IMAGES OF THE TIBER ISLAND:ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY
A CATALOG OF ARTISTS AND CARTOGRAPHERS FROM THE 14TH THROUGH THE 20TH CENTURY

By

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To Andy

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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IMAGES OF THE TIBER ISLAND: ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY. A CATALOG OF ARTISTS AND CARTOGRAPHERS FROM THE 14TH THROUGH THE 20TH CENTURY

By

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The Tiber Island's small size in Rome's Tiber River belies the importance its image has played in history. Artists and cartographers have depicted the island's physical and mythological form through the ages. Today, the Church of San Bartolomeo and the Fatebenefratelli Hospital cover most of the Tiber Island's surface. The daily use of these structures limits archaeological activities on the island. The last excavations conducted there date to the late eighteenth century. Since then, opportunities to excavate ariseonly when construction activity triggers mandatory inspections by rescue archaeologists.

In light of limits on excavation, this dissertation examines the Tiber Island not through the eyes of archaeologists, but through the eyes of artists and cartographers who have depicted the island from the 14th through the 20th centuries. Significant aspects of the island's ancient topography still visible in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period but later obliterated by the construction of the new Tiber River embankments between 1875 and 1926, survive in such depictions and await collection and reference for scholarly use. This work collates in a single catalog a representative

number of artistic depictions of the Tiber Island and its environs from the third century CE to the early 1900s, providing a basic commentary on the ancient remains represented therein, as well as essential information on the artists in their historical and cultural contexts, and the themes (especially related to healing and the island's shape) appearing through the images. Evidence from artists and cartographers also contributes to the study of material other than walls and architectural structures, including elements such as embankments and streets. These images help us retrieve information no longer accessible to the spade of archaeologists.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The Tiber Island's small size in Rome's Tiber River belies the much larger importance its image has played in history. From early times, the island has caught the eye of artists and cartographers who chose to depict its physical and mythological form through the ages. Today the Tiber Island is a small concrete-skirted land form in the bend of the Tiber in the *Ripa* region or *rione* between the *rioni Trastevere* and *S. Angelo.* Looking down on the island from modern street level on the Trastevere side, one notices first the two bridges connecting the island to the mainland. Spanning respectively the west and east channels of the Tiber, Ponte Cestio and Ponte Fabricio immediately mark the island as a pedestrian-friendly area. The island permits car traffic is only on the Ponte Cestio, to allow access to the island's two health centers, the Fatebenefratelli and Jewish hospitals. From the small square opening between the Fatebenefratelli and the opposite basilica of San Bartolomeo, pedestrians can walk across the Ponte Fabricio to the Jewish Ghetto on the Tiber's east bank with its historic synagogue and famous restaurants. Walkers can also use the small stairs on the north side of Ponte Cestio to descend to river level and walk around the perimeter of the island. In the summertime this area wakes up to life with the bright lights of an annual film festival, art shows, and food and craft displays.

By far the largest architectural complex on the island today, the Fatebenefratelli Hospital, a modern 350–bed hospital with services in a variety of areas, including labor and delivery, occupies the entire north side of the site. It is a teaching partner of the two largest branches of the University of Rome, La Sapienza and Tor Vergata. Likewise the small Jewish Hospital continues to serve today in specialized areas such as surgery of

the hand and geriatrics. Opposite the Fatebenefratelli complex and abutting the Jewish Hospital, at the south end of Piazza San Bartolomeo, the Church of San Bartolomeo sits on perhaps what was the site of the ancient precinct of Aesculapius. Today San Bartolomeo is a fashionable venue for weddings, baptisms, and funerals.

Daily use of the structures covering the entire surface limits archaeological activities on the Tiber Island. The last excavations conducted at the site date to the late eighteenth century (Besnier 1900, p.339). The last excavations conducted at the site date to the late eighteenth century. Since then, in connection with every recent building activity on the island, officials have regularly called rescue archaeologists onto the island, who have had only these opportunities to investigate sites. The Fatebenefratelli hospital, which underwent various phases of expansion between the 1970s and the 1990s, has required rescue archaeology. The work of M. Conticello De' Spagnolis (*BullCom* XCII, 2, 1988, pp. 372-376) and P. di Manzano and R. Giustini (LTUR 5, *Addenda et Corrigenda* s.v.'Iuppiter [Insula Tiberina],' 1999) that uncovered important evidence in the area of the hospital's courtyard and the annexed church of S.Giovanni Calibita (former site of a temple to Iupiter Iurarius) resulted in rewarding finds. In more recent years Di Manzano's investigations have expanded to the south end of the island, focusing on the early medieval remains under the church of S.Bartolomeo (P. Di Manzano, M. Cecchelli, A. Milella, *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti,* 79, 2007, pp.125-176).

In light of the aforementioned limitations, my dissertation proposes to look at the Tiber Island not through the eyes of archaeologists, but through the eyes of artists and cartographers who have depicted the island from the 14th through the 20th centuries.

Significant aspects of the island's ancient topography, still visible in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period but later obliterated by the construction of the new Tiber embankments between 1875 and 1926, have survived in such depictions and are awaiting collection and reference for scholarly use. This work collates in a single catalog a representative number of artworks on the Tiber Island and its environs from the third century CE to the early 1900's, providing a basic commentary on the ancient remains represented in them, as well as essential information on the artists in their historical and cultural contexts. Due to limitations of time and resources, I was able to include in the final draft only part of the material originally collected for the project. I at first collected a list of ninety-three artists and cartographers who depicted the island that I narrowed down to forty-three, then ultimately twenty-three. (The remaining seventy are in Appendix B). I hope that, although selective, this work will be a starting point for further investigations of the same kind.

Today there is no reference that collects in a single volume the pictorial history of theTiber Island. In fact, there exists very little published work on the Tiber Island in English. The classic study on the topic is still the monograph by French scholar M. Besnier, *L'isle Tibérine dans l'antiquité,* (1902), which gives only limited attention to the evidence of artists and cartographers. A frequently cited work in the English language which deals with the history of Tiber Island in both ancient and medieval times is M.A. Brucia's doctoral dissertation *Tiber Island in Ancient and Medieval Rome* (1990). Substantial entries on the island in English are also found in S.B. Platner and T. Ashby's *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1965) and L. Richardson's *A New Topographical Dictionary* (1992). Otherwise, the most up-to-date scholarly reference on

the subject is M.Steinby's *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (1993-2000; Suppl. 2004, 2005) with its multilingual entries on the island's topography and architecture.

Recent topographical investigations on the island conducted by University of Florida faculty and graduate students under the supervision of Dr. R. Wagman are the source of much of the topographical discussion in this dissertation. A number of theses and conference papers elaborated preliminary results from this research. I have especially drawn from *Resurveying the Religious Topography of the Tiber Island* (Bruce, 2004); "The Ship Motif on Tiber Island" (Nichols, 2004); "Between Two Ports: On the Early Function of the Tiber Island" (Wagman, 2005); "*Moles Manuque Adiutum*: On the Embankment Walls of the Tiber Island" (Wagman, 2006); "An Unpublished Temple from the Tiber Island" (Wagman, 2004); "The Ship of Stone: on the Sculptural Decoration of the Tiber Island" (Wagman, 2005); "On the Streets of the Tiber Island" (Wagman, 2005); and "On the Missing Herm of Ponte Fabricio" (Wagman, 2006); "Searching for the Tiber Island Obelisk" (Bruce-Wagman, 2005); "Asclepius on the Tiber" (Bruce-Nichols-Wagman, 2007); and "New Epigraphical Discoveries from the Tiber Island" (Wagman, 2007). Finally with the expansion of digital networks in the last twenty years a large amount of data on the Tiber Island is now available on the internet. One of the most comprehensive resources is www.isolatiberina.it, a website mantained by Roman engineer Bruno Leoni since 1995. Footnotes list further internet tools used for this dissertation.

The organization of the the dissertation is as follows: Chapter I is a historical overview of the Tiber Island from antiquity to present time, with a special emphasis on those monuments or historical motifs (such as the island's Aesculapian and medical

tradition) that have shaped its image and reception in post-Roman culture. Chapter II is the actual catalog, with artists and cartographers listed in chronological order. Each entry consists of a biographical sketch of the relevant artist, a description of the images, and a discussion of archaeological and topographical features preserved in them. Entries with multiple images are arranged in subsections. Cartographic entries include, besides a detail view of the island, a general image of the map under discussion. Chapter III is a final summary of the ancient evidence retrieved by this research, organized topographically according to location.

Two appendices complete the work. The first is an alphabetical index of artists or cartographers sorted by century. The second appendix lists in chronological order all those artists and cartographers who could not be included in this catalog but preserve pictorial information on the island worth of further examination. A bibliography of works cited and works consulted is given at the end.

Beyond the library of the University of Florida in Gainesville my research took me for three short periods to Rome, where I was able to use the libraries at the American Academy and the British School. In Summer 2008 I spent one month in residence at the Academy as a Visiting Scholar. I am indebted to staff of both AAR and BSR for their assistance during my visits. During my seven year long research on the work of artists and cartographers, I had one dominant impression throughout my study: Tiber Island left an enduring mark in the consciousness of Romans and foreigners from an early time. This work traces the changes in that consciousness throughout the centuries.

CHAPTER 2
THE TIBER ISLAND IN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Situated in the Tiber River in Rome, the Tiber Island is a small elongated land form of 269m x 67m connected by bridge to both the left and the right banks of the river. The location of a famous cult of the Roman god of Healing, Aesculapius, this site, despite its diminutive size, has enjoyed a long and fascinating reception beginning as far back as the Middle Ages. Throughout the ages, it has intrigued painters, engravers, and other artists by its unusual landscape and many links with antiquity.

From Roman times to our day, people have called the island by many names: *Insula Tiberina, Inter Duos Pontes*, *Insula Aesculapii*,*Insula Serpentis Aesculapii*, *Insula Lycaonia*, *Isola tiberina*, and *Isola San Bartolomeo.*[1] The history of the site's formation is enfolded in legend. A story reported by Livy and other authors connects the expulsion of the last of the Etruscan kings in 509 B.C. with the origin of the island. According to Livy, grain confiscated from Tarquinius Superbus and cast into the Tiber by the Roman people caused the formation of the island. (2.5). After settling at the bottom of the river, augmented by sediments, over time this heap of grain gave origin to a landmass which human effort eventually turned into an island Dionysius of Halicarnassus (5.13.2-4) tells the same story, but in his version the Tarquins consecrated the grainfields to Mars. Archaeologists have discovered a very early *Ara Martis in campo* (Altar of Mars in the field [of Mars]) dedicated to Mars, substantiating the sacred nature of the Campus Martius and the nearby Tiber Island (Besnier, 1902; Brucia, 1990; Richardson, 1992; De

[1] 'Insula Tiberina': Vitr. 3. 2. 3; Acro Schol. in Hor. *Sat.* II. *3*. 36; 'Inter Duos Pontes': Plut. *Popl.* 8; Iustin. Martyr. *Apol*. I. 26; Aeth. 83 Riese; *Chron.* 145; *B.C.r* 1905, 231; FUR 42; 'Insula Aesculapii' Suet. *Claud.* 25; *Dionys. v. 13*); 'Insula Serpentis Epidaurii': Sidon. Apoll. *Ep.* I. *7*. 12. 'Insula Lycaonia' was a name used for the island during the Middle Ages. See also Besnier, 1902; Brucia, 1990; De Grassi, 1955; Nash, 1929; Richardson, 1992.

Grassi, 2000; Plateroti, 2000; Bruce, 2004). Plutarch also relates the formation of the island, but states that farmers left the fields of the Tarquins fallow so as to be of no use except to the gods (Publ. 8.1-8). Plutarch also has a later date for the founding of the island, saying that the Vestal Virgin Tarquinia, who came later than Tarquinius Superbus, had given the wheat field in the Campus Martius to the people. Aulus Gellius (7,7) states that a certain Gaia Tarratia gave her name to the part of the field now called Tarentum, an area of the Campus Martius with underworld connotations. There also is a modern geological explanation that supports the formation of the island from a tufa extension of the Quirinal and Capitoline hills, compounded with fluvial deposits (Besnier, 1902; Brucia, 1990; Platner & Ashby, 1929; Richardson, 1992; De Grassi, 2000).

The Tiber Island lays outside the *pomerium* or sacred boundary of the city of Rome. This line, originally traced by Romulus, separated the consecrated territory inside the city from the unconsecrated countryside, including the section of the Tiber comprising the island. The island's *extra-pomerium* location excluded it from certain privileges (such as sanctioned native religious ceremonies) and left it open to foreign influences (such as the foundation of temples and shrines to outside deities). Precisely because of this *extra-pomerium* location, officials used the temple of Aesculapius on the island to receive foreign ambassadors, such as Perseus in 170 B.C. (Livy 41. 22), or hold meetings such as the one senators had with Gulussa (Livy, 13.24; Platner & Ashby, 1929). Generals used the Temple of Bellona on the island to await their triumph, since they were not able to enter the city in arms (Bruce, 2004). Throughout history the city used the island for quarantine of the sick and for housing prisoners.

There is a report of a prison on the island in the fifth century (Sidon. *epist*. 1.7.12; De Grassi, 2000).

From the earliest times the island appears to have had a reputation for ill-omened and taboo practices. One theory is that the presence on the island of shrines to Veiovis, Faunus, and Aesculapius, chthonic (underworld) deities, strengthened the image of the island as a strange place, a place connected to sickness and death, and the underworld, a place that early settlers would certainly want to avoid (Holland, 1961). In a ritual that reinforced this perception of strangeness, the Vestals and pontiffs threw twenty-seven straw effigies of men dressed in antique clothing into the Tiber from the Pons Sublicius—a pre-Republican ceremony known as the *Argei* (Ovid *Fasti* 5, 62*1ff*). This ceremony mimicked the early practice of human sacrifice to Tiberinus, another god on the island with a chthonic nature (Brucia,1990).

A natural spring provided the Tiber Island with its own source of water, making it an appropriate site for a shrine dedicated to healing (Bruce, 2004). As in the Asclepian sanctuary at Epidauros, ground-water played an important role in the cult. Ancient people believed in the water's healing property alongside its natural role in sanitation. Today, a Republican-era well-head in the Church of San Bartolomeo marks the probable location of this ancient spring. This source of running water, coupled with the site's isolated location outside the *pomerium* certainly played a role in the selection of the island as a cult place for Aesculapius (De Grassi, 2000).

Ease of access was another important factor in the early history of the Tiber Island's development. One theory is that the island slowed down the current in this point of the river, allowing for a ferry to be established downstream between the Forum

Boarium and the opposite bank of the Tiber. This enabled salt merchants to use this as a route to and from the salt flats near the coast. The salt trade brought many people from the interior and the mountains to the sea, favoring the development of Rome. This route, later called the *Via Salaria,* went through the city by the *Alta Semita* and the *Vicus Iugarius* roads to the salt works at the juncture with the sea (Bruce, 2004; Richardson, 1992).

The island's extra *pomerium* location, its position on an important trade route, the aura of taboo that surrounded it, and the early association with local deities such as Tiberinus, Faunus, Veiovis, and Bellona, as well as presence of ground-water, were all factors that set the scene for the introduction of the Asclepian cult. The event that triggered the god's arrival from Greece was an epidemic. There are several versions of this foundation legend. According to Livy, an epidemic affecting blood struck Rome in 293 B.C., and when Apollo did not respond to entreaties to quell it, officials sought the guidance of the Sibylline books (10.47.1). The answer they got was "Æsculapium ab Epidauro Romae arcessendum" -- Asclepius must be summoned from Epidaurus to Rome (Lanciani, 1891; Besnier, 1902; Nash, 1929; Richardson, 1992; De Grassi, 2000). In Ovid's version (*Met.*15. 627), the oracle at Delphi instructed the ambassador Quintus Ogulnius to go to Epidaurus. A man with a snake-entwined staff appeared in a dream to Ogulnius, telling him that he intended to leave Epidaurus to go to Rome. Reporting on the same topic, Valerius Maximus (1.8.2) said that on the way to Rome the Roman warship carrying Asclepius's effigy stopped at Antium, where priests established a cult for the god. This story is generally taken as evidence for the presence of Asclepius in Italy prior to his arrival in Rome. The rest of Asclepius's journey upriver is described by

Ovid, who says that god's numen, in the form of a snake, was so large and heavy that it weighed down the ship (*Fasti,* 15.694). As the expedition neared the city harbor, the snake slithered out of the amphora and swam up onto the Tiber Island, thus indicating its preference for this location.

Romans built the first temple to Asclepius on the island in 291 B.C. (Livy 10.47.7), Latinizing his name to Aesculapius (Bruce, 2004; Brucia, 1990). Early inscriptions from the Tiber Island render the original Doric spelling *Aisklapio*s as 'Aiscolapios' or 'Aisculapius' (*CIL* VI.12, 30846, 30842). This sanctuary may have been a smaller version of the healing complex at Epidaurus, following a template found in hundreds of other Asclepieia around the Mediterranean, such as at Lebena, Pergamum, Athens, Cos, and Corinth (Besnier, 1902; Platner & Ashby, 1929; Nash, 1968; Brucia, 1990; Richardson, 1992; De Grassi, 2000; Bruce, 2004).

We know about the architecture of this early sanctuary from sparse literary evidence and a few physical remnants. Livy mentions the existence of temples and porticos supported on embanked structures (31.21.12). It is likely that the style of the first temple was Etruscan since this was still the model in the early Republic. Archaeologists retrieved from the site a terracotta antefix similar to those used on the roof of Etruscan buildings that supports this hypothesis. The fourteen column bases still visible today in the Basilica of San Bartolomeo on the island, appear to come from a later temple dating to the early Imperial period. The same church also incorporates a fragment from an architrave and a well shaft which is likely to mark the site of the *abaton*, the sacred dormitory present in all Asclepian sanctuaries (Bruce, 2004). The colonnaded buildings mentioned by Livy are probably a reference to this structure,

usually built in the form of a *stoa* or portico). The presence of a well and a dormitory indicate that the Roman ritual followed the same sequence as the Epidaurian one. Patients took a purifying bath, made an offering at the sanctuary's altar, prayed to the god at the temple, and finally proceeded to the sacred dormitory for the god to heal them or for Aesculapius to prescribe a cure in their dreams. In addition to medical procedures, such cures could include diet, exercise, and attendance of dramatic performances (Hartigan, 2009).

The recurring presence of theatrical structures in Greek and Roman Asclepiea suggests that theatrical pageants were probably a very important element of the cure process. Patients attended staged re-enactments of the incubation procedure, in which Asclepius appeared laying his hands on a invalid. This viewing predisposed the patient's mind to receive the dream of the god. It appears there was a direct correlation between such re-enactements and the dreams experienced by patients during incubation (Hartigan, 2009). Due to the site's limited size no theatrical facilities existed on the island itself, but patients are likely to have crossed over to the Campus Martius to use the nearby Theater of Marcellus. Planned in the late Republic and finished in the early Empire, this structure stands in an area that shares the same ancient healing associations of the Tiber Island. Here, between current Piazza Campitelli and the theater, was in fact the early cult place of Apollo Medicus, oldest of Greek medical gods and father of Asclepius himself. Nothing remains of the original fifth century shrine, but the columns of its Imperial age replacement, the so-called Temple of Apollo Sosianus, or Apollinar, still stand in place next to the Theater of Marcellus (Richardson, 1992).

