B. Marliano, in his guidebook, focuses on ancient Rome. Talking about the area of the Imperial *Fora*, he describes not only the architecture of the *Forum* but also its history. The localization of the *Forum* of Trajan is given through topographical elements of the past, using another ancient *Forum* (that of Nerva) and two of the seven hills of the city “*Traiani igitur Forum fuit inter Nervae, Capitolium, e collem Quirinalem*”.

The author also lists other elements which were in the area in the past, referring to the ancient *magnificentia*: the porticos “*Huius autem Porticus cum amplissimis, excelsiquae columnis, magnisquae pistylis*”, and the statue of Trajan “*Traiani equum solum locatu in atriij medio*”, but he does not mention the contemporary status of “ruins” of the monument.

It is worth emphasizing that, even if in this description the author does not want to talk about the present conditions of the area⁸¹⁶, he uses the modern church of *S. Maria di Loreto*, to give a topographical reference for the columns of the ancient *Forum*:

“*Ex columnis vero, quas diximus, suae mirae magnitudinis sub tellure adhuc iacent prope ecclesiam S. Mariae cognomen Loreti*”.

⁸¹⁴ Appendix B8.

⁸¹⁵ Appendix C7.

⁸¹⁶ He never mentions the elements in ruins, but he talks about them being just as magnificent as in the past.

The topographical references used to correctly locate the ancient monuments in the contemporary city are always of great interest. Sometimes, as already seen, authors use ancient monuments to localize other ancient monuments, other times, as in the case just described, they use modern buildings to the same purpose. Obviously, there were no rules for that. In the guidebook by B. Marliano for example, even if the *Forum* to be described (the *Forum* of Nerva) was very close to another ancient *Forum* that had just been described (the *Forum* of Trajan), the latter is not used as a topographical reference to identify and describe the former. In this case, the author prefers to use a modern building, the church of *S. Adriano*: “*Nervae autem Forum occurrit post aedem nuc S. Hadriani in tribus foris*” or, concerning the *Forum* of Nerva, ancient elements (the Palace of Nerva)⁸¹⁷ along with modern elements (two towers on the northern and southern side of the area) and a church:

“Eius de Nervae Palatij ex lapidibus quadratis, igetesquae columnae cernuntur adhuc inter Comitum, et Militiae turrim, cum ecclesia. S. Blasij inclusa”

This was probably due to the contemporary topographical situation; even if in the past the *Forum* of Nerva and that of Trajan were quite close, being separated only by the *Forum* of Augustus, and could be used as reciprocal reference points, the 16th century author preferred to use contemporary landmarks to locate one of them. Due to the lack of any correct perception of the original shapes, dimensions and locations of the monuments, and to the fact that ruins of the *Forum* of Trajan (the column) and of the *Forum* of Nerva (the temple or the “Colonnacce”) were too far from one another, with no ancient remains in between, such a use of contemporary elements as landmarks for the localization of old monuments is not surprising.

Indeed, this situation also testifies to a difference in the approach authors had in describing the aspect of the monuments and in providing their position in the area. While in the descriptions they usually considered monuments as entire, beautiful and magnificent with their columns and statues, when they had to provide their position, they did not consider the ancient original dimensions and space of the *Fora*. On the contrary, they just considered them distant from one another and as isolated units, without acknowledging the actual and physical relationship they had in the past.

⁸¹⁷ Here again the identification of the palace of Nerva is a mistake.

The middle of the 16th century: the turning point (reclamation of the area and birth of the new district)

As already noted, since the beginning of the production of guidebooks, Latin texts and lists of churches were translated in Spanish, German and French, whereas the first Italian edition of a guidebook, a translation of an older *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, is dated to 1541⁸¹⁸.

At the same time, some of the translated guides only provided readers with lists of the churches and of the *Indulgentiae* to visit day by day (“*de di en di*”)⁸¹⁹.

The second half of the 16th century is characterised by the works of A. Palladio. In 1554, when he was already a well-known architect, he published two books about Rome: “*Descrizione de le Chiese, Stationi, Indulgenze & Reliquie de Corpi Sancti, che sonno in la città de Roma*” and “*L’antichità di Roma di M. Andrea Palladio. Raccolta brevemente da gli autori antichi & moderni*”. Even if completely different in their aims (the first one described the churches and the second described the ruins of the ancient city), these two books complimented each other “*nel dare conto di una città che da almeno un secolo ha valore per il doppio volto monumentale delle basiliche cristiane e delle riscoperte rovine dell’antichità*”⁸²⁰.

While in the first book we do not find any reference to the ancient monuments nor to their current condition, the second book was published as the work of an erudite antiquarian, the aim being to reconstruct the physiognomy of the ancient Rome, starting from its ruins; in other words, it was specifically devoted to illustrate the ancient city⁸²¹. Like an educated antiquarian Palladio had studied not only the ruins of Rome, but also the topographical and historical sources he used for his composition.

L’antichità di Roma di M. Andrea Palladio. Raccolta brevemente da gli autori antichi & moderni (1554)⁸²² is not organised in different itineraries to be followed, like the

⁸¹⁸ Appendix C4; CALDANA 2003, n. 10 and *supra* par. 3.2.

⁸¹⁹ Appendix C5; CALDANA 2003, n. 19 and *supra* par. 3.2.

⁸²⁰ FIORE 2006, p. XIV.

⁸²¹ CALDANA 2003, p. 186. The “*Antichità di Roma*” was therefore focused only on Roman antiquities with no references to modern art history. On the contrary, the “*Descrizione*” showed a higher interest in artistic objects.

⁸²² Appendix B10.

*Descrizione delle Chiese*⁸²³, but rather in sections, according to the different typologies of ancient buildings⁸²⁴. Talking about the ancient *Fora* he only lists those of Caesar, Augustus, Nerva and Trajan and for each of them he gives a topographical reference consisting of a modern church:

“Quello di Cesare fu dietro il portico di Faustina, e Cesare spese nel pavimento centomila sesterzi. Quello di Augusto era là dove è la chiesa di Sant’Adriano, e andava verso la torre dei Conti. Quello di Nerva fu fra la chiesa di Sant’Adriano e di San Basilio, dove sono quelle colonne mezze guaste. Quello di Traiano era vicino alla chiesa di Santa Maria da Loreto, dove è la sua colonna. Il Boario [...]”

Here the ancient buildings are listed beside modern architecture, like churches and other new buildings: a way to simplify the identification of ancient buildings in the contemporary city. The author uses modern topography to locate the churches even when, in the same text, he gives information inferred from ancient sources (“*spese nel pavimento centomila sesterzi*”). Even when, talking about the Column in the *Forum* of Trajan he does not use the *Forum*, which he had previously described, to fix the location of its most famous monument. On the contrary, he refers to the church of *S. Maria di Loreto*:

*La colonna a lumaca che è appresso la chiesa di Santa Maria di Loreto fu dedicata dal Senato a onore di Traiano quando guerreggiava contra i Parti*⁸²⁵, [...]

This observation is particularly interesting because it allows us to underline that, in the written text, A. Palladio never says that the Column of Trajan was in the *Forum*

⁸²³ Appendix B9.

⁸²⁴ This text will be one of the most precise descriptions of ancient Rome for a long time. It will be in fact entirely reported also in later guidebooks, especially when these will be focused more on the modern city. In the work “*Le cose meravigliose della città di Roma*” by G. Franzini (1588) (Appendix C9) and by G.B. Cherubini (1609) (Appendix C12), for example, where the description of antiquities occupies just a short chapter, the work by Palladio is entirely reported at the end of the guidebook.

⁸²⁵ This is wrong information about the wars conducted by Traiano, against Dacia and not against the “*Parti*”. In other texts instead authors will give the correct information.

of Trajan, but he only gives a historical point of view, telling that the column was dedicated to Trajan⁸²⁶.

Even if, according to some scholars, this work was inspired by the *Mirabilia Urbis*⁸²⁷, especially because of its four-chapter structure, we are here far away from these texts in terms of contents and approach to the ruins of the ancient Imperial *Fora*. The aim here is to continue the historical and topographical purpose started by Biondo Flavio in the previous century. No surprise then, that in the introduction, A. Palladio recalls explicitly all the previous historical authors: not only B. Flavio, but also L. Fauno, B. Marliani and the ancient Roman historians. In so doing, he tries to answer the questions posed in front of the ruins:

*“[...] et conoscendo quanto sia appresso ciascuno grande il desiderio di intendere veramente l'antiquità, et altre cose degne di così famosa Città, mi sono ingegnato di racorre il presente libro, con quanta più brevità ho potuto, da molti fidelissimi autori, antichi et moderni, che di ciò hanno diffusamente scritto, come da Dionisio di Alicarnasso, Tito Livio, Plinio, Plutarco, Appiano Alessandrino, Valerio Massimo, Eutropio, dal Biondo, dal Fulvio, dal Fauno, dal Marlliano, et da molti altri.”*⁸²⁸

With A. Palladio we can see therefore an important turn in the approach towards the ruins of the city; in the introduction to his books, that is a sort of statement he wrote for his readers, A. Palladio declares in fact that he is aware that what he will describe is something partially destroyed and ruined by time:

“E chiaro già à tutto il mondo gli antichi Romani haver fatto molte più cose ne l'arme che non sono ne i libri scritte; e molti piu nobili e grandi edificij fabricati in Roma, per eterna memoria del loro valore, e essempio in piede, consciosa che le guerre, incendi e ruine che per

⁸²⁶ A. Palladio does not specify the location of the Column inside the forum nor the relationship between the column and other architectural elements of the square.

⁸²⁷ CALDANA 2003, pp. 112-113 and 186.

⁸²⁸ A. Palladio, *L'antichità di Roma di M. Andrea Palladio. Raccolta brevemente da gli autori antichi & moderni* (1554), fol. (A ii) *recto*.

tanti anni sono stati in essa città, habbino guasto, arso, sepolto buona parte di tali memorie."⁸²⁹

Therefore, coming to the description of the ancient Imperial *Fora*, the author recognizes that time has "*guasto, arso, sepolto buona parte di tali memorie*". Even if he generally talks about the monuments as if they were still untouched and standing, when he comes to speak about the *Forum* of Nerva, clearly in ruins at that time, he talks about damaged columns:

"Quello di Nerva fu fra la chiesa di Sant'Adriano e di San Basilio, dove sono quelle colonne mezze guaste".

An expression like "*colonne mezze guaste*", that stresses in such a way the ruined condition of the monuments, is used only in the case of the *Forum* of Nerva, probably in connection to its condition. Indeed, in the *Forum* of Nerva it was possible to see some ruins from the Temple of Minerva (columns and walls) and two untouched columns from the southern section of the portico (the so called "*Colonnacce*"). The presence of these still standing elements, which survived in the modern district, probably intensified the perception of the ruined condition of the whole area, leading the author to stress with words the presence of ruins in that context.

We can shed new light on this raised interest in the *Forum* of Nerva so evident in Palladio's work, if we read it in continuity with previous and further publications, and in connection with the social and urban changes which occurred in the area in the 16th century⁸³⁰.

In almost all the texts published until this moment, the focus was on the *Forum* of Trajan and especially on the Column as a monument still visible and untouched, as a direct testimony from the ancient Roman period. From the middle of the 16th century instead, and especially in the second half of the century, the texts (both guides and topographical descriptions), dedicate some sections also to the rest of the area: the *Forum* of Augustus and especially the *Forum* of Nerva.

If we link these changes to the topographical and urban changes occurring in the area in this period, the situation appears to be very clear. Until the middle of the 16th century in fact, the area of the ancient *Forum* of Augustus and Nerva (the so-called

⁸²⁹ *Ivi.*

⁸³⁰ See paragraph 3.1

Pantani) was still a marshy and swampy zone, while the area all around the Column of Trajan had been cleaned during the first half of the 16th century. It was natural therefore, in the first half of the 16th century, to focus the description of ancient ruins in good condition and more visible. The possibility of seeing the Column of Trajan freed from the buildings all around it, together with its level of conservation, fostered therefore the attention given to that monument; authors looked at this monument in the area and transferred in words what they saw and how they perceived the monuments in the new context.

A similar phenomenon occurred the area of the *Forum* of Augustus and Nerva in the second half of the 16th century. The interest by Pope Pius V in the area, well demonstrated by the restoration of the complex of S. Basilio in the *Forum* of Augustus first, and by the reclamation of the area later, brought new attention towards the southern area of the Imperial *Fora*. Authors could now walk in the area, approach the ruins, and see them in a new context, probably changing their perception of the place. The new attention to the *Forum* of Nerva is evident, for example, in the guidebook by L. Contarini, “*L’antiquità, sito, chiese, corpi santi, reliquie et statue di Roma*” (1569)⁸³¹, where we find an evaluation of the columns in the *Forum* of Nerva, qualitatively contrasting with the description by A. Palladio:

“Nerva edificò un bellissimo palazzo & hoggidi si veggono alcune smisurate colonne di un portico che vi era, il foro del detto Nerva fu tra l’uno e l’altro di questi dui, fu ancho detto transitorio”

Whereas A. Palladio had underlined the presence of the “*colonne mezze guaste*”, L. Contarini aimed instead at stressing the presence of “*smisurate colonne*”: in these words we can retrace the astonishment in verifying the presence of these high columns still standing, once part of the ancient porticos (the “*Colonnacce*”). Different from other guidebooks and from other sections of the same text, here the reference to the present time is not used to stress the bad situation of the Roman monuments (in ruins), but to stress their magnificence and beauty,

Reading this guidebook, we can also record a different approach towards ruins in general with the interest in highlighting what was still visible of the ancient buildings

⁸³¹ Appendix C7; CALDANA 2003, n. 38.

“Il Foro di Cesare era congiunto al Foro Romano, ove hora, sonno dietro S. Cosmo e Damiano giardini; Quello di Augusti fu quindi appresso negl’orti che sono dietro s. Martino, & a Morforio, & qui Antonino Pio edificò il tempio ad Adriano imperatore che hoggidi s’addimanda s. Adriano da Papa Adriano primo edificato, in campo di questo foro.

To describe the ancient *Fora*, the author uses both ancient and contemporary elements of the city. He starts talking about the ancient monuments (*Foro di Cesare, di Augusto*) and then, to explain where they are, he gives an indication taken from the contemporary urban district: the fields existing behind some churches. To describe the contemporary district he uses the temporal adverb “hora”, while referring to the ancient monuments, he always uses the past tense “era”, thus stressing the difference between the past and the present conditions of the area, where the ancient monuments are “in ruins”. This acknowledgment of the condition “in ruins” is also evident in the description of the *Forum* of Trajan:

“[...] fu poi nelle ruine di questo foro, da Papa Simmaco primo edificata la chiesa di S. Silvestro, quella di S. Basilio, & quella di S. Martino”.

The author abandons therefore, for a while, the evocation of the “magnificence” of the monument from the past, to show the perception he had of the ruined monuments, as it was at that time.

We have recorded almost the same change in the approach to ruins in the iconographic tradition. As we have seen in the previous paragraph, in the second half of the 16th century, artists started in fact to represent the ruins of the ancient *Fora* (often surrounded by contemporary buildings) and not only their reconstruction. We can therefore conclude that the literary tradition as well, since the second half of the 16th century, manifests an interest in representing the real status of the landscape, probably in connection with the contemporary topographical and urban changes.

The guidebook by L. Contarini shows therefore a new attitude towards the ancient buildings, developed in the second half of the 16th century, with a particular attention to the status of the ruins and to the medieval history of the Roman buildings. On the one hand, the author stresses the status of the monuments and, on the other hand, he

tells us about the churches that were built over that ruins. In so doing, and probably for the first time, he provides us with an idea of history and continuity in the use of the space but, at the same time, with a temporal distance stressing the different temporal phases, from the ancient Roman period to the present time⁸³².

17th – 19th century: the growth of the dense district

This period is characterised by a separation in the production of guidebooks: one type interested only in churches; another type works describing modern and ancient Rome. For this period, we will therefore analyse these two categories separately, verifying a possible reflection of the topographical and urban evolution on this phenomenon.

As to other literary texts instead, works exclusively dedicated to history and in particular to antiquities were published already in the 16th century, like the *Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma* by the Roman marble sculptor Flaminio Vacca (1594)⁸³³. Compared to the other monographs mentioned here, this text is different in its structure: it is not a description of the city and its “*meraviglie*”, but a list of discoveries made by the author himself or by other people⁸³⁴. In this context, he talks about the area of the Imperial *Fora*, and in particular of the *Forum* of Trajan and of the *Forum* of Nerva. As to the *Forum* of Trajan, Vacca mentions many discoveries made in the area by the “*Maestri delle strade*”, during the excavation works for the construction of new houses in the area just reclaimed⁸³⁵. This text has been in fact used by archaeologists as a source to identify elements nowadays disappeared in the area of the Imperial *Fora*. For example, F. Vacca mentions the discovery of a triumphal arch:

“Mi ricordo intorno alla Colonna Trajana dalla banda, dove si dice Spolia Cristo, essersi cavate le vestigie d’un arco trionfale con molti pezzi d’istorie, quali sono in casa del Sig. Prospero Boccapadullo, a

⁸³² SETTIS 1986.

⁸³³ Appendix B11. The text was written in 1594, but was published for the first time only in 1704 by F. Nardini, as an appendix to his own work “*Roma Antica*”.

⁸³⁴ In the introduction to the “*Memorie*”, F. Vacca describes his work as a “*stracciafoglio nel quale saranno notate tutte quelle antichità che da mia pueritia fin all’eta di 56 anni mi ricordo essersi scoperte*”.

⁸³⁵ We are in a very intense urban period, right after the restoration of the monastery of *S. Urbano* in the area of the *Forum* of Trajan, when the *enfiteuti* started to build new houses in the surrounding area (see paragraph 3.1).

*quel tempo maestro di strade: vi era un Trajano a cavallo, che passava un fiume, e si trovarono alcuni prigionieri simile a quelli che sono sopra l'arco che si dice di Costantino della medesima maniera*⁸³⁶

He gives very detailed information about the place of discovery, the person who made the discovery and the decoration of the relief. He also provides new information about the place-names in the area; he introduces the toponym “*Spolia Christi*”, never before used by the authors of guidebooks and topographical descriptions.

In *Forum of Trajan* F. Vacca mentions also the discovery of “*due prigionieri*”⁸³⁷, “*una colonna di cipollino*”, “*alcuni pezzi di marmo giallo*”; this information is on another level if compared to the one given in other guidebooks and descriptions. The interest in this source is still on the ruins of the ancient Imperial *Fora* as part of the Roman past, and it is extremely detailed, witness the author able to distinguish the type of marbles. However, contrary to many other sources, the reason for this specific interest in ancient Rome comes from the contemporary city, and in particular from the excavations made in the modern district to build new houses and streets⁸³⁸.

Going back to the guidebooks in the 17th century then, we can notice that there is generally a higher attention paid to the elements of the contemporary district

⁸³⁶ Mem. n. 9. This *memoria* is very important for the reconstruction of the architecture of the Forum of Trajan. The arch mentioned by F. Vacca has been interpreted by A. Bartoli as the arch that was part of the southern side of the portico of the Forum of Trajan (BARTOLI 1924, p. 183). R. Meneghini has recently reconstructed the shape of the southern side of the Forum of Trajan, on the basis of this *memoria* by F. Vacca, of other sources and of archaeological evidences (MENEGHINI 2009, pp. 126-139). According to A. Bartoli and R. Meneghini, the arch was part of the southern wall of the Forum of Trajan, because it was found, according to F. Vacca, in the area called *Spoglia Christi*, where the church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo* (alias *Spoglia Christi*) was located. However, as recently suggested by E. La Rocca (the paper is not published yet: I want to thank here Prof. E. La Rocca for the stimulating discussions on the topic), Vacca does not make a specific reference to the church of *Spolia Christi*, but just to the area called “*Spolia Christi*” which indicated a wider area, extended from the church of *Spolia Christi*, to the column of Trajan: this means that, according to E. La Rocca, with the place-name *Spoglia Christi* F. Vacca, could also have indicated the northern area of the Forum and not necessarily the southern one. The place-name *Spolia Christi* (used to indicate an area in the ancient Forum of Trajan form between the column and the church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo*) was not common in later publications. It was used later by O. Panciroli in 1600 (Appendix C10) and by Pompilio Totti in 1638 (Appendix B12), but only as the name of the Church of *Spoglia Christi/Spolia Cristo* (for the origin of this name of the church, see GORI 2006, pp. 247-248). As it will be shown in the next paragraph, this place-name was instead very common among people living and using the area daily, as documented in the archival sources (see paragraph 3.4).

⁸³⁷ Two barbarian prisoners.

⁸³⁸ We will analyse this source again *infra* (paragraph 3.4), talking about the excavation and discovery of ruins.

(buildings and place-names). This attention could be linked to the reclamation of the area occurred in the second half of the 16th century.

The place-name “*Spolia Christi*” used by F. Vacca to indicate the area of the *Forum* of Trajan and to locate the “*vestigial d’un arco trionfale*”, was generally unknown among the authors of guidebooks in the 16th century, while it is used in works from the first half of the 17th century. If we look at the way in which it is used in these texts, we can verify how it indicates the name of the church *Spoglia Christi/Spolia Cristo*, like in the work by O. Panciroli, “*I tesori nascosti dell’alma città di Roma*” (1600; 1625)⁸³⁹. Notwithstanding that the use of this place-name is documented in literary sources only to indicate the area of the church, from archival sources we know that the it was actually used to indicate a wider area⁸⁴⁰. This means that F. Vacca might also not have referred to the arch of the southern wall of the *Forum*, but to another monument in the northern sector of the *Forum*.

In Panciroli’s guidebook, devoted to modern rather than to ancient Rome, as already clear from the index⁸⁴¹, we find for the first time a real description of the new district. The author is mainly interested in modern Rome with its churches and, in this context, he perfectly describes the district and the new situation after the reclamation of the area of the Imperial *Fora*:

“Si chiama questa contrada li Pantani, così detta per la bassezza del sito, dove concorrendo molte anche e femandovisi, restò per qualche tempo dishabitato, ma sotto Pio V comincio con nuove fabbriche, e belle strade a nobilitare.

Fu quella strada detta Alessandrina dal Cardinal Alessandrino, nipote di Pio Quinto, che l’adornò di molte case.”

In the section “*Della città di Roma e suoi Rioni*”, O. Panciroli describes the new district and the modern churches, talking about their foundation and their history (S. Urbano, S. Maria in Campo Carleo, Spirito Santo, S. Eufemia, S. Annunziata in S. Basilio). Even if the churches are surrounded by ruins, when he talks about them, he

⁸³⁹ Appendix C10; CALDANA 2003, n. 112.

⁸⁴⁰ See paragraph 3.4 for a story of the place name and for a definition of the area the place name defined in the 16th and 17 century.

⁸⁴¹ “*Li trattati che contengono in ques’opera sono i seguenti: 1. Dell’Anno Santo, e sua institutione, con il modo di visitare le quattro Chiese, e delle cerimonie in aprire, e ferrare le Porte Sante; 2. Dè sacri Cemetrij dè Santi; 3. Dè Titoli delle Chiese di Roma; 4. Delle Stationi di Roma; 5. Delle Sette Chiese di Roma, e lor prima origine; 6. Della Città di Roma e suoi Rioni*”.

does not make any mention of the ruins, nor of the ancient buildings there in the past. The only exception is the church of *S. Annunziata in S. Basilio*: in this case, he starts the description of the church with a reference to the area in the past:

Qui dove è fabbricata questa chiesa era il Palazzo di Nerva Imperatore, quale haveva avanti una piazza tutta lastricata di ottone, fin'hora resta in piedi un pezzo di muro altissimo fatto di marmi, a punta di diamanti, che per essere senza alcuna fenestra, fa credere che dal tetto pigliasse il lume.

The author mentions the *Palazzo di Nerva Imperatore*, (actually the complex of *S. Basilio ai Pantani* (become *S.ma Annunziata* in 1566) built over the podium of the temple in the *Forum* of Augustus,) but he calls it after the nearby *Forum* of Augustus. This testifies again to the contemporary acknowledgment of the existence of different *Fora* but, at the same time, also a wrong perception of the ancient spaces; at that time they were in fact not able to detect the limits and the differences of the two ancient *Fora*.

The construction O. Panciroli refers to with the name “*Palazzo de Nerva Troiano*” was in fact in the *Forum* of Augustus, but it took its name from the nearby *Forum* of Nerva: at that time they were not able to detect the limits and the differences between the two ancient *Fora*.

Focusing instead on the general way in which O. Panciroli refers to ruins, we can see how the author recalls the ancient monuments of the past but, at the same time, he also stresses their modern status⁸⁴². The author refers to the ancient Roman context also talking about the Church of *S. Bernardo alla Colonna Traiana*, which had a direct connection to the ancient past in its own name. Even in this case, the description of the church starts with a reference to ancient Rome, meaning not the ancient Roman buildings, but the emperor Trajan:

“Nacque Traiano in una Città di Spagna, detta Italica, nella Provincia Tudertina”

⁸⁴² “fin'hora resta in piedi un pezzo di muro altissimo fatto di marmi”.

Only after some lines, spent telling the story of the emperor does he come to the presentation of the *Forum*:

“[...] essendo tra i monti Capitolino, e Quirinale, per farla più spatiosa, d’ambedue quei monti ne tagliarono parte: poi la cinsero de portici ottenuti da colonne altissime e d’ogni intorno su la cima vedevansi in bianchi marmi figurati cavalli e varij segni militari che in tante guerre s’erano da Traiano conquistati”

Then, he goes further with the description of the other monumental buildings which were part of the ancient *Forum* of Trajan, describing the porticos, the basilica, the column and the Militia tower:

“Di tre altre fabbriche mirabilmente risplendeva questa piazza, delle quali altro non ci resta che la colonna e infin’hora dal suo nome detta Traiana, cosi anco dal suo primo nome Ulpio fu detta Ulpia una basilica [...]

Quanto alla colonna, scrive Dione che la fece Traiano, ma si ingannò per non haver letto nella base che dal Senato e Popolo Romano [...] Un’altra memoria di Traiano pur qui ci resta, ed è una torre, che fin’hora si dice delle Militie [...]”

Panciroli talks about the ancient buildings as if they were still standing in front of his eyes, and he even quotes ancient authors, providing a critical reading of ancient sources. However, it is possible to identify a difference from the older guidebooks: O. Panciroli always makes a connection to the present status, stressing what today “remains” of the ancient monuments, in the stream of a well-established and already noted practice of the genre.

I tesori nascosti dell’alma città di Roma by O. Panciroli is a complete description of the churches in Rome; notwithstanding the main interest in the churches, the author goes beyond his task, showing also an interest in ancient Rome. The interest in ancient Rome and the attention paid to the ruins of the area of the Imperial *Fora*, therefore, just follows with the interest in the churches.

However, the *Forum* of Trajan (occupied at that time by the churches of *S. Bernardo*, *S. Maria di Loreto*, *S. Lorenzo*, *S. Eufemia*, *Spirito Santo*, *S. Urbano*) is recalled only when the author talks about the church of *S. Bernardo*, while no mention to it is

presented in connection with all the other churches in the area. This particular situation is probably due to the position of the church of S. *Bernardo*, leaning against the Column of Trajan, thus immediately providing a link to the ancient past. This also gives us a hint in imagining the Column of Trajan not only as one of the most important topographical references in the area, but also as symbol of the ancient *Forum* of Trajan.

Ruins were therefore objects of interest also for those authors more engaged with the modern city. And yet, attention to the ancient city was usually generated by the physical presence of ruins or monuments attached to the churches.

We can now focus on the first category of guidebooks published in this period (guidebooks devoted only to the description of churches) and look for the relationship they had with ancient ruins and with the new district that was growing in the area⁸⁴³. Some of these guidebooks present ancient Rome as a chapter of the book but, even in this case, the part devoted to antiquities is very short. An example is the guide by G.B. Cherubini, *Le cose meravigliose della città di Roma* (1609)⁸⁴⁴, divided in 3 different sections: 1. *Elenco e descrizione degli edifici religiosi romani*; 2. *Le stationi che sono nelle Chiese di Roma (...)*; 3. *La guida Romana per li Forastieri che vengono per vedere l'Antichità di Roma*. The last section, about antiquities, is very short and only the most important and visible monuments are mentioned: the area of the Imperial *Fora* is taken into account only for the presence of the Column of Trajan, listed as a stop in the itinerary of the third day:

Il terzo dì, cominciate da Campo Martio o per dir meglio da Piazza Colonna, dove vedrete la Colonna di Antonino Pio, l'altezza di piedi 177.70 [...]

E veduto che avete questo tornate alla medesima strada, dove siete venuto e andate sempre dietro verso S. Marco infini che siete giunto ad un luogo detto macello de corvi, li domanderete dove è la Colonna Traiana che ognuno ve l'insegnerà, quale è d'altezza di piedi 132 [...]

⁸⁴³ In addition to the volumes mentioned below, see also the works by G. Baglione (1639, Appendix C21) and F. Titi (1674, Appendix C30).

⁸⁴⁴ Appendix C12; CALDANA 2003, n. 30.

Nothing else from that area is listed in the itinerary, and ruins are not mentioned at all⁸⁴⁵.

These guidebooks are usually simply descriptions of churches and religious places in the city, and this is often clear also looking at the titles of these works. That by Gaspare Celio, “*Memoria fatta dal Signor Gaspare Celio dell’habito di Christo. Delli nomi dell’artefici delle pitture, che sono in alcune chiese, facciate e palazzi di Roma*” (1638)⁸⁴⁶, for example, contains only a description of churches, without any reference to the ruins of ancient city, if we exclude the topographical localization of the churches themselves (e.g. “*Santa Maria di Loreta delli Fornari vicino alla Colonna Traiana*”). Regarding the area under investigation, guides with no interest in describing the monuments nor the ruins from ancient Rome often mention only the Column of Trajan as an ancient element, because many churches in the area had been built close to it, and because the column was considered as a landmark. In some of these guides, mention of this ancient monument leads to an evocation of the past and, as a result, to a complete separation from the present. This can be verified in a guidebook from 1652, *Ritratto di Roma Moderna* (...) ⁸⁴⁷:

*Nel mezzo del Foro di Traiano Imperatore, fu eretta la presente
Colonna dal Senato Romano in honore di detto principe per opera di
Apollodoro [...]*⁸⁴⁸

Here, in the description, there is a direct reference to the ancient city; it is as if the column, so tall and well preserved, allowed a turn in the description, leaving aside the present time to go back directly to the past for a while.

Among guidebooks focusing on churches, there is an interesting work by F. Titi, “*Studio di pittura, scultura et architettura nelle chiese di Roma*” (1674)⁸⁴⁹ which not only focuses on churches, but also on the works of art inside them.

⁸⁴⁵ G.B. Cherubini, like G.B. Franzini (Appendix C9) joined the *Antichità* by A. Palladio to his book as an appendix at the end, probably to compensate the lack of a section about antiquities.

⁸⁴⁶ Appendix C19; CALDANA 2003, n. 40.

⁸⁴⁷ Appendix C24; CALDANA 2003, n. 44.

⁸⁴⁸ The same words appear also in the *Ritratto di Roma Moderna*, 1689 (Appendix 32; CALDANA 2003, n. 55) and in *Roma Antica e Moderna* by G. Franzini, 1660, 1668 (Appendix C27)

⁸⁴⁹ Appendix C30; CALDANA 2003, n. 50.

In this specific work, and in addition to the reference to the Column of Trajan, we can also find a reference to some of the ruins in the area:

Di S.ma Annunziata a S. Basilio.

Nel ritornare indietro verso la Mad. De Monti, lasciando S. Lorenzo Parrocchia è la chiesa contigua di S. Eufemia, la di cui porta fu architettata da mario Arconio e poi S.M. in Campo Carleo, dove per di fuori è dipinta M.V. con Gesù in braccio dal detto Arconio Romano, di qui passata la Torre del Marchese Grilli si giunge alla chiesa di S.M. Annunziata. Questo monastero di monache dell'ordine di S. Domenica e la fabrica antica che è qui sopra, molti dicono essere un pezzo del Palazzo di Nerva imperatore, altri l'Erario antico dei Romani, [...]

By using the words “*Fabrica antica*”, the author refers here to the ruins of the Temple of *Mars Ultor* in the *Forum* of Augustus, transformed in the church of *S. Basilio* first, and in the church of *S.ma Annunziata* later.

However, we should not forget that we are in a period in which the urban setting is changing and evolving, and the modern district is growing on the reclaimed area, around the Column of Trajan and in the area of the ancient *Fora* of Augustus and Nerva. For this reason, in the same book, we find interesting innovations in the description of the city: many connections to modern topography, streets and new buildings do appear now:

Da S. Clemente andando alla volta di Via Alessandrina si trovano le chiese di S. Pantaleo, S. Andrea in Portugallo, S. Maria degli Angioli e poi il Monastero di S. Urbano, fondato co la chiesa dalla sig. Giacoma Bianchi del 1264. La facciata della chiesa fu fatta con l'architettura di Mario Arconio pittore e Architetto [...]

At the middle of the 17th century, the new district was well developed and the *via Alessandrina*, the axis of the new district, is completed. We can find references to this new street and also to the contemporary artist Mario Arconio who decorated some of the churches in the district. Even if the *via Alessandrina* was the most important street in the district (giving also the name to the whole area), it is not frequently mentioned

in the guidebooks from the 17th century: we can find it in the work by O. Panciroli (1600)⁸⁵⁰ and later in the *Itinerario Istruttivo* (1763) by G. Vasi⁸⁵¹.

Together with these, other new elements from the modern district appear in the guidebooks from the 17th century, namely private houses. Indeed, in a later work, the *Ritratto di Roma Moderna* from 1689⁸⁵², after the description of the church of S. *Maria di Loreto*, we find:

“[...] continuo alla medesima si vede il bel palazzo del signor Duca Bonelli; però imperfetto, del quale fu architetto il P. Domenico Paganello”.

In the same context, after the description of the church of S. *Bernardino*, we find a reference to ancient ruins and to a modern element:

In questa chiesa sono molti tesori di indulgenze continue; qui incontro unte alle muraglie del Foro Antico sono le habitationi dei Signori Albertini e poco più lontane quelle dei signori Butij.

Palazzo del Duca Bonelli, Casa dei Signori Albertini, Abitazioni dei Signori Butij are all new elements in the district which now have a role also in guidebooks.

In the guidebooks just described, the ruins of the Imperial *Fora* are scarcely mentioned. On the contrary, and obviously, they are present in those guidebooks devoted to the presentation of both ancient and modern Rome.

Many of the guidebooks published in this period reuse structure and contents of previous guides. In the *Descrittione di Roma Antica e Moderna* (1643)⁸⁵³, for example, in the section “*Guida romana per li Forasteiri*”, at the point in which the itinerary comes to the area of the Imperial *Fora*, the attention is focused only on the Column of Trajan, as in the guidebook by G.B. Cherubini⁸⁵⁴. In the first section about the churches, the author does not make any reference to the ancient ruins, apart from

⁸⁵⁰ “Fu quella strada detta Alessandrina dal Cardinal Alessandrino, nipote di Pio Quinto, che l’adornò di molte case”. Appendix C10; CALDANA 2003, n. 112.

⁸⁵¹ “Per camminando sulla strada alessandrina si vede la chiesa e monastero di S. Urbano“. Appendix C39; CALDANA 2003, n. 87.

⁸⁵² *Ritratto di Roma Moderna* (1689). Appendix C32; CALDANA 2003, n. 53.

⁸⁵³ Appendix C22.

⁸⁵⁴ Appendix C12 ; CALDANA 2003, n. 30.

the Column of Trajan: even in this case, the column is mentioned only because many of the churches in the area are close to it and are linked “*Alla Colonna Traiana*”. In the section specifically devoted to antiquities , “*Le antichità figurate dell’Alma città di Roma*”, the author talks about the ancient *Fora* and uses modern topographical evidences, like churches, to explain their location, describing at the same time the contemporary situation of the area and of the ruins:

Il Foro di Augusto era posto dietro alla statua di Marforio dove erano molti hortaggi [...]. Il Palazzo di Nerva Imperatore, parte del quale si vede ancora per le sue vestigij, dove hoggi è la chiesa di San Biagio [...]. Il foro di Traiano era posto sotto il Campidoglio, nel contorno de luoghi (oggi detto di Macello de corvi e S. Maria in Campo Carleo) [...].

The second edition of the guidebook, edited in 1588 by G. Franzini and now re-named *Roma Antica e Moderna* (1660)⁸⁵⁵, well expresses this dichotomy in describing ancient and modern Rome. Still, the Column of Trajan, a landmark in the city and a monument from the past, is present in both its sections.

In the section “*Roma Moderna*”, the Column of Trajan is present in the names of some churches like *S. Eufemia alla Colonna Traiana*, but it is also described right after the church of *S. Maria di Loreto*:

La colonna traiana. Nel mezzo del Foro di Traiano imperatore, fu eretta la presente Colonna dal Senato Romano in honore di detto Principe. In essa è rappresentato [...].

And, as in other earlier guidebooks, it is mentioned in connection with the church of *S. Bernardo alla Colonna Trajana*.

This description lets us understand also that the perception of the dimensions and shapes of the ancient *Fora* was not the correct one: the author states that the Column of Trajan was in the middle of the *Forum*: “*Nel mezzo del Foro di Traiano*”, while we know that it was in the northern sector of the square. The perception of the Column of Trajan in the middle of the *Forum* was probably influenced by the contemporary situation, namely at that time, the new district had grown over the ancient ruins,

⁸⁵⁵ Appendix C27; CALDANA 2003, n. 24.

making the observer lose any topographic reference to the ancient *Forum*. This situation probably gave travellers the impression that the column was originally in the middle of a square.

In this section of the book, there are of course many references to the new urban context which had developed in the area after the reclamation made by Pope Pius V, for example, private buildings of important personalities like the Cardinal Bonelli and some artists are mentioned:

“Qui vicino il Palazzo del Sig. Bonelli”.

*“Qui incontro nelle muraglie vecchie del Foro hanno le loro habitationi li Sig. Albertini. Nel fine di questa Piazza per andare verso le Monache dello Spirito Santo, Si vede la casa di Giulio Romano, pittore & architetto, scolare & herede con Gio. Francesco il fattore di Raffaele d’Urbino, cominciata da lui con la bella architettura”.*⁸⁵⁶

Many pages later, in the following section “*Roma Antica*”, the Column of Trajan is included in the description of the “*colonne più memorande*”:

*La meravigliosa Colonna, che pur oggi si vede in piedi, del Foro Traiano, era posta nel mezzo, intorno alla quale, con mirabile artificio, sono scolpite l’imagini della guerra di Dacia*⁸⁵⁷ [...]

Here, talking about the past, we find the appreciation “*meravigliosa*”, but also the will to underline the contrast in observing an ancient monument “*che pur oggi si vede in piedi*”, thus meaning still standing in a modern district. The ancient squares are then described in this section. However, even if this is a chapter specifically devoted to ancient Rome, we can notice an attention to the contemporary city, as demonstrated by the use of contemporary place-names to locate the *Forum* of Trajan:

“Il Foro di Traiano era posto sotto il Campidiglio, (nel contorno de luoghi oggi detto Macello dè Corvi & S. Maria in Campo Carleo)”

⁸⁵⁶ These are the same buildings mentioned in the *Ritratto di Roma Moderna* (1689): Appendix C32; CALDANA 2003, n. 53.

⁸⁵⁷ Here the mention of the wars conducted by Trajan is correct: not against “*Parti*” as said in previous guidebooks, but against “*Dacia*”.

There is close attention to contemporary place-names (*Macel de Corvi, Campo Carleo*). This was not common in these kinds of literary sources (public sources), but absolutely normal for private people living in the area, as evident from different kinds of sources⁸⁵⁸.

In the chapter about the *Forum* of Nerva, G. Franzini stresses the present condition of the columns ruined by fire, and the status of the inscription, ruined by time:

E fu chiamato foro transitorio, perché per esso si passava nel foro romano, in quello di Augusto e in quello di Cesare. Egli havea il portico, parte del quale, benchè consumato dal foco, si vede ancora con colonne grandissime nel frontespizio delle quali sono queste lettere, benchè tronche e guaste dal tempo [...]

The author shows an attention to the description of the contemporary situation of the area, using modern place-names and describing the poor condition of the ruins, stating that, notwithstanding this bad situation, it was still possible to understand the importance of the ancient monuments.

Together with the presence of contemporary elements in the guidebook descriptions of the city, the presence of ancient elements also increased, so that the area of the Imperial *Fora*, now covered by a new modern district is mentioned more frequently⁸⁵⁹. Therefore, starting from the middle of the 17th century, guidebooks devoted to the description of ancient Rome, in which also the modern district is well presented increase in number⁸⁶⁰. In 1665, for example, a guidebook entirely devoted to ancient Rome was published: *Roma Antica* by F. Nardini (1665)⁸⁶¹. In this work, we find the interest in the modern condition of the monuments to be more emphasized. Describing the ancient city, F. Nardini decides not to start from the reconstruction of ancient Rome (as occurred in the descriptions from the 16th century), but from the ruins themselves; he aims to describe from what he can see of the ancient monuments.

⁸⁵⁸ I am referring to sources today preserved in historical archives (see p 3.2 for the description of archival collections and paragraph 3.4 for the analysis of these sources).

⁸⁵⁹ There are also some guidebooks, in which the area is not mentioned at all (neither is the Column of Trajan mentioned). This particular situation could be due to the new use of the area as a living district and not as a place for the passage of travellers.

⁸⁶⁰ See, among the others, the guidebooks by F. Nardini, 1665 (Appendix C29); by R. Venuti, 1763 (Appendix C40) and by Guattani, 1795 (Appendix C43).

⁸⁶¹ Appendix C29; CALDANA 2003, n. 185.

Talking about the *Forum* of Nerva for example, he starts from the localization of the ruins around some of the modern elements of the district, then continuing with their description:

“Il Foro di Nerva è sentenza universale esser stato a piè del Quirinale sotto il palazzo già dei Conti e hora dei Grilli, ove un gran residuo di fabrica si conserva convertita la maggior parte in Chiesa dedicata a S. Basilio e in Monastero delle Neofite: ne di ciò deve dubitarsi poichè la seguente inscrizione che gli anni addietro vi si leggeva portata dal fauno ne da certezza: IMP. NERVA. CAESAR AVG. PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. II. IMP. II. PROCOS. Molti credono quella fabrica di Palazzo di Nerva fatta da quell'imperatore nel Foro. Mi potè egli nel solo spazio di un anno far sì gran machina, potè un imperatore decrepito e moderatissimo far cotal fabrica privata senza bisogno?”

This description is extremely interesting to study the perception that authors had of ancient ruins in the area of the *Forum* of Trajan. For the first time, in this book, we find a direct and physical connection between the church of *S. Basilio* and the ancient building. Furthermore, this is also the first time an author doubts ruins in the area of the church of *S. Basilio* are part of the *Forum* of Nerva⁸⁶². Moreover, we can notice that he describes the area starting from the “*residui*”:

“V'è ancora in piedi un gran residuo di muro di sassi quadrati, fatto con più e irregolari risalti, da quali può argomentarsi il giro dell'antica strada che gli era contigua. Dentro si vede un avanzo di marmo, dal quale l'antica maestà dell'edificio si può raccorrere. Da Pausania si accenna coperto e soffittato di bronzo [...]”

Then he declares that it is possible to make an abstraction and, starting from those “*residui*”, imagine how the *Fora* were in the past: “*Dentro si vede un avanzo di marmo, dal quale l'antica maestà dell'edificio si può raccorrere*”. This kind of approach towards ancient ruins is something new at this time and can be considered

⁸⁶² We know that they were part of the Forum of Augustus.

quite “modern” and scientific. Moreover, in Nardini’s book there are many mentions of ruins, also called “*anticaglie*”, especially in the case of those in the *Forum* of Nerva:

[...] Che Domitiano fabricator del Foro vivesse sotto segno espressissimo in quel pezzo d’anticaglia ch’è nella via dritta fra Tor de Conti e i Pantani, e ch’esser stata nel foro di Nerva apparisce.”

Until the end of the 17th century, we do not find any other large work entirely devoted to antiquities, but rather guidebooks about both the ancient and modern city, with the new attitude towards the ruins recorded in F. Nardini’s work.

For example, in the popular guide written for travellers and called *Il Mercurio errante* by P. Rossini (1693)⁸⁶³, the attitude towards antiquities is twofold. As in many previous versions of “*Roma antica e moderna*”, the book is divided in two completely different sections and, in the section about ancient Rome, the author shows two different approaches towards the ruins in the area of the Imperial *Fora*. When he talks about the *Forum* of Trajan, his attention to the ruins is similar to that usual in the 16th century, that is a description of the monumental remains as if they were still standing and perfectly preserved in front of their eyes. There are no references to the contemporary context:

Il famoso foro di Traiano fu il piu bello di tutto gli altri a Roma. Dioniso ne fa menzione, [...] La famosa Colonna che oggi si vede intiera era posta in mezzo a detto Foro, è alta 128 piedi [...]

Closer attention to the present condition of the monuments and of the whole area is instead that which appears in his description of the *Forum* of Augustus and Nerva. In this case, Rossini describes the modern district and what is still visible from those ancient monuments:

“Alle radici del monte Quirinale, verso mezzo giorno, dove è oggi l’Arco de Pantani, si vedono grandissime miraglie di peitre grosse. Molti vogliono che fosse il Foro di Nerva, io non credo che fosse tale non avendo tal forma, perchè il foro era di forma ovale o quadrata

⁸⁶³ Appendix C33; CALDANA 2003, n. 79. There are at least 10 different editions of the book, between 1693 and 1776,

*ma non di forma larga*⁸⁶⁴. *Nel medesimo foro o almeno vicino vi era il Tempio di Minerva, oggi si vede la facciata con colonne, con la statua di Minerva sopra, ornato di vagli bassirilievi buona parte del quale è sotto terra ed è posto vicino a tor de Conti.*”.

In addition, in the same text, we find for the first time a mention of ruins which are still covered. Talking about the Temple of Minerva, in fact he says: “[...] *buona parte del quale è sotto terra ed è posto vicino a tor de Conti*”. It is therefore only at the end of the 17th century that guidebooks express the awareness that there are still many things to be discovered under the modern level⁸⁶⁵.

Moving to the 18th century, we find some important works that are indicative of the evolution of the attitude towards ruins, such as the guidebooks from G. Roissecco (1745), G. Vasi (1763) and G.A. Guattani (1795)⁸⁶⁶.

The guidebook edited by G. Roissecco, *Roma antica e moderna, o sia nuova descrizione di tutti gli edifice antichi e moderni* (1745)⁸⁶⁷ differs from the previous “*Roma antica e moderna*” in its structure. The descriptions of ancient and modern Rome are not separated any more, but the reader is ideally led through Rome and receives different information about the two different levels of the city⁸⁶⁸.

The guide is divided into 6 days, and for each of them the author provides an itinerary. In the sixth day, the author suggests visiting the area in which the Imperial *Fora* were. As in many other itineraries, he arrives from the South, from the *Torre dei Conti*, and then goes through the ancient *Forum* of Nerva and Augustus: this was the path usually followed by people arriving in the city from the South and also by guidebooks to describe the route in the city. Here, as in previous works, the description starts from what the author could see, so as to explain what there was in the past and to imagine it today:

⁸⁶⁴ P. Rossini also doubts, like F. Nardini, the identification of the architecture close to the *Arco dei Pantani* as the Forum of Nerva.

⁸⁶⁵ Looking at the archival documentation in the next paragraph, we will see how this awareness already existed many years before among people living in and using the area.

⁸⁶⁶ Appendix C38, C.39 and C.43.

⁸⁶⁷ Appendix C38; CALDANA 2003, n. 58.

⁸⁶⁸ We find the same mixture of ancient and modern Rome also in the later guide by G. Vasi, *Itinerario istruttivo diviso in otto stazioni o giornate per ritrovare con facilità tutte le antiche e moderne magnificenze di Roma* (1763) (Appendix C39; CALDANA 2003, p. 87).

“Da tre gran colonne scannellate, che ivi troverete a mano destra come pure dal nobilissimo cornicione argomenterete la magnificenza di tal fabrica. [...]

Incontro a questa un’avanzo del bellissimo Tempio di Pallade d’onde questo luogo prese il nome di Foro Palladio”

The use of the verb at the second person “*ivi troverete*” stresses the relationship between the author and the reader, also making a connection with the present. Still, it is different from the use of the verb at the first person, as detected in F. Albertini’s guidebook (1510). While F. Albertini was showing in fact the reader what he could see, as if he were directly observing the monument, G. Roisecco, a few centuries later, uses the second person directly addressing the reader who will visit the area by himself and, at the same time, referring to ancient monuments. He creates therefore a connection between present and ancient time. Then he goes on describing the other churches in the area, with no mention to ancient Rome, until he arrives at the Column of Trajan, where he stops to talk about the ancient monument. The ruins are therefore important in this guide and they are taken into consideration as the physical element on the basis of which one could imagine the magnificence of the past.

Around the end of the 18th century, the description of the modern district becomes increasingly intense. In a guide from 1775⁸⁶⁹, the author provides some interesting information about the creation of the district:

“[...] il nome di Foro Palladio il quale poi corrotto dal volgo ne secoli susseguenti fu chiamato la Palude e finalmente i Pantani, anche perchè vi erano molti orti che furono levati da Gregorio XIII e in luogo di essi furono fatte diverse strade che si riempirono di edifizî in meno di due anni circa il 1585.”

Even if we are aware that there are some mistakes in the history of the place-names, this part of the guide is important because the author talks about the marshy area that was never taken into account in such a way in previous guidebooks. Even the words

⁸⁶⁹ Appendix C42; CALDANA 2003, n. 75.

that he devotes to the history of the corruption of the name, we can understand his interest in the modern history of the area⁸⁷⁰.

The last guide we will examine, according to the chronology considered in the present research, is the *Roma Antica* by G.A. Guattani (1795)⁸⁷¹. Although the book deals exclusively with ancient Rome, as clear from the title, there is no mention of the area of the Imperial *Fora*: no ruins, no monuments, no columns, no churches.

This aspect might appear strange: in the period when the guide was composed, there was in fact a new appreciation of the ruins and also those still uncovered were taken into consideration.⁸⁷² Nevertheless, we always have to remember the place in which we are: an area occupied, from the middle of the 16th century, by a new district. This situation probably caused a temporary lack of interest in the ruins, because of the presence of a very dense district making it difficult to reach and appreciate the ruins. Also, in the case of the Column of Trajan, still standing in the area, its presence was not highlighted as part of the ancient Roman world probably due to the fact that it had become part of the new modern district in terms of topography and symbols,⁸⁷³. We will have to wait therefore until the beginning of the 19th century for a new interest in uncovering and rediscovering ancient ruins.

* * *

If we consider in chronological order the above examined literary production, we can therefore trace an evolution in the perception of the ruins shown by the authors of these books. As said at the beginning of the paragraph, in fact the authors of topographical descriptions and guidebooks always considered the ruins in their work as testimonies of an ancient history and of an ancient and glorious past. However, thanks to the analysis of these texts, it is possible to identify some changes in the kind

⁸⁷⁰ An account of the contemporary situation of the district is given also by G. Vasi, in his *“Itinerario istruttivo diviso in otto stazioni o giornate per ritrovare con facilità tutte le antiche e moderne magnificenze di Roma”* (1763)(Appendix C39; CALDANA 2003, p. 87), where the author tells about the new streets *via Alessandrina* and *Tor de Conti*.

⁸⁷¹ Appendix C43; CALDANA 2003, n. 188.

⁸⁷² See paragraph 3.4.2 for the indications given in archival sources about the presence of ruins in the undergrounds.

⁸⁷³ See previous consideration about the “appropriation” of ancient monuments by the modern city (paragraph 3.1).

of perception and consideration they had throughout centuries, in connection to the topographical evolution of the urban context.

In the 15th century, before the urbanization of the city, when the area was still characterized by the isolated presence of ruins and by some churches in the swampy area around them, the interest in the ruins was actually an interest in the monuments as they were in the ancient past. In this period, guidebooks were not yet published but there was a consistent production of topographical descriptions. In these works, no attention was paid to the contemporary city (modern elements were used just as topographical references), nor to the contemporary status of the monuments: they were always described as untouched and still standing and never intended as ruins. We can therefore state that, at this moment, the approach towards ancient ruins showed in the literary production tended to an idealization of the ancient city as it was in the past. In this context, the ruins of the Imperial *Fora* in particular are only seldom considered; they were already part of the tour in ancient Rome, but they were not considered as important as the still standing monuments like the Coliseum or the baths. Because of this, there are very few mentions of the area of the Imperial *Fora* in the literary production of this period and, in those cases in which this area is mentioned, just still-standing architectures such as the Column of Trajan or the *Torre delle Milizie* are taken into consideration as existing monuments⁸⁷⁴. On the contrary, the *Forum* of Nerva and the *Forum* of Trajan are mentioned only in an ideal and reconstructed context, and not with a physical relationship to something tangible in the area. The *Forum* of Augustus and Caesar are still absent from these books: the authors did not acknowledge at that time all the different ancient complexes.

Few exceptions in showing this kind of relationship with the contemporary city exist, but there are some authors like Anonimo Magliabecchiano, who stresses the importance of the modern names of the area and of the monuments (*S. Basilio, Archa Noe, S. Nicolai de Columna*). However, in none of the texts from the 15th century do we find mention of the condition of the monuments as ruins the ancient city is absolutely idealised.

In the first half of the 16th century, the first guidebooks were published. In this period, the extensive reclamation of the area which that included the construction of the

⁸⁷⁴ Anonimo Magliabecchiano (Appendix B1), Poggio Bracciolini (Appendix B2) and Biondo Flavio (Appendix B3).

Alessandrino District had not yet started, but the northern area around the Column of Trajan was cleaned and reorganised.

At this moment, even if the guidebooks do not yet mention the ancient monuments as ruins or ruined architecture, however they do convey the idea that the architecture described is something old though not in ruins⁸⁷⁵.

This situation will change after the reclamation of the area and the consequent growth of the district, when the development of a modern neighbourhood around the ruins will also increase an interest in the condition of the monuments and a detachment from their idealized image.

In this period authors perceive the monuments in the area of the Imperial *Fora* also as the remains of the beautiful monuments which were there in the past. By reading these works it is possible to retrieve the sense of awareness that the observed remains were part of something “*che vi era*”⁸⁷⁶. A. Palladio expresses also his perception of the modern condition of the monuments as “ruins” when he refers to the columns of the *Forum* of Nerva as “*colonne mezze guaste*”, giving thus a perception of the present condition of those monuments⁸⁷⁷. Like the creators of drawings and engravings, writers also tended to represent “the real status of the landscape”, abandoning for a while the evocation of the splendour of the ancient past.

Moreover, the reclamation of the area had also brought a deeper knowledge of the ancient monuments, so that also the *Forum* of Augustus and in the *Forum* of Nerva, never mentioned before, started being mentioned.

At the beginning of the 17th century, when the *Alessandrino* District over the ancient Imperial *Fora* with its new streets and houses was further developed, a general interest in the ruins, perceived in their actual status, started increasing. In this period, we also witness a “separation” in the production of guidebooks: texts only dealing with churches on the one side, and guidebooks about ancient and modern Rome on the other side. In the first category, with the focus on churches, there was a return to the initial phase of “idealization” of the ancient monuments with an interest, however, on the modern elements of the district (streets and houses)⁸⁷⁸. On the other side, those guidebooks interested only in the “artistic” aspect of the city (both ancient and

⁸⁷⁵ B. Marliano (Appendix C3); Andrea Fulvio (Appendix B7).

⁸⁷⁶ L. Contarini (Appendix C7).

⁸⁷⁷ Appendix B10.

⁸⁷⁸ F. Titi (Appendix C30); *Ritratto di Roma (...)* (Appendix C32).

modern) focused on ancient Rome, testifying an antiquarian approach⁸⁷⁹. In these works, the awareness of the status of ruins is well expressed and the authors declare their “abstraction” while looking at ruins and imagining the ancient monumental buildings in their original appearance. The authors were therefore highly aware of the condition of the area of the Imperial *Fora*, as well as of the presence of structures at a lower level. Indeed they expressed this perception in their works.

And yet, even if this perception of the ruins of the Imperial *Fora* as “real ruins” to be investigated and dug were already present in literary sources from the late 17th – 18th century, we still have to wait until the beginning of the 19th century to see a declared interest in digging in the area, the final aim being to unearth and rediscover the ancient and glorious past⁸⁸⁰.

3.4 Perception of ruins as functional elements in the district

This section analyzes the interest in ancient ruins as part of the city, and not just as symbolic elements from the past. As already mentioned above, the written documents, which can be used as sources to reconstruct this interest, are non-literary documents, such as documents concerning the activities, needs and lives of people, families and religious congregations living and acting, in different ways, in the area under investigation. Generally produced by the same entities or institutions controlling and regulating the juridical and administrative processes in the district, these writings are at present preserved in historical archives, and allow us to investigate the meaning and role ruins had for people living in the area or frequenting it.

Needless to say, literary texts as well can at times provide us with interesting insights into the contemporary daily life of the city of Rome in the period under investigation. A famous and well-known example is W. Goethe’s *Italianische Reise*⁸⁸¹, a work in

⁸⁷⁹ F. Nardini (Appendix C29); C. Venuti, 1766 (Appendix C41).

⁸⁸⁰ We will see in the next paragraph (3.4.3) that an interest in digging in the area, unearthing the ancient monuments, had spread already before, but with different motivations behind.

⁸⁸¹ J. W. Goethe was in Italy between 1786 and 1788: he spent two periods in Rome, from November 1786 to February 1787 and from June 1787 to April 1788.

which the fascination for the contemporary condition of the city and its stratification can be used as a source. Goethe describes Rome's modern daily life, always stressing the presence of antiquities on the background. To paraphrase Goethe's words, far from being the protagonist of the described landscape, antiquities are simply part of the contemporary city.

As an example of this, we can recall the famous description of the slaughter of pigs in the *Forum* of Nerva:

*“E adesso altra scena: pochi giorni fa abbiamo visto e, posso ben dirlo, udito, scannare mille maiali in uno stretto recinto. Accade tutto l’inverno, ogni venerdì, su uno spiazzo su cui anticamente si ergeva un tempio dedicato a Minerva. [...] le grida degli uomini, che vengono sovrastate dall’urlo degli animali, le liti che vi avvengono, la partecipazione degli spettatori e molti altri dettagli ancora fanno di questo ammazzamento uno spettacolo straordinario”*⁸⁸².

Daily life is described in detail, including the extraordinary location (the area in the ancient *Forum* of Nerva); the attention, though, is mainly focused on the contemporary event rather than on the ancient setting in which it takes place.

Despite the powerful, interesting perspectives offered by this kind of description, literary works different from topographical descriptions and guidebooks are not considered here⁸⁸³.

As we will see throughout this paragraph, archival documents offer mention or description even of the very same ancient monuments and ruins mentioned in different types of sources such as, for example, guidebooks, from a particular point of view, which seems particularly fit for the purpose of this research. Such documents consider even monuments and ruins as part of the living space, on a level not different from houses, churches, towers, and streets.

It would, of course, be totally misleading to look for a section entitled “Ruins from the Imperial *Fora*” in modern historical archives⁸⁸⁴. Documents dealing with the topic

⁸⁸² GHOETE 2002, p. 164.

⁸⁸³ See paragraph 3.2 for a description of the sources used in the present work. Furthermore, it is always important to bear in mind that both literary and archival documents reflect a distorted image, as they are of course substantially dependent on the specific observer's and writer's gaze, interests, ideas, culture and knowledge.

⁸⁸⁴ A similar observation in the analysis of modern *via Alessandrina* in the *Quartiere Alessandrino* is carried out by Fratrarcangeli (FRATRARCANGELI 2006, p. 152).

under investigation can instead be found in collections created for many different purposes, and then filed under different classifications. Archival documents apparently quite removed from our topic (such as notarial acts, registers of churches, etc.) contain very important information about the use people made of ruins in the period under investigation, as well as useful indications of the consideration and perception they had of these monumental remains. This information is frequently hidden in the texts and often consists of few words. For this reason, only a careful and thorough analysis can possibly reveal what we are looking for.

Some of the documents discussed in this chapter had already been collected by R. Meneghini in the 1990s in order to reconstruct the post-antique archaeological context, which had been erased by the construction work of the new *via dei Fori Imperiali* at the beginning of the 20th century⁸⁸⁵. As explicitly stated by Menghini himself, his analysis of these documents was aimed at the “*ricostruzione del paesaggio e delle strutture edilizie insediate nell’area di entrambi i complessi – the Forum of Trajan and the Trajan Markets - durante e dopo la loro destrutturazione*”⁸⁸⁶.

In the present work, instead, the same documents, together with many other writings testifying to the presence of houses, fields, people, workers in the area and to the existence of a vivid district, are re-read from a different point of view. Indeed, searching, collecting, reading and analysing this kind of source, has given us the possibility of tracing all the different ways in which ancient monuments were used and perceived on a daily life basis, and to understand whether, and in which cases, they were considered as something with historical value or simply part of the modern context.

As in the case of literary sources, archival sources also have been collected and catalogued in this work, on a chronological basis in order to create a *corpus* of documents covering the whole period under investigation⁸⁸⁷. In this chapter, however, the sources won't be discussed in strictly chronological order.

Archival documents are in fact not part of a serial production (like guidebooks or topographical descriptions), though they represent a specific genre. There is therefore little use looking for variations in the way monuments and ruins are mentioned within the whole corpus of documents on a chronological basis. What makes these

⁸⁸⁵ These documents have been the starting point for the archival search and for the collection of further documents. I want to thank here dott. R. Meneghini for sharing this collection with me.

⁸⁸⁶ MENEGHINI 1993, p. 83.

⁸⁸⁷ Appendix D.

documents extremely interesting is their highly codified typology and related forms of expression, so that even apart from the context in which they were produced, they provide information on the different ways in which ruins were considered and referred to in the period under investigation.

Rather than proceeding on the basis of a rigid chronological sequence, I have then decided to define three main typological categories in which to divide the whole dataset. Only while operating within these three categories can a sort of chronological order be suggested, according to their cultural, topographical and historical development.

Taking into account the long period under investigation, from the 16th century to 1809⁸⁸⁸, the three different categories identified can be defined as follows:

- Ancient monuments as topographical landmarks and place-names.
- Ancient monuments as ancient elements belonging to the past.
- Ancient monuments as something to be excavated, preserved and investigated.

It is clear that each document might provide information about one or more of the categories identified. Some of the documents will therefore be mentioned more than once in the text, in different sections.

The analysis proposed in this paragraph permits a completely different picture to emerge, if compared with the previous paragraph. Archival documents, as repeatedly stated, generally consider ruins not as something to be studied, visited or appreciated but for their physical, topographical or functional character. Even the absence of their mention gains, in this context, a special evidential value.

The perception of ancient ruins presented in the current paragraph is probably the less easily discernible. Furthermore, it is probably the most difficult to identify and examine, especially if compared to what we can draw from the analysis of the literary production.

Still, these documents are extremely interesting, as they help us understand what ancient ruins meant for ordinary people living and moving in a densely populated and multi-layered city.

⁸⁸⁸ In order to have a better comprehension of the period under investigation, also documents from the 15th century have been taken into account.

3.4.1 Topographical landmarks in the city

If we think about the moving life in the dense modern district developed over the Imperial *Fora* between the 16th and the 19th centuries, it is not hard to imagine that people living in that area did not consider ruins only as symbolic elements from the past, to be admired, drawn and copied.

Since ruins and ancient monuments were part of the living city, inhabitants took advantage of their presence in many different ways. For the scope of my analysis, two main types of use have been taken into consideration. First, ruins and ancient monuments embedded into place-names of the new district. Second, ruins and ancient monuments used as landmarks and points of reference for the orientation in the district, for the description of the position of private properties and for the location of events occurring in the area. In this context, it is remarkable how this kind of analysis permits a topography of the area in the 16th-19th centuries to emerge, appearing as completely different from the topography of the same area in the Roman and Medieval times. These different topographies hinge, mainly, on the different role ancient ruins and monuments acquired in contemporary topographical contexts.

As far as the period under investigation is concerned, scattered architectural elements once part of monuments, became physical landmarks. On the one hand, arches, for example, or columns, now isolated in the new context after the decaying process of the original architecture, lost their physical and ideological connection to the monumental buildings, only to acquire a new role in the new context. On the other hand, some elements having a marked role as landmarks in the ancient topographical context (such as the Column of Trajan), mainly retained their role as landmarks, though in a very different topographical setting⁸⁸⁹.

The texts analysed, dealing with everyday life, show in many cases the need to use some topographical landmarks to describe the objects in the documents: e.g. to define where the properties described in the contracts were located, or to identify the house owners subject to tax payment for the sewers or for the streets.

In this regard, it is possible to identify a sort of assimilation of ancient ruins into modern architecture (such as churches), as they both worked as topographical landmarks (Tables 1, 2). Indeed, it is not surprising that, among about 144

⁸⁸⁹ Looking at the function of these elements as topographical landmarks, it is therefore always important to have in mind the topographical context of the period to which the texts belong.

topographical landmarks mentioned in the documents, 75 are churches and 69 ancient ruins or monuments.

This data also makes clear that some of the documents use at the same time both churches and ancient monuments as topographical landmarks. In the following pages we will try to understand whether any rule can be detected, underlying the choice of one topographical landmark or another. For the moment, it is enough to keep in mind that both types of landmarks were used and, in some cases, they were combined .

Once this topographical function has been identified, it is interesting to look at the documents according to their chronology, so as to verify whether any major change emerges in the use of the topographical references.⁸⁹⁰.

To this end, we can adopt an approach similar to the one adopted in the analysis of guidebooks and the alternation of description of ancient and modern elements to be found there. Indeed, if we look at the alternative use of churches and ancient monuments as main landmarks used in the texts, it will be possible to register possible meaningful variations in the ways such landmarks are referred to, during the period under investigation or within a specific type of document.

In addition to their exact ‘topographical’ use, churches and ruins are also embedded in place-names (Tables 3, 4). We find them in the names of the *contrade*, which are standardized names, but also in non-standardized place-names used to indicate a smaller area inside the *contrada* or simply a direction.

Apart from churches and ruins, streets are also used as landmarks to describe the position of properties, but they are widely “recognized” landmarks in the city so they are not of interest in the present context.

Churches

As shown in Table 1 and 3, churches are used as place-names and topographical landmarks more frequently than ruins. Churches have been part of the new district since the 8th century, when they started acquiring an increasingly visible role in the area, up to the point of slowly erasing the memory of the ancient Roman

⁸⁹⁰ We should take into consideration that the use of landmarks of course also changes according to many variables other than the ones investigated in the present work: the type of document, the purpose of the document, the cultural changes and the topographical evolution of the district.

topography⁸⁹¹. At the beginning of the period under investigation, almost all churches had already been built and had generated the relative place names of the district; incidentally, these are the very same churches that still marked the area in the 19th century. In the 16th century the area was so urbanized that each region – the so-called Regione Monti as far as the Imperial *Fora* are concerned - had to be divided into *contrade*. *Contrade* were small topographical units – usually consisting of two or three blocks - used in private documents such as notarial deeds to identify parcels and properties. As far as the area of the Imperial *Fora* is concerned, S. Passigli has identified the following *contrade*: *Campi Carlei*, *Ascesa Proti*, *Sancti Adriani*, *Arcanoe*, *Turris Comitiss*, *Sancti Basili*, *Militiarum*⁸⁹².

Looking at the names of the seven *contrade*, we notice that three out of seven took the name from the churches in the area (*Campi Carleo*, *Sancti Adriano*, *Sancti Basili*); two from medieval towers built over the structures of Roman buildings (*Turris Comitiss*, *Militiarum*); one probably from a modern land owner (*Ascesa Proti*) and another one from an ancient Roman structure (*Arcanoe*)⁸⁹³.

As already stated, in addition to the official name of the *contrade*, churches were also used to indicate place names in the area. Most of the place names used in the documents refer to the church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo*, while the rest to the churches of *S. Lorenzo*, *S. Basilio*, *S. Maria di Loreto*, *S. Eufemia*, *Spirito Santo*. The form of each of these place names slightly changes in different documents, and the same place name appears under different variants.

One of the most used place names in the area is the one linked to the church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo*: *Spoglia Christi/Spoglia Christo* (shortened in texts as *Spolia XPO*). To the same church it is possible to also refer the following variants: *Beata Maria in Campo Carleo*, *Sanctae Maria in Campo Carleo* or simply *Campo Carleo*. The last of these names, used only once in the texts as a place name, is actually extremely interesting because, even if referring to an existing church, it was originally

⁸⁹¹ See paragraph 3.1.

⁸⁹² PASSIGLI 1989.

⁸⁹³ The church of *S. Maria de Archanoè* in the *Forum* of Nerva is known to have been in the area since the end of the 12th century (it is mentioned in the catalogue by Cencio Camerario, 1192); in the 14th century the place-name *Archanoè* was then used to indicate the area of the ancient *Forum* of Nerva: *Fundicus Macellorum de Archanoè* (PASSIGLI 1989, p. 313; MENEGHINI 2009, p. 219). The name of the church and of the *contrada* probably come from the corruption of *Arcus Nervae*, a name used in Middle Ages to indicate the arch which, from the *Porticus Absidata*, gave access to the *Forum* of Nerva (see paragraph 2.3).

set as a place name to indicate the area surrounding the Column of Trajan. As R. Meneghini has explained⁸⁹⁴, the name *Campo Carleo* comes from the place name *Campus de Quondam Kaloleonis*, indicating the area belonging to the prince *Kaloleo* who owned a palace in the old *Forum* of Trajan. Studying some documents preserved in the Archive of *S. Maria in via Lata*, it emerged that at the beginning of the 11th century the area *Campi Carlei* extended from the Column of Trajan to the southern wall of the *Forum*, exactly where the church would have been built in the 12th century⁸⁹⁵.

If we look at the documents collected, the place name *S. Maria in Campo Carleo* is actually less frequent than *Spoglia Christi*. The church, built in the 12th century in the *campus kaloleonins*, also known as “*S. Maria in Campo Carleo*”, was referred to by this name until the 15th century, when its name changed to *Spoglia Christi*. At least five catalogues from this century register this church under different names: two of them under the name *S. Maria in Campo Carleo*, while the rest under the name *Spoglia Christi* and *S. Salvatore*. With this last name the church is also recorded in the plan L. Bufalini realised in the following century (Fig. 33).

In the second half of the 15th century, the church and the area are then definitively referred to as *Spoglia Christi*, even if some examples of the use of *Campi Carlei* still exist. It is in fact with this new name that we find the church in the *Liber Anniversariorum* from the *Compagnia del Gonfalone* (1490)⁸⁹⁶.

The “*Catalogue from 1492*”⁸⁹⁷, registers the church as “*S. Salvatoris in Spolia Christi*”. On the one hand, this toponym testifies to the use of the denomination “*S. Salvatore*” for the church itself and, on the other hand, to the use of the name *Spoglia Christi* for the surrounding area. The contemporary use of the two place names - *Campo Carleo* and *Spoglia Christi* - in the 15th century is also testified to by two documents collected in the present work, both dating back to 1477⁸⁹⁸.