The establishment of a new sanctuary linked to the Tiber left bank generated a need for better crossing facilities and spurred in general the architectural development of the island. Following the dedication of the Asclepieum, workers built a wooden bridge to connect the island to the Campus Martius. A stone bridge known as Pons Fabricius (Besnier, 1902; Brucia, 1990; Holland, 1961; Richardson, 1992) later replaced the wooden bridge. With time, as the Trastevere region also began to develop, Romans constructed a second bridge connecting the island to the right bank, the forerunner of the later Pons Cestius. Livy may be referring to these early wooden bridges when he reports the destruction of “duos pontes” by the flood of 192 B.C. (35.21). Easier access to the island facilitated its use as a religious destination and promoted its further development in the late third century/early second century B.C. The main source for the earliest building phase at the site is Livy, 33.42; 34.53. According to Livy, in return for his victory in the Battle of Cremona of 200 B.C. the Praetor L. Furius Purpureo vowed to build on the island a temple to Jupiter, and in 196 B.C. C. Servilius.completed it. In that same year the Plebean aediles Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and C. Scribonius Curio, vowed a temple to Faunus. The dedication of both temples occured in 194 B.C. Other sources provide further information on the position and the architecture of these two structures. In *Fasti* 1.293-94 Ovid appears to locate the Temple of Jupiter directly across from the Asclepieum proper (in the area later occupied by the the church of St.John Calybite and the south end of the Fatebenefratelli Hospital) *Iuppiter in parte est: cepit locus unus utrumque iunctaque sunt magno templa nepotis (sc. Aesculapii) avo*, while in another passage he refers to the temple of Faunus as standing at the upstream end of the island, *ubi discretas insula*

rumpit aquas, Fasti 2, 193-94. According to Vitruvius, both structures were prostyle temples (3.2.3). [2] We also know that fines taken from cattle-breeders, *ex eorum (sc. pecuariorum) multaticia pecunia aedem in insula Fauni fecerunt* (Livy 33.4 2), built the Temple of Faunus.[3] As for the temple of Jupiter, its site perhaps was a precinct housing different incarnations of the god and/or cults of other deities associated with him: an inscribed pavement recovered under what is today the church of St. John Calybite refers to a fund (*stipes*) for the cult of 'Jupiter of the Oath': *C. Volcaci(us) C.f. har(uspex) de stipe Iovi iurario…onimentom* (*CIL* I^2 990 = VI.379: cf. Besnier, 1902; Platner & Ashby, 1929; Nash, 1968; Brucia, 1990; Richardson, 1992; Bruce, 2004).[4] On the other hand, the calendars of Antium and Praenestae do not mention any cults of Jupiter on the island, but refer to a local festival of Aesculapius held jointly with a god Vediovis or Veiovis: *Aescula(pio) Co[r]o(nidi) Vediove* (F.Ant.M.); *Aescu[lapio] Vediovi in insula* (F.Praen.); cf. *Inscr. It.* XIII.2, 388. This mysterious god, who had another temple in the Forum at the corner of the Tabularium, Ovid described as a kind of youthful Jupiter (*Iupiter iuvenis*, *Fasti* 3.429-48). However, based on a testimony by Aulus Gellius (who seems to connect Vediovis with early human sacrifice, 5.12), scholars are more inclined to see this deity as a Jupiter of the Underworld, a mirror image of the original sky god

[2] I.e. temples with columns in front of the cella supporting an entablature. Squared pilasters or *antae* stand opposite the columns at the corners of the cella.

[3] Holland suggests Faunus was worshipped by the cowpokes of the nearby Forum Boarium for his ability to prevent stampeding (1961, p.158-59). "The Tiber Island was ideal for crossing the Tiber from the nearby cattle farms which were a very important industry in early Rome", Bruce 1994, p.86.

[4] Another mosaic inscription recently discovered in the same area (CIL 40896a: cf. Bruce, 2004) reports further work at the site by the sons of C. Servilius Geminus: C(aius) Serveili M(arci) f(ilius) pr(aetor)[- - ?, C(aius), M(arcus), P(ublius) (?)] (vac.3) Serveilieis C(ai) F(ilii) (vac.3) faciendum coeraverunt eidemque probav[erunt].

with chthonic connotations.[5] The worship of a chthonic cult in proximity to that of another dual aspects god like Aesculapius does make sense from a religious point of view.

Jupiter and Faunus were not the only companions of Aesculapius on the Tiber Island. The funerary inscription of a bowl-maker named Apidia refers to an island cult for Bellona in the first century A.D.: *Apidia Ma, scap(h)iaria Bellones Insulensis* (*AE* 1971, 40) Bellona or Duellona was an ancient war goddess of Sabine origin. However, as the date of the inscription and the name of the deceased would suggest, the deity worshipped on the Tiber Island was a later import connected to the-Near Eastern cult of the Magna Mater. Another ancient Italic deity worshipped on the Tiber Island was Semo Sancus Dius Fidius. The Sabines who settled the Quirinal hill introduced Semo Sancus. Originally a deified ancestor (Ovid, *Fasti* 6, 17, calls him *Semo Pater*), he acquired a later interpretation as a genius of light related to Jupiter (the son of Jupiter *Diespiter* or *Lucetius*, Lanciani 1892. The second century A.D. writer Justin Martyr reported that a statue to this god to have stood at the island. Like other Christian authors after him, Justin Martyr appears to have confused Semo Sancus with Simon Magus, the legendary pagan wizard defeated by St. Peter (*Apol. 1.26, 56*). Archaeologists retrieved the base of this statue with its accompanying inscription (*CIL 6.567*) in 1574 near the church of S.John Calybite, the area of the former temple of Jupiter.[6] Possibly, because of his association with the sanctity of agreements (implied by the denomination 'Deus

[5] See e.g. Brucia 1990, p.51.

[6] For images and a text of the inscription, see the entries on G.Vasi and G.B.Piranesi in Chapter 2 below.

Fidius'), people may have interpreted him as an ancient form of Iupiter Iurarius and worshipped within the same precinct or in close proximity to it.

As the new Asclepieum continued to grow, officials worked to improve access to the island. Cassius Dio thus informs us that in 63 B.C. The *Curator Viarum* L. Fabricius (35.45) replaced the early wooden bridge linking the site to the Campus Martius by one in tufa and travertine. This structure, now known as Ponte Fabricio, still functions as a pedestrian passage from Lungotevere Pierleoni to Piazza S.Bartolomeo, representing the earliest Roman bridge extant today. Over its arches we can read inscriptions that record the bridge's construction and subsequent verification, as well as one of its later restorations (*CIL* VI, 1305 = 31549; *CIL* I^2 751b, g = VI 1305 f, b). Except for the parapets (which Pope Innocent XI ordered redesigned in 1679) and the ramps (covered by construction[7]), the Pons Fabricius has survived for the most part in its original form. Two four-headed herms from a small precinct to Janus which once stood at the bridge's mainland entrance also survive on the parapets, reminding the passerby of the island's liminal nature as a crossing. These herms, originally four in number, are responsible for the Pons Cestius's alternative name as Ponte Quattro Capi, or 'Bridge of the Four Heads.' Indeed, Pons Quatuor Capita and Pons Iudeorum (from the structure's proximity to the Jewish ghetto) were the most commonly used denominations for the Pons Cestius during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era.

A far more troubled history is that of the other bridge linking the Tiber Island to Trastevere. A member of the eminent Cestii family— known to most from the famous pyramid monument of Via Marmorata -- built this bridge not long after the Pons

[7] Part of the bridge's west ramp is still visible today under the Caetani Palace, in the basement of the bar 'Antico Caffè dell'Isola' (formerly 'Isola Antica') Bruce 2004, p.26 fig.9.

Fabricius. Antoninus Pius in 152 A.D. (as recorded by the *Fasti Ostienses*) had to rebuild and redicate the bridge due to the strong current of the Tiber's right channel. Emperors Valentinian I, Valens, and Gratian ordered the reconstruction of the bridge, using recycled travertine from the nearby Theater of Marcellus and other buildings fallen in disrepair. (One of the inscriptions recording the event, *CIL* VI, 1175, has survived to our day and can now be seen on the inside parapet of the current bridge; see entry on G.B.Piranesi in Chapter II below). This Late Imperial replacement, which significantly differed in design from the original Pons Cestius, survived through the Middle Ages and the Early Modern era to the end of the 1800s, when workers demolished the bridge and rebuilt it one final time during the construction of the new Tiber embankments (the so-called 'Muraglioni').[8] Although nineteenth century engineers changed the bridge's location a few meters downstream, they restored the bridge to its Late Republican form, incorporating 347 of the 563 travertine blocks used in the Pons Gratiani.[9] Today this reconstructed version of the Pons Cestius continues to serve an important function, carrying automobile traffic between Trastevere and the island's central square. Like the Pons Fabricius, during its long life the Pons Cestius has been known by many names: in addition to Pons Cestius and Pons Gratiani, the tradition records Ponte S.Bartolomeo, and Ponte Ferrato (or 'Iron-Fastened Bridge,' from the chains used to anchor floating water mills to its piers).

[8] The regularization of the Tiber's riverbed and the relandscaping of its banks occurred between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a measure to contain frequent flooding. The project involved the demolition of many old buildings along the river's urban tract as well as radical changes to the shape and size of its bed.

[9] Due to the expansion of the riverbed in this zone, the modern Pons Cestius is also about twice the length of the original.

Two inscriptions unearthed in 1683 in the local square, Piazza S.Bartolomeo (*CIL* 6.451 and *CIL* 6.821), provide further evidence referring to a road named Vicus Censorius (or Censorii), also found on the Capitoline list of the *vicorum magistri* (*CIL* 6.975) This street was likely an east-west-oriented road connecting one bridge to another across the width of the island. Workers unearthed a short tract of this road coming from the west end during demolition works for the regularization of the Tiber bed in the late nineteenth century (*NS* 1885: see entry on R.Lanciani in chapter 2 below). Very little is known concerning the rest of the island's street system. Yet the evidence of sixteen and seventeenth century cartography (especially the maps by Bufalini 1551 and Nolli 1748; see relevant entries in Chapter 2 below) points to the existence of a second thoroughfare which ran north-south across the entire length of the island, intersecting with the Vicus Censorius near the middle of the island. This arrangement is likely to reflect the traditional *cardo/decumanus* pattern of Roman city planning, with two intersecting streets aligned on the four points of the compass. Also consistent with such a layout is the placement of a *forum* or open square at the intersection, namely the area now known as Piazza S.Bartolomeo: this is perhaps the space which ancients referred to as Inter Duos Pontes, or 'The Place Between Two Bridges' (see entry on the *Forma Urbis Romae* in Chapter 2 below). Another indirect proof that the Vicus Censorius intersected with a second street is the presence, on the island of an altar to the Lares (see the aforementioned inscription CIL 6, 451), a cultic installation traditionally placed at a crossroads.

In order for the island to be built up with all the aforementioned structures, Roman engineers had to ensure the stability of its earth mass against the turbulent current of

the river. Livy plausibly guessed that the island acquired the embankments from an early time (2,5: *insulam inde paulatim, et aliis quae fert temere flumen eodem invectis, factam; postea credo moles manuque adiutum, ut tam eminens area firmaque templis quoque ac porticibus sustinendis esset*), but we can expect that a truly comprehensive reinforcement of the island's shores did not begin until the engineers built bridges in the Late Republic. Today only two sections of the eastern embankment survive on the island, near the foot of the Pons Fabricius and further downstream, at the site's southermost end. Both are in *opus quadratum* masonry of tufa and peperino.[10] The wall at the south end also bears a travertine revetment representing the stern of the warship used to carry Aesculapius's serpent from Epidaurus to Rome (see the discussion on the origin of the sanctuary in the next chapter). The study of 17th-18th century cartography and art show this wall asa double tier of embankment walls braced the entire length of the site and reinforced the island.

The wealth of votive material found in the area documents the popularity of the island's healing cult In addition to four inscribed bases to Aesculapius dating to the beginnings of the cult in the third and second centuries B.C., workers found substantial numbers of anatomical votives in the Tiber River. They discovered a large deposit of such *ex votos* in the late nineteenth century near the Pons Fabricius. We can expect that at the bridge's mainland entrance there were potter and mason workshops selling votives of every type,[11] just as today shops and stands with religious artifacts crowd S.Peter square and other Catholic sites in the city. Not all agree that the objects in the

[10] Masonry very similar to this can also be seen in the area of the Emporium downstream from the island; see e.g.. Richardson, 1992.

[11] Lanciani 1889, pp.71-72.

Pons Fabricius deposit had an association with Asclepian worship. Another plausible contender could in fact be the nearby cult of Apollo Medicus, or Apollinar, located next to Theater of Marcellus (Richardson, 1992). During the construction of the modern Tiber embankments in the late 19th century, workmen retrieved thousands of *ex-votos*, of a non-datable polychrome terracotta from parts of the river not close to the Tiber Island, giving rise to the theory that Tiberinus, the river god himself, could have been the recipient of these offerings (Le Gall, 1953). Undisputedly Asclepian however are the *ex-votos* from a *favissa* or treasury deposit discovered near the aforementioned mosaic to Jupiter Jurarius during early excavation under the Church of St. John Calybite (Besnier, 1902; De Grassi, 2000).

Another important source of information on the island Asclepieum is a fragment from a stele bearing cure inscriptions similar to those found at Epidauros and other ancient healing sanctuaries (*IG* XIV 966, now in the Naples Archaeological Museum). Like the Epidaurian models, the text of these cures is in Greek. As the Plautus's *Curculio* suggest, this playwright and Romans in general did not have great confidence in the cures of Aesculapius. Suetonius (*Claudius,* 25) reports that wealthy Romans would put their ill slaves on the Tiber Island, leaving them over to the good offices of the god of medicine. If the slaves had a cure, they no longer had to return to their masters but could begin a new life as freedmen.

At the beginning of the Empire, Augustus was responsible for a number of additions and innovations at the Tiber Island. The one that inspired the imagination of later artists and cartographers and had a major iconic role throughout the site's history was the construction of a travertine revetment in the form of a warship's stern.

Archaeologists and historians have used this monument as evidence that the entire island had the landscape of the form of a ship, a notion reinforced by the island's own natural shape. A variant of the same theory is that the island's decoration simulated a ship only at its downstream and upstream extremities. Although it is much more plausible to interpret this revetment as a standalone sculpture in the tradition of naval victory memorials such as the Nike of Samothrace or the inscribed ship stern of Epidaurus, the conception of the Tiber Island as a 'Ship of Stone' offers a very interesting study in the public's consciousness which the next chapter of this dissertation discusses. Other sculptures with interesting characteristics appear on the island during the Early Empire: in addition to the image of Semo Sancus mentioned above, a statue of Julius Caesar appeared there during the reign of Augustus. In A.D. 68 this statue, which faced west, is reported to have spontaneously turned around in the opposite direction to announce the period of political distress known as the 'Military Anarchy' (Suetonius *Vesp.* 5). A medallion (now at the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris) depicts the arrival of the god's serpent from Epidaurus, commemorating a restoration of the Asclepieum that the emporer Antoninus undertook.[12] The scene on the medallion shows the serpent disembarking from a trireme positioned under an arched structure (the Pons Aemilius?) as the god Tiberinus watches from the waves. The island, represented on the right, appears as a rocky outcrop covered with vegetation and built up with tall architectural structures. Other initiatives on the island during the Antonine Age include a statue in honor of Marcus Aurelius, attested on an inscribed base found at the site (CIL 6, 1015). More difficult to pinpoint chronologically is the erection on the

[12] For a full discussion of this piece, not included in the present dissertation, see Besnier 1900, pp.176-181.

island of the small obelisk which stood in Piazza S.Bartolomeo until the fifteenth century of our era, contributing to to the island's widespread perception as a ship-like structure with a mast at its center. A plausible theory is that artists produced this monument at the same time as many other similar Egyptian artifacts still visible in the city, namely during the influx of religious and artistic influences which followed the Roman conquest of Egypt. Dismantled in the sixteenth century, the Tiberine obelisk survives today in a few scattered fragments at the Naples Archaeological Museum and the Louvre. As shown in a well-known engraving by G.Vasi (see relevant entry in Chapter 2 below), a column in the Corinthian order, probably from the ancient Asclepieum, stood in its place until the late 19th century, when I. Giacometti designed the current *Guglia* spire and it became the centerpiece of the island's square.

In the Augustan redistricting of the city of Rome into fourteen *regiones*, the Tiber Island fell into Regio XIV. In A.D. 74, Vespasian extended the *pomerium* beyond the course of the Tiber and included the island in the city's sacred territory. However, due to its location, it never lost its strong liminal character.

The island's other association with grain, exemplified by the legend of its origin from Tarquin's wheat, continued alongside the site's reputation as a religious and medical center. Water from Aqua Traiana had powered watermills found on the Janiculum slopes, grinding the grain and thus providing Rome with its flour supply. After Vitiges cut off this aqueduct during the Gothic siege of AD 537, the area devoted to the processing of Roman grain shifted to the downtown tract of the Tiber, where it remained for the next thirteen hundred years until the late nineteenth century. Roman millers (*molinarii*) chose to anchor their floating mills downstream from the Ponte Sisto

because walls protected this section of the river and it was easier to transport the heavy millstones to this location . There are records of the earliest remains from such structures east of the island in the Tiber's left channel, despite the fact that in this point the current is slower and therefore less efficient for powering mills. With time the largest concentration of watermills stood in the right channel which, with its greater breadth and faster current, provided a more appropriate location. This development had a significant impact on both the architecture and the topography of the island, because builders had to equip its shores with docking facilities to anchor the mills. A new system of alleys became part of the original street layout to enable tranportation to and from these docks. Watermills thus occupy an important place in the landscape history of the Tiber Island, which Chapter 2 examines.

While continuing in its role as as a religious sanctuary and as a healing center, during the early Middle Ages the Tiber Island became also home to the fortified palaces of a few wealthy families. The Palazzo Pierleoni-Caetani, which stretches along the island's east side from the Pons Fabricius to the Church of S. Bartolomeo, dates back to this time. The Pierleoni family, named after Peter of Leo (Petrus Leonis) (d. 1128), rose to power during the years 1060 to 1140. The Pierleoni were part of the "new aristocracy" that replaced the old feudal families of Rome. Loyal to the Papal See, they extended both monetary and military aid that enabled the papacy to maintain its rule in spite of hostility from other parts of society. Originally based in Trastevere, the Pierleoni in 1000 extended their domain to the Tiber Island, where they built a fortified tower and residence, and to the left bank of the Tiber, where they appropriated the Theater of Marcellus and the nearby Church of S. Nicholas. Popes used this route, which passed

over the Tiber Island, to enter the Leonine city and reach the Vatican under the protection of the Pierleoni. In the following century the fortified residence of the Pierleoni on the island became the property of Giovanni Caetani and his family. Throughout time the Pierleoni-Caetani palace housed many other historical personalities, from popes to political fugitives, and many institutions, including the Jewish hospital, still in function today.

Following the end Paganism, cults of Christian saints replaced the ancient cults on the island. However the new religion did not assume a monumentalized form until the end of the millennium. The first significant architectural achievement on the island after the end of the ancient era occurred in A.D. 997, when Emperor Otto III built a church for St. Adalbert on the former site of the Temple of Aesculapius. Rededicated to St. Bartholomew, this early church eventually grew into the current Basilica di San Bartolomeo all'Isola.[13] Inside the basilica, covered by a Medieval well-head carved out of a column drum, we can still see today a Roman well-shaft 10.25 meters deep which probably marks the position of the ancient island spring (see discussion above). According to legend, workers found the bodies of two martyrs—a deacon, St. Exuperantius, and a bishop, St. Sabinus—in this well during the fourth century A.D., five centuries before the Pope built the church to St. Adalbert on the same spot. A small shrine to the two saints appears to have thus coexisted on the island with the last phase of the Asclepian cult. Yet the presence of the ancient god can still be felt inside the modern day basilica: in addition to the well, which stands in a prominent position next to

[13] The change appears to have occurred after Otto set up in St. Adalbert's church the relics of the saints Bartholomew and Paolino from Nola. By A.D. 1088 some documents bore the name of the church as *San Bartolmeus a Domo Ioanni Cayetni*.

the altar, two of the carved bases from the basilica's inner colonnade are very likely to come from Aesculapius's temple or some other building in his precinct.

Like the Temple of Aesculapius before it, the Church of San Bartolomeo underwent reconstruction several times in its long life, the most significant ones during the time of popes Pasquale II (1099-1118) and Alexander III (1159-1181). Several religious orders found a home in San Bartolomeo. In 1524 Pope Leo willed the church to the Franciscan Observant Fathers. Other organizations include the 18th century *Devoti di Gesù Crocifisso al Calvario e di SS. Maria Adorata*, a brotherhood devoted to the collection and burial of drowned bodies from the river and its shores, also called *Sacconi Rossi* because of the red color of their hooded habits. The Baroque façade of the current church dates to a period between 1583 and the early 1600's, after a great flood damaged the structure in 1557. In 1994 Pope John Paul II entrusted the care of the church to the Community of Sant'Egidio.

Just as in antiquity the Temple of Jupiter had stood opposite that of Aesculapius, another church, San Giovanni Calibita or St. John Calybite, faced S. Bartolomeo across the island's central square. First mentioned in Vatican records from 1018, they built this structure over an early Christian church dedicated to St. John the Baptist, which in turn had stood on the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter Jurarius. The church of St. John Calybite honors the memory of a Byzantine saint nicknamed "Calibita" after the hut (Greek *kalybe*) he chose to live in despite his wealthy origins. San Giovanni Calibita changed administrative hands several times in its history, first to an order of Benedictine nuns called the *Santuccie* in 1366, later to the *Confraternita dei Bolognesi,* and finally in 1584 to the *Arciconfraternita of San Giovanni di Dio*, the Spanish hospitalier order that

still runs the island's Fatebenefratelli Hospital in our day. The healing tradition on the Tiber Island continues to live in this establishment, which since the sixteenth century, has taken over the entire northern half of the island.

As their nickname implies, the *Fatebenefratelli* (the "do good brothers") is a religious order known for their charity towards the sick and poor. The Catholic Church reveres their founder, Joâo Cidade, a Portuguese transplanted to Granada, as *San Giovanni di Dio*. The *Fatebefratelli* priests opened their first hospital in Rome in Piazza di Pietra, then moved to the Tiber Island after Pope Gregory XIII gave them the structures of St. John Calybite along with the neighboring nunnery of the *Santucce* and the small church of *Santa Maria Iuxta Fluminem* (or *Santa Maria Cantu Flumine*) annexed to it.[14] The brotherhood expanded this original complex by renting and buying the adjacent dwellings of fishermen and tanners, and by altering the architecture of St. John Calybite.

The newly created hospital began to play a major role in containing the bubonic plague that ravaged Rome and other European cities in the seventeenth century. When the epidemic reached the city in 1656, officials converted the entire island to a *lazzeretto,* or quarantine camp. Officials evacuated its inhabitants, and the Fatebenefratelli became a hostel for quarantined males while the Pierleoni-Caetani Tower (near the Pons Fabricius) became housing for quarantined women. The work of contemporary cartographers such as Falda (1676) and Nolli (1748), further discussed in Chapter 2, documents the growth of the hospital in the next century as it further

[14] *Santa Maria Iuxta Fluminem* is believed by some to be the ancient site of the shrine to Bellona (see discussion above). If so, the placement of a nunnery next to S. Giovanni Calibita may have been inspired by the ancient placement of a precinct of Bellona next to the Temple of Jupiter.

expanded its footprint and became more modern. The *Fatebenefratelli* was quite progressive for its time: it was one of the first health centers in Europe to assign a bed to each invalid and to organize wards according to disease. From the eigtheenth century it continued to grow across the area north of S.Bartolomeo Square, until in 1930 the brothers completed the acquisition of all remaining houses in the neighborhood, expanding the hospital to its current size.

A less conspicuous role in the architectural and topographical history of the Tiber Island has been played by a second, smaller hospital housed in the former Franciscan monastery annexed to the east side of S.Bartolomeo. This is the so-called *Ospedale Israelitico* or Jewish Hospital, established on the island since the 1880's along with the *Ricovero per israeliti poveri e invalidi*, or Home for Poor and Disabled Jews. The presence of this institution on the island, which continues to the present day, highlights the site's spacial and cultural proximity to the Jewish ghetto at the other end of the Pons Fabriciius. The Jewish Hospital and Nursing Home reiterate the island's historical role as both a medical center and a hospice.

Because of its location in one of the lowest zones in the Tiber's flood plain, flooding throughout history has consistently damaged the Tiber Island, along with the neighboring Campus Martius. Ironically, the measures to prevent the most devastating impact of flood on the historic architecture and natural landscape of the Tiber River actually caused the most damage to its surroundings. The Tiberine scenery depicted in the artworks listed in Chapter 2 is mostly a memory of the past. Traditional life on the river bank came abruptly to an end at the turn of the nineteenth century with the construction of the modern Tiber embankments, with the Italian government

commissioning the work to hydraulic engineer R. Canevari. A devastating flood that ravaged the city in 1870, shortly after Rome had become the capital of newly unified Italy motivated the building of the so-called 'Muraglioni,' the tall travertine walls which now enclose the urban tract of the river, largely concealing it from view. Their construction required the demolition of all older structures that lined the Tiber's shores, as well as drastic alterations to the riverbed itself. It also required a substantial raising of the ground level on both banks, changing forever the way we view the river from the mainland.

From Caesar's early plans to divert the Tiber's course (Plut. *Caes.* 58) to the highly invasive 'regularization' of the river banks described above, the integration of the Tiber Island into the urban landscape has often been the topic of controversial initiatives and ideas—including a Victorian project that envisioned merging the island with the Campus Martius. Such extreme strategies have given way in our time to more sensitive approaches that value the island's tradition. In the fall of 1983 the international exhibit *La nave di pietra* brought together a group of architects and urban planners to discuss new roles for Tiber Island within the city's cultural and architectural fabric and new creative uses of its space. Today some of the proposals discussed at that conference are at work on the island. The island has become a favorite site for concerts, art and photographic exhibits, cinema festivals, seasonal restaurants, and weddings. Above all the city of Rome now recognizes the island as an archaeological and historical 'park' where locals and tourists can spend free time and just enjoy the *genius* of the place. The island's unique landscape, its legendary heritage, and long history as a religious and medical center all contribute to create a physical and cultural locus that still speaks

to the imagination of visitors. From the earliest awakening of antiquarian interest during the Renaissance to our day, the symbolic depth and visual charm of the Tiber Island have inspired a long series of works of art, the study of which constitutes the topic of the next chapter of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 3
THE TIBER ISLAND IN IMAGES. A CHRONOLOGICAL CATALOG

Forma Urbis Romae or Marble Plan of the City of Rome (AD: 203 – 211 AD)

Historical information: The *F(orma) U(rbis) R(omae)*, alternatively known as 'Severan Marble Plan', was a large map of the city of Rome hung on a wall in the Temple of Peace complex (Najberg, 2002). Incised on marble slabs to the scale of 1:240, it showed the city as it was in 203 – 211 AD during the reign of Septimius Severus. The *aula* or hall where the hung perhaps was the office of the *Praefectus Urbi*, the city prefect. In the two hundred years that followed its creation, this monument began to suffer the effects of time and human activity. In the 5th century, workmen made a large hole, intending for it to serve as a passage through the wall on which they had displayed map, damaging the slabs showing the Roman forum, the Velia, and the Palatine Hill. Then around 530 AD the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian.reused the same wall.[1]

During the Late Medieval era, the temple complex housing the FUR fell into further ruin. As was customary at the time, many materials from the site— including a number of the valuable marble slabs—found a place in contemporary construction projects or burned to produce lime. Other fragments from the map simply fell off the wall and people eventually buried them under the earth.

The first recorded mention of the FUR in modern times dates to 1562, when workers retrieved some of the fragments from a garden at the back of the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian. The discovery of this heretofore unknown monument from

[1] The above discussion and much of what follows is based on the Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project, http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/docs/FURmap.html.

antiquity spurred the interest of archaeologists and antiquarians. A series of inked drawings preserved in the Codex Vaticanus Latinus 3439, f. 13-2 preserved some of the fragments. These are attributed to contemporary architect Giovanni Dosio; however, due to internal differences among them, perhaps another artist, namely Pirro Ligorio, contributed to the recording of the stones (Anderson, 1982). The drawings are between one-fourth and one-eighth the size of the original fragments. They vary greatly in quality, often being far less accurate than the originals in capturing architectural and topographical information. Nonetheless for some of the fragments that are now lost, such drawings constitute the only evidence in our possession. The Farnese family, acquired this initial collection of fragments and housed it in its palace. Around 1600, following the death of F. Orsini, the curator of the Farnese family collections, builders used the stones in the construction of the Farnese's "Secret Garden", located between the Via Giulia and the Tiber Rier.

In 1741 the city of Rome acquired all extant pieces of the FUR. The collection, which in addition to the early nucleus from the Farnese "Secret Garden,"included also newly excavated fragments from the Temple of Peace site, as well as other locations around the city where the slabs had migrated, had a number of different homes throughout the years. From 1741 to 1742 the Capitoline Museum displayed the stones in wooden frames. The museum curators and cartographer Giovanni Battista Nolli, himself the author of a large map of Rome,[2] mounted the exhibit, trimming off pieces of the marble fragments that did not fit into the frames. Besides this mutilation, the exhibit

[2] See the Nolli catalog entry for information on Nolli's map of Rome.

organizers were responsible for many errors in the recording and cataloging of the evidence.

In the two centuries that followed, as more fragments kept appearing in random discoveries, the collection continued to change locations, dividing its time between display halls and storage crates. In 1903, Rodolfo Lanciani reassembled the map for exhibit on a wall in the garden of the Capitoline Museum. Following the deterioration of some of the fragments, in 1924 casts replaed this exhibit and all FUR originals—including a number of pieces discovered since— and workmen moved them to the Antiquarium Forense on the Caelium. At the Antiquarium, curators placed the larger and more important pieces of the map on wooden boards, while they put smaller ones on racks. When the building of a railroad tunnel under it made the Antiquarium unstable, curators shipped the FUR fragments again to the Capitoline Museums. After four decades at the Palazzo Braschi in the city's centro storico (1955-1998), they moved the marble plan to its current home at the Museo della Civiltà Romana in the EUR quarter, where it is kept in storage except for occasional exhibitions (such as the cartographical show *Segni e sogni della terra,* held at the Royal Palace in Milan in 2001-2002 and featuring FUR fragments 11e –l, showing the Viminal hill; or *Sangue e arena,* an exhibit on gladiators held at the Colosseum in 2002, featuring FUR fragments 13a–o, 8b–f, showing the Colosseum and the Ludus Magnus).

Giovanni Pietro Bellori was the first person to try to identify and make sense of the *FUR* fragments discovered in 1562. His work, *Fragmenta vestigii veteris Romae ex lapidibus Farnesianis nunc primum in lucem edita cum notis,* published in 1673, was incomplete owing to many fragments that the ravages of time before his lifetime. The

building of the “Secret Garden” of the Farnese family used a number of the fragments. Bellori compiled his work from extant fragments and also from drawings made by the Orsini family at an earlier date. Thus, he duplicated some of the drawings. A later edition in 1674 included some additional fragments and corrections to the first publication. The *Codex Vaticanus Latinus* 3439, f. 13-23 consists of drawings in pencil and ink made during the Renaissance. It is a repository of many fragments later damaged or lost. Credit for the drawings is given to Giovanni Antonio Dosio, though due to differences in the styles, some scholars feel that there was at least one other engraver who worked on them, perhaps Pirro Ligorio (Anderson, 1982).

Henric Jordan published his *Forma Urbis Romae. Regionum XIIII* in Berlin in 1874. His work was the first scientific study of the *FUR* fragments. He started work on this map in 1866 along with Rodolfo Lanciani. The scope of the project was daunting since he was the first one to attempt to put the pieces of the “puzzle” together, using extant fragments, the Renaissance drawings, marble copies of fragments of lost fragments, and formerly lost fragments that had resurfaced but didn’t match the copies. His work includes the history and dating of the map, the engraving techniques used, and a list of the fourteen regions with the monuments in each according to sources available to him, such as the two editions of the Regionary Catalogues, the *Curiosum*, and the *Notitia.* He then lists and attempts to correlate the fragment numbers previously assigned by Bellori, Piranesi, and Canina. He has thirty-seven plates of shaded drawings of the fragments along with smaller versions of Renaissance drawings. Jordan wrote his work in Latin, more difficult for modern readers Jordan did not have access to the almost seven hundred fragments found from the Farnese ¨Secret Garden¨ in the late 1880´s

during work on the Via Giulia. Rodolfo Lanciani headed the archaeological excavations in Rome in the late 1800s. His work, *Forma Urbis Romae* (Milan 1893-1901) is a detailed map of the city's ancient ruins at that time, published in forty-six plates using *FUR* fragments. Although not totally accurate, the map shows in a color code the remains: the ancient areas are in black and the modern parts in red, with planned changes as of 1901 shown by thin blue lines. [3] His article, "I nuovi frammenti della Forma Urbis." (*Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 2, 1899, p. 3-21), describes the 451 fragments found in the Via Giulia excavations from the "Secret Garden," with photographs of 28 of the fragments. The article describes the history of the excavation of the fragments.

The next seminal work appeared in 1960 in Rome, *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica. Forma urbis Romae*, edited by Gianfilippo Carettoni, Antonio Colini, Lucos Cozza, and Guglielmo Gatti. This fundamental reference work consists of photographs of all known *FUR* fragments and is the most scientific discussion of the Marble Plan. The first volume includes a bibliography (Carettoni), a history of the fragments (Colini), a list of the fragments in Renaissance drawings (Carettoni), a detailed study of fragments identified and not identified along with inscriptions (Colini), a discussion of the aula and the wall upon which the FUR hung, and the marble slabs (Cozza), and a technical discussion of the plan, the date, scope, and antecedents, along with a reconstruction (Gatti). This first volume includes a concordance of fragment numbers as well as several indices organizing the fragments by number, thickness, epigraphy, building type, and topography. The second volume consists of the Renaissance drawings along

[3] Lacus Curtius, Lanciani online, http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/home.html, January 30, 2011

with black and white photographs of the 712 fragments known at that time. Also found here is Cozza's detailed drawing of the aula wall and Gatti's scheme of the marble slabs.

Emilio Rodríguez Almeida with his *Forma Urbis Marmorea. Aggiornamento Generale 1980* published in Rome in 1981, updates the information on the Marble Plan from the 1960 work of Carretonia et alia. The first volume contains an updated bibliography and updated information on the fragments including inscriptions and matches of various fragments, an analysis of the slab placements, and a reconstruction of the map with the new pieces. Volume two consists of line drawings of all of the fragments, although it contains some errors.

The most recent attempt to reconstruct the *Forma Urbis Romae* is the digital project by the same name currently ongoing at Stanford, which effectively marries computer science with archaeology. The project, started in 1997 after a suggestion from Susanna Le Perra of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, uses advanced digital imaging techniques to piece together the fragments of the map (Trimble & Levoy, 2002). Initially, the method used by the Stanford team was to match the incised lines on the stones with the aid of computer algorithms, much in the same way that earlier scholars had done manually since the discovery of the first fragments in 1562. As the project progressed, archaeologists adopted a more effective approach which matches the interface surfaces between fragments. Recently, computer scientists developed new shape-matching algorithms using 3D models of each fragment. To produce these models, the Stanford team collected about 6,000 digital images of the map at the Museo della Civiltà Romana and all other pertinent materials (such as the Renaissance

drawings comprised in Codex Vaticanus Latinus 3439). Today this impressive amount of scientific information, encompassing all 1,186 fragments of the FUR, is available to public on the project website.

Century: 3rd

Figure 3–1. Temple of Peace wall of the aula showing iron clamp cuttings for the attachement of the map. Reproduced with permission from the Forma Urbis Romae Project, Stanford University, and the Rome Sovraintendenza, January 2011, http://www.formaurbis.stanford.edu.

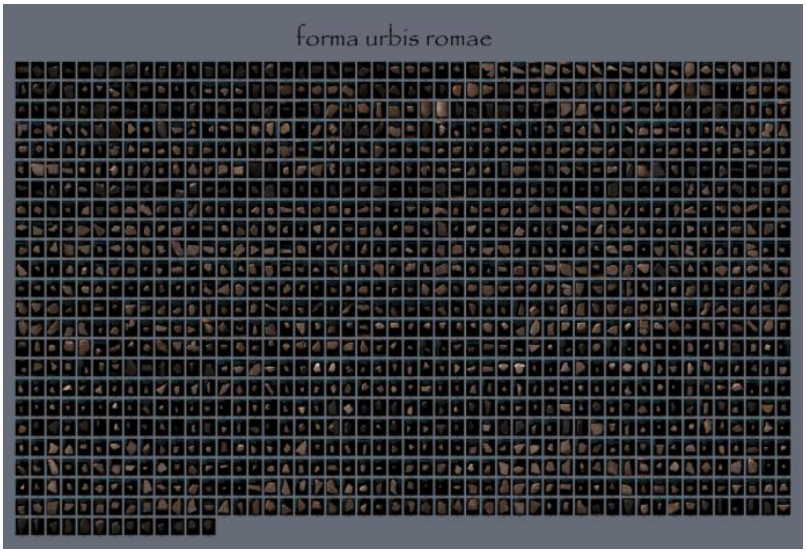

Figure 3–2. Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project collage showing 1, 163 FUR Fragments, Reproduced with permission from the Forma Urbis Romae Project, Stanford University, and the Rome Sovraintendenza, January 2011, http://www.formaurbis.stanford.edu.