The first one is a testament concerning some properties “*in loco dicto Campo Carleo*”:

⁸⁹⁴ MENEGHINI 2011, p. 161-162; SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2011, pp. 161-162; MENEGHINI 2009, pp. 214-215; MENEGHINI - SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007, pp. 153; MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2004, pp.186-188. For the history of the area in the Middle Ages see paragraph 3.1.

⁸⁹⁵ The study, under publication by the author of this work, is based on some documents preserved in the Archive of *S. Maria in via Lata* (HARTMANN 1895) and on the analysis of the extension of the urban regions in the 12th century.

⁸⁹⁶ HÜLSEN 1927, p. 63, n. 29 “*In Spoglia Christo*”.

⁸⁹⁷ We do not know another and more complete name for this catalogue.

⁸⁹⁸ Respectively Appendix D18 and D19.

“1477. 2. Aprilis. Ludovicus Laurentii Lupelli de reg. Montium cum consensu d. ne Panolfine eius uxoris refutavit Stephano Laurentii Lupelli suo fretri omnia iura que habet super quadam domo posita in reg. Montium in contrata no. iata Caballo ... eaq. d. ns Stephanus refutavit ipsi dicto Campo Carleo cui ab uno est domus Antonii Ioh. is Sanctis ab alio domus d. ne Caterine ux. q. m Symei Mosce de reg. Montium ante via publica retro est reclaustrum dicte domus. Actum Rome in reg. Montium in dicta domum super qua refutavit d. ns Stephanus ut supra quam inhabitat d. ns Ludovicus ... Petra Mattutto et Iohanne Baptista de Archionibus et Antoneo Butii de To... de reg. Montium”⁸⁹⁹.

The other one is a testament of a woman asking to be buried in *Spoglia Christi*.

*“1477. 3. 7bre testamento di Simodea ved. a di Pietro Paolo Panzerio del Rione Monti.
Voluit sepelliri in eccl. ia vocata Spoglia Christo in sepulcro suorum parentum”⁹⁰⁰.*

Among the documents analysed in this context, a text dating back to 1525 represents the first case in which the church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo* and of *Spoglia Christi* are explicitly identified as the same church:

“Diverse note dell’entrate della cappella del Salvatore nella chiesa di S. Maria in Campo Carleo o sia Spoglia Christo”⁹⁰¹.

The same specification appears also in few more documents: in a list of churches from 1575: *“S. Maria in Campo Carleo altrimenti detto Spoglia Cristo chiesa parrocchiale”⁹⁰²*; and in a later document from 1596 describing the properties belonging to the chapel of S. Salvatore *“in ecclesia S. Mariae in Campo Carleo alias Spoglia Christo”⁹⁰³.*

⁸⁹⁹ Appendix D18.

⁹⁰⁰ Appendix D19.

⁹⁰¹ Appendix D46.

⁹⁰² Appendix D99.

⁹⁰³ Appendix D116.

The new name given to the church, and consequently to the whole area, comes from a painting on the facade of the church representing the Redeemer, undressed during the flagellation⁹⁰⁴. Still, the new name was not accepted, as it was not considered suitable for a church. As a result, and in order to erase its memory forever, at the end of the 16th century Pope Sixtus V ordered a new painting by Mario Arconio, an important artist living and working in the area of the ancient Imperial *Fora*⁹⁰⁵: the new painting had to represent the *Madonna* with a child.

In terms of place names, two elements are of interest here: on the one hand, the name *Spoglia Christi* was in fact not lost or forgotten at all, as demonstrated by its use as a place name still in the 17th, 18th and 19th century (see TABLE 3). On the other hand, the new painting became a new place name and a new topographical landmark, as testified to by a mention in a document from the beginning of the 17th century. In a text registering the owners who had to pay taxes for work done in the streets in the area of *Monte Magnanapoli*, one of the owners living in *Piazza della Colonna Traiana* is indicated as:

*Paolo Tacchini, hab(ita) Vincenzo Rapaccioli β.29.at.20. per.ca. per.che
va verso la Mad(onn)a di Campo carleo: scudi 60*

The church is mentioned during the whole period, both as a place name and a topographical landmark. Even if the name *Campo Carleo* is linked to the origin of the area and the church, the most used name is *Spoglia Christo*, both as place name and topography landmark.

This data permits us to think that, once a place name (*Spoglia Christi* in this case) has been spread, it becomes deeply rooted in the context, from which the designation likely comes, and is more difficult to cancel, while the name of the church is easier to change. Topographical landmarks in fact were specific, single and often isolated elements in the district easily identifiable by people living in the area.

In our context, the relationship must be underlined between the churches mentioned in our documents and the ruins of the ancient Imperial *Fora*. Churches were built on top of the ruins of these ancient complexes, though in the new district only few

⁹⁰⁴ Adinolfi proposes a different interpretation: according to him, Christ could have been represented undressed because members of the Gonfalone used to undress themselves in that area to represent the Passion at the Colosseum, on Good Friday (ADINOLFI 1882, p. 55).

⁹⁰⁵ See paragraph 3.1.

portions of the ancient ruins were still visible. The churches of *Spirito Santo* and *S. Eufemia*, for instance, had completely covered the ruins of the *Ulpia Basilica* (Fig. 40); the church of *S. Basilio* was built close to some columns of the *Forum* of Augustus (Fig. 41); and the church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo* had embedded a portion of the ancient architecture in the new tower bell (see fig. 29).

Notwithstanding this extremely close relationship, when churches do appear in the documents, or when they are used as topographical landmarks, no mention of the invisible ruins underneath are made at all. Indeed, these documents give the impression of the absence of ruins in the district. They "describe", therefore, a completely different situation if compared to guidebooks: the different, opposite as it were, result produced by a different gaze could not be more evident.

Churches do appear in many types of archival documents and in particular in the descriptions made after the Apostolic Visits of the Popes or other members of the Church. However, even in these descriptions their stratigraphic relationship with ancient ruins of the Imperial *Fora* is not even mentioned. As we will see, what emerges from the documents is only the presence of scattered ancient elements reused in the churches themselves (e.g. columns, capitals, etc.)⁹⁰⁶.

Many are then the documents produced by churches to manage their activities, like the list of baptized believers or the list of married or dead people. What about ruins in these lists then? They were considered only as topographical references, although with a lower informative potential than the indication of the churches themselves.

As a consequence, churches are an important element for the orientation in the district. Some official documents, like the tax payments registering people in the area, use mainly churches as topographical landmarks. An example is the document from *Taxae Viarum*, dating back to the beginning of the 17th century (1631) and listing all the people that had to pay taxes for the work made in order to organize the sewer in the area of *Tor de Conti*. Some of the blocks in which the area is divided in the document are identified only through churches:

“Torna nella strada maestra incontro la chiesa dei tessitori”

“Torna alla strada sopra la chiavica di tor de conti incontro a Santo Chirico”

“Seguita accanto la chiesa die tessitori”

⁹⁰⁶ See *infra*, paragraph 3.4.2.

“*Seguita ncontro la chiesa di S. Adriano Strada Maestra*”
 “*Isola delle monache di Santo Urbano*”
 “*Seeguita incotnro detta alla salita di Marforio, vicino s Giuseppe de
 falegnammi*”.⁹⁰⁷

Parishes

Many of the topographical divisions are based on the *contrade* and some of them take their names from churches. However, official documents registered by notaries and administrative offices testify also to other divisions and reference points used by people living and working in the district from the second half of the 16th century, and parishes are among the most relevant ones.

Parishes do appear in documents only after 1564 and the first mention is in a report by the *Congregazione della visita Apostolica* describing the church of *S. Nicola alla Colonna Traiana*:

“... *sunt domus dictae parrochialis cum alijs domibus alterius
 parrochialis ecclesie Sancti Laurentioli in montibus*”.⁹⁰⁸

As S. Passigli states, in fact only after the Concilium of Trento (1563) and the visit of Pius V to Rome in 1663, the Church made a reorganization of the parishes in the city⁹⁰⁹. Many of the mentions of parishes are in the *Stati delle Anime*, lists of dead people belonging to the same parish⁹¹⁰.

In a document from 1595 for example, the name *Santa Maria in Campo Carleo* has been completely substituted with the toponym “*in parrocchia Sancta Maria in Campo Carleo*”, indicating the area around the church and belonging to it. From the 17th century on it is usually more usual to find parishes rather than *contrade* or regions used to describe properties. An example is a document belonging to the parish of *S. Lorenzo* and describing the marriages for a specific year (1579). Here, in order to

⁹⁰⁷ Appendix D155.

⁹⁰⁸ Appendix D85.

⁹⁰⁹ PASSIGLI 1989, pp. 318-321.

⁹¹⁰ S. Passigli states that the first *Stati delle Anime* are from the beginning of the 17th century (Passigli 1989, p. 319). However, among the documents collected, there are some *Stati delle Anime* dating back to the second half of the 16th century, as the one from 1571 (Appendix D90 and D91).

describe the provenance of some of the people involved in the ceremonies, parishes are usually adopted as topographical references:

*"filius Alexandri Cantiani ex Parochia sancta Maria in Campo Carleo"; "Ego Hoseph Reatio Rector huius ecclesia Parrochialis sancti Laurenti ad Montes".*⁹¹¹

At the end of the 17th century, the number of parishes is reduced from six (*S. Salvatore de Militis, S. Bernardo alla Colonna Traiana, S. Lorenzo ai Monti, S. Martina, Ss. Quirico e Giulitta, S. Maria in Campo Carleo*) to three (*S. Lorenzo ai Monti, Ss. Quirico e Giulitta, S. Maria in Campo Carleo*). Some churches are absorbed into other parishes, like the church of *S. Nicola alla Colonna Traiana*, as testified to by the indication: "*quale è sotto la proprietà di S. Nicola unito a Santo Lorenzolo*", present in one of the collected documents.⁹¹²

So far, we have analysed the most used topographical references in the district, that is churches. However, the district also hosted many architectural remains from the past, with their own meaning and their own essence. As will emerge from the analysis of documents then, columns, arches and walls, originally part of the Imperial *Fora* and now isolated in the district, were also used as topographical references, even if to a lesser extent than churches.

Arches

Arches were important elements in ancient architecture. They were originally part of larger structures and, once they had become ruins and lost their structural connection with the original structure, they became often isolated elements through which to pass. Obviously the function of passage is a kind of reuse of an ancient structure *per se*. Still, in the documents analysed in this work we also find arches used as topographical landmarks, to describe the position of other buildings. As such, they are mentioned several times using different terms (*arcus, archo, archi*). This variety in terms of denomination means that arches played an important role in the landscape of the city, used to mark the areas by people living there, though not primarily interested in antiquities.

⁹¹¹ Appendix D121.

⁹¹² Appendix D122.

As to the documents, three arches have been identified in the texts: the *arco dei Foschi della Berta*, located in the northern area of the *Forum* of Trajan; the *Arcus Pantani* (also called *Arco dell'Erario*), in the old *Forum* of Augustus; and the *Arcus Templum Pacis*, located to the south⁹¹³ (Table 5).

One of the most frequently mentioned arch is the so called *Arco dei Foschi della Berta* which took its name from a family living in the area and from the same name given to the whole area⁹¹⁴. We find it in six documents of different typologies (notarial deeds, documents of churches, *taxae viarum*), dating back between 1520 and 1555⁹¹⁵. It is mentioned in a notarial deed registered by Notary Perelli in 1515, to localize the properties of a member of the *Columna* family in the region of Monti:

*A.1520. Cryptae antiquae terra abruptae prope arcum de Fuscis et turrim
D. Fabritii de Columna in R. Montium.*⁹¹⁶

As this document makes clear, already at that time the Arch was perceived as something old and linked to other ancient structures; the notary speaks about *cryptae* and *terre bruptae*, terms usually referring to ancient monuments or underground rooms that were exactly in front of the arch⁹¹⁷.

A document preserved in the archive of the *Ospedale del SS Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum*, collecting, among others, documents regarding the chapel of S. Salvatore in the church of S. Maria in Campo Carleo, describes the revenues of the church of S. Maria in Campo Carleo ossia Spoglia Christo⁹¹⁸:

“Li fructi de la cappella del Salvatore posta in la chiesa di Sancta Maria in Campo alias Spoglia XPO. In primis doi case, che tiene locate, m.a Griseida d. lo Dammaro, et Salvato sui nipote, una grade (sic) et una picchola poste, sopra allarcho de li foschi, appresso ala casa de Sacchicchia Mulattieri, et altri confini et alla alogazione p.p.tua, pagano

⁹¹³ For the description and interpretation of these arches see SANTANGELI 1998.

⁹¹⁴ ADINOLFI II, 27, 28, 360.

⁹¹⁵ Appendix D41, D45, D46, D77, D80, D81

⁹¹⁶ Appendix D41.

⁹¹⁷ See *infra*, paragraph 3.4.2 for the terms referring to antiquities used in the documents.

⁹¹⁸ See above on the name of the church.

*lano, duci 8 de carli, paga 6 mesi in sei mesi comincia a di [...] de Novembre et de Maggio”.*⁹¹⁹

The arch is mentioned therefore as a point of reference to express where the houses were: “*sopra allarcho*”. The author of the text neither recognises nor stresses the antiquity of the arch, only mentioning it the same way the name of the *contrada* or the name of a modern church is mentioned.

A few lines later, he describes the other house as “*una casa al ricontra de Sancto Basile*”, using therefore the church of *S. Basilio* as a topographical reference.

This text is interesting because it mentions the arch, but it does not help at all in localizing it. Where was this arch then? From the text, we can only suppose that it was close to the church of *S. Basilio*, this meaning in the *Forum* of Augustus or between the *Forum* of Augustus and that of Trajan.

However, two later documents definitively give some information about the location of the arch in relation to ancient structures. The first is a notarial deed registering properties and duties of the *Reverrendi Padri* of the church of *Ss. Apostoli*:

“Indictione XII die 2 mensis aprilis 1554 (etc.) in presentia mei notarii etc. cum fuerit et sit (etc.) quod infrascripti R.di Patres ecclesie et conventus Sanctorum Apostolorum de urbe habeant (etc.) quandam parvam ecclesiam cum parva domo ante eam semidirutam et ruina de proximo minantem sitam in Urbe te regione Montium et prope arcum de Fuschis sun vocabulo Sancti Laurentii in via Liberatica cui ab uno sunt bona ...(manca)... ab alio latere via publica ante quedam parva plateola (etc.) et in conspectu domus heredum quondam D. Mariani de Doxis seu della Palma Phisici et multa indigeat reparatione (etc.) et intus eam diu noctuque intran animalia ibique stabulum conficiati”.⁹²⁰

Again, it is simply said “*prope arcum de Fuschus*”, but two more pieces of information are given: the arch was close to the church of *Ss. Apostoli* (meaning in the northern area of the ancient *Forum* of Trajan) and it was in *via Liberativca* (= *via Biberatica*). We can consequently hypothesize that the arch was probably between the Column of Trajan and the Markets of Trajan.

⁹¹⁹ Appendix D46.

⁹²⁰ Appendix D77.

The other document giving some information about location is a text preserved as a copy in the *Fondo Corvisieri (Biblioteca Vallicelliana)*, despite the original source being unknown. It is dated back to 1555 and it is probably a deed testifying to the properties of Pompeius Zambeccari, the son of Giacomo Zambeccari. The two owned different properties in the area around the church of *Ss. Apostoli*, and between 1542 and 1551 they did several pieces of work to transform those properties into the new *Palazzo Zambeccari*, which became a backstage for the area around the Column of Trajan. The cardinal Michele Bonelli, the proponent of the development of the *Quartiere Alessandrino*, later bought the palace from Zambeccari family and transformed it into the new *Palazzo Bonelli*⁹²¹:

“D. Pompeius Zambeccarius episcopus sulmonensis ad quem spectat una domus seu palatium situm in Urbe in regione Montium cui ab ante est platea ecclesie Sanctorum Apostolorum, a retro Bono d. Dominici de Lenis a duobus lateribus sunt vie publice una que tendit versus ecclesiam Sancte Marie de Loreto et altera que tendit versus Archum de Fuschis, que domus seu palatium fuit per dictum d. episcopum emptum a q.b.m. Iacobo Zambeccario eius dum vixit patre”.⁹²²

Here we find a clear definition of the location of the arch: at the end of a street which started in *Palazzo Ss. Apostoli*, diverging to the street that went from *Ss. Apostoli* then to *S. Maria di Loreto*. Again, this is the area between the Column and the Markets of Trajan.

The location of the arch is then defined in the texts, but its exact location has not yet been identified. Even the definition given by A. Gnoli at the beginning of the 20th century does not help in the identification. Indeed, Gnoli reminds us that: *“le case di questa famiglia sorgevano nell’area poi occupata dalla prefettura e l’arco era dal lato che guarda verso la chiesa di S. Maria di Loreto. Disegnato nella pianta del tempesta del 1593, tav. II”*⁹²³, adding a quotation from Niccolò Signorili (1417-1421): *“la Colonna Traiana ubi hodie est ecclesia S. Nicolai prope arcum Fuscorum de Berta”*.

⁹²¹ For a detailed story of the transformations of Palazzo Zambeccari and Palazzo Bonelli, see COLA 2012.

⁹²² Appendix D81.

⁹²³ GNOLI 1939, p. 13.

According to R. Meneghini, the arch was probably part of the ancient structures of the *Forum* of Trajan⁹²⁴. The family *Foschi di Berta*, who gave the name to the entire area and to the arch, was certainly living in the area around the church of *Ss. Apostoli* and, as already underlined, Michele Bonelli bought many properties from them, and reused them to build the new *Palazzo Bonelli*.

Differently, E. La Rocca has identified this arch with the *Archus Parthicus*, known from sources and built in the *Forum* of Trajan between 116 and 117 A.D. Unfortunately, La Rocca is unsuccessful in giving a precise indication for the arch, just highlighting how it should have been in the area north of the *Forum* of Trajan, close to the Column.

Two more documents generally mention an arch in the area of the Column of Trajan, between the church of *Ss. Apostoli*, the Column, the church of *Madonna di Loreto* and the *via Biberatica*, thus allowing us to think of them as references to the same *Arco dei Foschi della Berta*.

The first document registers the taxes which people living in *Spoglia Christo* had to pay for the renovation work of the sewer and bridge in the area and mentions an arch between *Monte Cavallo* and *Spoglia Christo*:

*“Lista delle case tassate per pagar la nettatura et areconciatura del ponticello et chiavica de Spoglia Christo et refar el fosso nel verso del pantano che sa da metter l’eguale secondo l’antico solito cominciando dalla Piazza in capo la selciata de Monte Cavallo seguitando all’arco del (...) Gio Conti et Spoglia Cristo su a man dritta et in primis”*⁹²⁵.

The second text is an administrative document from 1526, preserved in the *Archivio Storico Capitolino*⁹²⁶. It has been studied and mentioned by several scholars⁹²⁷, as it shows an interest in protecting the so called “*Arcus Trajani*” and in preventing further harm to the *Arcus* by the *maestri delle strade*, that is the officials in charge of the street, who probably damaged this monument during some work in the street⁹²⁸:

⁹²⁴ MENEGHINI 1993, p. 107; MENEGHINI 2018.

⁹²⁵ Appendix D80.

⁹²⁶ Appendix D45 (1526).

⁹²⁷ MENEGHINI 1993, p. 10 PACKER 2001, p. 19, LA ROCCA 2018.

⁹²⁸ See also *infra*, par. 3.4.3. The same document will be in fact analysed *infra*, from the point of view of protection of monuments.

“eodem die mense indictione anno et pontificatu, et in eodem consilio fuit custodia arcus traiani imperatoris capiti regionis montium, qui sollicitus esse debeat habere curam ne ulterius devastetur per magistros stratar. acta fuerunt hel in prima camera palatiis dominor. conservator. presentibus dno anglo de vallatia, et domino hieronymo”.

As already stated, E. La Rocca has recently suggested the identification of this arch with the *Archus Parthicus*. According to R. Meneghini, this identification is possible but it is still difficult to state if the *Arcus Traiani* and the *Arco dei Foschi della Berta*, whose precise location is unknown, were the same building⁹²⁹.

Another arch does appear as a topographical landmark in the archival documentation analysed: the *Arco dei Pantani*. Contrary to the arch previously described, this is well known, identified and also documented by iconographic documents (Fig. 41). It took the name from the “*Pantani*” area that had characterised the area of the *Forum* of Augustus since Middle Ages⁹³⁰.

The first mention of the arch in the collected documents dates back to 1710, in a document from the private archive of the *Conservatorio di S. Eufemia al Foro Traiano*, listing the tenants:

*Canonisti: Antonia, Anna Giovanna e Francesca Fontana per canone a 815:73 l'anno posto sopra la casa dicontra S. Urbano a tutto li 23 Febbraro 1710, e per esse il Signor Lorenzo catani suo Pro.re stanteche loro sono fuori di Roma habita il detto Catani per la strada che da S. Luca va all'Arco de Pantani Artebianca a mano manca passato il fornaro deve (scudi) 29,32.*⁹³¹

The *Arco dei Pantani* is therefore one of the two endpoints used to describe *via Bonella*, the street that crossed the *Forum* of Augustus from East to West, and went from the church of *Ss. Luca e Martina* to the *Arco dei Pantani*. It was part of the ancient Roman context, being one of the entrances to the *Forum* of Augustus in ancient Roman times, close to the podium of the temple of *Mars Ultor* (Fig. 41). However, in this text it is not acknowledged as such.

⁹²⁹ See LA ROCCA 2018 and MENEGHINI 2018.

⁹³⁰ See paragraph 3.1.

⁹³¹ Appendix D194.

Before 1710, the *Arco dei Pantani* is not mentioned in the documents⁹³². This is quite a surprising absence. Was, perhaps, the arch not considered as a point of reference before that time? Actually, another arch in the same area has been mentioned in documents since the 16th century: the *Arcus Auri* or *Arco dell'Erario*. We find this arch for example in the description of the monastery of *Ss.ma Annunziata* and *S. Basilio*, made after the Apostolic Visit in 1627⁹³³. Talking about the monastery it said:

“Habet etiam Viridarium, cuius paries, qui tendit versus viam Alexandrinam ad arcum Aerarij debet extolli ea tenus (?) quat. fenestrae Monasterij extenduntur”.

The arch is located close to the monastery and it is used to indicate the limit for the extension of the *hortus* belonging to the monastery. Later in the text, it also says:

il muro del giardino che fa capo all'Arco dell'erario verso la via Alessandrina s'alzi in modo che si proibisca il prospetto delle fenestre dal Monastero alla strada”.

The location coincides therefore with that of the *Arcus Pantani* and we can therefore assume that during the 17th century the arch was known under this name rather than as *Arco dei Pantani*. The monastery was built leaning on the perimetral wall of *Forum* of Augustus dividing the *Forum* and the *Suburra*, and hosted the arch itself⁹³⁴.

The name *Arco dell'Erario* is linked to the monastery of *S. Basilio*. In this monastery a “*cella mortuaria*”, mentioned in the base of the ancient Temple of *Mars Ultor*, was believed to be the *Erario Militare*⁹³⁵. However, even in this case, the arch is recognised only as a modern element, and it has completely lost its value as a ruin or as an ancient monument, simply preserving the value of a topographical landmark.

An additional document mentions an arch in the area under investigation, close to the *Templum Pacis*⁹³⁶. It is a document from the *Taxae Viarum* recording the amount

⁹³² It is mentioned instead in a document from the 18th century. See Appendix D204 (1742).

⁹³³ Appendix D150.

⁹³⁴ LOMBARDI 1996, pp. 48-49.

⁹³⁵ This underground space has been connected to the *grotte sepolcrali* used by the monks of *S. Basilio* and identified by C. Ricci in an underground room under the temple of *Mars Ultor*. (RICCI 1930, p. 173, FIORINI 1951, p. 38; MONTINI 1955, p. 331-332; PIETRANGELI-PECCHIOLI 1998, p. 24; GANZERT 2000, P. 27; MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI 1996, p. 82-83; MENEGHINI SANT 2007, p. 139-141).

⁹³⁶ Appendix D232.

which the *Reverendi Padri* from *Ss. Cosma e Damiano* had to pay for the enclosure wall of their properties, between their church and *S. Francesca Romana*:

Alli sud(dett)i R(evere)ndi Padri de SS.i Cosmo e Damiano per il prospetto del muro antico senza gronda, che racchiude l'Orto ossia Giardino di fianco il sud(dett)o Granaro incontro la V(enera)b(i)le Chiesa di S. Francesca Romana lung p. 80= seg il prospetto coperto del loro Granaro che unisce al d(ett)o Giardino e termina all'arco del Templum Pacis lung p. 112 = as.-me di loro tangente gli spetta.

This arch probably belonged to Maxentius' Basilica, also known as *Templum Pacis* at that time. Also, the location close to *S. Francesca Romana* suggests a similar location. Considering all the mentions of arches in the documents, we can state that, even if they were actually ruins from the ancient Roman complex, they were never recognised as ancient monuments, but only as points of reference and parts of the new context.

Fora and Piazze

Actually, the *Fora* as enclosed entities almost never appear in the documents. The original Roman topography had been completely erased and the ancient *Fora* had lost their role as 'public' squares. In guidebooks, they were often mentioned when writers wanted to recall the original *grandeur* of the ancient Roman monuments or when they wanted to link some ruins to the original monument to which they belonged. In the archival documentation, this aspect is almost totally missing and mention of the *Fora* as isolated entities is extremely rare.

In the whole corpus of documents collected (236 documents), the word *foro* occurs only 6 times.

In 2 cases, the mentioned *Forum* is the *Foro Boario*. In a *Visita Apostolica* dated back to 1625, talking about the Church of *S. Cosma and Damiano*, the author of the text describes the location of the church using the following words:

“Ecclesia sita est in Foro Boario ad radices Montis Palatinis iuxta templum olim Paci dicatum excitata fuit a Felice 3^o(?) illiq. non nihil contulere”.⁹³⁷

In another *Visita Apostolica* from the same year, in which the church of *S. Adriano* is described, we find the same *Forum* mentioned again:

“R.mi Patres Visitatores Apostolici generales visitarunt Ven. Ecc.a S. Adriani in Foro Boario, quae titulus est Diaconi Card.lis et Domus Regularij fratrum S. Mariae de Mercede, a quibus fuerunt reverenter recepti Ecclesiam fuisse antiquis temporibus excitatam satis colligimur ex eo (...)”.⁹³⁸

Both the churches of *S. Adriano* and *SS. Cosma e Damiano* are therefore located in the *Foro Boario*. The church of *S. Adriano* and the old *Curia*, the building existing in the same place before the church, were topographically settled inside the *Forum* of Caesar, but they historically belonged to the *Forum Romanum*. The church of *SS. Cosma e Damiano* instead had been built inside one of the halls of the *Forum* of Peace, so that it belonged to that *Forum*⁹³⁹. Neither the *Forum* of Peace nor the *Forum* of Caesar were recognised as topographical units to define the location of the two churches. The two *Fora* were at that time mainly free areas and, even if some ruins from the ancient Imperial *Fora* were still visible in the area, they had completely lost their original connection to the ancient monuments.

On the basis of the original nature of a *forum*, that is a square⁹⁴⁰, we have found the name *Piazza* to be used in guidebooks and topographical descriptions focusing on these spaces⁹⁴¹.

In the archival documents, the only *Piazza* we encounter is the *Piazza Trajana*⁹⁴². Actually, this toponym does not refer to the ancient *Forum* of Trajan, but to the modern *Piazza* around the Column of Trajan. Furthermore, the name used is usually *Piazza Trajana* and not *Piazza del Foro Trajano*. Indeed, the latter only appears in a

⁹³⁷ Appendix D137.

⁹³⁸ Appendix D138.

⁹³⁹ See paragraph 2.3.3.

⁹⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁴¹ See paragraph 3.3. Sometimes they are also mentioned with similar names, such as *oratoria*.

⁹⁴² This name appears many times in the corpus.

document dating to 1822: “*Lavori di vetraro nella casa posta a piazza del Foro Traiano*”⁹⁴³. In the 19th century, this name will be used more frequently, since the excavation carried out by the French government brought to light the ancient *Ulpian Basilica*, consequently increasing the attention on the ancient *Forum* and affecting the adoption of this term in its denomination⁹⁴⁴.

Finally, among the 236 documents analysed in the present work, only two mentions the *Forum* of Trajan explicitly refer to its antiquity. The first mention appears in a document preserved in the *Fondo Corvisieri*, in the *Biblioteca Vallicelliana*, and referring to some excavations made in the area in 1765⁹⁴⁵;

“... la colonna del più bel granito nero tirante al bianco scopertasi nel 1765 e trasferita alla Villa Albani non ha meno di otto palmi e mezzo di diametro. Altre di non minore grossezza sono restate nel profondo del med.o scavo, ed erano di quelle che servivano a sostenere le soffitte di bronzo dei magnifici portici all’interno di quella gran piazza ...”⁹⁴⁶

The second document, preserved in the same library and older than the one just mentioned, is a letter written by Girolamo Catena to Giovanni Battista Doria, in which the palace of the cardinal Bonelli, that is Palazzo Bonelli, is described (1588). Even if the word “foro” is not properly used in the text, it is clear that it refers to the *Forum* of Trajan. Indeed, we find a quite accurate description of the *Forum*:

“... ora vengo a... dar la contezza della fabbrica del palagio che il cardinale Alessandrino mio signore fa’ in capo la piazza de SS. Apostoli ... intorno (al Foro Traiano) v’erano le statue d’huomini illustri... si come v’è stata trovata poco lontana quella di Claudio poeta. V’era il portico sostenuto da colonne di meravigliosa grandezza et due già ne sono state trovate dentro il sito del palagio ... venendo per la via lata a man destra del Campidoglio si vede l’iscrizione della sepoltura di Caio Publicio, et appresso la casa di Corvino, et perciò ora è detta quella parte Macel de’ Corvi ... talchè è fondato (il palazzo)

⁹⁴³ Appendix D234.

⁹⁴⁴ See paragraph 2.1.2.

⁹⁴⁵ Cf. LANCIANI 1912, vol. VI, p. 156.

⁹⁴⁶ Appendix D214.

*nel medesimo foro et ha due piazze quella della colonna che è la parte principale, et questa di SS. Apostoli.*⁹⁴⁷

The document is extremely interesting because the author shifts easily from the description of the ancient context to the description of the modern one. As an example, while talking about the modern Palace he refers to antiquity saying “*talchè è fondato nel medesimo foro*”, and later “*et ha due piazze quella Della Colonna che è la parte princilae e questa dei ss apostoli*”, putting at the same level the ancient and the modern square. Reading this text, it seems therefore that the ancient Imperial Forum still exists and is still well visible in the area. In other words, there is a sort of mystification of reality, similar to what we have seen happening in the case of guidebooks, on the basis of which an ancient element, though not existing or visible anymore, is used as a term of reference for the modern context.

Even though these two isolated documents, in which the *Forum* of Trajan is mentioned with reference to its antiquity, date back to different moments (1765 and 1588), they are both based on excavation results, rather than everyday life.

In contrast, two additional documents referring to the Forum of Trajan show no connection to Antiquity. The first one is a manuscript preserved in the *Biblioteca Vallicelliana*, in which a description of the properties of the “*luoghi pii di roma*” is provided (1575).

Talking about the church of *S. Maria di Loreto*, it says:

*f. 94 v: “Da San Marco verso li Monti - Santa Maria del Loreto questa chiesa è posta nel foro vicino alla Colonna Troiana ...”*⁹⁴⁸

The second one is a description of the church of *S. Abbaciro* dating back to 1637. In this text the *Forum* of Trajan is used to describe the location of the church: “*Essendo stata fabricata questa chiesa nel foro traiano*”. Yet, and surprisingly, the text continues:

“(...) sara’ espediente descriver prima il luogo e qualita’ di (esso) foro. Questo dunque fu fatto da traiano imp. Tra il campidoglio e’ (sic) il quirinale, hoggi detto monte cavallo, del quale fu mandata giu’ gran

⁹⁴⁷ Appendix D110.

⁹⁴⁸ Appendix D99.

*parte per dar spatio che si richiedeva al foro. La grandezza dil med(esi)mo si raccoglie dal luogo dove hora si vede la colonna detta traiana, la quale era in mezo, cominciando il foro dalla meta quasi dela salita di monte bagnanapoli, dove era il suo portico, estendendosi da tutte le parte a' proportione".*⁹⁴⁹

The author suddenly shifts from the description of the modern context to the description of the ancient one, saying that to describe the church it is better to describe the ancient *Forum* first, even if it actually did not exist anymore. Moreover, a few lines later the author describes the Column, which is said to be “*in mezzo del foro*”. In this last example the text describes the Column in its ancient and correct space, the *Forum*. Despite this, the mention of the column as “*in mezzo al foro*”, is evidently misleading, since the Column originally was standing on the northern margin of the square rather than at its centre.

The wrong localization of the Column is obviously dependent on the limited knowledge of the ancient *Forum* in its entirety. Still, it seems important to notice that, apart from a thorough knowledge of the Imperial *Forum*, it was nevertheless considered as an unavoidable spatial and historical context for the description of both an ancient (the Column) and modern building (the church of *S. Abbaciro*).

Indeed, later on, the author of the text returns to the modern time, while always pointing out the importance of describing the ancient location:

(f. 14v) ... tornando hora alla denanti detta chiesa di s. Abbaciro, posta come predetto, nel foro traiano, descriveremo il luogo proprio dove era detta chiesa, et in qual parte del foro”

In the same document, other churches in the area are also described with reference to the *Forum* of Trajan:

“Chiesa di s Bernardino è alla colonna traiana, cioè nella piazza e foro di esso traina”

or

⁹⁴⁹ Appendix D159.

“chiesa di s(anct)a cat(erin)a da siena a bagnanapoli dove hora e’ qsta chiesa col monasterio erano gia’ li bagni di paolo emilio, da quali il med(esi)mo luogo e monte du detto bagni di paolo e poi corrottamente bagnanapoli, e magnanapoli...(segue breve excursus sulle terme romane)...in questi dunque di paolo emilio che soprastavano come si disse, il foro traiano fu a tempi nostri fabricata la chiesa del mon(aste)rio.”

Here, the author also stresses the distinction between the past and the present, using the terms “*ai tempi nostri*” to describe something happening in the modern era, in an area defined as the *Forum* of Trajan.

Considering the documents mentioning the *Fora*, we can therefore state that, even if the ancient squares were still present under the modern buildings, inhabitants actually had no idea of their original extension. This situation is different from what we have seen with topographical descriptions and guidebooks: while in those cases there was a real attempt to recognize the ancient topography, and even to use the ancient divisions of the area as contemporary divisions, in archival documents ancient topography seems to be completely lost.

There is only one document in which the author refers to the ancient *Fora* to locate modern buildings. It is a text reporting an Apostolic Visit to the monastery of *Santissima Annunziata in San Basilio* in 1627:

*"Ecclesia simul et Domus sita est in Regione Montium intra ruinas Palatij Nervae Imperatoris olim in Foro Romano"*⁹⁵⁰

These few words are interesting for different reasons. First, this is the only case in which it is possible to register the mention of a *Forum* different from that of Trajan⁹⁵¹. Second, in order to refer to the *Forum*, the term *Palatij* is used instead of *Forum*. The absence of the whole complex led to the impossibility of perceiving the *Forum* as a square. Therefore, the only elements able to reactivate the idea of the ancient monument were the still existing constructions, though in ruin.

In this sense, it is interesting to notice how the name “*Palatij Nervae Imperatori*” is used to indicate the structures of the *Forum* of Nerva as well as a reference to explain

⁹⁵⁰ Appendix D150.

⁹⁵¹ Here we mean *Forum* as a whole rather than as its single components.

where the church of *S. Basilio* was located. The interest in such a consideration is undiminished from the confusion between *Forum* of Nerva and that of Augustus. Indeed, what is called the *Palatium Nervae* is actually part of the *Forum* of Augustus. This misunderstanding clearly indicates how the author/s of the text acknowledged ancient structures, though committing some errors⁹⁵².

Similarly, the *Palatium* is said to be “*in foro romano*”: the author had the need to locate the ancient structures in the wider context of a *Forum*. Nevertheless, since he had not been able to recognize the exact *Forum*, the generic definition “*Foro Romano*” was adopted. As to the adverb “*olim*”, indicating something already existing in the past though used for a mistaken identification, gives us the idea of the distance existing between the writer/reader and the structures involved in the text. We can then conclude that, in the case of this document, and contrary to what we have seen so far, the author was able to recognize the antiquity of the structure as opposed to the modern context of which it had become part .

Columns

Similar observations can be made for the columns in the area, used as topographical landmarks.

Isolated columns are not only used as points of topographic reference. They are also recognised as ruins, evidence from a different time bearing both a positive and a negative attitude⁹⁵³. Two different kinds of columns used as topographical references can be identified in the documents under investigation: on the one hand well-known columns with their specific name (the *colonnacce* or the *Column of Trajan*); on the other hand columns originally part of ancient structure and still present in the area.

In a document from the *Taxae Viarum*, for example, in which houses obligated to pay taxes for the *gettiti* are listed⁹⁵⁴, the author of the text divides the area of interest according to *Isole* (1613).

⁹⁵² We have already noticed a similar phenomenon in some of the literary sources (see paragraph 3.3).

⁹⁵³ Documents in which columns are described as something old will be discussed in depth later on (see paragraph 3.4.2).

⁹⁵⁴ *Gettiti* were the projects done by the *Maestri delle strade* to repair or enlarge old streets or to connect old and new streets (Appendix D123).

One of these *Isole* is called “*Isola dove sono state buttate le colonne*”. It is not easy to understand where this *isola* was, since no other known reference point is given. Nevertheless, from the text we know that the *gettito* was done to connect two houses - in the section of the *via Alessandrina* crossing the *Pantani* area - to the new *via di Tor de Conti*. It is then possible that the area in question was Northeast of the *Forum* of Augustus. In this case, the columns might have come from that *Forum* or from the closeby *Forum* of Nerva⁹⁵⁵. It is clear that the columns were ancient, elements from the past. Still, this aspect is not highlighted in the text; what is important is that they made a specific area of the district clearly recognizable.

Sometimes, columns were also used as landmarks and were recognised as antique elements. In this sense we can refer to a document from the *taxae viarum*, dating back to 1765 and describing the property belonging to a house:

Casamento accanto detta e fa Cantone spettante la prima porzione incontro le Colonne antiche il Pianterreno, e cantina al Sig. Abbate Giordani et il mezzanino il primo, e secondo piano alli R(eve)r(endi) Padri di Ss. Cosmo e Damiano di stillicid (foglio 229)⁹⁵⁶.

The columns are not given any specific name, though we can easily identify them as the so-called *Colonnacce* in the *Forum* of Nerva. The description of houses started in fact in the street that linked the church of *S. Quirico e Giulitta* to the church of *S. Agata dei Tessitori*, that is *via della Croce Bianca*, between the *Forum* of Augustus and the *Forum* of Nerva, thus allowing for such an identification. Different from the columns scattered in the area and mentioned in the above cited text, the *Colonnacce* are explicitly called “*antiche*”: their antiquity is therefore clearly recognized and the absence of adjectives as *dirute*, *ruinae*, *vetuste* in this text exclude any possibility of recognizing a negative approach towards these remains.

Obviously the *Colonnacce* are also mentioned with this very name (a depreciative name they had acquired because of their status) and used as topographical landmark. However, in the following document their antiquity is not highlighted at all:

⁹⁵⁵ Referring to the same document, P.L. Tucci identifies the “area dove sono state buttate le colonne” as the area in front of the *Colonnacce* (TUCCI 2002, p. 273).

⁹⁵⁶ Appendix D215.

*Misura e Stima della Selciata di quadrucci in calce fatta d'ordine dell' Ill(ustrissi)mo tribunale delle Strade avanti il Casamento in Cantone del Capo Croce di S. Agata delli Monti in Strada Alessandrina e precisam(ent)te incontro le Colonnacie.*⁹⁵⁷

The Column of Trajan

Nedless to say, among all the columns in the area the Column of Trajan is the most mentioned and also the element from antiquity mostly used as a topographical landmark in the corpus of documents analysed here (Table 6).

As we have already underlined, the Column of Trajan had remained in its original state from the ancient Roman time; what had changed was instead its surroundings. The Column of Trajan, became a visible landmark after the medieval period, and the progressive removal of all the surrounding structures of the Forum, namely the *Ulpia Basilica* and the two libraries in the northern sector of the *Forum*⁹⁵⁸.

Indeed, once the libraries and the other structures of the *Forum* of Trajan disappeared, the now freed Column gained a completely different level of visibility and, as a result, perception. A small church, *S. Nicola alla Colonna Trajana*, was in fact built against the Column during the Middle Ages, using the ancient monument as a bell tower, but was already demolished in the 16th century⁹⁵⁹.

During the development of the *Quartiere Alessandrino* in the area of the Imperial *Fora*, many buildings were built in the district. However, the Column as a monument was always “respected” and a small free area always surrounded the Column, as shown in many drawings and engravings from the 19th century (see Figs. 38, 40)⁹⁶⁰. In 1558, the *Consiglio Comunale Capitolino* appointed Michelangelo to design the area around the Column, thus showing a clear attention to the monument and the area around it, as a counterpart to the close *Piazza del Campidoglio*⁹⁶¹.

⁹⁵⁷ Appendix D226, D227 (1786).

⁹⁵⁸ There are many studies on the visibility of the Column of Trajan and in particular of its relief in the ancient time. Among the others, and for previous literature, see: AGOSTI-FARINELLA 1984; DE ANGELIS 2014; SETTIS 2019.

⁹⁵⁹ CAVALLARO 1984.

⁹⁶⁰ SETTIS 2019, p. 32-33.

⁹⁶¹ AGOSTI-FARINELLA 1988, p. 584. The project was never realised though.

When cardinal Bonelli acquired the property and transformed the area into his own new Palace, he demonstrated a particular care for the Column and its surroundings, to the point that he asked to “... *allargare la piazza della Colonna et levarla sopra terra essendo hora sotto parecchi palmi*”⁹⁶². Therefore, even if the level of the district was growing in height because of the subsequent level of infill, the Column was dug around to make the original level emerge. It is important to notice once again that such a level of care and attention was not reserved for any other monument in the whole area.

The Column had of course a special value, being a very particular monument, still entirely preserved and interestingly transformed into a new symbol of the Papal city. In this sense, the statue on top of the column, originally representing the Emperor, was substituted in 1562 with that of S. Peter. Besides, the Column became a new topographical landmark in the new district, which is an area in which all the other topographical landmarks were churches, such as that of *S. Maria di Loreto*, of the *Ss.mo Nome di Maria*, of *S. Nicolò alla Colonna*.

The Christian aspect of the Column is testified to also in the documents produced in the district, like the text preserved in the archive of the church of *S. Lorenzo ai Monti*, in which revenues and expenses of the church are registered (1609)⁹⁶³. In the title of the document, the Column is mentioned under its Christian aspect: “*Lista delle entrate di Santo Nicola della Colonna di S. Pietro alias Colonna Traiana*”. It seems that the two names, the modern and the ancient ones, coexist together though the modern one, *Colonna di S. Petro*, which is also the first to mentioned, may have been the most recognised and recognisable.

Actually, the Column of Trajan is mentioned in different ways throughout the text, either simply as the Column or with the indication of the name of the Emperor. Indeed, we can find all these denominations in just one sentence of the document:

“Le doe casette del sudetto R(everen)do M. Giacomo Brancherio che rispondono nella Piazza della colonna di S. Pietro al(ia)s Colonna Trajana in faccia di detta Colonna, cioè quella del cantone dove è la Madona, che confina con la sudetta, et l'altra casetta è attaccata con questa, et dall'altro lato con le doe casette di M(aest)ro Giuseppe

⁹⁶² Appendix D110.

⁹⁶³ Appendix D122.

scarpellino suo cognato, sono sotto la p(r)oprietà di questa chiesa di S(an)to Nicola.”

The other names used for the Column of Trajan are all similar, if we exclude small changes in the form (Table 6).

There is one single occurrence in which a different name is used to reference the Column. In the description of the Church of *S. Bernardo alla Colonna Traiana*, made during the Apostolic Visit in 1627, the Column is called *Obelisco*: “*Veneranda Ecclesia sub Invocatione S. Bernardi ad radices Montis Quirinalis apud obeliscum Ttraiani*”⁹⁶⁴.

This unique reference to the Column of Trajan as an obelisk, unknown in other documents, lets us understand that, albeit exceptionally, the very aspect of the monument could in fact be totally ignored and the column could be equated, so to speak, to an equally colossal and exotic object such as the obelisk. To the author of the document, in other words, and possibly to his readers, the actual quality and specific aspect of the monument did not matter much.

The church of *S. Bernardo* always appears in the documents with a reference to the Column of Trajan, which presence had also an impact on the very name of the church. In a document from the *Camerali III* (1694):

*“(per) liberarsi da quali haver’ occasione di vendere sotto varie condizioni alcune case del d.o monastero contigue a d.a Chiesa di S. Bernardo posta alla Colonna Traiana alla Congreg.ne delli Pij Operarij di S.ta Balbina, alla quale unico contextu dona e cede ogni Jus sopra detta chies (...).”*⁹⁶⁵

And in a document from the *Congregazione della Visita Apostolica*:

*“Havendo la Compagnia del Santo Nome di Maria, di presente esistente nella Chiesa di S. Bernardo alla Colonna Traiana aperta una Porta nuova nel muro di d.a Chiesa, che corrisponde nel cortile del Palazzo della Casa Bonelli.”*⁹⁶⁶

⁹⁶⁴ Appendix D153.

⁹⁶⁵ Appendix D186.

⁹⁶⁶ Appendix D187.

Cases like these show how the Column could be mentioned without any explicit reference to its being an ancient Roman monument, rather becoming a topographical landmark (e.g. “*verso/incontro la Colonna*”) and/or a place-name totally embedded in the contemporary urban landscape. In this second type of occurrence, the Column appears both as a place name itself “*alla Colonna Trajana*” and as a place name of the modern square (“*piazza/platea della Colonna Trajana*”) and it is used strictly together with other topographical indicators in the area.

As an example, one of the oldest documents collected from *Taxae Viarum* (1535) describes the *Iettito della casa* made by the “*Maestri delle Strade per Monsignor Tommaso Batoni a Santo Nicola alla Colonna a Macella de Corvi*”⁹⁶⁷. As S. Passigli has correctly suggested, this document also demonstrates that at that time the Column of Trajan was part of the *contrada Macellum Corbi*, and not *Campi Carlie*⁹⁶⁸.

The use of the Column as a topographical landmark is not only limited to the indication of the position of buildings and properties. Indeed, it can also allow for the localization of specific events, as in the following case of homicide: “*Fu ammazzato apprezzo alla colonna Traiana Giovanni di Domenico da Ronca*”.⁹⁶⁹

When the column is used as a point of reference for the description of properties, it then loses completely not only its role of evidence of an ancient monument, but also its characteristic as a decorated architectural element.

In some documents, it is simply mentioned without any reference to its peculiar decorations, thus being assimilated into many other columns scattered in the area:

Casa accanto detta con bottega di cioccolattiere in cantone verso la colonna spettante all'infrascritti Sig. Condomini di prospetto (...) Imp(orto) --- (scudi) 20.82

All'Il(lustrissi)mo Sig.re Baron Testa Piccolomini per il prospetto della sua casa accanto la descritta con trattore (...) incontro la colonna (...) gli spettano --- (scudi) 10.65

Alle R(eve)r(ende) Monache dello spirito Santo per il prospetto delle loro Case e Monasteri nell'altro lato della suddetta Piazza

⁹⁶⁷ Appendix D60.

⁹⁶⁸ PASSIGLI 1989.

⁹⁶⁹ Appendix D90 (1571).

*Incontro la Colonna, di lunghezza quanto testa in essa (..) 138 gli spettano --- (scudi) 58.29.*⁹⁷⁰

Besides its use as a topographical landmark or as a place name, the Column increasingly acquired a real functional and practical role in the district.

As an example, we could cite its use as a point from which measurements were taken:

*“E P(ri)ma la porzione che termina al Capo Croce di S. M(ari)a in via Lata si principia dalla Piazza della Colonna Trajana. Palazzo e case dell’Eredità della Chia: Me: del Cardinale Renato Imperiali, e per esso il Sig(no)re Angelo Antonio Argenti con scolo del Cortilone grande del Palazzo, long(o) una partita p(almi) 190= larg(o) p(almi) 90= seg(u)e long(o) dal misurato sino al portone verso Colonna Trajana p(almi) 30= larg(o)a dal muro delle Rimesse basse p(almi) 40= ”.*⁹⁷¹

As an isolated landmark in the new modern context, the Column of Trajan acquired therefore a strong value as a monument connoting the surrounding area (between *contrada Campi Carlei* and *Macellum Corbi*). Suffice to recall the case of the church of *S. Nicola alla Colonna*.

While other columns, originally part of porticoes and buildings, are sometimes characterized by an adjective denoting their antiquity, the Column of Trajan is never accompanied by similar adjectives.

Obviously, the Municipality recognised the Column of Trajan as a beautiful and unique object. As already stated, in 1588 the *Consiglio Comunale Capitolino* asked Michelangelo to design and arrange the area around it:

“Perchè la Colonna Traiana è una delle più belle et integre che sano in questa città, pare conveniente cosa che segli adorni et acomodi il loco dove ella sta di sorte che corrisponda alla bellezza di essa. Et per

⁹⁷⁰ Appendix D229 (1789)

⁹⁷¹ Appendix D217 (1769).

questo si è avuto sopra ciò un disegno de Michel Angelo quale SS.VV. potranno vedere”⁹⁷².

However, in daily life it had probably acquired so much importance as a point of reference in the new modern context, that its original value as an element of the ancient Imperial *Fora* and as a decorated column was completely lost.

This observation is particularly interesting if we compare it to the attention given to the column by artists since the Middle Ages. Indeed, the situation is completely different and the gap between artists’ and inhabitants’ perspective becomes even bigger.

As many scholars have highlighted, the Column is probably one of the most studied and reproduced monuments in ancient Rome. G. Agosti and V. Farinella state that: *“L’interesse per la Colonna Traiana non era mai venuto meno, neanche nei secoli più scuri del medioevo, ma è proprio negli anni della gita di Enea Silvio Piccolomini che le curiosità degli artisti per quel monumento cominciano a prendere la forma di una vera e propria passione.”*⁹⁷³

The Column of Trajan has been in fact studied and reproduced by many artists since the 15th century⁹⁷⁴: artists like Bernini, Raffaello Sanzio, and Giulio Romano studied the Column as an inspiration for their own work. The Column was studied and reproduced mainly for its decoration and its spiral relief. As is well known, due to its popularity, the issue of visibility has been closely linked to the possibility of carefully reproducing the monument. Indeed, until the 16th century artists could thoroughly appreciate only those relieves clearly visible from the ground. Only after Jacopo Ripanda’s work did the higher section of the Column became visible. Jacopo Ripanda was the first artist who “climbed” the Column thanks to some scaffolding, so as to fully appreciate the highest relief⁹⁷⁵. Far from being a secondary element in our discourse, the achievement by Ripanda drastically changed the perception of the sculptured images and, as a result, of the Column as a whole.

Thus, both Ripanda’s activity and the growing artistic attention paid to the Column testify to an increasing interest in the historical value of the Column. In this sense, the

⁹⁷² The document was published by R. Lanciani (LANCIANI 1902-1912, II, pp. 125-125) and it is mentioned in AGOSTI-FARINELLA 1988, p. 584.

⁹⁷³ AGOSTI-FARINELLA 1988, p. 549.

⁹⁷⁴ The oldest drawings reproducing the Column of Trajan date back to 1467 (AGOSTI-FARINELLA 1984 and AGOSTI-FARINELLA 1985).

⁹⁷⁵ FARINELLA 2017.

proposal by the *Consiglio Comunale* to involve Michelangelo in the new arrangement of the space surrounding the Column is a further element supporting the idea of a mounting acknowledgement of its artistic, aesthetic, and historic value in the course of the 16th century.

In this context it is then surprising to verify how people living in the area did not show such a great interest either in the relief of the Column or in its antiquity. Even though its importance was never doubted, it remained being perceived as a mere component of the modern district.

* * *

Ruins, together with churches, are then the main topographical landmarks used in the area. Is there any “rule” behind the choice of either one or the other? Is it possible to identify – in this context of topographical landmarks – an evolution in the use of these elements?

If we look closely at the data we have, and especially at the dates of the documents, we realize that ruins are more frequently cited in the first half of the period under investigation (that is until the beginning of the 18th century), while in the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century, churches are predominant.

Accordingly, ruins and remains of ancient monuments gradually disappear in the documents, probably affected by the development of the district, which gradually incorporated and re-used ruins once isolated in the landscape. The first sign of such a shift is the increasing use and mention of streets in the documents. Streets were in fact part of the network of the new district and they were realised even before the construction of new buildings.

At the beginning of the 18th century, not only do streets appear in the documents as topographical references, but also buildings other than churches/monasteries and ruins.

As an example, in 1769 Palazzo Bonelli, the palace built by the cardinal Alessandrino in the second half of the 16th century, is used as a topographical reference instead of churches and ruins, thus showing the importance it had acquired in the development of the district.

*Palazzo nella strada Papale, incontro quello già Bonelli, spett(an)te
alli Sig(no)ri Ciccolini e per essi il Sig(no)re Giuseppe Giraldi, con*

*scolo di una porzione del giardino l(on)g(o) p(al)mi 50= l(ar)g(o)
p(al)mi 50.*⁹⁷⁶

On the contrary, if we adopt a topographical rather than chronological point of view in the analysis of the use of ruins and churches as physical landmarks, a quite different situation emerges.

As far as churches are concerned, those located in the northern area (that is the area of the *Forum* of Trajan) are mainly referred to by place names whereas, starting from 1613, those in the southern sector of the district, that is the area once occupied by the *Forum* of Nerva and Peace, are basically referred to by pure topographical landmarks. Considering ruins on the other hand, most of the topographical references until the middle of the 17th century are in the *Forum* of Trajan, while from that period on, also ruins from the other *Fora* are mentioned, probably following the development of the district.

However, almost all the ruins mentioned have lost their original value as monuments, only to acquire a spatial role in the district as topographical references.

In this simultaneous use of ancient and new elements – ruins and churches – as topographical landmarks, modern elements prevail. Emblematic is the case in which, even when both of the two elements are present and the ancient one is still visible, the latter is not mentioned at all. This is the case of the bell tower of the church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo*, in the area of the *Forum* of Trajan, which had incorporated a section of the upper decoration of the *Forum* of Trajan⁹⁷⁷.

In a document recording all the expenses made for some restoration work in the church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo* between 1770 and 1791⁹⁷⁸, the bell tower is used as a topographical landmark, though no antiquities are mentioned:

5 Settembre 1789

Conto e misura delli lavori fatti ad uso di muratore nelle case spettanti alla Chiesa di S. Maria in Campo Carleo, il tutto a costo, spese e fattura di Michele Schiavoni capo mastro muratore e con ordine del Signor Nicola Seni esattore ---

- a. Nella casa al vicolo che dalla chiesa va al grillo*
- b. Sopra li tetti della chiesa*
- c. Per la selciata di basardoni in calce*

⁹⁷⁶ Appendix D208.

⁹⁷⁷ See chapter 2.3.

⁹⁷⁸ Appendix D218 (1770).

- d. *Nella casa posta incontro le monache dello spirito santo*
- e. *Nella casa al grillo*
- f. *Nell'abitazione del P. Curato*
- g. *Nella bottega incontro s. Urbano contigua alla chiesa*
- h. *Nella bottega posta al vicolo dove abita lo scarpinello*
- i. *Avanti il prospetto di s maria in campo carleo, per strada alessadrina*
- j. *Dietro alla chiesa ove è il campanile*
- k. *Nella casa incontro s. eufemia, al primo piano*
- l. *Nell'orto posto passato s eusebio, per andare a porta migliore.*

3.4.2 “Antiquitates Urbis”

We have seen that, apart from the cases in which ruins were an obstacle for the construction of new buildings and streets, they were strongly affected by transformation of their meaning, becoming mere spatial element, totally deprived of their value of memories of an ancient past.

In the period under investigation, the historic and artistic nature of ruins was therefore only acknowledged by those people, namely artists and pilgrims, who had decided to visit the area of the ancient Imperial *Fora* precisely because of the presence of ancient remains.

We can then wonder whether people living in the district ever considered ruins in the area as ancient monuments. We can answer this question by analysing some documents preserved in the archives and collected here, which help us discover the approach and attitude that people had towards the ruins in that specific period.

Indeed, the period between the 16th and the 19th centuries has not been carefully examined under this point of view. Great attention has been given to the sense of ruins in the area in an earlier phase, that is before the construction of the new Alessandrino district in the 16th century, as well as in more recent times, i.e. after the beginning of the 19th century.

Documents rarely attest to the existence of a consideration of ruins as remains of ancient monuments. Most of the time ruins appear as mere objects in the documents themselves: for example, they are listed as part of properties on sale or for rent; or they are enumerated among the components of the places described in the texts. In

these cases, ruins do appear in two different ways: either as architecture or materials scattered in the area.

What is interesting, though, is to understand if these elements were considered as something different from the modern structures and, in this case, whether their value as antiquities was perceived or not.

Criptae, Griptae, Grotte

Speaking about structures, in many documents they appear under the names *cripta*, *gripta*, *gritta*, *grotto* (Table 7). A document from 1435 for example, testifies to the existence of “*certis criptis*” in the area of *Campo Carleo*:

*“Item et quidam ortus cum certis criptis sito in dicta reg. Montium in dicta contrata de Campo Carleo inter hos fines ab uno lat. Tenet”*⁹⁷⁹.

According to R. Meneghini, this mention could refer to the rooms alongside the hemicycle of the Markets of Trajan, which had been covered in the Medieval time and transformed into underground rooms or caves. The underground nature of these “*griptis*” is testified to not only by its very name, but also by some other texts, like a notarial deed from 1533 concerning some houses, property of the Cuccini family: “*a duobus (?) lateribus via publica vel si (?) cume certis pluribus subterraneis sub eodes accasamento exixstentibus*”⁹⁸⁰. In particular, according to R. Meneghini, this document might refer to an area free from construction (an “*ortus*”) left in this condition until the demolition done by the Governatorato fascista in the 1930s⁹⁸¹.

Almost all of these mentions belong to documents describing properties in the area between the *Forum* of Trajan and the Markets of Trajan. *Criptis* are mentioned in the following areas: “*In regione Monti, in dicta contrada campo carleo*”⁹⁸²; “*in locum qui dicitur militia*”⁹⁸³; “*Nel Riode de’ Monti, dietro alla sua casa (di Cuccini)*”⁹⁸⁴; “*prope arcum de Fuscis et turrim D. Fabritii de Columna in R. Montium*”⁹⁸⁵; “*In regione*

⁹⁷⁹ Appendix D06 (1435).

⁹⁸⁰ Appendix D53.

⁹⁸¹ MENEGHINI 1993, p. 105 and MENEGHINI 1992, p. 429 and footnote 29.

⁹⁸² Appendix D06.

⁹⁸³ Appendix D21.

⁹⁸⁴ Appendix D27.

⁹⁸⁵ Appendix D41.

*Monti*⁹⁸⁶; “*in regione Montium in loco vulgariter nuncupato Sancta Pacera*”⁹⁸⁷; “*Prope turrim Militiae*”⁹⁸⁸; “*in dicta via tendente via Montis Magnanapolis et decrescente versus (...) Monasterium Annuntiatae*”⁹⁸⁹.

Moreover, the use of these words is very frequent, even in different types of documents, especially in the 15th and the 16th century. R. Lanciani had already studied these terms while analysing documents concerning the Palatine Hill. In that case some *criptae* were rented as barns and, according to R. Lanciani, these *criptae* were originally the arches of ancient structures on the hill.

The same name is used, for example, also to indicate some rooms in an area very close to Campo Carleo, belonging to the Cuccini family: “*Dall’heredi di Girolamo Cuccini per conto d’una grotto posta nel giardino di S. Marco*”⁹⁹⁰. For the same *grotte*, referring therefore to ancient buildings out of the area under investigation, we also have a few more specific indications of their topographical location in other documents.

In a text dating back to 1655 from the Presidenza delle Strade, these elements are called “*Grotte della Coroncina*” and localized in the “*Isola accanto il convento Araceli nella Salita di Marforio*”⁹⁹¹. A document dated back to 1669 then, listing the properties of the Conservatorio di S. Eufemia in its surroundings, mentions once again the Grotte at the slopes of the Capital Hill: “*Casa ad uso d’Hosteria, o sia Grotte sotto lasidetta (Aracoeli)*”⁹⁹². On the one hand, the document confirms the use of this toponym in the area of the slopes of the Capitol Hill; on the other hand, it demonstrated that the term evolved into “Grotte”, used to specify an underground site (*sotto la suddetta*).

In some of these documents the mention of other ruins, such as the *Arco dei Foschi della Berta* occurs together with that of the *criptae*⁹⁹³. However, even if we can clearly state their nature as ruins and part of the ancient Roman complex, there is no mention

⁹⁸⁶ Appendix D50.

⁹⁸⁷ Appendix D53.

⁹⁸⁸ Appendix D89.

⁹⁸⁹ Appendix D127.

⁹⁹⁰ Appendix D69.

⁹⁹¹ Appendix D164.

⁹⁹² Appendix D169.

⁹⁹³ Appendix D41.

about their belonging to ancient monuments. The only apparent interest is in their underground nature⁹⁹⁴.

Such an interest is further exploited according to the functional re-use of many of these spaces.

As an example, we can cite the Apostolic Visit of the Monastery of *S. Caterina da Siena* (1686). In the text the author refers to some of ‘Monache’ of the monastery, complaining about the mess at a *hosteria* close to the monastery. Then, the *hostaria* is said to be “*in alcune stanze a terreno sotto il palazzo delli Signori Butti*”⁹⁹⁵.

Another example is in a document dating to 1702, in which the properties of the *Conservatorio di S. Eufemia* are listed. One of the properties is defined as the “*bottega sotto detto Palazzo in via della Pedacchia*”⁹⁹⁶.

Despite the frequent reference to the subterranean nature of these spaces, none of these documents explicitly acknowledges them as antique structures. The only reference to their history is in a document concerning the sale of a Palace close the monastery of *S. Caterina da Siena*. In describing the Palace it is in fact said that: “*dentro le mura della torre vi sono colonne coperte dalla fabbrica quali si credono messe per la maggiore fortificazione delle stesse mura, sebbene si è riconosciuto dalle stesse religiose che sopra dette colonne ve ne sono alcune a traverse formando arco*”⁹⁹⁷.

This specification gives a definition of the antiquity of the columns, even though terms such as ‘antique’ or ‘ruined’ are not used at all.

Until now, we have underlined all the cases in which ancient monuments or ruins are mentioned. Nevertheless, only in a few of them did the author specifically aim at underlining the antiquity of the structure, simply mentioning it as an element of the modern context.

Antiquitates

However, looking at the collected documents it has been possible to identify some cases in which the antiquity of the object is explicitly stressed through either specific adjectives or words such as ruins (Table 8).

⁹⁹⁴ As shown by the history of the site (see paragraph 2.3 and 3.1) the ancient Roman structures were covered by a high infill and the new buildings were built in the area between the 16th and the 18th centuries. Cellars of these buildings were therefore often realised at the ancient Roman level, often reusing ancient Roman structures.

⁹⁹⁵ Appendix D181.

⁹⁹⁶ Appendix D190.

⁹⁹⁷ Appendix D129.

The oldest document, in this sense, is a text we have already cited apropos of the Column of Trajan. Indeed, it is the list of properties of the *Luoghi Pii di Roma*. In this document, dating back to 1575, the Column of Trajan is not only used as a landmark – as already seen, but it also has a specific value as an element from the past:

*“S. Bernardo primo abbate dell’ordine cisterciense ... questa chiesa è dietro alla Colonna Troiana qual è molto antica et fu restaurata in tempo d’Eugenio PP quarto l’anno 1435 incirca et ve una imagine della Madonna qual dipinse San Luca e vi so’ delle reliquie in XV reliquiari antichi... indulgentia confermata da PP. Pio terzo come in una tavola antica in sacristia si vede...”*⁹⁹⁸.

In the document mention of the antiquity of the Column of Trajan is extremely cursory and almost hidden by a deeper interest in the description of the restoration of the church.

Still, it is recorded, thus demonstrating that people dealing with the district for reasons other than its historic value were able to recognise the Column as an ancient element in the modern context.

Besides, the definition “*molto antica*” usually refers not only to the elements from the Imperial *Fora*, but also to other more recent architectural elements:

*S. Basilio ... volgarmente chiamata S. Annuntiata delli Catecumeni questa chiesa è a tor de Conti molto antica oggi è tutta ristaurata pel SS.mo Cardinale Guglielmo”.*⁹⁹⁹

As in the case of the Column of Trajan, the church of *S. Basilio* is also defined as *molto antica*. Was this, then, the value of the definition of ‘antiquity’? It was probably used just to stress the different time to which the monuments or building belonged, meaning different from the present time.

Very telling in this regard is a document registering the sale of the Conti palace in Magnanoli and testifying to the presence of some “*griptae*” close to the *torre delle militie* and the *arco dei foschi della berta*¹⁰⁰⁰. *Griptae* are indeed said to be “*antiquae*”

⁹⁹⁸ Appendix D99, f. 95.

⁹⁹⁹ Appendix D99, f. 97r.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Appendix D127.

and “*sub hortum*”, thus assigning a chronological distance, compared to the present architectural situation.

Similarly, the mention of some “*muri antichi*” in two other documents is of interest here.

The first mention occurs in a quite late document from the *Presidenza delle Strade*, dating back to 1796 listing the owners of houses in the area of Campo Vaccino e Campitelli¹⁰⁰¹. Among them, the *Reverendi Padri* of the church of *S. Cosma and Damiano* are said to own an ancient wall:

Alli sud(dett)i R(evere)ndi Padri de SS.i Cosmo e Damiano per il prospetto del muro antico senza gronda, che racchiude l’Orto ossia Giardino di fianco il sud(dett)o Granaro incontro la V(enera)b(i)le Chiesa di S. Francesca Romana lung p. 80= seg il prospetto coperto del loro Granaro che unisce al d(ett)o Giardino e termina all’arco del Templum Pacis lung p.112 = as.-me di loro tangente gli spetta (scudi) 5:94.

Interestingly, with the *hortus* located in the area of the *templum pacis*, in front of the church of *S. Francesca Romana*, we can assume that the ancient wall was in the area of the Basilica of Maxentius.

The second document, instead, is a more complex and rich one, and mentions an ancient wall in the church of *Ss.mo Nome di Maria*¹⁰⁰². The document is a notarial deed from 1749 registering the sale of a “*muro antico*” dividing the main chapel of the church of the *Santissimo Nome di Maria* from some houses, properties of the Bonelli family (Figs. 42-43). The *confraternita* of the *Santissimo Nome di Maria* was interested in buying the wall from the Bonelli family, because it prevented the enlargement of the chapel¹⁰⁰³.

The Bonelli family had been present in the area since the 16th century, when Cardinal Michele Bonelli had promoted the recovery of the whole area of the old *Forum* of Trajan and the creation of the new *Strada Alessandrina*¹⁰⁰⁴. The same family was still in the area in the 18th century, when the heirs of Cardinal Bonelli owned the *Palazzo*

¹⁰⁰¹ Appendix D232.

¹⁰⁰² Appendix D206.

¹⁰⁰³ See VERDI 2009, pp. 292-293.

¹⁰⁰⁴ See paragraph 3.1.

Bonelli built between *Piazza Ss. Apostoli* and the Column of Trajan¹⁰⁰⁵. The *Confraternita* of the *Santissimo Nome di Maria* in the old church of *S. Bernardo* instead had done some work for the construction of the new church of *Ss.mo Nome di Maria* between 1736 and 1741. During this work, they had found some ancient walls, but only some of them were destroyed while others were embedded in the new structure¹⁰⁰⁶. It is possible therefore that the wall recorded in the notarial deed in 1749 is one of these walls.

The wall is described as antique and in very bad conditions:

“qual muro attesta la pessima persistenza, e pericoloso stato in cui ritrovasi, tanto per la qualità de cementi che lo compongono, tanto per l’antichità, distacchi, a piombi e crepature che in esso evidentemente appaiono, e quale per questa cosa sarebbe a quest’ora rovinato, se non restasse dalla parte del med(es)imo cappellone appuntellato da grossi travi, che lo sostengono (...)”.

It is not easy to state whether the wall was an ancient Roman or a medieval one, though some other elements might help in its identification. If we overlay the map reproducing the ancient wall to the plan of the ancient Imperial *Fora*, we see that the ancient wall was in the northern sector of the ancient square, east of the area where some scholars have thought the Temple of the *Divus Trajanus* might be located (Fig.44). In the document, and in the map attached to the document, the wall is said to be 19.5 “*palmi*” long (about 4.35 mt) and 15 *palmi* large (about 1, 12 mt). Interestingly enough, ancient walls belonging to an *insula* have been found in the area during the 1995 excavations and they are exactly of the same dimensions¹⁰⁰⁷.

As to its position, we should note that the wall does not have the same orientation of the structures composing the *Forum* of Trajan. On the contrary, they replicate the

¹⁰⁰⁵ AMENDOLEA – INDRIIO 2008, pp. 39-46; FARINA 1985. The original building, built by Pompeo Zambeccari, was sold to Giacomo Boncompagni in 1550 and then, together with the surrounding area, to Michele Bonelli. The building was later acquired by Giuseppe Spinelli in 1752 and by Vincenzo Valentini in 1827. The building was then sold to the *Provincia di Roma* in 1873.

¹⁰⁰⁶ BILLI-COLETTI 1996.

¹⁰⁰⁷ MENEGHINI 1996, p. 66 e ss.

orientation of some structures R. Lanciani documented east of the eastern Library of the *Forum*¹⁰⁰⁸, recently interpreted as belonging to a *domus*¹⁰⁰⁹.

As to its altimetric level, the wall is not documented at a height corresponding to the Roman layers, but rather at a higher level. However, during some excavation done in the 19th century in the area, some ancient walls were found, and they were about 10 mt over the ancient Roman level, so that the height of the *muro antico* is compatible with these ancient walls.

Considering therefore size, location and altimetric levels of the “*muro antico*” under the church of *Ss.mo Nome di Maria*”, it is possible to identify it as a Roman wall.

If the ‘romanity’ of this ancient wall were confirmed, the document under consideration would allow us to reflect on the tension between the attention paid to the antiquity of an architectural element and the negative evaluation of its level of preservation. In other words, even in those cases in which antiquity is clearly acknowledged, utilitarian and functional values play a stronger and more important role.

Besides, in the course of the 17th century, documents did not use terms such as “*antico*”, “*antiquitates*”, “*vetus*” to simply refer only to ruins from the ancient Roman time, but also to objects or architecture definitively more recent. This circumstance is testified to for example by the description of the church of *S. Lorenzo ai Monti* (1625): in this text, the terms *antiquitate/vetus* are used many times, but they refer to the fact that the church is 360 years old:

*“quamvis tamen parva sit, antiquitatem redolet, nam reperitur in ea vetus campana in qua incisum legitur tempus eius benedictionis anno 1259 ex quo indicatur antiquitas ultra 360 annos”*¹⁰¹⁰.

Terms “*antiquo*” and “*vetus*” are used therefore to identify something old only in comparison to the present time, and with no interest in a chronological distinction between Roman structures and quite new churches or buildings.

¹⁰⁰⁸ LANCIANI 1989, Tav. 22.

¹⁰⁰⁹ New evidence of this *domus* has been found during some excavation under Palazzo Valentini between 2005 and 2007. The *domus* has been interpreted as part of the ancient Roman district developed in the area in the 2nd century, together with the cut of the hill for the construction of the new *Forum* of Trajan (BALDASSARRE 2009, p. 349).

¹⁰¹⁰ Appendix D143.

Exemplifying this use of the terms is the description of the church of SS. *Cosma and Damiano*, written after the Apostolic Visit in 1625¹⁰¹¹. Surprisingly, the altar is here defined “*vetus*” while the columns of the ciborium, reused from ancient Roman monuments, do not have any specification:

“Altare ipsum est insulatum, tegitur Ciborio marmoreo, quod 4^{or} porphireticis Columnis sustentatur est totum marmoreus, cui sunt impressa signa Consecrat.nis sub eoq. requiescunt Corpora SS. Cosmae et Damiani est privilegiatus, nulliq. subijciuntur peculiari suffragiorus oneri quod sciatur.

Retro (?) Altare in pariete est Imago Deiparae Virgini in tabula depicta, quam fuisse alloquutam D. Gregorium, vetus est, et constans traditio plurimorum auctorus attestat.ne comprobata.

Even in the description of the church of *S. Adriano*, composed after the apostolic visit in the same year (1625), we find many references to antiquity, though they all refer to the church¹⁰¹². The text refers to “*antiquis temporibus*”, meaning the past story of the church, while the term “*vetus*” is used a few times in connection with the restoration realised in 1228:

“qui floruit anno 630 reparata E.am deinde Anastasius huius nominis ... aliqua ex parte refecit qii. illique morem gessit Gregorius Monus (?) qui eam vetustate labentem restituit anno Domini 1228 ut indicat vetustus lapis parieti eiusdem Ecc.ae incises”

As in the case of the altar in the church of SS. *Cosma and Damiano*, even in this case the actually old porphyry column, once outside the church and then moved inside close the altar, is not characterised by any reference to its antiquity.

We could make similar observations for the word *ruina*, intended as a reference to ruined antiquities. Indeed, the use of the word to refer to ancient structures is

¹⁰¹¹ Appendix D137.

¹⁰¹² Appendix D138.

extremely rare in the documents. By the way, the same terms *ruina/ruinare* were instead mostly used to refer to the medieval and modern context¹⁰¹³.

As far as Roman buildings and structures are concerned, there is an interesting example. It is the description of the church of *S. Basilio*, made after the Apostolic Visit in 1627¹⁰¹⁴. Here the *Forum* of Augustus (although confused in the text – as often in literary tradition– with the *Forum* of Nerva) is used to set the location of the church. With the word *ruina* the author thus recognizes its status as a ruined structure¹⁰¹⁵:

“Ecclesia simul et Domus sita est in Regione Montiu(m) intra ruinas Palatij Nervae Imperatoris olim in Foro Romano”.

This text demonstrates the perception of the ruins of the ancient *Forum* of Augustus as something old and belonging to a different period of time

Interesting also is a document from the archive of the *Ospedale del SS.mo Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum*, registering the properties of the church. In this text a house from the modern district is considered to be so old that it threatened its own decay:

“die 8 9bris 1495-....quondam domum sitam in regione montium infra hos fines cui ab unolatero sunt res.(linea nel testo)....ante est via publica vel si qui que quedem domus fuit et est vetusta, et propter eius vetustatem quasi minatur ruinam....”¹⁰¹⁶.

The same word is also used to refer to modern work activities involving the sewer system¹⁰¹⁷.

“Tassa repartimento e contribuzione che si fa da me sottosc(ri)tto Architetto per ordine dell’Ill(ustrissi)a Congregazine delle Strade per li lavori fatti di muri, et altro à dette robe, spese e fatture del fu Gio(vanni) Batt(ist)a Marliani capo m(ast)ro muratore del Rione de Monti, e detto (...), in

¹⁰¹³ The term *ruina* was also used by the *Maestri delle Strade* to describe the work to be done to repair streets and sewers. See for example Appendix D78: “A di 12 Giugno 1554 in Roma gettito et ruina da farsi fra S. Maria da Loreto et il Palazzo de R(everendissi)mo Zambeccaro et imprimis”.

¹⁰¹⁴ Appendix D105.

¹⁰¹⁵ See previous paragraph 3.4.1 for the definition of the *Forum* in this document.

¹⁰¹⁶ Appendix D27.

¹⁰¹⁷ Appendix D204.

occasione della sfondatura, e sponde, che ruinarono nel chiavicone Pubblico posto ella strada che da Torre dè Conti tende a S. Agata dè Tessitori”

When referred to the modern context, the term acquires therefore a negative assessment indicating something that is not in its original condition anymore.

Looking back at the way in which ancient monuments were perceived and presented in the written documentation, we can then state that they were mainly considered as part of the modern context. They were mentioned with their proper names or with general names, but their antiquity - or their belonging to a different world- was not emphasized. Sometimes, the use of the words “*antico*”, “*ruina*”, “*vetus*” are explicitly used to mention remains of the ancient Roman complexes, although the use of these words does not introduce a particular or specific consideration of ruins from Roman Antiquity. The very same words were also used to indicate churches in need of a restoration or even to express the bad level of preservation of modern houses.

We can therefore assume that, contrary to what emerges from literary sources, in which ruins were actually perceived and considered as something old and distant in time, the archival documents considered here were not affected by any specific idea of “*antico*”, to be intended as a clear reference to a very specific chronological frame (namely Roman time). Moreover, if we consider that terms as *ruina*, *ruinato*, *antico*, *vetus* were often used to appoint decayed things, with a negative meaning, we might extend such a negative consideration also to ancient monuments and their ruins.

Movable objects

The last category of ruins referred to in the written archival documentation is that of single objects or elements from Roman architecture, occasionally found in the area and/or reused in the modern context. We find very little mention of these objects in the texts, and many of them occur in the description of churches made after the Apostolic Visits.

Two meaningful exceptions can be noted, both referring to findings coming from excavation work. The oldest document dates to 1566, that is the moment in which the area was reorganised with the construction of the new district. It is then particularly interesting to observe how elements found during the excavations were considered.

The document¹⁰¹⁸, a request for a *licenza effodienti* to do some excavation in the area of the Markets of Trajan, is preserved in the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*¹⁰¹⁹. The *Camerlengo* authorizes the excavation, demonstrating his attention to any possible ancient findings in the area. Indeed, any find had to be communicated:

“quod quicquid statuarum seu infrascriptorum sic effodiendo inveniri contiget quum primum ad (o ac) fuerit nobis denunti (?) et suprascriptas conditiones serves sub quorum cumque inveniendorum amissionus et dannprum dannificatis retinendorum aliisque nostri arbitri penis in quorum etc”

The attention given to potential findings is certainly an indication of the consideration of ruins and antiquities, though in the statement by the *Camerlengo* there is neither a qualitative consideration nor an explicit evaluation of their specific value. Moreover, any possible finding is listed under the category of statues.

In the notarial deed recording the house sale by Giacomo Boncompagni to Cardinal Alessandrino¹⁰²⁰, even other categories of ancient objects are registered:

“omnes lapides marmoreos et tiburtinos laboratos et non laboratos tam in cortili supradicti palatii quam foris et circumcirca illius”

In this case, talking about ancient objects sold together with the house later transformed into Palazzo Bonelli, the notary mentions antiquities, all of them under the name of the material: *lapides marmoreos*. Even in this case, we recognize the absence of a specific interest in the kind of object (statues, architectural elements, relief, etc.) and in the material, only generally indicated.

With regard to the material, in some topographical descriptions on the contrary, the authors were so accurate as to describe the kind of marble of which the ancient structures were made¹⁰²¹.

However, the most frequent case of ancient objects mentioned in these texts is represented by their indication as loose material, in the description of the churches built over the Roman complexes.

¹⁰¹⁸ Appendix D89.

¹⁰¹⁹ See *infra*, paragraph 3.4.3 for the excavation documented in the analysed texts.

¹⁰²⁰ Appendix D107 (1585).

¹⁰²¹ See for example the text by Flaminio Vacca, Appendix B11.

Descriptions made after Apostolic Visits allow us to acquire precious information on both the conditions of churches and the perception thereof in the period under investigation¹⁰²². Historians, though, have neglected this kind of source for a long time; as underlined by G. Fiorani, they can instead become key sources for the history of the ordinary perceptions of loci¹⁰²³. It is therefore under this perspective that Apostolic Visits have been considered in the present section.

Descriptions of churches included in topographical descriptions or guidebooks were full of mentions of ancient objects inside the churches and of the ancient structures upon which the churches were built. The main aim of this type of document was to show the beauty and the greatness of the Eternal City. On the contrary, the Apostolic Visits reports, used to certify and report on the condition of the buildings to the ecclesiastic institutions, bear only rare mention of columns and other marble objects probably coming from the Imperial *Fora*, with no particular attention to their condition or to their provenance. Still, they are of great interest here.

The Apostolic Visits reports collected in the present work belong to two different periods: 1564-1566 and 1624-1626. With regard to the mentioned ruins and ancient objects, we can identify some differences in the two groups of documents.

In the oldest Apostolic Visits reports (1564-1566), documenting the status of the churches of *S. Nicolò de Columna*¹⁰²⁴, *S. Salvatore delle Militiae*¹⁰²⁵, and *S. Maria in Campo Carleo*¹⁰²⁶ no mention of ancient elements in the churches are to be found, apart from some ruins used as topographical references. We actually find descriptions of the restoration work, but not of ancient elements in the churches or their surroundings.

Among the described churches, *S. Maria in Campo Carleo* is an interesting case. It was built on top of the ruins of the southern wall of the *Forum* of Trajan¹⁰²⁷, also reusing parts of its architectural elements in the bell tower (Fig. 29)¹⁰²⁸. Nevertheless,

¹⁰²² On the Apostolic Visit, see PAGANO 1980 and FIORANI 1980.

¹⁰²³ FIORANI 1980, p. 54.

¹⁰²⁴ Appendix D85.

¹⁰²⁵ Appendix D86.

¹⁰²⁶ Appendix D87.

¹⁰²⁷ MENEGHINI 1992.

¹⁰²⁸ This is what we derive from Simone del Pollaiuolo's work: see MENGHINI-SANTNAGELI VALENZANI 2009, p. 127; VISCOGLIOSI 2000, pp. 147-149, n. 24.

the description of the church does not mention any ancient element, not even in the bell tower (Appendix D087, 1564):

“Campane antea fuerunt due in ecc.a priori dubiu. est in p.ntia ubi sit altera ordinavit d.nus ut habeat aliud Altare portatile simile illi quod habet”

The bell tower is not even mentioned in the report drafted on occasion of the Apostolic Visit of the following century (1627)¹⁰²⁹.

Other descriptions in the same year (1625) do not mention any of the ancient ruins of the Imperial *Fora*, even though the churches had been built close to them. An example is the description of the church of *S. Quirico e Giulitta* (1625)¹⁰³⁰: even given that it was leaning against the eastern side of the perimetral wall of the *Forum* of Augustus, no mention of the *Forum* or of the ancient topographical context is to be found in text. The church itself, instead, is said to be old:

“[...] Ecclesiam esse antiquissimam colligimus ex eo quod de anno 1584 dum Alexander Cardinalis de Florentia huius Ecclesia titularis deinde Leo XI nuncupatus aram magnam consecraret, invenit in antiquissimo Altari!”

In other descriptions from the same year, the memory of ancient monuments is confined to the mention of marble columns, elements probably coming from the area of the Imperial *Fora*, but not characterised as such.

In the church of *S. Adriano* for example a column in *porphydo* is mentioned inside the church, but its provenance is not specified¹⁰³¹:

Loco subrogandus est aliqua Imago decenter depicta. Ante Altare ardet Lampas sumptibus Ecc.ae. Prope Altare extat Columna porphyretica, ad quam, ut traditur, Sancti Martyres alligabantur. Paries qui est a latere Epistola decostratus eget reaptione.

¹⁰²⁹ Appendix D149. The bell tower will be mentioned in a notarial deed from the 19th century describing the church and the rooms beside the church (ASR, Collegio dei 30 Notai Capitolini, Ufficio 1, Carlo Maria Sommaini, vol. 636).

¹⁰³⁰ Appendix D135.

¹⁰³¹ Appendix D138.

In the church of *S. Maria di Loreto* instead, the mentioned columns are of different colours, thus testifying to the attention of the observer towards these ancient elements¹⁰³²:

“Altare dicatum est R.ma Virgini, cuius devota Imago in pariete depicta extat media inter Imagines Sanctor. Sebastiani, et Rochi, habens a Lateribus columnas marmoreas, et su(per) Altare sex candelabra arg.ea cum alijs ornamentis.”

In other descriptions the indication as "antiquity" is used to describe elements only a few centuries older than the church itself, as in the case of the description of the church of *S. Lorenzo ai Monti*¹⁰³³:

“Visitata fuit Parochialis Ecc.a S. Laurentij ad Monte, quae vulgo dicitur San Lorentiolo, eo q.a eum plures sint in V.le Ecc.ae S.to Martyri Laurentio dicatae, haec quae minoris sstructurae est, ea de causa diminutivo hoc noie (?) nuncupatur: quamvis tamen parva sit, antiquitatem redolet, nam reperitur in ea vetus campana in qua incisum legitur tempus eius benedictionis anno 1259 ex quo indicatur antiquitas ultra 360 annos”.

Considering therefore the Apostolic Visit reports describing the churches built on the ruins of the Imperial *Fora*, we can say that their topographical location, so important from our point of view, is not highlighted at all. Contrary to the descriptions of the same churches in guidebooks, the location of the churches with respect to the ancient *Fora* is never registered¹⁰³⁴. Not even the re-use of specific portions of the *Fora* as a venue for some of the churches is recorded: this is the case of the exedra of the *Forum* of Peace, transformed into the church of *SS. Cosma and Damiano*, or the *Curia*, later to become the church of *S. Adriano*.

¹⁰³² Appendix D146.

¹⁰³³ Appendix D143.

¹⁰³⁴ The only exception is the church of *S. Adriano*, located in *Foro Boario* (see paragraph. 3.4.1 – *Fora* and *Piazze* – for the use of *Foro Boario* in this context.

3.4.3 Excavation and protection of ruins

A particular attitude towards ancient monumental remains should still be analyzed, that is the excavation and protection of ruins. The question is whether or not our documents allow us to detect any interest, among people living and using the district prior to 19th century, in excavations, search for antiquities and protection of monuments. After all, based on the approach to ruins that emerges from the documents under investigation – ruins mainly just as modern elements in the district – we can expect that ruins possibly found during the construction works of buildings might likely be perceived as elements interfering with the building activities in the district. This could have indeed occurred with both ruined architectural structures and loose material (e.g. marble fragments) found during excavations.

Scholars usually state that the interest in excavation and protection of monuments in Rome started in at the beginning of the 19th century, right after the institution of the French government in Rome and subsequent organization of the Administration of Antiquities. In line with this idea, it is often repeated that not before the 18th century any “awareness of the irreplaceable historical evidence constituted by the monuments” can be identified¹⁰³⁵. Needless to say, it is self-evident that the attention to monuments changed after the French Government (1809). Also in previous periods, though, it is possible to isolate some episodes indicating a certain attention towards ancient monuments. As noticed by T. Ridley, actually the way in which Romans treated ancient monuments before the 19th century, is “hidden in an enormous mass of archival sources”¹⁰³⁶.

In his work about the archaeology of Rome during the Napoleonic era, T. Ridley traces the history of the very idea of monument protection before 1809¹⁰³⁷. He attributes the first official law for the protection of monuments to Pius II (1458-1464) and to his prohibition against damaging ancient buildings (1462). Ridley then articulates the story of the rediscovery of monuments according to the succession of Popes, until the beginning of the 19th century. Following this line, we will therefore analyse any evidence of special attention to or excavation of or attempt at protecting ancient monuments appearing in the collected documents.

¹⁰³⁵ RIDLEY 1992, p. 16.

¹⁰³⁶ *Idem.*

¹⁰³⁷ RIDLEY 1992, pp. 9-46.

We cannot avoid, though, starting from a document from the 12th century. Indeed, even if quite distant from the chronological boundaries of the present research, it is extremely interesting because it testifies to the attention for the protection of a particular monument – the Column of Trajan – already in the Middle Ages:

*“Noi, senatori romani, udita la controversia fra il prete Angelo e la badessa di San Ciriaco a proposito della chiesa di S. Nicola ai piedi della Colonna Traiana e della Colonna stessa, decretiamo che la chiesa e la Colonna sono di proprietà della badessa, purchè sia salvo l’onore pubblico della città di Roma. Pertanto la Colonna non dovrà mai essere danneggiata né abbattuta, ma dovrà restare così com’è in eterno, per l’onore del popolo romano, integra ed incorrotta finchè il mondo duri. Se qualcuno attenderà alla sua integrità, sia condannato a morte, e i suoi beni incamerati dal fisco”*¹⁰³⁸.

What clearly emerges from the text is the high *status* accorded to the Column of Trajan, though we cannot retrieve any additional information concerning the possible consciousness of the historical meaning of the monument¹⁰³⁹.

Early excavations in the 15th century

Artists committed to the description of ancient and modern Rome had already manifested an interest in the ruins and in their protection in the 15th century¹⁰⁴⁰. Attention towards monumental remains was mainly described as the study of the ruins of the city. The works by Biondo Flavio (1446) and Poggio Bracciolini (1430) are the first accounts and descriptions of ruins in Rome¹⁰⁴¹. Poggio Bracciolini, for example, provides us with a long list of monuments in the city, most of which were already in a decayed condition.

¹⁰³⁸ BAV, Pergamene di S. Maria in Via Lata, c. 302, n. 1, alias 362. See DE BOUARD 1911 and SETTIS 2019.

¹⁰³⁹ SETTIS 2019, p. 32.

¹⁰⁴⁰ See paragraph 3.3.

¹⁰⁴¹ To the same period belong also the drawings of ancient architectures by Simone del Pollaiuolo and Domenico il Ghirlandaio.

Since the 15th century, antiquities were the object of new preservation and documentation practices introduced by the Popes, who linked the preservation of Antiquity to the right to govern the city¹⁰⁴². We are also aware that in the 15th century the area of the Imperial *Fora already had been* archaeologically investigated: in the context of the celebration of ancient Rome, for instance, Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484) gave the authorization to excavate the area of the *Forum* of Augustus in 1477, in order to obtain material for the construction of a new church¹⁰⁴³. In this sense, excavation was used not to celebrate ancient Rome, or to investigate the past, but to obtain material, precious and to be looked for as it might have been, for new construction. In other words, the same activities carried out in the past in private forms were now directly “authorized” by the Pope.

As to protection activities, then, the documents collected here do not provide any useful information. Indeed, this is mainly depending on the still marshly and swampy nature of the area, prior to the urbanization process which started in the 16th century.

16th century: “Maestri delle Strade” and “Licentiae Effodiendi”

During the 16th century, many of the ruins preserved in the area started to be removed: on the one hand, the new interest in Antiquarianism coming from Humanism, together with the new building activities, resulted in the practice of taking fragments from ancient Roman monuments and reusing them in new large architectural projects in the city¹⁰⁴⁴. On the other hand, during the construction of new buildings and the preliminary excavations, the recovery of ancient fragments became even more frequent¹⁰⁴⁵. In the previous paragraphs, we have seen how the documents show us a low level of interest in the antiquity of ruins. However, if we look at the excavation activities carried out by families or religious institutions in this period, we can find an interest in the ancient objects found during construction work. This interest was mainly motivated by the fact that ancient objects could be sold (to collectors or as building material), thus acquiring also an economic value.

¹⁰⁴² See KARMON 2012, pp. 47-52.

¹⁰⁴³ VATTUONE 2000, pp. 179-180.

¹⁰⁴⁴ ERCOLINO 2013, p. 155.

¹⁰⁴⁵ For a detailed discussion, see LANCIANI 1902-1912, vol. II.

Flaminio Vacca, for example, writes about the Duca G. Cesarini that in the middle the 16th century, who bought a column made of *Cipollino* preserved at that time in the house of *Bastiano Piglialarme*, living in the area of the old *Forum of Trajan*, close to the church of *S. Maria in Campo Carleo*¹⁰⁴⁶. This text shows the interest in these ancient objects found during excavations in the area and sometimes collected and preserved by the *Maestri di Strada*¹⁰⁴⁷.

Starting from the middle 16th century and continuing for the following century, marble was increasingly taken from ancient monuments, and *spolia* were reused for the construction of new buildings in the growing city¹⁰⁴⁸. Marbles elements from the *Forum* of Trajan and from the *Forum* of Peace were in particular removed to build the new church of S. Peter¹⁰⁴⁹. Between 1541 and 1543, many wagons full of marble fragments were taken from *Spoglia Christi* and delivered to the *Fabbrica di S. Pietro*¹⁰⁵⁰.

P.L. Tucci has recently published some documents testifying to the same activity of marble removal from the *Forum* of Peace. As Tucci has correctly noticed, some work in the square before the old church of S. Peter required the quarrying of travertine and marble “*alazecca vecchia*”, a place name interpreted as an area close to the church of *Ss. Cosma and Damiano*¹⁰⁵¹. Later in 1499 a new payment for the excavation of ancient building materials close to the Basilica of *Ss. Cosma and Damiano* was recorded in the *registri Camerali*:

“*Da maestro manfredo da Novara cavatore di pretre carl 35 prezzo della terza parte de marmi e tiburtine tangent alla camera et vendute at maestro Paulo geri et maestro becchiante marmorari et trovate alla cava de sancto cosmo et daminano ad tre colonne*”¹⁰⁵².

¹⁰⁴⁶ Flaminio Vacca, *Memorie di Varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma*, Roma, 1594, Mem. n. 105. For the location of the house of Bastiano Piglialarma, see Appendix D83, recording his house at *Spoglia Christo*.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Bastiano Piglialarme was a *Maestro di Strada*, see *infra*.

¹⁰⁴⁸ FANCELLI 2005.

¹⁰⁴⁹ See the “Indice cronologico dei ritrovamenti” published by M. Milella about the excavations and fundings in the area of the *Forum* of Trajan (MILELLA 1989).

¹⁰⁵⁰ ERCOLINO 2013, p. 159; LANCIANI 1902-1912, p. 136.

¹⁰⁵¹ TUCCI 2018, pp. 765-766. ASR, Camerale I, Fabbriche, b. 1503, f. 25v. Unfortunately, I was not able to check the original document.

¹⁰⁵² TUCCI 2018, p. 766. I could not check the original document.

In the area of the *Forum* of Trajan also, where the construction work had already started, research of ancient marble fragments to be reused as construction material was instead focused on the areas still free at that time: that is around *Palazzo Zambeccari*, around the monastery of the *Spirito Santo*, and in the hemicycle of the Markets of Trajan. In the last-mentioned area, the Cuccini family, owner of the land, did some excavation in the *hortus* around their houses, finding many marble fragments¹⁰⁵³.

A document preserved in the archive of the *Presidenza delle Strade* testifies instead the recovery of some marble fragments from the *Forum* of Trajan and their transportation by the *Maestri delle Strade*:

“1535. Denari riscossi da carrettieri nell’ano 1535 [...] (fra gli altri) [...] da M(astr)o Lorenzo scultor in Macella dei Corbi per la sua carretta”¹⁰⁵⁴.

One of the most important Papal reforms affecting the area under investigation in this period was the introduction of the *Maestri delle Strade e degli edifici*¹⁰⁵⁵. The *Maestri delle Strade* were municipal officers appointed to check the construction of new buildings and the hygienic standards of the streets. In this context, they also played a key role in determining the preservation of antiquities in Rome.

With the *Bulla Papale* of 1425, they had been given the right to monitor and restore the entire built environment of the city of Rome. Indeed, in 1480 the office was reorganized and put under the control of the cardinal *Camerlengo*, who headed the *Presidenza delle Strade*. The *Maestri delle Strade* started therefore to play a key role in the excavation process carried out in the area and they are mentioned in many documents preserved in the archive of the *Presidenza delle Strade*. They monitored requests about the destruction of old monuments or the construction of new buildings, as emerging from an old document from the *Presidenza delle Strade*:

In Nomine D(omi)ni Amen In presentia... questo sia lo iettito overo taxa facta x rovinar la casa del Sig(nor) iacomo Ant(oni)o Co(nte) Menico Malamerenda overo de M... Fra.... faito... ordinato x li nobili

¹⁰⁵³ ERCOLINO 2013, p. 159; CASCIOLI 1921, p. 367-369; LANCIANI 1902-1912, II, pp. 124.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Appendix D58.

¹⁰⁵⁵ From now on *Maestri delle Strade*. On the role of the *Maestri delle Strade*, see D’ONOFRIO 1989, KARON 2012, pp. 52-55; WILDE 1989 vol. I, p. 280.

*homini M.s Ant(oni)o Macarono e da Ms Mario de Crescenzi al presente mastri della strada ed edifizii de Roma*¹⁰⁵⁶.

The *Maestri delle Strade* also supervised the works of renovation of the city before the visit of Charles V in Rome in 1535¹⁰⁵⁷: “*Spese e proventi dei maestri di strada (in tempo della venuta di Carlo V)*”; and they also compiled lists of people who had to pay taxes for the maintenance work of the streets. Besides, they were in charge of the preservation of antiquities. A document dating back to 1526 explicitly mentions the *Maestri delle Strade*’s role in this sense¹⁰⁵⁸:

“eodem die mense indictione anno et pontificatu, et in eodem consilio fuit custodia arcus traiani imperatoris capiti regionis montium, qui sollicitus esse debeat habere curam ne ulterius devastetur per magistros stratar. Acta fuerunt hel in prima camera palatiis dominor. Conservator. Presentibus d(omi)no anglo de vallatia, et domino hieronymo [...]”(f. 190)

“ item super lapidibus peperignis a motis ab arco traiani, qd magnifici domini conservatores curent omnibus melioribus via et modo quibus fieri potest qd destructores in esse pristino illos reponant” (f. 191)

“ eodem die mense indictione anno et pont. et in eodem cons(?)o idem (parola indecifrabile) franc. cons: et exposuit ? sibi videt qd arcus traiani in parte per magros stratar dirutus, ne alij audeant antiquitates urbis devastare qd restauretur; qua expositione audita decretu ex consulto senatus (parola illegibile) qd diruti lapides meliori modo quo poterit in suo pristino [...] reponantur” (f. 192)

Many scholars have studied this document, because of the mention of the *Archus Traiani*¹⁰⁵⁹. As far as our research is concerned, what is of interest is instead its administrative framework.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Appendix D44.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Appendix D58.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Appendix D45.

¹⁰⁵⁹ MENEGHINI, PACKER 2001, p. 19, LA ROCCA 2018. See also paragrph 3.4.1 in the present work.

The text, preserved in the *Archivio Storico Capitolino*¹⁰⁶⁰, also contains the records of the meeting of the *Consiglio dei Cittadini Romani*, which took place in March 1526. It clearly shows an interest in protecting the so-called “*Arcus Traiani Imperatoris*” and in entrusting the *Maestri delle Strade* with the task of preventing further harm to the *Arcus*.

This single document offers numerous and multifarious mentions of the protection of the monument (both in positive and negative way) and it also documents the existence, in the 16th century, of an interest in the antiquity of monuments. Those who damaged the *arcus*, for example, are defined as “*Destructores*”, while the *arcus*, now damaged, is said “*dirutus*”. Indeed, this is the same word we have found in the texts documenting the status of other ancient monuments, *diruti* because of human action— as in this case — or simply because of the action of time.

As far as the specific aspect of the actual protection of monuments, the *Maestri delle Strade* are requested to take care of the *arcus* (*habere cura*), meaning preventing further harm and protecting it. Moreover, the *Consiglio dei Cittadini* imposed them the duty to restore (*restaurare*) the *arcus* to its original conditions.

The *Maestri delle Strade* therefore oversaw the excavation and restoration work made in the area, and probably sometimes preserved some of the fragments found during excavation. It is Flaminio Vacca once again who reminds of the presence of many marble fragments from the *Forum* of Trajan, in the house of the *Maestro delle Strade* Prospero Boccapadulo, in 1570:

*“Mi ricordo intorno alla Colonna Trajana dalla banda, dove si dice Spolia Cristo, essersi cavate le vestigie d’un arco trionfale con molti pezzi d’istorie, quali sono in casa del Sig. Prospero Boccapadullo, a quel tempo maestro di strade: vi era un Trajano a cavallo, che passava un fiume, e si trovarono alcuni prigionieri simile a quelli che sono sopra l’arco che si dice di Costantino della medesima maniera”*¹⁰⁶¹.

The opportunity to find ancient marble that could be reused as building material, or to be sold to private collectors, together with the intense building activity, raised the

¹⁰⁶⁰ ASC, Camera Capitolina, Credenzione I, Stragrande I, Tomo XXXVI, ff. 190-192 (1526)

¹⁰⁶¹ Flaminio Vacca, *Memorie di Varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma*, Roma, 1594.

number of excavation requests and also the number of “*cercatori di tesorii*”¹⁰⁶²; revenues from these excavations – and in particular from the findings - were often divided between the owner of the land and the excavator.

Whoever wanted to do an excavation usually had to make an agreement with the owners which could be verbal agreements or agreements registered in notarial deed. On other occasions, the “*cercatori di tesorii*” had to make an official request to the *Maestri delle Strade*, called “*Licentia Effodiendi*”.

Excavation licences were already in use in Medieval Rome, when the magistrates of the civic government authorized excavation to uncover precious, ancient stones. With the Papal Bull in 1425, Pope Martin V gave this right to the *Maestri delle Strade*, even though it was revoked by Pope Nicholas V a few years later. According to this revocation, the *Maestri delle Strade* could in fact not grant any licence to anyone to excavate or to build new walls¹⁰⁶³.

Indeed, excavation licences had to be granted by higher-level officials in the papal administration. Even if this reform were promoted by the idea of a more controlled protection of monuments, it could also be seen as a means through which the Papal administration could obtain a higher control over possible building sites¹⁰⁶⁴.

Excavation licences therefore, both to private or public bodies, had to be granted by the Popes or by the *Camerlengo*. Some of the documents collected in the corpus of the present research testify to these requests of permission for excavation in the area of the Imperial *Fora*.

We have already analysed the authorization preserved in the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*. Dating back to 1566, it had been given by Cardinal Vitellozzo Camerlego to Iohannes Baptista de Comitibus (from the Conti family), to excavate his own *horto* close to his house in front of the *Turrim Militize*¹⁰⁶⁵. Here is the full text:

Ill. d. Io. Bap.ta De Comitibus licentia effodiendi- Vitellotius etc. cam.rius

*Ill. d. Io. Bap.te De Comitibus domicello romano salutem in Domini.
Humilibus nomine tuo nuper nobis porresti precibus moti volentes tibi
specialem gratiam facere de mandato etc. auctoritate etc.... quas ad*

¹⁰⁶² For a description of this activity, see BONORA, pp. 72-77. On the first excavations in the Renaissance period, see also CAMPBELL 2004.

¹⁰⁶³ RE 1920, p. 90.

¹⁰⁶⁴ KARMON 2012, p. 65.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Appendix D89. See above.

beneplacitum nostrum durare volumus ut in horto seu viridario tuo sito prope turrin Militie dummodo foveam cryptae modum non fiat qua in vias publicas et in vicinorum domus penetrari passi ipsisqueeius publicis ac vicinis eminentibus contiguitatibus nullo modo obsit effodere libere licite et impune possis et valeas concedimus et indulgemus stricte inhibentes propterea omnibus ad quas spectat et quibus has (?) nostras ostendi contiget sub mille ducatorum auri camere ap: inferendis aliisque nostri arbitrii penis ne te aut a te ad opus huiusmodi pro tempore assumendos operarios desuper ullo modo vel obtentu impedian remorentur vel molestant alioqui. etc. volumus autem quod quicquid statuarum seu infrascriptorum sic effodiendo inveniri contiget quum primum ad (o ac) fuerit nobis denunti (?) s et suprascriptas conditiones serves sub qorum cumque inveniendorum amissionus et dannprum dannificatis retinendorum aliisque nostri arbitri penis in quorum etc.

Dat. Rome in Cam...: die 26 aprilis 1566 pontif. etc. anno primo Hier. de Tarano

We have already quoted the document to highlight the use of the term *cryptae*, used to indicate some underground rooms probably linked to ancient monuments, and to stress how at that time ancient objects which could have been found during excavation were generically called *statuae*, without any specification of the object itself.

In this context we would instead like to focus our attention on the very nature of this specific document. It is in fact a request, called *Licentia Effodiendii*, addressed to and issued by the *Camerlengo*. As it often happened, the permission is given with some key conditions.

The first key condition for the excavation relates the excavation itself: it was possible to dig in the area, but nobody was allowed to make holes in public streets or under the buildings nearby. This issue was mainly motivated by a need for the safety and protection of the existing buildings.

The second key condition was also related to the findings: diggers were obliged to report to the *Camerlengo* about any ancient findings in the area (here generally defined *statuae*). This condition is a clear clue of the importance and consideration Popes accorded to any ancient marble fragments found underground. As a

consequence of such Papal interest, the eagerness of the inhabitants, diggers and *cercatori di tesori* showed towards the recovery of any possible valuable and saleable material is easily understandable.

As an example, we can cite a document reporting of a dig made in the area of the *Forum* of Peace in 1526. On that occasion some fragments of the *Forma Urbis* were found¹⁰⁶⁶. In 1526, in a moment in which activities in the area of the *Forum* of Peace had not yet started, an excavation was carried beneath the Severian wall, originally hosting the ancient marble plan. The fragments of the plan, recovered during the digging activities, were defined in the text “*belle cose*” and the duke Torquato Conti would have loved to give the fragments to the cardinal Alessandro Farnese as a gift¹⁰⁶⁷. Obviously, strictly ‘economic’ interest motivating these initial attempts to recover antiquities was at the basis of the preference for movable objects and findings, to more easily be sold or inserted into private collections. Whereas, architectural ruins were much less considered.

To the end of the 16th century we can then date a document from the collection of the *Gonfalone*, preserved in the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*. It is a notarial deed recording the location (*emphiteusi*) of some houses, owned by the *Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone*¹⁰⁶⁸. On the one side, the document testifies to a deep interest in the classification of the findings (not simply defined as “statues” anymore); on the other side, it demonstrates a more specific distribution of the excavation expenses among owners and renters:

In Nomine D.ni amen anno a nativi tate ... locarunt in emphiteusim ad tertiam generationem et nominatione prout infra, et non alias M.o Antonio fabro (...).

(...) et in eventum in quem in effondiendo in d.a domo et situ ut supra locatis tam in faciendo dicta cantinam et puteum, seu in fundamentis vel alias quom et qua [...] reperiret aurum argent(e)um plumbum aut

¹⁰⁶⁶ TUCCI 2002, p. 226 and TUCCI 2017, p. 774.

¹⁰⁶⁷ TUCCI 2017, p. 774. As P.L. Tucci has demonstrated, the lands behind the church of Ss. *Cosma and Damiano* where the excavation was conducted, were in fact not a property of the Conti family, but of the friars of the church that had given them in *emphiteusi* to the Conti family. This means that the Conti family did an illegal excavation (TUCCI 2017, p. 779). The documents in question have been found in the State Archive in Parma by Christina Ribsall (ASP, Carteggio Farnesiano, Estero, Roma, 346).

¹⁰⁶⁸ Appendix D111 (1593).

uiusque generis metallorum, figure, seu figurarum frustra, vel lapides pretiosis tam in columnis, quam stipitibus seu conciis vel quibus suis [...] aliis rebus omnia predicta in solidum etiam bonum et esse debeant d.a Archiconf(raternitatis) que teneatur facere omnes expensas de suo pro illarum (illam?) extractione necessarias si vero reperirent(ur?) lapides marmore (et) tiburtini, sive alterius generis tunc et eo casu pro medietate sint m.ri Antonii conductoris caretara infra sint in solidum (o soliae nella versione definitiva) ipsius conductoris, ex expense fiende [...] in illorum extractione comuniter fieri debeant pro ut fiet divisio item quod d. conductor et alii in dicta locatione successores si ex urbem degerent teneatur et debeant quolibet biennio (...).

On the occasion the text refers to, excavation activities took place during maintenance and restoration works (“*restoratione*”) of a house, and in particular while creating a cellar for the house. Among the terms used in the documents and referring to the excavation process conducted by people living in the area we find: *effodiendi, reperire, extraction*. In this context, the ancient objects are not only marble pieces (“*lapides marmore et tiburtini*”) but also “*aurum argentum plumbum, metallo, figurarum frustra, lapides pretiosis in columnis, stipitibus*”, thus showing a deeper knowledge and interest in the subject at the end of the 16th century. This interest is also shown in the classification of the preciousness of the objects and in the clear indication of the person responsible for the excavation. Furthermore, we can deduce from the text that marble and *tiburtinus* stones were intended as “ordinary” findings and that their extraction had to be paid by the renter (“*conductoris*”), whereas other stones and metals, considered as precious objects, could be extracted only after a payment by the owner, namely the *Arciconfraternita*.

17th and 18th century

From the 17th century on, a greater attention to ancient objects found during “*ricerche di antichità*” is recorded. In particular, it involved the property of objects occasionally found during excavation work. An example, thoroughly discussed by P.L. Tucci, concerns the friars of the church of *S. Adriano*. The Italian scholars has in fact shown

how the friars of this church, living in the ruined convent, obtained in 1606 the licence to demolish the ancient ruins that threatened their convent. The *Camera Apostolica* asked the friars for the payment of 500 *scudi* in case they had found “*statuas vel columnas insignes, seu aurum*”¹⁰⁶⁹. Thus, the document represents further demonstration of the contemporary interest in the recovery of movable objects, considered on the basis of their economic value, and of the parallel disinterest in architectural ruins, such as walls, interpreted only as “*anticaglia*”, that is elements that contributed to the deterioration of the church and had to be quickly demolished.

Further evidence of a very different attention towards walls and movable objects is represented by another excavation licence given by Pope Urban VIII to the friars of *Ss. Cosma and Damiano*, in 1630. On that occasion the Pope gave permission to destroy the wall of travertine block close to the church and facing Maxentius’ Basilica. Furthermore, friars were allowed to sell the stone blocks, the only restriction being the obligation to reuse the revenues from the sale in the restoration of the Basilica¹⁰⁷⁰. In this case, then, attention was paid to the status of the church rather than to the status of the ancient travertine blocks that could be removed.

During the 18th century, and especially in the second half, many archaeological excavations were carried out in Rome, mainly because of the request of ancient marbles by Italian and foreign collectors and for the implementation of the collection of the Vatican Museum¹⁰⁷¹. Despite 18th century being defined as the only century in which it is possible to verify a real awareness of the historical value of the monuments and of their importance in terms of knowledge of the past, this period has not been studied in depth under this specific perspective¹⁰⁷².

I. Bignamini has identified more than 739 excavation licences granted in Rome between 1762 and 1802, not only to Italian but also British diggers¹⁰⁷³. Excavation licences, still used in this period, were usually granted by the *Reverenda Camera Apostolica* to find building materials (*Licentia pozzolana*), to dig treasures and

¹⁰⁶⁹ The document is discussed in TUCCI 2012, p. 215-216.

¹⁰⁷⁰ TUCCI 2017, pp. 888-889.

¹⁰⁷¹ For a general overview on the excavation in the 18th century see BIGNAMINI 1999.

¹⁰⁷² RIDLEY 1992, p. 16. Apart from the huge work by R. Lanciani (“*Storia degli scavi di roma e notizie intorno alle collezioni romane di antichità*”), the only study on this period is the one by C. Pietrangeli, published in 1943 (PIETRANGELI 1943).

¹⁰⁷³ Bignamini 2005, pp. 91-93. The author also adds that: “The British marbles in the Vatican form a remarkable collection” and that “no other European nation contributed such a large number of antiquities to this Grand Tour museum *par excellence*”.

antiquities (*Licentia effodiendi thesaurus*) and to dig within wider regions, even throughout the Papal State¹⁰⁷⁴.

This is well demonstrated at the beginning of the 18th century by an edict of Cardinal Albani, promulgated under Pope Benedict XIII, in which excavation activities are expressly linked to the protection of monuments. Indeed, since no monument could be damaged, the edict in fact forbade any excavation without a licence or supervision by the *Commissario delle Antichità*¹⁰⁷⁵.

A few years later, a document dating back to 1765 records some excavation work done in the *Forum* of Trajan, reporting of the discovery of marble columns¹⁰⁷⁶:

“... La colonna del più bel granito nero tirante al bianco scopertasi nel 1765 e trasferita alla Villa Albani non ha meno di otto palmi e mezzo di diametro. Altre di non minore grossezza sono restate nel profondo del med.o scavo, ed erano di quelle che servivano a sostenere le soffitte di bronzo dei magnifici portici all’interno di quella gran piazza ...”

In this text the attention given by the author not only to the identification of the kind of marble (*granito*), but also to its quality is highly remarkable and well demonstrated by the expression: “*del più bel granito*”. Moreover, while describing the finds, the author describes in detail the ancient context the finds belonged to, that is the *Forum* of Trajan.

Thus, as far as the creation of a link between ancient ruins in the modern district and their original context is concerned, the document in question shows close similarities with the contemporary literary tradition. In this regard, the indication that the columns “*servivano a sostenere le soffitte di bronzo dei magnifici porti all’interno di quella gran piazza*” sounds like an attempt of the author to help the reader imagine the greatness of the ancient square. Such acknowledgment of the value of ancient ruins in relation to the original context they belonged to, seems to document an interest in the protection of ancient ruins which is similar to our own.

¹⁰⁷⁴ BIGNAMINI 2005, pp. 92-93.

¹⁰⁷⁵ RIDLEY 1992, p. 15.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Appendix D214. We have information about this excavation work by R. Lanciani: “Nel 1765 sotto la << casetta in faccia alla colonna accanto la chiesa del nome di Maria >> furono trovate e lasciate sotterra 6 colonne di granito. << Vi fu trovato anche un gran pezzo del cornicione del portico che fu fatto estrarre dal Cardinale Albani e portato alla villa >> (LANCIANI 1902-1912, VI, p. 156).

Chapter 4

Conclusions

The present work deals with a specific moment (16th-19th centuries) in the long, post-antique life of one of the most important monumental complexes in ancient Rome, the Imperial *Fora*; in modern times these ruins were included into a new urban district known as *Quartiere Alessandrino*. This work presents an analysis of the notion of ruins and the phenomenon of their perception in the *Quartiere Alessandrino* between the 16th and the 19th centuries, mostly on the basis of the analysis of written (mainly unpublished) sources.

The period spanning the 16th – 19th centuries offers the possibility of investigating the interaction between people and ruins during the full development of the modern district, from its beginning to the Napoleonic intervention, which marked a significant break in the life of the area and herefore not analyzed here.

In the last 25 years, a significant amount of scholarly literature has focused on different aspects of the notion and role of ruins, including the fascination which ruins have for ancient and modern societies¹⁰⁷⁷. In particular, the perception and appreciation of ruins between the 16th and 19th centuries can be read as a phenomenon of “reuse”, meaning the use of ancient architectural elements in a new context and with new meanings and functions. In this respect, the theoretical and heuristic tools developed by S. Settis in fundamental studies carried out since the 1970s¹⁰⁷⁸, have been of particular relevance for the present research.

On the other hand, this research has greatly profited from the results brought about in the last 10 years by numerous studies on perception, which analyze the role of the relationship between objects and the observer, in orienting sense perception, and sight in particular.¹⁰⁷⁹. These studies stress not only the importance of the cultural context

¹⁰⁷⁷ Among the most recent ones: RELITTI RILETTI 2013, VILLES EN RUINES 2015, FORZA DELLE ROVINE 2015 with previous bibliography.

¹⁰⁷⁸ SETTIS 1970, 1986a, 1986b, 1994.

¹⁰⁷⁹ SQUIRE 2015, 2016.

in which sight is acting, but also the role of the observer in shaping a specific kind of perception, mainly through the sense of sight.

Taking into account the importance of the observer in the perceptual process, this research has focused on a particular kind of observer: institutional actors, inhabitants and people using the modern district known as the *Quartiere Alessandrino* and the remains of the ancient Imperial *Fora*. The area under investigation has been chosen precisely because of its stratified history and capacity to testify in the deepest sense to the variable and multifarious connections between the ancient city and the modern one.

Since written texts are fundamental for the study of visual perception and can provide very important information about the inhabitants of the district, the present research has been based mainly on guidebooks and topographical descriptions of the area on the one hand, and on archival documents, mainly unpublished, on the other.

Accordingly, the research questions have been initially approached through the collection of data from libraries and historical archives. Starting from a nucleus of well-known documents, the research tried to enlarge it so as to build a wider corpus of documents about this area, collecting information spread about in many papers and books and making such information available for further researchers. Documents were also collected under a topographical criterion, in order to link together information from different sources regarding the same topographical unit.

A question underlying the present work concerns the ways in which the transformation of the urban setting affects and changes the perception which artists, scholars, travelers and inhabitants had of ancient ruins.

In the physical topographical context, ruins of the ancient Imperial *Fora* were absorbed in the new district, and partially lost under the new contemporary level, though their presence, neither explicit nor evident from a wider topographical point of view, was somehow felt by people living and using the area.

As already explained in the introduction to this work, the main research questions driving the present thesis have been directed to the investigation of how people living in the district perceived, approached, and also referred to the ruins still visible in the district. While not specifically focusing on the recognition of the historical value of ruins, the main interest here was to understand whether ancient monumental remains were perceived as elements from a different time as witnesses of the greatness of the past, or, as an alternative, whether inhabitants did not perceive this gap in time,

looking at and using ruins as mere elements of the modern district. Indeed, one of the basic assumptions of this work is that perception depends on many factors, including the personality, culture and "interest" of the observer, the object observed and the general cultural and administrative context; all these factors are able to shape a particular gaze on ruins, which at times may be reflected in the literary and archival documents. Besides the cultural context, the topographical context in which ruins were embedded also might have influenced sight and perception, being the last one an element not often taken into consideration in the analysis of the kind of documents analyzed in the present work.

The present study has focused therefore on the attempt to identify any variation of the notion, mention and perception of ruins, according to different types of observers and cultural contexts as well as to the topographical context. From the sources analysed, two main different attitudes towards ancient ruins emerge in the period under investigation, attitudes that can be clearly related to two different categories of people. On the one side, people who lived outside of the district, who frequented the area to admire ruins or simply to reach other places in the city. These people usually considered ruins as part of the magnificent ancient Roman world. On the other hand, it seems possible to state that people living in the area usually showed an interest in ruins simply as parts of the new "contemporary" district. In this case, we can barely think of the consideration of ruins as permanence in the urban context from Antiquity. Indeed, in this second case they seem rather to function mainly as topographical points of reference in the district, used to indicate – as parts of the everyday urban landscape – the exact position of properties, to locate people who had to pay taxes or to specify where some events took place.

Whereas the first attitude (i.e. the interest in ancient ruins as witnesses of a different past) is more clearly retrievable from the topographical descriptions of ancient monuments and guidebooks, the second (the use of ruins as utilitarian landmarks) emerges more clearly from archival documents. It is also for this reason that the two different types of documents have been analysed here with two different criteria: a chronological criterion for the first group, a topographical criterion for the second group. Notwithstanding these differences, there are many connections between the two typologies of texts.

As an example, what emerged from the analysis of the documents is that not only inhabitants of the district, but also pilgrims and travellers visiting the area used ancient

ruins as topographical landmarks. Furthermore, they used the same elements (not only ruins but also churches) as topographical references, to describe their routes. On the other side, those people generally using ruins as points of reference (people living in the area) sometimes also considered ruins as “antiquities” from the past.

This last consideration allows me to note something obvious in a sense, i.e. that, even though for the sake of organization of the material, the different attitudes towards the ruins of the Imperial *Fora* are isolated from one another in the present work, they might easily overlap as to make it actually difficult, if not impossible, to strictly categorize and separate them. Besides, we should always remember that we are applying a contemporary categorization to texts produced for specific intents and aims, and which at least partially reflect, in their turn, specific and “partial” gazes.

The picture emerging from these texts is therefore even more interesting if we compare the aforementioned categories with the topographical evolution of the context, on a chronological basis.

As to the 15th century, for instance, the number of archival documents is unfortunately very small and most of them focus on the area known as *Campo Carleo*, around the Column of Trajan, in the northern sector of the ancient *Forum* of Trajan. As far as the literary tradition is concerned, on the contrary, many texts from the 15th century show an explicit interest in ruins, but in an idealized way: in these texts – mainly simple topographical descriptions of the area – ruins are considered as memories of a past magnificence; an interesting and often attested consequence of this attitude, is that ruins are in fact “virtualized”, i.e. not mentioned as such but as if they were untouched and still standing monuments in the area. Even if the *Fora* were recognised in descriptions as topographical units, not all of them are described: whereas the *Forum* of Trajan and that of Nerva are mentioned as still existing in the area, the *Fora* of Caesar, Augustus and that of Peace are not present in the descriptions at all. This consideration shows how the ancient topography of the *Fora* should always be studied in strict connection with a different – yet as real- topography of the *Fora*, the one which was known and perceived to different types of “users” in any given point in time.

Unlike guidebooks, the perception of the *Fora* as enclosed units almost never occurs in the archival documents analysed in this work, either in the 15th or in the following centuries. The *Foro Romano* and the *Foro Boario* were certainly known as such, so much so that they do appear in more than one document, while the only *Forum*

acknowledged out of the five Imperial squares is the *Forum* of Trajan. Still, as far as the mention of the Trajanic monumental square is concerned, documents do not provide the idealized vision and "virtual reconstruction" documented by literary scholars. The denomination "*Piazza Trajana*", occurring only a few times with reference to the present, actually denoted an element of the modern district named after the ancient topography of the area. Archival documents witness in fact the daily life of people living, travelling or working in the district, thus rarely describe the ancient monuments and spaces as if they stood perfectly preserved. Rather these documents highlight the chronological distance between the original appearance of the monuments and the observer's present, by using verbal forms in the past tense such as "*vi era*", "*vi erano*", etc.¹⁰⁸⁰.

The 16th century is the most interesting period for the present research, as it is by far the richest in terms of archival documents available, since it marks the birth of the *Quartiere Alessandrino*. Furthermore, it is also the period in which we can better measure the qualitative shift in the informative potential of documents, following the recovery and the urbanisation of the area at the middle century.

Both literary texts and archival documents show in fact strong differences between the first and the second half of the 16th century. In the first half of the 16th century, when the area was not yet occupied and there were only few buildings around the Column of Trajan, guidebooks still do not describe monuments in ruin but they recognize them as old monumental remains. The same situation emerges from the archival documents, where ruins are not mentioned as ruined structures, but only as old and antique elements (*cryptae antiquae*)¹⁰⁸¹. The term *ruina* is instead used in these documents only for modern buildings as churches.

In the second half of the century, after the reclamation of the area of the middle of the 16th century by the will of cardinal Michele Bonelli, both literary and archival documents show a shift in the approach towards ruins and ancient monuments, probably linked to the new topographical context.

The reclamation had made the area accessible by increasing the knowledge of its ancient topography (also the *Forum* of Augustus will be in fact mentioned from now on); at the same time, a decrease in terms of idealization of ancient ruins occurred in

¹⁰⁸⁰ See for example Appendix D110.

¹⁰⁸¹ See for example Appendix D41.

the guidebooks. In other words, a new interest in the conditions of the monuments is rather perceivable.

A. Palladio, for example, in 1554 refers to the columns of the *Forum* of Nerva as “*colonne mezze guaste*”¹⁰⁸². This expression, totally new in the guidebook genre, lets us distinguish a clearer perception of the real conditions of the *Fora*: no idealized squares anymore, but actual ruins. Even the archival documents testify to the same perception: in the second half of the century, terms like “*dirute*” are used to describe remains of monuments, and an interesting expression (“*colonne intere e rotte*”), which may recall Palladio’s “*colonne mezze guaste*”, occurs in relation to the area of the *Forum* of Trajan stressing a variety of preservation conditions. As in the case of Palladio, this expression refers as well to the actual conditions of ruins in that moment.

Despite these analogies, while guidebooks abandon the evocation of the splendour of the ancient past for an explicit representation of the actual conditions of the contemporary landscape, archival documents frequently do not show an interest in ruins, either as idealized monuments, or as ruined structures. Indeed, this category of documents was produced for practical, functional and often private usage. For this very reason, archival documents give us a valuable image of the perceptions specific communities of “users” of the area had of the area itself and of the remains of monuments. We can find a common element in these perceptions: ruins seem to play a contemporary role, as elements of the contemporary landscape of the district. In this context, the actual condition of the monuments (either intact or ruined) was not important. What really mattered was their role in the modern district.

The most frequent “reuse” of ruins and ancient monuments testified to in archival documents is in the second half of the 16th century, as topographical landmarks. With the birth and development of the *Quartiere Alessandrino*, these elements were completely embedded in the new district, becoming part of it. Noticeably, though, the very same architectural remains that were recognised as monuments by authors and travellers, were not mentioned as such in private documents.

Emblematic of the above is the case of the Column of Trajan, which was recognised as one of the most important monuments by many artists who decided to record it and its decorations. This phenomenon was especially enhanced thanks to Ripanda’s work, at the beginning of the 16th century. Indeed, thanks to the construction of scaffolding

¹⁰⁸² Appendix B10.

around the Column, the possibility to closely inspect the Column's reliefs had relevant consequences. As a result, in the second half of the 16th century it is possible to register an increasingly broader interest in the historical value of the Column, also testified to by the proposal of the *Consiglio Comunale* to involve Michelangelo in the design of the new square around the Column (1588). Despite this, on the basis of the archival documents, the Column still plays the role of a mere landmark in everyday life; references to this monument are succinct as a simple reference point to describe the location of properties, renting areas or events, with no mention of the antiquity of the Column, let alone its famous reliefs ("*Fu ammazzato appresso alla Colonna Traiana Giovanni di Domenico da Ronca*")¹⁰⁸³.

After the reclamation of the area, the district continued developing throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. As in the previous century, the development of the urban context brought changes in the perception of ruins and ancient monuments, as shown both by archival documents and literary texts.

In the 17th century, a separation between guidebooks devoted to churches (churches were increasingly important elements in the district in this period) and guidebooks devoted to antiquities can be noted. In the second case, antiquities appear again as isolated and separated from the modern context.

The analysis of the archival documents of this period show a similar situation. Whereas in documents dating before the 17th century, the elements more frequently mentioned as topographical landmarks are ruins (and they are mentioned only as such), in the course of the 17th century ruins definitively yield this function to churches. As a consequence, ruins and remains of ancient monuments gradually disappeared from the archival documents, absorbed in the new topography.

A significant shift can be highlighted then between guidebooks and archival documents: in the first case, ruins and remains of ancient monuments are isolated and detached from the modern context, thus being described only in those texts focusing on antiquities; in the second case, ancient and modern city overlap and the difference is not perceivable.

A separate matter is the special attention paid to the excavation or attempts to protect ancient monuments. It is usually maintained in the most recent scholarly literature, that such an interest does appear only in the 19th century, after the French Government was installed. A detailed analysis of the documents has shown, instead, how the

¹⁰⁸³ Appendix D90.

interest in documenting, excavating and preserving remains of ancient monuments appears well before the 19th century.

As a few scholars have already shown, though, the study of ruins of the ancient city had emerged already in the 15th century, with the works by Biondo Flavio (1446) and Poggio Bracciolini (1430), and the first drawings of ancient architectural elements by A. da Sangallo (1484-1546) and B. Peruzzi (1481-1536). The first real attempt to protect antiquities can be identified with the *Bolla Papale* promulgated by Pope Pius II in 1462. Ruins were in fact considered not only as something bringing prestige and *decorum*, but also as a high example of *virtus*: something to be studied and imitated. An interest in digging activities is also documented by private documents: on the one hand, these activities are linked to construction work carried out during the development of the district in the course of the 16th century; on the other hand, they are linked to the owners' interest in “*cavare le antichità*” in their properties. Permissions to dig (*Licentia Effodiendi*) were given by the Popes under certain conditions and, interestingly enough, these permissions included the regulation concerning the shares in the income possibly derived from the sale of the objects. As an example, in a document dating to 1566, the obligation is indicated to declare (*denuntiare*) any finding during the excavation; it testifies to the importance and consideration that Popes accorded to any ancient marble fragment found underground. As the last chapter makes clear, what seems to be at stake is the economic value rather than the historical meaning of the findings. This consideration perfectly explains how, starting from the middle of the 16th century, marble pieces – often generally defined as stones – were taken from the area of the Imperial *Fora* and sold.

This interplay between different kinds of sources appears very fruitful in particular if one considers conclusions based on the exclusive examination of literary documents. B. Cirulli, for example, has stressed how ancient ruins had been considered as something different from the contemporary city between the 15th and the 18th centuries so that this would have been the main element that led to the first excavations in the course of the 19th century¹⁰⁸⁴. Cirulli has defined this attitude as something that: “*antepone la testimonianza antica al tessuto moderno della città*”¹⁰⁸⁵. Archival documents, as we have shown, give a completely different, yet, opposite picture in that no particular preference or special status seems to be accorded to antiquity in

¹⁰⁸⁴ CONTI 1983, pp. 3-60; CIRULLI 2006, p. 60.

¹⁰⁸⁵ CIRULLI 2006, pp. 60-61.

comparison with the modern city. On the contrary, notwithstanding a sort of recognition of the historical value of the still visible monumental remains, the authors of these texts, being themselves part of the people living in the district, seemed not to care about this specific element.

This consideration is all the more strengthened by the use of the very same terms (e.g. *ruina*) both in reference to ancient Roman monuments and remains from the medieval time or badly preserved contemporary architecture. If we look at this detail from a modern point of view, this might not sound strange. As outlined in the first chapter, in fact, a landscape of ruins, as defined by M. Augè, does not reproduce any specific landscape from the past but, in a “time out of history”, it alludes to a multitude of landscapes from different periods, characterised by a temporal indefiniteness. It cannot be forgotten, of course, that the archival documents we have analyzed reflect partial perceptions. This partiality is linked to the specific interests and communities the documents reflect as well as to the rules of the genre, to which the documents themselves belong. As a consequence, it cannot be surprising that some topical functions attributed to ruins, e.g. the function of *memento mori* in literary texts, are not to be found in the type of documents we have analyzed here.

Needless to say, this research has a number of limits, including the necessary partiality of the documents analyzed. Many other documents exist, which might enrich and correct the picture emerging from the present research. At the same time, moving along the same topographical and chronological boundaries, many other archives could be searched and many other documents could probably be added to the initial corpus presented here and then analysed. This would help us to have a wider and probably more correct idea on the topic under investigation.

More specifically, as far as chronological boundaries are concerned, it would be extremely interesting to investigate the perception of monuments and the evolution of the concept of protection of monuments in the periods after the beginning of the 19th century. In particular, the period between 1812 (beginning of the French Government) and the 1920s (when the great excavation process started in the area under the Fascist regime to unearth ancient structures) seems worth further investigation. Once these periods are examined, it would be interesting to compare the results with later phases after the 1920s, when the topographical setting changed again with the disembowelment and the destruction of the *Quartiere Alessandrino*. It would be extremely interesting, in this respect, to collect the witness statements of the

inhabitants of the area who were then moved to new suburbs, so as to reconstruct, if possible, their perception of both ruins and the district, opposed to that of the institutions involved.

Furthermore, the analysis of the artistic reaction to these huge topographical changes may represent a very stimulating topic. As an example, it is enough to evoke the case of the *Scuola Romana di Pittura*, led by Mario Mafai, located in *Piazza delle Carrette*, in the old *Forum* of Peace. Even this school had to move from that area before the disembowelment and the artists who had to leave their houses and their studios, produced writings and a series of paintings called “*Sventramenti*”.

These and many other research paths could definitely give us access to new perspective from which to observe the always critical, multifarious and ever-changing tension between the multiple lives of ruins and their observers and users.

Appendixes

Appendix A

Drawings from the 15th and the 16th century collected by A. Bartoli (1914-1922)

NOTES ON THE FORM USED:

GENERAL NOTES

- Information from A. Bartoli, *I Monumenti Antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze*, Roma 1914-1922 (BARTOLI 1914-1922)
- Artists are listed in a chronological order, according to the date of death of the artist.
- The page number after the name of the artist corresponds to the page number in Bartoli's work.

AUTHOR: Author of the drawing

DRAWINGS: Indications of Drawings (*Tavola* and *Figura*) given in Bartoli's Publication.

ORIGINAL CAPTION: When available, I have copied the caption present in the drawing from the 16th century and copied by A. Baroli in his work.

DRAWING DESCRITPION: Description of the drawing, provided by A. Bartoli together with the original caption.

ANNOTATION: Technical Annotations on the drawings

[A1] Simone del Pollaiuolo detto Il Cronaca (p. 8)

Author:	Simone del Pollaiuolo detto Il Cronaca (14576-1504)
<p>Nato a Firenze il 30 ottobre 1457, morto ivi il 21 settembre 1508. Operò a Roma negli anni 1476-1482 e 1489-1490 (Milanesi, in Vasari III, 491-492).</p> <p>Recatosi a Roma “cominciò a considerare le bellissime anticaglie di quella città e, diletlandosene le andava misurando con grandissima diligenza. Çaonde seguitando, non molto poi che fu stato a Roma, dimostrò avere fatto molto profitto sì nelle misure, e sì nel mettere in opera alcuna cposa. Per il che fatto pensiero di tornarsene a Firenze, di partì da Roma ed arrivato alla patria, per essere divenuto assai buon ragionatore, contava le maraviglie di Roma e d’altri luoghi con tanta accuratezza, che fu nominato da indi in poi “il Cronaca”: parendo veramente a ciascuno che egli fusse una cronaca di cose nel suo ragionamento” (Vasari, III, 442).</p> <p>Secondo il Vasari, il cronaca sarebbe stato ancora giovanetto quando venne a Roma; secondo il Milanesi, egli avrebbe avuto circa 38 anni, il viaggio cioè sarebbe avvenuto circa il 1493. [...] Il Cronaca tornò una seconda volta a Roma nel 1497-98 (Milanesi in Vasari, IV, 457).</p>	
Drawing:	Tav. X, fig. 21
Original caption	
Drawing description:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Disegno mis. Dell’attico e della trabeazione del recinto del Foro di Nerva 2) Disegno mis. Di base delle colonne dell’interno del Tempio di Marte Ultore 3) “<i>questo ene uno parapetto chene a santto basilio</i>”. Disegno misurato dell’imbasamento e del bugnato dell’esterno del Tempio di Marte Ultore.
Annotations	

[A2] Fra Giocondo (p. 12)

Author:	Fra Giocondo (1430-1515)
<p>Nato a Verona nel 1430; morto a Roma il 1 luglio 1515.</p> <p>“Stette Fra Jocondo in Roma nella sua giovinezza molti anni ne dando pèera alla cognizione della cose antique, ciè non solo alle fabbriche, ma anco all’iscrizioni antiche che sono nei sepolcri, ed all’altre anticaglie, e non solo in Roma, ma né paesi all’intorno ed in tutti i luoghi di Italia, raccolte n unn bellissimo libro tutte le dette iscrizioni e memorie” (Vasari, V, 264)</p>	
Drawing:	Vol. I, tav. XXXIII, fig. 60
Original caption	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) “<i>Questa era una rutela trovatta a tor di milliccja</i>”

Drawing description:	Schizzo di un rosone trovato presso la Torre delle Milizie
Annotations	
Other bibliography	
Drawing:	Vol. I, tav. XL, fig. 67
Original caption	4. <i>Caria Tides</i> 10. <i>Nel palacio de nerva trajano</i> 11. <i>Apud Arcem Militum</i>
Drawing description:	4. Schizzo in profilo di cariatide, forse del Foro Traiano. 10. Ricordo misurato di cornice del Foro Traiano 11. Ricordo misurato di cornice del Foro Traiano
Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. I, tav. XLVIII, fig. 76:
Original caption	
Drawing description:	4. Pianta misurata con note al disopra del capitello della Colonna Traiana 5. Ricordo misurato con note del piedistallo della statua e del capitello della colonna Traiana.
Annotations	Tecnica: penna, riga e compasso Alt. 425 – Largh. 285 Carta bianca.
Further bibliography	

[A3] Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio (p. 24)

Author:	Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio (1455-1534)
	Fratello di Giuliano. Nato a Firenze nel 1455, morto ivi il 27 dicembre 1534.
Drawing:	Vol. I, tav. LXVI, figg. 103
Original caption	<i>“lavoro dirinpetto alla loggia di nerva quessto lavoro e intorno al foro troiano vedensene peci separati l uno sull altro”</i>
Drawing description:	Alzato e pianta della parte del peribolo, detta volgarmente le Colonnacce
Annotations	Bibliografia: Ferri, 167. Jordan, Forma Urbis, 27. Lanciani, Aula di Senato, 22
Other bibliography	
Drawing:	Vol. I, tav. LXVI, figg. 104

Original caption	1. <i>“L’architrave e frego chornice del lavoro del lavoro dirinpetto alla logga di nerva”</i> 2. <i>“Queste asono le mensole di questa cornice”</i>
Drawing description:	1. Trabeazione del peribolo 2. Particolare della cornice della medesima trabeazione.
Annotations	Bibliografia: Ferri 166.
Drawing:	Vol. I, tav. LXVII, figg. 105
Original caption	<i>“La logha di nerva traiana allato a foro in quaru”</i>
Drawing description:	(sic invade di “buaru”) – alzato e pianta del pronao del Tempio di Minerva
Annotations	Bibliografia: Ferri, 196.
Drawing:	Vol. I, tav. LXVII, figg. 106
Original caption	1. <i>Questa e la testa della logga di nerva quella parte del lato ...</i> 2. <i>La base delle colonne di nerva</i>
Drawing description:	1. alzato del fianco del pronao 2. base delle colonne del pronao 3. vaso di capitello dei pilastri delle ante
Annotations	Bibliografia: Ferri, 196. Lanciani, Aula di Senato, 24
Drawing:	Vol. I, tav. LXVII, figg. 107
Original caption	<i>Questa e lo mensolo che e in sue l ancrespatura della testa della chornice di nerva sopra al pilastri</i>
Drawing description:	Seguito del soggetto precedente: particolari della cornice col risalto in corrispondenza ai pilastri delle ante.
Annotations	Bibliografia: Ferri, 196. Lanciani, Aula di Senato, 24
Drawing:	Vol. I, tav. LXX, fig. 115
Original caption	<i>“questo è alla Torre delle Melicie”.</i>
Drawing description:	profilo di capitello dorico
Annotations	Bibliografia: Ferri
Drawing:	Vol. I, tav. LXXX, fig. 143
Original caption	
Drawing description:	Disegno con aggiunte e modificazioni arbitrarie del fianco del Tempio di Marte Ultore
Annotations	Tecnica: preparato a matita nera e ripassato a penna Alt. 400 – Largh. 290 Carta bianca. Filigrana: una forbice
Drawing:	Vol. I, tav. LXXXIV, fig. 150
Original caption	1. <i>“andito di santo basilio le cholonne non ano pilastri a rincontro i pilastri sono nelle teste e ne chanti”</i>
Drawing description:	1. Sezione misurata dei lacunari del portico del Tempio di Marte Ultore 2. Architrave dello stesso portico

Annotations	Bibliografia: Ferri, 130, 165, 217
Drawing:	Vol. I, tav. XCII, fig. 166
Original caption	<i>“questa fu chavatta nel pantano adeso si ttrova in piazza di sciara jn chasa uno ischiarpellino”</i>
Drawing description:	Studio misurato di particolare di cornice del Tempio di Marte Ultore.
Annotations	Tecnica: penna e bistro, riga e compasso Alt. 150 – Largh. 180 Carta bianca. Bibliografia: Ferri, 158
Drawing:	Vol. I, tav. XCIII, fig. 172
Original caption	<i>“questa chornice fu chavatta a pie della Cholonna Tirojana quando fu ischalzatta”.</i>
Drawing description:	Sezione assonometrica misurata di cornice del Foro Traiano.
Annotations	Tecnica: penna e bistro, riga e compasso Alt. 248 – Largh. 170 Carta bianca. Filigrana: scala in cerchio sormontato da stella a sei raggi Bibliografia: Ferri, 159
Drawing:	Vol. I, tav. XCV, fig. 175
Original caption	<i>“al macello de chorbi dove istava Lorenzetto”</i>
Drawing description:	Tre studi misurati di capitello ionico.
Annotations	Tecnica: penna e bistro, riga e compasso Alt. 260 – Largh. 140 Carta bianca. Bibliografia: Ferri, 131

[A4] Pietro Rosselli (p. 61)

Author:	Pietro Rosselli (1474-1541?)
[...] L'autore dei disegni è un Rosselli che fu di aiuto di Antonio da Sangallo il giovane; come risulta dalle note che questi ha aggiunte a ciascun disegno. [...] Era nato nel 1474: cos' afferma il Ferri, che non so donde ne abbia tratto notizia. Viveva ancora tra il 1537 e il 1541.	
Drawing:	Vol. II, tav. CXCIII, fig. 332
Original caption	<i>“L'architrave d'ediffitto dj danto basiljo auero lj savellj”.</i>

Drawing description:	Ricordo, misurato e con note, d'architrave, capitello e fusto del Tempio di Marte Ultore nel Foro di Augusto. Con note aggiunte da Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane.
Annotations	Tecnica: penna Alt. 390 – Largh. 220 Carta bianca. Filigrana: come al precedente dis. 1578 Bibliografia: Ferri, 165; Borsari, Foro di Augusto, 11
Other bibliography	
Drawing:	Vol. II, tav. CC, fig. 340
Original caption	<i>“di djrjeto al mascello de chorbj”</i>
Drawing description:	disegno misurato di cornice.
Annotations	Tecnica: penna e riga Alt. 410 – Largh. 380 Carta bianca. Filigrana: come al precedente dis. 1130 Bibliografia: Ferri, 124, 142, 158

[A5] Antonio da Sangallo (p. 63)

Author:	Antonio da Sangallo il giovane (1485-1546)
Nato a Firenze nel 1485, morto a Terni il 28 settembre 1546. I disegni archeologici mostrano con quale minuziosa, continua, intelligente indagine, Antonio cercasse di penetrare lo spirito e di impossessarsi delle forme dell'architettura romana antica.	
Drawing:	Vol. III, tav. CCXII, fig. 356
Original caption	<i>3-5 “Colonna storiata”</i>
Drawing description:	ricordi del piedistallo della Colonna Traiana.
Annotations	Tecnica: penna Alt. 200 – Largh. 190 Carta bianca. Bibliografia: Ferri, 128.
Drawing:	Vol. III, tav. CCXXII, fig. 379
Original caption	
Drawing description:	1) ricordi con misure e note di Battista delle basi e dei piedistalli delle colonne Traiana ed Antonina misurate da battista ma con correzioni di Antonino. 2)
Annotations	Tecnica: penna Alt. 200 – Largh. 190 Carta bianca. Bibliografia: Ferri, 128.