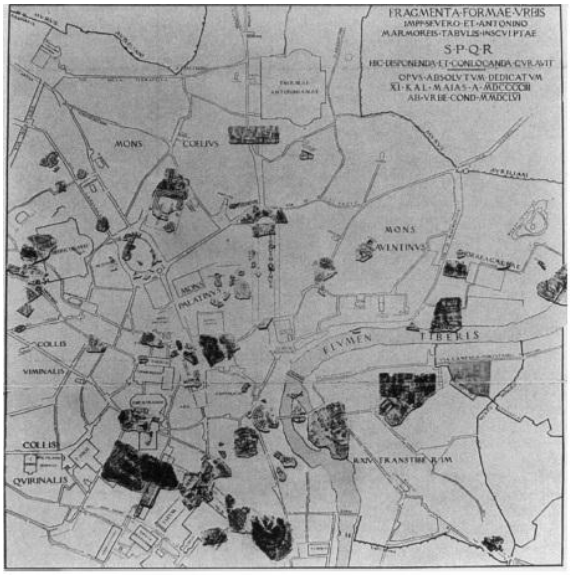

Figure 3-3. Rodolfo Lanciani: Forma Urbis Romae reconstructed with fragments, displayed in the garden of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, 1903. There is no image of the original Forma Urbis Romae from the 3rd Century. Reproduced with permission from the Forma Urbis Romae Project, Stanford University, and the Rome Sovraintendenza, January 2011, http://www.formaurbis.stanford.edu. Date of Map: 203 – 211 AD. Medium: Slabs of Proconnesian marble of slightly variable size, incised. Location of original: Rome, Museo della Civiltà Romana. Formerly mounted on a wall in the office of the Praefectus Urbi, inside the Templum Pacis complex.

Description of Image: There is no direct evidence for the aspect of the original map, which is reconstructed through scholarly guesswork, or for the date and circumstances of its creation. Based on the topographical and architectural information preserved in the extant fragments, as well as the map's original location, the FUR is dated to the time of Septimius Severus and the restoration of the Temple of Peace which took place under this emperor. There are various theories as to the overall size of the map, with differing approximations of 18.10 x 13 meters, 22 x 15 meters, and 23 x 11 meters (Najberg, 2002). The FUR appears to have consisted of 150 thick Proconnesian marble slabs of different size fastened on the wall with iron clamps (Claridge, Toms, & Cubberley, 1998). Buidlers of the map laid out the slabs in eleven rows, with the top three rows aligned horizontally and the bottom eight rows alternating between horizontally and vertically aligned slabs. It is clear from the toolwork on the extant fragments that engravers incised the map after the slabs were in place. The orientation was with the southeast at the top, a standard cartographical practice of the time. The scale was 1:240 (although this measure was not observed consistently; see discussion below).

The scope of the map encompassed every building and monument of contemporary Rome. Engravers adopted various graphic conventions to represent the ground plan of architectural structures, usually with a fair degree of consistency. They used single lines for walls of buildings (except in a few cases, such as the *Porticus Aemilia* and some temples, where they used multiple lines instead, sometimes filled with red color). They showed doorways as a break in a wall, while dashed lines depicted arcades. They used columns as dots (if with a base, as dotted squares), a V or triangle

for indoor stairs, and a ladder-like symbol for outdoor ones. The engravers represented geographical features such as the Tiber River as blank areas flanked by buildings (perhaps color originally filled these areas). They did not indicate early sacred boundary of the city, the *pomerium*.

There were a number of anomalies in the mapping of the FUR. The scale was mainly 1:240, but varied in places from 1:220 to 1:250. The map's orientation could also vary as much as nine degrees. Engravers depicted prominent monuments such as the Colosseum proportionately larger than other buildings. As the Romans knew how to make very accurate maps, for both military and civil uses, the FUR is out of altered proportions. This leads to the fundamental question: what was the purpose of such an artifact?

The function of the FUR may be linked to that of the room in which it hung. Most scholars think that this was the office of the city prefect, and that the FUR was a cadastral map of the city. Another theory is that the map was purely decorative, an interpretation supported by a variety of factors, such as the document's illegibility (it was far too large to be read by a person standing under it), the lack of sufficient labelling (there were too few inscriptions for it to have any practical use), and its occasional inaccuracy (Richardson, 1992). Instead, it is more likely that the FUR had pictoral function, or as a directory of city monumtnets, while the actual cadastral and legal records were papyrus documents stored in the office archives (Reynolds, as cited by Najberg, 2002).

A third theory is that the map was part of Septimius Severus' encompassing propaganda campaign, following in the traditions of Augustus and Vespasian before

him. As in the case of these two emperors, Septimius Severus came to rule after a period of civil turmoil, instituted reforms, and began building programs. Each emperor used various public venues to advertise his successes: coins, triumphal arches, and maps. In his own time, Augustus had commissioned from Agrippa a survey of world geography, a lost work by the title *Descriptio Orbis.* Following Agrippa's death, a map based on this research was put up on the wall of the *Porticus Vipsania*. Vespasian, also displayed a large map of the city in one of his Forum's libraries. So the Severan Marble Plan follows in this public map tradition, being a vehicle for the ruler's self-aggrandizement just as coins and triumphal arches (Taub, 1993).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Although the 1,186 surviving fragments of the FUR representing only ten percent of the original map, the impact of the archaeological and topographical information preserved in them is substantial. In many cases, these fragments provide the only hard evidence for architectural elements of the city whose existence and location are known to us from literary sources. Although inaccurate in a number of ways, the FUR advances our understanding of the urban fabric of the city and of its most important landmarks at the time.

Figure 3-4. FUR Image 1 Fragment 32 a. Reproduced with permission from the Forma Urbis Romae Project, Stanford University, and the Rome Sovraintendenza, January 2011, http://www.formaurbis.stanford.edu.

Description of Image: In the upper part of the fragment, running close to the break, is an incised line. Below it is a blank space, then the fragmentary inscription:

[---]SVḶ[.][---]

Restored as [IN]SVL[A], this text has been interpreted to refer to the Tiber Island by Carettoni et al. (1960) and consequently assigned to the same slab as fragments 32 b-c-d-e-f (V-13). As to the position of 32a, Carettoni et al. believe that it comes from the upper left corner of the slab, above and to the left of the main cluster of fragments. Based on the later addition of fragment 630 to this group, Rodriguez-Almeida has subsequently readjusted the position of 32a to match the new line of thickness (1970-1971; 1980).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The fragment is believed to show a section of the Tiber immediately to the southeast of the island (the incised line marking a tract of the river's eastern shore, in the area of the Forum Boarium). The text *[in]sul[a]* corresponds to one of the labels commonly used for the island, which include: *insula Tiberina, insula Tiberis, insula Tiberini, insula Aesculapi,* or simply *insula.*

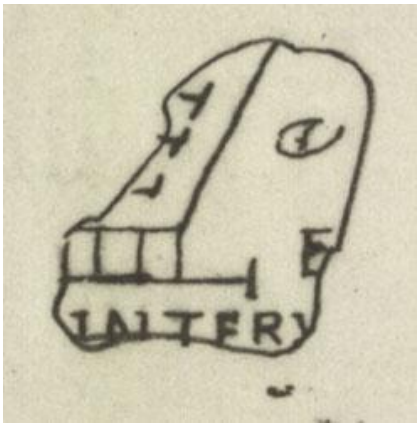

Figure 3-5. FUR Image 2 Fragment 32 b. Reproduced with permission from the Forma Urbis Romae Project, Stanford University, and the Rome Sovraintendenza, January 2011, http://www.formaurbis.stanford.edu.

Description of Image: 32b was part of the early collection of FUR fragments discovered in 1562 in the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian and later stored in Palazzo Farnese. Like other pieces from this collection, a series of ink drawing now in the Codex Vaticanus Latinus 34-39 preserved it. Published in Bellori's edition of 1673, the fragment later disappeared. The following description is based on the image contained in the Vatican codex (fol. 22r).

In the left half of 32b, a line running from the top right to the middle left of the fragment seems to delimit an open area (a *plataea*?), apparently triangular in shape, of which only the left portion is visible. The slanted line corresponds to the outer wall of a building enclosing this area to the left. Inside the building are a series of three partitions showing a similarly slanted alignment. At the bottom the building intersects at an angle with a horizontal row of three small square rooms (*tabernae*?) The line marking the outer wall of this horizontal structure extends to the right, framing at its extremity what appears to be the entrance to the open triangular area. This opening is partially blocked by a small rectangular enclosure, shown only in its left portion (another similarly uncertain structure, roughly elliptical in shape, appears also within the open triangular area, in the upper right part of the fragment). Along the bottom of the fragment, in a blank space below these buildings, is the inscription:

INTERV

As L. Cozza (in Carettoni et al. 1960) has seen, this text, when matched to that of fragments 32 c-d, gives the reading: INTER [D]VOS | PONTES, proving that 32 b was an adjoining piece from the same cluster. The position of the lettertraces suggests that

the fragment showed buildings on the south side of the street between the island bridges.

Figure 3-6. FUR Image 3 Fragments 32 c-d-e. Reproduced with permission from the Forma Urbis Romae Project, Stanford University, and the Rome Sovraintendenza, January 2011, http://www.formaurbis.stanford.edu.

Description of Image: Workment retrieved fragments 32 c-d-e were in the same excavations as 32 b (above, n.2). Following the discovery, however,workers did not store fragment 32 e like the rest of the collection in Palazzo Farnese, but used it as building material for the Farnese 'Secret Garden', where it remained until the end of the 19th century. Because of this separation, there is no copy of this fragment among the ink drawings of Cod. Vat. Lat. 34-39. Fragment 32 e returned to the main body of the collection in 1924.

According to L.Cozza's reconstruction (Carettoni et al. 1960), the three adjoining fragments 32 c-d-e come from a section of slab V-13 depicting the southern tip of the Tiber Island. Together with the Renaissance drawing of 32 b (above, n.2), they show a large portion from the central and eastern areas of this region, from the street between the bridges to the downstream end of the island. Along the lower edge of 32 c-d,

spanning the width of the two fragments, is a row of rooms fronted by a colonnade. In the open space above this portico, to the left of the word PO[N]TES, is a small rectangular building framed by a trapezoidal enclosure opening to the right. In fragment 32 e, another series of rooms are set in a row along a long, narrow feature curving inwards at the top.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The open space engraved with the label INTER [D]VOS | PO[N]TES and lined on both sides with rooms and porticoes is plausibly identified with the central area of the island, comprised between the Fabricius and Cestius bridges. The trapezoidal enclosure within it may belong to one of the various *sacella* attested at the site (Lares Augusti, Semo Sancus, Bellona Insulensis, Gaia, Tiberinus). In 32 e, shape and position of the curvilinear feature shown on the right side of the fragment support an identification with the ancient embankment of the island, portions of which survive today along the east side of the site (for the inward curve or angle at the north and south ends of this wall, see also the entries on Vasi, Nolli, Falda).

Figure 3-7. FUR Image 4 Fragment 32 f. Reproduced with permission from the Forma Urbis Romae Project, Stanford University, and the Rome Sovraintendenza, January 2011, http://www.formaurbis.stanford.edu.

Description of Image: The modern history of fragment 32f is the same as that of 32 e (n.3 above). Most of the fragment's surface is blank, except for a slightly curving line visible to the lower left. Despite this absence of identifiable topographical features, L. Cozza (in Rodriguez-Almeida 1981) was able to match 32 f to the other pieces from the same slab based on the quality and thickness of the marble, the dressing on the back face, and the fact the fragment broke along parallel lines (a characteristic of fragments belonging to slab V-13).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: According to Cozza's reconstruction, the incised curve in the lower left portion of 32 f belongs to the outline of the island's embankment, being a continuation of the same curving feature visible in fragment 32 e (n.3 above). The blank area to the right is part of the Tiber River. As with other unoccupied spaces in the FUR, the river was unmarked (see above, ---), except perhaps for fragment 200b which may be bear the label [TIBERI]S (Rodriguez-Almeida 1992).

Figure 3-8. FUR Image 5 Fragments 31e-n-o. Reproduced with permission from the Forma Urbis Romae Project, Stanford University, and the Rome Sovraintendenza, January 2011, http://www.formaurbis.stanford.edu.

Description of Image: The modern history of fragments 31 e-n-o is the same as that of 32 e (n.3 above). To the far left of the fragment cluster (31 e) are visible five thinly incised parallel lines which appear to indicate a stepped structure, such as a staircase or podium. After an intervening blank space, to the right (31 n-o), are two ample, concentric double-lined arcs cut across by two double-lined radials, denoting respectively the outer seating rings and stairs of an entertainment building. With fragments 31p, q-r-s, i-l, and m-t, this cluster is assigned to FUR slab V-12, a slab immediately adjacent to the one showing the Tiber Island, V-13 (above, nn.1-4)

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The rounded seating area in the right half of the fragment is identified as the cavea of the Theater of Marcellus, the second stone theater of Rome, dedicated by Augustus in 13 or 11 BCE at the southern end of the Campus Martius across from the Tiber Island. The section depicted in 31 e-n-o is the one adjacent to the Temple of Bellona, the staircase of which is shown at the far left of the fragment. The theater is offset approximately 30 m too far to the west and turned 13 degrees from its correct location, an error resulting from the combination of different survey data on part of the engravers. The outline shown in the fragment is not the theater's ground plan, as in most buildings in the FUR, but a view of the theater from above, according to a practice used also for other entertainment venues, such as the Colosseum. On the possible relevance of the Theater of Marcellus to the cults of the Tiber Island, see discussion at p. 24.

Figure 3-9. FUR Image 6 Fragment 31 p. Reproduced with permission from the Forma Urbis Romae Project, Stanford University, and the Rome Sovraintendenza, January 2011, http://www.formaurbis.stanford.edu.

Description of Image: The modern history of fragment 31 p is the same as that of 32 e (n.3 above). The fragment shows three concentric double-lined arcs traversed by four double-lined radials.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: 31 p depicts a section from the inner part of the cavea of the Theater of Marcellus, according to the same overhead view described in n.5 above.

Figure 3-10. FUR Image 7 Fragments 31q-r-s. Reproduced with permission from the Forma Urbis Romae Project, Stanford University, and the Rome Sovraintendenza, January 2011, http://www.formaurbis.stanford.edu.

Description of Image: The modern history of fragments 31 q-r-s is the same as that of 32 b (n.2 above). Visible in these fragments is another section from the semicircular structure shown in 31e-n-o-p (nn. 5-6 above). To the right seven more concentric lines, not as evenly spaced as in the previous fragments and traversed by three double-lined radials of different length, fall towards the center to join a rectangular area fronted by a row of dots (a colonnade). Within the space between this area and the lower, straight-edged side of the semicircular structure is the inscription

[---]HEAṬ[---] | [.]AR[.][---]

restored as [T]HEAT[RVM | M]ARC[ELLI] based on the evidence of Cod. Vati. Lat. 3439 fol. 19r (below, n.8). Farther to the right, opposite the colonnade, is a group of four square features, arranged in two parallel complexes of one large and one small square each. This end of fragment cluster 31 q-r-s preserves part of the slab edge.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Fragments 31 q-r-s show the lower end of the *cavea* and part of the *scaenae frons* of the Theater of Marcellus. They provide important evidence for the reconstruction of the theater's stage, the architecture of which was unusual. F. Coarelli has identified the square features opposite the

colonnade as two small temples with altars in front, (one dedicated to Pietas and the other to Diana; Coarelli 1997, pp. 451, 486).

Figure 3-11. FUR Image 8 Fragments 31 i-l. Reproduced with permission from the Forma Urbis Romae Project, Stanford University, and the Rome Sovraintendenza, January 2011, http://www.formaurbis.stanford.edu.

Description of the Image: The modern history of fragments 31 i-l is the same as that of 32 e (n.3 above). These fragments depict one of the corner sections from the semicircular structure shown in nn. 5-7 above, rendered as four concentrical arcs bisected near the end by two parallel lines. Opposite the semicircular structure, in the top right, is a row of square columns, with a line highlighting the colonnade's outer edge. In the lower right we can also see the corner of a building aligned with the straight side of the semicircular structure. In the space between the two structures, four projecting short lines may denote a door or arched opening.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: In these fragments we see more of the seating area and stage of the Theater of Marcellus, with part of the intervening passageway (lower right). Also captured in this fragment cluster is a section from the colonnade of the Temple of Janus (upper right), the northermost of a row of four Republican buildings in the *Forum Holitorium* which also included temples to Spes, Iuno Sospita, and Pietas. The *Aedes Iani* was a hexastyle structure with a portico on all sides

except the back. Its placement on the tract of riverbank directly opposite the Tiber Island supports the notion that this section of the river served as a ford for herds (cf. its position next to the *Forum Boarium*) and later as a ferry station, or *traiectus* (Holland 1961). The close spatial and conceptual relation between Janus and the island is also seen in the four-headed herms which survive today on the parapets of the Pons Fabricius, formerly used as posts for a small sacred enclosure at the bridge entrance.

Fra Paolino da Venezia (Paulinus Minorita, Paulinus Venetus) (ca1270 – 1344): Cartographer, Politician, Bishop, Writer

Biographical information: Fra Paolino (Paulinus) was a Franciscan friar born around 1270. Little is known about his early life prior to December 1293 when he was active in the Franciscan convent at Padua. Paulinus became a priest around 1300 and a lector in 1303. He had duties in Venice and Treviso between 1304 and 1307. The Republic of Venice assigned him to Naples as an ambassador to the court of King Robert of Anjou between 1315 and 1316. Following a term as papal representative at Venice, in 1324 Pope John XXII appointed him to the seat of the Neapolitan Bishop at Pozzuoli. As bishop, Paulinus was a favorite and counselor to the king at the court of Robert of Anjou. During this period he wrote three long chronicles, *Notabilium Historiarum Epitoma*, *Satyrica gestarum rerum, regum atque regnorum et summorum pontificum historia,* and *Chronologia magna.* He also wrote on a variety of other subjects, including the governance of the city in *Tratto de Regimine Rectoris*, and on the role of the family in *Del governo della famiglia* (Heijden and Roest, 2011). His *Pianta di Roma* dated to ca.1320 appeared in the *Chronologia magna* of 1346 (Buffo, 1997). Fra Paolino died in Pozzuoli in July of 1344.

Century: 14th

Figure 3-12. Fra Paolino da Venezia Plan of Rome at the time of Innocent III. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: ca. 1320, Medium: Pen (ink) on vellum. Location of original: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia, Ms. Lat. Z 399

Description of Image: This is one of the earliest maps of the city of Rome featuring locations and images of its monuments. Turreted walls surround the city. The map is not drawn to scale nor does use measurements of any type. There is no sense of perspective in the drawing of the map and the buildings.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The Aurelian wall circuit with its turrets and gates surrounds the city. North is to the left. The Tiber River snakes from the right (South) side of the map just above the dark area towards the left (North), curving upward towards the East, and then bending to the left and exiting the wall about two-thirds of the way up and continuing to the East to the extreme left side of the map. The Tiber Island is shown at the bottom of the image, with the Pantheon appearing directly above it. The Flavian Amphitheater is visible as well as aqueducts and many churches.

Figure 3-13. Fra Paolino detail of the Tiber Island and environs from Fra Paolino da Venezia's *Plan of Rome at the time of Innocent III* Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

Description of Image: The island is represented as an almond-shaped outline in the river, bound by the Aventine to the right and the Janiculum to the bottom (both highlighted in dark brown, as all othere elevations in the map).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Despite the absence of perspective and the plain drawing style, Paulinus makes a good attempt to render the site's topography with a series of down-pointing structures projecting from the east (top) and west (bottom) sides of the island. On the east side we observe four tall buildings with no differentiating characteristics. On the west side are five (?) additional buildings with more marked architectural differences, the middle one being possibly an attempt to reproduce the church of S.Giovanni Calibita flanked by its belltower. At the south (right) end of the island is the basilica of S.Bartolomeo, the only building to be represented in a north-south (left-right) alignment, with its façade spanning the entire width of the site. On the east (top) side, a small square upward protrusion may mark the bridge of S.Bartolomeo.

Leon Battista Alberti (1404 – 1472): Cartographer

Biographical information: Leon Battista Alberti was born on February 14, 1404 in Genoa, the illegitimate son of a wealthy Florentine merchant, Lorenzo Alberti. His mother was Bianca Fieschi, a widow from Bologna. Bianca died during an outbreak of bubonic plague while the Albertis were living in exile from the republican government of the Albizzis. Leon Battista studied classics at Padua from 1414 to 1418 and then law at the University of Bologna. In 1428 the Alberti family returned to Florence.

As a child, Alberti is said to have exhibited remarkable and unusual qualities. Stories told that he was able to jump over a man's head with his feet together, He also learned music without a teacher,and wrote praise-worthy musical compositions

(Burckhard, 1860, p. 2.1) Besides music, his interests as an adult included painting, sculpture, architecture, physics, and mathematics. The confluence of all of these pursuits mark him as one of the great men of the Renaissance and a true precursor to Leonardo da Vinci (Acidini, 2006).

As an adult, Alberti experienced family and economic problems, and turned to an ecclesiastical career in 1431. In 1432 he went to Rome where he worked as the papal *abbreviator,* writing papal briefs. In his official work he travelled between Rome, Ferrara, Florence, Bologna, Mantua, and Rimini. His last twenty-two years from 1450 until his death in Rome in April of 1472 were his most productive: he designed Palazzo Rucellai, the façade of Santa Maria Novella, the villas of the Medici in Fiesole and Poggio a Caiano, and perhaps even drew the plans for Palazzo Pitti (Acidini, 2006).

One of Alberti's seminal contributions was his application of mathematical principles to scientific urban planning and cartography. Alberti considered mathematics the basis for the harmony he saw in the works of nature and the works of man. Mathematics was at the heart of his works *Libri de re aedificatoria*, *De statua*, and *De pictura*. In his *De re Aedificatoria* he explained the importance of the study of proportions to express the harmony inherent in beauty. He used measurements of ancient monuments and of the city of Rome itself to demonstrate this harmony (Tory, 1512). Alberti's *Ludi rerum mathematicarum* led to the development of a simple *theodolite*, a surveying tool to measure horizontal and vertical angles. His 1434 *Descriptio Urbis Romae* relied on measurements he took in situ. (Woodward, 2007, p. 681). With Alberti's measuring tool, one could measure the spatial matrix of a city and

accurately place monuments, but could not describe the contours of the city's streets. Alberti's simple *theodolite* was incapable of tracing the tangle of Rome's narrow streets.

Whether Alberti himself originally attached a map to the *Descriptio* is still a matter of debate among scholars. Certainly Alberti's work led to a series of scientific advances in cartography. In a letter to Pope Leo X, Rafael described a method using Alberti's instrument with the addition of a magnetic compass to make an accurate map of the city, a project he never fulfilled. Later, Giuliano da Sangallo used Alberti's instrument to measure for military installations in Florence. Leonardo da Vinci drew a map of Imola (1502) employing Alberti's single point mapping method (Woodward, 2007, p. 681). The cartographer Leonardo Bufalini carried on the work started by Alberti. (See the entry on Bufalini, p. 93 and Sangallo, p. 70.

Century: 15th

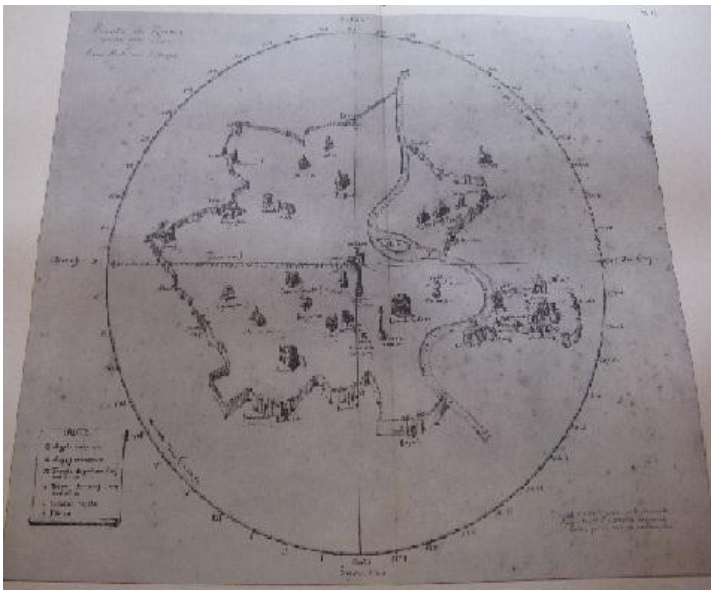

Figure 3-14. Alberti Pianta di Roma ricavata dalle misure de Leon Batistta Alberti, by A. Campannari. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1885, based on data of the XV century. Medium: Ink drawing (cm 43.8 x 31; the diameter measures 39)

Description of the Image: The *Pianta di Roma ricavata dalle mesure de Leon Battista Alberti* is circular in shape, and clearly shows the mathematical divisions according to the rules he set forth in his *Descriptio Urbis Romae* in 1434.

From Alberti's measurements of the city came the *Pianta di Roma ricavata dale mesure de Leon Battista Alberti,* the first accurately measured map of Rome. The map, drawn by Alessandro Capannari for Domenico Gnoli (*Bullettino della Commissiona Archaeologica Comunale di Roma* 13, 1885, pp.64-77, pl.IX:X), employed the measurements from Alberti's *Descriptio* (Frutaz, Vol. II., p. 127). The surveying disk (theodolite) that Alberti developed was large, with a diameter of ten feet and with the *horizon* (circumference) divided into 48 degrees and 192 minutes. For a clear view, he took the instrument up to a high point, probably the Campidoglio. From this vantage point, he rotated the *radius* at the instrument's center to point to different topographical features including hills, churches, city walls and towers, and the Tiber River. He then measured the distances by paces and by simple geometry (Williams, March, Wassell, 2010).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: At the center of this circular map is the *Capitolium*. The map notations tell the map's orientation: the south is to the top, the north at the bottom, the east is to the left, and the west to the right (Frutaz, Vol. II, p. 127). The map clearly labels the city gates, with the *Porta Salaria* and the *Porta Populi* at the bottom of the map, the *Porta Maior* on the left, and the *Porta Portuense* on the upper right. The *Basilica Petra* is prominent to the right, with the Tiber island depicted past the bend in the river toward the top of the map. He depicted more than twenty

churches and prominent monuments in Rome. There are no streets shown on the map.

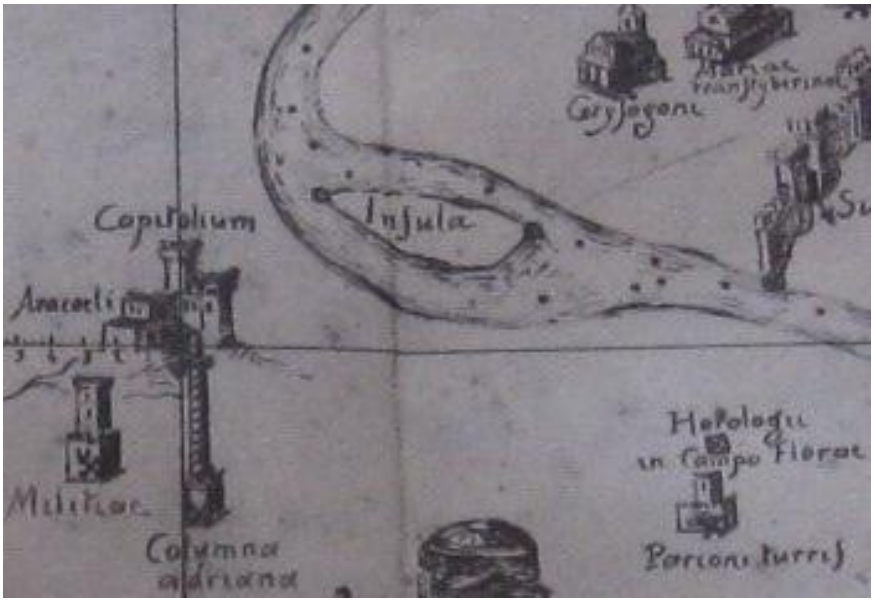

Figure 3-15. Alberti detail of the Tiber Island from Pianta di Roma ricavata dalle mesure de Leon Battista Alberti. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

Description of Image: The map depicts the Tiber Island as a plain, almond-shaped formation in the middle of the river, with the notation *Insula.* Based on one of the earliest attempts at a scientific mapping of Rome, this plan focuses on the spatial relationship of the island to the *Capitolium* and the city walls.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: As Alberti's instruemtns limited measurments to major landmarks only, this rendition of the island is of no use for the study of the site's topography. On the other hand, it does provide conclusive evidence on the natural configuration of this landform during the Early Modern Era. The almond-shaped island reappears, similarly devoid of architecture, in several maps of the 16th and 17th centuries, such as Muenster 1550, Fauno 1548, Oporino 1551, Gamucci 1565 and Nardini 1666 (not included in this Catalog).

Giuliano da Sangallo (1443 – 1516): Artist, Sculptor, Architect, Military Engineer

Biographical Information: Giuliano da Sangallo was born in Florence in 1443. The Porta di San Gallo near his home in Florence gave him his appellation. His father, Francesco Giamberti, was a woodworker. Giuliano followed his father's trade, continuing to work with wood and designing buildings and military defenses. He and his brother Antonio made choir stalls, picture frames, sacristy cupboards, and architectural models, including a section of the church of SS Annunziata in Florence in 1480, which is his first documented piece. He worked in the employment of Lorenzo de' Medici, designing the Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano.

By 1465 Giuliano was active in Rome under the patronage of Pope Paul II. After the election of Pope Julius II in 1503, Giuliano hoped to win choice assignments, but Julius gave the best jobs to Donato Bramante. A supporter of Michaelangelo Buonarroti, Giuliano acted as an intermediary in the frequent disputes between the difficult Julius and the easily-angered Michelangelo. In 1514, Pope Leo X appointed Giuliano and Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio) co-architects of the Vatican and St. Peters. In this period Sangallo's health began to fail, so his brother Antonio had to take over his work at the Vatican with Raphael. Giuliano returned to Florence in 1515, where he continued to be active until his death in 1516.

Early in his career Giuliano da Sangallo took to heart the advice of Leon Battista Alberti to study the work of the ancients (Elam). Throughout his life he made drawings of ancient architecture, leaving behind sketchbooks of buildings and monuments, many of which no longer exist. Artists and architects kept sketchbooks of this type not only out of interest in archaeology, but also to use as pattern books for their own future works (De Tolnay, p. 32). The Codex Vaticanus Barberinianus Latinus 4424 at the

Vatican Library contains architectural drawings of many structures that interested him, both modern and ancient. This is a volume of seventy-five parchment leaves. Originally it was divided into five parts, but was bound into a single volume in 1516. The drawings in this volume are a combination of field sketches and some more accurate images that he later re-worked at home. A few of the sketches seem to be inspired or copied from originals of earlier artists such as Francesco di Giorgio Martini of Siena. Others seem to have served themselves as a model for later drawings such as those collected in the *Codex Escurialensis* (alternatively, both Sangallo's and the Escurialensis images may be based on a common ancestor, see entry on Codex Escurialensis, p. 73). There is also a sketchbook on the city of Siena that includes field drawings ranging in date from 1485 to 1514, to which his son Francesco made additions (Ashby).

Century: 15th

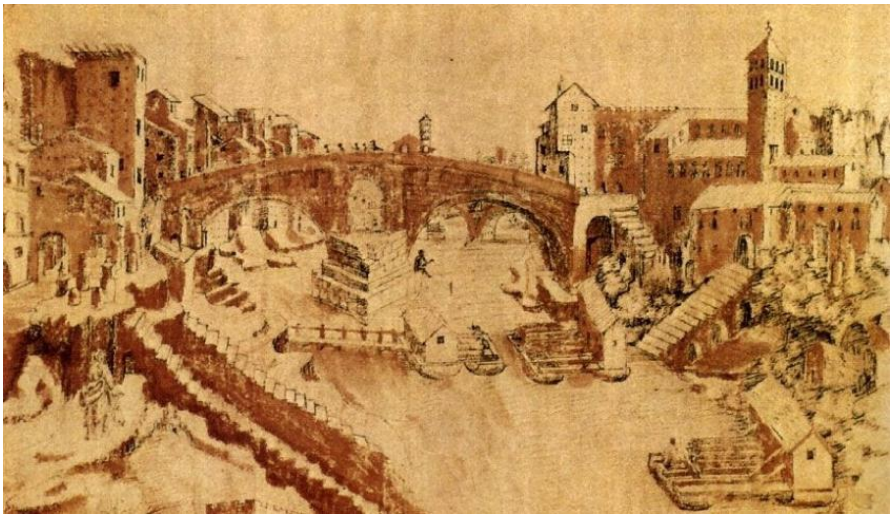

Figure 3-16. Sangallo *Ponte Fabricio: il ramo sinistra del Tevere con Ponte Fabricio e l'isola*. The left branch of the Tiber with the Pons Fabricius and the island. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: (1465-1484). Medium: Ink on vellum. Location of Original: Biblioteca Vaticana, Codex Barberini, 4424

Description of Image: Giuliano da Sangallo has sketched a detailed upstream view of the Tiber Island's northeast side with the Pons Fabricius. The left side of the image is occupied by the riverside structures of the Ghetto. On both shores several precipitous staircases lead from the top of the embanked areas to the water below, capturing a feature of the Medieval city no longer visible today. This drawing attests to the busy nature of the Tiber River at that time, highlighting the role of floating watermills in Rome's commercial life.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The focal point of the composition is the Pons Fabricius with its central pier represented in close architectural detail. Through the right (west) arch of this structure one can also see part of the Pons Aemilius, while the skyline of the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin is discernible above the middle parapet,. On the island's shore the Caetani Palace is shown in the far background in its earlier aspect as a tall crenelated fortfication commanding the bridge with its tower. Unlike the Escurial drawing with the same view (see relevant entry at p. 73), Sangallo's image does not show the bell tower of S.Bartolomeo behind the Caetani complex. To the contrary, the tall shaft of the San Giovanni Calibita belltower dominates the view of the island to the immediate right of the Pons Fabricius. Before this church, in the right foreground, is an architectural complex presumably identified with the Monastery of the Benedictines and in front of it, rising from a patch of terraced land overgrown with vegetation, are a number of upright shafts which appear to be ancient columns. The remains of a similar colonnade can be seen on the shore directly opposite, in the image's left foreground (see Sangallo's drawing thus preserves some interesting visual

information about the northeast tip of the island, complementing the evidence of later artists such as Vasi pp. 134 and Rosler Franz pp.183–185

Codex Escurialensis (ca. 1491): Anonymous student of school of Domenico Ghirlandaio

Biographical information: Scholars can only say that this artist was a copyist, a scholar in the school of Domenico Ghirlandaio, and that the drawings collected in the Codex Escurialensis may be copies of those of his master. These drawings, collected and studied by Hermann Egger in 1906, appear not to be originals, as some of the images are also found in other contemporary collections, such as Sangallo's sketchbook in the Codex Barberinianus now in the Vatican Library (Ashby, 1909, p. 146: see entry on Sangallo pp. 71.). It is possible that the drawings by both Sangallo and the Anonymous Escurialensis replicate material from common older pattern books.

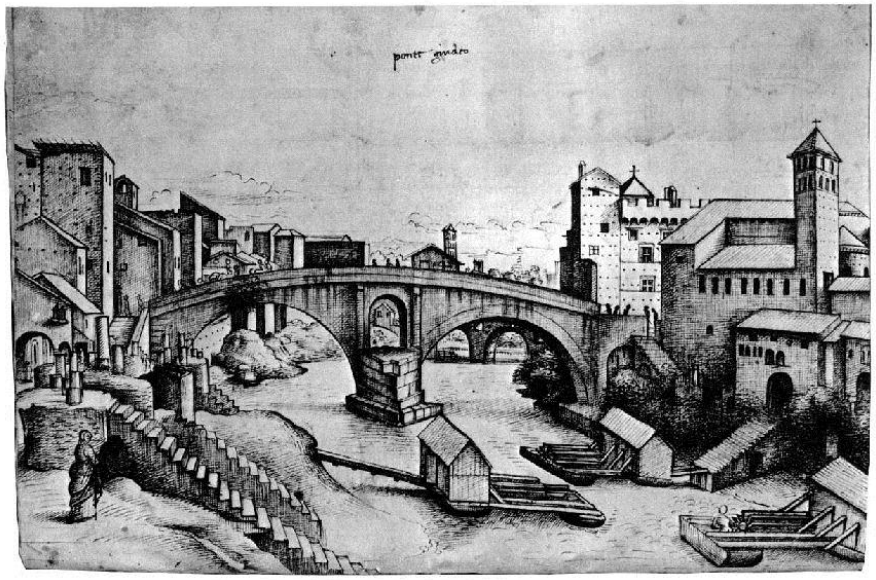

Figure 3-17. Anonimous Codex Escurialensis fol.27v: 'Ponte Giudeo' (or 'Bridge of the Jews', a variant name of the Pons Fabricius in the Middle Ages). Ponte Fabricio: Anonimo Escurialense; folio 27. Date of Image: ca.1491 up to 1509 (Kruft, 1970, p. 44). Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Medium: Ink, Location of original: Biblioteca Vaticana, *Codex Escurialensis*

Description of Image: Except for its more incisive style this image is a nearly identical copy of a contemporary sketch by Giuliano di Sangallo (p. 71 above), down to details such as the female figure in the lower left foreground. The two drawings still show a few significant differences: the Anonymous includes the bell tower of S.Bartolomeo, omitted in Sangallo's drawing; on the other hand Sangallo offers a more comprehensive view of the Tiber Island's northeast shore.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The topography and architecture shown in Cod. Escurialensis fol.27v are essentially the same as in Sangallo's sketch (see the relevant entry at p.71) for full discussion). Although his rendition of the Tiber Island structures is crisper and architecturally more detailed than Sangallo's, unfortunately the anonymous draughtsman of the Escurial manuscript has chosen not to show any landscape detail north of the Benedictine convent.

Hieronymus Cock (c. 1510 – 1570): Engraver, Painter, Publisher

Biographical information: Hieronymus (Wellens) Cock was born around 1510 in Antwerp. Cock traveled to Rome before the middle of the century and found its ancient ruins fascinating. By 1550 he had drawn, etched, and published twenty-five plates of Rome's ancient sites. Upon his return to Antwerp, he continued to work as an artist until 1560, after which he commissioned and published the work of others. During the following twenty years his firm, *Aux Quatre Vents*, published over 1100 engravings (Riggs, 2007).