Drawing:	Vol. III, tav. CCXXIV, fig. 384
Original caption	<i>“cornice dell’architrave e fregio de grifoni di casa mia” “cornice cavata nel 1540 in l’orto dell’emiciclo delle Melittie del quale si e l’architrave i[n] casa col fregio de grifoni”. “Misurata con el bracio partito in 60” “ridotta a moduli di cinque”</i>
Drawing description:	Ocnice dell’emiciclo orientale del Foro di Traiano, delineata in sezione assonometrica
Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. III, tav. CCLX, fig. 442:
Original caption	<i>“di questo edifitio scavato in casa di messer Gieronimo Cuccino e se trovato molti frammenti in ruina dove e quello emiciclo a pie delle Militie e se trovato questi capitelli cioè A.B.C.D. e la colonna e e molti altri frammenti di pilastri gialli piani. Una storia de uno sacrificio grande le figure quanto naturale. Dua tondi per mettere una testa come quelli i Ravenna dell’Archo della Porta Aurea in ditta storia ne timpano del tempio di Juve ci e Iove in mezo di dua donne a sedere a piedi sua si a l’aquila e nel basso dello timpano da ogni banda si a una biga in sul mezo del frontespizio in su uno dado si a una quadriga in sulli angoli una biga che corre in su fra lla biga e quadriga due statue ritte in sullo cantone laterale dell’architrave una aquila alta quanto l’architrave colla le aperte”</i>
Drawing description:	1) ricordo, in profilo, di misure di trabeazione forse del Foro di Traiano. 2) pianta con misure di un emiciclo e nota “. Bartoli suppone che tali scoperte siano avvenute nel 1540 quando si trovò la cornice di tav. CCXXIV.
Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. III, tav. CCLXIV, fig. 449:
Original caption	<i>“questo e l chornichone che a bottega del tocio ch era al tenpio di Nerva Troiano a pie di Chanpitolio che o l altre chose cioe capitello architrave”</i>
Drawing description:	Ricordi misurati di cornice.
Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. III, tav. CCLXVII, fig. 452:
Original caption	
Drawing description:	Pianta del tempio di Marte Ultore e dell’emiciclo meridionale del Foro di Augusto. Con schizzi in pianta, in quattro differenti modi, per un edificio da costruirsi in mezzo al Foro utilizzando gli avanzi del Tempio.
Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. III, tav. CCLXVIII, fig. 453:
Original caption	<i>“da questa banda qui sta lo pilastro e non dall’altra”</i>
Drawing description:	Pianta, non finita e in parte arbitraria, del Foro di Augusto con riferimento errato a S. Adriano, cioè alla Curia. Nell’emiciclo meridionale un pilastro di marmo collegato a una colonna per mezzo di un muro che pare moderno.

Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. III, tav. CCLXXV, fig. 460
Original caption	1 <i>S. Basilio</i> 2 <i>Foro Transitorio</i>
Drawing description:	1 Schizzo in pianta misurata degli annessi del Foro di Augusto, occupati dal monastero di S. Basilio. Con note indicanti le strutture moderne aggiunte alle natiche 2 Schizzo in pianta di parte del pronao del Tempio di Minerca e delle sue colonne
Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. III, tav. CCLXXVI, fig. 461:
Original caption	
Drawing description:	1. Schizzo in pianta di restituzione arbitraria del Foro di Traiano 2. Schizzo in pianta, arbitraria e dimostrativa della connessione tra i Fori di Augusto e Traiano.
Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. III, tav. CCLXXVII, fig. 462
Original caption	
Drawing description:	Pianta misurata e con note, del Tempio di Marte Ultore e della parte superiore del Foro di Augusto: con riferimento al pronao del Tempio di Minerva del contigui <i>Foro Transitorio</i> .
Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. III, tav. CCLXXXI, fig. 466 v
Original caption	1) <i>(spoglia christi)</i> 2) <i>(San Basilio)</i> 3) <i>el tempio di foro transitorio)</i>
Drawing description:	Ricordi, di mano di Battista da Sangallo con misure aggiunte da Antonio) dell'altezza dell'architrave e del diametro delle colonne 1) Del Foro Traiano <i>(spoglia christi)</i> 2) 2) del Tempio di Marte Ultore <i>(San Basilio)</i> 3) Del Tempio di Minerva <i>(el tempio di foro transitorio)</i>
Drawing:	Vol. III, tav. CCLXXXVII, fig. 474:
Original caption	
Drawing description:	tavola con numerosi architettonici tra cio porta, zoccolo e cornice del Foro Transitorio.
Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. III, tav. CCXCVII, fig. 485:

Original caption	<i>“La zecca antica a San Chosimo e Damiano”</i>
Drawing description:	Disegni del fianco del Foro della Pace (Aula della Forma Urbis)
Annotations	

[A6] Bastiano da Sangallo, detto “Aristotile” (p. 104)

Author:	Giovanni Battista da Sangallo detto “Aristotile (1484-1551)
	Nato nel 1484, morto a Firenze il 31 maggio 1551
Drawing:	Vol. IV, tav. CCCXLI, fig. 575
Original caption	<i>“cimasa della cholonna storiata”</i>
Drawing description:	All'estrema destra della tavola “cimasa della cholonna storiata” cimasa del piedistallo della Colonna Traiana”.

[A7] Giovanni Battista da Sangallo (p. 92)

Author:	Giovanni Battista da Sangallo (1496-1548)
	Nato nel 1496, morto dopo il 19 ottobre 1548
Drawing:	Vol. IV, tav. CCCIX, fig. 514
Original caption	
Drawing description:	<p>1) <i>schizzo in alzato di particolare del recinto del Foro di Nerva con le “colonnacce” (angolo con arco).</i></p> <p>4) <i>i[n] chasa al presidente a Monte Chavallo serviva a S. Basilio”</i></p>
Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. IV, tav. CCCXXII, fig. 534
Original caption	3 “basa della cholonna cioè el piano e tanto si e quella del pilastro piano
Drawing description:	<p>ricordi misurati dell’emiciclo settentrionale del Foro di Augusto.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. schema della base ricorrente fra le semicolonne dell’emiciclo (la lettera A rinvia alla pianta n. 5). 2. “a Sa Basilio”- profilo di base attica delle semicolonne (la lettera B rinvia alla pianta n. 5 dove però Battista ha dimenticato di segnare la lettera corrispondente). 3. “basa della cholonna cioè el piano e tanto si e quella del pilastro piano” misure del plinto della precedente base B uguali a quelle del plinto del pilastro segnato C nella pianta n. 5.

	<p>4. “i[n] chasa al presidente a Monte Chavallo serviva a S. Basilio” ricordo di base attica riccamente intagliata (la lettera D rinvia alla pianta n. 5).</p> <p>5. schizzo in pianta di parte dell’emiciclo. Antonio il Giovane vi ha aggiunto le note “Foro Traiano”, “entrata”, “Piazza de S[an]to Basilio”, “le base anno questo pli[n]to che andava i[n] to[n]do e no[n] risaltata”.</p>
Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. IV, tav. CCCXXII, fig. 535
Original caption	<i>“basa nell’ortodi Sancto Basilio</i>
Drawing description:	sul lato destro della tavola è una “basa nell’ortodi Sancto Basilio” ricordo misurato di basamento del Foro di Augusto.
Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. IV, tav. CCCXXIII, fig. 536
Original caption	<i>Santo Basilio</i>
Drawing description:	a sinistra della tavola “Santo Basilio” schizzo in sezione, con misure, del portico del Tempio di Marte Ultore.
Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. IV, tav. CCCXXV, fig. 538
Original caption	
Drawing description:	Ricordi del capitello della Colonna Traiana.
Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. IV, tav. CCCXXVII, fig. 543
Original caption	<i>“Spoglia Cristi da libretto di Giuliano”</i>
Drawing description:	Ricordo misurato della trabeazione del Foro di Traiano. Antonio il Giovane ha aggiunto la nota “Spoglia Cristi da libretto di Giuliano” e veramente la stessa trabeazione trovasi delineata nel f. 36 del taccuino senese di Giuliano da Sangallo; ma il disegno di Battista differisce da quello di Giuliano per le misure.
Annotations	
Drawing:	Vol. IV, tav. CCCXXXIV, fig. 561
Original caption	<p>1) <i>“p[or]ta di Cieserino i[n] Roma” ricordo di una porta del Palazzo Cesarini; la cornice che la sormonta è copiata dalla trabeazione delineata qui appresso.</i></p> <p>2) <i>“A Spoglia Christo chavata di ter[r]a</i></p>
Drawing description:	ricordo misurato di trabeazione del Foro di Traiano.

[A8] Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (p. 112)

Author:	Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507-1573)
Nato a Vignola l'1 ottobre 1507, morto a Roma il 7 luglio 1573	
Drawing:	Vol. IV, tav. CCCLXI, fig. 636
Original caption	<i>questo basamento e [a]l macello de li corvii in casa de Jacomo Ciciliano scultore"</i>
Drawing description:	Disegno misurato di zoccolo, con intagli, d'imbasamento.
Drawing:	Vol. IV, tav. CCCLXVI, fig. 645
Original caption	<p>1) <i>"questa e la cornice grande di Nerva Troiano al suo tempio apresso a Torre di Conti in Roma ed e quella del frontespizio"</i></p> <p>2) <i>"Questo e llo sfondato di questo architrave segnato A"</i></p> <p>3) <i>"Questa cornice e in del tempio di Nerva Troiano murata da basso"</i></p>
Drawing description:	<p>1) Disegno misurato della trabeazione del Tempio di Minerva nel Foro di Nerva.</p> <p>2) Profilo misurato del sottarchitrave del detto tempio</p> <p>3) Ricordo misurato della cimasa del podio del detto tempio.</p>
Drawing:	Vol. IV, tav. CCCLXVII, fig. 646
Original caption	.
Drawing description:	Disegno misurato di base di colonna e podio dello stesso tempio.

[A9] Sallustio Peruzzi (p. 115)

Author:	Sallustio Peruzzi (?? – 1573)
Nato sul principio del secolo XVI, morto nel 1573. E' naturale pensare che egli collaborasse con suo padre Baldassarre nello studio dei monumenti antichi; o per lo meno si giovò dei disegni del padre; ai quali spesso, vediamo aggiunte indicazioni e note.	
Drawing:	Tav. CCCXCV, Fig. 704
Original caption	<i>"Forum Traiani"</i>
Drawing description:	Schizzo in pianta di restituzione arbitraria.
Annotations	<p>Tecnica: penna</p> <p>Alt. 242 – Largh. 245</p> <p>Carta bianca. Filigrana: targa araldica con anatra</p>

	Bibliografia: Ferri, 163, 167. Lanciani, Ruins and excav, 316. Hulsen, Lib. Giul. Sang., 11
Drawing:	Tav. CCCXCV, Fig. 706
Original caption	
Drawing description:	Schizzi in sezione di restituzione arbitraria dell'emiclo orientale del Foro Traiano.
Annotations	Tecnica: penna Alt. 100 – Largh. 219 Carta bianca. Filigrana: come il precedente Bibliografia: Ferri, 167.
Drawing:	CCCXCVI, Fig. 709
Original caption	
Drawing description:	2-5) Schizzi di restituzione arbitraria in pianta e in alzato del Foro Traiano 6) Schizzo in pianta di altra restituzione arbitraria dello stesso foro
Annotations	
Drawing:	Tav. CCCLXXXIX, Fig. 683
Original caption	
Drawing description:	Pianta parziale, con misure dell'emiclo orientale del Foro Traiano.
Annotations	
Drawing:	Tav. CCCXV, Fig. 703
Original caption	1-2) “ <i>Forum Traiano</i> ”-
Drawing description:	1-2) pianta e alzato di restituzione arbitraria 3) Sezione di restituzione arbitraria dell'emiclo orientale dello stesso foro.
Annotations	
Drawing:	Tav. CCCXV, Fig. 708
Original caption	
Drawing description:	1) Sezione di restituzione arbitraria del ditto emiclo. 2) Pianta di restituzione arbitraria di parte del Foro di Traiano
Annotations	Tecnica: penna Alt. 242 – Largh. 205 Carta bianca. Filigrana: targa araldica con anatra Bibliografia: Ferri, 163, 167. Lanciani, Ruins and excav, 316. Hulsen, Lib. Giul. Sang., 11
Drawing:	Tav. CCCLXXII, Fig. 652
Original caption	2 “ <i>In Roma opera laterizia presso a Torre Militia</i> ”

Drawing description:	2) pianta dell'emiciclo orientale e delle costruzioni annesse, del Foro Traiano 3) Pianta e alzato di restituzione arbitraria del Foro Traiano
Annotations	
Drawing:	Tav. CCCLXXXVIII, Fig. 680
Original caption	
Drawing description:	3) Parte di pianta dell'emiciclo orientale del Foro Traiano e costruzioni contigue
Annotations	
Drawing:	Tav. CCCLXXXIX, Fig. 682
Original caption	
Drawing description:	Pianta parziale con misure delle costruzioni annesse all'emiciclo orientale del Foro Traiano
Annotations	

[A10] Bartolomeo Ammannati (P. 126)

Author:	Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511-1592)
Nato a Settignano il 18 giugno 1511; morto a Firenze il 22 aprile 1592. Venne a Roma nel 1550 e vi stette fin dopo la morte di Giulio III (Vasari, VII, 521)	
Drawing:	Vol. V, tav. CCCII, figg. 726:
Original caption	
Drawing description:	Disegno schematico e sezione, ambedue in scala, della Colonna Traiana; Cfr Abaco, Architettura, tav. 12.
Annotations	Tecnica: penna e bistro, riga e compasso Alt. 920 – Largh. 410 Carta bianca. Filigrana: un santo inginocchiato, portante in mano una croce Bibliografia: Ferri, 156

[A11] Giovanni Antonio Dosio (p. 129)

Author:	Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533-1609)
Nato a S. Gimignano il 1533; morto dopo il 1609	
Drawing:	Vol. V, tav. CDXV, figg. 755, 756, 757, 758, 759
Original caption	
Drawing description:	vedute del Tempio di Nerva (con particolari delle strutture medievali esistenti all'interno del tempio di Minerva).

Drawing:	Vol. V, tav. CDXVIII, figg. 760, 761
Original caption	
Drawing description:	veduta delle colonne del Tempio di Marte Ultore; 761) veduta della Colonna Traiana.

Appendix B

Literary Sources: Topographical Descriptions

NOTES ON THE FORM USED

GENERALE NOTES: I have listed the works in chronological order, giving a number to each work listed. In round brackets, the date of publication of the book.

MENTIONS: From the original texts, I have transcribed only the sections considered interesting and useful for the present work: I have omitted all the sections about ancient history.

- Square brackets [---] are used to indicate that there is a section in the original text that has not been transcribed (description of churches or description of the monuments in the past).
- In the transcription of the texts, I have dissolved all the abbreviations.

[B1] Anonimo Magliabecchiano, Tractatus de rebus et situ urbis Romae (1411)

R. Valentini, G. Zucchetti, *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, Roma 1953, vol. IV pp. 101-150

Mentions	
Page:	Valentini-Zucchetti, p. 123
<p>6. Ii sunt montes principales urbis Romae [...] mons Viminalis ubi est Ecclesia Sanctae Agathae , in quo Virgilius captus a romani ivit Neapolim, et ideo mons Magnanapoli dicitur [...]</p>	
Page:	Valentini-Zucchetti, p. 125
<p>9. Palatia urbis Romae () [...] Palatium traiani fuit in La Militia. Palatium Nervae fuit ubi nunc est Sanctus Basilius cum oratorio suo et triumphali arcu [...]</p>	
Page:	Valentini-Zucchetti, p. 129
<p>11. Hae sunt aguliae [...] Una fuit facta Traiano Ulpio Hspano, qui rexit annis decem et novem mensibus quindue, et corpus eius sub dicta columna fuit positum, et est ista Santi Nicolai Sub Militia ; dictum e palacium Nervae, cum duobus foris, a primordio sui, quia Nerva Traianus ibi posto mortem Traiani praedicti semper mansit [...]</p>	
Page:	Valentini-Zucchetti, p. 133
<p>13. Templa urbis Romae [...] ubi coumna mirae altitudinis et pulchritudinis, compilatio historiarum imperatoris Traiani, ad Sanctum Nicolaum, ubi dicitur la Militia hodie, ex una parte fuit templum dicti Traiani, ex alia autem divi Adriani, ut in predictorum vita describitur [...] in maiore foro Traiani fuit templum sospitae deae [...] [...] ante Palatium Traiani Ulpri fuit Templum Iugurtinum [...] [...] et templum Mercurii, ubi mercatores delec tabantur in eorum auguris; et hoc fuit in Campo Carleo a latere columpnae dicti Traiani [...]</p>	

[B2] Poggio Bracciolini, De Varietate Fortunae (1431-1448)

G. Valentini, G. Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico della Città di Roma*, Roma, 1953, vol. IV, pp. 223-246 (1431-1448)

Mentions	
Page:	Valentini-Zucchetti, p. 242
“... Est etiam murorum fabrica admodum insignis, quem locum S. basilium vocant, haud longe ab Traiani Columna coclea, ubi forum Traiani fuisse, ut credam, Ammianus Marcellinus monet, cuius structuram singularem sub omni caelo fuisse tradit, et in eius medio atrii equum aeneum magnitudine insigni: hodie quoque illius etiam desolati magnificentia multum eminet ceteris, in qua et nunc supersunt reliquiae nobilis porticus ingenti bus columnis subnixae...”	

[B3] Flavio Biondo, o Biondo da Forlì Flavius, *Romae Instauratae*, 1444

G. Valentini, G. Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico della Città di Roma*, Roma, 1953, vol. IV, pp. 247- 373

Link digitized book:	
Mentions	
Section:	XLVIII
“... De Foro Traiani- secundus autem Traianus Forum extruxit: de quo Ammianus Marcellinus libro XVI sic habet, veru. quum ad Traiani foru. venisset, singulare. sub omni coelo structuram, ut opinamur aeterna moenium ascensione mirabile, haerebat attonitus per giganteis contextus circumferens mente., nec relatu effabiles, nec cursus mortali bus appete.dos.”	

<i>Section:</i>	XLIX
“De equo Traiani aeneo- omnia itaque spe huius modi quicquid conandi depulsa Traiani equu. solum locatu. in atrii medio, qui ipsum principe. vehit imitari se velle dicebat et posse: cui prope astans regalis Ormisda, cuius ex perfide discessum supra monstravimus, respondit, ante stabulum tale condas.”	
<i>Section:</i>	L
“De coclide columna Traiana- ex omnibus vero que insignis tot tanto rum que aedificiorum structura habuit parti bus unica extat integra coclis columna boni praestantissimi que principis res gestas mirabili opere insculpta, ad cuius basim incisae literae ostendunt, terreum collem qui eius turris altitudinem aequaret, ut area fieret plana, inde operi bus effossum asportatum que fuisse.”	
<i>Section:</i>	LI
“Ecclesia Sancti Basili- In eius Fori excelsis mirabilibus que (?) ruinis Symmachus primus papa ecclesias Sancti Basilii, et item Sancti Silvestri et Martini extruxit.”	
<i>Section:</i>	LII
“Tres turres in quis militiarum – Bonifatius autem octavus tres turres quae nunc integrae extant, ad easdem ruinas aedificavit. Quarum quae media, inde militiarum turris est dicta, quod cellis supraedificata est, in quibus Traiani principis milites continebatur...”	

[B4] Nicolò Signorili, Descriptio Urbis Romae eiusque excellentiae (1450)

G. Valentini, G. Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico della Città di Roma*, Roma, 1953, vol. IV, pp. 151-208

Mentions	
<i>Page:</i>	Valentini-Zucchetti, p. 175
<p>“... In secunda partita, quae dicitur Duodecim Apostolorum, sunt ecclesie infrascriptae, videlicet: ... Sancti Laurentii in Biberatica Sanctorum Cirii et Io[hannis] Sancti Salvatoris Criptis</p>	

Sancti Salvatoris de Miliciis Sanctae Mariae Montis Valneanapolis Sancti Nicolai ad Columnam Traianam Sancti LAurentii de Ascesa Sanctae Mariae in Campo Carlei” [...]		
Page:	Valentini-Zucchetti, p. 198	
“Ad honorem Nervae. Epitaphium scriptum in oratorium Nervae, in loco qui dicitur corrupto vocabulo Archa Noe, ad honorem nervae ¹⁰⁸⁶ ” [...] “Ad commendationem Marci Antonii Exochi. Epitaphium scriptum sub figura M. Antonii Exochi reperta in muro Lovii domorum de Archionibus, ad commendationem dicti m. et primo in capite figurae. Epitaphium: M. ANTONIVS EIVSD. (CIL, VI, n. 10194)” [...]		
Page:	Valentini-Zucchetti, p. 200	
“Ad honorem Traiani Imperatoris Epitaphium, scriptum in pede columnae sitae in Foro Traiani, ubi hodie est ecclesia Sancti Nicholai ¹⁰⁸⁷ de columna, factae per SPQR in honorem Traiani Imperatoris. Epitaphium: Senatus- Egestus (CIL VI, 960)...” [...]		

¹⁰⁸⁶ Nell’architrave del tempio di Minerva nel Foro di Nerva.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Nel Cod. Vat. Lat. 3851- usato dal De Rossi- copia della silloge del Signorili senza altre parti del testo / segue “prope arcum Fuscorum De Berta”; cfr. Lanciani, Storia degli scavi, I, p. 46.

[B5] Giovanni Rucellai, Che vuole dire Giubileo e della bellezza e anticaglia di Roma (1450)

G. Valentini, G. Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico della Città di Roma*, Roma, 1953, vol. IV, p. 399-419

Mentions	
Page:	Valentini-Zucchetti, p. 414
[...] “Una colonna a modo di campanile, d’altezza di braccia L vel circa, che fu facta per Adriano imperatore in luogo d’uno arco trionfale, la quale (colonna Traiana) è di marmo storiata della vectoria ch’egli ebbe et fu fatta con tante arti, che alle figure disopra et del mezo dimostrano essere grandi come quelle di sotto, et in verità sono molto maggiori” [...]	
Page:	Valentini-Zucchetti, p. 418
[...] “La Torre delle Milizie dove sono sur un canto due buone figure di marmo. La Torre dei Conti” [...]	

[B6] Pomponio Leto, Excerpta a Pomponio dum inter ambulandum cuidam domino ultramontano reliquias ac ruinas Urbis ostenderet¹⁰⁸⁸ (1484)

G. Valentini, G. Zucchetti, *Codice Topografico della Città di Roma*, Roma, 1953, vol. IV, pp. 421-436 (1484)

Mentions

¹⁰⁸⁸ Gli Excerpta sono contenuti nel codice della Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia n. 3453 (ms. Lat. Cl. X, n. 195) alle cc. 25 a-31 b.

<i>Page:</i>	Valentini-Zucchetti, p. 426
<p>“Inter Capitolium et Quirinalem collem ab aedificio Nervae, usque ad columnam coclidem et radices Capitoli, fuit Forum Traiani: circum quod fuerant ornamenta innumerabilia illuc ex toto orbe terrarum advecta.</p> <p>Versus occasum porticus cum ampli set excelsis columnis, et cum magnis epistiliis: adeo mirabile opus fuit, ut qui intuerentur, non poterant adduci ut crederent, illud esse factum minibus hominum, sed minibus gigantum¹⁰⁸⁹.</p> <p>Pars tota quae vergit ad occasum, quia mons Quirinalis impendebat, tota excise fuit et solo aequata, ne forum spatio fraudaretur¹⁰⁹⁰.</p> <p>Columna quae est in Foro Traiani, erecta est a populo romano, in honore[m] Traiani, post victoriam de Dacis: et ipse Traianus columnam non vidit: concessit enim ad indicam expeditionem¹⁰⁹¹” [...]</p>	
<i>Page:</i>	Valentini-Zucchetti, p. 430
<p>In descensu Quirinalis montis versum meridiem, ubi nunc est domus de Comitibus et Turris Militiae: fuerunt Balnea L. Pauli¹⁰⁹².</p>	

¹⁰⁸⁹ Deve riferirsi ai colonnati che giravano per tre lati intorno all’area del Foro.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Cfr. Cassio Dione, LXVIII, 16, 2 e CIL VI, n. 960.

¹⁰⁹¹ Eutropio, Brev. VIII, 3, 2; incerti auctoris, Epitom. De Caesaribus, XIII, n. 11; Cassio Dione, LXIX, 2, 3; Girolamo a Abr. 2132- Ediz. Helm. p. 585.

¹⁰⁹² Da documenti dell’inizio del sec. XIII risulta che i Conti possedevano case sul Quirinale presso i Balnea Pauli, cfr. Vol. I, p. 218, nota 1 e la Torre delle Milizie; oltre ad aver case adiacenti alla Torre che dalla famiglia prendeva il nome, cfr. Amadei, *Roma Turrita*, p. 24.

[B7] Andrea Fulvio Antiquitates Urbis per Andream Fulvium antiquarium Ro, nuperrimae aeditae, Roma (1527)

Mentions	
<i>Section:</i>	Libro II
<i>Page:</i>	f° XXIIv
<p>“De monte Quirinali et eius appendicibus</p> <p>[...] mos aut Quirinalis is est / ubi nuc sunt equi marmorei forma mns ob loga quale viminaiis / sed hic logu ampliore. Auspicat enim a Porta Salaria: porrigitur quae usquae ad foru Nervale iuxta turre comitum. Haet in ascensu, et motis clivo balnea pauli / qui loc hodie corrupto vocabolo: vulgo dicitur mos bagna/Napoli. I. Balnea Pauli, ubi nuc sunt in parte vetuste aedes, et palatium clarae familiare comitu, ubi nuc est altissima militiarum turris ab Bonifatio VIII. Condit sicut/Turris comitum ab Innocentio III [...] turis aut militiarum a militibus traiani imp. nome (ut aiut) accepit/ qui illic olim stationem habeant. Iminet autem locus hic foro troiano / ubi adhuc extant triplici cocameratioe fornices/ et cryproporticus ex veteri structura / curvata forma immorem hemycicli reddetes a fronte theatrale caveam / ubi in altero cornu visitur profunda ac vetusta aedis S. Abacyri [...] “</p>	
<i>Section:</i>	Libro III
<i>Page:</i>	f° LXv
<p>“De coluna cochlidis traiani imp.” [...]</p>	
<i>Section:</i>	Libro III
<i>Page:</i>	f° LXXXv
<p>“ [...] fuit etiam equus traiani in foro suo [...]”</p>	
<i>Section:</i>	Libro III
<i>Page:</i>	f° XLVIIv
<p>“De foro traiani et eius ornamentis</p> <p>Contiguum nervale foro erat forum traiani inter Capitolium et Quirinalem exstructum, ubi columna cochlidis adhuc extat erecta, fuit autem forum ornatissimum cum templo et equo de neo eiusdem peinipis, ubi erant ornamenta ex toto terrarum orbe exquisita et porticus adeo mirabile opus ut qui intuerentur non potuerint crederi manibus hominum facta sed gigantum, cuius fragmenta nuperrime e profunda terra eruta vidimus, sub Capitolio e lapide candidissimo mirae amplitudinis, ad quod forum aedificandum pars Quirinalis, que Capitolium contigebat excisa atque solo equata ne suo spatio fraudaretur de quo Cassiodorus in epistolis traiani forum inquit assiduitate videre miraculum est “[...]”</p>	

[B8] L. Fauno, Delle Antichità della città di Roma, raccolte e scritte da M. Lucio Fauno con somma brevità e ordine, con quanto gli Antichi o Moderni scritto ne hanno, Venezia (1553)

Mentions	
Section:	Libro II
Cap:	XXIII
<p>“ [...] Dietro al Foro di Augusto dunque fu il Foro di Traiano che questo principe tra il Campidoglio, e il Quirinale fece bellissimo, spianando quella parte del Quirinale, che andava quasi a toccare col Campidoglio, per agguagliare il piano ... si sono a di nostri in quel contorno ritrovati bellissimi pezzi di colonne e di capitelli e hoggi se ne vede un pezzo di capitello nel cortile del palagio del Duca di Urbino che non è molto a questi edifici lontano ... qui presso, dove si dice hoggi il Macello del Corvi, fu la casa de Corvini.”</p>	
Section:	Libro II
Cap:	XXIII
Section:	Libro IV
Cap:	VIII
<p>“...Presso la punta di questo colle (Quirinale) che riguarda a li Fori furono i Bagni di Paolo Emilio, onde i volgo chiama hoggi questo luogo Bagnanapoli invece di Balinea Pauli, e vi habitano monache. In una parte di queste rovine è anco higgs il palazzo della famiglia de' Conti, e verso la punta del colle è la torre chiamata pure de Conti... L'altra torre altissima che si vede dalla parte che risponde sopra al Foro di Traiano, fu edificata da Bonifatio VIII e chiamata delle Militie per essere stata fondata presso al luogo dove vogliono che i soldati di Traiano albergassero et insino ad hoggi si vede gran parte degli edifici di questo logo, che ha un bel portico sotterraneo fatto a gusa di un mezzo cerchio... In questi luoghi sono stati cavati a di nostri gran marmi tondi con molti frammenti marmorei scolpiti in varie forme; et in uno si leggevano queste parole: <i>potentissima dos in principe liberalitas et clementia</i>. Vi è stata ritrovata ancho una gran testa di marmo che è stata giudicata essere di Traiano. Ora questa torre fu di opera dorica, e coverta tutta di belli stucchi e di tavolette di varie pietre; como ancho oggi belli vestigii se ne veggono...”</p>	

[B9] 1554: A. Palladio, Descrizione de le Chiese, Stationi, Indulgenze & Reliquie de Corpi Sancti, che sonno in la città de Roma

Link digitized book:		http://rara.biblhertz.it/Dg450-1501
Frontispiece		Index
		<p>I. Mirabilia Urbis Romae Nova / recognita, et emendata, atque / in verum sensum / reducta.</p> <p>II. De vita et obitu</p> <p>III. Oratio devotissima de Sudario sacratissimi vultus domini nostri Jesu Christi. vel Veronica.</p> <p>IV. Indulgentiae</p>
Mentions		
<i>Section:</i>	<i>Liber Tertius</i>	
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>De Foro Traiani, e de us quae in eo fuere vel sunt</i>	
<i>Page:</i>	<i>56r-57v (Forum Traiani)</i>	

[B10] 1554 (1576): A. Palladio, L'antichità di Roma di M. Andrea Palladio. Raccolta brevemente da gli autori antichi & moderni. Di nuovo ristampata e corretta in Roma appresso Giulio Bolano, degli Accolti

Frontispiece	Index
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- L'Antichità Di Roma- Recapitulazione dell'antichità- Dè tempi degli antichi fuori di Roma- Quante volte è stata presa Roma- De le antichità de la città di Roma
Mentions	
Section:	Alli lettori
Chapter:	
Page:	2r-2v
<p>Chiario già a tutto il mondo gli antichi Romani haver fatto molte più cose ne l'arme che non sono ne i libri scritte; e molti piu nobili e grandi edificij fabricati in Roma, per eterna memoria del loro valore, e essemplio in piede, consconsiosa che le guerre, incendi e ruine che per tanti anni sonos tati in essa città, habbino guasto, arso, sepolto buona parte di tali memorie. La qual cosa havendo io ben considerata, e massime per essermi venuto (non so come) alle mani un certo libretto intitolato: <i>Le cose meravigliose di Roma</i>, tutto pieno di strane bugie, e conoscendo quanto sia appresso</p>	

ciascuno frande il desiderio di intendere veramente l'antichità, e altre cose degne di così famosa città, mi sono ingegnato di raccorre il presente libro, con quanta più brevità ho potuto, da molti fidelissimi autori, antichi e moderni, che di ciò hanno diffusamente scritto, come da Dionisio di Alicarnasso, Tito Livio, Plinio, Plutarco, Appiano, Alessandrino, Valerio Massimo, Eutropio, dal Biondo, dal Fulvio, dal Fauno, dal Marlliano, e da molti altri. Ne mi son contentato di questo solo, che ancho ho voluto vedere, e con le mie proprie mani misurare minutamente il tutto. Leffete dunque questa mia fatica diligentemente, se volete interament sequir quel diletto, e quella meraviglia, che si possa conseguire maggiore nel intendere chiaramente le gran cose di una così nobile, e famosa città come è Roma.	
<i>Section:</i>	<i>L'antichità di Roma</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Dè Fori cioè Piazze</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>21</i>
Quello di Cesare fu dietro il portico di Faustina, e Cesare spese nel pavimento centomila sesterzi. Quello di Augusto era là dove è la chiesa di Sant' Adriano, e andava verso la torre dei Conti. Quello di Nerva fu fra la chiesa di Sant' Adriano e di San Basilio, dove sono quelle colonne mezz guaste . Quello di Traiano era vicino alla chiesa di Santa Maria da Loreto, dove è la sua colonna. Il Borio [...]	
<i>Section:</i>	<i>L'antichità di Roma</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Dè trofei e delle colonne memorande</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>24</i>
La colonna a limaca che è appresso la chiesa di Santa Maria di Loreto fu dedicata dal Senato a onore di Traiano quando guerreggiava contra i Parti, [...]	

**[B11] Flaminio Vacca, Memorie di Varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma, Roma, 1594
(edito per la prima volta nel 1704) (1594)**

Mentions	
<i>Cap:</i>	mem. n. 9
“Mi ricordo intorno alla Colonna Trajana dalla banda, dove si dice Spolia Cristo, essersi cavate le vestigie d'un arco trionfale con molti pezzi d'istorie, quali sono in casa del Sig. Prospero Boccapadullo, a quel tempo maestro di strade: vi era un Trajano a cavallo, che passava un fiume, e si trovarono alcuni prigioni simile a quelli che sono sopra l'arco che si dice di Costantino della medesima maniera; io osservai con diligenza, e tengo	

per certo essere della medesima mano, e del maestro che fece la colonna, e credo che intorno alla colonna vi fosse un incolonnato di forma quadrata, ed ogni facciata avesse il suo arco. Certa cosa è che l'arco di Costantino è stato trasportato perché si vede nell'imbasamento esser le sculture molto goffe, e furono fatte al tempo di Costantino quando la scultura era persa. Dico essere uno delli suddetti quattro archi. E che sia il vero, le sculture di sopra sono di mano del maestro della colonna, nell'istorie vi è l'effigie di Trajano, e le istorie tornano al proposito di Trajano, e non è da far meraviglia se lo imbasamento fu rifatto, perché come più appresso a terra senti maggior fuoco, e volendolo drizzare a Costantino, bisognò rifare tutta la parte da basso, e servirsi di quelli goffi maestri.”	
Cap:	mem. n. 18
“Il cavallo di campidoglio di bronzo... Paolo III ... lo condusse in Campidoglio, e fecegli fare un piedistallo da Michel' Angelo, e fu guasto un pezzo di fregio, ed architrave di Trajano, perché non si trovava marmo sì grande ... tutto questo ho inteso dire.”	
Cap:	mem. n. 44
“Ho sentito dire, che Paolo III levò dal cortile de' Colonnese, dove al presente abita il Cardinal di Fiorenza, quelli due prigionie, che sono in capo la scala del Palazzo del Cardinal Farnese [<i>nota: si vedono alche al giorno d'oggi le due statue qui riferite avanti la magnifica porta della gran sala Farnese (not. v. ed.) oggi si veggono in Napoli</i>], ma credo fossero da' moderni trasportate in detto cortile, mentre conoscendosi manifestamente esser di mano del maestro della colonna Trajana, si può credere fossero sopra uno di quelli archi, che stavano nel foro di essa colonna da quella parte, che volta verso loro; e nel fondare alcune loro fabbriche si doverettero trovare.”	
Cap:	mem. n. 89
“Mi ricordo aver sentito dire da Ottavio Maji che per accomodare un monastero di monache rinchiuso nel Foro di Nerva, furono gettati certi quadri di peperino, ne' quali, tra l'uno, e l'altro vi erano alcune spranghe di legno da ogni banda fatte a coda di rondine, così ben conservate, che si potevano rimettere in opera; e nessun falegname conobbe di che legno fossero.”	
Cap:	mem. n. 105
“Mi ricordo che il detto Sig. Giorgio Cesarini comprò una grossa colonna di cipollino, che era nel Foro Trajano, in casa di Bastiano Piglialarme, e detta colonna la condusse al suo giardino a S. Pietro in Vincola per dirizzarla, e ligarvi sotto un orso, e porvi sopra un'aquila di bronzo; denotando queste tre cose l'armi sue; ma la morte interruppe il pensiero” (Nota alla mem. n. 28: “ <i>Il qui accennato giardino appartiene presentemente ai Padri di S. Francesco di Paola ai Monti, ma nulla si può dire del destino che abbiano avuto i pezzi di antichità qui accennati, dovendo ivi esservi pure una colonna ben grande, trasportatavi del Foro Trajano, come in queste memorie, num. 105</i> ”).	
Cap:	mem. n. 122
“Al presente nella Piazza della Colonna Trajana volendosi fondare una casa, si è scoperta la piazza antica, tutta fabbricata di marmi, con alcuni pezzi di marmo giallo, che credo, che in se contenesse qualche scompartimento. E' da credere ogni cosa dalla magnificenza di Trajano: e cavando le	

cantine si sono trovati tre pezzi di colonne di marmo statuale, in testa cinque palmi grosse e lunghe ciascuna tredici palmi. Queste colonne vengono ad essere quelle del portico, che recingevano il foro nel mezzo del quale era la colonna istoriata. Altro non succede per adesso, e l'avviserò quando se ne porgerà l'occasione- Fine delle Memorie di Flaminio Vacca”.

[B.12] Pompilio Totti, Ritratto di Roma Moderna, Roma 1638, pp. 471 ss.

Mentions	
<i>Section</i>	28
<i>Chapter</i>	Di S. Urbano
<p>L'Anno del Signore 1264 una Gentildonna Romana di casa Bianchi detta Giacoma, havendo qui alcune case, ottenne da Urbano IV, di farci una chiesa con un monasterio, perciò lo dedicarono a S. Urbano I, del quale si è detto qualche cosa a S. Cecilia, dove riposa il suo corpo.</p> <p>Sotto che regola si fondasse questo Monasterio non si ha; disfatto poi il Monasterio, la chiesa fu unita a quella di S. Lorenzo fuori le mura. In quest'ultimi tempi il Card. Baronio con Fulvia Sforza, per dar completa perfettione all'opera delle Zitelle Sperse, che si mantengono in S. Eufemia in numero di 400 e più impetrarono da Clemente VIII questo luogo, per farci un monasterio sotto la regola di S. Chiara, e osservanza delle Cappuccine, dove fussero ricevute quelle zitelle di S. Eufemia, altrimenti dette Sperse, che fussero chiamate alla Religione, per istruzioni delle quali furono levate alcune Madri dalle Cappuccine, con le quali, e altri undici delle sudette Zitelle sperse fu dato principio a questo santo monasterio. Per le Zitelle poi, che non sono chiamate alla Religione, ma si vogliono maritare, sono dalli deputati di quella sant'opera assegnati scudi cento di dote.</p>	
<i>Section</i>	2
<i>Chapter</i>	Di S. Lorenzo, dello Lorenzuolo
<p>Il volgo ha dato questo nome di S. Lorenzolo a questa chiesa, perché tra tutte l'altre dedicate in Roma a S. Lorenzo, questa è la più piccola, e la più moderna, ha un altro soprannome più antico preso dal vicino luogo di Macel de' Corvi. Nel che è da sapere, che in questa contrada detta Macel de' Corvi, mentre li Francesi tenevano assediata la Città di Roma, un Francese di grandissima statura havendo sfidato un Cavaliere Romano, detto M. Valerio, venne aduello con esso, e ecco nell'azzuffarsi venne un Corvo, e sopra l'elmo del Romano fermatosi, al menar dell'armi s'avventava la Francese, levandoli la vista de' colpi con l'ali, e ferendogli la faccia con gli artigl, in modo, che non potendosi più difendere, Valerio l'uccise, e con la vittoria riportò il nome di Corvino, e famoso per sempre restò questo luogo, dove occorre il fatto, e gli fu drizzata una statua con un Corvo nella cima dell'elmo, e fu posta nella vicina piazza d' Augusto. E questa cheisa ha cura d'anime.</p>	

<i>Section</i>	30
<i>Chapter</i>	Dello Spirito Santo
<p>Da una Gentildonna Romana di casa Capranica, detta Petronilla, hebbe questa chiesa il suo principio l'anno 1432. Il Monasterio a quella congiunto è sotto la regola de' Canonici Regolari di S. Agostino, la chiesa fu ristorata sotto questa nuova forma il 1582.</p> <p>Due cosa notabili habbiamo n questo sacro luogo, Una è che il Card. Raffaello Riario detto di S. Giorgio, perché l'anno 1468, l'hebbe in titolo sa Sisto IV, trovandosi poi sotto Leone X in grandissimi travagli, si raccomandò all'orationi di queste serve di Dio, e essendone liberato il 1513 tra i doni che fece a questa chiesa, fu un'immagine del Salvatore, che rappresenta la sua testa dipinta in tavola con pietà singolare. Dicono, ch'avanti il sacco di Roma pianse più volte, e li padri della pace, che all'hora havevano cura di questo monasterio, ci venissero ad asciugare le lagrime con bambace: perciò gran zelo n'hanno queste Madri, e sempre la tengono dentro il monasterio.</p>	
<i>Section</i>	31
<i>Chapter</i>	Di S. Eufemia
<p>Tant'illustre martire è nella chiesa di Dio S. Eufemia, e tanto l'ha sempre stimata Roma, che oltre d'havere delle sue reliquie in più chiese, volle haver una chiesa con un monasterio a lei dedicata, che stava a pie' di monte di S. Maria Maggiore, la quale mancada (!) per la vecchiezza Sisto V vi tirò per lo mezzo una strada, pigliandola dalla sudetta chiesa di S. Maria infino a quella di Loreto. E perché la memoria di S. Eufemia non mancasse in Roma, Clemente VIII la rinovò in questa chiesa già dedicata a S. Bernardino, e la concesse alle Zitelle Sperse.</p>	
<i>Section</i>	3
<i>Chapter</i>	Di S. Maria in Campo Carleo
<p>E' Parochia questa chiesa, si pensa che sia così detta in Campo, perché ogni luogo aperto, overo piazza, si soleva addimandar ca(m)po; è poi detta Carleo, forse, o perché qui fosse qualche palazzo di qualche uno de' Carlei, overo detto Carlo: è vero che si suole addomandare Spoglia Christi, e di questo ne può essere stato causa, o perché sopra la porta vi era una Image dipinta del Salvatore N. Giesù Christo da Hebrei spogliata, la quale per precetto di Sisto V fu levata, acciò fosse posto in oblio tal detto, o perché in questo luogo spogliassero quelli, che rappresentavano la Passione di N. S. nel Coliseo, o perché qui fossero fatti molti assassina menti, o perché in questa chiesa una volta fosse spogliato una Image del Salvatore nostro. Qui al'incontro da un lato sta il Sig. Cavalier Francesco Gualdo, che nel suo nobil Museo ha bellissime cose rare degne da vedersi, con gran spesa raccolte.</p>	
<i>Section</i>	32
<i>Chapter</i>	Di S. Basilio
<p>Qui dove è fabbricata questa chiesa era il palazzo di Nerva Imperadore, il quale aveva avanti una piazza tutta lastricata di ottone, fin'hora resta in piedi un pezzo di mura altissimo, fatto di marmi, che per essere senza alcuna fenestra, fa credere, che dal tetto pigliasse il lume.</p>	

Essendo stata questa chiesa una delle 20 Badie privilegiate, andò (?) questa Badia in commendà col titolo di Priorato, e l'ebbe la sacra Religione de' Cavalieri di Malta, come di S. Chiesa benemeriti, e perch'essi non potevano a somiglianza de' monaci offitiare questa chiesa Pio V trasferendo loro la Badia, e 'l Priorato, nell'anno 1566 diede la chiesa per la fabbrica d'un Monasterio di Monache neofite, e per l'anno 1562 Giulia Colonna aveva donata a' Neofiti una casa vicina alla loro habitatione, vi cominciarono il monasterio delle Neofite sotto il titolo dell' Annunziata; ma vedendo che per la strettezza del sito non bastava, l'unirono a questo, ritenendo co'l primo lor titolo quest'altro più antico di S. Basilio.	
<i>Section</i>	34
<i>Chapter</i>	Di S. Quirico
<p>Non fu tanto empio l'Imperatore Diocletiano, che qualche segno d'umanità non dimostrasse verso di S. Ciriaco, e compagni, dal quale essendo stata liberata una figlia Artemia (?) da spiriti offesa, gli donò una casa presso delle sue Therme, dove per qualche tempo il servo di Dio habitò, e doppo fu consacrata in chiesa con fonte del Sacro Battesimo.</p> <p>Il titolo di questa chiesa sotto Sisto IV fu trasportato a quello della chiesa di S. Quiriciò.</p> <p>Ma qual fosse il primo fondatore di quella chiesa, non si trova, solo potiamo credere si fabbricasse ad honore di questo santo fanciullo, quando a Roma furono portate delle sue reliquie e di sua madre S. Giulitta.</p> <p>Fu di stirpe regale nato in Peonio di Licaonia. Fu prima adornata dal Card. Alessandro de' Medici. Poi l'anno 1608 dal rettore Bernardo Leparini da Norcia, aiutando ancora i devoti del Santo, a cui è dedicata. Trasportò la Tribuna là, dove prima s'entrava in chiesa per uno scuro passaggio, e dall'altro capo fece la facciata con bella vista e proportione.</p> <p>E' collegiata, e c'è una compagnia del Santissimo Sacramento confermata da Gregorio XIII, l'anno del Giubileo 1575. Vestono sacchi bianchi, e nel petto portano dipinto un calice con l'ostia sopra.</p> <p>Ultimamente dal Santissimo Urbano VIII è stata la chiesa ristorata, e v'è questa iscrizione:</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Ecclesiam DD. martyribus Quirico et Iulittae dicatam a Sisto IV pene collabentem instauratam, denuo ruinam minantem in elegantiorum hanc formam restituit. Urbanus VIII Pont. Max. ann. sal. 1630. Pontif. VII</i></p>	
<i>Section</i>	54
<i>Chapter</i>	Di S. Caterina di Siena a Monte Magnanoli
Questa chiesa col monasterio, che sta sotto la regola di S. Domenico è stata fabbricata a tempi nostri. Le monache però in picciol numero stavano prima in un'altra chiesa di S. Caterina di Siena, dove ella finì i giorni suoi presso la chiesa di S. Maria della Minerva. Furono di là trasferite a questo	

<p>luogo in esecuzione della santa mente di pio V che voleva, che monasteri piccoli, come era questo, o s'ingrandissero, ovvero le monache si trasferissero altrove in altri, a vivere con maggior numero. A questo dunque, con l'aiuto della Signora Portia de' Massimi, fu dato principio l'anno 1563 in circa, con fabbrica più ampla, per farci una più copiosa raunanza di monache sotto buona disciplina, e osservanza regolare, dove la detta Portia, morto il suo marito Gio: Battista Salviati, si racchiuse anco essa l'anno 1575</p> <p>La Torre delle Militie fu fabbricata su' gli alberghi ruinati delle militie di Traiano.</p> <p>Nel mezzo del Foro di Traiano Imperatore, fu eretta la presente Colonna dal Senato Romano in honore di detto Principe. In essa è rappresentato gran parte de' fatti egregij che fece, e principalmente vi è scolpita la guerra di Dacia, in viva pietra. Dalla parte di dentro si ascende per una scala a chiocciolle, cento ottantacinque scalini, per li quali s'arriva alla sommità di detta Colonna, e vi sono anco quaranta finestrelle, per far lume dalla parte di dentro. Fu fabbricata questa Colonna con architettura mirabile, e le sue historie sono d'eccellentissimi maestri. In cima a detta Colonna vi era una palla d'oro, dove furno poste le ceneri di Traiano. Hoggi vi è in cambio della palla una statua di bronzo indorato di S. Pietro principe degli Apostoli. Nella base ancor' hoggi si legge S.P.Q.R. IMP. CAESARI DIVI NERVAE F. NERVAE TRAIANN AUG. GERM. DACIO PONTIF. MAXIMO TRIB. POTES. XVII IMP. VI PP. AD DECLARANDUM QUANTAE ALTITUDINI MONS ET LOCUS TANTIS OPERIBUS SIT EGESTUS.</p>	
<i>Section</i>	5
<i>Chapter</i>	Di S. Maria di Loreto
<p>L'anno 1500, che fu del Giubileo sotto d'Alessandro VI i Fornari di Roma diedero principio ad una Compagnia per quelli dell'arte loro, e deliberarono fare una chiesa, ebbero qui una piccola, ch'essendo parochia, l'unirono a quella di S. Quirico e riservarono una divota imagine della Madonna, per trasportarla su l'altar maggiore della nuova, che da fondamenti cominciarono l'anno 1507 sotto il titolo di S. Maria di Loreto.</p> <p>Piccol sito pigliarono su'l piano; ma innalzandola, come i Tempij de gli antichi Romani sotto froma ritonda con una bella cuppola in cima è riuscita al pari di molte chiese di Roma coperte di piombo, e è fatta con molta vaghezza. Ma non solamente di bellissimo disegno è questa chiesa nella cupola, ma in tutta la sua fabbrica, havendoci consumato cinquantamila scudi nello spatio di 53 anni, e tutti raccolti di limosine, tra le quali di (..) fu quella di Gio: Domenico Martini Reggiano, che vi lasciò nove mila scudi, acciò si finisse, come si fece l'anno 1580. La consacrazione però fu il 1534 all' 8 di Febbraro.</p> <p>Et acciò una si' bella chiesa fosse mantenuta, ci sono Preti, Cherici e un Confessore. Ci è di più un Organista co'l maestro di cappella per mantenerci la musica nei giorni di festa, e ne' Sabbati la sera, per cantare la <i>Salve Regina</i>, e in quei di Quadregesima procurano, che vi siano sermoni fatti da predicatori di varie Religioni. Et essendo la principal festa la Natività della Madonna, in tal giorno si maritano zitelle, e si libera un prigioniero per la vita. L'habito della Compagnia è un sacco bianco, e per insegna ha l'Image della Madonna di Loreto.</p> <p>La cappella del Presepio è opera di Federico Zuccaro.</p>	

<p>L'altar maggiore architettura d'Honorio Lunghi. La S. Agnese di marmo di Francesco Framengo; la S. Cecilia di Giuliano Finelli, le pitture del Cavalier Giosepe e l'architettura della chiesa di Giacomo del Duca Siciliano.</p> <p>Qui vicino ancora hanno fatto uno spedale per li poveri infermi dell'arte loro con 18 letti che nell'estate si raddoppiano, e altri ancora d'ogni conduttione possono entrare in questa Compag(n)ia, quando alcun fratello s'inferma, lo visitano e aiutano in tutti li bisogni nelle case di ciascuno, e doppo morte li portano a seppellire; e v'han fatto nuovo Cimiterio.</p> <p>Qui vicino è'l Palazzo de' Sig. Bonelli, architettura del ... Domenico Paganello.</p>	
<i>Section</i>	57
<i>Chapter</i>	Di S. Bernardo alla Colonna Traiana
<p>Hora di tante superbe fabbriche, le quali fecero risplendere questa piazza oltre la detta Colonna solo vi habbiamo due chiese, una è di S. Maria di Loreto, l'altra è la presente di S. Bernardo, che fondò un sacerdote Romano detto Francesco Schiavi di Gio. Angelo Folchi, l'anno 1328 sotto l'invocazione di S. Bernardo, per havendo in divotione, fece una compagnia di Sacerdoti, e Laici, la quale poi approvata dal Vicario di Papa Eugenio IV, l'anno 1440. E perché nella sua casa si fece la chiesa, deputarono per cimiterio l'horto congiunto, ma solo da seppellirci quelli della compagnia si huomini, come donne, e lor fu confermato questo privilegio da Pio II il 1459 nel quale diedero principio a questa chiesa, ma quanto alla sepoltura ciascuno si elegge quella, che più gli aggredisce.</p> <p>Vogliono che l'Imagine della Madonna sia di quelle, che S. Luca dipinse, e la scuoprono le feste solenni. Haveva questa Compagnia per suo proprio istituto di dare ogni Domenica pane a 40 famiglie povere, ma giudicarono poi meglio a fare un monasterio di monache, oer vestirci quelle, che per la povertà non possono entrare in altri, e per quest'effetto Sisto V le diede la Chiesa de' SS. Vito, e Modesto, con tutte le sue ragioni l'anno 1587, Vedendo poi che per la strettezza del sito non si poteva fare cosa a proposito, le diede la chiesa di S. Susanna.</p> <p>Qui incontro nelle muraglie vecchie del Foro hanno le loro abitazioni li Sig. Albertini.</p>	

Appendix C

Literary Sources: Guidebooks

NOTES ON THE FORM USED

Guidebooks are listed in a chronological order, giving a number to each guidebook listed. They are listed according to the date of first edition, when available. If not available, second edition has been used. In round brackets () other editions are recorded.

CALDANA CATEGORY: it means the category indicated by A. Caldana in the annotated catalogue (CALDANA 2003). Caldana's categories are: "*Indulgenze*"; "*Guide con finalità scientifica*"; "*Guide di divulgazione*"; "*Topografia scientifica*"; "*Libri devoti*"; "*Libri su Roma Antica*"; "*I monumenti di Roma: le monografie*". In round brackets, the number assigned by A. Caldana, when available, to that specific guidebook.

LINK DIGITIZED BOOK: it provides a direct link to digitized texts, when available.

Digitized texts are available through the following on-line sources

- Biblioteca Hertziana – LVPA (<http://lupa.biblherz.it/>)
- DAI (<https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/drupal/>)
- Universitat Heidelberg
(<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit>)

- Fondazione Marco Besso
(<http://www.fondazionemarcobesso.it/biblioteca/biblioteca-digitale/>)
- Unoversity of Michigan (<https://catalog.hathitrust.org>)
- Gallica (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/accueil/?mode=desktop>)
- www.archive.org
- Google Books (<https://books.google.it/>)

FRONTISPIECE: Scan of the frontispiece of the book catalogued

INDEX: Index of the Guidebook

MENTIONS: Sections considered interesting and useful for the present wok have transcribed in the present Appendix. All the sections about the events of ancient history have been discarded.

- Square brackets [---] are used to indicate that there is a section in the original text that has not been transcribed (description of churches or description f the monuments in the past).
- In the transcription of the texts, I have dissolved all the abbreviations.
- In bold in the texts mentioned: I have highlighted the most interesting words referring to
 - The monuments of the Imperial Fora in general
 - The references to the monuments as in ruins/part of the ancient buildings
 - The status of the monuments
 - The references to the contemporary district (streets, buildings, churches)

[C1] 1510 (1520): F. Albertini, *Opusculum de Mirabilibus Novae et Veteris Urbis Romae* editu a Francisco Albertino Florentino

Caldana category:	Scientific Topography (n.109)
Link digitized book:	http://dlib.biblhertz.it/Dg450-1201#page/4/mode/2up
Frontispiece	<p>Index</p> <p><i>In Primo Libro</i></p> <p><i>De moenibus & ambitu Urbis & pomerio</i></p> <p><i>De portis urbis</i></p> <p><i>De Viis & plateis</i></p> <p><i>De pontibus Urbis</i></p> <p><i>De montibus Urbis</i></p> <p><i>De Aquaeductibus</i></p> <p><i>De Thermis</i></p> <p><i>De Naumachiis & Cloacis</i></p> <p><i>De Circis eius</i></p> <p><i>De Theatri & amphiteatris</i></p> <p><i>De aerario & pecunia pub.</i></p> <p><i>De Foris & curiis</i></p> <p><i>De Campo Martio & aliis campis</i></p> <p><i>De Palatiis & loco palladii</i></p> <p><i>De domibus & insulis</i></p> <p><i>De Nympheis & Horreis</i></p> <p><i>De Tribubus & Regionibus Urbis</i></p> <p><i>In Secundo Libro</i></p> <p><i>De Sacerdotibus & magistratibus</i></p> <p><i>De templis Urbis</i></p> <p><i>De Bibliotecis & Basilicis</i></p>




	<p> <i>De Capitolis</i> <i>De asylo & nonnullis Turribus</i> <i>De porticibus & labris porphireis</i> <i>De Trophei & columnis memorandis</i> <i>Ab Arcubus triumphalibus</i> <i>De Collossis Urbis</i> <i>De coemiteriis sacris</i> <i>De sepulchro Augustorum & mole Hadriana</i> <i>De septizonio & nonnullis epythaphiis</i> <i>De Obeliscis & methis</i> <i>De carcere pub</i> <i>De Legibus & tabulis Aeneis</i> <i>De laudibus nonnullorum Ro.</i> <i>De diutiis Ro.</i> <i>De triumpho nonnullorum</i> <i>De Magnitudine imperii</i> <i>De Laude Urbis</i> </p> <p> <i>In Tertio Libro</i> <i>De ova Urbe Ro.</i> <i>De nonnullis ecclesiis & capellis</i> <i>De palatiis pontificum</i> <i>De domibus Cardinalium</i> <i>De Hospitalibus</i> <i>De bibliothecis</i> <i>De Castro Sancti Angeli</i> <i>De Belvidere</i> <i>De Porticibus</i> <i>De Viis & Plateis</i> <i>De Sepulchris memorandis</i> </p>
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	<i>De AVLuis & Columnis Aeneis</i> <i>De Officina pecuniae</i> <i>De Fontibus & Pontibus</i> <i>De cloacis & purgat Anienis</i> <i>De Aedificiis ab Iulio.ii..constructis</i> <i>De laudibus Civit.Flor.&.Saon</i> <i>FINIS</i>
Mentions	
<i>Section:</i>	<i>In Primo Libro. De moenibus & ambitu Urbis & pomerio</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>De Foris & curiis</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>17</i>
<p>“Rant emin Urbe Fora XVII principalia S. Forum Romanum. For Caesaris. Fo Augusti. Nervae. Traiani. Diocletiani- Aenobarbi & Sallusti. For boarium. Pistorium Holitorium. Gallor. Rusticor. Suarium. Archemonium. Piscariu6 Cupedinis.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>Forum Caesaris erat apud forum Ro. Statuis & pulcherrimis columnis decoratum / de quo Ovidius.-</p> <p>Haesc sunt fora Caesaris inquit.</p> <p>Quod forum inter magnifica opera Urbis enumerat Plinius/ cum solum tm. Foro extruendo festertiis mille ducetis Caesar Dictator emerit/in quo lorcatam sibi fieri statuam passus est.</p> <p>Forum Augusti erat apud ecclesiam sanctorum Cosmae & Dam. Versus Turrim Comitum. Caesar enim Augustus aedificavit forum cum aede Martis Ultoris & inco Castorem & pollucem cum victoria & Alex. Magno & imagine belli insignita opera Apellis posuit. Aulus vero Gellius dicit statuam Corvino Diius Aug. In foro suo statuendam curavit: & in eius statuae capite Corvi simulachrum rei & pugnae ornamentum: quod postea ab Hadriano instauratum est.</p> <p>Forum Traiani ab ipso Traiano exstructum & dictum apud columnam eius Coclidem in quo posuit lapidem marmoreum cum his literis.</p> <p>Talem Privatis imperatorem esse oportere: quales sibi privatos optat habere.</p>	

<p>Forum Nervae sive Transitorium: quod a Traiani ad alia Fora trasiebat/apud palatium ipsius Nervae: ut adhuc cubitales literae dirutae apud. X. ingetes columnas marmoreas apparet. IMP. Mervae (!) Caes. Aug. Trib. Potes.III.Impe. Helius partian dicit statuas lacosasvel pedes tres nudasvel equestres diuis imperatoribus in foro divi Nervae: quod transitorium dicitur: locabat omnibus cum titulis & columnis quae gestorum ordinem continerent Foro piscarium [...]</p>	
<i>Section:</i>	<i>In Primo Libro. De moenibus & ambitu Urbis & pomerio</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>De Asylo & Turri Militis</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>32r</i>
<p>[...] Turris Militiae est apud palatii Nervae Impe. In qua milites Traiani principis continebantur: quae primo habebat muroru circuitus: ut adhuc in aliquibus locis apparent vestigia: non longe a qua effossa fuere nonnulla marmora cum bis literis incisis. [...]</p>	
<i>Section:</i>	<i>In Primo Libro. De moenibus & ambitu Urbis & pomerio</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>De Porticus & Labris porphireticis</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>32v</i>
<p>[...] Porticus Nervae erat apud forum eius cum excelsius variis coloribus mixtis e quibus hoc anno affossas vidi nonnullas fractas. [...]</p>	
<i>Section:</i>	<i>In Primo Libro. De moenibus & ambitu Urbis & pomerio</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>De Tropheis & columnis memorandis</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>33v</i>
<p>[...] In Foro traiani est columna coclidis marmorea mirae pulchritudinis pedum cxviii ut melius circumspecteretur ipse Traianus Imp. Partem Quirinalis moris/ut patet in eius inscriptione/ solo adequavit: in qua sculptae sunt Victoriae & res gestae ab ipso Traiano: per medium colinae sunt gradus in eodem marmore sculp. A base ad culmen/ qui gradus sunt numero clxxxv. Foramina siuc spiracula xlv, incriptio vero talis est. [...]</p>	

[C2] 1524: A. Ponto, Mirabilia urbis roma, noua recognita

Caldana Caldana Category:	<i>Mirabilia, Stationi, Indulgentiae</i>
Link digitized book:	http://rara.bibl.hertiz.it/Dg450-1300
Frontispiece	Index
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. <i>Mirabilia Urbis Romae</i> B. <i>De vita et Obitu</i> C. <i>Oratio devotissima / de Sudario sacratissimi / vultus domini nostri Ie / su Christi, vel Veronica</i> D. <i>Incipiunt indulgentiae Septem Ecclesiarum principalium urbis Rom.</i> E. <i>Stationes</i> F. <i>TABULA CHRISTIANAE religionis valde utilis, et necessaria cui libet Christiano, quam omnes scire tenentur</i> G. <i>Divisiones decem nationum totius christianitatis</i> H. <i>Interrogationes, sive doctrine, quibus quilibet Sacerdos debet interrogare suum compositentem</i> I. <i>Modus confitendi, compositus per R.P.D. Episcopum Andream Hispanum sanctae Romanae ecclesiae poenitentiarium</i>

[C3] 1538: B. Marliano, Urbis Romae Topographia, Roma

Caldana Category:		Scientific Topography (n. 173)
Link digitized book:		http://dlib.biblhertz.it/Dg450-1340#page/1/mode/2up
Frontispiece		Index
Mentions		
Section:	Liber Tertius	
Chapter:	De Foro Traiani, e de us quae in eo fuere vel sunt	
Page:	56r-57v (Forum Traiani)	

<p>Instauratis maxime locis sacris, ac renovatis, quae ad hoium memoria, e laude spectat, breviterres tituamus, ab otimo illo Traiano auspicemur, Traiani igitur Forum fuit inter Nervae, Capitolium, e collem Quirinalem, cuius architectum Apollodorum fuisse, his verbis ostendit Dion. Hadrianus Apollodorum arhitectum, qui Traiani forum Metodeum, e Gymnasium, illpo iubente, fabricaverat, primum urbe expulit: postea interfecit. Huius autem fori tectum aeneum fuisse, scribit Paus. Gellius in foro, inquit, Traiani simulacra sunt sita circumundiquae inaugurata equorum, atquae signorum molitiarum, subscriptumquae est ex manubris. Quae simulacra ob aliquod in remp.meritum sumptu publico locari consuevisse, ostendit titulus excisus in marmore, in eodem foro reperto, qui est talis [...]</p>	
<p>Huius autem Porticus cum amplissimis, excelsiquae columnis, magnisquae pistyls tantam afferebat intuentibus admirationem, ut non hominum, sed Gugantum manu Omnia facta crederentur, in qua sumorum virorum statua pulcherrimas ndiquae ab Alexandro Severo translates fuisse admonet Lapmprudius. [...] Traiani equum solum locatu in atriy medio imitari se velle dicebato: cui regalis Ormisda respondit. Stabulum prius tale condas. Huius autem equi imaginem in eius numismatibus vidimus, cum hoc indice S.P.Q.R.OPTIMOPRINCIPI.</p> <p>Ex columnis vero, quas diximus, suae mirae magnitudinis sub tellure adhuc iacent prope ecclesiam S. Mariae cognomen Loreti. Forum autem exornavit etiam aArcus triumphalis eiusdem pricipis de quo Dion. Sic loquitur [...]</p> <p>[...] In cuius medio (Forum Traiani) stat adhuc Cochlidis, eius columna, in qua circunquaque reru festarum simulacra opsius mira arte coelata visuntur: et in primis Dacicum bellum.</p>	
Section:	<i>Liber Tertius</i>
Chapter:	<i>XIII. De Foro, Palatio, e Porticu Nervae.</i>
Page:	<i>57v (Forum of Nerva)</i>
<p>Nervae autem Forum occurrit post aedem nuc S. Hadriani in tribus foris, in medio cuius colimna aenea ingentis magnitudinis existens tectum, ex laminis auricalchi exiructum, sustinebat, intrinsecus vero lumen erat ambiguum, auth. Paus. [...]</p> <p>Status iocosas, vel pedestres nudas, vel equestres divis imperatoribus in foro Nervae, quod nunc Transitorium dicitur, locabat, omnibus cum titulus, et columnis aereis, quae gestorum ordinem continerent. [...]</p> <p>IMP.NERVA CAESAR TRIB.POTEST.II IMP.II collapsis epistylis desunt no nulla.is locus corrupto vocabulo pro arcu Nervae, arca Noei dicitur. Eius de Nervae Palatij ex lapidibus quadratis, igetesquae colmnae cernuntur adhuc inter Comitum, et Militiae turrin, cum ecclesia. S.Blasij inclusa.</p>	
Section:	<i>Liber Quintus</i>
Chapter:	<i>XXII. De Quirinalis etimologia. Turri Militiarum, Balnea Pauli. Saccello Neptuni. Thermis Constantini er de Domo et Vico Corneliorum</i>

<i>Page:</i>	<i>119r (Turris Militiarum, Balni Paulo Emilio)</i>
<p>Montis Quirinalis eymologiam docet Var. his verbis [...]</p> <p>Collis est oblongus. Sicut Viminalis, sed eo ampliorem habens ambitum, etiam (ut quibusdaplacet) complectitur eum collem, qui est a Collina ad COLLatinam portam, in quo iacet obeliscus aegyptiacis literis iscriptus, Linae, ut ferun, dicatus Es secundum vero latitudinem Viminalis porrigitu, à Septentrione in meridiem instar curvati ab cubitum brachij, ad turrim nunc Comitum, unde exordiri es situs urbis description optime convenit. In primo igitur clivo, supra Forum Traiani, ibi stationem olim habentesm nomen fecere. Quo in loco, inferius tamen, extant triplici concameratione fornices, et in hemicycli forma cryptoporticus, à fronte caveam theatralem reddentes, prope quae loca effossa fuere marmora hoc titulo notata POTENTISSIMA DOS IN PRINCIPE LIBERALITAS, ET CLEMENTIA.</p> <p>Haud ita multo post, eodem clivo Balinea Pauli stetis se ferunt qui locus corrupto Bagnanapoli nuc dicitur. In descendo vero eius partis Quirinalis, cui planam Suburram subiacere scriptum es, in hortis [...]</p>	

[C4] 1541: Le cose meravigliose della città di Roma, con le indulgentie de di en di, che sono in tutte le Chiese di essa tradotte de Latino in Volgare, Venezia

Category:	<i>Mirabilia, Stazioni, Indulgentiae</i> (n. 10)
Link digitized book:	http://rara.biblhertz.it/Dg450-1441
Frontispiece	Index



[I] Indulgentie de le v.ii. Chiese / principali de Roma.
 [Johannes der Täufer]
 [I] [Santo Ioanni in Laterano]
 [II] [Santo Pietro in Vaticano]
 [Petrus]
 [III] [San Paulo]
 [Paulus] S PAULUS
 [IV] [Santa Maria Maggiore]
 [Thronende Madonna]
 [V] [Santo Laurentio fuera de le mura]
 [Laurentius]
 [VI] [San Fabiano e Santo Sebastiano]
 [Sebastian]
 [VII] [Santa Croce in Hierusale]
 [Jesus mit Kreuz]
 [III] De le indulgentie&relique de l'altre / chiese di Roma.
 [Thronende Madonna]


Mentions

No mentions of the ruins of the ancient imperial Fora. But just the churches

[C5] 1557 (1563, 1587): Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma. Doue si tratta delle Chiese, Stationi, Indulgenze

Caldana category:	<i>Mirabilia, Stazioni, Indulgentiae</i> (n. 19)
Link digitized book:	
Frontispiece	Index

[C6] 1569: B. Gamucci, Libri quattro dell'antichità della città di Roma raccolte sotto breuita da diversi antichi et moderni scrittori, Venetia

Caldana category:	Antiquarianism (n. 180)
Link digitized book:	http://dlib.bibl.hertiz.it/DG-804-R66-1569#page/272/mode/2up
Frontispiece	Index
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Le Antichità della Città di Roma - Al magnanimo et eccellente Signore il S. Ottavio Sammarco Thomaso Porcacchi All'illustrissimo et eccellentissimo S. il S. Don Francesco de' Medici Giovanni Varisco a' lettori Di M. Benedetto Varchi - I. Del luogo dove fu edificata Roma Del colle del Campidoglio, prima detto Capitolino - II. Del Foro Olitorio e Boario, e di tutto quello che è restato nella valle, che è tra il Campidoglio e il Palatino - III. Del Colle dell'Esquilie - IV. Del Trastevere

Mentions	
Section:	<i>I. Del luogo ove fu edificata Roma. Del colle del Campidoglio, prima detto Capitolino</i>
	<i>Foro di Nerva</i>
Page:	<i>50r-52r</i>
<p>Dopo il Foro di Augusto seguìtava (si come è opinione di Svetonio) fra quel di Cesare è el Foro Romano dietro alla Chiesa di Santo Adriano quello di Nerva, il quale fu prima cominciato da Domitiano Imperatore; e perchè da questo si poteva passare agli altri due fu chiamato Transitorio. Ma havendo poi Nerva con più bella fabbrica e meglio intesa in fin da fondamenti rinovato, lo volle chiamare il Foro di Nerva, acciocchè si conservasse perpetua memoria del suo nome e spegnesse quello di Domitiano, tanto odiato per le sue cattive opere dà Romani. Fu questo imperatore [...]</p> <p>La vaghezza e gli ornamenti, la bellezza degli intagli e la ricchezza di tutta l'opera di questo Foro si conosce per il portico che era mirabile il quale d'ogni intorno ha le sue colonne di marmo d'ordine Corinthio così come era il restante di tutta la fabbrica, ancor chè quello che è stato scoperto da poi mostra essere muraglia d'opera rustica, come il Foro di traiano che gli è appresso, notato nel nostro disegno con lettera A. Ancora nei tempi nostri si leggono nel fregio infrascritte lettere [...]</p>	
Section:	<i>I. Del luogo ove fu edificata Roma. Del colle del Campidoglio, prima detto Capitolino</i>
Chapter:	<i>Foro di Traiano</i>
Page:	<i>52r-52v</i>
<p>Il Foro di Traiano che era stato da Apollodoro fabricato dietro a quel di Augusto tra il Campidoglio e il colle Quirinale in quel luogo dove hoggi dice il pantano; fu certo d'opera meravigliosa per la grandezza delle colonne che afornavano il suo portico tanto stupendo [...]. Haveva questo d'ogni intorno statue molto belle le quali vi furono da Alessandro Severo portate [...]. V'erano i simulacri di più cavalli fatti di bronzo [...]. Stava la statua di Traiano tutta di bronzo nel mezzo dell'atrio del detto Foro [...]</p>	
Page:	<i>56</i>
<p>Colonna di Traiano. Questa Colonna hora è chiamata non di Traiano ma del Macello de Corvi per la casa che v'havevano appresso i Corvini già antichi e nobili cittadini romani. Et perchè furono i fatti gloriosi di questo imperatore degli dell'eternità. Non essendo i Romani restati contenti di tanti honori, che gli havevano fatti, gli consacrarono ancora un tempio havendolo come heroe deificato, e in quel tempio dicono essere stato una bella libreria, nella quale è opinione, che si conservassero gli editti de pretori. E perchè niuna cosa al mo.do si conserva eterna, essendo come delle cose materiali e elementari avviene rovinato il detto foro, si dice che papa Simmaco I e Bonifacio VII di quelle rovine edificarono tre chiese in honor di San Basilio di San Silvestro e San Martino, e i medesimi anche vi fecero tre torri, le quali furono fondate sopra delle medesime ruine; e perchè alloggiavano soldati furono domandate della milizia...”</p>	

<i>Section:</i>	<i>III. Del Colle dell'Esquilie</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Bagni di Paolo Emilio</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>126r – 126v</i>
<p>[...] gli archi de quali bagni essendo stati fatti a guisa di Tabernaculi si veggono hoggi al pari della terra, e per la forma d'essi facilmente si può conoscere come tutte l'acque che servivano per il bisogno de detti bagni passavano per il mezo di quelli, acciocche con più agevolezza, che con qual si voglia altro ordine, che vi si fosse fatto, n'andassero a luoghi loro... appresso il sopradetto colle Quirinale si vede l'altra torre da quella parte, che riguarda il foro Traiano la quale fu in quel luogo da Bonifacio VII edificata, e da lui fu detta delle militie, per haver gettato i suoi fondamenti sopra le rovine che v'erano de gli alloggiamenti de soldati di Traiano fatti da quello ottimo imperatore acciocche i soldati, che si ritrovavano alla guardia della persona sua si potessero riparare in quel luogo. Et perché i detti soldati da latini erano chiamati milites, perciò vogliono che da questo nome la sopradetta torre sortisse il nome delle milizie...sebbene pongono gli scrittori, che dove si ritrova la detta torre si sieno ritrovati portici e altri edifici molto belli in quel luogo, dove è ne tempi nostri la chiesa di Santo Albino, e ancora vi si sono ritrovate teste di Traiano molto belle con altre statue di grandissimo pregio.</p> <p>[...]</p>	

[C7]1569: L. Contarini, L'antiquità, sito, chiese, corpi santi, reliquie et statue di Roma. Con l'origine e Nobiltà di Napoli. Composta per il Reverendo Padre F. Luigi Contarino dell'ordine delli Crociferi, Napoli

Caldana Category:	<i>Mirabilia, Stationi, Indulgentiae</i> (n. 38)
Link digitized book:	http://rara.biblhertz.it/Dg450-1691
Frontispiece	Index



- All'Illustrissimo Signor Duca di Montalto
- ALL'ILLUSTRISSIMO ET / ECCELENTISSIMO DUCA / DI MONTALTO / Il Signor Don ANTONIO di Aragona.
- L'ANTIQUITA DI ROMA DIALOGO / DEL REVERENDO FRA LUIGGI CON / tarino de i crociferi li corpi di Santi
- TAVOLA / DELL'ANTICHITA DI / ROMA.
- Errori occorsi nel Stampare.

Mentions

Section:	<i>L'antichità di Roma</i>
Chapter:	
Page:	97

Il **Foro di Cesare** era congiunto al Foro Romano, ove hora, sonno dietro S. Cosmo e Damiano giardini; **Quello di Augusti** fu quindi appresso negl'orti che sono dietro s. Martino, & a Morforio, & qui Antonino Pio edificò il tempio ad Adriano imperatore che hoggidi s'addmenda s. Adriano da Papa Adriano primo edificato, in campo di questo foro. **Nerva edificò un bellissimo palazzo & hoggidi si veggono alcune smisurate colonne di un portico che vi era, il foro del detto Nerva fu tra l'uno e l'altro di questi dui, fu ancho detto transitorio.**

Al. Perché fu egli così chiamato Transitorio?

Lo. Perché sendo nel mezzo di quello di Cesare e di Augusto si poteva passare agli altri fori. **Quello di Traaiano poi fu dietro a quello di Augusto, tra il Campidoglio e il Quirinale** hoggi monte Cavallo. Nem mezzo di questo foro vi fu **quela colonna a Chiocciolate**, che hoggidi ancor si vede scolpita di fatti di esso Traiano, che fu in quella sepolto.

Al. Questa colonna quanto può essere alta?

<p>Lo. E di altezza 128 piedi, & ivi si ascende per dentro con 173 gradi, & vi sono 44 fenestre, in questo foro vi fu la statua di Claudiano poeta fattali da Arcadio e Honorio imperatore, fu poi nelle ruine di questo foro, da Papa Simmaco primo edificata la chiesa di S. Silvestro, quella di S. Basilio, & quella di S. Martino, le tre torre che ivi si veggono furono fatte fare da papa Bonifacio 8 & quella di mezzo si chiama la torre delle Militie.</p> <p>Al. Qual fu la cagione che così detta fosse?</p> <p>Lo. Perche fu fondata sopra le stanze delli soldati di Traiano</p> <p>Al. Ovidio ove hebbe egli a casa sua?[...]</p>	
<i>Section:</i>	<i>L'antichità di Roma</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	
<i>Page:</i>	<i>117</i>
<p>Al: I bagni di Paolo emilio dove furono?</p> <p>Lo: Furono proprio nella punta del colle, & hoggidi quel loco è chiamato Bagna Napoli invece di Balnea Pauli e all'altra parte del quirinale vi furono i tempj di Saturno, e di Bacco [...]</p> <p>Al: Dove era la strada suburra tanto celebre?</p> <p>Lo: Fu tra la punta viminale, e l'Equiloe, cominciava al Foro di Nerva, & si stendeva sotto le Carinae fin al principio della via Tiburtina, la quale separava l'Esquilie per mezzo, poichè quella sallita fu chiamata il Clivo di Suburra, in questo vico vi habitò un tempo C. Cesare, & vi stettero molte meretrici.</p>	

[C8] 1588: , Girolamo Franzini (ed.), Le cose meravigliose dell'ama città di Roma, dove si veggono il movimento delle guglie (...), Venetia


Caldana Category:	<i>Mirabilia, Stazioni, Indulgentiae</i> (n. 24)
Link digitized book:	
Frontispiece	Index
<i>See the followig form C9</i>	

[C9] 1588 (1643, 1653, 1660, 1668): Fra Santi Solinori, *Le cose meravigliose dell'ama città di Roma, dove si veggono il movimento delle guglie (..)*, Venetia

Latest editions with the title: *Roma antica e moderna* (1660, 1668) [C.27]

Caldana Category:	<i>Mirabilia, Stationi, Indulgentiae</i> (n. 24)
Link digitized book:	http://dlib.biblhertz.it/Dg450-1882#page/6/mode/2up
Frontispiece	Index
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Le sette chiese principali - Nell'Isola tiberina - In Trastevere - Nel Borgo - Dalla Porta Flaminia fuori del P.O. fino alle radici del Campidoglio - Dal Campidoglio a man sinistra verso li Monti - Dal Campidoglio a man dritta, verso li monti - Le stationi che sono nelle chiese di Roma - La guida Romana per li forastieri che vengono per vedere le Antichità di Roma - L' Antichità di Roma (di Andrea Palladio)

[C10]1600 (1625): Panciroli O., I tesori nascosti dell'alma citta di Roma, Roma

Caldana Category:	Scientific Topography (n. 112)
Link digitized book:	https://books.google.it/books?id=Ms3XHaknqvUC&printsec=frontcover&hl=it&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false
Frontispiece	Index
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dell' Anno Santo, e sua institutione, con il modo di visitare le quattro Chiese, e delle cerimonie in aprire, e ferrare le Porte Sante 2. Dè sacri Cemeterij dè Santi 3. Dè Titoli delle Chiese di Roma 4. Delle Stationi di Roma 5. Delle Sette Chiese di Roma, e lor prima origine 6. Della Città di Roma e suoi Rioni 7. Del Rione di Campitelli e sue Chiese 8. Del Rione dè Monti e sue Chiese 9. Del Rione di Trevi e sue Chiese 10. Del Rione di Colonna e sue Chiese 11. Del Rione di Campo Marzio e sue Chiese 12. Del Rione di Ponte e sue Chiese 13. Del Rione di Borgo e sue Chiese 14. Del Rione di Trastevere e sue Chiese 15. Del Rione di Ripa e sue Chiese 16. Del Rione di S. Angelo e sue Chiese 17. Del Rione di Regola e sue Chiese 18. Del Rione di Parione e sue Chiese

	19. Del Rione di S. Eustachio e sue Chiese 20. Del Rione della Pigna e sue Chiese
Mentions	
Section:	
Chapter:	8. Del Rione dè Monti e sue Chiese
Page:	192. S. Maria degli Angeli in via Alessandrina
Di S. Maria degli Angeli a via Alessandrina. XXVI Negli atti di alcuni santi martirim dei quali i corpi parte n'ha S. Agata di Suburra parte S Lorenzo in Lucina, legghiam che furono condotti alla pietra sclerata presso l' Anfiteatro ad essere uccisi per Christo. Tre Chiese di Roma trovaiamo che sono addimandate Macello dè Martiri, cioe questa, S. Vito e di S. Salvatore presso del S. Uffitio. [...] Si chiama questa contrada li Pantani , così detta per la bassezza del sito, dove concorrendo molte acque e frmandovisi, restò per qualche tempo dishabitato, ma sotto Pio V cominciò con nuove fabbriche, e belle strade a nobilitare. Fu quella strada detta Alessandrina dal Cardinal Alessandrino, nipote di Pio Quinto, che l' adornò di molte case. Di tutto questo raccogliamo, che per essere tanto sacro un luogo tale, bisogna ch' insino da i principi della Chiesa Romana sempre i fedeli l' honorassero [...]	
Page:	194 S. Urbano
L'anno del Signore 1264 una Gentildonna Romana di casa Bianchi detta Giacoma, havendo qui alcune case, ottenne da Urbano IV di farci una chiesa con un monasterio, percio la dedicarono a S. Urbano I del quale diremo qualche cosa a S. Cecilia, dove riposa il suo corpo.[...]	
Page:	193. S. Lorenzo
Il volgo ha dato questo nome di S. Lorenzuolo a questa chiesa, perché tra tutte le altre dedicate in Roma a S. Lorenzo, questa è la piu piccola, e poi moderna, ha un altro sopranoime piu antico preso dal vicino luogo di Macel de Corvi.	
Page:	195. Dello Spirito Santo
Just history and description of the modern church. No mentions of the ruins around it, of the ancient buildings or of the modern district with buildings and streets.	
Page:	196. Di S. Eufemia
Just history and description of the modern church. No mentions of the ruins around it, of the ancient buildings or of the modern district with buildings and streets	
Page:	199. Di S. Maria in Campo Carleo

<p>Essendo lo stesso campo, che piazza, si può credere che Carleo fosse detto dal nome di qualche cittadino che su quella avesse qualche palazzo, come piazza di Pietra da Pietro, e di Sciarra da un gran Capitano Colonnese chiamato Sciarra.</p> <p>Fu per un tempo detta Spoglia Christo, del che non sapendosi l'origine, varie interpretazioni gli danno, come dall'assassinamenti che in tempi di rivoluzione qui si facevano, o perché in questa chiesa venissero a spogliarsi quelli che spru la cappella di S. Maria della pietà nel Coliseo avevano il Venerdì Santo rappresentata la passione di N. Sig. come ivi si disse, o perché sopra la porta di questa chiesa era dipinta un'immagine del Signore Spogliato dai Giudei, qual Sisto V fece mutare, acciò tal soprano si desmettesse. L'antichità di questa chiesa si raccoglie da alcuni strumenti del 1406 che così la nominano.</p>	
Page:	199. Dell'Annunziata in S. Basilio
<p>Qui dove è fabbricata questa chiesa era il Palazzo di Nerva Imperatore, quale haveva Avanti una piazza tutta lastricata di ottone, fin' hora resta in piedi un pezzo di muro altissimo fatto di marmi, a punta di diamanti, che per essere senza alcuna finestra, fa credere che dal tetto pigliasse il lume. Fu questo imperatore altrettanto piacevole verso i Christiani, quanto crudele Domitiano suo ancestore poiche rivoò tutti li bandi, e pene pubblicate contro i Christiani. La piazza di passaggio chiamarono questa, perche di qua ed altre due, o pure tre si passava, onde la chiesa di S. Adriano si diceva: Anast. In Honorio I in tribus foris, alle tre piazze.</p> <p>Una fu la Romana, hora Campo Vaccino, da trattare varie cause; e perché non battuta, Giulio Cesare la feconda, ch'era doppo la chiesa de S. Cosmo e Damiano; ne questa potendo con la prima supplire ad una città, che signoreggiava il Mondo: Augusto v'aggiunse la terza dietro la chiesa di S. Adriano, di modo che per venire a queste tre piazze, serviva d'un comodo passaggio quella di Nerva.</p> <p>Essendo stata questa chiesa una delle 20 badie privilegiate, .. [...]</p>	
Page:	291. S. Bernardo alla Colonna Traiana
<p>Nacque Traiano in una Città di Spagna, detta Italica, nella Provincia Tudertina, di cui Strabone fa mentione, onde si ingannarono quelli che per quella provincvia indessero Todi citta nell'Umbria. Di tanta stima fu Traiano presso l'esercito Romano che nela Germania l'elessero Imperatore dopo Nerva l'anno 100 di N. Sig [...]</p> <p>Hora, per venire a questa piazza, che di Traian si disse, ella trapasso tutte l'altre maravigliose fabbriche di Roma, come scrissero Cio in Traiano Amm. Marc. lib. 16 [...] essendo tra i monti Capitolino, e Quirinale, per farla più spationsa, d'ambedue quei monti ne tagliarono parte: poi la cinsero de portici ottenuti da colonne altissime e d'ogni intorno su la cima vedevansi in bianchi marmi figurati cavalli e varij segni militari che in tante guerre s'erano da Traiano conquistati. La sua figura ancora nel mezzo della piazza statua sopra di un cavallo fatto con tanto artificio, che venendo Constanzo a Roma per vedere le sue meraviglie, all' entrate di questa piazza stupitosi, altro, disse, non desidero che di fare un simil cavallo, ma rivoltandosi egli Ormisda Re de Persiani, ch'era seco, dissegli bisogna prima fargli una somigliante stalla, intendendo la piazza, nel cui mezzo era il detto cavallo. [...]</p>	

<p>Di tre altre fabbriche mirabilmente risplendeva questa piazza, delle quali altro non ci resta che la colonna e infin' hora dal suo nome detta Traiana, così anco dal suo primo nome Ulpio fu detta Ulpia una basilica da trattar negotij e di molte orationi e ragionamenti fatti al popolo dal gran Constantino Imperatore doppo che hebbe ricevuta la fede Christiana, una ve ne recito in quella basilica dove col Senato essendosi congregato il popolo, furono udite con tanta attenzione le gagliarde sue promesse contra la vanità de gli idoli che oltre di riportarne grande applauso poi volte gridarono: Altro Dio non c'è che quello de i Christiani.</p> <p>Quanto alla colonna, scrive Dione in Taian che la fece Traiano, ma si ingannò per non haver letto nella base che dal Senato e Popolo Romano gli fu drizzata con un arco trionfale, come pure lo stesso Dione afferma [...]. L'anno 1598 fu da Sisto V consacrata questa colonna al Prencipe degli Apostoli S. Pietro, con metterci nella cima una gran statua di lui di bronzo dorato.</p> <p>Un'altra memoria di Traiano pur qui ci resta, ed è una torre, che fin' hora si dice delle Militie. Serviva per la militia e soldatesca imperiale, che stava alla guardia del suo gran Palazzo Traiano e tanto spatio in quest'ultima parte del monte Quirinale occupava questa fortezza che Papa Bonifacio VIII sopra le ruine di essa fece tre gran trri che pur si veggono. [...]</p> <p>Ora di tante superbe fabbriche le quali fecero risplendere la piazza, oltre la detta Colonna solo vi habbiamo due chiese, una è di S. Maria di Loreto, l'atra è la presente di S. Bernardo, che fondò un sacerdote Romano detto Francesco Schiavi di Gio. Angelo Fosch [...]</p>	
Page:	295. <i>S. Maria di Loreto</i>
<i>Just history and description of the modern church. No mentions of the ruins around it, of the ancient buildings or of the modern district with buildings and streets.</i>	

[C11]1600: Fra Santi Parisio P., **Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma, anfiteatro del mondo con chiese (..)**

Caldana Category:	<i>Mirabilia, Stationi, Indulgentiae</i> (n. 26)
Link digitized book:	
Frontispiece	

[C12] 1609: Cherubini G.B., Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma, Roma

Caldana Category:		<i>Mirabilia, Stationi, Indulgentiae</i> (n. 30)
Link digitized book:		http://dlib.biblhertz.it/Dg450-2090#page/92/mode/2up
Frontispiece		Index
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ai benigni lettori Lo Stampatore - Elenco e descrizione degli edifici religiosi romani] - Le stationi che sono nelle Chiese di Roma, sì per la quaresima, come per tutto l'anno, con le solite indulgenze. - La Guida Romana per li Forastieri che vengono per vedere l'Antichità di Orma, ad una per una, in bellissima forma, et brevità ridotta <p>Prima giornata Giornata Seconda Giornata Terza Indice dè sommi Pontefici di roma Reges et Imperatores Romani</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - L'antichità dell'alma città di Roma (di Andrea Palladio)
Mentions		
Section:	<i>La guida Romana per li Forastieri che vengono per veder l'Antichità</i>	

<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Delle due Colonne, una di Antonino Pio e l'altra di Traiano</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>58 (Colonna Traiana)</i>
<p>Il terzo dì, cominciate da Campo Martio o per dir meglio da Piazza Colonna, dove vedrete la Colonna di Antonino Pio, l'altezza di piedi 177.70 [...]</p> <p>E veduto che avete questo tornate alla medesima strada, dove siete venuto e andate sempre dietro verso S. Marco infino che siete giunto ad un luogo detto macello de corvi, li domanderete dove è la Colonna Traiana che ognuno ve l'insegnerà, quale è d'altezza di piedi 132 [...]</p>	
<i>Section:</i>	<i>L'antichità dell'alma città di Roma (di Andrea Palladio)</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Dè Fori cioè Piazze</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>13</i>
<p>Diciassette furono in Roma i Fori principali [...]</p> <p>Quello di Cesare fu dietro il portico di Faustina e Cesare spese nel nel pavimento centomila sesterzi; quello di augusto era dove e la chies di Sant' Adriano e andava verso la Torre de Conti; Quello di Neva fu fra la chiesa di Santo Adriano e di S. Basilio, dove sono quelle colonne mezze guaste. Quel di Traiano era vicino alla chiesa di S. Maria di Loreto dove è la sua colonna.</p>	

[C13] 1610 (1615, 1625): P. M. Felini, Trattato nuovo delle cose meravigliose

Caldana Category:	<i>Mirabilia, Stationi, Indulgentiae</i> (n. 30)
Link digitized book:	http://rara.biblhertz.it/Dg450-2100
Frontispiece	Index



Mentions

Section:	
Chapter:	Dalla Porta del Popolo a desra e sinistra sino alla Madonna dè Monti
Page:	53-54: (churches)
Section:	Dell'antichità di Roma
Chapter:	Delli bagni di Paolo Emilio
Page:	24

<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Delli Fori</i>
<i>Page:</i>	28-29
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Delle colonne memorande</i>
<i>Page:</i>	30
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Torre delle Militie</i>
<i>Page:</i>	90

[C14]1616: G. Facciotto, Le nuove et antiche meraviglie dell'alma città di Roma

Caldana Category:	<i>Mirabilia, Stationi, Indulgentiae</i> (n. 31)
Link digitized book:	
Frontispiece	Index

[C15]1616: Fra Palemrio da Scandriglia, Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma ...

Caldana Category:	<i>Mirabilia, Stationi, Indulgentiae</i> (n. 32)
Link digitized book:	
Frontispiece	Index

[C16]1618: G. Lupardi, *Mirabilia urbis Romae ubi agitur de Ecclesiae*

Caldana Category:		Mirabilia, Stationi, Indulgentiae (n. 32)
Link digitized book:		
Frontispiece		Index
Mentions		
Section:	Antiquitate Almae urbis Romae	
Chapter:	Fora Romana	
Page:	19	

<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Trophea et Columnnae</i>
<i>Page:</i>	22
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Fora Romana</i>
<i>Page:</i>	19

[C17]1619: F. Maria Torrigio, le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma (...)

Caldana Category:	<i>Mirabilia, Stationi, Indulgentiae</i> (n. 33)
Link digitized book:	
Frontispiece	Index

[C18]1625: G. Mari – G. Marcucci, Grandezze della città di Roma antiche e moderne (...)


Caldana Category:	<i>Mirabilia, Stationi, Indulgentiae</i> (n. 32)
Link digitized book:	http://lupa.biblhertz.it/Dg450-2280#page/1/mode/2up
Frontispiece	Index



Mentions


Chapter:	<i>Il Foro di Traiano</i>
Page:	2
Chapter:	<i>Il Foro di Nerva</i>
Page:	5
Chapter:	<i>La Colonna Traiana</i>
Page:	92

[C19]1638: Gaspare Celio, Memoria fatta dal Signor Gaspare Celio dell'habito di Christo. Delli nomi dell'artefici delle pitture, che sono in alcune chiese, facciate e palazzi di Roma

Caldana Category:	Scientific Guide (n. 40)
Link digitized book:	http://dlib.bibl.hertz.it/Dg450-2381#page/1/mode/2up
Frontispiece	Index
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Memoria fatta dal Signor Gaspare Celio dell'habito di Christo- Memoria da chi siano state depinte alcune Pitture, le quali sono in alcune Chiese e palazzi e facciate di Roma, con alcune statue e nomi di Architetti- Le chiese vanno per Alfabeto- Palazzi in Roma e fuori con giardini
Mentions	
Section:	Le chiese vanno per alfabeto
Chapter:	
Page:	36
Santa Maria di Loreta delli Fornari vicino alla Colonna Traiana.	

Le pitture ad' olio collaterali all' Altare Maggiore , del Cavalier Giuseppe Cesari. La Cappella delli Magi à freseo, di Nicolao delle Pomerancie. La Cappella di Musaico, di Paolo da Cerito. L'architettura di Antonio Songalla, sentita la lanterna da Giacomo del Duca Siciliano.

[C20]1638 (1665): A. Donati, Roma vetus ac recens utrisque


Caldana Category:		
Link digitized book:		http://dlib.biblhertz.it/Dg450-2652#page/1/mode/2up
Frontispiece		Index
		<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Liber Primus. Effigies antiquae Romae ex vestigiis- Liber Secundus- Liber Tertius- Liber quartus
Mentions		
Section:	Liber Tertius	
Chapter:	Forum Caesaris	
Page:	184	

<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Forum Augusti</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>187</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Forum Nervae</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>188</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Forum traiani</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>196</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Colonna cochlis</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>196</i>

[C21] 1639: G. Baglione, **Le nove chiese di Roma** (Guida con finalità scientifica)

Caldana Category:	
Link digitized book:	
Frontispiece	Index

[C22]1643: Descrittione di Roma Antica e Moderna, Nella quale si contengono chiese, monasterij, Hospedall, Compagnie, Collegij, Seminari, Tempij, Teatri, Anfiteatri, Naumachie, Cerchi, Fori, Curie, Palassi e Statue (...)

Category:	Scientific Guide
Link digitized book:	http://dlib.biblhertz.it/Dg450-1340#page/1/mode/2up
Frontispiece	Index
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - - Descrittione di Roma antica e moderna - Tavola de tutte le chiese dell'alma città di Roma - Delli Titoli de Cardinali di Santa Chiesa In Trastevere - Nel Borgo - Dalla Porta Flaminia, ovvero del Popolo à mano destra, e sinistra, fino alla Madonna delli Monti - Dal Giesù, Parione, strada Giulia, Regola, e restante infino Araceli - Dal Campidoglio da ogni parte, finendo a Sant'Agnese di Porta Pia - Le Stationi che sono ne le Chiese dentro, e fuori di Roma, sì per la Quaresima, e Avvento, come per tutto l'Anno - La Guida romana per li forastieri - Indice brevissimo de Pontefici romani - L'Antichità figurate dell'alma città di Roma - Dell'origine et progresso dell'alma città di Roma, et sue antichità - Catalogo delli Re et Imperatori Romani - Appendice - Tavola delle cose più notabili

Mentions	
<i>Section:</i>	<i>Tavola di tutte le chiese dell'alma città di Roma</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Dalla Porta Flaminia, ovvero del Popolo, a mano destra, e sinistra, dino alla Madonna delli Monti</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>126 (S. Maria di Loreto)</i>
La chiesa di Santa Maria di Loreto.	
<i>Just a description of the modern church</i>	
<i>Page:</i>	<i>127 (S. bernardo)</i>
S.S. Bernardo alla Colonna Traiana.	
Ora di tante superbe fabbriche le quali fecero risplendere questa piazza, oltre la detta colonna solo vi habbiamo due chiese, una è di S. Maria di Loreto e l'altra è la presente di S. Bernardo [...]	
<i>Page:</i>	<i>127 (La Coluna Traiana)</i>
La Columna Traiana.	
Nel mezzo del foro di Traiano Imperatore fu erretta la presente Colonna dal Senato Romano in honore di detto principe. [...]	
<i>Page:</i>	<i>128 – 132 (Spirito Santo, S. Lorenzo, S. Eufemia, S. Maria Camp Carleo, S. Urbano)</i>
<i>No references to ancient Rome.</i>	
<i>Section:</i>	<i>La guida romana per li forestieri</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Giornata terza: delle due colonna una di Antonino Pio e l'altra di Traiano e di altre cose</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>398</i>
Il terzo comincerete da campo marzo o per meglio dire da Piazza Colonna, dove vedrete la Colonna Di Antonino Pio [...]. Et veduto che avrete questo tornate nella medesima strada, per la quale siete venuto e andate sempre dritto verso S. Marco, infino che siate giunti ad un luogo detto Macello de Corvi, e ivi domandate dove è la Colonna Traiana [...]	
<i>Section:</i>	<i>L'Antichità figurate dell'alma città di Roma</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>XXII Delli fori, cioè piazze ovvero mercati</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>494. Del Foro di Cesare</i>
Molti furono i fori in Roma, ma li principali ... Quello di Cesare fu dietro il portico di Faostina e Cesare spese nel pavimento centomila sestertij, li quali secondo il computo di Andrea Fulvio nel lib. 3 vagliono scudi 250 mila.	

<i>Page:</i>	<i>494. Del Foro di Augusto</i>
Il Foro di Augusto era posto dietro alla statua di Marforio dove erano molti hortaggi: dicono che questo foro era stretto perciò che Augusto in farlo, non volle disagiare né togliere per forza, le case vicine ai padroni la cagione che lo mosse a far questo Foro fu la moltitudine dei litigij alla speditione de quali parendogli i due fori che vi erano non essere abbastanza, vi aggiunse il terzo. [...]	
<i>Page:</i>	<i>495. Del Foro di Nerva</i>
Il Palazzo di Nerva Imepratore, parte del quale si vede ancora per le sue vestigij, dove hoggi è la chiesa di San Biagio, era di sopra al foro redetto di Augusto, e vicino alle radici del monte Quirinale, egli aveva presso un portico di meravigliosa bellezza, come ne fanno fede le colonne che pur oggi vi sono. Erav appresso il foro del medesimo nerva, il quale si distendeva fino alla chiesa oggi di S. Adriano	
<i>Page:</i>	<i>497. Del Foro di Traiano</i>
Il foro di traiano era posto sotto il Campidoglio, nel contorno de luoghi (oggi detto di Macello de corvi e S. Maria in Campo Carleo), di quello ne fu architetto Apollodoro il quale di poi da Adriano successore di traiano [...]	
Fra gli altri meravigliosi ornamenti, havea questo foro infinite statue delle quali molte erano poste nel più alto luogo di esso	
<i>Section:</i>	<i>L'Antichità figurate dell'alma città di Roma</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>XXV. Delle Colonne più memorande</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>518. Della Colonna Traiana</i>

[C23] 1644 (1650, 1658, 1660, 1702, 1750): Fioravante Martinelli, Roma ricercata nel suo sito

Caldana Category:	Guides for divulgation (n. 231)
Link digitized book:	
Frontispiece	Index



- [Indice delle giornate](#)
- [Notita delle Porte, Monti, e Rioni della Città](#) [Porte della Città](#)
- [Rioni](#)
- [Piazze, nelle quali si vendono vettovaglie, anticamente dette](#) [Macelli](#) [Piazze, e Contrade, dove risiedono diverse arti, e si fanno](#) [Fiere, e Mercati](#)
- [Strade principali delle Città](#)

Mentions

Section: *Indice delle giornate*

Chapter: *Giornata Sesta: Da San Salvatore in Lauro per Campo Vaccino Foro Romano e per le Carinae*

Page: *59: Foro di Cesare e di Augusto*

Vicina a questa è la chiesa di S. Martina e di S. Luca dell'accademia degli Pittori, detta in tre Fori per la vicinanza delli Fori Romani, di Giulio Cesare e di Augusto.

Page: *69: Foro di Nerva*

Qui tra il Coliseo e il vicino Foro di Traiano, pongono gli antiquari del 110 **un arco chiamato Aurae.**

Seguitando vedrete la torre de Conti fabbricata da Innocenzo III e pochi anni sono piu tardi smantellata perché minacciata ruina, e vi indirizzarete ad un **antico muro fatto a punta di diamanti, ch'era il confine del Foro di Nerva.** Passerete per detto ad un arco dove a man destra sono **tre gran colonne scannellate, sopra le quali sorge il campanile della prossima chiesa di S. Basilio e della Nunziata, e dicono essere reliquie del tempio di Nerva Cesare.**


Questa contrada era pieda d'horti, e si chiama **del Pantano;** furono levati d'ordine di Gregorio Decimoterzi e fattevi le strade quali si riempirono di edifici in meno di due anni nel 1585.

Passerete dal **Monasterio delle Monache di S. Urbano in CampoCarleo**: credo sia così nominato il campo dalla piazza della nobile famiglia romana di Leoni, leggendo io altrove Caroli Leonis.

Poi a gli altri di S. Eufemia delle Zitelle sparse e dello Spirito Santo delle monache e riuscirete nella piazza di **S. Maria di Loreto**, nella quale Apollodoro celebre architetto collocò la **superbissima colonna historiata con bassorilievo in honore di Traiano Imperatore**.

Poi a gli altri di S. Eufemia delle Ziteile sperse e dello Spirito Santo delle monache e riuscirete nella piazza di **S. Maria di Loreto**, nella quale Apollodoro celebre architetto collocò la **superbissima colonna historiata con bassorilievo in honore di Traiano Imperatore**.

[C24]1652: Ritratto di Roma Moderna, nel quale sono effigiati chiese, corpo santi, reliqueie, indulgentiae, monasteri, e hospedali.

Caldana Category:		Scientific guide (n. 44)
Link digitized book:		http://dlib.biblthert.it/Dg450-2520#page/480/mode/2up
Frontispiece		Index
		<p>Guida divisa per giorni e per RIONI</p> <p>All'interno di ogni rione sono elencate tutte le chiese</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Roma Moderna distinta in sei giornate - Giornata Prima - Giornata Seconda - Giornata Terza - Giornata Quarta - Giornata Quinta - Giornata Sesta
Mentions		
Section:	Giornata Sesta	

<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Rione Monti</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>491</i>
S. Urbano, S. Lorenzo, Spirito Santo, S. Maria in Campo Carleo, Anninziata d S. Basilio	
<i>Giornata Sesta: Rione Monti</i> (p. 445)	
<i>Page:</i>	<i>523 (Colonna traiana)</i>
Nel mezzo del Foro di Traiano Imperatore, fu eretta la presente Colonna dal Senato Romano in honore di detto principe per opera di Apollodoro [...]	

[C25] 1653: Roma antica e moderna nella quale si contengono chiese, ...

Caldana Category:	Scientific Guide (n. 48)
Link digitized book:	
Frontispiece	Index

[C26]1653: Martinelli, Roma ex ethnica Sacra Sanctorum Petri et Pauli ...

Caldana Category:	Scientific Guide (n. 48)
Link digitized book:	http://rara.biblhertz.it/Dg450-2530
Frontispiece	Index




Mentions

Chapter:	VIII. De antoquis Romanorum Aedificijs, locis, Christianorum martyrio, in Urbe illustratis
Page:	41
in Foro Martis, Foro Traiani	
Chapter:	IX. De templis sanctorum Urbis
Page:	319
S. urbano in Campi Caroli Leonis	
Page:	322
De Templis Sanctorum obsoletes in urbe	

[C27] 1660 (1668) G. Franzini, *Roma Antica e Moderna*

Previous editions with the title *Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma* (1588, 1643, 1653) [Doc. C9]

Caldana Category:		<i>Mirabilia, Stationi, Indulgentiae</i> (n. 24)
Link digitized book:		http://rara.bibl.hertiz.it/Dg450-2600?s=1&t=1&p=9
Frontispiece		Index
		<i>The text is divided in two sections: Roma Antica and Roma Moderna</i>
Mentions		
<i>Section:</i>	<i>Roma Moderna</i>	
<i>Chapter:</i>	IV: DALLA PORTA FLAMINIA, ouero del Popolo á mano destra, / e sinistra, fino alla Madonna delli Monti.	
<i>Page:</i>	133-134	


<p>La chiesa di S. Maria di Loreto. L'anno 1560 che fu del Giubileo, sotto Alessandro Vi, li fornari di Roma diedero principio ad una compagnia per quelli dell'arte loro [...].</p> <p>Qui vicino il Palazzo del Sig. Bonelli.</p>	
<i>Page:</i>	<i>135</i>
<p>Di S. bernardo alla Colonna Traiana. Hora di tante superpe fabriche, le quali fecero risplendere questa piazza, oltre la detta colonna solo vi habbiamo due chiese, una è di S. Maria di Loreto, l'altra è la presente di S. Bernardo, che fondò un sacerdote romano detto Francesco Schiavidi Gio. Angelo Foschi, e l'anno 1328 sotto l'invocazione di S. Bernardo, per averlo in devozione, fece una compagnia di Sacerdoti e laici, la quale fu poi approvata dal Vicario di Papa Eugenio IV l'anno 1440 [...]</p> <p>Qui incontro nelle muraglie vecchie del Foro hanno le loro habitationi li Sig. Albertini.</p> <p>Nel fine di questa Piazza per andare verso le Monache dello Spirito Santo, si vede la casa di giulio Romano, pittore & architetto, scolare & herede con Gio. Francesco il fattore di Raffaele d'Urbino, cominciata da lui con la bella architettura.</p>	
<i>Page:</i>	<i>136</i>
<p>La colonna Traiana. Nel mezzo del Foro di Traiano imperatore, fu eretta la presente Colonna dal Senato Romano in honore di detto Principe. In essa è rappresentato [...]. In cima à detta Colonna vi era una palla d'oro, dove furono poste le ceneri di Traiano. Hoggi vi è in cambio della palla, una statua di bronzo indorato, di S. Pietro Principe degli Apostoli.</p>	
<i>Page:</i>	<i>137-140</i>
<p>Chiesa dello Spirito Santo [...]</p> <p>La chiesa di S. Eufemia, luogo delle orfane, e disperse, contro alla colonna traiana</p> <p>La Chiesa di S. Maria in Campo Carleo</p> <p>La chiesa di S. Urbano</p>	
<i>Section:</i>	<i>Roma Antica Figurata</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>XXII: Delli fori cioè piazze overo mercati</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>519: Del Foro di Nerva</i>
<p>Il Palazzo di Nerva Imperatore, parte del quale si vede ancora per li suoi vestigi, dove hoggi è la chiesaa di San Biagio, era di sopra al foro predetto d' Augusto e vicino alle radici del monte Quirinale: egli aveva presso un portico di meravigliosa bellezza, come ne fanno fede le colonne, che pur hoggi vi sono. Eravi appresso il Foro del Medesimo Nerva, il quale si distendeva fino alla chiesa, hoggi di S. Adriano, fu egli cominciato da Domitiano. Et eranvi colonne e statue infinite, a piedi e a cavallo, in honore delgi imperatori di Roma. E fu chiamato foro transitorio, perche per esso si passaava nel foro romano, in quello di Augusto e in quello di Cesare. Egli havea il portico, parte del quale, benchè</p>	

consumato dal foco, si vede ancora con colonne grandissime nel frontespizio delle quali sono queste lettere, benchè tronche e guaste dal tempo [...]	
<i>Page:</i>	<i>521: Del Foro di Traiano</i>
<p>Il Foro di Traiano era posto sotto il Campidoglio, (nel contorno de luoghi oggi detto Macello dè Corvi e S. Maria in Campo Carleo), di questo ne fu architetto Apollodoro, il quale di poi da Adriano successore di Traiano fui sbandito di Roma e non contento di questo, lo fece ancora morire.</p> <p>Fra gli altri meravigliosi ornamenti aveva questo foro infinite statue [...]</p>	
<i>Section:</i>	<i>Roma Antica Figurata</i>
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>XXVI: Delle Colonne più memorande</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>542: Della Colonna Traiana</i>
<p>La meravigliosa Colonna, che pur oggi si vede in piedi, del Foro Traiano, era posta nel mezzo, intorno alla quale, con mirabile artificio, sono scolpite l'imagini della guerra di Dacia e altri fatti di esso Traiani, mentre guerreggiava contro i Parti. Né mai la vide Traiano, perciocchè tornando dall'impresa de Parti, morì di buffo di sangue in Seleucia di Soria.</p> <p>Intorno a tal colonna sono scolpite [...]</p> <p>Sisto V l'anno di nostra salute 1588 fece porre in cima à detta colonna, una statua di S. Pietro Apostolo, di bronzo indorata di palmi 14 & intorno al capitello di detta colonna vi sono scolpite queste parole[...]</p>	

[C28] 1664: Alveri G. Roma in ogni stato ...

Caldana Category:	Scientific topography (n. 115)
Link digitized book:	//
Frontispiece	Index

[C29] 1665: F. Nardini, Roma antica (Archeologia disciplina scientifica)

Caldana Category:		Ancient Rome (n. 185)
Link digitized book:		http://rara.bibl.hertz.it/Dg450-2650?s=1&t=1&p=184
Frontispiece		Index
		Description of ancient Rome. Ancient regions
Mentions		
Section:	Libro III	
Chapter:	XIV. Tutto il piano fra Tor de Conti, e campo Vaccino, detto i Pantani	
Page:	144 (Forum of Nerva)	
Il Foro di Nerva è sentenza universale esser stato a piè del Quirinale sotto il palazzo già dei Conti e hora dei Grilli, ove un gran residuo di fabrica si conserva convertita la maggior parte in Chiesa dedicata a S. Basilio e in Monastero delle Neofite : ne di ciò deve dubitarsi poichè la seguente		

iscrizione che gli anni addietro vi si leggeva portata dal fauno ne da certezza: IMP. NERVA. CAESAR AVG. PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. II. IMP. II. PROCOS.

Molti credono quella **fabrica di Palazzo di Nerva fatta da quell'imperatore nel Foro**. Mi potè egli nel solo spazio di un anno far sì gran machina poteè un imperatore decrepito e moderatissimo far cotal fabrica privata senza bisogno?

V'è ancora in piedi un gran residuo di muro di sassi quadrati, fatto con più e irregolari risalti, da quali può argomentarsi il giro dell'antica strada che gli era contigua. Dentro si vede un avanzo di marmo, dal quale l'antica maesta dell'edificio si può raccorrere.


Da Pausania si accenna coperto e soffittato di bronzo [...]

Ritornando al Foro di Nerva, **la fabrica la quale v'è restata fu certamente la basilica**, per mezzo di cui passavasi ad altre vie. Il transito vi si scerne ancora in quell'**arco che ne è restato**, vedendosi non porta, ma arco aperto da passar altrove che anche detto l'arco di Noè in vece di Nerva. [...]

Il Foro di Palladio, che da gli antiquari fu creduto il romano o un altro immaginato sul Palatino per il nome di S. Andrea in Pallara, che vi sentivano, il Panvinio dice non esser altri che questo: e benche le ragioni addotte non stringano con tutto ciò non puo negarglisi. **Che Domitiano fabricator del Foro vivesse sotto segno espressissimo in quel pezzo d'anticaglia ch'è nella via dritta fra Tor de Conti e i Pantani, e ch'esser stata nel foro di Nerva apparisce**. E' fatto di belli intagli con colonne corintie scannellate e fu forse un pezzo di quel Tempio di Pallade, di cui sesto Aurelio scrive in Nerva.


<i>Page:</i>	<i>145</i>
Foro di Traiano, Augusto, Cesare, Foro di Pallade	
<i>Page:</i>	<i>146</i>
Tempio di Giano nel Foro Transitorio	
<i>Page:</i>	<i>147</i>
Foro di Nerva	

[C30] 1674: F. Titi, Studio di pittura, scultura et achitettura nelle chiese di Roma


Caldana Category:	Scientific guide (n. 50)
Link digitized book:	http://dlib.biblhertz.it/Dg450-2740#page/1/mode/2up
Frontispiece	Index
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alle Pitture e scolture nelle Chiese di Roma, raccolte dal Signor Abbate Titi Nobile da Città di Castello Sonetto. Del Signor Don Oratio Quaranta - Indice delle Chiese
Mentions	
Section:	
Chapter:	Indice delle Chiese
Page:	258
<p>Da S. Clemente andando alla volta di Via Alessandrina si trovano le chiese di S. Pantaleo, S. Andrea in Portugallo, S. Maria degli Angioli e poi il Monastero di S. Urbano, fondato co la chiesa dalla sig. Giacoma Bianchi del 1264. La facciata della chiesa fu fatta con l'architettura di Mario Arconio pittore e Architetto [...]</p>	
Page:	259

Il Monastero dello Spirito Santo	
Page:	260
<p>Di S.ma Annunziata a S. basilio.</p> <p>Nel ritornare indietro o verso la Mad. De Monti, lasciando S. Lorenzo Parrocchia è la chiesa contigua di S. Eufemia, la di cui porta fu architettata da mario Arconio e poi S.M. in Campo Carleo, dove per di fuori è dipinta M.V. con Gesu in braccio dal detto Arconio Romano, di qui passata la Torre del Marchese Grilli si giunge alla chiesa di S.M. Annunziata. Questo monastero di monache dell'ordine di S. Domenica e la fabrica antica che è qui sopra, molti dicono essere un pezzo del Palazzo di Nerva imperatore, altri l'Erario antico dei Romani, [...]</p>	

[C31] 1686: F. Titi, ammaestramento utile e curioso di pittura (...)

Caldana Category:	Guides with scientific purposes (n. 51)
Link digitized book:	https://bit.ly/2MYeqhL
Frontispiece	Index
	

[C32]1689: Ritratto di Roma moderna: nel quale sono descritte le sagre basiliche, (...)

Caldana Category:	Scientific guide (n. 53)
Link digitized book:	http://dlib.biblhertz.it/Dg450-2890#page/1/mode/2up
Frontispiece	Index
	<p><i>Description of Rome according to the Rioni</i></p>
Mentions	
Section:	
Chapter:	<i>Rione Monti</i>
Page:	488-491
<i>S. Urbano, S. Lorenzo, Spirito Santo, S. Eufemia, S. Maria in Campo Carleo, S. Basilio della Annunziata (just descriptions of the modern churches)</i>	
Page:	530 (Della Colonna Traiana)

Calando verso il piano della città si giunge dove era anticamente il celebratissimo Foro Traiano, nel di cui mezzo fu eretta la presente colonna dal Senato Romano, al merito di Traiano Imperadore, per opera di Apollodoro stimatissimo architetto [...]	
<i>Page:</i>	532 (<i>Di S. Maria di Loreto</i>)
[...] Continuo alla medesima si vede il bel palazzo del signor Duca Bonelli; pero imperfetto, del quale fu architetto il P. Domenico Paganello.	
<i>Page:</i>	532 (<i>Di S. Bernardo alla Colonna Traiana</i>)
La presente chiesa fu edificata da un Sacerdote Romano [...]. In questa chiesa sono molti tesori di indulgenze continue; qui incontro unte alle muraglie del Foro Antico sono le habitationi dei Signori Albertini e poco poiù lontane quelle dei signori Butij.	

[C33] 1693 : P. Rossini, **Il Mercurio errante. Delle grandezze di Roma tanto antiche che moderne (1739, 1750, 1776)**


Caldana Category:	Guide for divulgation (n. 79)
Link digitized book:	http://dlib.biblhertz.it/DG-804-R66-1715#page/4/mode/2up
Frontispiece	Index




Il Mercurio Errante delle grandezze di Roma, tanto antiche che moderne
 Eminentissimo, e Reverendissimo Principe
 Indice de' Palazzi, Ville, e Giardini di Roma
 Indice delle cose più notabili
 Libro I. Delle Grandezze di Roma
 Libro II. Delle Ville, e Giardini, che sono dentro, e fuori del circuito di Roma
 Libro III. Delle Antichità di Roma, che di presente si vedono
 Catalogho d'alcune chiese più belle di Roma

Mentions	
Section:	Libro III: Delle Antichità di Roma che di presente si vedono
Chapter:	Del Foro di Traiano e della Sua Colonna
Page:	194
<p>Il famoso foro di Traiano fu il più bello di tutti gli altri a Roma. Dioniso ne fa menzione, [...] La famosa Colonna che oggi si vede intiera era posta in mezzo a detto Foro, è alta 128 piedi, è</p>	
Section:	Libro III: Delle Antichità di Roma che di presente si vedono
Chapter:	Del Foro di Traiano e della Sua Colonna
Page:	195 (Del Foro di Nerva)
<p>Alle radici del monte quirinale, verso mezzo giorno, dove è oggi l' Arco de Pantani, si vedono grandissime miraglie di peitre grosse. Molti vogliono che fosse il Foro di Nerva, io non credo che fosse tale non avendo tal forma, perche il foro era di forma ovale o quadrata ma non di forma larga. [...] Nel medesimo foro o almeno vicino vi era il Tempio di Minerva, oggi si vede la facciata con colonne, con la statua di Minerva sopra, ornato di vagli bassirilievi, buona parte del quale è sotto terra ed è posto vicino a tor de Conti.</p>	

[C34] 1700 (1725): G. Pinaroli, trattato delle cose piu memorabil di Roma, tanto antiche come moderne, che in esse di presente si troveno.


Caldana Category:	Guide for divulgation (n. 83)	
Link digitized book:	http://dlib.biblbertz.it/Dg450-3256-1#page/1/mode/2up	
Frontispiece	Index	
		
Section:	Delle regioni antiche di Roma che erano XIV	
Chapter:	Regione IV detta del Tempio della Pace	
Page:	52	
<p>Questa regione era molto piccola, e si estendeva per lungo tra il Palazzo e l'Esquilie, mescolata e confina con la detta di sopra nella quale era già il Tempio della Pace, il tempio di Remo e Romolo, il Tempio di Venere, quello di Faustina, quello di Tellure, la via Sacra, la Basilica di Costantino, quella di Paolo Emlio, il Foro transitorio, il Portico Absidato,</p>		

[C35] 1725: Roma ampliata e rinnovata, o sia nuova descrizione della moderna città di roma e di tutti gli edifizii notabili che sono in essa

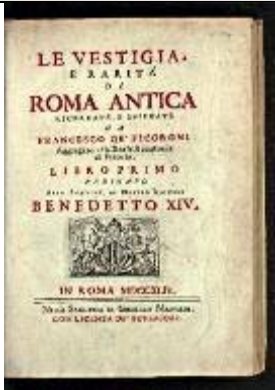
Caldana Category:		Guide for divulgation (n. 73)
Link digitized book:		https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000871586
Frontispiece		Index
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Giornata prima - Giornata Seconda - Giornata Terza - Giornata Quarta - Giornata Quinta - Giornata Sesta - Giornata Settima - Giornata Ottava - Giornata Nona - Giornata Decima - Cronologia di Tutti i Sommi Pontefici - Indice delle cose più notabili
Mentions		
Chapter:	Giornata Sesta: Da S. Salvatore in Lauro per Campidoglio e per le Carinae	
Page:	96	

Torre dei Conti, S. Urbano. S. Maria Campo CARleo, S. Eufemia, Spirito Santo, S. Lorenzo. Piazza della XOlonna Traiana	
Page:	97-99
Antico foro di traiano	


[C36] 1744: Bernardini B., Descrizione del nuovo ripartimento dei rioni di roma

Caldana Category:	Guide for divulgation (n. 86)
Link digitized book:	http://rara.biblbertz.it/Dg450-3440?s=1&&p=48
Frontispiece	Index
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Beatissimo Padre - Prefazione - Rione I Monti - Rione II Trevi - Rione III Colonna - Rione IV Campo Marzio - Rione V Ponte - Rione VI Parione - Rione VII Regola - Rione VIII S. Eustachio - Rione IX Pigna - Rione X Campitelli - Rione XI S. Angelo - Rione XII Ripa - Rione XIII Trastevere - Rione XIV Borgo - Spiegazine dei numeri incisi nell'annessa pianta

[C37] 1744: F. De Ficoroni, Vestigia e rarità di Roma antica (Archeologia disciplina scientifica)

Caldana Category:		Scientific Archaeology
Link digitized book:		http://dlib.biblhertz.it/Dg450-3441-a#page/10/mode/2up
Frontispiece		Index
		Al lettore Indice de' capitoli Indice delle chiese del primo libro Indice de' Soggetti nominati I. Le vestigia di Roma antica Appendice II. Le singolarità di Roma moderna Indice de' capitoli Indice de' Palazzi ripieni di rarità Indice delle chiese, e loro singolarità Indice de' soggetti nominati
Mentions		
Chapter:	XI. Dei Templi e di altri pubblici edifici nella Valle fra il Capitolino, e Palatino fin alle radici dell'Esquilinoi, della Via Sacra, Foro Romano, e moemorie che vi si vedono	
Page:	67	
No mentions of the area of the ancient Imperial Fora.		

[C38] 1745 (1750, 1765): G. Roisecco, Roma antica e moderna, o sia nuova descrizione di tutti gli edifici antichi e moderni

Caldana Category:		Scientific guidebook (n. 58)
Link digitized book:		http://rara.bibl.hertz.it/Dg450-3508?s=1&t=1&p=110
Frontispiece		Index
		<p>GIORNATA / PRIMA / Dal Ponte S. Angelo a S. Pietro in Vaticano. .</p> <p>GIORNATA / SECONDA / Dalla Porta di S. Spirito al Trastevere.</p> <p>GIORNATA / TERZA. / Da Strada Giulia all'Isola di S. Bartolomeo.</p> <p>GIORNATA / QUARTA. / Da S. Lorenzo in Damaso al Monte Aventino.</p> <p>GIORNATA / QUINTA / Della Piazza Monte Giordano per i Monti Celio, e Palatino.</p> <p>GIORNATA / SESTA. / Da S. Salvatore in Lauro per Campidoglio, e per le Carine.</p> <p>GIORNATA / SETTIMA. / Della Piazza di S. Agostino per i Monti Vermina- / le, e Quirinale. GIORNATA / OTTAVA. / Della strada dell'Orfeo a Monte Cavallo, e alle Terme Diocleziane.</p>
Mentions		
Section:	GIORNATA / SESTA. / Da S. Salvatore in Lauro per Campidoglio, e per le Carine.	
Chapter:		

<i>Page:</i>	104
<p>Avanzandovi vedrete la Torre dei Conti, fabricata da Innocenzo III più di mezza smantellata perche minacciava ruina. Poi vi indirizzerete ad un antico muro fato di diamanti, residuo della Basilica del Foro di Nerva, detto Transitorio. Da tre gran colonne scannellate, che ivi troverete a man destra come pure dal nobilissimo cornicione argomenterete la magnificenza di tal fabrica. Sorge sopra dette colonne il campanile della prossima chiesa, già S. Basilio, ora dell'annunziata, monastero di monache istitito da S. Pio V. Vicina è la chiesa di S. Maria degli angeli della compagnia de tessitori detta anticamente <i>in macello martyrurum</i>; e incontro a questa un'avanzo del bellissimo Tempio di Pallade d'onde questo luogo prese il nome di Foro Palladio il quale poi corrotto dal volgo ne secoli susseguenti fu chiamato la Palude e finalmente i Pantani, anche perchè vi erano molti orti che furono levati da Gregorio XIII e in luogo di essi furono fatte diverse strade che si riempiono di edifiz in meno di due anni circa il 1585.</p> <p>Passerete il Monastero delle Monache di S. Urbano e alla chiesa di S. Maria in Campo Carleo. Indi al Monaster di S. Eufemia delle zitele disperse e a quelle delle Monache dello Spirito Santo; indi alla chiesa Parochiale di S. Lorenzo detto anticamente in clivo argentario dve stavano gli argentieri e dove prossima fu la basiliga argentaria e il vico sigillario maggiore e quindi uscirete nella Piazza detta della Colonna Traiana. In questa piazza fu l'antico Foro di Traiano, architettato mirabilemtn e dal celebre Apollodoro [...]</p> <p>Era questo Foro circondato di portici [...]</p> <p>Vedrete quivi una ornatissima chiesa detta della madonna di loreto dè fornari con doppia Cuppola architettata da Antonio da Sangallo [...]</p>	

[C39] 1763: G. Vasi, Itinerario istruttivo diviso in otto stazioni o giornate per ritrovare con facilità tutte le antiche e moderne magnificenze di Roma

Caldana Category:	Guide for divulgation (n. 87)
Link digitized book:	http://rara.biblhertz.it/Dg450-3631?s=1&p=399
Frontispiece	Index



- Al lettore
- Prefazione
- Prima Giornata
- Seconda Giornata
- Terza Giornata
- Quarta Giornata
- Quinta Giornata
- Sesta Giornata
- Settima Giornata
- Ottava Giornata
- Digressione


Mentions

<i>Section:</i>	Terza Giornata
<i>Chapter:</i>	117. Torre delle Milizie
<i>Page:</i>	130
Entro il riferito monastero si vede la gran torre edificata, secondo alcuni da innocenzo III di casa Conti per difesa del palazzo di sua famiglia che quivi era. Si dice delle milizie per quelle di Traiano che stavano qui presso al foro di quell'imeperatore. Qui scendendo da questa parte si vedono nel gianrdino del palazzo Ceva le rovine dell'antidette terme di Paolo Emilio e poco dopo la meravigliosa [...]	
<i>Chapter:</i>	118.. Colonna Traiana
<i>Page:</i>	130
Il senato e il popolo romani innalzo questa colonna in mezzo al celebre Foro di Traiano in onore del medesimo imperatore e però vi furono scolpote mirabilmente [...]	

<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>S. maria di Loreto, Palazzo Bonelli,</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>130-131</i>
<i>No mentions of ancient ruins</i>	
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Spirito Santo, S. Maria in Campo Carleo, S. urbano</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>140</i>
<p>Due strade si aprono ai fianchi di questa piccola e antica chiesa parrocchiale: una dicesi de conti e l'altra a sinistr asi chiama alessandrina. Per camminando sulla strada alessandrina si vede la chiesa e monastero di S. Urbano [...]</p> <p>Si dice Alessandrina questa via da un Cardinale di tal nome che l'apri e vi eresse de casamenti</p>	
<i>Chapter:</i>	<i>Arco de pnatani e Monastero della S.ma Annunziata</i>
<i>Page:</i>	<i>142</i>
<p>Dicevasi anticamente questo arco transitorio e le maravigliose coonne di marmo striate si credono del famoso foro e basilica di Nerva Imperatore, no gia da lui eretti [...].</p> <p>Sulle ruine di questi fu eretta la chiesa da prima in onore di S. Basilio</p>	


[C40] 1763: R. Venuti, Accurata e succinta descrizione delle antichità di Roma

Caldana Category:	Scientific Topography (n. 116)
Link digitized book:	http://dlib.biblhertz.it/Dg450-4241
Frontispiece	Index

	<p>Parte I Introduzione alla topografia di Roma</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Del circuito di Roma e sue porte 2. Delle Strade 3. Delle Regioni <ol style="list-style-type: none"> I) Del Monte Palatino II) Del Foro Romano III) Del Campidoglio IV) Fori di Cesare, di Augusto, di Nerva e di Trajano V) Colle Quirinale VI) Monte Viminale VII) Colle Esquilino VIII) De Monte Celio <p>Parte II Indice delle cose più notabili</p>
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[C41] 1766: Venuti R., **Accurata e succinta descrizione topografica e istorica di Roma Moderna.**

Caldana Category:	
Link digitized book:	http://rara.biblhertz.it/Dg450-3661?&p=11
Frontispiece	Index

			Descrizione per i 15 Rioni
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[C42] 1775: Nuova descrizione di Roma antica e moderna e di tutti lui piu nobili monumenti sagri e profani che osno in essa

Caldana Category:	Divulcation guide (n.75)
Link digitized book:	http://dlib.biblherz.it/DG-804-R66-1775-b#page/8/mode/2up
Frontispiece	Index
	Roma antica, media, e moderna Giornata prima, da Ponte Sant'Angelo a San Pietro in Vaticano Giornata seconda, da Santo Spirito per il Trastevere Giornata terza, da strada Giulia all'Isola di San Bartolomeo Giornata quarta, da San Lorenzo in Damaso al Monte Aventino


	<p>Giornata quinta, dalla Piazza di Monte Giordano per i Mento Celio, e Palatino</p> <p>Giornata sesta, da Salvatore in Lauro per Campidoglio, e per le Carine</p> <p>Giornata settima, dalla Piazza di Sant'Agostino per i Monti Viminale, e Quirinale</p> <p>Giornata ottava, dalla strada dell'Orso a Monte Cavallo, e alle Terme Diocleziano</p> <p>Giornata nona, dal Palazzo Borghese a Porta del Popolo, a Piazza di Spagna</p> <p>Giornata decima, dal Monte Citorio alla Porta Pia, e al Monte Pincio</p> <p>Cronologia di tutti li sommi Pontefici</p> <p>Indice delle cose piu notabili</p>
Mentions	
Section:	Giornata Sesta: Giornata sesta, da Salvatore in Lauro per Campidoglio, e per le Carine
Chapter:	
Page:	125
<p>Avanzandovi vedrete la torre de Conti fabbricata da Innocenzo III e pochi anni sono piu tardi smantellata perché minacciata ruina, e vi indirizzarete ad un antico muro fatto a punta di diamanti, ch'era il confine del Foro di Nerva, detto transitorio. Da tre gran colonne scannellate che vi troverete a man destra, come pure dal nobilissimo cornicione, argomenterete la magnificenza di tal fabrica. Sorge sopra dette colonne il campanile della prossima chiesa, già s. basilio ora dell'annunziata, monastero di monache aperto da S. Pio V. Vicina è la chiea di S. Maria degli Angeli nella compagnia dei tessitori, detta anticamente in macello martyrum incontro a questa un'avanzo del bellissimo Tempio di Pallade d'onde questo luogo prese il nome di foro palladio, ne secoli susseguenti fi chiamato Palude e finalmente i Pantani, anche perchè vi erano molti orti che furono levati da Gregorio XIII e in luogo di essi furono fatte diverse strade che si riempirono di edifizj in meno di due anni circa il 1585. [...]</p> <p>Passerete il Monastero delle Monache di S. urbano e alla chiesa di S. Maria in Campo Carleo. Indi al Monaster di S. Eufenia delle zitele disperse e a quelle delle Monache dello Spirito Santo; indi alla chiesa Parochiale di S. Lorenzo detto anticamente in clivo argentario dve stavano gli argentieri e dove prossima fu la basiliga argentaria e il vico sigillario maggiore e quindi uscirete nella Piazza detta della Colonna Traiana.</p>	

In questa piazza fu l'antico Foro di Traiano, architettato mirabilemte dal celebre Apollodoro [...]

Eravi ancora qui vicino il foro il portico e la basilica dello stesso Traiano, delle quali meravigliose fabbriche delle quali molto parlano gli antiquari si è lasciato perora ogni vestigio.

Ora in questa piazza vi e la chiesa della Madonna di Loreto dè Fornari

[C43] 1795: G.A. Guattani, Roma Antica (Archeologia disciplina scientifica)

Caldana Category:		Ancient Rome (n. 188)
Link digitized book:		https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_13Id8iRyPMAC
Frontispiece		Index
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I. Notizie Preliminari II. Adiacenze del Monte Palatino III. Monte Palatino IV. Antichità del moderno Campo Vaccino V. Monte Capitolino e sue adiacenze
Mentions		
No mentions of ancient ruins in the area		

Appendix D

Archival Documents: Database Management

To archive, manage and analyse the corpus of archival documents collected, a Relational Database (RDB) has been created using Microsoft Access. All the information obtained from the documents has been organised in the RDB: the collection the documents belong to, the area to which they refer, the churches and ruins mentioned in the texts. The RDB was then used to analyse the information.

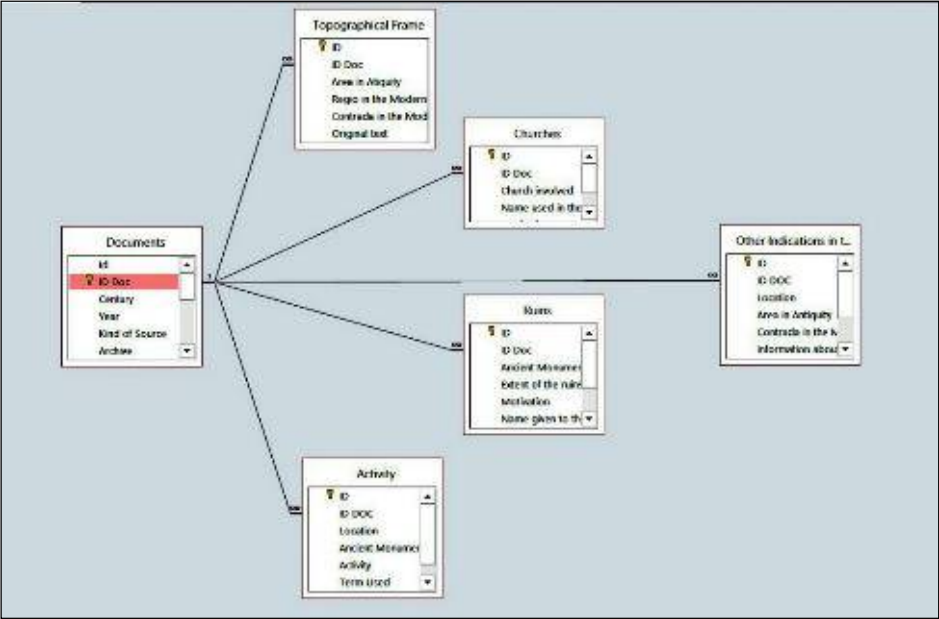


Figure 1. Structure of the Relational Database (RDB)

The RDB is composed of five tables. “Documents” is the main one and it contains descriptive information about the document. In this table, the field “Document

Identification Number” (ID Doc) has been characterised as a primary key: each record linked to a specific document is unique in the table.

The other tables contain information gained from the full reading of documents: “Topographical framework”, “Churches”, “Ruins”, “Activities” and “Other indications in the text”. In each of these tables, the “Identification Number” (ID) has been chosen as a primary key: here different records, identified with the ID, may refer to the same document, identified with its ID Doc (i.e. the same document might contain information about more than one church, more than one ruin, more than one activity done in the area).

The table “Documents” has been then linked to all the other tables using one-to-many relationships, as shown in Fig. 1, in order to visualize together different types of information from different tables, all referring to the same document.

Description of Tables in the Database

The tables have been organised in fields to collect all the information found in the documents.

Two fields are present in all the tables:

ID: it identifies the record. This number is unique in the table, so each record is unique.

ID DOC: identification number of the documents. This is a personal numbering I gave to each document in the corpus. I have catalogued the documents according to a chronological criterion and numbered therefore them from the most ancient to the most recent.

All other fields change according to the information that I wanted to record in each table: I list in the text all the fields created for each table, as well as their characteristics.

1. TABLE “DOCUMENTS”

All the fields created in this table contain archival information about the documents found in the inventories of the archives or in the documents themselves.

CENTURY: this field shows the century in which the document was produced.

YEAR: this field shows the year in which the document was written, that is the year of the content of the document. I have found indications of the year in the documents themselves or in the collection of which the documents were part . The year usually coincides with a single year (some documents provide also the indication of both month and day). There are only few cases in which the period indicated is longer than one year (2-20 years), like the lists of dead or baptized people belonging to a parish (e.g. Doc. 113, 121, 126) or the collections of documents, such as Doc 234 (1800-1825). In these cases, the long period the documents refer to has been indicated in the “Annotation” Field (see *infra*).

KIND OF SOURCE: this field shows the kind of source (bibliography, archival source, etc.).

ARCHIVE: this field indicates the historical archive in which the document is preserved . To indicate the documents in the RDB, abbreviations have been used (see list of abbreviations at the end of the work).

ARCHIVAL COLLECTION: this field shows the archival collection in which the document is preserved . The names of the archival collections are the same I have found in the archives.

BUSTA/VOL, FASCICOLO: *Busta, vol, fasc* are the criteria according to which documents are catalogued in the archives. Accordingly, these terms have not been translated.

FOGLIO: it is the number given to each page in the document. Not all the documents have page numbers. When front and back pages have the same number, I have used “r” (*recto*) to indicate the front page and “v” (*verso*) to indicate the back page.

TITLE: this field shows the original title of the document, when available. In those cases in which the document doesn’t have any title, the indication “n.t.” (*no title*) has been used.

GENERAL TOPIC: this field shows the general topic of the document in terms of topography. It indicates in fact the topographical area the document refers to. Topographical elements used to identify the general topic in the document are: *Regio, contrada, monument, church, parish*.

I decided to use the topographical location to individuate the general topic of the document, since this was the criterion used to individuate the documents in the archive. I have included in fact in the corpus all the documents mentioning churches,

contrade, parishes, monuments or any other topographical unit that was part of the area occupied by the Imperial *Fora* in the ancient Roman time.

All the topographical locations are identified with their Italian names, in the form in which they appear in the documents. When the same location is indicated with different expressions in the documents, I have chosen one of them.

DETAILED TOPIC: this field provides a brief description of the content of the document. In particular, it reports any reference to a notarial deed, a list of people belonging to a church, a list of properties, etc.

ANNOTATIONS: this is an open field used to make annotations to the document. For example, it has been used to indicate those cases in which the document is referring to a period longer than one year or to specify if a document has the same content as another catalogued document.

2. TABLE “TOPOGRAPHICAL FRAME”

This table provides information about the topographical reference of the document. Documents generally refer to a unique topographical location; when the documents refer to more than one topographical location (very few cases, such as Doc. 99), the indication “*variae*” is used.

Some of the documents refer to areas that are very close to that under investigation, though out of its physical boundaries (see for example S. Giuseppe dei Falegnami, Doc. 147). In these cases, the documents have been included in the collection because they might be interesting for the study of similar events in a neighbouring area.

AREA IN ANTIQUITY: this field indicates which area the document refers to, considering ancient Roman topography, even when not explicitly mentioned. All the values for this field are predefined with the list of the five *Fora* + the Markets of Trajan. “*Out of the focus area*” is also a predefined possible value and it has been used when the area to which the document refers to falls out of the investigated area. For the documents recording the properties of a church, the area of the properties has been indicated substituted for that of the church itself.

REGIO: this field provides indications concerning the *regio* in which the content of the document is settled.

CONTRADA: this field provides indications about the *contrada* in which the content of the document is settled. Identification and definition of *contrade* are taken from the work by Passigli¹⁰⁹³ and from the plans published by Ercolino¹⁰⁹⁴.

ORIGINAL TEXT: I have copied in this field the portion of the original text mentioning the topographical location of interest. Abbreviations have been eliminated in the transcription.

3. TABLE “CHURCHES”

This table highlights, for each document, all the churches mentioned in the document, explaining the reason for their mention.

CHURCH INVOLVED: this field indicates the church mentioned in the text. If more than one church is mentioned in the text, each church is recorded and occupies one record. Values for this field are predetermined with the list of all the churches present in the area of the Imperial *Fora*, between the 16th and the 19th centuries. Italian versions of the name of churches are used.

NAME USED IN THE DOCUMENT: In this field, the way author of texts called the churches is indicated. Therefore, changes of the name of a church throughout the centuries can be highlighted.

MOTIVATION: this field, together with the field “motivation” in the table “ruins”, gives some of the most important information in the whole RDB. In this field, in fact, I have recorded the motivations behind the mention of the church in the text. Even in this case, the values of the field are pre-determined. Considering all the documents available for this work, I have identified the following motivations:

- "Place-name" = the church actually gives name to the whole area in the surroundings.
- "Topographical landmark" = the church is used as a topographical landmark.
- "Antiquity/Ruins" = the church is mentioned because ruins or antiquities were in the area.

¹⁰⁹³ See PASSIGLI 1989.

¹⁰⁹⁴ See ERCOLINO 2013.

- "Object of the document" = the church is mentioned because the document is referring to something directly regarding the church (see for example documents describing properties of a specific church).
- "No indications" = I have used this field when no specific indications were identified in the document.

ORIGINAL TEXT: I have copied in this field the portion of the original text mentioning the churches. Abbreviations have been eliminated in the transcriptions.

4. TABLE “RUINS”

This table records all the mentions of ruins and ancient monuments in the text. I have recorded both the mentions specifically referring to the ancient Imperial *Fora* and those referring to ancient monuments with no specification, including portions of monuments. I gave particular attention to the words used to name ruins and ruined structures. Furthermore, I have recorded also the elements referring to ruins not belonging to ancient Roman time, but rather to other periods (e.g. Doc. 49, 51, 53).

ANCIENT MONUMENT INVOLVED: this field indicates the ancient monuments mentioned or involved in the document (even if not explicitly mentioned). If more than one ancient monument is present in the text, each of them is recorded and occupies one record. Values for this field are predetermined, with the list of the five *Fora* + the Markets of Trajan. English versions of the names of ancient monuments have been used.

EXTENT OF THE RUIN: this field specifies if the document talks about the whole monument (i.e. the whole *Forum* of Trajan) and if the monuments are indicated as such, or if the document is about a portion of the monument (both a ruined structure or a portion of the architecture).

MOTIVATION: this field, together with the field “motivation” in the table “churches”, gives some of the most important information in the whole database. In this field, in fact I have recorded the motivation behind the mention of the ruins in the text. Even in this case, the values of the field are pre-determined. Considering all the documents available for this work, I have identified the following motivations:

- "Place-name" = the ruin or the ancient monument actually gives name to the whole area in the surroundings.
- "Topographical landmark" = the ruin or the ancient monument is used as a topographical landmark.
- "Antiquity/Ruins" = the ruin or the ancient monument is mentioned because of a specific interest in Antiquity.
- "Object of the document" = the ruin or the ancient monument is mentioned because the document is about something directly regarding the monument/the ruins (see for example those cases in which ruins are the object of a notarial deed and they are properties to be sold)
- "No indications" = I have used this field when no specific indications were identified in the document.

NAME GIVEN TO THE ANCIENT MONUMENT: this field shows how the monuments were called in different times.