Hieronymus Cock in Antwep, along with Antoine Lafréry in Rome, exemplify the growing business of publishing in the 16th century. Both were entrepreneurs, with a good sense of what the public wanted and how to market their work to potential buyers. Cock understood the popularity that views of Italy, both ancient and contemporary,

enjoyed in northern Europe, so he drew these sites and hired other artists to do the same. (One of his most famous protégés was Pieter Brueghel the Elder, known for his landscapes and his satirical drawings). Cock had his workmen engrave the drawings in his own shop. From this developed a division of labor, with draughtsmen and engravers reproducing the original works of painters for a larger market. Thus most of the time the engravings were copies of copies (Ivins, 1969, p. 67). The diffusion of house-produced engravings and didactic literature played an important role in the spreading of education through all social strata (Benesch, 1945, p. 92).

Cock's publishing business reached its height in the 1560s. Business conditions worsened in Antwerp following riots in 1566. After Cock's death on October 3, 1570, his widow, Volcxken Diercx, published the last series of prints in 1572. She continued to run the company until she died in 1600 (Riggs, 2007).

Century: 16th

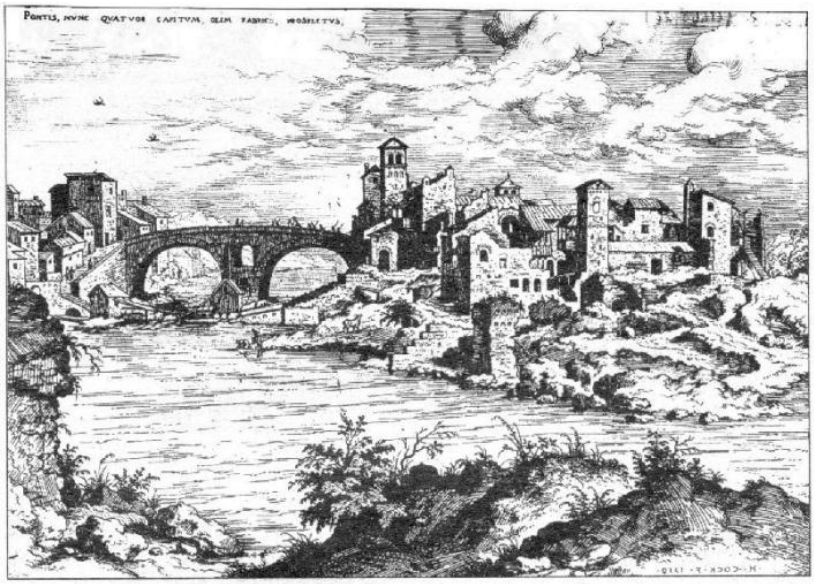

Figure 3-18. Cock Pontis nunc quatuor capitis, olim Fabricius, prospectus ("View of the bridge now called of the Four Heads, formerly Fabricius"). Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1550. Medium: Etching on copper

Description of Image: The etching is a detailed northwest view of the Tiber Island from upstream, with the Pons Fabricius to the left.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The view is similar to those of the *Codex Escurialensis,* p. 73 and Giuliano da Sangallo p. 71, but from a point further downstream, which allowes for the inclusion of the island's northern end in the foreground. Cock depicts this region as it looked prior to its later development (cf. entry on Falda, p. 112), as a stretch of rough, empty land crossed by deep longitudinal furrows. Not shown are the ancient embankment walls which in other images enclose the northermost tip of the island converging at an angle (Duperac, 84; Falda, p. 111; Nolli, p. 126). Perhaps this area, already detached from the rest of the island in Cock's time, lay outside the compositional frame. Visible in the background are the same structures described in the Sangallo and Codex Escurialensis entries, with a more generous view of the S.Maria Cantu Fluminis nunnery. The low Medieval tower on the northeast shore of the island is also worth noting.

Pirro Ligorio (1513 – 1583): Cartographer and Artist

Biographical information: Pirro Ligorio, born in Naples in 1513, arrived in Rome in 1534. Although accused in his day of being a liar and a forger for his imaginative depictions of buildings no longer extant, Ligorio holds a place in the history of cartography for being the forerunner to both Etienne Du Pérac and Mario Cartaro and for being the father of the study of ancient architecture (Richardson, 1995).

Initially, Ligorio worked as a draughtsman, and then took a growing interest in antiquities. Popes Pius IV and Paul IV named him Superintendent of ancient monuments. Ligorio began excavations at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli in 1549 and work as architect and garden planner for the fountains and waterscapes at Ville d'Este,

commissioned by Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este. It was here that he designed *La Rometta*, a sculpture group depicting Dea Roma, the She-wolf (Lupa) with her "cubs" Romulus and Remus, with the Tiber Island as a ship anchored in a water channel simulating the Tiber River.

Between 1552 and 1561, Ligorio worked on several maps of the ancient city of Rome. His map of 1553 followed closely the map of Leonardo Bufalini's map of 1551, but he executed it with a vertical projection. His later and more famous map, *Antiquae Urbis Imago,* was a "restoration" of what Ligorio thought ancient Rome to be. In 1568 Pirro Ligorio offended Pope Paul V for criticizing Michaelangelo's role in the building and decoration of St. Peters, so the Pope removed him from his post. From there he moved to Ferrara where as the guest of Duke Alfonso II d'Este he designed gardens and fountains until his death in 1583.

Century: 16th

Figure 3-19. Ligorio Pianta Grande di Ligorio *Antiquae Urbis Imago.* Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Medium: Copper plate engraving, six sheets, 1.26 m. by 1.49 m. Location of original: Private Collection.

Description of Image: Description of Image: Ligorio's map of 1561 was controversial in its time. Ligorio's fervent desire to imaginatively reconstruct ancient Rome resulted in bitter accusations of him going too far in his depictions. Ligorio's painstaking study of ancient Rome via coins, inscriptions on lead pipes, bronze, stones, and tiles served as his base. He also studied the ancient writings of the regional catalogues of Publius Victor and Sextus Rufus. His zeal to restore Rome by locating ancient monuments known from ancient and medieval sources, filling in the blank spaces around major monuments by recreating individual private homes and public shops did create a total context that set the style for maps for the next several centuries (Coffin, 2003, p.2). Ligorio, lacking the Severan Marble Plan which appeared in an excavation at SS Cosimo and Damien in 1562, was not able to make use of this new information.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The *Antiquae Urbis Imago* of 1561 of Pirro Ligorio, taken with grains of salt for its "restored" (imagined) depiction of everyday homes, shops, and minor monuments, presents a picture of ancient Rome with a unique realistic feel. Several misplaced sites include the Praetorian camp at the top of his map, an error also found in Bufalini. Following Bartolomeo Marliani's example (1554), the Vatican is placed at the bottom of the map.

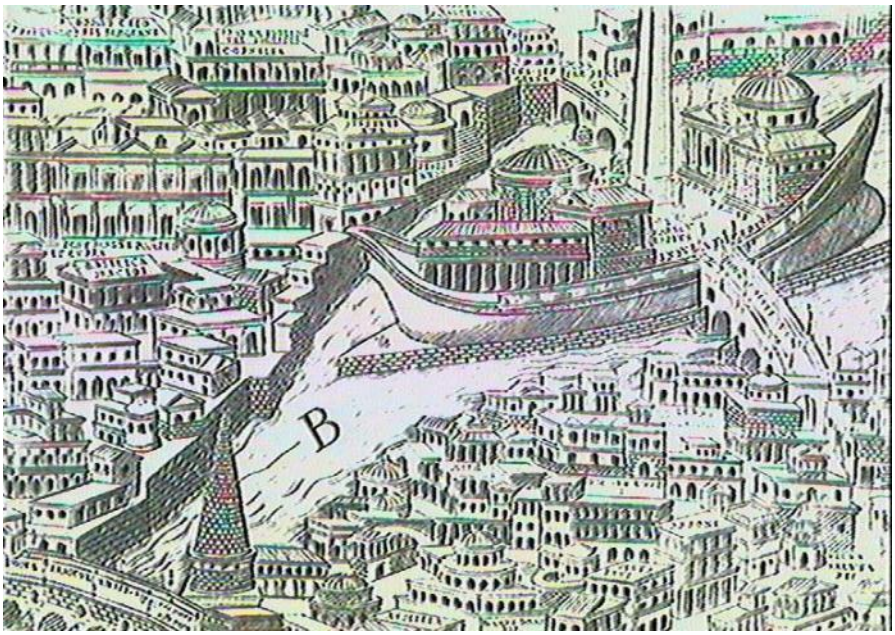

Figure 3-20. Ligorio detail of the Tiber Island from Pianta Grande di Ligorio *Antiquae Urbis Imago.* Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

Description of mage: According to the iconography of the time, the island is restored as a ship. The ship stands on a foundation in the Tiber River. The surrounding left and right banks of the Tiber are densely populated with insulae as well as small temples. The island itself is crowded with religious monuments.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Artists and cartographers represent the ship resting on an elongated masonry foundation. In the middle of it stands the obelisk, unrealistically enlarged as in the Rometta fountain (see below). The reason for overstating the size of the obelisk is unclear, since Ligorio surely had seen the original monument which stood until the middle of the sixteenth century. Topographically, we see (1) a colonnade (abaton?) and a (2) pedimental temple in the forefront; (3) a round building (tholos?)

Figure 3-21. Ligorio *La Rometta* at Ville d'Este. Reproduced with permission from Andrew Dunar, April 11, 2012. Date of Image: 1568. Medium: stone, Location of original: Villa d'Este, Tivoli

Description of Image: The La Rometta fountain symbolically depicts the Tiber Island as a ship in a stream signifying the Tiber River. The fountain group called La Rometta is part of a more extensive waterscape designed by Pirro Ligorio for Ville d'Este, using Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as inspiration throughout the garden. Ligorio felt that the ancient deities still haunted Rome and its surrounding areas, influencing the ambience of the city (Gaston, 1988, p. 186). The theme of the fountain waterscape is a combined use of sound and motion based on Ligorio's views of the "mirabile natura dell'acque." Inspired by his reading of Pliny the Elder, Ligorio saw the downward flowing of the earth's waters as blood through the veins of a human body (Gaston, 1988, p. 160).

La Rometta follows Ligorio's drawing of a group of seven buildings that echoes the seven hills of Rome. The Flemish sculptor Pierre de la Motte, who contracted to

carve the statue of Roma following Ligorio's drawing, changed the statuette in the hand of the goddess to a sword to honor the Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. During the 17th century, La Rometta harbored some of the water tricks built into many of the fountains in Ville d'Este: water sprayed people crossing the adjacent bridge, sitting on a nearby bench viewing the fountain, or walking along garden paving stones (Coffin, 2003, p. 86). Today, all that remains is a group of three monuments: the figure of Dea Roma seated on a hill; a figure of La Lupa with the twins Romulus and Remus (in the center of the photograph); and a sculpted portrayal of the Tiber Island as a ship (in the foreground). The other elements of the grouping decayed, and fell into ruins in the 19th century (Coffin, 2003, p. 89).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The stone ship is a sleek stylistic portrayal of the island, including a prominent obelisk—the only realistic element in the sculpture—that certifies the identity of the Tiber Island. There is a suggestion of a gangplank on the far side of the vessel representing either the Pons Cestius or the Pons Fabricius. The footbridge ahead of the ship alludes to the Ponte Rotto, the bridge upriver from the Tiber Island, and serves as a unifying element with arches that suggest the Pons Cestius or the Pons Fabricius. The fountains on the deck and streaming from the side of the ship suggest ephemeral sails and oars, extending the ship metaphor.

Etienne Dupérac (1525 – 1601) : Cartographer, Artist

Biographical information: Etienne Dupérac, called Stefano in Italy, was born in Bordeaux, France in 1525. After beginning his studies in Venice he moved to Rome in

1559. There, for the next twenty years, Dupérac studied and depicted the Rome of the ancients as well as the Rome of his day.

As a cartographer, Dupérac's two landmark works were his map of ancient Rome, *Urbis Romae Sciographia ex Antiquis Monumentis Accuratiss(ime) Delineata* of 1574, and his bird's eye map of contemporary Rome, *Nova Urbis Romae Descriptio* of 1577. As an engraver, Dupérac also depicted the work of contemporaries such as Michelangelo. Dupérac's images give a rare view of some of Michelangelo's planned but never executed concepts for the Capitoline Hill and St. Peters. Antoine Lafréry published many of Dupérac's engravings. His *I vestigi dell'antichità di Roma* (Remains of of Roman Antiquities) of 1575 consists of thirty-nine engravings, with eight later editions (Claridge, 1998, p. 31). Some experts believe that a collection of drawings *Disegni de le Ruine di Roma e Come Anticamente Erano*, of 1581 or 1582, is Dupérac's work. Others dispute that Dupérac is the artist of this work, discovered by Thomas Ashby and attributed to Dupérac by him in 1908 (Zerner, 1965, p. 512).

Dupérac returned to France in the late 1570s where he produced and published his *Vues perspectives de jardins de Tivoli,* a work he dedicated to Queen Marie de'Medici. During this period King Henry IV named him court artist and royal architect. In France Dupérac worked on the interior of Fontainbleau and its gardens, employing Roman garden models. He died in Paris in 1601.

Century: 16th

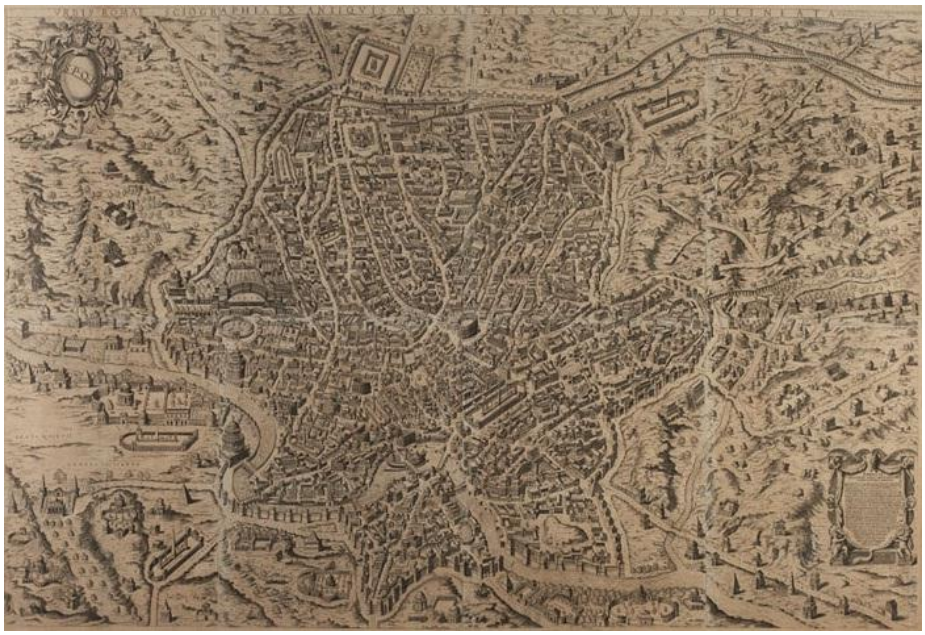

Figure 3-22. Dupérac Urbis Romae Sciographia ex Antiquis Monumentis Accuratiss(ime) Delineata. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. , Date of Image: 1574. Medium: Copper engraving, eight sheets joined. Total size:1060 x 1570mm.

Description of Image: Although Dupérac unabashedly based his map of ancient Rome on Pirro Ligorio's *Antiquae Urbis Imago* (pp. 77 - 78 he did include new information from the newly discovered fragments of the Severan Marble Plan (*Formae Urbis Romae* p. 42). He reoriented some of the buildings, filled in lacunae, and made clear the streets coming from the main gates—changes significant enough to avoid being charged with plagiarism (Richardson, 1992, p. xxiv). He dedicated the map to the king of France, Charles IX, claiming that he spent fifteen years on the research of Rome and its monuments.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: As mentioned above Dupérac's map is an adaptation of Ligorio's with some updated features.

Figure 3-23. Dupérac Same as above, detail of the Tiber Island. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

Description of the image: As in the *Antiquae Urbis Imago* map of Pirro Ligorio, and according to the iconography of the time, the island is restored as a ship. The ship stands on a foundation in the Tiber River. The surrounding left and right banks of the Tiber are densely populated with *insulae* as well as religious and commercial buildings. The island itself is crowded with religious monuments.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: For this imaginary architectural mix of pedimental and domed temples see the entries on Ligorio, p. 79 and Brambilla, pp. 89 – 90.

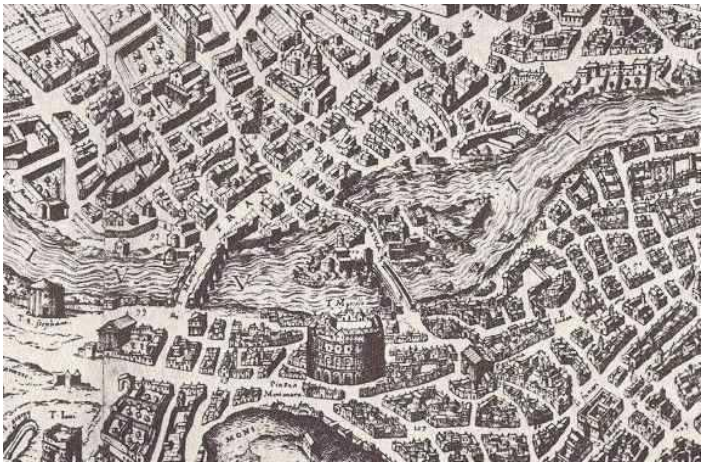

Figure 3-24. Dupérac detail of the Tiber Island from map of 1577. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

Description of Image: Dupérac used an entirely different style in this map of Rome of his day. Unlike the restored "ship" shown in his map of 1574, the Tiber Island here is realistically portrayed as it looked in the seventeenth century, at the time when its northermost tip started breaking off as a detached islet or 'Isoletta.' This map is one of the best depictions of Rome before the changes that Pope Sixtus V wrought (Ashby, 1909, "Review: Plan,"p. 127).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: This view of the Tiber Island is noteworthy for its depiction of the ancient embankment walls which in the late sixteenth century were still visible at both ends of the island. At the upstream end, these walls are shown converging at an angle in the partially submerged area known as the 'Isoletta', once the northermost tip of the island. Immediately south of this region, across the narrow channel excavated by the current between the Isoletta and the island, is a commercial district with watermills along its shores. Further south, past a service road running through the island crosswise (*Vicolo della Moletta*, numbered 1093 in Nolli'smap, p. 126), we recognize the familiar scenery of S.Bartolomeo's square framed between the churches of S.Giovanni Calibita and S.Bartolomeo, with the Fabricius and Cestius bridges spanning the east and west channels of the Tiber. At the southermost tip of the site the masonry of the ancient wall supporting the 'ship' monument is also clearly shown, as is the topography of the S.Bartolomeo complex which occupies the area. See section below for a close-up view of the same region.

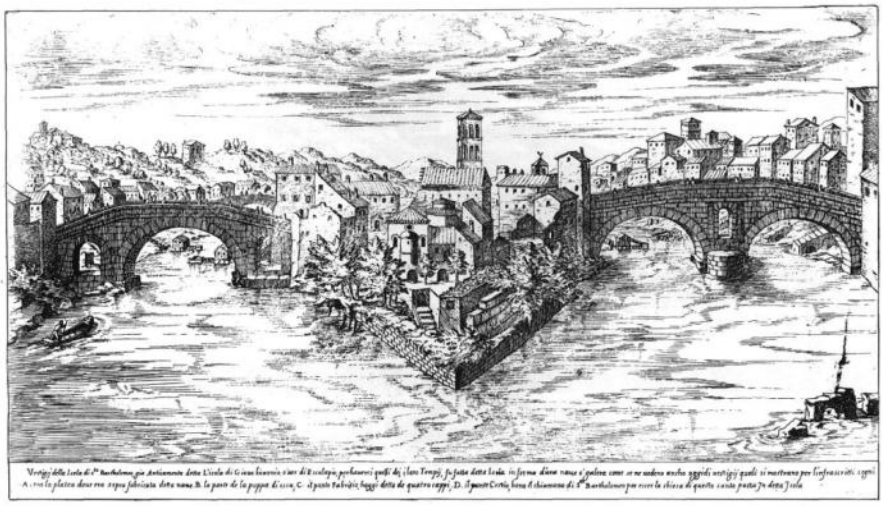

Figure 3-25. Dupérac No. 39, Vestigii della Isola di S(an)to Bartolomeo (Ruins of the Island of San Bartolomeo) Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

Text: *Vestigij della Isola di s(an)to Bartolomeo, già anticamente detta l'isola di Giove licaonio, o'ver di Esculapio, per haverci quelli dei i loro tempij, fu fatta detta isola in forma d'una nave o galera come se ne vedono ancho oggidi vestigij quali si mostrano per l'infrascritti segni. A. era la platea dove era fabricata detta nave. B. la parte di poppa di essa, C. il ponte Fabritio, hoggi detto de quattro cappi, D. il ponte Cestio, hora il chiamono di S(ant)to Bartholomeo per essere la chiesa di questo santo posta in detta isola"*

"Ruins of the Island of San Bartolomeo called in antiquity the Island of Juppiter Lycaonius, or of Aesculapius, since these gods had their temples on it. That such island was made into the form of a ship or galley is shown today by the remains marked by the following symbols: A. the platform on which the ship stood, B. part of the stern of it, C. the Fabricius Bridge, called today the Four Heads, D. the Cestius Bridge, now called S. Bartolomeo on account of this saint's church being placed on the aforesaid island."

Description of Image: The island is represented in a south perspective view from upstream, at a time of low tide. Dupérac's engraving, duplicated in every detail by the Flemish Aegidius Sadeler in 1606 (not included in this catalog), marks the beginning of a long series of artworks with variations on this theme.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Despite the overemphatic perspective, the engraving preserves architecturally and topographically detailed

information about the southern end of the Tiber Island in the late sixteenth century. Dupérac offers very clear views of the two island bridges, the buildings at their entrances, and especially S.Bartolomeo with the embanked courtyard at its rear. The masonry of the ancient embankment wall on the southeast side of the site (labeled as 'part of ship stern', *parte di poppa,* although Dupérac makes no attempt to reproduce the actual ship monument in travertine), is carefully portrayed, with four courses of blocks showing above ground. Most importantly, as Lanciani was the first to note, the engraving preserves a rare view of the island's lower embankment walls forming an acute angle as in the north end (see entries on Falda p. 197 and Nolli, p. 121): "*La veduta prospettica, che porta il n. 39 nell'album del predetto du Perac, (1575) mostra in quale stato di conservazione si trovasse allora la platea a ellisse acuta, sulla quale riposa la nave, sporgendo dal pelo d'acqua per l'altezza di cinque ordini di pietre*" ("The prospect view marked as n.39 in the aforementioned collection by Dupérac (1575) indicates in what state of preservation was, at the time, the sharply elliptical foundation above which the ship rests, with five courses of blocks showing above water level," Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma* 3, 1908).

Ambrogio Brambilla (mid-16th to early 17th Century): Cartographer, Printmaker

Biographical information: Ambrogio Brambilla was born in Milan. The first record of his activity is in Rome in 1579 where he appears as a member of the *Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon.* Brambilla's map of ancient Rome, *Antiquae vrbis praefecta imago a ccv latissime delineate ivxta antique vestigial*, dates to 1582. He produced two collections of prints. The first, published in 1582, is a series of 135 small emperor portraits from Julius Caesar through Rudolf II (1270 – 1290). The second, published in 1585, is dedicated to popes and ranges from the origins of papacy

to the time of Sixtus V, 1520 – 1590. Other popular works of Brambilla were his engraved scenes of ancient Rome and contemporary Rome. Antoine Lafréry published some of these engravings in his *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae,* completed after 1577. Brambilla also worked as a poet, architect, painter, and sculptor in bronze. Brambilla's last presence in Rome is traced to the time of his last work in 1599 (Massari, 2010.

Century: 16th

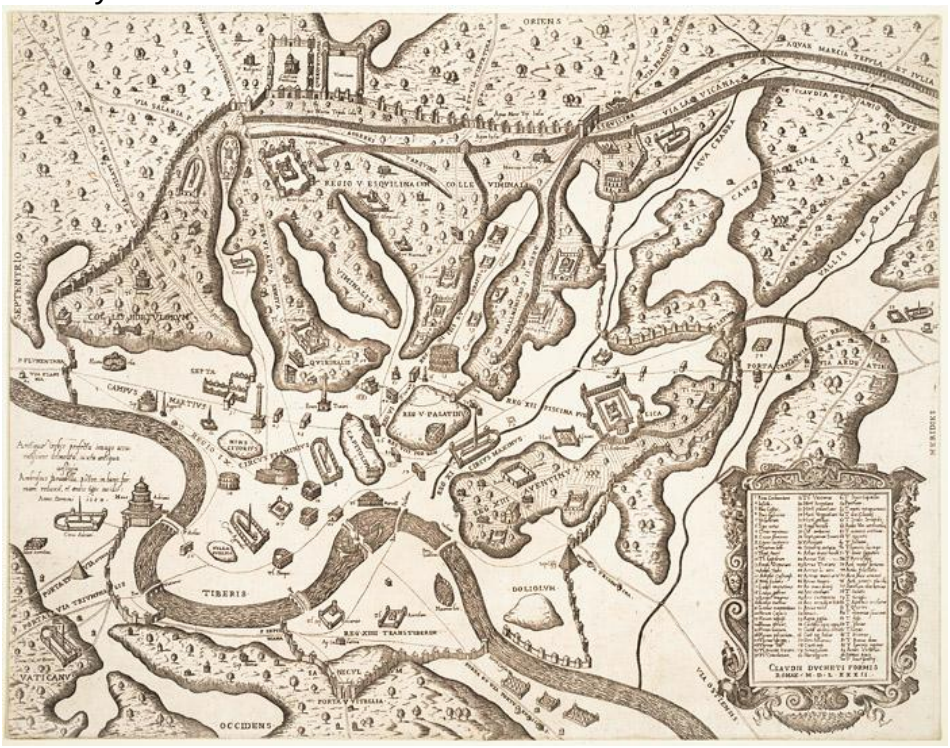

Figure 3-26. Brambilla Image: Antiquae Urbis perfecta imago accuratissime delineata, iuxta antiqua vestigia. Reproduced with permission from Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae, July 2011. ['A1,' '994'], Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. Date of Image: 1582, Medium: Engraving on copper, Location of original: National Library of Rome

Description of Image: Brambilla designed and engraved this map on the model of Etienne Dupérac's small map of Rome. Claudio Duchet, grandson and successor of Antoine Lafréry (Frutaz, 1962, Vol. I., p. 70), edited and published Brambilla's map in

1582. The map is oriented with north to the left. It contains various monuments, some of which are identified by name on the map itself while others correspond to a rubric of one hundred numbers indicated on a plate by Duchet.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The Tiber Island appears in the lower middle part of the map. The Colosseum, the Circus Maximus, and the Pantheon are marked above it. Aqueducts lead to the baths of Caracalla and Diocletian. The now missing Circus of Nero stands at the lower left on the Vatican hill. Above the circus is Hadrian's Mausoleum.

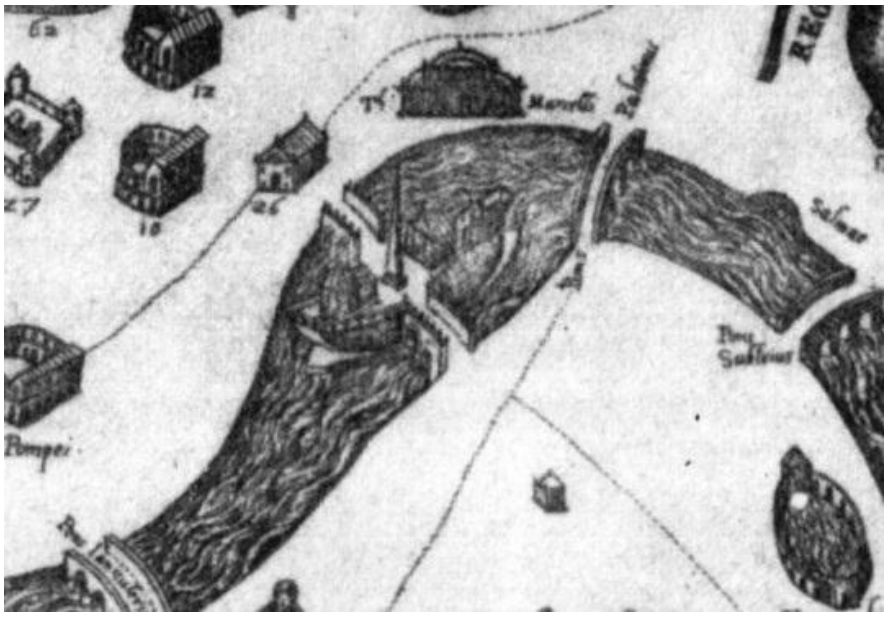

Figure 3-27. Brambilla Image: detail of the Tiber Island and environs from Brambilla's map of 1582. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

Description of Image: Brambilla follows closely Dupérac's model of1574 in representing the island in its restored form as a ship (on the ship iconography see entries on Dupérac p. 81 and Ligorio, p. 79). As in the model, *insulae* and small temples densely populate the surrounding left and right banks of the river. Religious monuments crowd the island itself.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: As in the maps of Dupérac and Ligorio, the 'ship' rests on an elongated masonry foundation. The obelisk in Piazza S.Bartolomeo stands midship as a mast. The Pons Cestius Pons and the Pons Fabricius represent the gangplanks.. The island features a pedimental temple and a round building, perhaps a *tholos* (see entries on Dupérac p. 81 and Ligorio, p.79).

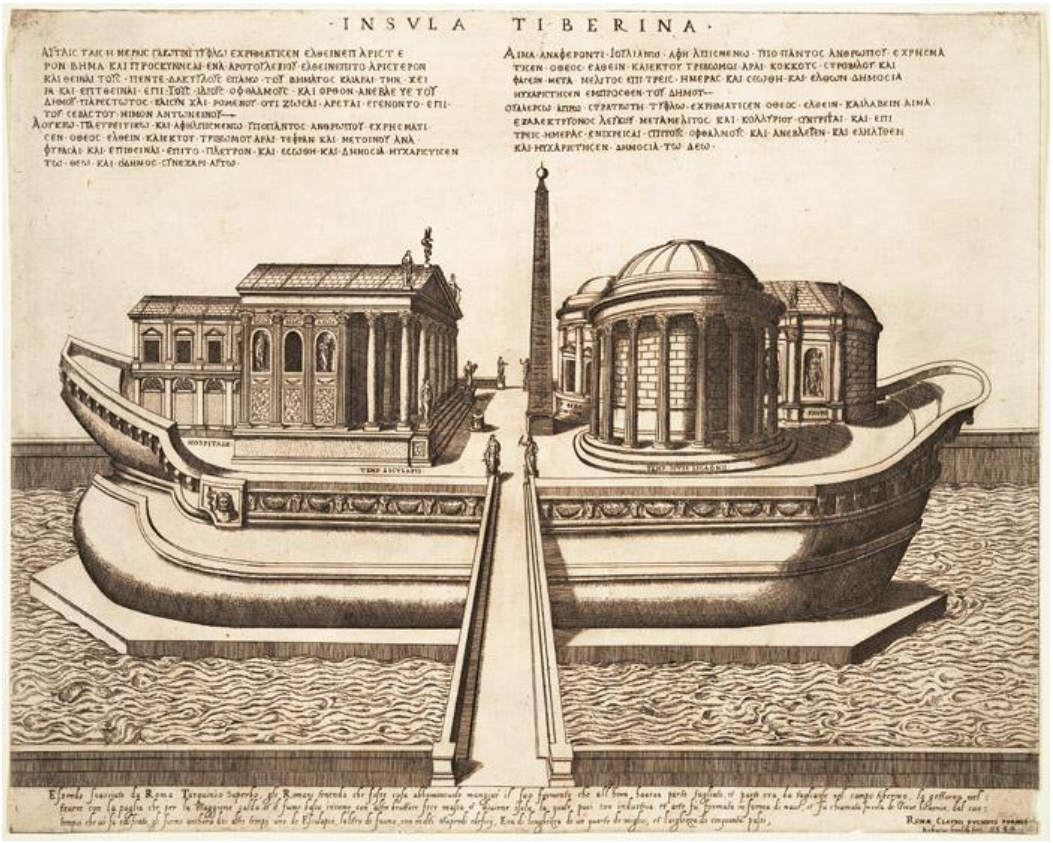

Figure 3-28. Brambilla *Insula Tiberina.* Reproduced with permission from Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae, July 2011, ['A1,' '994'], Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. Date of Image: 1582; Publisher Claude Duchet, Medium: Engraving in copper, 38 x 48.8 cm

Description of Image: With few variations Brambilla's image is a close copy of a contemporary ink drawing in the Codex Ursinianus at the Vatican Library, f.42r, also showing the Tiber Island in a reconstructed ship form (the copyist of the Ursinianus is assigned to Pirro Ligorio's circle). The restoration is based on the remains of the 'ship

monument' at the south end of the island. The extant bucranium, a series of ox skulls used as decoration, from this sculpture is shown as a continuous frieze running along the perimeter of the site. On the 'deck' of the ship, which sits on an elongated platform, two architectural complexes of rectangular and round temples face each other across a central square marked by a realistically portrayed obelisk.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: See above, Description of Image. The 'philological' quality of the image is enriched with additional erudite touches. Besides a bottom caption with a brief history of the site and its measurements, in the space above the image Brambilla and his publisher have included the full text of a Greek cure inscription discovered at the island, IG XIV 966 (= IGUR I, 148), now at the Archaeological Museum in Naples:

> αὐταῖς ταῖς ἡμέραις Γαίῳ τινὶ τυφλῷ ἐχρημάτισεν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ ἀριστε-
>
> ρὸν βῆμα · καὶ προσκυνῆσαι · εἶ<τ>α (ENA B.)ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἐλθεῖν · ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστερὸν
>
> καὶ θεῖναι τοὺς · πέντε δακτύλους ἐπάνω τοῦ βήματος · καὶ ἆραι τὴν χεῖ-
>
> ρα καὶ ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τοὺς · ἰδίους ὀφθαλμούς · καὶ ὀρθὸν ἀνέβλεψε τοῦ
>
> δήμου παρεστῶτος καὶ συνχαιρομένου, ὅτι ζῶσαι · ἀρεταὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ
>
> τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀντωνείνου.
>
> Λουκίῳ πλευρειτικῷ · καὶ ἀφηλπισμένῳ · ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐχρησμάτι-
>
> σεν ὁ θεὸς ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τριβώμου ἆραι τέφραν καὶ μετ' οἴνου ἀνα-
>
> φυρᾶσαι καὶ ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τὸ πλευρόν· καὶ ἐσώθη καὶ δημοσίᾳ ηὐχαρίστησεν
>
> τῷ θεῷ καὶ ὁ δῆμος συνεχάρη αὐτῷ.
>
> αἶμα ἀναφέροντι Ἰουλιανῷ ἀφηλπισμένῳ ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐχρησμά-
>
> τισεν ὁ θεὸς ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τριβώμου ἆραι κόκκους στροβίλου καὶ
>
> φαγεῖν μετὰ μέλιτος ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας· καὶ ἐσώθη καὶ ἐλθὼν δημοσίᾳ

ηὐχαρίστησεν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ δήμου.

Οὐαλερίῳ Ἄπρῳ στρατιώτῃ τυφλῷ ἐχρημάτισεν ὁ θεὸς ἐλθεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν αἷμα

ἐξ ἀλεκτρυῶνος λευκοῦ μετὰ μέλιτος καὶ κολλύριο<ν> συντρῖψαι καὶ ἐπὶ

τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπιχρεῖσαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· καὶ ἀνέβλεψεν καὶ ἐλήλυθεν

καὶ ηὐχαρίστησεν δημοσίᾳ τῷ θεῷ.

At this time the god made a revelation to Gaius, a blind man, that he should approach the holy altar and there do reverence; then go from the right to the left, and place his five fingers on the altar; then raise his hand and lay it on his own eyes. He could see clearly, and the people stood by and rejoiced to see these great powers working in the time of the Emperor Antoninus.

Lucius suffered from pleurisy and had been despaired of by all. The god made a revelation to him that he should go and lift ashes from the triangular altar, and mix them with wine, and lay them on his side. He was saved, and he offered thanks publicly to the god, and the people rejoiced with him.

Julianus suffered from hemorrhage and had been despaired of by all. The god made a revelation to him that he should go and lift from the triangular altar some pine-cones, and should eat them with honey for three days. He was saved, and he came and gave thanks publicly before the people.

The god made a revelation to Valerius Aper, a blind soldier, that he should go and take the blood of a white cock along with honey and compound an eye-salve, and with it anoint his eyes for three days. He regained his sight, and went and gave thanks publicly to the god.

Captions on image:

HOSPITALE – Hospital

TEMP. ESCULAPII – Temple of Aesculapius

T. BERECINTHIAE – Temple of Berecynthia.

TEMP. IOVIS LICAONII –Temple of Jupiter Lycaonius

T. FAUNI – Temple of Faunus

Caption at bottom:

> Essendo scacciato da Roma Tarquinio Superbo, gli Romani tenendo che fosse cosa abbomineuole mangiar' il suo formento che all'hora haveva parte tagliato et parte era da tagliarse nel campo tiberino, lo gettorno nel Tevere con la paglia che per la staggione calda et il fiume basso insieme con altre brutture fece massa et diuiene isola, la quale puoi con industria et arte fu formata in forma di naue, et fu chiamata insola de Gioue licaonio, del suo tempo che ui fu edificato, gli furno anchora doi tempii uno de Esculapio, l'altro de fauno, con molti stupendi edeficii. Era di longhezza de un quarto de miglio et larghezza de cinquanta passi.
>
> After the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus from Rome, the Romans, thinking it abominable to eat his wheat—the one which had been already harvested and the one waiting to be harvested in the CampusTiberinus—they threw it into the Tiber along with the straw. Because of the hot season and the low water, the discarded wheat formed with the other refuse a mass which became the island. Through work and art, they fashioned this mass into the shape of a ship and called it the island of Jupiter Lycaonius, because of the temple which was built there. There were two temples, one of Aesculapius, the other of Faunus, with many beautiful buildings. The length was a quarter of a thousand (steps) and the width of fifty steps.