TERMS IDENTIFYING THE ANCIENT MONUMENT: this field is used to highlight terms used to define the monument or its ruins. Terms used with this aim are often derived from an architectural element, like "arch", "tower" or "column". This field should be read together with the following field "Adjectives/other terms ..." in the same table.

ADJECTIVE/OTHER TERMS REFERRING TO THE ANCIENT MONUMENT: this field records all the adjectives or terms referring to ruins, antiquities and ancient monuments. This field should be read together with the previous field "Terms identifying ..." in the same table.

ORIGINAL TEXT: I have copied in this field the portion of the original text mentioning ancient ruins and monuments. Abbreviations have been eliminated in the transcriptions.

5. TABLE "ACTIVITY"

This table records all the activities involving the ruins that took place in the area under investigation. The table was created to investigate in particular the activities of excavation and restoration of monuments. In particular, as far as restoration activities are concerned, I have recorded also the activities related to modern buildings. I was

interested in making comparisons between the words used for restoration activities on ancient monuments and modern buildings.

LOCATION: I have used the *contrade* to indicate in which part of the area under investigation the activity mentioned in the text takes place.

ANCIENT MONUMENT INVOLVED: this field indicates the ancient monuments mentioned in the text or involved in the document (even if not explicitly mentioned). If more than one ancient monument is present in the text, each of them is recorded and occupies one record. Values for this field are predetermined, with the list of the five *Fora* + the Markets of Trajan. English versions of the names of ancient monuments have been used.

ACTIVITY: this field informs about the kind of activity carried out on ruins, ancient monuments or churches. The values of this field are predetermined. Considering all the documents available for this work, I have identified the following activities:

- "Renovation" = to indicate restoration work (mainly for modern buildings and churches).
- "Protection" = protection of monuments.
- "Excavation" = excavation done in the area for different reasons (to look for ancient objects, to make construction work).
- "Material Recovery" = finding of ancient objects.
- "Reuse of ancient material" = reuse of ancient material in new construction.

TERM USED = this field records all the adjectives or other terms referring to activities on ruins and antiquities.

ORIGINAL TEXT: I have copied in this field the portion of the original document mentioning activities on ruins and ancient monuments. Abbreviations have been eliminated in the transcriptions.

DATA-ENTRY FORM

Once the tables with all the fields and the relations between tables have been created, all the information found in the document have been recorded in the database. To make the data-entry process easier and quicker, I have created a data-entry form containing all the tables in the database, as shown in Fig. 2.

Documents

Document ID: 0001

ID Doc:

0001

Century:

XI

Year:

1100

Kind of Source:

Archives

Accession:

B1454

Archival Label:

Fonds (Archiv)

Barcode/No:

Mss. Lat., 12272

Language:

Latin

English:

folio 119, app. of 155

Title:

In situ

Internal Topic:

S. Basilio

Described Topic:

Notarial deed (Basilica, Vendition, prior, 255 Bp)

Topographical Frame

ID Doc:

0001

Area in Italy:

Region of Augustus

Region in the Modern Age:

Molise

Contrada in the Modern Age:

S. Basilio

Churches

ID Doc:

0001

Church involved:

S. Basilio

Name used in the document:

Exclave Santa Basil

Motivation:

Object of the document

Rules

ID Doc:

0001

Recent Monument involved:

None

If object of the rule:

Motivation

Name used:

Terms, identifying the accident in - Adjunction, other terms, etc -

Activity

ID Doc:

0001

Location:

Recent Monument involved:

Activity:

Term Used:

Figure 2. The Data-Entry form in the RDB

The Data-Entry form is actually made by a main form (“Documents”), used to record all the archival information about the document, plus four sub-forms for the data-entries referring to the related tables.

The Data-Entry form is not only a recording system. Once the data-entry process is completed, it is in fact also a useful tool to simultaneously visualize all the information found in a document.

List of documents analysed

ID Doc	Century	Year	Archive	Archival Collection	Busta/Vol	Fascicolo	Foglio	General Topic	Detailed Topic
D001	XV	1405	BIASA	Fondo Lanciani	Mss. Lanc. 112/12		f. 119, app. n° 165	S. Basilio	Notarial deed (Not. Vendettini, Prot. 785 Bis): rent of some stables to the church of S. Basilio
D002	XV	1406	ASR	S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum	Vol. 419		Armario I, Mazzo X, n. 8C	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Properties of the church (douns terrinea solarata) in the area called Contrada Militiarum.
D003	XV	1406	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 18	f. 7	S.Maria in Campo Carleo (S. Salvatore Chapel)	Donations by Nunzio di Giovanni da Tivoli: some houses in contrada militiarum
D004	XV	1406	ASR	S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum	Vol. 1005 (Mare Magnum)		-	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Cappella del S. Salvatore
D005	XV	1420	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 16	f. 24	Contrada degli Arcioni	Notorial deed (Notaio Nardi Venectini). house sale
D006	XV	1435	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 21	f. 13-14	Rione Monti, Contrada de Campo Carleo	Notorial deed (Notaio Laurentius Philippi Venacii): division of properties in Contrada de Campo Carleo (houses and fields) between Paolo di Giovanni Carbone and his heirs
D007	XV	1444	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 16	f. 14	Contrada degli Arcioni	Inheritance
D008	XV	1446	ASR	S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum	1005		-	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	House donation
D009	XV	1447	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 18	f. 15	S. Salvatore in Contrata Militias	Testament
D010	XV	1456	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 16	f. 13	S. Silvestro de Archionibus	Testament
D011	XV	1457	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 21	f. 2	S. Maria Campo Carleo	Testament
D012	XV	1457	BVR	S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum	Vol. 1005 (Mare Magnum)		-	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Testament
D013	XV	1458	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 5	f. 10	Monte Magnanapoli	Testament of Giovanni dei Foschi di Berta, canon of S. Maria Maggiore
D014	XV	1467	ASR	Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini	Vol. 1629 (Notaio Salvetti)		f. 28v ss.	Torre dei Conti	Testament
D015	XV	1465	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 16	f. 16-19	Rione Monti	Testament of the Arcioni Family: properties
D016	XV	1476	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 21	f. 15	Contrada Campo Carleo	House sale
D017	XV	1476	ASR	Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini	Vol. 1629 (Notaio Salvetti)		f. CLXXXVII	Contrada Campo Carleo	House sale
D018	XV	1477	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 19	f. 12	Regione Monti	Notorial deed
D019	XV	1477	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 21	f. 1	S. Maria in Campo Carleo (Spoglia Christi)	Testament

D020	XV	1481	DVR	Corvisieri	Dusta XV	fasc. 19	f. 40	Monte Magnanapoli	Argument between Conti and Colonna Families
D021	XV	1481	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 17	f. 4	Regione Millizie	Notorial deed of Conti Family
D022	XV	1481	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 18	f. 12	Regione Milizie	House sale between Conti and Colonna family
D023	XV	1487	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 17	f. 4		Testament of Conti Family
D024	XV	1488	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 736		f. 12 r	Monte Magnanapoli	Cadastral Description: Properties of the Sisters of Monte Magnanapoli
D025	XV	1488	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 736		f. 72 v	S. Basilio	Cadastral description
D026	XV	1488	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 736		f. 77 r	Monte Magnanapoli	Notorial deed: house renting
D027	XV	1492	ASR	S.Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum	Vol. 419		Armario, MazzoX, n. 8, fasc. 6	Regione Monti	Notorial deed: house renting to Lorenzo Berti.
D028	XV	1499	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Catasto		foglio 55	Contrada Torre delle Milizie	Notorial deed: house renting
D029	XV	1499	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 814		f. 39 v	S. Basilio	Notorial deed: house renting
D030	XVI	1500	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 821		foglio 4r	Torre delle Milizie	House rent
D031	XVI	1500	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 821		foglio 4v	Torre delle Militie	Payment for a house
D032	XVI	1505	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 738		f. 82 r	Monache di Monte Magnanapoli	House rent
D033	XVI	1505	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 738		f. 82 v	Casa alla Torre delle Milizie	House rent
D034	XVI	1505	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 737		f. 2 v	Torre delle Milizie	House rent
D035	XVI	1505	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 737		f. 2 v	Torre delle Milizie	House rent
D036	XVI	1507	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 127, "Camerlengo- 1507"		f. 4	Monache di Monte Magnanapoli,	House rent
D037	XVI	1507	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 127, "Camerlengo- 1507"		f. 4	Torre delle Milizie	House rent
D038	XVI	1513	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 739, Catasto		f. 2 v	Spoglia Christo	Properties of the Gonfalone Arciconfraternita
D039	XVI	1515	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 740, Catasto		f. 4 r	Torre delle Milizie	House sale
D040	XVI	1515	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 740		f. 5 r	Monte Magnanapoli	House rent
D041	XVI	1520	BIASA	Fondo Lanciani	Mss. Lanc. 84/II		foglio 89v, app. n. 495	Arco dei Foschi della Berta	Notorial Deed (Notaio de Perellis)
D042	XVI	1522	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 814		f. 58 v	Regio Montium	House rent
D043	XVI	1522	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 814		f. 68 v	Regione Monti	Testament
D044	XVI	1525	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 445		f. 98	Spoglia Christo	List of houses: taxes payment
D045	XVI	1526	ASC	Credenzone	Vol. I, Tomo XXXVI		ff. 190-193	Spoglia Christo	Protection of the "Arcus Traiani"
D046	XVI	1526	ASR	Archivio S. Salvatore	Vol. 419		Armario I, mazzo6, n. 6	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Revenues for the Church
D047	XVI	1526	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 814		f. 62 v	Regione Monti	House rent
D048	XVI	1529	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 745		f. 7 v	Spoglia Christo	Cadastral document: description of houses

D049	XVI	1529	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 745		f. 8 v	Monastero di Monte Magnanapoli	Cadastral document: house rental
D050	XVI	1529	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 745		f. 3 v	Monti	Cadastral document: house rent
D051	XVI	1529	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 745		f. 3 v	Spoglia Christo	Cadastral document: house rent
D052	XVI	1529	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 814		f. 65 v	Regione Monti	Cadastral document: house rent
D053	XVI	1533	BVR	Corvisieri	XV	fasc. 18	foglio 7	S. Pacera	Notarial deed: house sale (notary Domenico Berardi)
D054	XVI	1534	BVR	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 750		f. 2 v	Spoglia Christo	Cadastral document: hous sale
D055	XVI	1535	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 750		f. 3 v	Spoglia Christo	Cadastral document: house rent
D056	XVI	1535	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 750		f. 9 v.	Spoglia Christo	Cadastral document: house rent
D057	XVI	1535	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 750		f. 10 v.	Monte Magnanapoli	Cadastral document: house rent
D058	XVI	1535	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 4		f. 7	Macel dei Corvi.	Taxes for the Maestri di Strade
D059	XVI	1536	ASV	Ss. Salvatore	Vol. 436		Armario II, Mazzo I n. 66	Ospedale S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum	House rent
D060	XVI	1535	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 445		ff. 15, 16	Macel de Corvi, S. Nicolò de Columna	Tax payment
D061	XVI	1536	BVR	Corvisieri	XV		fasc. 17 foglio 4	Contrada delle Milizie	
D062	XVI	1537	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 4		ff. 29, 31	Spoglia Christo	Tax payment
D063	XVI	1538	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 814		f. 80	Spoglia Christo	House rent
D064	XVI	1540	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 755		f. 3 v	Spoglia Christo	House rent
D065	XVI	1540	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 755		f. 4 v.	Spoglia Christo	House rent
D066	XVI	1540	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 755		f. 9 v.	Spoglia Christo	House rent
D067	XVI	1540	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 755		f. 11 v	Monte Magnanapoli	House rent
D068	XV	1542	ASR	S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum	Vol. 419		Armario I, Mazzo X, n. 8	Santa Passera	
D069	XV	1550	ASR	S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum	Vol. 419		Armario I, Mazzo X, n. 6	Spoglia Cristo	Revenues of the S. Salvatore Chapel in the Church od Spoglia Cristo
D070	XVI	1550	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 765		f. 8v	Spoglia Cristo	House rent
D071	XVI	1550	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 765		f. 8 v	Spoglia Cristo	House rent
D072	XVI	1550	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 765		f. 15 v	Spoglia Cristo	House rent
D073	XVI	1550	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 765		f. 15 v	Spoglia Cristo	House rent
D074	XVI	1550	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 765		f. 16 v	Magnanapoli	House rent
D075	XVI	1551	ASR	Arcofraternita della SS. ma Annunziata	837		foglio 80 in realtà n. 1.	Spoglia Cristo	House rent
D076	XVI	1552	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 814		f. 90 v	S. Bernardino	House rent
D077	XVI	1554	ASV	Fondo Lanciani	Mss. Lanc. 112/12		fogli 64-65, app. nn. 102-103	Regione Monti	STAMPARE
D078	XVI	1554	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 445		f. 222	Santa Maria di Loreto	Taxes payment

D079	XVI	1554	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 445		f. 249	Santa Maria di Loreto	Taxes payment
D080	XVI	1555	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 445		ff. 428-431	Spoglia Christo	Tax payment
D081	XVI	1555	ASV	Corvisieri	XV	fasc. 5	foglio 17	s. Maria di Loreto	House rent
D082	XVI	1555	ASV	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 445		ff. 11-12	S. Maria di Loreto.	Tax payment
D083	XVI	1562	ASV	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 445		ff. 425-426	Spoglia Christo	Tax Payment
D084	XVI	1563	ASV	Fondo Lanciani	Mss. Lanc. 84/II		foglio 73v, app. n. 305	Sant'Urbano	
D085	XVI	1564	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 1		f. 8	S. Nicola alla Colonna Traiana	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D086	XVI	1564	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 1		f. 9	S. Salvatore delle Milizie	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D087	XVI	1564	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 1		ff. 7-8	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D088	XVI	1564	ASV	Corvisieri	XV	fasc. 5	foglio 18	Zambeckari	Notorial deed
D089	XVI	1566	ASV	Corvisieri	III	fasc. b	foglio 23	Torre delle milizie	licenza di scavo nell'orto data dal card. Vitellozzo Camerlengo
D090	XVI	1571	ASVR	S. Lorenzo ai Monti - Morti	XV		ff. 3-44	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	List of dead people (parish S. Lorenzo ai Monti)
D091	XVI	1571	ASVR	S. Lorenzo ai Monti - Matrimoni	I		ff. 19-35	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	List of marriages (parish S. Lorenzo ai Monti)
D092	XVI	1572	BVR	Corvisieri	XV	fasc. 27	foglio 20	Macel de Corvi	House rent
D093	XVI	1573	ASR	Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini	Curzio Saccoccia, Vol. 1540		ff. 6r-8r	San Marco	Inventory of goods
D094	XVI	1573	ASR	Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini	Curzio Saccoccia, Vol. 1540		ff. 147 v- 148 v	S. Caterina da Siena	Taxes payment
D095	XVI	1573	ASR	Archivio dei Trenta Notai Capitolini	Curzio Saccoccia, Vol. 1540		ff. 325 r-v	Palatino	Rent of a "gripta"
D096	XVI	1573	ASR	Archivio Del Collegio Dei Notai Capitolini	Curzio Saccoccia, Vol. 1539		f. 511r	S. Caterina da Siena	Hous sale (Conti Palace): notorial deed
D097	XVI	1573	BVR	Corvisieri	XV	fasc. 17	foglio 3	Torre delle Milizie	Notorial deed
D098	XVI	1573	BIASA	Fondo Lanciani	Mss. Lanc. 112/12		folgi 60, 61, appunti n° 98, 99	Monastero Monte Magnanapoli	Notorial deed
D099	XVI	1575	BVR	Manoscritti	G 33		ff. 2, 5, 94-98	Varia	List of houses
D100	XVI	1576	ASR	Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini	Curzio Saccoccia, Vol. 1546		f. 169	Spoglia Christo	Notorial deed: list of goods
D101	XVI	1576	ASR	Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini	Curzio Saccoccia, Vol. 1546		f. 170 r	Regione Colonna	Notorial deed: list of goods

D102	XVI	1576	ASR	Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini	Curzio Saccoccia, Vol. 1546		ff. 180 v- 182 r	Spoglia Christo	Estimate of property, Cuccini family
D103	XVI	1576	ASR	Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini	Curzio Saccoccia, Vol. 1546		ff. 93 v- 94 v	Macel de' Corvi	House rent, Battista Arcionio
D104	XVI	1576	ASR	Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini	Curzio Saccoccia, Vol. 1546		ff. 194 v-195 v	Monte del Grano	House rent, Cuccini Family
D105	XVI	1576	BVR	Corvisieri	XIX	fasc. b	foglio 5826	Spoglia Christo	House rent: Cuccini family
D106	XVI	1578	ASVR	S. Lorenzo ai Monti - Liber Scripturarum	LIII		ff. 1-5	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	Properties of S. Lorenzo ai Monti
D107	XVI	1585	BVR	Corvisieri	XV		foglio 18	Spoglia Christo	House sale: Giacomo Boncompagni sells his house to the Cardinal Alessandrino
D108	XVI	1586	ASR	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia	Vol. 1		ff. 439 ss.	S. Eufemia	Testament by Pietro Berrettini
D109	XVI	1587	BVR	Manoscritti	G 50		n. I.XII	Trajan Column	Collocazione della statua di S. Pietro
D110	XVI	1588	BVR	Corvisieri	XV	fasc. 5	foglio 20-25	Palace of the Cardinal Alessandrino	Description of the House
D111	XVI	1593	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 19		ff. 104-114	Spoglia Christo	House rent
D112	XVI	1593	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 814		f. 3 v	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	House rent
D113	XVI	1595	ASVR	SS. XII Apostoli, Battesimi	Libro IV, 1595-1604		f. 19v	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	List of baptized people
D114	XVI	1595	ASR	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia	Vol. 2		f. 384	S. Eufemia	Belloboono's inheritance to S. Eufemia
D115	XVI	1595	ASVR	S. Lorenzo ai Monti - Morti	vol. XIV		ff. 2-83	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	Parish: List of dead people
D116	XVI	1598	ASR	S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum	Vol. 419		Armario I, Mazzo I, Mazzo X, n. 8A	S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum	
D117	XVII	1604	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 767		f. 31 v	Spoglia Christo	House rent
D118	XVII	1604	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 767		f. 32 v	Spoglia Cristo	House rent
D119	XVII	1604	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 767		f. 33 v	Spoglia Christo	House rent
D120	XVII	1604	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 767		f. 34 v	Spoglia Christo	House rent
D121	XVII	1609	ASVR	S. Lorenzo ai Monti, Matrimoni	vol. III, 1609 – 1629		f. 38r	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	List of marriages (parish S. Lorenzo ai Monti)
D122	XVII	1609	ASVR	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	Libro II dei beni, vol LIV		f. 16r	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	List of Properties of S. Nicola della Colonna (Parish S. Lorenzo)
D123	XVII	1613	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 445 bis		ff. 133-139	Pantani, Piazza Tor de Conti, Via Alessandrina	Proprietari di case e affittuari nella zona, che devono pagare una tassa per lavori alle strade.
D124	XVII	1614	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 445 bis		ff. 287	Salita di Monte Magnanapol, Madonna di Loreto	Proprietari di case nella zona che devono pagare una tassa per rifare la salita a Monte Magnanapoli.

D125	XVII	1615	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 445 bis		ff. 261	Piazza di Tor de Conti.	Taxes for works made in piazza Tor de Conti
D126	XVII	1617	ASVR	San Marco, Battesimi	Libro III, 1616-1635		f. 61v	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	List of baptized people
D127	XVII	1618	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 18	foglio 5	Torre delle Milizie	House Sale
D128	XVII	1619	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 18	foglio 6	Torre delle Milizie	House sale
D129	XVII	1619	BVR	Corvisieri	Busta XV	fasc. 18	foglio 9	Torre delle Milizie	House sale
D130	XVII	1620	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 445 bis		ff. 552	S. Maria in Campo Carleo.	Taxes payment
D131	XVII	1622	ASVR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 445 bis		ff. 694-696	Piazzetta di Tor de Conti.	Taxes pajment
D132	XVII	1622	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 824		f. 28 v	Campo Carleo	List of Houses (Gonfalone Arciconfraternity)
D133	XVII	1622	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 824		f. 27 v	S. Eufemia	List of Houses (Gonfalone Arciconfraternity)
D134	XVII	1623	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 445 bis		ff. 749 ss.	Campo Carleo	List of house owners: taxes payment for street works
D135	XVII	1625	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 2		ff. 119 r- 120 v	SS. Quirico e Giulitta	Apostolic Visita: description of the church
D136	XVII	1625	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 3		ff. 616 r- 619 r	S. Agata	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D137	XVII	1625	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 3		ff. 583 r- 594 v	SS. Cosma e Damiano	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D138	XVII	1625	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 3		ff. 599 v-606 v	S. Adriano	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D139	XVII	1625	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 3		ff. 705 r- 707 r	S. Bernardino ai Monti	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D140	XVII	1626	ASR	Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini	Giovann Battista Ottaviani, Vol. 233		f. 122 r-v	S. Urbano	Notorial deed: house rent
D141	XVII	1626	ASR	Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini	Giovann Battista Ottaviani, Vol. 233		f. 133 r	S. Bernardino	Notorial deed
D142	XVII	1626	ASR	Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini	Giovann Battista Ottaviani, Vol. 233		f. 337	Longhi Family	Notorial deed
D143	XVII	1626	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 2		ff. 269 r-270 r	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D144	XVII	1626	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 3		ff. 640 r- 641 v	S. Caterina da Siena	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D145	XVII	1626	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 4		ff. 908 r-v	S. Lorenzo in Miranda	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D146	XVII	1626	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 4		ff. 903 r-904 v	S. Maria di Loreto dei Fornai	Apostolic Visit: description of the church

D147	XVII	1626	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 4		ff. 910r- 911v	S. Giuseppe dei Falegnami	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D148	XVII	1626	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 3		ff. 640-641	S. Caterina da Siena	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D149	XVII	1627	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 2		ff. 246 r-247 r	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D150	XVII	1627	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 3		ff. 647 r- 648 v	S. Basilio	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D151	XVII	1627	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 3		ff. 701 r- 704 v	S. Eufemia	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D152	XVII	1627	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 4		ff. 1133 r-v	S. Maria In Macello Martyrum	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D153	XVII	1627	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 4		ff. 858 r-859 r	S. Bernardo alla Colonna Traiana	Apostolic Visit: description of the church
D154	XVII	1631	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 446		f. 18. (a matita n° 65)	Tor de Conti	Tax payment
D155	XVII	1631	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 446		ff. 52-104	Varia	Tax payment: sewer
D156	XVII	1631	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 446		f. 445 (a matita n° 492)	S. Lorenzo in Panisperna.	Tax payment: street works
D157	XVII	1632	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 445		f. 209 (a matita n° 162)	S. Urbano.	Tax payment
D158	XVII	1636	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 446		ff. 517-532	Varia	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D159	XVII	1637	BVR	Memorie sacre delle chiese antiche e moderne di Roma del Padre Severano della congregazione dell'oratorio di Roma	manoscritto g26		ff. 1-15	S. Abbaciro	Description of the church
D160	XVII	1639	ASR	S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum	vol. 419		Armario I, Mazzo X, n. 17	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Revenues
D161	XVII	1640	ASR	Congregazione religiosa femminile, Clarisse di S. Urbano	Busta 5227		ff. 1-17; 28-33	S. Urbano	History of the Monastery and rules to be respected in the Monastery.
D162	XVII	1640	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 447		ff. 245-247r	Spoglia Christo, S. Maria in Campo Carleo, SS.ma Annunziata	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D163	XVII	1655	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 448		ff. 913r; 916r, 917r, 921r	Strada di S. Giorgio; Monastero di Tor de Specchi; Pantani	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

D164	XVII	1655	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 449		f. 64	Monastero di Tor de Specchi; Via di Marforio; S. Lorenzo ai Monti	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D165	XVII	1656	ASR	Archivio dei Trenta Notai Capitolini	J. Bernasconi, Uff. 13, Vol. 338		f. 147	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	Notorial deed
D166	XVII	1661	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 5		f. 269 v	S. Bernardino	Apostolic visit: S. Bernardino
D167	XVII	1661	ASR	Camerale III	Busta 1883		s.n.	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Revenues
D168	XVII	1662	ASVR	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 6		f. 90 v	S. Nicola a Tor de' Specchi	Apostolic visit: description of the church
D169	XVII	1669	ASR	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia	Tomo 100		f. 2	S. Eufemia	List of properties
D170	XVII	1669	ASR	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia	Vol. 90		ff. 165-167	S. Eufemia	List of revenues
D171	XVII	1670	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 450		ff. 247 ss	Macel de Corvi.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D172	XVII	1670	ASV	Archivio del Gonfalone	Vol. 860		ff. 90-91 v	Spoglia Christo	House rent
D173	XVII	1672	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 7		ff. 244- 252	SS. Cosma e Damiano	Inventory of goods in the church
D174	XVII	1676	ASC	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 450		f. 620	Macel de Corvi	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D175	XVII	1676	ASC	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 450		ff. 657 ss.	Macel de Corvi, Monte Magnanapoli	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D176	XVII	1678	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 12		ff. 33 v- 36 r	Monastero dello Spirito Santo	Apostolic Visits: description of nuns'life and measures to regulate it
D177	XVII	1679	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 12		ff. 16 v-23 r	S. Eufemia,,"	Apostolic visit: description of the zitelle's life and measures to regulate it
D178	XVII	1685	ASR	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia	Tomo 521			S. Eufemia	Inventory of the goods of the church
D179	XVII	1686	ASR	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia	Tomo 522			S. Eufemia	Inventory of the goods of the church
D180	XVII	1686	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 12		ff. 160 v-ss	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Descrizione
D181	XVII	1686	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 12		ff. 162 r-v	S. Caterina da Siena	Apostolic visit: complain record
D182	XVII	1687	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 12		ff. 172 v-173 r	S. Urbano	Apostolic visit: complaining record
D183	XVII	1688	ASC	Archivio Boccapaduli	Armario II, Mazzo XII,			Colonna Traiana	Canon case
D184	XVII	1692	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 451		f. 100	Macel de Corvi. Romano.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

D185	XVII	1693	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 13		f. 131 r-v	S. Eufemia, S. Urbano	Apostolic Visit: Decree
D186	XVII	1694	ASR	Camerale III	Busta 1898		s. n.	S. Bernardo alla Colonna Traiana	House sale
D187	XVII	1695	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 13		f. 63 v	S. Bernardo alla Colonna Traiana,	Apostolic visit: request demolishing works
D188	XVII	1698	ASR	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia	Tomo 92			S. Eufemia	Inheritance from Pietro Berrettini
D189	XVII	1699	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 452		f. 136	Macel de Corvi.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D190	XVIII	1702	ASR	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia	Vol. 520		ff. 5, 14, 29, 39	S. Eufemia	List pf properties of the church
D191	XVIII	1704	ASR	Congregazioni religiose maschili, Pii Operai Catechisti Rurali in S. Lorenzo ai Monti.	busta 3563.1			S. Lorenzo ai Monti.	List of poor people (S. Lorenzo ai Monti parish)
D192	XVIII	1705	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 13		f. 304 v	SS. Annunziata	Apostolic Visit: Decree
D193	XVIII	1709	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 453		f. 369 ss	Macel de Corvi.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D194	XVIII	1710	ASR	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia	Tomo 523		ff. 22-25, 57, 134-135, 156-157, 158-159, 170-171, 172-173, 184-185, 238-239, 240-241	S. Eufemia	List of tenants
D195	XVIII	1712	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 15		ff. 26 v -28 v.	S. Bernardino	Apostolic visit: description of the church
D196	XVIII	1717	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 15		f. 272	S. Maria Angelorum in Macello Martyrum	Apostolic visita: description of the church
D197	XVIII	1717	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 454		f. 387 ss.	Macel de Corvi, Palazzo Bonelli	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D198	XVIII	1718	ASV	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Vol. 15		f. 282 r	S. Urbano	Apostolic visit: case on the demolition of a wall
D199	XVIII	1724	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 454		f. 15 ss.	Macel de Corvi, Palazzo Bonelli	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D200	XVIII	1725	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 455		f. 268 r-269 v	S. Agata dei Tessitori, Tor de Conti, SS. Comsa e Damano, Macel de Corvi	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D201	XVIII	1726	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 455		ff. 403 r-404 v	Macel de Corvi.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

D202	XVIII	1737	ASR	Ospedale della Consolazione	118		foglio 9	S. Maria in Campo Carlo.	House purchase
D203	XVIII	1742	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 456		ff. 248 ss.	S. Basilio.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D204	XVIII	1742	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 456		f. 1147-1213	Varia	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D205	XVIII	1748	BVR	Corvisieri	XV	fasc. 18	foglio 18	S. Caterina da Siena	Description of antiquities in the area
D206	XVIII	1749	ASR						
D207	XVIII	1755	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 458		ff. 63-64 e 71-72	Via dei Carbonari, Via di Campo Carleo	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D208	XVIII	1757	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 458		ff. 259-263 e 296- 299	Macel de Corvi.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D209	XVIII	1757	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 458		ff. 175-176	Vicolo Taroli (Foro di Traiano)	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D210	XVIII	1759	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 458		ff. 660-664 e 692-	Via della Pedacchia.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D211	XVIII	1760	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 459		ff. 8r-11v	Via Cremona	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D212	XVIII	1762	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 459		ff. 458r-462 v	Via Cremona.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D213	XVIII	1762	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 459		ff. 283r-283 v	Via delle Tre Cannelle.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D214	XVIII	1765	BVR	Corvisieri	XV	fasc. 5	foglio 3	Trajan Forum	Discoveries of antiquities in the Forum
D215	XVIII	1765	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 460		f. 228rv-231	S. Agata dei Tessitori.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D216	XVIII	1769	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 459		ff. 159r-180 r	Macel de Corvi.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D217	XVIII	1769	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 461		ff. 637r-658 r	S. Maria in via Lata; Colonna Traiana	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D218	XVIII	1770	ASVR	Atti della Segreteria del Vicariato	plico 163	fasc. 1		S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Restoration works in the church
D219	XVIII	1774	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 463		ff. 211r-212v	Piazza di Colonna Traiana	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D220	XVIII	1776	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 464		ff. 497r-499v	Vicolo Taroli, Via di Campo Carleo, S. Eufemia	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D221	XVIII	1780	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 466		ff. 397-400	Vicolo del Priorato; S. Urbano	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D222	XVIII	1780	ASVR	Atti della Segreteria del Vicariato	plico 163, fasc. 4			Spese sostenute dalla chiesa (anche per lavori manutenzione)	Church expenses
D223	XVIII	1782	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum	vol. 467		f. 223r	Piazza delle Carrette.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

D224	XVIII	1784	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 468		f. 453r	Piazza delle Carrette.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D225	XVIII	1784	ASVR	Atti della Segreteria del Vicariato	plico 163		fasc. 3	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Inheritance of the church
D226	XVIII	1786	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 469		f. 540r	Via Alessandrina	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D227	XVIII	1786	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 469		f. 540r	Colonnacce; SS. Cosma e Damiano	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D228	XVIII	1786	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 469		f. 624r	Piazza delle Carrette.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D229	XVIII	1791	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 471		f. 635	Piazza di Colonna Traiana	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D230	XVIII	1795	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 473		ff. 608-609 e 640-641	Piazza delle Carrette	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D231	XVIII	1795	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 473		ff. 542-603	Piazza Venezia; Macel de Corvi; via di Marforio; via della Pedaccia	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D232	XVIII	1796	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 474		f. 199r	Piazza di Campo Vaccino.	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D233	XVIII	1797	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 474		f. 569r	Piazzetta delle Chiavi d'oro	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D234	XVIII	1800	ASVR	Atti della Segreteria del Vicariato	varie, tolo 1		pp. 6-74; 83-128; 130-133; 135-155; 157-169; 174-175, 192-268; 295-317; 340-350	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Restoration works in the church
D235	XIX	1802	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 476		ff. 544r-545v	Piazzetta delle Chiavi d'oro	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
D236	XIX	1805	ASR	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	vol. 478		ff. 490-491 e 522	Piazza delle Carrette	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Id	6
ID Doc	D006
Century	XV
Year	1435
Archive	BVR
Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	Busta X
Fascicolo	fasc. 21
Foglio	foglio 13-14
Title	no title
General Topic	Rione Monti, Contrada d
Detailed Topic	Notarial deed (Notaio Laurentius Philippi Venacii): division of

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Markets of Trajan	Montium	
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Non-identifiable	Object of the document	No name	criptis	certis
Markets of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Le Militiae	domus,	

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Campo	ecclesie S. Marie in Campo	Topographical landmarks

Id	7
ID Doc	D007
Century	XV
Year	1444
Archive	BVR
Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	Busta X
Fascicolo	fasc.
Foglio	16 foglio 14
Title	no title
General Topic	Contrada degli Arcioni
Detailed Topic	Inheritance

Area in Atiquity	Region in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Out of the focus area Montium		
Out of the focus area Montium		

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	8
ID Doc	D008
Century	XV
Year	1446
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum
Busta/Vol	1005
Fascicolo	
Foglio	-
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Maria in Campo Carle
Detailed Topic	House donation

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan		

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Campo	Eccle Sancte Marie in Campo C	Object of the document

Id	9
ID Doc	D009
Century	XV
Year	1447
Archive	BVR
Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	Busta X
Fascicolo	fasc. 18
Foglio	foglio 15
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Salvatore in Contrata
Detailed Topic	Testament

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Out of the focus area	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	10
ID Doc	D010
Century	XV
Year	1456
Archive	BVR
Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	Busta X
Fascicolo	fasc. 16
Foglio	foglio 13
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Silvestro de Archionib
Detailed Topic	Testament

Area in Atitiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Out of the focus area	Montium	

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	11
ID Doc	D011
Century	XV
Year	1457
Archive	BVR
Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	Busta X
Fascicolo	fasc. 21
Foglio	foglio 2
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Maria Campo Carleo
Detailed Topic	Testament

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Campo	S. Mariam de Campo Carleo de	Topographical landma

Id	12
ID Doc	DD12
Century	XV
Year	1457
Archive	BVR
Archival Collec	S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum
Busta/Vol	Vol. 10
Fascicolo	
Foglio	-
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Maria in Campo Carle
Detailed Topic	Testament

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Campo	Sanctam Mariam de Campo Car	Topographical landmarks

Id	13
ID Doc	D013
Century	XV
Year	1458
Archive	BVR
Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	Busta X
Fascicolo	fasc. 5
Foglio	foglio 10
Title	no title
General Topic	Monte Magnanapoli
Detailed Topic	Testament of Giovanni dei Foschi di Berta, canon of S. Maria

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Markets of Trajan	Biberatrice	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan/Column	Place-name	Columna Traj	Column	Trayani

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Nicolò alla Colon	ecclesia Sancti Nicolai in Colum	Object of the document

Id	14
ID Doc	D014
Century	XV
Year	1467
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini
Busta/Vol	Vol. 16
Fascicolo	
Foglio	foglio 28v ss.
Titolo	n.t.
General Topic	Torre dei Conti
Detailed Topic	Testament

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Peace	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Peace/Conti To Place-name		Turris Comitum Turris		

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	15
ID Doc	D015
Century	XV
Year	1465
Archive	BVR
Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	Busta X
Fascicolo	fasc. 16
Foglio	foglio 16-19
Title	Dall'archivio dell'Osped
General Topic	Rione Monti
Detailed Topic	Testament of the Arcioni Family: properties

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Out of the focus area	Montium	
Markets of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Markets of Trajan/Milizi	Place-name	Platea delle	platea	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Document

Id

16

ID Doc

D016

Century

XV

Year

1476

Archive

BVR

Archival Collec

Corvisieri

Busta/Vol

Fascicolo

Foglio

Title

General Topic

Detailed Topic

Busta X

fasc. 21 foglio 15

no title

Contrada Campo Carleo

House sale

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Forum of Trajan

Regio in the Modern Age

Montium

Contrada in the Modern Age

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id.

Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved

Name used in the document

Motivation

Document

Id

17

ID Doc

D017

Century

XV

Year

1476

Archive

ASR

Archival Collec

Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini

Busta/Vol

Fascicolo

Foglio

Title

General Topic

Detailed Topic

Vol. 16

foglio CLXXXXVII

no title

Contrada Campo Carleo

House sale

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Non-identifiable

Regio in the Modern Age

Contrada in the Modern Age

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id.

Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved

Name used in the document

Motivation

Document

Id

18

ID Doc

D018

Century

XV

Year

1477

Archive

BVR

Archival Collec

Corvisieri

Busta/Vol

Fascicolo

Foglio

Title

General Topic

Detailed Topic

Busta X

fasc. 19

foglio 12

no title

Regione Monti

Notorial deed

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Forum of Trajan

Regio in the Modern Age

Montium

Contrada in the Modern Age

Out of the focus area

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id.

Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved

Name used in the document

Motivation

Document

Id

19

ID Doc

D019

Century

XV

Year

1477

Archive

BVR

Archival Collec

Corvisieri

Busta/Vol

Fascicolo

Foglio

Title

General Topic

Detailed Topic

Busta X

fasc. 21

foglio 1

no title

S. Maria in Campo Carleo

Testament

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Forum of Trajan

Regio in the Modern Age

Montium

Contrada in the Modern Age

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id.

Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved

Name used in the document

Motivation

S. Maria in Campo

Spoglia Christo

Document

Id

20

ID Doc

D020

Century

XV

Year

1481

Archive

BVR

Archival Collec

Corvisieri

Busta/Vol

Fascicolo

Foglio

Title

General Topic

Detailed Topic

Busta X

fasc. 19

foglio 40

no title

Monte Magnanapoli

Argument between Conti and Colonna Families

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Markets of Trajan

Regio in the Modern Age

Montium

Contrada in the Modern Age

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id.

Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved

Name used in the document

Motivation

Id	21
ID Doc	D021
Century	XV
Year	1481
Archive	BVR
Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	Busta X
Fascicolo	fasc. 17
Foglio	foglio 4
Title	no title
General Topic	Regione Millizie
Detailed Topic	Notorial deed of Conti Family

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Markets of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Non-identifiable	Place-name	Columna	Column	
Markets of Trajan	Place-name	No name	gripta	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Abbaciro	S. Pacera	Topographical landmarks

Id	22
ID Doc	D022
Century	XV
Year	1481
Archive	BVR
Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	Busta X
Fascicolo	fasc. 18
Foglio	foglio 12
Title	no title
General Topic	Regione Milizie
Detailed Topic	House sale between Conti and Colonna family

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Markets of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Markets of Trajan	Place-name	Le Militia	Militia	
Markets of Trajan	Object of the document	No name	gripta	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Abbaciro	S. Pacera	

Id	23
ID Doc	D023
Century	XV
Year	1487
Archive	BVR
Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	Busta X
Fascicolo	fasc. 17
Foglio	foglio 4
Title	no title
General Topic	
Detailed Topic	Testament of Conti Family

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Out of the focus area	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	24
ID Doc	D024
Century	XV
Year	1488
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone
Busta/Vol	Vol. 73
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 12 r
Title	no title
General Topic	Monte Magnanapoli
Detailed Topic	Castoral Description: Properties of the Sisters of Monte

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contra in the Modern Age
Markets of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	25
ID Doc	D025
Century	XV
Year	1488
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone
Busta/Vol	Vol. 73
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 72 v
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Basilio
Detailed Topic	Cadastral description

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Markets of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Markets of Trajan		le Melitie	Melitie	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Basilio	Palazzo di Sa.cto Basile	

Id ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	26	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D026	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XV								
	1488								
	ASV								
Archivio del Gonfalone									
Busta/Vol Fascicolo	Vol. 73	Ruins					Churches		
Foglio	f. 77 r	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Title	no title								
General Topic	Monte Magnanapoli								
Detailed Topic	Notorial deed: house renting								

Id ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	27	Topographical frame				Activity			
	D027	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XV	Forum of Trajan	Montium						
	1492								
	ASR								
Archival Collec		S.Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum							
Busta/Vol		Vol. 41	Ruins				Churches		
Fascicolo Foglio Title General Topic Detailed Topic		Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
		Non-identifiable	Object of the document	No name	grotte	crste	S. Abbaciro	S. Pacera	
		Non-identifiable	Object of the document	No name	ruina		S. Maria in Campo	Spoglia Xpo	
		Armario, MazzoX, n. 8, f							
		"Locala"(one) a Lorenzo b							
		Regione Monti							
		Notorial deed: house renting to Lorenzo Berti.							

ID	D028	Topographical frame											
Century	XV	Area in Atlaquy Markets of Trajan Forum of Augustus		Regio in the Modern Age Montium		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity		Terms Used in the doc	
Year	1499												
Archive	ASV												
Archival Collec.	Archivio del Gonfalone												
Busta/Vol.	Catasto	Ruins											
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument Markets of Trajan/Milizi		Motivation Place-name	Name Turris delle M Turris	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Churches					
Foglio	foglio 55								Church involved S. Basilio		Name used in the document Sancti Basilii		Motivation Topographical landma
Title	no title												
General Topic	Contrada Torre delle Mil												
Detailed Topic	Notorial deed: house renting												

ID ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	29 D029 XV 1499 ASV Archivio del Gonfalone	Topographical frame				Activity			
		Area in Atiquity Forum of Caesar	Regio in the Modern Age Montium	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc	
Busta/Vol Fascicolo Foglio Title General Topic Detailed Topic	Vol. 81 f. 39 v Summarium domorum S. Basilio Notarial deed: house renting	Ruins				Churches			
		Ancient Monument Markets of Trajan/Milizi	Motivation	Name Turris delle M Turris	Terms id Other terms/adj.		Church involved S. Basilio	Name used in the document Sancti Basili	Motivation

[illegible]

Id	31
ID Doc	D031
Century	XVI
Year	1500
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone
Busta/Vol	Vol. 82
Fascicolo	
Foglio	foglio 4v
Title	"Casa davanti alla Torre
General Topic	Torre delle Milite
Detailed Topic	Payment for a house

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Markets of Trajan	Biberatrice	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	32
ID Doc	D032
Century	XVI
Year	1505
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone
Busta/Vol	Vol. 73
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 82 r
Title	no title
General Topic	Monache di Monte Mag
Detailed Topic	House rent

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Markets of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	33
ID Doc	D033
Century	XVI
Year	1505
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone
Busta/Vol	Vol. 73
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 82 v
Title	no title
General Topic	Casa alla Torre delle Mil
Detailed Topic	House rent

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Markets of Trajan/Milizi	Topographical landmark	Toro di li Milì	Toro (=T	

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	34
ID Doc	D034
Century	XVI
Year	1505
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone
Busta/Vol	Vol. 73
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 2 v
Title	no title
General Topic	Torre delle Milizie
Detailed Topic	House rent

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contra in the Modern Age
Markets of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	35
ID Doc	D035
Century	XVI
Year	1505
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone
Busta/Vol	Vol. 73
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 2 v
Title	no title
General Topic	Torre delle Milizie
Detailed Topic	House rent

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Markets of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Markets of Trajan/Milizi	Topographical landmark	Tore delle Me	Tore	

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	36	Topographical Frame					Activity			
	D036	Area in Atbiquy	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved			Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVI	Forum of Trajan Montium								
	1507									
	ASV									
	Archivio del Gonfalone									
Busta/Vol Fascicolo	Vol. 12	Ruins					Churches			
		Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation	
Foglio Title General Topic Detailed Topic	f. 4 no title Monache di Monte Mag House rent	Markets of Trajan/Milizi Topographical landmark Torre delle M Torre								

Id		37		Topic		Area in Atiquity		Region in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity		Terms Used in the doc	
ID Doc		D037		Topic		Markets of Trajan		Montium									
Century		XVI		Topic													
Year		1507		Topic													
Archive		ASV		Topic													
Archival Collec		Archivio del Gonfalone		Topic													
				Ruins													
Busta/Vol		Vol. 12		Ruins		Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms id		Other terms/adj.		Churches	
Fascicolo				Ruins												Church involved	
Foglio		f. 4		Ruins												Name used in the document	
Title		no title		Ruins												Motivation	
General Topic		Torre delle Millizie		Ruins													
Detailed Topic		House rent		Ruins													

Id	38	Topographic frame								
	D038	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	Century	XVI	Forum of Trajan		Muntium					
	Year	1513								
	Archive	ASV								
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone									
Ruins										
Busta/Vol	Vol. 73	Ancient Monument		Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Churches		
Fascicolo								Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Foglio	f. 2 v							S. Maria in Campo	Spoglia XPO	Place-name
Title	no title									
General Topic	Spoglia Christo									
Detailed Topic	Properties of the Gonfalone									
	Arciconfraternita									

Id Century Year Archive Archival Collec	39	Topographical Frame				Activity					
	D039	Area in Atbiquy		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVI										
	1515										
	ASV										
Archivio del Gonfalone		Ruins				Churches					
Busta/Vol.	Vol. 74	Ancient Monument		Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.		Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Fascicolo		Markets of Trajan/Milizi		Topographical landmark		torre delle mi torre					
Foglio	f. 4 r										
Title	no title										
General Topic	Torre delle Millizie										
Detailed Topic	House sale										

Id	40	Topic: <input type="text"/>					Topic: <input type="text"/>										
	D040	Area in Atlatqui Markets of Trajan		Region in the Modern Age Montium		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity		Terms Used in the doc					
	XVI																
	1515																
	ASV																
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone																
Busta/Vol	Vol. 74	Ruins										Churches					
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms Id		Other terms/adj.		Church involved		Name used in the document		Motivation	
Foglio	f. 5 r																
Title	no title																
General Topic	Monte Magnanapoli																
Detailed Topic	House rent																

Id	41
ID Doc	D041
Century	XVI
Year	1520
Archive	BIASA
Archival Collec	Fondo Lanciani
Busta/Vol	Mss. La
Fascicolo	
Foglio	foglio 89v, app. n. 495
Title	no title
General Topic	Arco dei Foschi della Ber
Detailed Topic	Notarial Deed (Notaio de Perellis)

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan	Object of the document	Arcum de Fus	Arcum	
Forum of Trajan	Object of the document	No name	Turrim	
Non-identifiable		Columna	Column	
Forum of Trajan	Object of the document	No name	Cryptae	antiquae

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	42
ID Doc	D042
Century	XVI
Year	1522
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone
Busta/Vol	Vol. 81
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 58 v
Title	Summarium domorum
General Topic	Regio Montium
Detailed Topic	House rent

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Non-identifiable	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	43
ID Doc	D043
Century	XVI
Year	1522
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone
Busta/Vol	Vol. 81
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 68 v
Title	no title
General Topic	Regione Monti
Detailed Topic	Testament

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Non-identifiable	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Peace ^a	Topographical landmark	No name	antiquit	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	44
ID Doc	D044
Century	XVI
Year	1525
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 445
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 98
Title	no title
General Topic	Spoglia Christo
Detailed Topic	List of houses: taxes payment

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan	Topographical landmark	No name	rovina	
Forum of Trajan	Topographical landmark	No name	rovina	

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Campo	Spoglia Christo	

Id	45
ID Doc	D045
Century	XVI
Year	1526
Archive	ASC
Archival Colloc	Credenzone
Busta/Vol	Vol. I, T
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 190-193
Title	no title
General Topic	Spoglia Christo
Detailed Topic	Protection of the "Arcus Traiani"

Area in Atitiquity Forum of Trajan	Regio in the Modern Age Montium	Contrada in the Modern Age

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan	Antiquity/Ruins	No name	Atiquita	
Forum of Trajan	Antiquity/Ruins	Arcus Traiani	Arcus	

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc
Forum of Trajan	Protection/Restoration	Custodia
Forum of Trajan	Protection/Restoration	Cura
Forum of Trajan	Protection/Restoration	Devastetur
Forum of Trajan	Protection/Restoration	Conservatores
Forum of Trajan	Protection/Restoration	Destructores
Forum of Trajan	Protection/Restoration	Virutus
Forum of Trajan	Protection/Restoration	Restauratur

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id Century Year Archive Archival Collec	46	Topographical Fram					Ancient Monument Involved			Activity		Terms Used in the doc						
	D046	Area in Atlaquity		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age												
	XVI	Forum of Trajan					Montium											
	1526																	
	ASR																	
Archivio S.Salvatore																		
Busta/Vol		Vol. 41	Ruins					Churches										
Fascicolo Foglio Title General Topic Detailed Topic			Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms id		Other terms/adj.		Church involved		Name used in the document		Motivation	
			Forum of Trajan		Topographical landmark		Archo de li Fo Archo						S. Basilio		Sancto Basile		Topographical landma	
													S. Maria in Campo		Spoglia Christo		Object of the documer	
		Armario I, mazzo6, n. 6																
		Diverse note dell'entra																
		S. Maria in Campo Carle																
		Revenues for the Church																

[illegible]

ID	48	Area in Atiquity				Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity		Terms Used in the doc			
IDC Doc	D048	Forum of Trajan				Montium											
Century	XVI																
Year	1529																
Archive	ASV																
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone																
		Ruins										Churches					
Busta/Vol	Vol. 74	Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms id		Other terms/adj.		Church involved		Name used in the document		Motivation	
Fascicolo																	
Foglio	f. 7 v																
Title	no title																
General Topic	Spoglia Christo																
Detailed Topic	Cadastral document: description of houses																

Id Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	49	Ruins			Churches		
	D049	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age	Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVI	Forum of Trajan	Biberatrice				
	1529						
	ASV						
Archivio del Gonfalone							
Busta/Vol	Vol. 74	Ruins			Churches		
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	
Foglio	f. 8 v	None (modern)	Object of the document	No name	chasalin	rxvinato	
Title	no title						
General Topic	Monastero di Monte Ma						
Detailed Topic	Cadastral document: house rental						

Id		<div></div> <div>50</div>												
ID Doc	D050	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved			Activity		Terms Used in the doc	
Century	XVI	Non-identifiable		Muntium										
Year	1529													
Archive	ASV													
Archival Collec.	Archivio del Gonfalone													
Busta/Vol.	Vol. 74	Ruins												
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms id		Other terms/adj.				
Foglio	f. 3 v	Non-identifiable		Object of the document		no name		grota						
Title	no title													
General Topic	Monti													
Detailed Topic	Cadastral document: house rent													
Churches														
		Church involved		Name used in the document		Motivation								

Document

Id

51

ID Doc

D051

Century

XVI

Year

1529

Archive

ASV

Archival Collec

Archivio del Gonfalone

Busta/Vol

Vol. 74

Fascicolo

Foglio

f. 3 v

Title

no title

General Topic

Spoglia Christo

Detailed Topic

Cadastral document: house rent

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Forum of Trajan

Regio in the Modern Age

Montium

Contrada in the Modern Age

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id

Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved

S. Maria in Campo

Name used in the document

Spoglia Christo

Motivation

Place-name

Document

Id

52

ID Doc

D052

Century

XVI

Year

1529

Archive

ASV

Archival Collec

Archivio del Gonfalone

Busta/Vol

Vol. 81

Fascicolo

Foglio

f. 65 v

Title

Summarium domorum

General Topic

Regione Monti

Detailed Topic

Cadastral document: house rent

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Non-identifiable

Regio in the Modern Age

Montium

Contrada in the Modern Age

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

None (modern)

Activity

Renovation

Terms Used in the doc

reparatione

Ruins

Ancient Monument

None (modern)

Motivation

Object of the document

Name

No name (mo domus

Terms id

discoperta

Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved

Name used in the document

Motivation

Document

Id

53

ID Doc

D053

Century

XVI

Year

1533

Archive

BVR

Archival Collec

Corvisieri

Busta/Vol

XV

Fascicolo

fasc. 18

Foglio

foglio 7

Title

no title

General Topic

S. Pacera

Detailed Topic

Notorial deed: house sale (notary Domenico Berardi)

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Forum of Trajan

Regio in the Modern Age

Montium

Contrada in the Modern Age

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

None (modern)

Activity

Renovation

Terms Used in the doc

readaptatum

Ruins

Ancient Monument

None (modern)

Motivation

Object of the document

Name

No name

Terms id

accasam antiquum

Other terms/adj.

Markets of Trajan

Object of the document

No name

reliquis antiquissimis

Markets of Trajan

Object of the document

No name

subterra

Markets of Trajan

Object of the document

No name

griptis

Markets of Trajan

Object of the document

No name

voltris

None (modern)

Object of the document

No name (mo situm

drutum

Churches

Church involved

S. Abbaciro

Name used in the document

Sancta Pacera

Motivation

Place-name

Document

Id

54

ID Doc

D054

Century

XVI

Year

1534

Archive

BVR

Archival Collec

Archivio del Gonfalone

Busta/Vol

Vol. 75

Fascicolo

Foglio

f. 2 v

Title

no title

General Topic

Spoglia Christo

Detailed Topic

Cadastral document: hous sale

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Forum of Trajan

Regio in the Modern Age

Montium

Contrada in the Modern Age

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id

Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved

S. Maria in Campo

Name used in the document

Spollia XPO

Motivation

Place-name

Document

Id

55

ID Doc

D055

Century

XVI

Year

1535

Archive

ASV

Archival Collec

Archivio del Gonfalone

Busta/Vol

Vol. 75

Fascicolo

Foglio

f. 3 v

Title

no title

General Topic

Spoglia Christo

Detailed Topic

Cadastral document: house rent

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Forum of Trajan

Regio in the Modern Age

Montium

Contrada in the Modern Age

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id

Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved

S. Maria in Campo

Name used in the document

Spollia XPO

Motivation

Place-name

ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	56	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D056	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVI								
	1535								
	ASV								
Archivio del Gonfalone									
Busta/Vol Fascicolo Foglio Title General Topic Detailed Topic	Vol. 75	Ruins					Churches		
		Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
	f. 9 v.								
	no title								
	Spoglia Christo								
	Cadastral document:								
	house rent								

Id		57		Topographical frame				Activity											
ID Doc	D057	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age													
Century	XVI	Markets of Trajan		Biberatica															
Year	1535							Ancient Monument involved		Activity		Terms Used in the doc							
Archive	ASV							Ancient Monument involved		Activity		Terms Used in the doc							
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone							Ancient Monument involved		Activity		Terms Used in the doc							
				Ruins				Churches											
Busta/Vol	Vol. 75	Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms id		Other terms/adj.		Church involved		Name used in the document		Motivation			
Fascicolo		None (modern)		Object of the document		No name (mo rovinato)													
Foglio	f. 10 v.																		
Title	no title																		
General Topic	Monte Magnanapoli																		
Detailed Topic	Cadastral document: house rent																		

<div> <div>ID</div> <div>58</div> </div>		<div> <div>Topographical Frame</div> <div> <div>Area in Atiquity</div> <div>Regio in the Modern Age</div> <div>Contrada in the Modern Age</div> </div> </div>				<div> <div>Activity</div> <div> <div>Ancient Monument involved</div> <div>Activity</div> <div>Terms Used in the doc</div> </div> </div>			
<div> <div>ID Doc</div> <div>D058</div> </div>									
<div> <div>Century</div> <div>XVI</div> </div>									
<div> <div>Year</div> <div>1535</div> </div>									
<div> <div>Archive</div> <div>ASR</div> </div>									
<div> <div>Archival Collec</div> <div>Presidenza delle Strade -Taxae Viarium</div> </div>		<div> <div>Ruins</div> <div> <div>Ancient Monument</div> <div>Motivation</div> <div>Name</div> <div>Terms id</div> <div>Other terms/adj.</div> </div> </div>				<div> <div>Churches</div> <div> <div>Church involved</div> <div>Name used in the document</div> <div>Motivation</div> </div> </div>			
<div> <div>Busta/Vol</div> <div>vol. 4</div> </div>									
<div> <div>Fascicolo</div> <div></div> </div>									
<div> <div>Foglio</div> <div>f. 7</div> </div>									
<div> <div>Title</div> <div>"Spese e proventi dei m</div> </div>									
<div> <div>General Topic</div> <div>Macel dei Corvi.</div> </div>									
<div> <div>Detailed Topic</div> <div>Taxes for the Maestri di Strade</div> </div>									

Id	59	Topographical frame				Activity			
	ID Doc	D059	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age	Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	Century	XVI							
	Year	1536							
	Archive	ASV							
Archival Collec	Ss. Salvatore								
Busta/Vol	Vol. 43	Ruins				Churches			
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument		Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.		
Foglio	Armario II, Mazzo I n. 66	None (modern)		Object of the document	No name (no modus)	druta			
Title	no title								
General Topic	Ospedale S. Salvatore a								
Detailed Topic	House rent								

ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	60	Topographical Frame				Activity					
	D060	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc	
	XVI	Forum of Trajan		Montium							
	1535										
	ASR										
	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum vol. 445		Ruins				Churches				
Busta/Vol			Ancient Monument		Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Fascicolo			Markets of Trajan		Topographical landmark	No name	Appress	Appresso al archio	S. Nicolò alla Colon	Santo Nicola alla Colonna	Topographical landma
Foglio	ff. 15, 16		Forum of Trajan/Column		Topographical landmark	Colonna	Colonna	Santo Nicola alla C			
Title	no title										
General Topic	Macel de Convi, S. Nicol										
Detailed Topic	Tax payment										

Document

Id

61

ID Doc

D061

Century

XVI

Year

1536

Archive

BVR

Archival Collec

Corvisieri

Busta/Vol

XV

Fascicolo

Foglio

fasc. 17 foglio 4

Title

no title

General Topic

Contrada delle Millizie

Detailed Topic

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Markets of Trajan

Regio in the Modern Age

Bilberatrice

Contrada in the Modern Age

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Markets of Trajan

Motivation

Place-name

Name

No name

Terms id

Other terms/adj.

militari domus

Churches

Church involved

Name used in the document

Motivation

Document

Id

62

ID Doc

D062

Century

XVI

Year

1537

Archive

ASR

Archival Collec

Presidenza delle Strade
–Taxae Viarum

Busta/Vol

vol. 4

Fascicolo

Foglio

ff. 29, 31

Title

"Spese e proventi del m

General Topic

Spoglia Christo

Detailed Topic

Tax payment

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Forum of Trajan

Regio in the Modern Age

Montium

Contrada in the Modern Age

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

None (modern)

Motivation

Object of the document

Name

No name (mo ruina

Terms id

Other terms/adj.

casa

Churches

Church involved

S. Maria in Campo

Name used in the document

Spoglia Christo

Motivation

Place-name

Document

Id

63

ID Doc

D063

Century

XVI

Year

1538

Archive

ASV

Archival Collec

Archivio del Gonfalone

Busta/Vol

Vol. 81

Fascicolo

Foglio

f. 80

Title

Summarium domorum

General Topic

Spoglia Christo

Detailed Topic

House rent

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Forum of Trajan

Regio in the Modern Age

Montium

Contrada in the Modern Age

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id

Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved

S. Maria in Campo

Name used in the document

Spoglia XPO

Motivation

Place-name

Document

Id

64

ID Doc

D064

Century

XVI

Year

1540

Archive

ASV

Archival Collec

Archivio del Gonfalone

Busta/Vol

Vol. 75

Fascicolo

Foglio

f. 3 v

Title

no title

General Topic

Spoglia Christo

Detailed Topic

House rent

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Forum of Trajan

Regio in the Modern Age

Montium

Contrada in the Modern Age

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id

Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved

S. Maria in Campo

Name used in the document

Spoglia Cristo

Motivation

Topographical landma

Document

Id

65

ID Doc

D065

Century

XVI

Year

1540

Archive

ASV

Archival Collec

Archivio del Gonfalone

Busta/Vol

Vol. 75

Fascicolo

Foglio

f. 4 v.

Title

no title

General Topic

Spoglia Christo

Detailed Topic

House rent

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Forum of Trajan

Regio in the Modern Age

Montium

Contrada in the Modern Age

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id

Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved

S. Maria in Campo

Name used in the document

Spogliacristo

Motivation

Topographical landma

			Topographical Frame						Activity		
ID Doc	D066		Area in Atbiqquy	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age				Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc
Century	XVI										
Year	1540										
Archive	ASV										
Archival Collec.	Archivio del Gonfalone										
Busta/Vol.	Vol. 75		Ruins								
Fascicolo			Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Churches			
Foglio	f. 9 v.							Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation	
Title	no title							S. Maria in Campo	Spoglia Cristo	Topographical landma	
General Topic	Spoglia Christo										
Detailed Topic	House rent										

ID	67	Topic	Area in Atiquity Markets of Trajan	Region in the Modern Age Biberatice	Contrada in the Modern Age	Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc		
ID Doc	D067									
Century	XVI									
Year	1540									
Archive	ASV									
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone	Ruins				Churches				
Busta/Vol	Vol. 75		Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Fascicolo										
Foglio	f. 11 v									
Title	no title									
General Topic	Monte Magnanapoli									
Detailed Topic	House rent									

Id	68	Topographical frame							
	D068	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age	Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc		
	Century	XV	Markets of Trajan	Biberatrice					
	Year	1542							
	Archive	ASR							
Archival Collec	S.Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum								
Busta/Vol	Vol. 41	Ruins				Churches			
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Foglio	Armario I, Mazzo X, n. 8.					S. Abbaciro	Sancte Pacere	Place-name	
Title	no title					S. Maria in Campo	Beata Maria in Campo Carlo	Object of the document	
General Topic	Santa Passera					S. Abbaciro	Sancte Pacere	Object of the document	
Detailed Topic									

Id ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	69	Topographical Frame				Activity					
	D069	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age		Contra in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XV	Out of the focus area S. Mari									
	1550	Forum of Trajan		Montium							
	ASR										
	S.Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum		Ruins				Churches				
Busta/Vol	Vol. 41	Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms id		Other terms/adj.	
Fascicolo		Forum of Trajan		Object of the document		No name		grotta			
Foglio	Armario I, Mazzo X, n. 6										
Title	"Diverse note dell'entra										
General Topic	Spoglia Cristo										
Detailed Topic	Revenues of the S. Salvatore Chapel in the Church od Spoglia Cristo										

	70	Topic displayed from									
ID Doc	D070	Area in Atiquity Forum of Trajan		Regio in the Modern Age Montium		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument Involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
Century	XVI										
Year	1550										
Archive	ASV										
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone										
Busta/Vol	Vol. 76	Ruins						Churches			
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument		Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved		Name used in the document	Motivation
Foglio	f. 8v										
Title	no title										
General Topic	Spoglia Cristo										
Detailed Topic	House rent										

Id	71
ID Doc	D071
Century	XVI
Year	1550
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone
Busta/Vol	Vol. 76
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 8 v
Title	no title
General Topic	Spoglia Cristo
Detailed Topic	House rent

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Campo	Spoglia Christo	Topographical landma

Id	72
ID Doc	D072
Century	XVI
Year	1550
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone
Busta/Vol	Vol. 76
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 15 v
Title	no title
General Topic	Spoglia Cristo
Detailed Topic	House rent

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Campo	Spoglia Christo	Topographical landmarks

Id	73
ID Doc	D073
Century	XVI
Year	1550
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone
Busta/Vol	Vol. 76
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 15 v
Title	no title
General Topic	Spoglia Cristo
Detailed Topic	House rent

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc
None (modern)	Renovation	ripararla

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Campo	Spoglia Christo	Topographical landmarks

Id	74
ID Doc	D074
Century	XVI
Year	1550
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone
Busta/Vol	Vol. 76
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 16 v
Title	no title
General Topic	Magnanapoli
Detailed Topic	House rent

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Markets of Trajan	Biberatrice	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	75
ID Doc	D075
Century	XVI
Year	1551
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Arciconfraternita della Ss. ma Annunziata
Busta/Vol	837
Fascicolo	
Foglio	foglio 80 in realtà n. 1.
Title	Stracciafoglio di catasto
General Topic	Spoglia Cristo
Detailed Topic	House rent

Area in Atitiquity Forum of Trajan	Regio in the Modern Age Montium	Contrada in the Modern Age

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Lorenzo ai Monti	S. Lorenzono	Topographical landmarks
S. Maria in Campo	Spolia Christo	Place-name
S. Maria di Loreto	Santa Maria De Loreto	Topographical landmarks

Id		76	Topographical Frame					Activity		
ID Doc	D076		Area in Atbiquy	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age	Ancient Monument involved			Activity	Terms Used in the doc
Century	XVI		Forum of Trajan Montium							
Year	1552									
Archive	ASV									
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone									
			Ruins					Churches		
Busta/Vol	Vol. 81		Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Fascicolo			None (modern)	Object of the document	No name	domus	rslicte	S. Bernardino	S. Bernardino	Topographical landma
Foglio	f. 90 v									
Title	Summarium domorum									
General Topic	S. Bernardino									
Detailed Topic	House rent									

ID Century Year Archive Archival Collec	77	Topographical Frame					Ancient Monument involved			Activity		Terms Used in the doc	
	D077	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		None (modern)		Renovation		reparatione	
	XVI						None (modern)		Renovation		melloramentis		
	1554												
	ASV												
Fondo Lanciani													
Busta/Vol Fascicolo Foglio Title General Topic Detailed Topic	Miss. La	Ruins					Churches						
		Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms id		Other terms/adj.			
		Forum of Trajan		Topographical landmark		arcum de Fus arcum							
	fgli 64-65, app. nn. 102	Forum of Trajan		Object of the document		No name		ruina					
	no title Regione Monti STAMPARE												

ID	78	Area in Atiquity					Regio in the Modern Age					Contrada in the Modern Age					Ancient Monument involved					Activity					Terms Used in the doc														
ID Doc	D078	Forum of Nerva					Montium																																		
Century	XVI																																								
Year	1554																																								
Archive	ASR																																								
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade -Taxae Viarum																																								
Busta/Vol	vol. 445	Ruins										Churches																													
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument					Motivation					Name					Terms id					Other terms/adj.					Church involved					Name used in the document					Motivation				
Foglio	f. 222	None (modern)					Object of the document					No name					ruina										S. Maria di Loreto					S. Maria di Loreto					Topographical landma				
Title	"A di 12 Giugno 1554 in																																								
General Topic	Santa Maria di Loreto																																								
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment																																								

ID Century Year Archive Archival Collec	79	Topographical Frame				Activity					
	D079	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age	Ancient Monument involved					Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVI	Forum of Nerva	Montium								
	1554										
	ASR										
Busta/Vol Fascicolo Foglio Title General Topic Detailed Topic	Presidenza delle Strade -Taxae Viarum vol. 445	Ruins				Churches					
		Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation		
	f. 249										
	"S. Maria di Loreto, Elen Santa Maria di Loreto Taxes payment										

ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	80	Topic and Form					Ancient Monument Involved			Activity		Terms Used in the doc			
	D080	Area in Atiquity Forum of Trajan		Regio in the Modern Age Montium		Contrada in the Modern Age									
	XVI														
	1555														
	ASR														
Presidenza delle Strade ~ Taxae Viarum															
Busta/Vol	vol. 445	Ruins					Churches								
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument Forum of Trajan		Motivation Topographical landmark		Name arco del (...)		Terms Id arco		Church involved S. Maria in Campo		Name used in the document Spoglia Christo		Motivation Place-name	
Foglio	ff. 428-431														
Title	"Lista delle case tassate Spoglia Christo														
General Topic	Tax payment														
Detailed Topic															

Id	81
ID Doc	D081
Century	XVI
Year	1555
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	XV
Fascicolo	fasc. 5
Foglio	foglio 17
Title	no title
General Topic	s. Maria di Loreto
Detailed Topic	House rent

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Archum de Fu arcum		

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria di Loreto	Sancte Marie de Loreto	Topographical landmarks

Id	82
ID Doc	D082
Century	XVI
Year	1555
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade – <u>Taxae Viarum</u>
Busta/Vol	vol. 445
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 11-12
Title	“Gettito di S[an]ta M[ar]ia S. Maria di Loreto.
General Topic	
Detailed Topic	Tax payment

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	83
ID Doc	D083
Century	XVI
Year	1562
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 445
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 425-426
Title	"Chivavica di Spoglia Christi"
General Topic	Spoglia Christo
Detailed Topic	Tax Payment

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan/Column	Topographical landmark	Colonna Traia	Colonna Traiana (verso la)	
Markets of Trajan	Place-name	Millicie	Strada d	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Bernardino	Monasterio di S. Belardino	Object of the document
Spirito Santo	Spiritu Santo	Object of the document
S. Urbano	Santo Urbano	Topographical landmark
S. Maria in Campo	Spoglia Christo	Place-name

Id	84
ID Doc	D084
Century	XVI
Year	1563
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Fondo Lanciani
Busta/Vol	Ms. La
Fascicolo	
Foglio	foglio 73v, app. n. 305
Title	no title
General Topic	Sant'Urbano
Detailed Topic	

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Urbano	Sancti Urbani	Topographical landmarks

Id	85
ID Doc	D085
Century	XVI
Year	1564
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 1
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 8
Title	Visita Ap(osto)lica Chies
General Topic	S. Nicola alla Colonna Tr
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: description of the church

Area in Atitiquity Forum of Trajan	Regio in the Modern Age Montium	Contrada in the Modern Age

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Bernardino	Sancti Bernardi	Object of the document
S. Lorenzo ai Monti	Sancti Laurentioli in montibus	Object of the document
S. Nicolò alla Colona	Sancti Nicolai ad Collunam Troi	Object of the document

Id	86
ID Doc	D086
Century	XVI
Year	1564
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 1
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 9
Title	Visita Ap(osto)lica Chies
General Topic	S. Salvatore delle Milizie
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: description of the church

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Markets of Trajan	Biberatrice	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc
None (modern)	Renovation	renovatione, reparazione

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Markets of Trajan	Object of the document	Sancti Salvato		

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Salvatore delle	Sancti Salvatori delle Militie	Object of the document

Id	87
ID Doc	D087
Century	
Year	1564
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 1
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 7-8
Title	Visita Apostolica Chiese
General Topic	S. Maria in Campo Carle
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: description of the church

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Campo	Sancte Marie in Campo Carleo	Object of the document

Id	88
ID Doc	D088
Century	XVI
Year	1564
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	XV
Fascicolo	fasc. 5
Foglio	foglio 18
Title	no title
General Topic	Zambeccari
Detailed Topic	Notorial deed

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	89
ID Doc	D089
Century	XVI
Year	1566
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	III
Fascicolo	fasc. b
Foglio	foglio 23
Title	no title
General Topic	Torre delle milizie
Detailed Topic	licenza di scavo nell'orto data dal card. Vitelozzo Camerlingo

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Markets of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc
Markets of Trajan	Excavation	effodienti

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Markets of Trajan	Excavation	No name	crypta	
Markets of Trajan/Milizi	Topographical landmark	Turrin Militia	Turrin	prope

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	90
ID Doc	D090
Century	XVI
Year	1571
Archive	ASVR
Archival Collec	S. Lorenzo ai Monti - Monti
Busta/Vol	XV
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 3-44
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Lorenzo ai Monti
Detailed Topic	List of dead people (parish S. Lorenzo ai Monti)

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan/Column Topographical landmark		Colonna Traia		Colonna Traiana (apprezzo)

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Lorenzo ai Monti	S. Lorenzolo	Topographical landmarks
S. Lorenzo ai Monti	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	Object of the document

Document

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Document		Topographical Frame					Activity										
ID	96	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity		Terms Used in the doc					
ID Doc	D096	Markets of Trajan		Montium													
Century	XVI																
Year	1573																
Archive	ASR																
Archival Collec	Archivio Del Collegio Dei Notai Capitolini																
Busta/Vol	Curcio S	Ruins					Churches										
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms id		Other terms/adj.		Church involved		Name used in the document		Motivation	
		Markets of Trajan/Milizi		Place-name		turris nuncup		Turris		delle Milite		S. Caterina da Siena		Monasterio Sancta Caterina		Object of the document	
Foglio	f. 511r	Markets of Trajan/Milizi		Place-name		Torra delle Mi Torra											
Title	no title																
General Topic	S. Caterina da Siena																
Detailed Topic	Hous sale (Conti Palace): notorial deed																

Document		Topographical Frame				Activity		
Id	97	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age	Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc
ID Doc	0097	Markets of Trajan		Montium				
Century	XVI							
Year	1573							
Archive	BVR							
Archival Collec	Corvisieri							
Busta/Vol	XV					Churches		
Fascicolo	fasc. 17	Ancient Monument		Motivation	Name	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Foglio	foglio 3	Markets of Trajan/Milizi		Place-name	Torre delle mitorre	S. Caterina da Siena	S. Caterine Senis	Object of the document
Title	no title							
General Topic	Torre delle Milizie							
Detailed Topic	Notorial deed							

Document		Topographical Frame				Activity		
Id	98	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age	Ancient Monument involved		
ID Doc	0098	Markets of Trajan		Montium		Activity		
Century	XVI					Terms Used in the doc		
Year	1573							
Archive	BIASA							
Archival Collec	Fondo Lanciani							
Busta/Vol	Mss. La							
Fascicolo								
Foglio	fogli 60, 61, appunti n° 9							
Title	no title							
General Topic	Monastero Monte Magna					Churches		
Detailed Topic	Notorial deed					Church involved		
		Ruins		Name	Terms id	Name used in the document		Motivation
		Ancient Monument		Motivation	Other terms/adj.	S. Caterina da Siena		Monastero di Monte Magnana
						Object of the document		

Document		Topographical Frame						Activity		
ID	99	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc
ID Cent	D099	Variae		Variae						
Century	XVI									
Year	1575									
Archive	BVR									
Archival Collec	Manoscritti									
Busta/Vol	G 33									
Fascicolo										
Foglio	ff. 2, 5, 94-98									
Title	"Contorno delle case c									
General Topic	S.Maria di Loreto, Spogli									
Detailed Topic	list of houses									

Document					Activity		
Id	100	Topographical Frame			Ancient Monument involved		
ID Doc	0100	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age	Activity	Terms Used in the doc	
Century	XVI	Forum of Trajan	Montium				
Year	1576						
Archive	ASR						
Archival Collec	Archivio del Collegio dei Notali Capitolini						
Busta/Vol	Curcio S	Ruins			Churches		
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Foglio	f. 169			Terms id. Other terms/adj.	S. Maria in Campo	Spoglia Christo	Place-name
Title	no title						
General Topic	Spoglia Christo						
Detailed Topic	Notorial deed: list of goods						

Detailed Topic	Properties of S. Lorenzo ai Monti
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Document

Id	107
ID Doc	D107
Century	XVI
Year	1585
Archive	BVR
Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	XV
Fascicolo	
Foglio	foglio 18
Title	no title
General Topic	Spoglia Christo
Detailed Topic	House sale: Giacomo Boncompagni sells his house to the Cardinal

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Trevi	

Activity

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id.	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan	Antiquity/Ruins	No name	foris et c	
Forum of Trajan	Antiquity/Ruins	No name	lapides	marmoreos et tibur

Churches

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Campo	Spoglia Christo	Topographical landma

Document

Id	108
ID Doc	D108
Century	XVI
Year	1586
Archive	ASR (Gall
Archival Collec	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia
Busta/Vol	Vol. 1
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 439 ss.
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Eufemia
Detailed Topic	Testament by Pietro Berretini

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Activity

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id.	Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Document

Id	109
ID Doc	D109
Century	XVI
Year	1587
Archive	BVR
Archival Collec	Manoscritti
Busta/Vol	G 50
Fascicolo	
Foglio	n. LXII
Title	Ordo in benedictione sig
General Topic	Trajan Column
Detailed Topic	Collocazione della statua di S. Pietro

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Activity

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id.	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan	Column	Object of the document	Columnne	

Churches

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria di Loreto	ecclesia beata Matia Lauretan	Object of the documr

Document

Id	110
ID Doc	D110
Century	XVI
Year	1588
Archive	BVR

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Trevi	

Activity

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	trovate
None (modern)	Excavation	cavare
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	trovati
Forum of Trajan	Renovation	trovate
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	levarla sopra terra
Forum of Trajan	Protection/Restoration	levarla dopra terra

Ruins

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id.	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan	Antiquity/Ruins	No name	portico	vera
Forum of Trajan	Antiquity/Ruins	No name	colonne	d meravigliosa gra
Forum of Trajan	Antiquity/Ruins	No name	iscritto	s vede
Forum of Trajan	Antiquity/Ruins	No name	foro	è fondato nel med
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	No name	torrioni	vestigi
Forum of Trajan	Antiquity/Ruins	No name	colonne	ltere e rotte
Forum of Trajan	Antiquity/Ruins	No name	teste di	di grandezza oltre i
Forum of Trajan	Column	Place-name	No name	colonna Traiana (piazza dell
Forum of Trajan	Antiquity/Ruins	No name	palagio i	v fosse
Forum of Trajan	Antiquity/Ruins	No name	Statue	verano

Churches

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	XV
Fascicolo	fasc. 5
Foglio	foglio 20-25
Title	Descrittione del palagio
General Topic	Palace of the Cardinal Al
Detailed Topic	Description of the House

Document

Id	111
ID Doc	D111
Century	XVI
Year	1593
Archive	ASV

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Activity

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc
None (modern)	Protection/Restoration	in restauraione
None (modern)	Excavation	effodiendo
None (modern)	Excavation	faciendo cantinam et puteu
Forum of Trajan	Material Recovery	repernet
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	extractione
Forum of Trajan	Material Recovery	reperientur
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	extractione

Ruins

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id.	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	No name	argente	
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	No name	plumbu	
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	No name	ulusque	
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	No name	figure	
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	No name	frustra	figurum
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	No name	lapides	pretiosis
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	No name	columni	
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	No name	Stipitibu	
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	No name	lapides	mamore et tibur
Forum of Trajan	Excavation	No name	aurum	

Churches

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Campo	Beate Marie i Campo Carleo alli Place-name	

Detailed Topic	House rent

Document

Id	112
ID Doc	D112
Century	XVI
Year	1593
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone
Busta/Vol	Vol. 81
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f.3 v
Title	Summarium domorum
General Topic	S. Maria in Campo Carle
Detailed Topic	House rent

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Activity

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id.	Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Campo	Santa Maria in Campo Carleo	Place-name

Document

Id	113
ID Doc	D113
Century	XVI
Year	1595
Archive	ASVR
Archival Collec	SS. XII Apostoli, Battesimi
Busta/Vol	Libro IV
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 19v
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Maria in Campo Carle
Detailed Topic	List of baptized people

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Activity

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id.	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan/Column	Place-name	colonna troia		"sabitant in colum

Churches

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Campo	Parochia S. Maria in Campo Car	Place-name

Document

Id	114
ID Doc	D114
Century	XVI
Year	1595
Archive	ASR (Gall
Archival Collec	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia
Busta/Vol	Vol. 2
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 384
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Eufemia
Detailed Topic	Belloboono's inheritance to S. Eufemia

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Activity

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id.	Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Eufemia	Monasterio vecchio di S. Berna	Object of the documer

Document

Id	115
ID Doc	D115
Century	XVI
Year	1595
Archive	ASVR
Archival Collec	S. Lorenzo ai Monti - Morti
Busta/Vol	vol. XIV
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 2-83
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Lorenzo ai Monti
Detailed Topic	Parish: List of dead people

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Activity

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id.	Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Lorenzo ai Monti Sancti Laurentij		Object of the documer

Document

Id	116
ID Doc	D116
Century	XVI
Year	1598
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum
Busta/Vol	Vol. 41
Fascicolo	
Foglio	Armario I, Mazzo I, Maz
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Salvatore ad Sancta S
Detailed Topic	

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	
Forum of Trajan	Montium	
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Activity

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id.	Other terms/adj.
Markets of Trajan/Milizi	Topographical landmark Templum Mili Templu	Militiarum		
Markets of Trajan/Milizi	Place-name	Contrada Mili	Militiarum	

Churches

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Basilio	Sancti Basilii	Place-name
S. Maria in Campo	Sancta Maria in Campo Carleo	Object of the documer

Id	133
ID Doc	D133
Century	XVII
Year	1622
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Archivio del Gonfalone
Busta/Vol	Vol. 82
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 27 v
Title	Libro delle case dall'ann
General Topic	S. Eufemia
Detailed Topic	List of Houses (Gonfalone Arconfraternità)

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan/Column	Topographical landmark	colonna troia	colonna	troiana (incontro al

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Eufemia	le zitelle sperse	Place-name

Id	134
ID Doc	D134
Century	XVII
Year	1623
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 445
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 749 ss.
Title	"Tassa della Chiavica in
General Topic	Campo Carleo
Detailed Topic	List of house owners: taxes payment for street works

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan/Column Topographical landmark	Colonna Traiana	Colonna Traiana (verso la)		
Forum of Trajan/Column Topographical landmark	Colonna Traia	Colonna Traiana (verso la)		

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Eufemia	Monasterio delle Zitelle Sperse	Object of the document
S. Maria in Campo	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Object of the document
S. Maria in Campo	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Topographical landmark

Id	135
ID Doc	D135
Century	XVII
Year	1625
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol 2
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 119 r- 120 v
Title	Visitato Ecclesie Sancto
General Topic	SS. Quirico e Giulitta
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visita: description of the church

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Out of the focus area	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Non-identifiable	Object of the document	Casalis Turris	Turris	
None (modern)	Object of the document		antiquit	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
SS. Quirico e Giulitt	Sanctorum Quirici et Iubite	Object of the document

Id	136
ID Doc	D136
Century	XVII
Year	1625
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 3
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 616 r- 619 r
Title	Visitatio Ecclesiae Sanctae
General Topic	S. Agata
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: description of the church

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Out of the focus area	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Other (out of the focus a	Antiquity/Ruins		lapis	antiquis
Other (out of the focus a	Antiquity/Ruins		columni	marmoreis

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	137
ID Doc	D137
Century	XVII
Year	1625
Archive	ASV
Archival Collection	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 3
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 583 r - 594 v
Title	Visitato Ecclesiae SS. Co.
General Topic	SS. Cosma e Damiano
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: description of the church

Area in Atiquity Forum of Peace	Regio in the Modern Age Montium	Contrada in the Modern Age

Ancient Monumen	Motivation	Name	Terms Id	Other terms/adj.
Other (out of the focus a Topographical landmark)	Templum oli	Templum	Clm	pae
Forum of Peace"	Antiquity/Ruins	Vestibul	formae	circularis
Other (out of the focus a Place-name		Vestibulum		foribus
Forum of Peace"	Antiquity/Ruins	pavime		litteritum
Forum of Peace"	Antiquity/Ruins	Caelum		voru concamerata
Forum of Peace"	Antiquity/Ruins	Columni		porphiretics
Forum of Peace"	Antiquity/Ruins	Altare		vetus
Other (out of the focus a Place-name		Foro Boario	Foro	Boario

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
SS. Cosma e Damia	SS. Cosmae et Damiani	

Id	138	Topographical Frame				Activity											
	D138	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity		Terms Used in the doc					
	Century	XVII	Forum of Caesar		Montium												
	Year	1625															
	Archive	ASV															
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica																
Busta/Vol	Vol. 3																
Fascicolo																	
Foglio	ff. 599 v-606 v																
Title	Visitatio Ecc(les)iae S. A.																
General Topic	S. Adriano																
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: description of the church																
		Ruins						Churches									
		Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms id		Other terms/adj.		Church involved		Name used in the document		Motivation	
		None (modern)		Antiquity/Ruins		veteri structu		structur		veteri		S. Adriano		S. Adriani		Object of the document	
		Non-identifiable		Antiquity/Ruins				Column		porphyretica							
		Other (out of the focus a		Place-name		Foro Boario		Foro		Boario							

Id ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	139	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D139	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc	
	XVII	Forum of Augustus	Montium						
	1625								
	ASV								
		Congregazione della Visita Apostolica							
		Ruins				Churches			
Busta/Vol	Vol. 3	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Fascicolo							S. Bernardino	Sancti Bernardini	Object of the document
Foglio	ff. 705 r- 707 r								
Title	Visitatio Ecclesiae et Do								
General Topic	S. Bernardino ai Monti								
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit description of the church								

Id ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	140	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D140	Area in Atbiquy	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age			Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVII								
	1626								
	ASR								
	Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini				Churches				
Busta/Vol	Giovani	Ruins							
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Foglio	f. 122 r-v					S. Urbano S. Urbano Object of the document			
Title	no title								
General Topic	S. Urbano								
Detailed Topic	Notarial deed: house rent								

Id ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	141	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D141	Area in Atbiquy	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVII								
	1626								
	ASR								
Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini	Ruins				Churches				
Busta/Vol	Glovan	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Fascicolo						S. Bernardino Sancti bernardini subitis monte*Object of the document			
Foglio	f. 133 r								
Title	no title								
General Topic	S. Bernardino								
Detailed Topic	Notorial deed								

Id ID Doc Century Year Archive	142	Topographical Frame					Activity										
	D142	Area in Atiquy		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age			Ancient Monument involved		Activity		Terms Used in the doc				
	1626																
	ASR																
	Archival Collec	Archivio del Collegio dei Notai Capitolini															
Busta/Vol	Giovan	Ruins					Churches										
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms id			Other terms/adj.						
Foglio	f. 337											Church involved		Name used in the document		Motivation	
Title	no title																
General Topic	Longhi Family																
Detailed Topic	Notorial deed																

Id	143
ID Doc	D143
Century	XVII
Year	1626
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 2
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 269 r-270 r
Title	Visitatio Ecclesiae Sanctae
General Topic	S. Lorenzo ai Monti
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: description of the church

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
None (modern)	Antiquity/Ruins		campan	vetus
None (modern)	Antiquity/Ruins		campan	antiquitas
None (modern)	Antiquity/Ruins		---	antiquitatem redol

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Lorenzo ai Monti	San Lorentiolo	Object of the document

Id	144
ID Doc	D144
Century	XVII
Year	1626
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 3
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 640 r- 641 v
Title	Visitatio Ecclesiae et Mo
General Topic	S. Caterina da Siena
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: description of the church

Area in Atiquity Markets of Trajan	Regio in the Modern Age Montium	Contrada in the Modern Age
---------------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Non-identifiable	Antiquity/Ruins		colimnis marmoreis	

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Caterina da Siena	Sanctae Catherinae de Senis"	Object of the document

Id	145
ID Doc	D145
Century	XVII
Year	1626
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 4
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 908 r-v
Title	Visitatio Ecclesiae S. Lau
General Topic	S Lorenzo in Miranda
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: description of the church

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Peace	Campitelli	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Non-identifiable	Object of the document		Lapides	antiqui
Non-identifiable	Object of the document		mensa	marmoream

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Lorenzo in Miran	Santi Laurentij	Object of the document

Id	146
ID Doc	D146
Century	XVII
Year	1626
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 4
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 903 r-904 v
Title	Visitato Ecclesie S. Mari
General Topic	S. Maria di Loreto del Fo
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: description of the church

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Non-identifiable	Antiquity/Ruins		column	marmoreas
Non-identifiable	Antiquity/Ruins		column	marmoreas varis c
Non-identifiable	Object of the document		mensa	marmorea

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria di Loreto	Sanctae Mariae Lauretanae	Object of the document

Id	147
ID Doc	D147
Century	XVII
Year	1626
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 4
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 910r- 911v
Title	Visitato Ecclesie S. Iose
General Topic	S. Giuseppe dei Falegna
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: description of the church

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Out of the focus area Campitelli		

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Non-identifiable	Antiquity/Ruins		columell	marmoreis

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Church out of the f	S. Josephi ubi extat Confraterni	Object of the document

ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	148	Topographical Frame				Activity				
	D148	Area in Atbiquy		Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVII									
	1626									
	ASV									
	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Ruins				Churches				
Busta/Vol Fascicolo Foglio Title General Topic Detailed Topic	Vol. 3 ff. 640-641 Visitatio- Ecclesie et Mo S. Caterina da Siena Apostolic Visit: description of the church	Ancient Monument Non-identifiable		Motivation Antiquity/Ruins	Name 	Terms id. Other terms/adj: columell marmoreis		Church involved S. Caterina da Sien	Name used in the document S. Catharinae de Senis	Motivation Object of the document

ID Century Year Archive Archival Collec	149	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity		Terms Used in the doc	
	D149	Forum of Trajan		Montium									
	XVII												
	1627												
	ASV												
	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica		Ruins										
Busta/Vol	Vol. 2	Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms id		Other terms/adj.		Churches	
Fascicolo												Church involved	
Foglio	ff. 246 r-247 r											S. Maria in Campo	
Title	Visitatio Ecclesiae Sanct											Sanctae Mariae in Campo Carle	
General Topic	S. Maria in Campo Carle											Object of the document	
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: description of the church												

Id	150	Area in Atiquity Forum of Augustus	Regio in the Modern Age Montium	Contrada in the Modern Age	Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc		
	D150								
	Century XVII								
	Year 1627								
	Archive ASV								
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica								
Busta/Vol	Vol. 3	Ruins				Churches			
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument Forum of Augustus	Motivation Topographical landmark	Name Palatj Nervi I	Terms id Palatj	Other terms/adj. Nervi Imperatoris	Church involved S. Basilio	Name used in the document Sancto Basilio	Motivation Object of the document
Foglio	ff. 647 r- 648 v	Forum of Augustus	Topographical landmark	Arcum Aearj	Arcum	Aearj			
Title	Visitatio Ecclesiae et Mo	Forum of Augustus	Topographical landmark	Arco dell'Erari	Arco	dell'Erario			
General Topic	S. Basilio	Forum of Augustus	Topographical landmark	ruinas	ruinas				
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: description of the church								

ID	151
ID Doc	D151
Century	XVII
Year	1627
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 3
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 701 r - 704 v
Title	Visitatio Ecclesiae et Do
General Topic	S. Eufemia
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: description of the church

Topographical Frame			
Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age	
Forum of Trajan	Montium		

Activity		
Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ruins			
Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id ^a Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan/Column Topographical landmark	Columna Trai	Column	Trai ani (ex plates)

Churches		
Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Urbano	Sancti Urbani	Object of the document
S. Eufemia	Sanctae Euphemiae*	Object of the document

Id		152	Topographical Form				Ancient Monument Involved		Activity		Terms Used in the doc	
ID Doc		D152	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age					
Century		XVII	Forum of Nerva		Montium							
Year		1627										
Archive		ASV										
Archival Collec			Congregazione della Visita Apostolica									
Busta/Vol			Vol. 4		Ruins				Churches			
Fascicolo			None (modern)		Motivation		Name		Terms id		Other terms/adj.	
Foglio			ff. 1133 r-v		Object of the document				Ecclesia r/ainosa et semidru		Church involved	
Title			ff. 1133 r-v								Name used in the document	
General Topic			Visitatio Ecclesiae Sanctae								Motivation	
Detailed Topic			S. Maria In Macello Mar								Object of the document	
			Apostolic Visit:									
			description of the church									

Id	153
ID Doc	D153
Century	XVII
Year	1627
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 4
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 858 r-859 r
Title	Visitatio Ecclesiae S. Bern
General Topic	S. Bernardo alla Colonna
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: description of the church

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan		

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan/Column	Topographical landmark	Obeliscum Tr	Obeliscu	apud

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Bernardo	S. Bernardi	Object of the document

Id	154
ID Doc	D154
Century	XVII
Year	1631
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 446
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 18. (a matita n° 65)
Title	no title
General Topic	Tor de Conti
Detailed Topic	Tax payment

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Peace	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Peace/Conti To Place-name		Tor de Conti	Tor	œ Conti

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Adriano	Adriano	Object of the document
S. Urbano	S. Urbano	Object of the document
S. Bernardino	S. Belardino	Object of the document
S. Maria in Campo	Spoglia Christi	Place-name

Id	155
ID Doc	D155
Century	XVII
Year	1631
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 446
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 52-104
Title	"Tassa dell accomodam
General Topic	S. Agata dei Tessitori, St
Detailed Topic	Tax payment: sewer

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Nerva	Montium	
Forum of Peace	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
SS. Quirico e Giulitt	Santo Chirico	Topographical landmark
S. Adriano	S. Adriano	Topographical landmark
S. Caterina da Siena	Monastero S. Caterina	Topographical landmark
S. Urbano	S. Urbano	Topographical landmark
S. Lorenzo al Monti	Santo Lorenzo	Topographical landmark
Spirito Santo	Spirito Santo	Topographical landmark
S. Maria in Macello	Chiesa dei Tessitori	Topographical landmark

Id	156
ID Doc	D156
Century	XVII
Year	1631
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum
Rusta/Vol	vol. 446
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 445 (a matita n° 492)
Title	"Tassa quali va contribui
General Topic	S. Lorenzo in Panisperna
Detailed Topic	Tax payment: street works

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Church out of the f	S. Lorenzo in Panisperna	Topographical landma

Id	157
ID Doc	D157
Century	XVII
Year	1622
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 445
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 209 (a matita n° 162)
Title	"Tassa della acua levata
General Topic	S. Urbano.
Detailed Topic	Tax payment

Area in Atiquity Forum of Trajan	Regio in the Modern Age Montium	Contrada in the Modern Age

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Urbano	S. Urbano	Object of the document

Document			Topographical Frame						Activity			
ID	158		Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age			Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc		
ID Doc	D158		Forum of Trajan	Montium								
Century	XVII		Forum of Caesar	Montium								
Year	1636		Forum of Nerva	Montium								
Archive	ASR											
Archival Collec.	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum											
Busta/Vol Fascicolo	vol. 446		Ruins					Churches				
Foglio	ff. 517-532		Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation		
Title	no title		Other (out of the focus a Topographical landmark Forum of Peace"			Templum Pac Templ		S. Maria in Macello	Chiesa de Tessitori	Topographical landma		
General Topic	S. Eufemia; S. Lorenzo d		Topographical landmark			L'antichi		S. Maria in Campo	S. Maria in Campo Carlo	Topographical landma		
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses							S. Bernardino	S. Bernardino	Topographical landma		
								Spirito Santo	Spirito Santo	Topographical landma		

Document	Topographical Frame					Activity					
Id	159	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc	
ID Doc	D159										
Century	XVII										
Year	1637										
Archive	BVR										
Archival Collec	Memorie sacre delle chiese antiche e		Ruins								
Busta/Vol	manosc										
Fascicolo											
Foglio	ff. 1-15										
Title	no title		Churches								
General Topic	S. Abbacchio										
Detailed Topic	Description of the church										

Document		Topographical Frame					Activity					
ID	160	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc	
ID Doc	D160											
Century	XVII											
Year	1639											
Archive	ASR											
Archival Collec	S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum											
Busta/Vol	vol. 419	Ancient Monument		Motivation	Name	Terms Id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document		Motivation	
Fascicolo								S. Maria in Campo		S. Maria in Campo Carleo		Object of the document
Foglio	Armario I, Mazzo X, n. 1											
Title	no title											
General Topic	S. Maria in Campo Carleo											
Detailed Topic	Revenues											

Document						Activity			
Id	161	Topographical Frame				Ancient Monument involved			
ID Doc	D161	Area in Atiquy	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Activity		Terms Used in the doc	
Century	XVII	Forum of Trajan Montium							
Year	1640								
Archive	ASR								
Archival Collec	Congregazione religiosa femminile, Clarisse di S. Busta					Churches			
Busta/Vol	Busta 5	Ancient Monument				Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation	
Fascicolo			Motivation	Name	Terms Id	Other terms/adj.	S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Object of the document
Foglio	ff. 1-17; 28-33						S. Urbano	Snacto Urbano	Object of the document
Title	"Le costituzioni delle M								
General Topic	S. Urbano								
Detailed Topic	History of the Monastery and rules to be respected in the								

Document	<table border="1"> <tr><td>Id</td><td>162</td></tr> <tr><td>ID Doc</td><td>D162</td></tr> <tr><td>Century</td><td>XVII</td></tr> <tr><td>Year</td><td>1640</td></tr> <tr><td>Archive</td><td>ASR</td></tr> <tr><td>Archival Colloc</td><td>Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum</td></tr> <tr><td>Busta/Vol</td><td>vol. 447</td></tr> <tr><td>Fascicolo</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Foglio</td><td>ff. 245-247r</td></tr> <tr><td>Title</td><td>no title</td></tr> <tr><td>General Topic</td><td>Spoglia Christo, S. Maria</td></tr> </table>			Id	162	ID Doc	D162	Century	XVII	Year	1640	Archive	ASR	Archival Colloc	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	Busta/Vol	vol. 447	Fascicolo		Foglio	ff. 245-247r	Title	no title	General Topic	Spoglia Christo, S. Maria	<table border="1"> <tr><td colspan="4">Topographical Frame</td></tr> <tr> <td>Area in Atiquity</td> <td>Regio in the Modern Age</td> <td colspan="2">Contrada in the Modern Age</td> </tr> <tr><td colspan="4">Forum of Trajan Montium</td></tr> </table>	Topographical Frame				Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Forum of Trajan Montium				<table border="1"> <tr><td colspan="3">Activity</td></tr> <tr> <td>Ancient Monument involved</td> <td>Activity</td> <td>Terms Used in the doc</td> </tr> <tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr> </table>	Activity			Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc										
Id	162																																																						
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Archive	ASR																																																						
Archival Colloc	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum																																																						
Busta/Vol	vol. 447																																																						
Fascicolo																																																							
Foglio	ff. 245-247r																																																						
Title	no title																																																						
General Topic	Spoglia Christo, S. Maria																																																						
Topographical Frame																																																							
Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age																																																					
Forum of Trajan Montium																																																							
Activity																																																							
Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc																																																					
	<table border="1"> <tr><td colspan="5">Ruins</td></tr> <tr> <td>Ancient Monument</td> <td>Motivation</td> <td>Name</td> <td>Terms id</td> <td>Other terms/adj.</td> </tr> <tr><td colspan="5"></td></tr> </table>			Ruins					Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.						<table border="1"> <tr><td colspan="3">Churches</td></tr> <tr> <td>Church involved</td> <td>Name used in the document</td> <td>Motivation</td> </tr> <tr><td>S. Eufemia</td><td>Zitelle Sperse</td><td>Topographical landma</td></tr> <tr><td>Spirito Santo</td><td>Spirito Santo</td><td>Topographical landma</td></tr> <tr><td>Spirito Santo</td><td>Spirito Santo</td><td>Object of the document</td></tr> <tr><td>S. Eufemia</td><td>Zitelle Sperse</td><td>Object of the document</td></tr> <tr><td>S. Lorenzo al Monti</td><td>S. Lorenzolo</td><td>Topographical landma</td></tr> <tr><td>S. Maria in Campo</td><td>S. Maria in Campo Carlo</td><td>Topographical landma</td></tr> <tr><td>S. Maria in Campo</td><td>S. Maria in Campo Carlo</td><td>Topographical landma</td></tr> <tr><td>Ss.ma Annunziata</td><td>Ss.ma Annunziata</td><td>Topographical landma</td></tr> <tr><td>S. Urbano</td><td>S. Urbano</td><td>Object of the document</td></tr> <tr><td>S. Maria in Campo</td><td>Spoglia Christi</td><td>Place-name</td></tr> </table>	Churches			Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation	S. Eufemia	Zitelle Sperse	Topographical landma	Spirito Santo	Spirito Santo	Topographical landma	Spirito Santo	Spirito Santo	Object of the document	S. Eufemia	Zitelle Sperse	Object of the document	S. Lorenzo al Monti	S. Lorenzolo	Topographical landma	S. Maria in Campo	S. Maria in Campo Carlo	Topographical landma	S. Maria in Campo	S. Maria in Campo Carlo	Topographical landma	Ss.ma Annunziata	Ss.ma Annunziata	Topographical landma	S. Urbano	S. Urbano	Object of the document	S. Maria in Campo	Spoglia Christi	Place-name
Ruins																																																							
Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.																																																			
Churches																																																							
Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation																																																					
S. Eufemia	Zitelle Sperse	Topographical landma																																																					
Spirito Santo	Spirito Santo	Topographical landma																																																					
Spirito Santo	Spirito Santo	Object of the document																																																					
S. Eufemia	Zitelle Sperse	Object of the document																																																					
S. Lorenzo al Monti	S. Lorenzolo	Topographical landma																																																					
S. Maria in Campo	S. Maria in Campo Carlo	Topographical landma																																																					
S. Maria in Campo	S. Maria in Campo Carlo	Topographical landma																																																					
Ss.ma Annunziata	Ss.ma Annunziata	Topographical landma																																																					
S. Urbano	S. Urbano	Object of the document																																																					
S. Maria in Campo	Spoglia Christi	Place-name																																																					
Detailed Topic	<table border="1"> <tr><td>Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses</td></tr> </table>				Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses																																																		
Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses																																																							

ID ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	163	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D163	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVII								
	1655								
	ASR								
Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	Ruins				Churches				
Busta/Vol	vol. 448	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Fascicolo									
Foglio	ff. 913r; 916r, 917r, 921r								
Title	no title								
General Topic	Strada di S. Giorgio; Mo								
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses								

Id Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	164	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D164	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVII								
	1655								
	ASR								
	Presidenza delle								
	Strade - Taxae Viarum								
Busta/Vol	vol. 449	Ruins				Churches			
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Foglio	f. 64								
Title	no title								
General Topic	Monastero di Tor de Spe								
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses								

ID	D165	Topographical frame							
ID Doc	D165	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age	Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc		
Century	XVII	Forum of Trajan	Montium						
Year	1656								
Archive	ASR								
Archival Collec.	Archivio dei Trenta Notai Capitolini	Ruins	Churches						
Busta/Vol	J. Berna	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved		
Fascicolo							S. Lorenzo ai Monti S. Lorenzolo alli Monti		
Foglio	f. 147						Object of the document		
Title	no title								
General Topic	S. Lorenzo al Monti								
Detailed Topic	Notorial deed								

ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	166	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D166	Area in Atbiquy	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age	Ancient Monument involved			Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVII	Forum of Trajan Montium							
	1661								
	ASV								
	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica	Ruins			Churches				
Busta/Vol Fascicolo Foglio Title General Topic Detailed Topic	Vol. 5 f. 269 v Stato del Monastero di S. Bernardino Apostolic visit: S. Bernardino	Ancient Monument Non-identifiable	Motivation Antiquity/Ruins	Name 	Terms id Other terms/adj. columni laboratis et aurati	Church involved Spirito Santo S. Maria in Macello S. Bernardino	Name used in the document Spirito Santo S. Agata S. Bernardino	Motivation Object of the document Object of the document Object of the document	

Id	167	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D167	Area in Atbiquy	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age	Ancient Monument involved			Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	Century	XVII							
	Year	1661							
	Archive	ASR							
Archival Collec	Cameraale III	Ruins				Churches			
Busta/Vol	Busta 1	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Fascicolo						S. Abbaciro	S. Pacera	Object of the document	
Foglio	s.n.					S. Maria in Campo	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Object of the document	
Title	no title								
General Topic	S. Maria in Campo Carleo								
Detailed Topic	Revenues								

Id	173
ID Doc	D173
Century	XVII
Year	1672
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 7
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 244- 252
Title	<u>Inventario delle Robbe</u>
General Topic	<u>SS. Cosma e Damiano</u>
Detailed Topic	Inventory of goods in the church

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Peace	S. Adriani	

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
SS. Cosma e Damia	Ss. Cosmo e Damiano	Object of the document

Id	174
ID Doc	D174
Century	XVII
Year	1676
Archive	ASC
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle <u>Strade - Taxae Viarum</u>
Busta/Vol	vol. 450
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 620
Title	No title
General Topic	Macel de Corvi
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Out of the focus area	Pigna (out of the focus area)	

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Object of the document
S. Maria di Loreto	Madonna Santissima del Oretto	Object of the document

Id	175
ID Doc	D175
Century	XVII
Year	1676
Archive	ASC
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 450
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 657 ss.
Title	no title
General Topic	Macel de Corvi, Monte
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Non-identifiable	Pigna (out of the focus area)	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	176
ID Doc	D176
Century	XVII
Year	1678
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 12
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 33 v- 36 r
Title	Relazione della Visita de
General Topic	Monastero dello Spirito
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visits: description of nuns'life and measures to

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Spirito Santo	Spirito Santo	Object of the document

Id	177
ID Doc	D177
Century	XVII
Year	1679
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 12
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 16 v-23 r
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Eufemia,"
Detailed Topic	Apostolic visit: description of the zitelle's life and

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Urbano	S. Urbano	
S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Object of the document

Id ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	178	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D178	Area in Atbiquy	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVII								
	1685								
	ASR (Gall)								
Conservatorio di S. Eufemia	Ruins				Churches				
Busta/Vol	Tomo 5	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Fascicolo		Forum of Trajan/Column Place-name		Troiana	Piazza		S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Topographical landma
Foglio							S. Urbano	S. Urbano	Topographical landma
Title	Inventario de' Mobili e S						S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Object of the documr
General Topic	S. Eufemia								
Detailed Topic	Inventary of the goods of the church								

ID ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	179	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D179	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVII								
	1686								
	ASR (Gall)								
	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia		Ruins		Churches				
	Tomo 5	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Busta/Vol Fascicolo Foglio Title General Topic Detailed Topic	Inventario del luogo pio S. Eufemia Inventory of the goods of the church					S. Eufemia S. Eufemia Object of the document			

Id	180	Topographical frame							
	D180	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age	Ancient Monument involved			Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	Century	XVII	Forum of Trajan		Muntium				
	Year	1686							
	Archive	ASV							
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica		Ruins		Churches				
Busta/Vol	Vol. 12	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Fascicolo						S. Maria in Campo S. Maria in Campo Carleo Object of the document			
Foglio	ff. 160 v-ss								
Title	no title								
General Topic	S. Maria in Campo Carleo								
Detailed Topic	Descrizione								

ID Century Year Archive Archival Collec	181	Topographical Frame				Activity					
	D181	Area in Atbiquy		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVII	Markets of Trajan		Montium							
	1686										
	ASV										
	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica		Ruins				Churches				
Busta/Vol	Vol. 12	Ancient Monument		Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation	
Fascicolo		Markets of Trajan/Milizi		Object of the document			sotto il palazzo	S. Caterina da Siena	S. Caterina da Siena	Object of the document	
Foglio	ff. 162 r-v										
Title	no title										
General Topic	S. Caterina da Siena										
Detailed Topic	Apostolic visit; complain record										

Id		182		Topographical Frame				Activity						
ID Doc	D182	Area in Atbiquy		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity		Terms Used in the doc		
Century	XVII	Forum of Trajan		Montium										
Year	1687													
Archive	ASV													
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica													
Busta/Vol	Vol. 12	Ruins								Churches				
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms id		Other terms/adj.				
Foglio	ff. 172 v-173 r									Church involved		Name used in the document		
Title	no title									S. Urbano		S. Urbano		
General Topic	S. Urbano											Object of the document		
Detailed Topic	Apostolic visit: complaining record													

Id	183
ID Doc	D183
Century	XVII
Year	1688
Archive	ASC
Archival Collec	Archivio Boccapaduli
Busta/Vol	Armari
Fascicolo	
Foglio	
Title	Libro d'esazione della p
General Topic	Colonna Traiana
Detailed Topic	Canoni case

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan/Column	Place-name	Colonna Traia	Colonna traiana	

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	184
ID Doc	D184
Century	XVII
Year	1692
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum vol. 451
Busta/Vol	
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 100
Title	"Della chiavica che dalla Macel de Corvi. Romano
General Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses
Detailed Topic	

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria di Loreto	Madonna Santissima di Loreto	Object of the document

Id	185
ID Doc	D185
Century	XVII
Year	1693
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della
	Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 13
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 131 r-v
Title	Decreta pro Ecclesia et
General Topic	S. Eufemia, S. Urbano
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: Decree

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Urbano	S. urbano	Object of the document
S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Object of the document

Id	186
ID Doc	D186
Century	XVII
Year	1694
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Camereale III
Busta/Vol	Busta 1
Fascicolo	
Foglio	S. n.
Title	S. Bernardo al Foro Trai
General Topic	S. Bernardo alla Colonna
Detailed Topic	House sale

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contra in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan/Column	Place-name	Colonna Traia	Colonna Traiana	

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Bernardo	S. Bernardino	Object of the document
S. Bernardo	S. Bernardo alla Colonna Traiana	Object of the document

Id	187
ID Doc	D187
Century	XVII
Year	1695
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 13
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 63 v
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Bernardo alla Colonna
Detailed Topic	Apostolic visit: request demolishing works

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan/Column	Place-name	Colonna Traia	Colonna Traiana	

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Bernardo	S. Bernardo alla Colonna Traiana	Object of the document

ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec Busta/Vol Fascicolo Foglio Title General Topic Detailed Topic	188	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D188	Area in Atbiquy	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age	Ancient Monument involved			Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVII								
	1698								
	ASR (Gall								
	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia	Ruins				Churches			
	Tomo 9	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
							S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Object of the document
Registro di mandati per S. Eufemia									
Inheritance from Pietro Berrettini									

Id ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	189	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D189	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc	
	XVII	Forum of Trajan		Montium					
	1699								
	ASR								
Busta/Vol	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum	Ruins				Churches			
Fascicolo	vol. 452	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Foglio	f. 136					S. Eufemia S. Eufemia Object of the document			
Title	no title								
General Topic	Macel de Corvi.								
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses								

Id	190	Topographic frame							
	D190	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age	Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc		
Century	XVIII	Forum of Trajan							
Year	1702								
Archive	ASR (Gall)								
Archival Collec	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia								
Busta/Vol	Vol. 52	Ruins				Churches			
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Foglio	ff. 5, 14, 29, 39	Forum of Trajan/Column Object of the document				Bottega Sotto	S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Object of the docum
Title	no title								
General Topic	S. Eufemia								
Detailed Topic	List of properties of the church								

Id		191	Topographical frame				Activity						
ID Doc	D191		Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc		
Century	XVIII		Forum of Trajan		Montium								
Year	1704												
Archive	ASR												
Archival Collec													
			Congregazioni religiose maschili, Pii Operai										
			Ruins										
Busta/Vol	busta 3		Ancient Monument		Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.			Churches		
Fascicolo											Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Foglio											S. Quirico e Giulitt S. Quirico		Object of the document
Title	Bollo per l'elemosina di										S. Adriano	S. Adriano	Topographical landma
General Topic	S. Lorenzo ai Monti.										S. Eutemia	S. Eutemia	Topographical landma
Detailed Topic	List of poor people (S. Lorenzo ai Monti parish)										S. Lorenzo ai Monti S. Lorenzo ai Monti		Object of the document

Id		192	Topographical Frame					Activity		
ID Doc	D192		Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age			Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc
Century	XVIII		Forum of Augustus Montium							
Year	1705									
Archive	ASV									
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica		Ruins			Churches				
Busta/Vol	Vol. 13		Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Fascicolo							Ss.ma Annunziata	SS.ma Annunziata	Object of the document	
Foglio	f. 304 v									
Title	Decreto per l'accettazio									
General Topic	SS. Annunziata									
Detailed Topic	Apostolic Visit: Decree									

Id	193
ID Doc	D193
Century	XVIII
Year	1709
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 453
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 369 ss
Title	no title
General Topic	Macel de Corvi.
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Object of the document
S. Maria di Loreto	Chiesa della Madonna dell'Oret	Object of the document

Id	194
ID Doc	D194
Century	XVIII
Year	1710
Archive	ASR (Gall
Archival Collec	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia
Busta/Vol	Tomo 5
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 22-25, 57, 134-135, 1
Title	Registro dei Pigionanti d
General Topic	S. Eufemia
Detailed Topic	List of tenants

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Augustus	Place-name	Arco dei Pant	Arco	Pantani

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Topographical landmarks
S. Urbano	S. Urbano	Topographical landmarks

Id	195
ID Doc	D195
Century	XVIII
Year	1712
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della <u>Visita Apostolica</u>
Busta/Vol	Vol. 15
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 26 v - 28 v.
Title	Visitato Ap[ostolica] Ec
General Topic	S. Bernardino
Detailed Topic	Apostolic visit; description of the church

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
None (modern)	Object of the document		vetustat	
None (modern)	Object of the document		vestigia	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Bernardino	Sancti Bernardini	Object of the document

Id	196
ID Doc	D196
Century	XVIII
Year	1717
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 15
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 272
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Maria Angelorum in
Detailed Topic	Apostolic visita: description of the church

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Augustus	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Macello	Sanctae Mariae Angelorum in	Object of the document

Id	197
ID Doc	D197
Century	XVIII
Year	1717
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 454
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 38r ss.
Title	«Tassa della Chiavica ac
General Topic	Macel de Corvi, Palazzo
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria di Loreto	Chiesa della Madonna Santissi	Object of the document

Id	198
ID Doc	D198
Century	XVIII
Year	1718
Archive	ASV
Archival Collec	Congregazione della Visita Apostolica
Busta/Vol	Vol. 15
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 282 r
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Urbano
Detailed Topic	Apostolic visit: case on the demolition of a wall

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan	Object of the document		muri	

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Urbano	Sancti Urbani	Object of the document

Id	199
ID Doc	D199
Century	XVIII
Year	1724
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade – Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 454
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 15 ss.
Title	"Della chiavea nel Cors
General Topic	Mazel de Corvi, Palazzo
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria di Loreto	Chiesa della Madonna Santissi	Object of the document

Id	200
ID Doc	D200
Century	XVIII
Year	1725
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade - <i>Taxae Viarum</i>
Busta/Vol	vol. 455
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 268 r-269 v
Title	"Dello spurgo della chia
General Topic	S. Agata dei Tessitori, To
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Nerva	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Peace"	Place-name	Teplum Pacis	Templum	Pacis
Forum of Peace"	Topographical landmark	Templum Pac Arco		
Forum of Peace"	Topographical landmark	Torre dei Con	Torre	Conti

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
SS. Cosma e Damia	Ss. Cosimo e Damiano	Object of the document
S. Maria di Loreto	Chiesa della Madonna Santissi	Object of the document

Id	201
ID Doc	D201
Century	XVIII
Year	1726
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 455
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 403 r-404 v
Title	"Della chiave di Macel"
General Topic	Macel de Corvi.
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Campo	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Place-name

Id	202
ID Doc	D202
Century	XVIII
Year	1737
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Opedaledella Consolazione
Busta/Vol	118
Fascicolo	
Foglio	foglio 9
Title	documentum ex quo ap
General Topic	S. Maria in Campo Carle
Detailed Topic	House purchase

Area in Antiquity Forum of Trajan	Regio in the Modern Age Montium	Contrada in the Modern Age

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	203
ID Doc	D203
Century	XVIII
Year	1742
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 456
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 248 ss.
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Basilio.
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Augustus	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Basilio	S. Basilio	Place-name

Id	204
ID Doc	D204
Century	XVIII
Year	1742
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade = Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 456
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 1147-1213
Title	no title
General Topic	Arco di Pantani, Via Bac
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Peace	Montium	
Forum of Nerva	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Peace*	Topographical landmark	Torre dei Conti	Con Torre Conti	
Forum of Augustus	Topographical landmark	Arco del Parco		Pantani

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church Involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Maria in Macello	S. Agata dei Tessitori	Topographical landmarks
S. Urbano	S. Urbano	Topographical landmarks
S. Maria in Campo	Campo Carleo	Place-name
S. Maria di Loreto	Madonna Santissima del Loreto	Object of the devotion
Ss.ma Annunziata	Santissima Annunziata	Object of the devotion
Ss. Quirico e Giulitt S.	Quirico	Object of the devotion

Id	205
ID Doc	D205
Century	XVIII
Year	1748
Archive	BVR
Archival Collec	Corvisieri
Busta/Vol	XV
Fascicolo	fasc. 18
Foglio	foglio 18
Title	no title
General Topic	S. Caterina da Siena
Detailed Topic	Description of antiquities in the area

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Markets of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	206
ID Doc	D206
Century	XVIII
Year	1749
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	
Rusta/Vol	
Fascicolo	
Foglio	
Title	COMPLETARE
General Topic	
Detailed Topic	

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	207
ID Doc	D207
Century	XVIII
Year	1755
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 458
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 63-64 e 71-72
Title	"Chiavica nel Vicolo de c...
General Topic	Via dei Carbonari, Via di...
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Urbano	Monastero di S. Urbano	Object of the document
S. Eufemia	Conservatorio di S. Eufemia	Object of the document
Spirito Santo	Monastero dello Spirito Santo	Object of the document

ID Century Year Archive Archival Collec	208	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D208	Area in Atbiquy	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrade in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVIII								
	1757								
	ASR								
	Presidenza delle Strade -Taxae Viarum		Ruins		Churches				
Busta/Vol Fascicolo	vol. 458	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj:	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Foglio	ff. 259-263 e 296-299					S. Eufemia S. Eufemia Object of the document S. Caterina da Siena S. Caterina da Siena Object of the document S. Maria di Loreto Madonna Santissima di Loreto Object of the document			
Title	"Chivaca da Macel de C								
General Topic	Macel de Corvi.								
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses								

ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	209	Topographical Frame				Activity				
	D209	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc		
	XVIII	Forum of Trajan		Montium						
	1757									
	ASR									
Busta/Vol Fascicolo Foglio Title General Topic Detailed Topic	Presidenza delle Strade	Ruins				Churches				
	-Taxae Viarium	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation	
	vol. 458							S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Object of the document
	ff. 175-176									
	"Chiavica nel Vicolo de Vicolo Taroli (Foro di Tra									
	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses									

ID	D210
Century	XVIII
Year	1759
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec.	Presidenza delle Strade -Taxae Viarum vol. 458
Busta/Vol	
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 660-664 e 692-
Title	"Chiavica alla Pedacchia"
General Topic	Via della Pedacchia.
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Topographic frame	
Area in Atiquity	Rigio in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Campitelli

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ruins			
Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id
Other terms/adj:			

Churches		
Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Object of the document
S.mo Nome di Mari Santissimo Nome di Maria		Object of the document

ID		211	Topographical Frame				Activity							
ID Doc		D211	Area in Atbiquy		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity		Terms Used in the doc	
Century		XVIII	Forum of Trajan		Montium									
Year		1760												
Archive		ASR												
Archival Collec														
			Presidenza delle Strade		Ruins						Churches			
Busta/Vol			Taxae Viarum		Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms id		Other terms/adj.	
Fascicolo			vol. 459											
Foglio														
Title			ff. 8r-11v											
General Topic			no title											
Detailed Topic			Via Cremona											
			Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses											

Id		212	Topographical				Ancient Monument Involved		Activity		Terms Used in the doc	
ID Doc		D212	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age					
Century		XVIII	Forum of Trajan		Montium							
Year		1762										
Archive		ASR										
Archival Collec		Presidenza delle Strade -Taxae Viarium										
Busta/Vol		vol. 459	Ruins						Churches			
Fascicolo			Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms id		Other terms/adj.	
Foglio		ff. 458r-462 v										
Title		"Chiavica in Strada Cre										
General Topic		Via Cremona.										
Detailed Topic		Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses										

Document

Id

213

ID Doc

D213

Century

XVIII

Year

1762

Archive

ASR

Archival Collec

Presidenza delle Strade
–Taxae Viarum

Busta/Vol

vol. 459

Fascicolo

Foglio

ff. 283r-283 v

Title

no title

General Topic

Via delle Tre Cannelle.

Detailed Topic

Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Regio in the Modern Age

Contrada in the Modern Age

Forum of Trajan

Trevi

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id.

Other terms/adj.

Churches

Church involved

Name used in the document

Motivation

S. Adriano

S. Adriano

Object of the documer

Document

Id

214

ID Doc

D214

Century

XVIII

Year

1765

Archive

BVR

Archival Collec

Corvisieri

Busta/Vol

XV

Fascicolo

fasc. 5

Foglio

foglio 3

Title

no title

General Topic

Trajan Forum

Detailed Topic

Discoveries of antiquities in the Forum

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Regio in the Modern Age

Contrada in the Modern Age

Forum of Trajan

Montium

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id.

Other terms/adj.

Forum of Trajan

Excavation

Portici magnifici

Forum of Trajan

Excavation

Piazza gran

Forum of Trajan

Excavation

Colonna oel più bel granito

Churches

Church involved

Name used in the document

Motivation

Document

Id

215

ID Doc

D215

Century

XVIII

Year

1765

Archive

ASR

Archival Collec

Presidenza delle Strade
–Taxae Viarum

Busta/Vol

vol. 460

Fascicolo

Foglio

f. 228rv-231

Title

"Chiavica à Sant'Agata d S. Agata dei Tessitori.

General Topic

Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Regio in the Modern Age

Contrada in the Modern Age

Forum of Nerva

Montium

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id.

Other terms/adj.

Forum of Nerva

Topographical landmarkColonne anticColonne antiche

Churches

Church involved

Name used in the document

Motivation

S. Maria in Macello S. Agata dei Tessitori

Topographical landma

SS. Cosma e Damia Ss. Cosmo e Damiano

Object of the documer

SS. Quirico e Giulitt Ss. Quirico e Giulitta

Topographical landma

Document

Id

216

ID Doc

D216

Century

XVIII

Year

1769

Archive

ASR

Archival Collec

Presidenza delle Strade
–Taxae Viarum

Busta/Vol

vol. 459

Fascicolo

Foglio

ff. 159r-180 r

Title

"Chiavica da Macel de C Macel de Corvi.

General Topic

Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Regio in the Modern Age

Contrada in the Modern Age

Forum of Trajan

Montium

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id.

Other terms/adj.

Forum of Trajan/Column Topographical landmarkColonna Traia Colonna Traiana

Forum of Trajan/Column Topographical landmarkColonna Traia Colonna Traiana

Forum of Trajan/Column Topographical landmarkColonna Traia Colonna Traiana

Churches

Church involved

Name used in the document

Motivation

S. Caterina da Sien S. Caterina da Siena

Object of the documer

S. Eufemia S. Eufemia

Object of the documer

S. Maria di Loreto Madonna di Loreto de Fornari

Object of the documer

Document

Id

217

ID Doc

D217

Century

XVIII

Year

1769

Archive

ASR

Archival Collec

Presidenza delle Strade
–Taxae Viarum

Busta/Vol

vol. 461

Fascicolo

Foglio

ff. 637r-658 r

Title

"Chiavica di Macel de C S. Maria in via Lata; Colo

General Topic

Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Topographical Frame

Area in Atiquity

Regio in the Modern Age

Contrada in the Modern Age

Forum of Trajan

Montium

Activity

Ancient Monument involved

Activity

Terms Used in the doc

Ruins

Ancient Monument

Motivation

Name

Terms id.

Other terms/adj.

Forum of Trajan/Column Topographical landmarkColonna Traia Colonna Traiana

Forum of Trajan/Column Topographical landmarkColonna Traia Colonna Traiana

Forum of Trajan/Column Topographical landmarkColonna Traia Colonna Traiana

Churches

Church involved

Name used in the document

Motivation

S. Maria di Loreto Madonna Santissima di Loreto

Object of the documer

ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	223	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D223	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVIII	Forum of Peace		Montium					
	1782								
	ASR								
	Presidenza delle Strade								
	Taxae Viarum								
	Ruins								
Busta/Vol	vol. 467	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Churches		
Fascicolo		Forum of Peace*	Topographical landmark	Tor de Conti	Torre		Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Foglio	f. 223r	Forum of Peace*	Topographical landmark	Tor de Conti	Torre		S. Maria di Loreto	Chiesa della Madonna di Loret	Object of the document
Title	no title								
General Topic	Piazza delle Carrette.								
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses								

ID ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	224	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D224	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVIII								
	1784								
	ASR								
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade -Taxae Viarum	Ruins				Churches			
Busta/Vol	vol. 468	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Fascicolo		Forum of Peace"	Topographical landmark	Tor de Conti	Torre		S. Maria di Loreto	"Chiesa della Madonna	
Foglio	f. 453r	Forum of Peace"	Topographical landmark	Tor de Conti	Torre				
Title	no title								
General Topic	Piazze delle Carrette.								
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses								

Id		225	Topographical Form									
ID Doc		D225	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument Involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc	
Century		XVIII	Forum of Trajan		Montium							
Year		1784										
Archive		ASVR										
Archival Collec.		Atti della Segreteria del Vicariato	Ruins						Churches			
Busta/Vol		plico 16	Ancient Monument		Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.		Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Fascicolo										S. Maria in Campo	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Object of the document
Foglio		fasc. 3										
Title		"S. Maria in Campo Carl										
General Topic		S. Maria in Campo Carleo										
Detailed Topic		Inheritance of the church										

Id ID Doc Century Year Archive Archival Collec	226 D226 XVIII 1786 ASR	Topographical Frame Area in Atiquity Regio in the Modern Age Contrada in the Modern Age Forum of Nerva Montium				Activity Ancient Monument involved Activity Terms Used in the doc		
	Presidenza delle Strade –Taxae Viarium vol. 469	Ruins Ancient Monument Motivation Name Terms id Other terms/adj. Forum of Nerva Topographical landmark Colonna				Churches Church involved Name used in the document Motivation Ss. Cosma e Damia Ss. Cosmo e Damiano Object of the document S. Maria in Macello S. Agata Topographical landma		

ID Century Year Archive Archival Collec	227	Topographical Frame				Activity			
	D227	Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the doc
	XVIII								
	1786								
	ASR								
	Presidenza delle Strade -Taxae Viarium	Ruins				Churches			
Busta/Vol	vol. 469	Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Fascicolo		Forum of Nerva	Topographical landmark		Colonna		S. Maria in Macello	S. Agata	Topographical landma
Foglio	f. 540r								
Title	no title								
General Topic	Colonnacce; SS. Cosma								
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses					S. Cosma e Damia Ss. Cosmo e Damiano			
						Object of the document			

Document		Topographical Frame					Activity				
ID	228	Area in Atiquity		Region in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved		Activity	Terms Used in the document
ID Doc	D228	Forum of Peace		Montium							
Century	XVIII										
Year	1786										
Archive	ASR										
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade -Trasce Viarum										
Busta/Vol	vol. 469	Ruins		Churches							
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument		Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation	
Foglio	f. 624r	Forum of Peace*		Topographical landmark		Torre		S. Maria di Loreto	Chiesa della Madonna Santissi	Object of the document	
General Topic	no title							SS. Quirico e Giulitta	Ss. Quirico e Giulitta	Object of the document	
Detailed Topic	Piazza delle Carrette.										
	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses										

Document		Topographical Frame				Activity		
ID	229	Area in Atiquity		Regio in the Modern Age	Contra in the Modern Age		Ancient Monument involved	
ID Doc	D229	Forum of Trajan		Montium			Activity	Terms Used in the doc
Century	XVIII							
Year	1791							
Archive	ASR							
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade -Taxae Viarum				Churches			
Busta/Vol	vol. 471							
Fascicolo								
Foglio	f. 635							
Title	no title							
General Topic	Piazza di Colonna Traian		Ruins					
		Ancient Monument		Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.	
		Forum of Trajan/Column Topographical landmark		Colonna Traia	Colonna (verso la)			
		Forum of Trajan/Column Topographical landmark		Colonna (incontro la)	Colonna (incontro la)			
		Forum of Peace		Topographical landmark	Torre			
		Forum of Trajan/Column Place-name			Colonna Trajana (piazza dell			
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses							

[illegible]

Document					Activity			
ID	231	Topographical Frame Area in Atiquity Regio in the Modern Age Contrada in the Modern Age Forum of Trajan Montium			Ancient Monument involved Activity Terms Used in the document			
ID Doc	D231							
Century	XVIII							
Year	1795							
Archive	ASR							
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade -Taxae Viarum							
Busta/Vol	vol. 473	Ruins			Churches			
Fascicolo		Ancient Monument Motivation Name Terms id Other terms/adj. Other (out of the focus) Object of the document acque vergine			Church involved Name used in the document Motivation S. Maria di Loreto Madonna Santissima di Loreto Object of the document S. Lorenzo ai Monti S. Lorenzo Topographical landma S. Eufemia Conservatorio di S. Eufemia Object of the document S. Maria di Loreto Madonna di Loreto Place-name			
Foglio	ff. 542-603	Forum of Trajan/Column Topographical landmark Colonna Traja Colonna Trajana (verso la)						
Title	Tassazione di Ch[ilavice]							
General Topic	Piazza Venezia; Macel d							
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses							

Document		Document				Activity		
ID	232							
ID Doc	D232							
Century	XVIII							
Year	1796							
Archive	ASR							
Archival Collection	Presidenza delle Strade -Taxae Viarum							
Busta/Vol	vol. 474							
Fascicolo								
Foglio	f. 139r							
Title	no title							
General Topic	Piazza di Campo Vaccino							
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses							

Topographical Frame					Ruins			Churches			
Area in Atiquity		Region in the Modern Age		Contrada in the Modern Age							
Forum of Augustus		Montium									
Forum of Caesar		Montium									

Ancient Monument		Motivation		Name		Terms id		Other terms/adj.	
Other (out of the focus)		Topographical landmark		Templum Pac Archi					
Other (out of the focus)		Topographical landmark		Templum Pac Archi					
Forum of Peace"		Object of the document		muro		antico			

Church involved		Name used in the document		Motivation	
S. Adriano		S. Adriano		Object of the document	
S. Lorenzo in Miran		S. Lorenzo in Miranda		Object of the document	
SS. Cosma e Damia		SS. Cosmo e Damiano		Object of the document	
SS. Luca e Martina		S. Luca		Topographical landma	

Id	233
ID Doc	D233
Century	XVIII
Year	1797
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 474
Fascicolo	
Foglio	f. 569r
Title	no title
General Topic	Piazzetta delle Chiavi d'
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Caesar	Montium	

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	234
ID Doc	D234
Century	XVIII
Year	1800
Archive	ASVR
Archival Collec	Atti della Segreteria del Vicariato
Busta/Vol	varie, t
Fascicolo	
Foglio	pp. 6-74; 83-128; 130-13
Title	"S. Maria in Campo Carl
General Topic	S: Maria in Campo Carle
Detailed Topic	Restoration works in the church

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Trajan	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Trajan/Column	Place-name	Piazza della C	Colonna Traiana	(piazza dell
Forum of Trajan/Column	Topographical landmark	Colonna Traia	Colonna Trajana	(incontro)
Forum of Trajan/Column	Place-name	Colonna Traia	Colonna Trajana	
Forum of Trajan	Place-name	Piazza del For	Foro Tra	Piazza

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
Spirito Santo	Spirito Santo	Place-name
S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Topographical landmark
S. Maria in Campo	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Object of the document

Id	235
ID Doc	D235
Century	XIX
Year	1802
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle <u>Strade - Taxae Viarum</u>
Busta/Vol	vol. 476
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 544r-545v
Title	no title
General Topic	Piazzetta delle Chiavi d'
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Caesar	Montium	

Ancient Monument involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation

Id	236
ID Doc	D236
Century	XIX
Year	1805
Archive	ASR
Archival Collec	Presidenza delle Strade - Taxae Viarum
Busta/Vol	vol. 478
Fascicolo	
Foglio	ff. 490-491 e 522
Title	no title
General Topic	Piazza delle Carrette
Detailed Topic	Taxes payment for the sewer: list of houses

Area in Atiquity	Regio in the Modern Age	Contrada in the Modern Age
Forum of Peace	Montium	

Ancient Monument Involved	Activity	Terms Used in the doc

Ancient Monument	Motivation	Name	Terms id	Other terms/adj.
Forum of Peace/Conti	To	Topographical landmark	Torre dei Con	Torre dei Conti

Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
SS. Quirico e Giulitt	S. Quirico e Giulitta	Object of the document

List of Abbreviations

Archival Abbreviations

AAA	American Academi in Rome
ASR	Archivio di Stato di Roma
ASC	Archivio Storico Capitolino
ASV	Archivio Storico del Vicariato
ASegVat	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
ACS	Archivio Centrale dello Stato
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BiblVall	Biblioteca Vallicelliana
BIASA	Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte
BH	Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max-Plank-Institute für Kinstgeschichte

Rules for transcription

(...) = portion of the text not transcribed

[...] = portion of the text missing

(?) = not readable letter/word/sentence

Abbreviations in the texts have been dissolved

References

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Figures

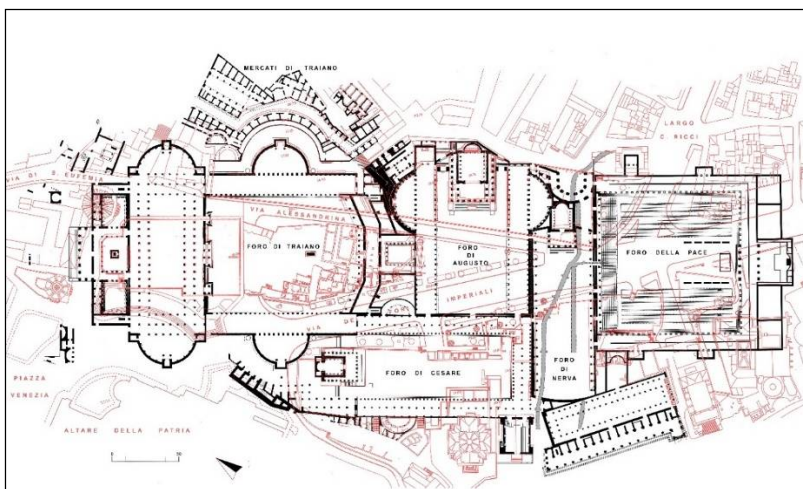


Figure 1. The area of the imperial fora. In black: plan of the Imperial Fora (reconstruction); in red: plan of the current state of the area under investigation (after MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007).

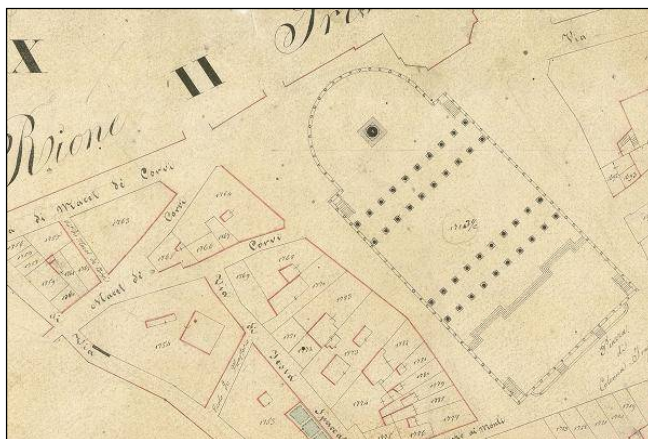


Figure 2. The area around the Column of Trajan, after the demolitions under the French Government. ASR, Catasto Urbano, Foglio 9 - Rione Monti, detail (by courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo – Archivio di Stato di Roma)

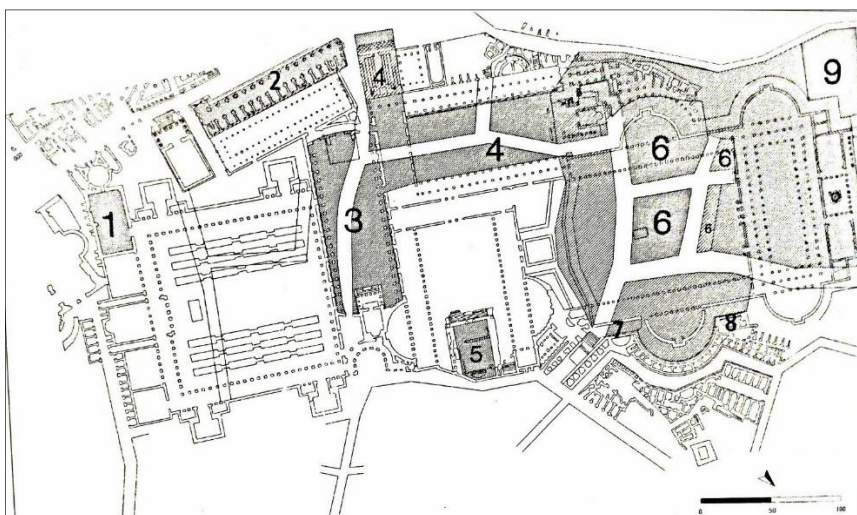


Figure 3. Plan of the Imperial Fora and reconstruction of the medieval street network in the 9th century (after MENEHINI 2004).

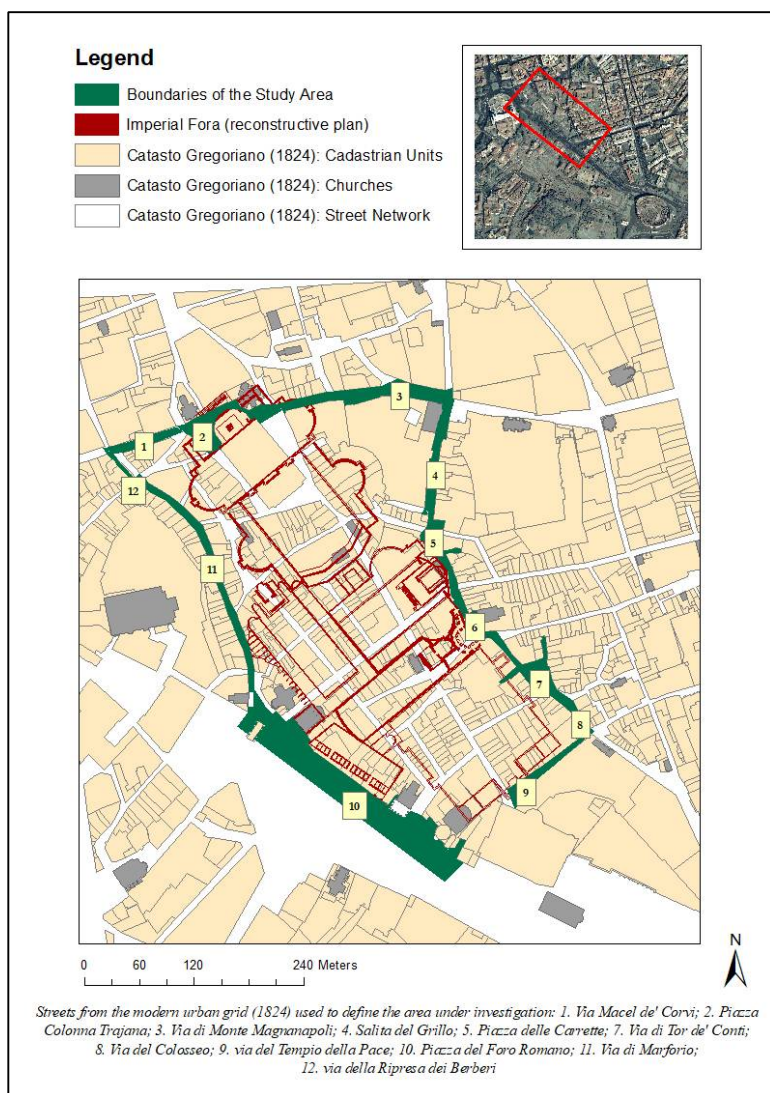


Figure 4. The Imperial Fora and the extension of the area under investigation. Basemap: Catasto Gregoriano (1824), by courtesy of the Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali – Laboratorio di Cartografia (protocollo n. RI/2016/16809).

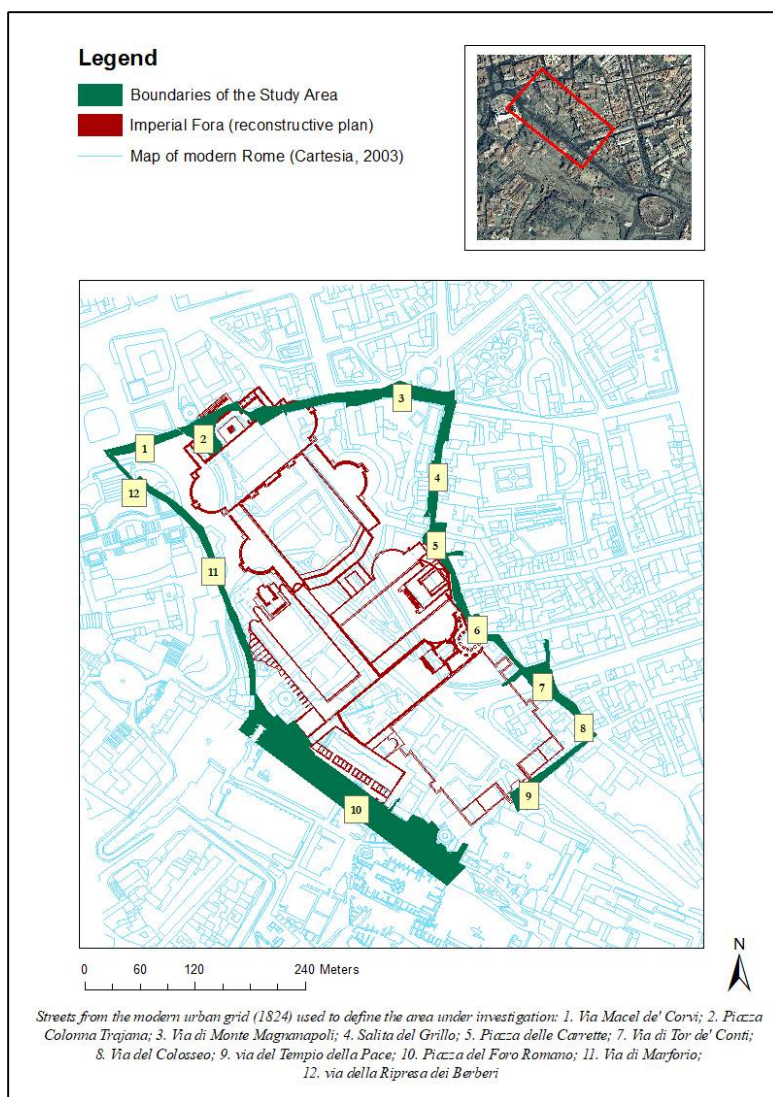


Figure 5. The Imperial Fora and the extension of the area under investigation. Basemap: Cartesia (2003), by courtesy of the Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali – Laboratorio di Cartografia (protocollo n. RI/2016/16809).

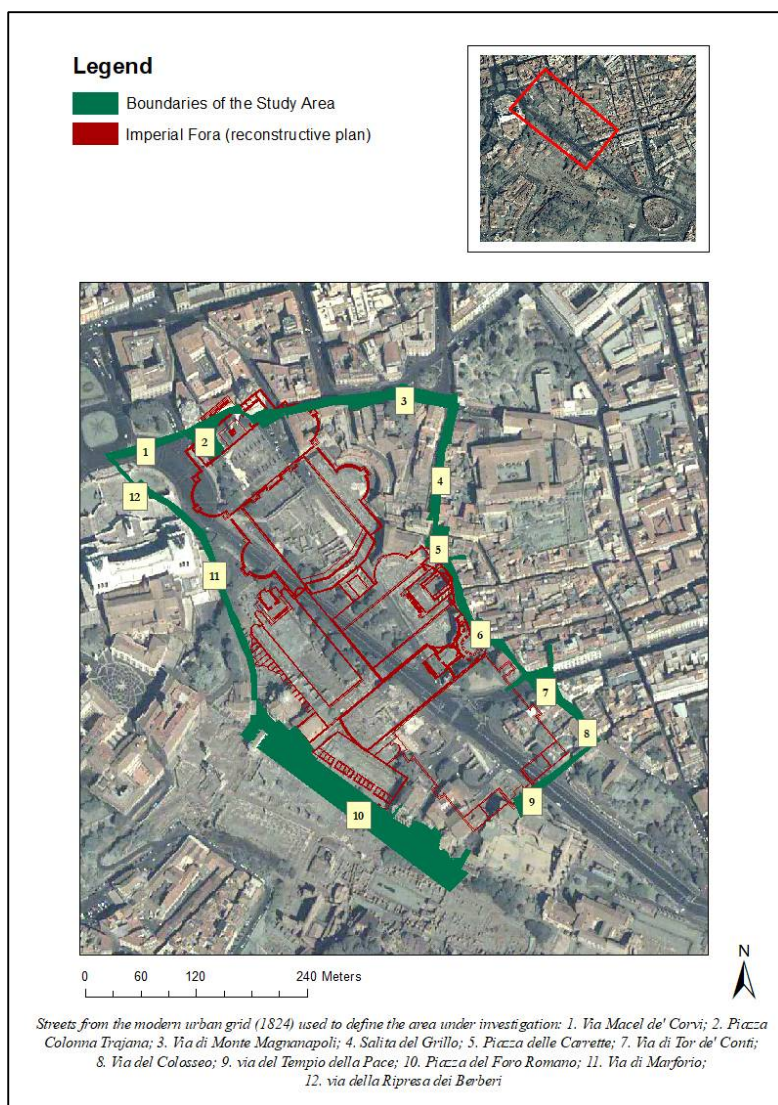


Figure 6. The Imperial Fora and the extension of the area under investigation. Basemap: Satellite image of Rome, by courtesy of the Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali – Laboratorio di Cartografia (protocollo n. RI/2016/16809).



Figure 7. Plan of Rome by L. Bufalini, 1551 (FRUTAZ 1962, Tav. 202). In the red square, the area of the Imperial Fora.

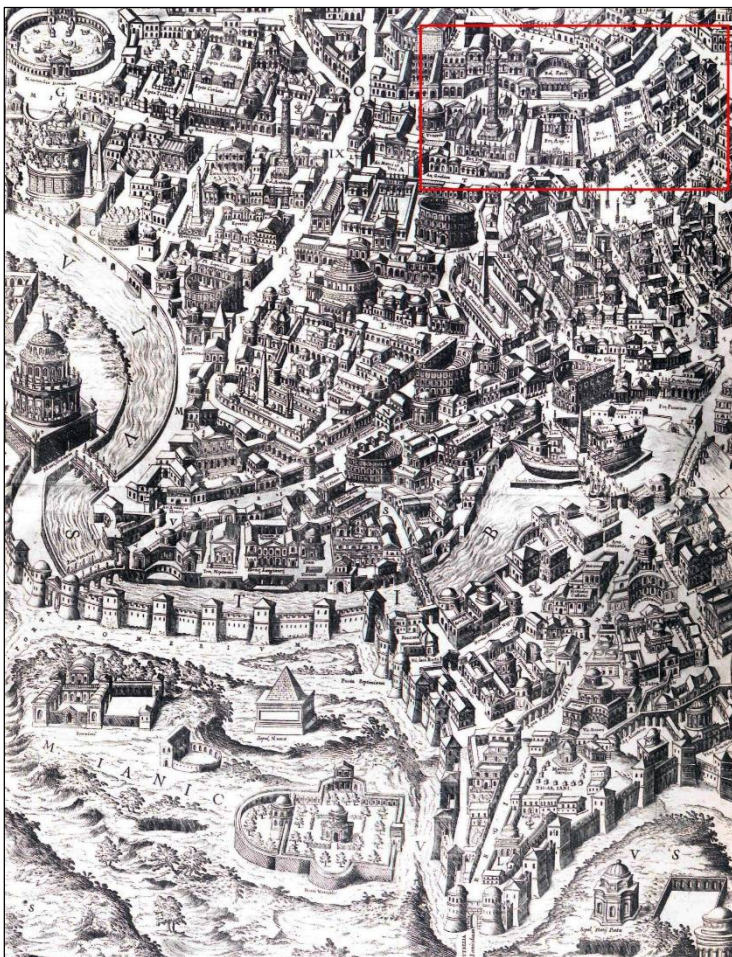


Figure 8. Plan of Rome by E. Du Perac, 1574 (FRUTAZ 1962, Tav. 43). In the red square, the area of the Imperial Fora.

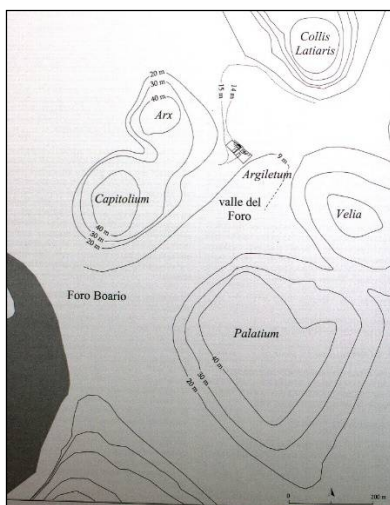


Figure 9. The valley and the hill, before the Imperial Fora (after DELFINO 2014, fig. III. 43).

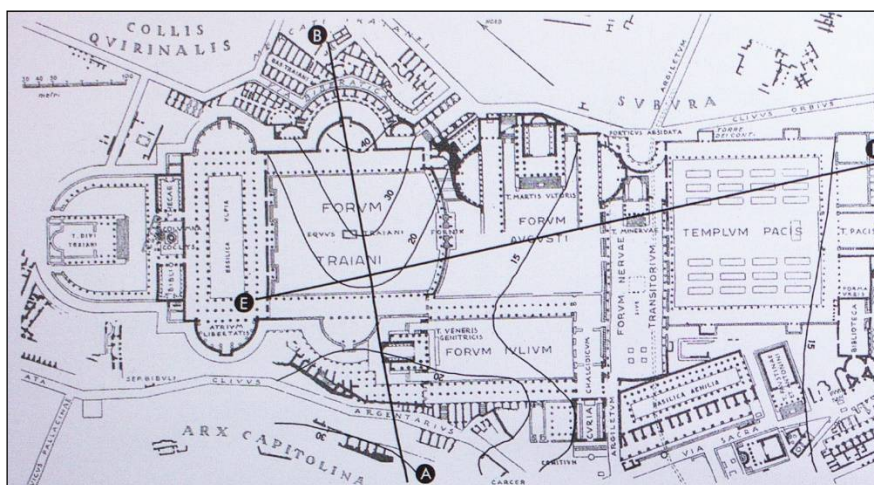


Figure 10. Reconstruction of morphology and heights of the valley of the Imperial Fora, before the Imperial Fora (after RIZZO 2001).

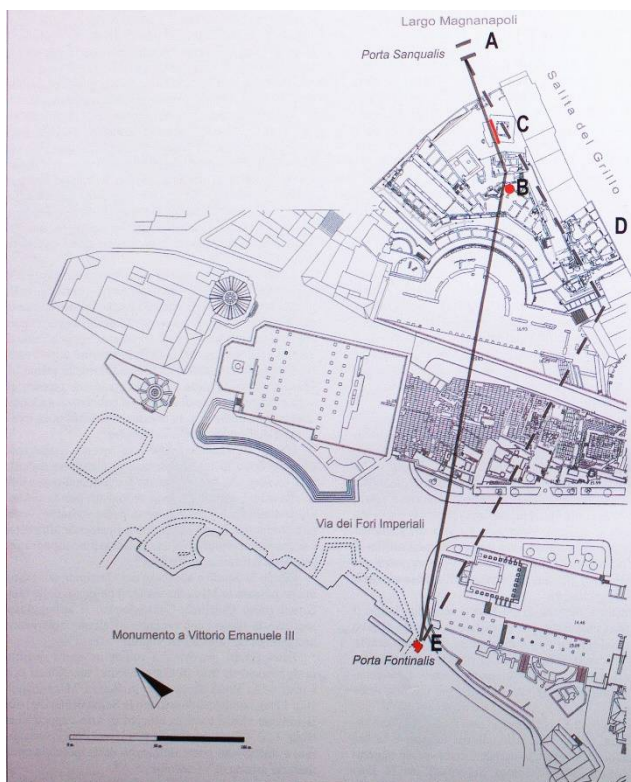


Figure 11. The Servian Walls in the area of the Imperial Fora. Hatch line: acknowledged path; continuous line: new hypothesis. A) Porta Sanqualis; B) Republican wheel; C) Torre delle Milizie; D) ruins of the Servian Walls found in Salita del Grillo; E: Porta Fontinalis (after MENEHINI 2009).

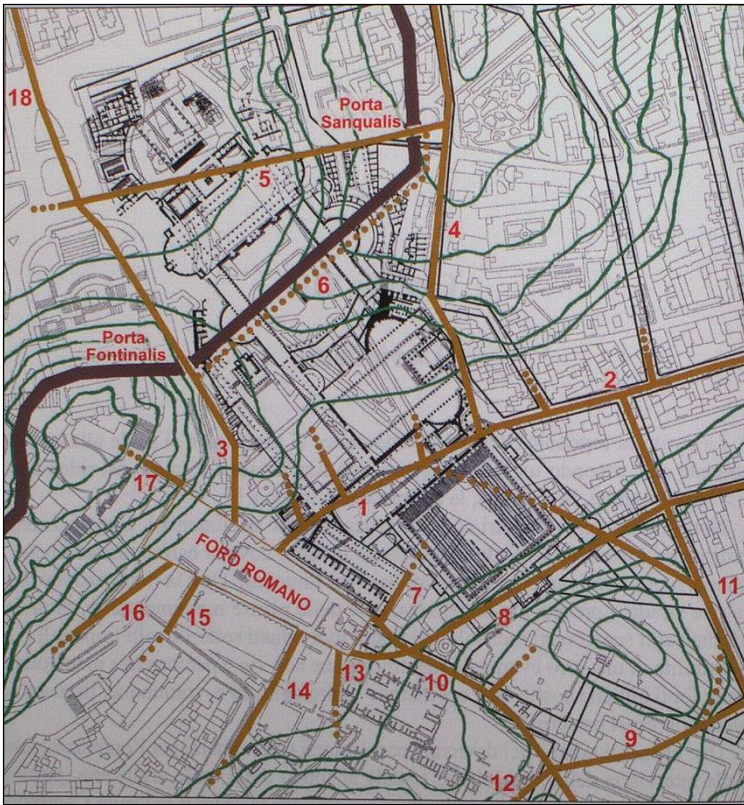


Figure 12. Street network of the district, before the construction of the Imperial Fora (after PALOMBI 2018).

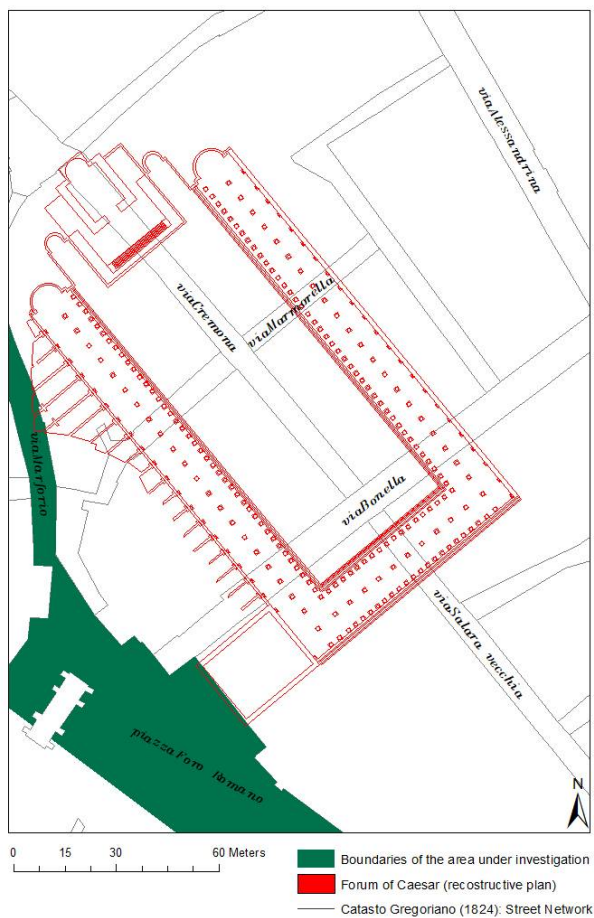


Figure 13. The *Forum* of Caesar, plan. In the background: the *Catasto Gregoriano* (1824).

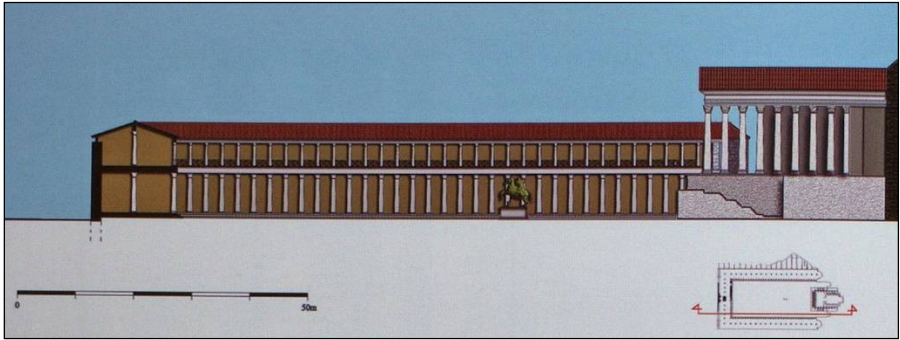


Figure 14. *Forum* of Caesar, the two-levelled porticoes surrounding the square, reconstruction by A. Delfino, V. Di Cola (after MENEGHINI 2009).



Figure 15. *Forum* of Caesar, the portico and the square, reconstruction by Inklink (after MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007).

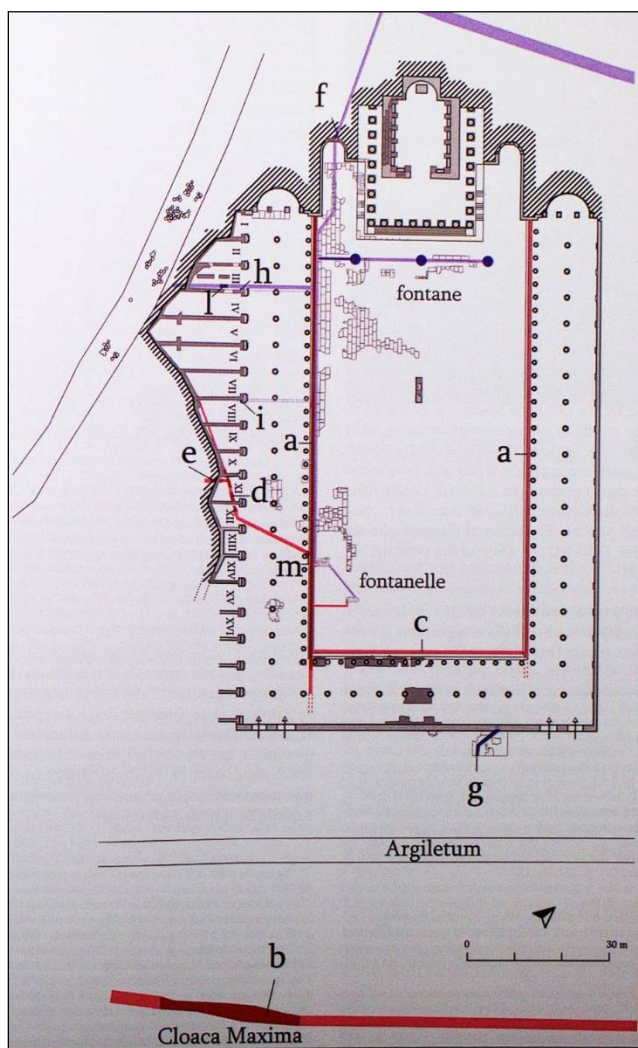


Figure 16. The *Forum* of Caesaar, in Caesar's project (after DELFINO 2014).

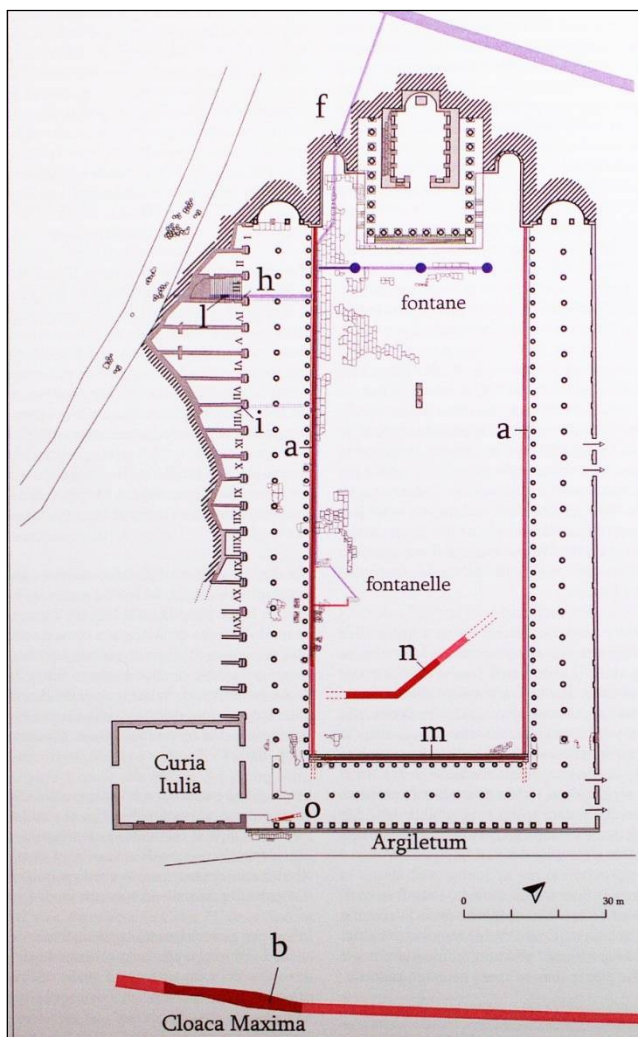


Figure 17. The *Forum* of Caesar in Augustus' project (after DELFINO 2014).



Figure 18. The *Forum* of Augustus, plan. In the background: the *Catasto Gregoriano* (1824).



Figure 19. *Forum* of Augustus: the square and the temple of Mars Ultor, reconstruction by Inklink (after MENEHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007).

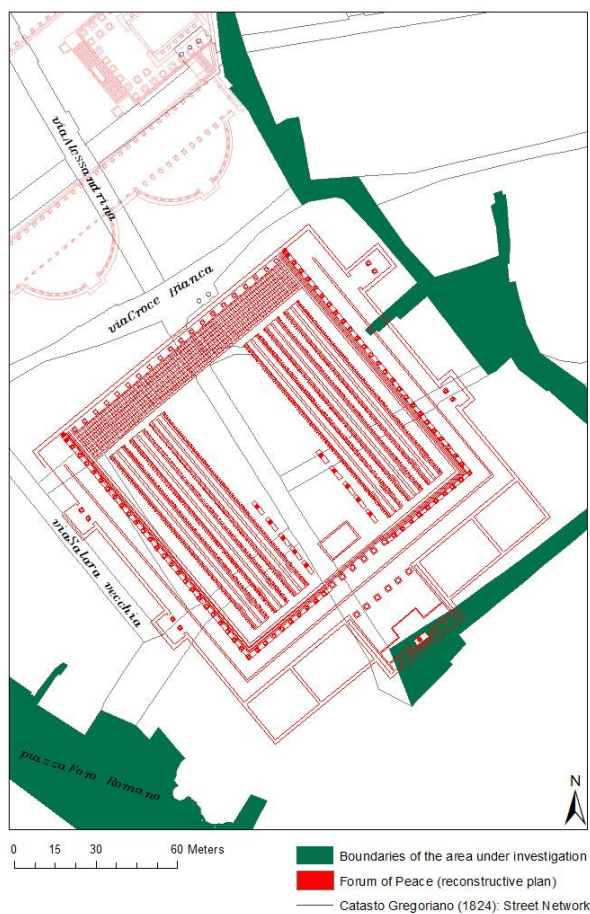


Figure 20. The *Forum of Peace*, plan. In the background: the *Catasto Gregoriano* (1824).

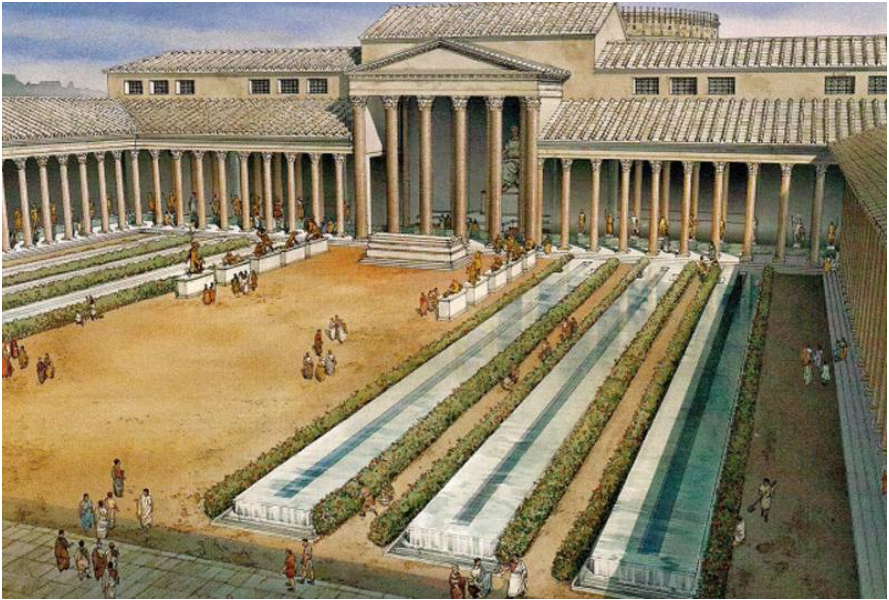


Figure 21. *Forum of Peace, the unpaved square and the Temple of Peace*, reconstruction by Inklink (after MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007).

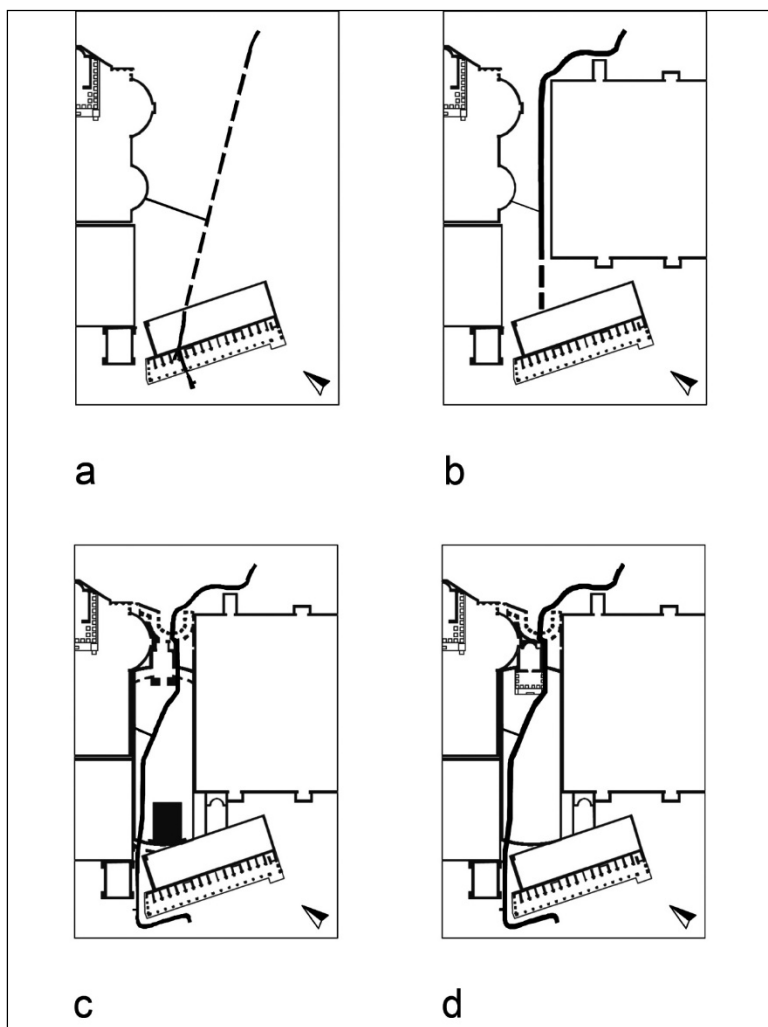


Figure 22. The *Forum* of Peace, 4 different stages. a) Republican Age; b) Vespasian Age; c) Domitian Age (I); d) Domitian Age (II) (after ANTIGNOLI-BIANCHI 2012).

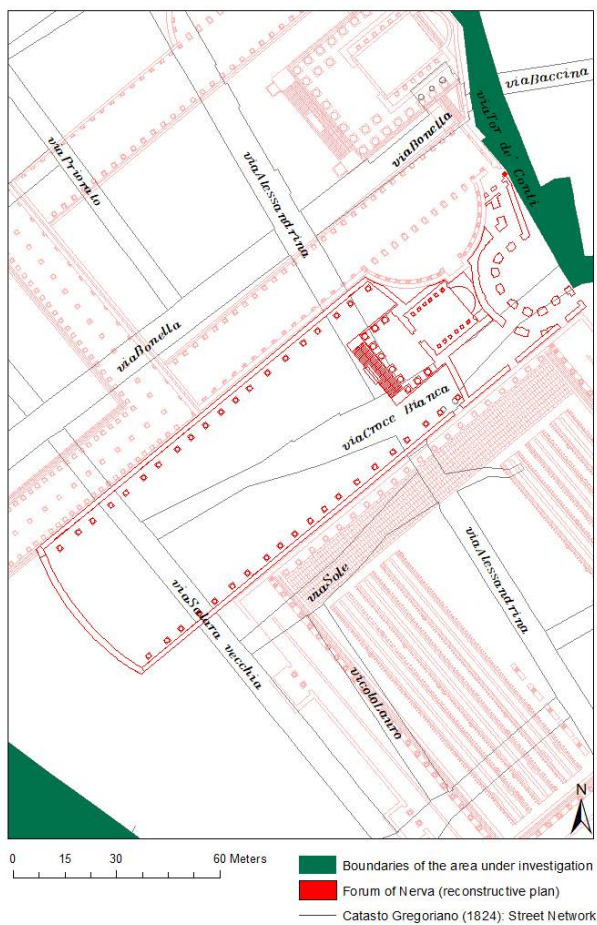


Figure 23. The Forum of Nerva, plan. In the background: the *Catasto Gregoriano* (1824).



Figure 24. *Forum of Nerva*, the so-called “*Colonnacce*” today (photo by E. Bianchi).



Figure 25. *Forum of Nerva*, the he so called “*Colonnacce*” in the *Quartiere Alessandrino*, 19th century.
(Photo by courtesy of the Biblioteca Hertziana, Roma (U. Pl. D. 18687, n. 266953))

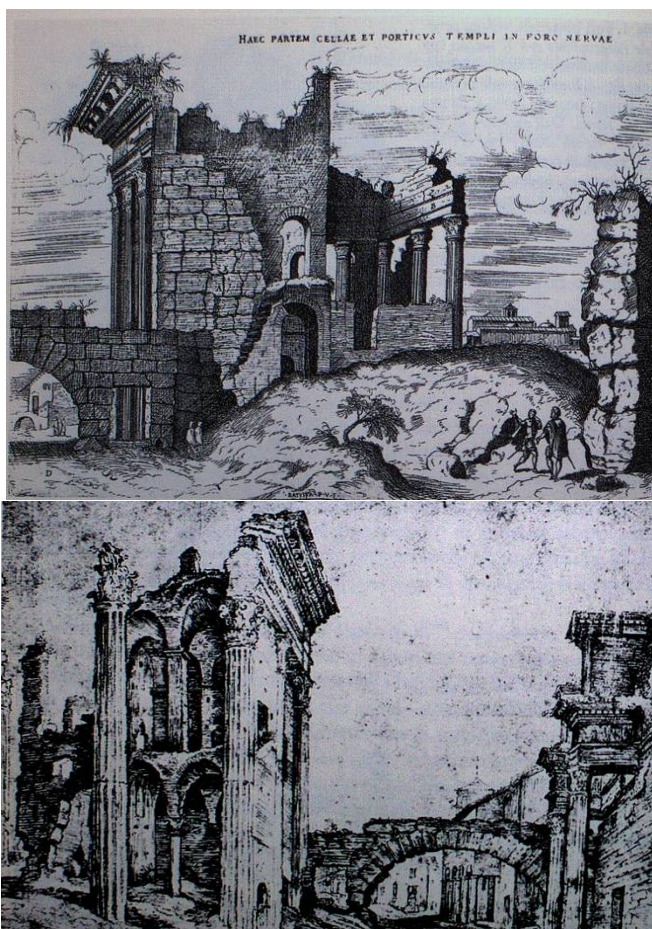


Figure 26. Drawings of the ruins of the *Forum* of Nerva in the 16th century. Above: a view from the collection “Vedute Romane” by G.B. Pittoni (1561); under: a drawing by P. Bruegel, 16th century (after MENEGHINI 2004).

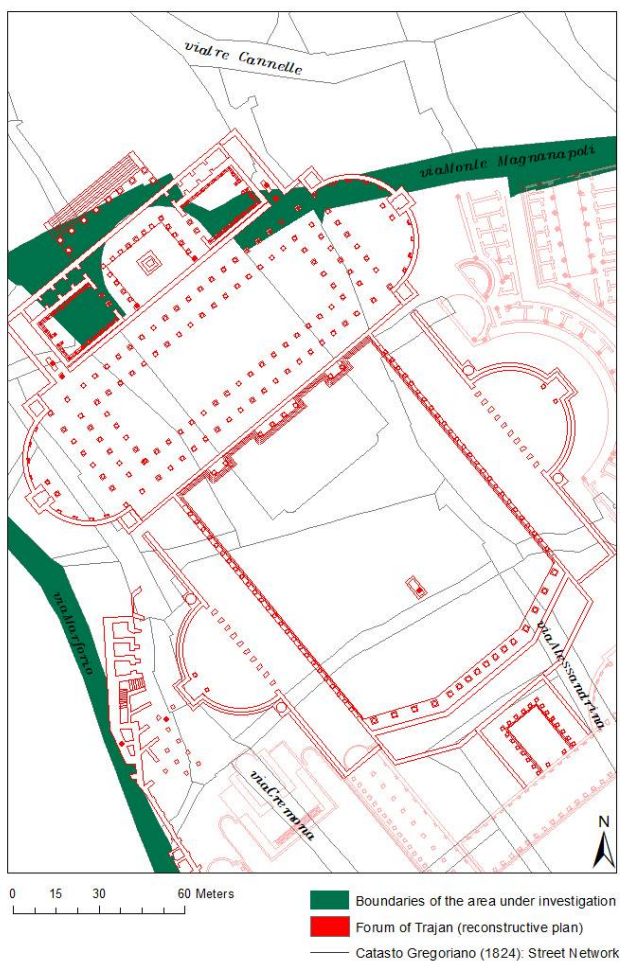


Figure 27. The *Forum of Trajan*, plan. In the background: the *Catasto Gregoriano* (1824).

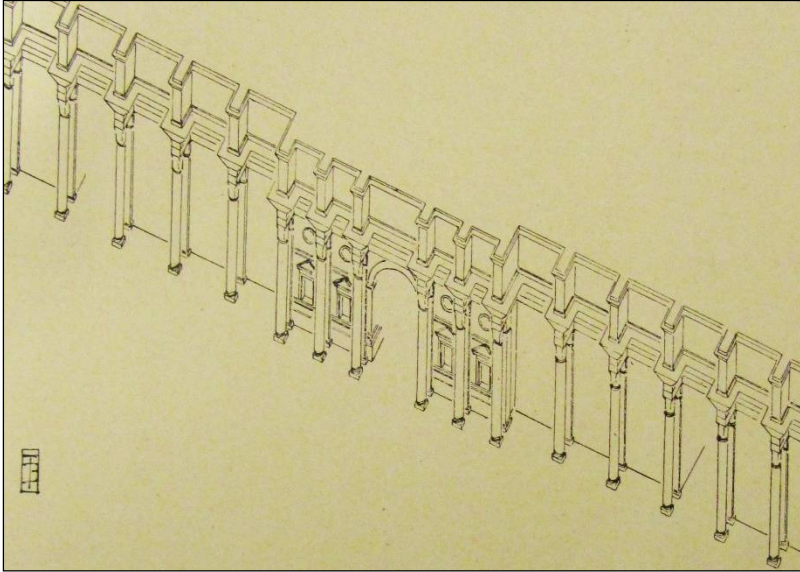


Figure 28. A. Bartoli, reconstruction of the southern wall of the *Forum* of Trajan (BARTOLI 1924, fig. 9).



Figure 29. View from North of the southern wall of the Forum of Trajan. Simone del Pollaiuolo “Il Cronaca”. 1457-1508 (After VISCOGLIOSI 2000, Card. N. 24)

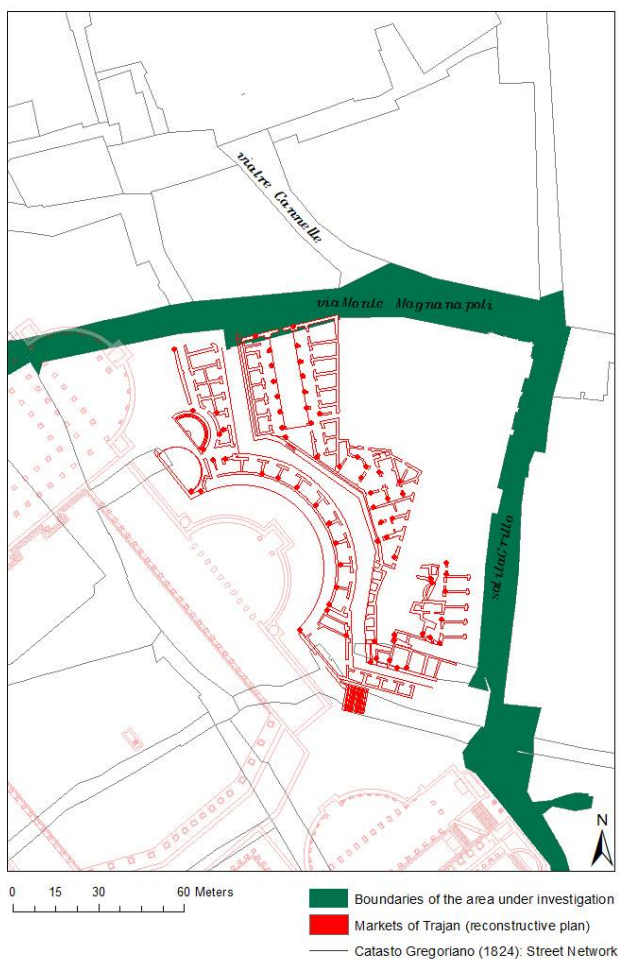


Figure 30. The Markets of Trajan, plan. In the background: the *Catasto Gregoriano* (1824).



Figure 31. The Markets of Trajan, reconstruction by Inklink (after MENEGHINI 2009).

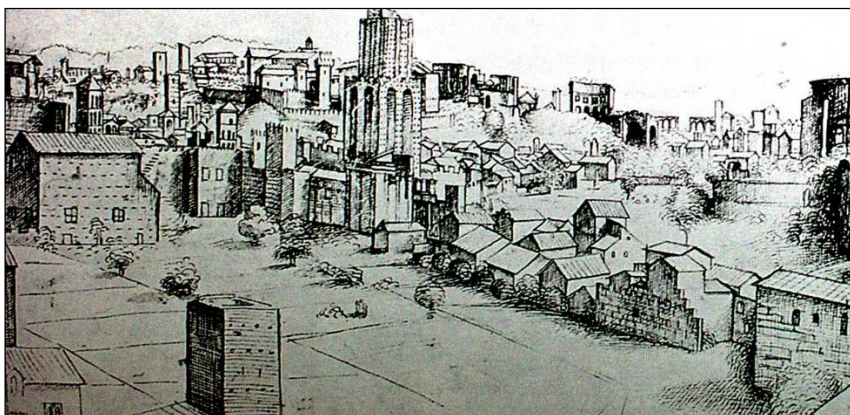


Figure 32. The southern sector of the area of the Imperial Fora in a view from the Codex Escorialensis, 15th century (after MENEGHINI 2004).

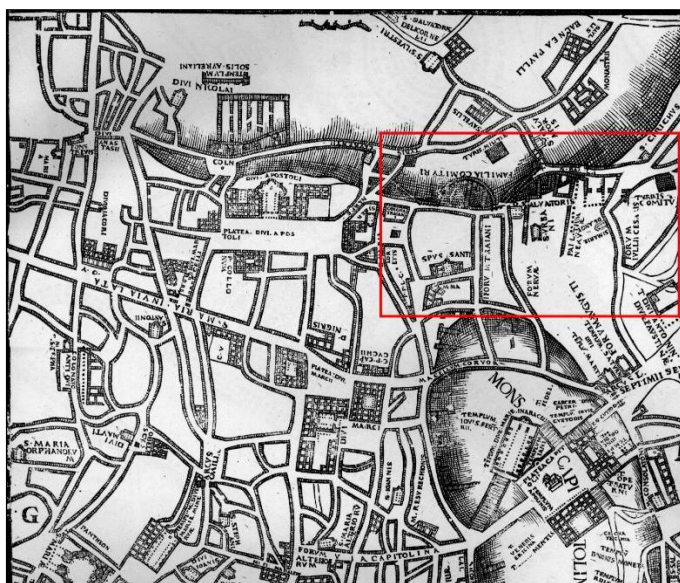


Figure 33. L. Bufalini, plan of Rome, 1552 (after FRUTAZ 1962, tav. 202).
In the red box, the area of the Imperial Fora.



Figure 34. A. Tempesta, plan of Rome, 1593 (after FRUTAZ 1962, tav. 340).
In the red box, the area of the Imperial Fora.



Figure 3529. A. Tempesta, plan of Rome, 1593, detail (after FRUTAZ 1962, tav. 340).

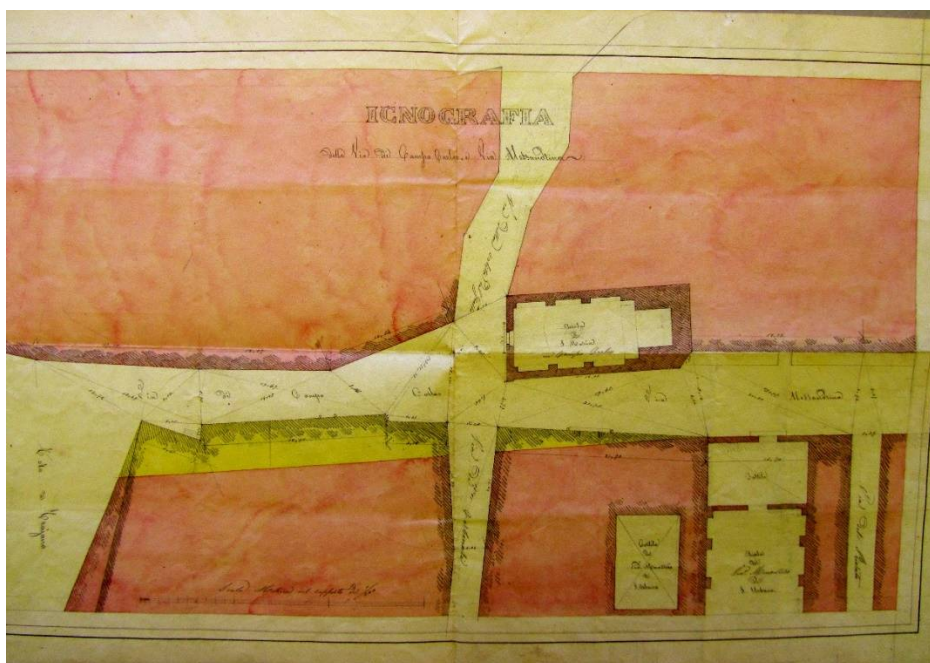


Figure 36. Plan for the enlargement of via Alessandrina (ASC, Comune Moderno Preunitario – Governo Pontificio, Tit. 54 Edilizia e Onorato, busta 11, fasc. 37, prot. 13559 – Disegno 1, Dicembre 1858 – Dicembre 1862). Photo by the author (by courtesy of the Archivio Storico Capitolino).

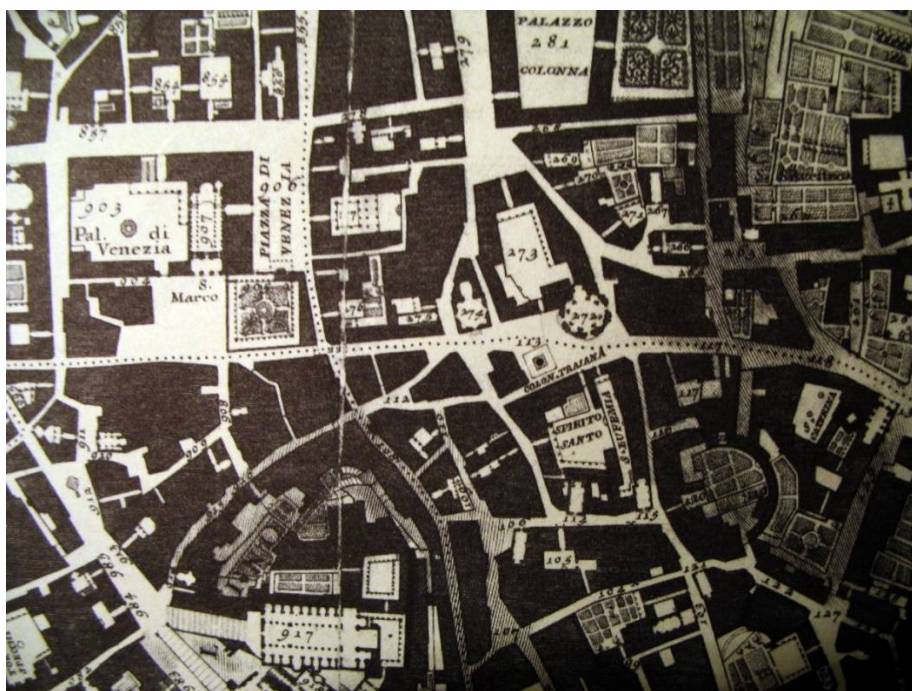


Figure 37. G.B. Nolli, plan of Rome, detail, 1748 (after FRUTAZ 1962, tav. 410)

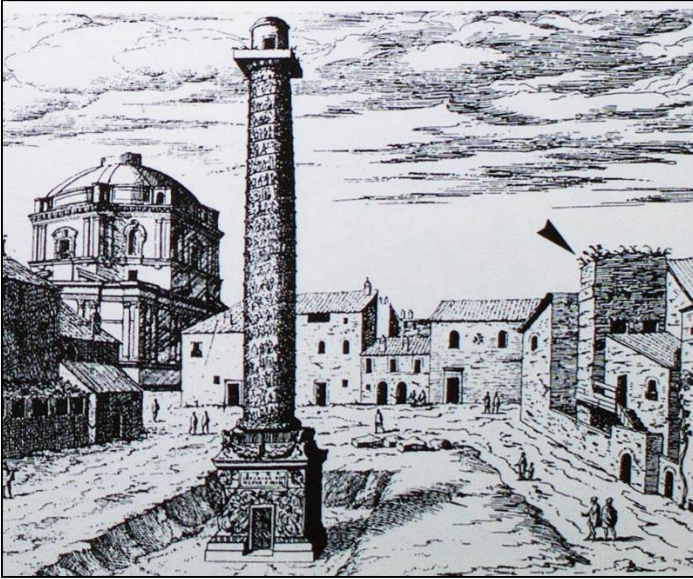


Figure 38. E. Du Perac, the area around the Column of Trajan, 1577 (after MENEGHINI 2004).



Figure 39. G.B. Piranesi, the so-called “*Colonnacce*” in the Forum of Nerva (after CIRULLI 2006),

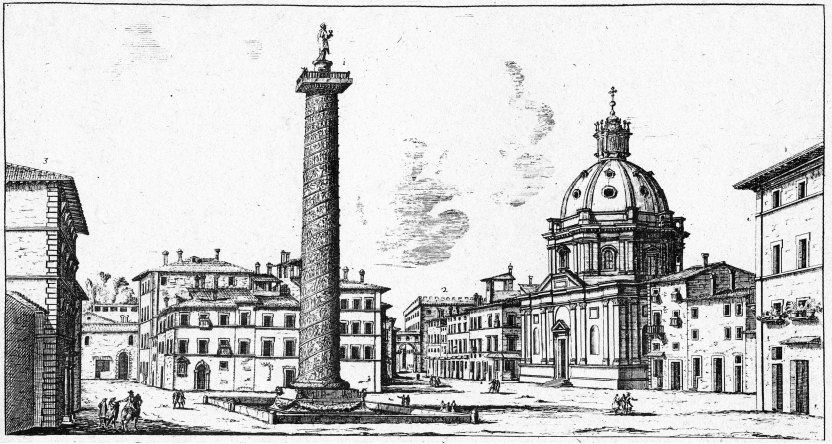


Figure 40. G.B. Falda, engraving: "*Chiesa dedicata alla Madonna di Loreto de Fornari nella Regione de Monti*", 1700. On the left, the back of the Conservatorio di S. Eufemia. 1. Column of Trajan; 2. Palazzo S. Marco; 3. Conservatorio di S. Eufemia (after FRUTAZ 1962)



Figure 41. G. Vasi, *Chiesa e Monastero di S. Maria Annunziata, Arco dei Pantani*, 1756 (after MENEGHINI 2017, fig. 1)

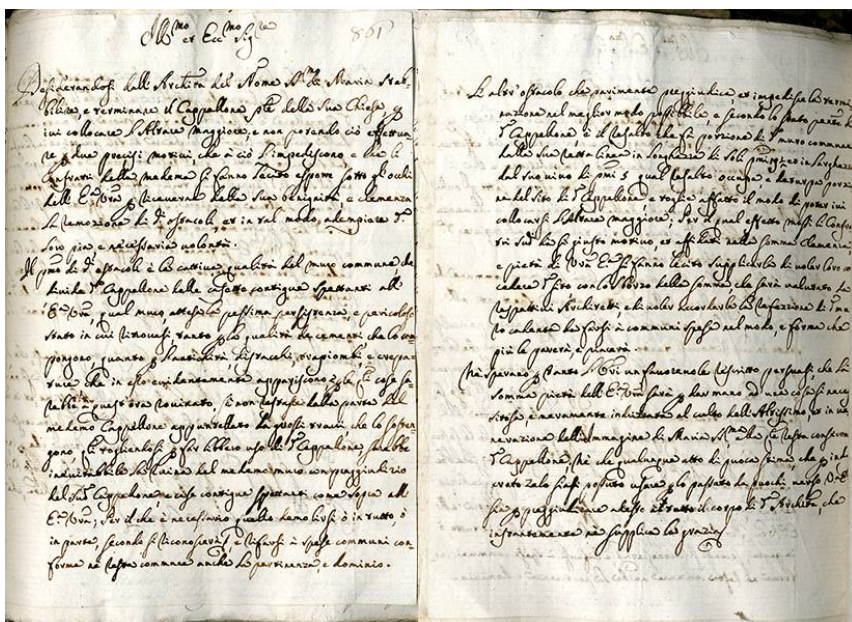


Figure 42. Document 206, mentioning an ancient wall in the church of Ss.mo Nome di Maria. ASR, Archivio dei 30 Notai Capitolini, Ufficio 1, Notaio Antonetti Ubaldus Nicolaus, vol. 483, ff. 861r-861v (1749). (By courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo – Archivio di Stato di Roma)

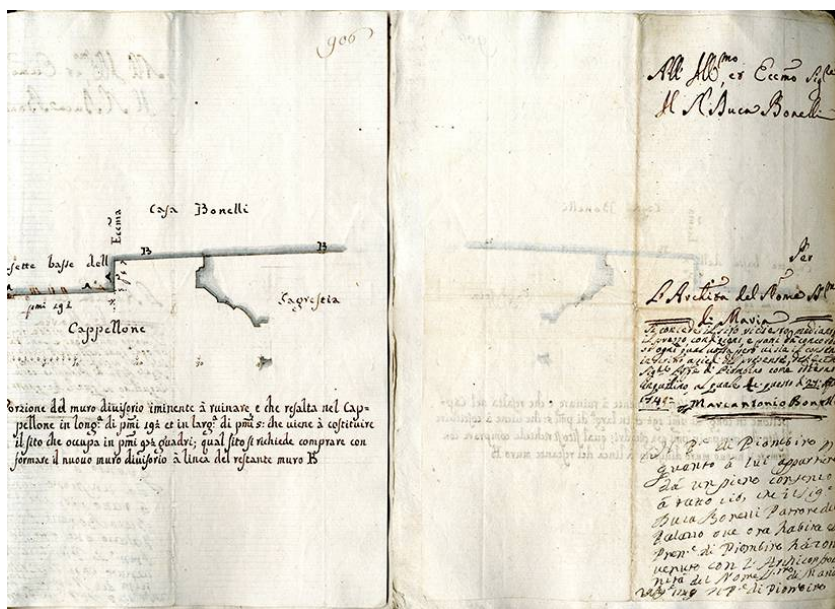


Figure 43. Doc 206. ASR, Archivio dei 30 Notai Capitolini, Ufficio 1, Notario Antonetti Ubaldus Nicolaus, vol. 483, ff. 906 (1749). By the courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo – Archivio di Stato di Roma

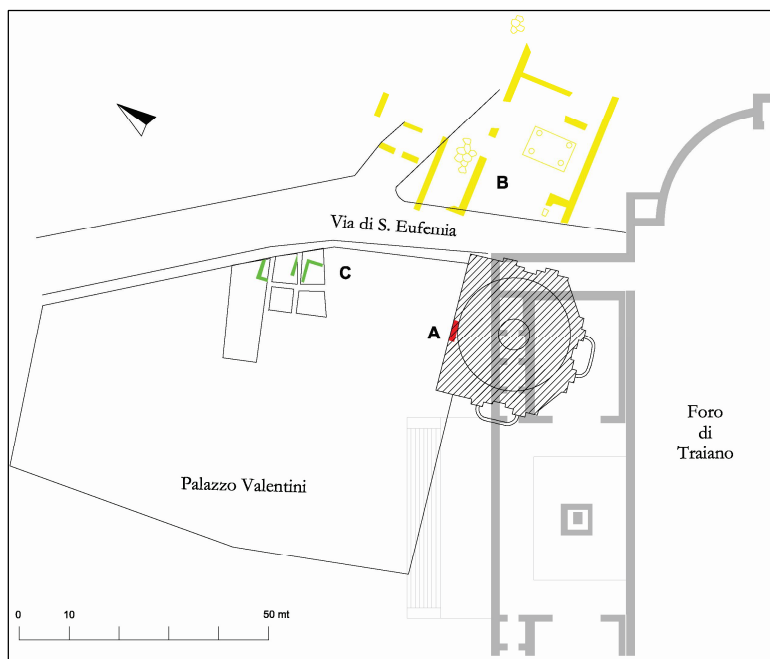


Figure 44. The area northern to the libraries in the *Forum* of Trajan (plan after MENEGHINI-SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007, redesigned by the author). A) portion of ancient wall under the church of the *Ss.mo Nome di Maria*; B) Walls belonging to the Roman domus and insula eastern to *via di S. Eufemia*; c) walls belonging to a Roman domus, found under *Palazzo Valentini*.

Tables

Table 1. Churches used as Topographical Landmarks in Archival Documents

ID Doc	Year	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
D006	1435	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	ecclesie S. Marie in Campo	Topographical landmark
D011	1457	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	S. Mariam de Campo Carleo de reg. Montium	Topographical landmark
D012	1457	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Sanctam Mariam de Campo Carleo	Topographical landmark
D021	1481	S. Abbaciro	S. Pacera	Topographical landmark
D028	1499	S. Basilio	Sancti Basili	Topographical landmark
D046	1526	S. Basilio	Sancto Basile	Topographical landmark
D059	1536	S. Nicolò alla Colonna Traiana	Sancti Nicolai de Columna	Topographical landmark
D060	1535	S. Nicolò alla Colonna Traiana	Santo Nicola alla Colonna	Topographical landmark
D064	1540	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Cristo	Topographical landmark
D065	1540	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spogliacristo	Topographical landmark
D066	1540	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Cristo	Topographical landmark
D071	1550	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Christo	Topographical landmark
D072	1550	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Christo	Topographical landmark
D073	1550	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Christo	Topographical landmark
D075	1551	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	S. Lorenzono	Topographical landmark
D075	1551	S. Maria di Loreto	Santa Maria De Loreto	Topographical landmark
D076	1552	S. Bernardino	S. Bernardino	Topographical landmark
D078	1554	S. Maria di Loreto	S. Maria di Loreto	Topographical landmark
D081	1555	S. Maria di Loreto	Sancte Marie de Loreto	Topographical landmark
D083	1562	S. Urbano	Santo Urbano	Topographical landmark
D084	1563	S. Urbano	Sancti Urbani	Topographical landmark
D090	1571	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	S. Lorenzolo	Topographical landmark
D102	1576	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Christo	Topographical landmark
D107	1585	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Christo	Topographical landmark
D120	1604	S. Bernardino	S. Belardino	Topographical landmark
D122	1609	S. Maria di Loreto	Madonna di Loreto	Topographical landmark
D122	1609	S. Maria di Loreto	Madonna di Loreto	Topographical landmark
D124	1614	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Madonna di Campo Carleo	Topographical landmark
D124	1614	S. Maria di Loreto	Santissima Madonna di Loreto	Topographical landmark
D127	1618	Ss.ma Annunziata	Monasterium Annuntiate	Topographical landmark
D130	1620	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Santa maria in Cmapo Carleo	Topographical landmark
D130	1620	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Santa maria in Cmapo Carleo	Topographical landmark
D131	1622	S. Salvatore delle Milizie	Sancto Salvatore	Topographical landmark
D134	1623	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Topographical landmark
D155	1631	S. Caterina da Siena	Monastero S. Caterina	Topographical landmark
D155	1631	S. Maria in Macello Martyrum (S. Agata)	Chiesa dei Tessitori	Topographical landmark
D155	1631	S. Adriano	S. Adriano	Topographical landmark
D155	1631	S. Urbano	S. Urbano	Topographical landmark
D155	1631	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	Santo Lorenzo	Topographical landmark
D155	1631	Spirito Santo	Spirito Santo	Topographical landmark
D155	1631	SS. Quirico e Giulitta	Santo Chirico	Topographical landmark
D156	1631	Church out of the focus area	S. Lorenzo in Panisperna	Topographical landmark
D158	1636	S. Maria in Macello Martyrum (S. Agata)	Chiesa de Tessitori	Topographical landmark
D158	1636	S. Bernardino	S. Bernardino	Topographical landmark
D158	1636	Spirito Santo	Spirito Santo	Topographical landmark

D158	1636	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Topographical landmark
D162	1640	Ss.ma Annunziata	Ss.ma Annunziata	Topographical landmark
D162	1640	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Topographical landmark
D162	1640	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Topographical landmark
D162	1640	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	S. Lorenzolo	Topographical landmark
D162	1640	Spirito Santo	Spirito Santo	Topographical landmark
D162	1640	S. Eufemia	Zitelle Sperse	Topographical landmark
D171	1670	S. Maria di Loreto	Madonna del Oreto	Topographical landmark
D178	1685	S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Topographical landmark
D178	1685	S. Urbano	S. Urbano	Topographical landmark
D191	1704	S. Adriano	S. Adriano	Topographical landmark
D191	1704	S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Topographical landmark
D194	1710	S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Topographical landmark
D194	1710	S. Urbano	S. Urbano	Topographical landmark
D204	1742	S. Urbano	S. Urbano	Topographical landmark
D204	1742	S. Maria in Macello Martyrum (S. Agata)	S. Agata dei Tessori	Topographical landmark
D215	1765	S. Maria in Macello Martyrum (S. Agata)	S. Agata dei Tessori	Topographical landmark
D215	1765	SS. Quirico e Giulitta	Ss. Quirico e Giulitta	Topographical landmark
D218	1770	S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Topographical landmark
D219	1774	S.mo Nome di Maria	Santissimo Nome di Maria	Topographical landmark
D220	1776	S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Topographical landmark
D221	1780	S. Urbano	S. Urbano	Topographical landmark
D222	1780	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	S. Lorenzolo	Topographical landmark
D226	1786	S. Maria in Macello Martyrum (S. Agata)	S. Agata	Topographical landmark
D227	1786	S. Maria in Macello Martyrum (S. Agata)	S. Agata	Topographical landmark
D229	1791	S. Caterina da Siena	S. Caterina di Siena	Topographical landmark
D229	1791	S. Maria di Loreto	Madonna Santissima di Loreto	Topographical landmark
D231	1795	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	S. Lorenzolo	Topographical landmark
D232	1796	SS. Luca e Martina	S. Luca	Topographical landmark
D234	1800	S. Eufemia	S. Eufemia	Topographical landmark

Table 2. Ruins used as Topographical Landmarks in Archival Documents

ID Doc	Year	Ancient Monument involved	Extent of the ruins	Motivation
D001	1405	None		Topographical landmark
D002	1406	Markets of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D003	1406	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D006	1435	Markets of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D033	1505	Markets of Trajan/Milizia Tower	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D035	1505	Markets of Trajan/Milizia Tower	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D036	1507	Markets of Trajan/Milizia Tower	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D039	1515	Markets of Trajan/Milizia Tower	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D043	1522	Forum of Peace"	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D044	1525	Forum of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D044	1525	Forum of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D046	1526	Forum of Trajan	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark
D060	1535	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D060	1535	Markets of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D077	1554	Forum of Trajan	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark
D080	1555	Forum of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D081	1555	Forum of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D083	1562	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D089	1566	Markets of Trajan/Milizia Tower	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D090	1571	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D095	1573	Other (out of the focus area)	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark
D099	1575	Markets of Trajan/Milizia Tower	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D099	1575	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D099	1575	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D099	1575	Forum of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D116	1598	Markets of Trajan/Milizia Tower	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D122	1609	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D122	1609	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D123	1613	Forum of Nerva	Loose material	Topographical landmark
D127	1618	Markets of Trajan	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark
D133	1622	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D134	1623	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D134	1623	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D137	1625	Other (out of the focus area)	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D150	1627	Forum of Augustus	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark
D150	1627	Forum of Augustus	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark
D150	1627	Forum of Augustus	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D150	1627	Forum of Augustus	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D151	1627	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D153	1627	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D158	1636	Other (out of the focus area)	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D158	1636	Forum of Peace"	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D200	1725	Forum of Peace"	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark
D200	1725	Forum of Peace"	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark
D204	1742	Forum of Peace"	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark
D204	1742	Forum of Augustus	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark
D215	1765	Forum of Nerva	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D216	1769	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D216	1769	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D217	1769	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D217	1769	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D217	1769	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark

D218	1770	Forum of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D223	1782	Forum of Peace"	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark
D223	1782	Forum of Peace"	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark
D224	1784	Forum of Peace"	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark
D224	1784	Forum of Peace"	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark
D226	1786	Forum of Nerva	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D227	1786	Forum of Nerva	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D228	1786	Forum of Peace"	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D229	1791	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D229	1791	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D229	1791	Forum of Peace"	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D230	1795	Forum of Peace/Conti Tower	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D230	1795	Forum of Peace/Conti Tower	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D231	1795	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D232	1796	Other (out of the focus area)	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D232	1796	Other (out of the focus area)	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark
D234	1800	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Topographical landmark
D236	1805	Forum of Peace/Conti Tower	The entire monument	Topographical landmark

Table 3. Churches used as Place-Names in Archival documents

ID Doc	Year	Church involved	Name used in the document	Motivation
D038	1513	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia XPO	Place-name
D051	1529	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Christo	Place-name
D053	1533	S. Abbaciro	Sancta Pacera	Place-name
D054	1534	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spollia XPO	Place-name
D055	1535	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spollia XPO	Place-name
D062	1537	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Christo	Place-name
D063	1538	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia XPO	Place-name
D068	1542	S. Abbaciro	Sancte Pacere	Place-name
D075	1551	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spolia Christo	Place-name
D080	1555	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Christo	Place-name
D083	1562	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Christo	Place-name
D099	1575	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Christo	Place-name
D100	1576	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Christo	Place-name
D111	1593	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Beate Marie i Campo Carleo allias Spoglia Christo	Place-name
D112	1593	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Santa Maria in Campo Carleo	Place-name
D113	1595	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Parochia S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Place-name
D116	1598	S. Basilio	Sancti Basili	Place-name
D117	1604	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia XPO	Place-name
D118	1604	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia XPO	Place-name
D119	1604	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia XPO	Place-name
D120	1604	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia XPO	Place-name
D121	1609	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Carleo	Place-name
D121	1609	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	Sancti Laurenti	Place-name
D126	1617	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	S. Lorenzolo	Place-name
D126	1617	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	S. Lorenzolo	Place-name
D126	1617	S. Lorenzo ai Monti	S. Lorenzolo	Place-name
D130	1620	S. Maria di Loreto	Madonna di Loreto	Place-name
D132	1622	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Campo Carleo	Place-name
D133	1622	S. Eufemia	le zitelle sperse	Place-name
D154	1631	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Christi	Place-name
D162	1640	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Christi	Place-name
D172	1670	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Spoglia Christo	Place-name
D201	1726	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Place-name
D203	1742	S. Basilio	S. Basilio	Place-name
D204	1742	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Campo Carleo	Place-name
D220	1776	S. Maria in Campo Carleo	Campo Carleo	Place-name
D231	1795	S. Maria di Loreto	Madonna di Loreto	Place-name

Table 4. Ruins used as Place-Names in Archival Documents

ID Doc	Year	Ancient Monument involved	Extent of the ruins	Motivation
D013	1458	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D014	1467	Forum of Peace/Conti Tower	The entire monument	Place-name
D015	1465	Markets of Trajan/Milizia Tower	The entire monument	Place-name
D021	1481	Non-identifiable	The entire monument	Place-name
D021	1481	Markets of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Place-name
D022	1481	Markets of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Place-name
D028	1499	Markets of Trajan/Milizia Tower	The entire monument	Place-name
D061	1536	Markets of Trajan	An element of the monument	Place-name
D083	1562	Markets of Trajan	An element of the monument	Place-name
D091	1571	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D091	1571	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D096	1573	Markets of Trajan/Milizia Tower	An element of the monument	Place-name
D096	1573	Markets of Trajan/Milizia Tower	An element of the monument	Place-name
D097	1573	Markets of Trajan/Milizia Tower	The entire monument	Place-name
D099	1575	Forum of Peace/Conti Tower	The entire monument	Place-name
D106	1578	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D110	1588	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D113	1595	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D116	1598	Markets of Trajan/Milizia Tower	The entire monument	Place-name
D122	1609	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D122	1609	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D122	1609	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D124	1614	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D127	1618	Markets of Trajan/Milizia Tower	The entire monument	Place-name
D128	1619	Markets of Trajan/Milizia Tower	The entire monument	Place-name
D137	1625	Other (out of the focus area)	The entire monument	Place-name
D137	1625	Other (out of the focus area)	The entire monument	Place-name
D138	1625	Other (out of the focus area)	The entire monument	Place-name
D154	1631	Forum of Peace/Conti Tower	The entire monument	Place-name
D178	1685	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D183	1688	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D186	1694	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D187	1695	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D194	1710	Forum of Augustus	An element of the monument	Place-name
D200	1725	Forum of Peace"	The entire monument	Place-name
D219	1774	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D229	1791	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D234	1800	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D234	1800	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name
D234	1800	Forum of Trajan	The entire monument	Place-name

Table 5. Ancient Arches mentioned in the Archival Documents

ID_Doc	Year	Ancient Monument involved	Extent of the ruins	Motivation	Name given to the ancient monument	Terms identifying ruins	Other terms/adjectives
D041	1520	Forum of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	Arcum de Fuscis	Arcum	
D045	1526	Forum of Trajan	An element of the monument	Antiquity/Ruins	Arcus Traiani	Arcus	
D046	1526	Forum of Trajan	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark	Archo de li Foschi	Archo	
D060	1535	Markets of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark	No name	archo	Appresso al archo
D077	1554	Forum of Trajan	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark	arcum de Fuschis	arcum	
D080	1555	Forum of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark	arco del (...)	arco	
D081	1555	Forum of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark	Arcum de Fuschis	arcum	
D127	1618	Markets of Trajan	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark	Arcum	arcum	proprio
D150	1627	Forum of Augustus	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark	Arco dell'Erario	Arco	dell'Erario
D150	1627	Forum of Augustus	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark	Arcum Atrij	Arcum	Atrij
D194	1710	Forum of Augustus	An element of the monument	Place-name	Arco dei Pantani	Arco	Pantani
D200	1725	Forum of Peace"	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark	Templum Pacis	Arco	
D204	1742	Forum of Augustus	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark	Arco dei Pantani	Arco	Pantani
D232	1796	Other (out of the focus area)	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark	Templum Pacis	Archi	
D232	1796	Other (out of the focus area)	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark	Templum Pacis	Arco	

Table 6. The Column of Trajan mentioned in the Archival Documents

ID Doc	Year	Ancient Monument involved	Motivation	Name given to the ancient monument
D013	1458	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	Columna Trajani
D060	1535	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna
D083	1562	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna Traiana
D090	1571	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna Traian
D091	1571	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	Colonna Traiana
D091	1571	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	Colonna Traiana
D099	1575	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna Troiana
D099	1575	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna Troiana
D099	1575	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Antiquity/Ruins	Colonna Troiana
D099	1575	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Antiquity/Ruins	Colonna Troiana
D106	1578	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	Colonna Traiana
D109	1587	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Object of the document	Columnne
D110	1588	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	No name
D113	1595	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	colunna troiana
D122	1609	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna Trajana
D122	1609	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	colonna di S. Pietro alias Colonna Trajana
D122	1609	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	Colonna Traiana
D122	1609	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	colonna Traiana
D122	1609	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna Trajana
D124	1614	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	Colonna Traiana
D133	1622	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	colonna troiana
D134	1623	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colona Traiana
D134	1623	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna Traiana
D151	1627	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Columna Traiani
D153	1627	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Obeliscum Traiani
D178	1685	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	Troiana
D183	1688	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	Colonna Troiana
D186	1694	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	Colonna Traiana
D187	1695	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	Colonna Traiana
D190	1702	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Object of the document	
D216	1769	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna Traiana
D216	1769	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna Traiana
D217	1769	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna Traiana
D217	1769	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna Traiana
D217	1769	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna Traiana
D219	1774	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	Colonna Traiana
D229	1791	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna Traiana
D229	1791	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	
D229	1791	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	
D231	1795	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna Trajana
D234	1800	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	Piazza della Colonna Traiana
D234	1800	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Topographical landmark	Colonna Traiana
D234	1800	Forum of Trajan/Column of Trajan	Place-name	Colonna Traiana

Table 7. Criptae, Griptae, Grotte mentioned in the Archival Documents

ID Doc	Ancient Monument Year involved	Extent of the ruins	Motivation	Name given to the ancient monument	Terms identifying ruins	Other terms/adjecti ves
D006	1435 Non-identifiable	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	No name	criptis	certis
D021	1481 Markets of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Place-name	No name	gripta	
D022	1481 Markets of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	No name	gripta	
D027	1492 Non-identifiable		Object of the document	No name	grotte	certe
D041	1520 Forum of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	No name	Criptae	antiquae
D050	1529 Non-identifiable	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	no name	grotta	
D053	1533 Markets of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	No name	griptis	
D069	1550 Forum of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	No name	grotta	
D089	1566 Markets of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Excavation	No name	cripta	
D095	Other (out of the 1573 focus area)	An element of the monument	Object of the document	No name	gripta	
D127	1618 Markets of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	No name	gripta	
D127	1618 Markets of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	No name	griptae	antiquae
D169	Other (out of the 1669 focus area)	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	No name	Grotte	
D170	1669 Non-identifiable	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	No name	gripta	

Table 8. Mentions of Antiquitates in the Archival Documents

ID Doc	Year	Ancient Monument involved	Extent of the ruins	Motivation	Name given to the ancient monument	Terms identifying ruins	Other terms/adjectives
D027	1492	Non-identifiable	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	No name	ruina	
D043	1520	Forum of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	No name	Cryptae	antiquae
D044	1522	Forum of Peace ^a	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark	No name	antiquitates	
D044	1525	Forum of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark	No name	rovina	
D044	1525	Forum of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark	No name	rovina	
D045	1526	Forum of Trajan	An element of the monument	Antiquity/Ruins	No name	Antiquitate Urbis	
D049	1529	None (modern)		Object of the document	No name	chaolino	rovinato
D053	1533	Markets of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	No name	reliquis	antiquissimis
D053	1533	None (modern)	Modern structure	Object of the document	No name	accesamentum	antiquum
D057	1535	None (modern)	Modern structure	Object of the document	No name (modern)	situm	dirutum
D057	1535	None (modern)	Modern structure	Object of the document	No name (modern)	rovinato	
D059	1536	None (modern)	Modern structure	Object of the document	No name (modern)	domus	diruta
D062	1537	None (modern)	Modern structure	Object of the document	No name (modern)	ruina	casa
D076	1552	None (modern)	Modern structure	Object of the document	No name	domus	relicte
D077	1554	Forum of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	No name	ruina	
D078	1554	None (modern)	Modern structure	Object of the document	No name	ruina	
D095	1573	Other (out of the focus area)	An element of the monument	Topographical landmark	No name	portico	antiqui
D095	1573	Other (out of the focus area)	An element of the monument	Antiquity/Ruins	No name	palatium	dirutum

D099	1575	Trajan/Column of	The entire monument	Antiquity/Ruins	Colonna Traiana	antica	
D110	1588	Forum of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Excavation	No name	torrioni	vestigi
D127	1618	Markets of Trajan	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document	No name	gripae	antique
D135	1625	None (modern)		Object of the document		antiquitatis	
D136	1625	Other (out of the focus area)	Loose material	Antiquity/Ruins		lapis	antiquis
D137	1625	Forum of Peace*	Modern structure	Antiquity/Ruins		Alare	vetus
D138	1625	None (modern)	An element of the monument	Antiquity/Ruins	veteri structura	structura	veteri
D143	1626	None (modern)	Modern structure	Antiquity/Ruins		campana	antiquitas
D143	1626	None (modern)	Modern structure	Antiquity/Ruins		---	vetus
D143	1626	None (modern)	Modern structure	Antiquity/Ruins			antiquitatem redolet
D145	1626	Non-identifiable	Loose material	Object of the document		Lapides	antiqui
D150	1627	Forum of Augustus	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark	ruinas	ruinas	
D158	1636	Forum of Peace*	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark		L'antichità	
D195	1712	None (modern)	Modern structure	Object of the document		vestustatis	
D195	1712	None (modern)	Modern structure	Object of the document		vestigia	
D215	1765	Forum of Nerva	A ruined structure of the monument	Topographical landmark	Colonne antiche	Colonne	antiche
D232	1796	Forum of Peace*	A ruined structure of the monument	Object of the document		muro	antico