Leonardo Bufalini (d. 1552): Cartographer; Draughtsman

Biographical information: Leonardo Bufalini's birth date is unknown. He worked as a military engineer on the modernization of the walls and bastions of the city of Rome during the reign of Pope Paul III (Gugliclmotti, 1887). In his work he used his surveying skills to faithfully measure and portray the city of Rome with all of its topographic features. When Paul III called these military engineers to Rome, it becomes clear that the men working under Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, including Bufalini, used *triangulation* and *the bussola,*, legacy of earlier surveying and drawing techniques of Leonardo d Vinci and Raphael, in the surveying and design process (Maier, 2007). The resultant drawings by Sangallo's team of the fortification walls are ichnographic, showing streets and nearby buildings by ground plans. *Ichnographic* comes from the Greek noun *ichnos* meaning "trace" or "footprint" and the root of the verb *grapho* meaning "writing." (Pinto,1976). Bufalini applied these surveying techniques in his map of 1551 which was the first true ichnographic map (Pinto, 1976).

Bufalini's map combines Rome of the sixteenth century with Rome of antiquity, with the two intermingled. He sought to "sell" the map's accuracy on the basis of his engineering skill, and at the same time reconstruct the ancient city. At times, he recreated ruins or missing buildings based on antiquarian sources, speculation, or only his imagination (Maier, 2007).

Bufalini received a "privilegio" for a map of Rome on April 23rd 1551 from the Duke of Florence and later papal, imperial, and French royal "privilegia." The map appeared in print on May 26th of 1551 (Witcombe, 2004). As to Bufalini's financial success in his day, one can see that the map went through one re-issue (1560), as compared to Pirro Ligorio's map of 1561 which went through fourteen editions (Maier, 2007). Leonardo Bufalini died the following year, in 1552.

Century: 16th.

Figure 3-29. Bufalini Roma 1551. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.Medium: Woodcut, Location of original: 2nd edition of 1560: Vatican Library, (Stampati St. Geogr. I. 620. Riserva) and British Library (Maps S.T.R.[1.]) (as cited in Maier, 2007, footnote 1).

Description of Image: Bufalini's map is the first technically accurate geometrical map of the city of Rome drawn since the *Forma Urbis Romae* (Levi & Levi, 1974). In the intervening years, from the third century C.E. to the sixteenth century, one can only find examples of what A.P. Frutaz characterizes as symbolic representations and map views (Frutaz, 1962). It is an ichnographic plan of the city. The map is oriented from the north to the left. It is a woodcut, made up of twenty sheets, ca. 49 x 35 cm. (Frutaz, 1962). In the lower left, there is a note to the reader in Latin, extolling his map as the tool that unites both the inhabited city of his day with the glory of the ancient city:

Omnium rerum pulcherrimam se dare credit Romam scilicet et hanc geminam: neque enim satis tibi factum duxit, redivivam istam unam quaehodie colitur ante oculus posuisse: nisi veterem etiam, totius olim orbis dominam (Maier, 2007, p.3). He believes Rome itself [to be] certainly the most beautiful of all things, and this twin, reborn and united as one: for neither it is enough for you he led to have placed before [your] eyes this ancient one which today is inhabited; except [she] even once [was] the mistress of the whole world.[4]

Bufalini's technical expertise is perhaps overshadowed by his interests in ancient Rome. He represents original monuments not as ruins, but reconstructs them in the ground plan. Thus, his ichnographic map serves to illuminate the study of Rome's ancient topography. Publishing houses published numerous treatises in the mid-sixteenth century dealing with archaeology, including Bufalini's map as part of Renaissance investigation.

[4] The English translation is mine.

Unique to this map are the graphic symbols that Bufalini used to denote elements on the map. For streets he used parallel lines in unbuilt-up areas and in built-up areas, the streets are defined by adjoining locks. For aqueducts, Bufalini used broken lines of thick square dots. For the Aurelian walls and fortifications, he used a thick line which appeared grey. (Maier, 2007).

One of Bufalini's graphic innovations was the use of cross-hatching to indicate the main hills of Rome. Leonardo Da Vinci, in his ground plan of Imola, did not concern himself with differences in elevation. Bufalini was interested in showing changes of ground elevation. Though he did not use the cross-hatching consistently, nor did the latter correspond to a fixed rate of elevation change, his map did combine spatial measurement with topographical relief, a recurring feature of topographers in the sixteenth century (Pinto, 1976). Bufalini's map, employing the scientific, mathematical, and technical surveying methods of Leonardo Da Vinci, Leon Battista Alberti, and Raphael, stood at the crossroads of the technical and antiquarian interests of the Renaissance (Maier, 2007). Bufalini's map had many imitators, Later, Giambattista Nolli, in his masterpiece *Nuova Pianta di Roma (Grande Pianta),* acknowledged the work of Bufalini's ichnographic plan as the base for his own work (Ceen, 2003).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Bufalini's plan of Rome shows the features of the city in 1551, including ancient monuments which he reconstructs and puts into their original sites. The Tiber Island appears in a streamlined form, reminescent of a ship but not landscaped as one. The island embankment walls (visible in other representations, such as, e.g., Nolli's map of 1748) are not marked, except perhaps for a thickening of the perimeter lines in the north end—a possible hint at the

substructures shown in this location by Vasi and others?—where a trapezoidal landing with a staircase is also depicted at the tip of the island.

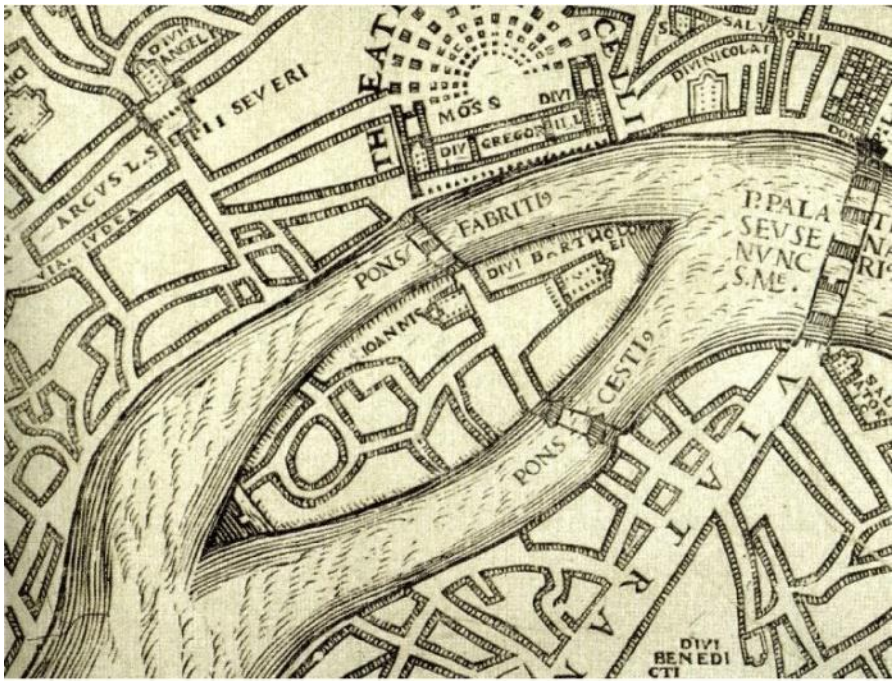

Figure 3-30. Bufalini detail Tiber Island from Bufalini's Roma 1551. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Image: The Tiber Island from *Roma* 1551

Description of Image: In this close-up view, one can see Bufalini's use of shading to indicate the waters of the Tiber River. He labeled some of the main architectural features, such as the two bridges of the island and its churches (see below), though he did not do so systematically. He depicted, with a fair degree of accuracy, the Theater of Marcellus directly to east of the island.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Shown in this view are the island's bridges, the Pons Fabricius and Pons Cestius labelled respectively *Pons Fabriti* and *Pons Cesti*. The latter is represented in the original configuration with one large middle arch flanked by smaller side arches. To the right of the island is visible the Pons Palatinus, *P.Palatin(us) seu Senatori(us)*, also marked by its contemporary name Ponte

Santa Maria, *'nunc S(anctae) M(aria)e'*. On the island we see the churches of St. John Calibite, simply labeled *'Ioannis'*, and St. Bartholomew, *'divi Bartholomei'*. The church of St. John Calibite shows the original division into three naves. Visible on the east bank of the Tiber are the Arch of Septimus Severus and the Theater of Marcellus, where the patients of the island Asclepieum may have watched plays as part of their treatment. However, the most striking feature in Bufalini's rendition of the island is the depiction of the streets. For the first time, in the history of the island's cartography, we see an effort to reproduce the street system of this site. Despite the omission of the street names, Bufalini's map (and some of the later maps which were inspired from it, such as Nolli's of 1748, (see relevant entry below), preserve this crucial information about the early modern topography obscured by the building of the Fatebenefratelli Hospital.

Clearly shown in the image is a thoroughfare connecting the bridges at the east and west ends of the island. Off it, to the south, is the square opening in front of St. Bartholomew. Opposite the square, on the other side of this avenue, a long cross-street connects to the north tip of the island, circumnavigating two buildings (or building complexes) in its mid-course. From this second major thoroughfare, smaller side-streets descend to west (2) and east (1) shores of the island. In other representations these are identified as accessways to floating watermill stations. The cross-pattern evident in this layout is strongly reminiscent of the *cardo-decumanus* system used in Roman military camps and colonial settlements, with two major intersecting streets connecting the four points of the compass. In the case of the Tiber Island, such an arrangement would have been required by early topography of the site (two major temples at the N and S ends, two major access ways on the E and W sides).

The earliest surviving depiction of the open space stretching between the Pons Fabricius and the Pons Cestius is preserved on a fragmentary slab from the so-called *Forma Urbis Romae* of the third century C.E. (see relevant entry above). Shown in this early depiction of the island is an area labeled 'INTER DVOS PONTES', which is likely to correspond to the square opposite St. Bartholomew's church and the SE-W thoroughfare both represented in Bufalini's map. Additional evidence for the ancient street system of the island is also found in the epigraphical record, which alludes to the existence of an otherwise unknown *vicus censori* at this site. The identification of this road with the thoroughfare connecting the island bridges remains, however, purely conjectural. If the long avenue that crossed the island from N to S has completely disappeared under the Fatebenefratelli Hospital, traces of the shorter street between the two bridges have survived in the substructures of the Caetani Palace. Here, in the basement of modern day bar L'Isola Antica, one can still see the stone ramp that leads this street up to the deck of the Pons Fabricius (Bruce 2004, p. 26, fig.9). Workers found the remains of a similar ramp in the nineteenth century at the entrance of the Pons Cestius on the opposite side of the island, during the construction of the modern Tiber embankments (*Notizie degli Scavi*). R.Lanciani's FUR (1893).gives a restoration of the ancient street, which was located approximately four to five below the current ground level.

Antonio Tempesta (1555 – 1630): Cartographer/Printmaker/Painter

Biographical Information: Antonio Tempesta was born in Florence in 1555 and died on August 5, 1630 in Rome. He worked as a copper engraver, printmaker, and painter. His mentors were Giovanni Stradano and Santo di Tito. He achieved fame for

his frescoes and left a legacy of over 1400 prints, including a large map, *La pianta grande al tempo di Clemente, 1593* that depicts the Tiber Island in great detail.

Tempesta's *Pianta Grande* carried on the tradition of the 'view map', originated in the 1550s. This type of map combined the science of geography and the art of engraving, depicting the landscape from above in a bird's-eye view. Some of the earliest maps of this kind come from Vignola's Vitruvian Academy in Rome. Significant examples are the maps of Venice by Matteo Pagani (1559) and those of Florence and Tuscany by Stefano Bonsignori's (1584; 1589). In Pagani's map, the view was above the towers and hills; in Bonsignori's and Tempesta's (1593), the view was immediately above the object (Cochrane, 1988, p. 226).

Tempesta sought and received from the Pope on October 13, 1593 a *privilegio* granting him protection for this map and future works. His petition asked that "no one in the Papal States may for ten years print, or make for printing the said work for others." In the lower margin is the legend "RECENS PROVT HODIE IACET ALMAE URBIS ROMAE CVM OMNIBVS VIDIS AEDIFICIISQUE PROSPECTUS ACCURATISSIME DELINEATUS." "*Just as recently as today lies the view of the nourishing city of Rome with all the streets and buildings very accurately delineated*." On the twelfth sheet, in the lower right hand side in a *cartello* there is the legend "ANTONIUS TEMPESTA /FLORENTIVS INVENIT/DELINEAVIT ET INCIDIT/ANNO MDXCII." "*Antonio Tempesta, a Florentine, found and delineated and engraved (it) in the year 1593."* Right beneath it is the sentence granting to him the protection: "Romae cum priuilegiis summorum Principum/per Decem Annos/Superiorum Permissu." "*Of Rome, with the*

privileges of the highest authorities for ten years by permission of the Superior (officials)(Witcomb, 2004, p. 242).

Tempesta based his map on Bufalini's, but compressed the streets vertically, keeping the horizontal scale the same. His map is elongated and rectangular rather than square like Bufalini's. The viewpoint is from the Janiculum hill, looking down. The compression in the bottom is less than that of in the top, so the lower part of the map shows the city in greater detail. To make things fit, Tempesta rotated the Borgo area almost 90 degrees clockwise. Modeled after Tempesta's map are Maggi's map of 1625, Van Schayck's of 1630, Cruyl's of 1665, and Agnelli's of 1666. Because they were easier to use and understand than the ichnographic maps, pilgrims preferred view-maps and the view map remained in use until much later, as shown by the very accurate map by Giambattista Nolli of 1748 (Ceen, 2003, pp. 2-3).

Century: 16th

Figure 3-31. Tempesta La pianta di Roma al tempo di Clemente 1593. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1593, Medium: line engraving on copper plate. Location of original: Copies of the first edition in Galleria Clementina, the Vatican, and the Royal Library, Stockholm.

Description of Image: The map consists of line drawings on twelve copper sheets, 108 x 243 cm. The view is from the top of the Janiculum Hill, with an obliquely

vertical projection. The orientation of the map is from north to south. Additional designs include: the coat of arms of Giacomo Bosio (fol.1); angels with two graves (fol. 6); a dedication to the same Bosio (fol.7); Roma as an Amazon, seated above an elegant nameplate with Tempesta's coat of arms, the authorization and the (fol. 12) (Frutaz, 1962, p. 192).

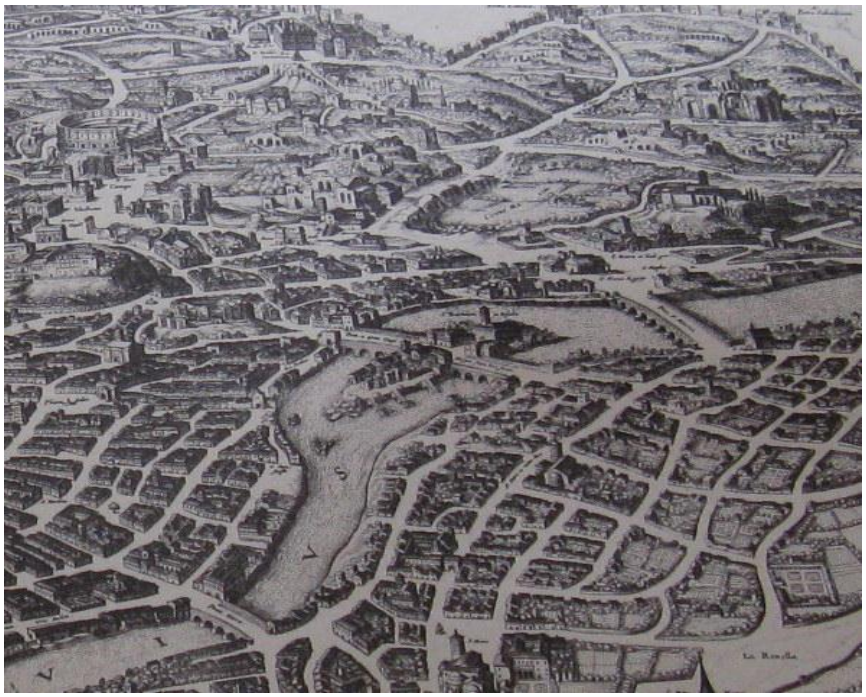

Figure 3-32. Tempesta detail of the Tiber Island from *La pianta di Roma al tempo di Clemente,* 1593*.* Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

Description of Image: The Tiber Island is shown from the west bank of the river. At the south end the church of S.Bartolomeo (lab. 'S.Bartolomei in insula) is shown between the Caetani palace and Franciscan convent on one side and the buildings that once stood beside Ponte Cestio (unlab.) on the other. At the north end small houses squeeze in beside the Fatebenefratelli Hospital (lab. 'Hosp. Fate bene fratelli'). A central longitudinal street is visible running from piazza S.Bartolomeo to the opposite

end of the island. On the lower left bank two watermills are at work. Above the island to the southwest the Pons Aemilus (lab. Pons S. Mariae) is shown as still whole.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Tempesta's depiction of the island preserves important topographical features no longer visible today: most notably, the isoletta at the upstream end of the island, probable site of shrine to Faunus; the Pons Cestius in its original form, before the nineteenth century restoration; various views of the island's west embankment; and the island's *cardo* or N-S road, intersecting with the former Vicus Censorius (= the island's *decumanus*). Tempesta's clear representation of the latter, used with those of Bufalini's and Nolli's, is particularly helpful for the reconstruction of the island's ancient street system. Details off the island proper include detailed views of the Pons Aemilius prior to its destruction and of the temples of Portunus (unlab.) and Hercules (lab. 'S.Steph.' i.e. S.Stefano alle Carrozze, as this edifice, reconsecrated as a church, had been renamed in the 12th century) in the Forum Boarium. Important topographical information is also preserved about the east bank of the Tiber prior to the building of the 19th century 'Muraglioni'.

Giacomo Lauro (Giacomo di Treviso) (1550 – 1605): Engraver, Painter

Biographical information: Giacomo Lauro, also known as Giacomo di Treviso, was born in Venice, Italy, in 1550. He resided and worked principally in Treviso. He was a pupil and follower of Paolo Veronese. As a painter, he is especially known for religious artworks such as the frescoes in the church of S.Maria Maggiore (Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, ca.1590: Santalena 1894, 156) and the oil painting "S. Rocco Interceding for the Persons Afflicted by the Plague" in the Dominican church of S.Nicolò (1605: Santalena 1894, 175), both in Treviso. As an engraver, his major work was *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* of 1612, a collection of engravings of the greatest monuments

of ancient Rome. His map of the city, *Roma Antigua Triumphantrix,* also dates to the same year (Frutaz, 1962, Vol. I, p. 72). A later volume, edited between 1614 and 1615, indicates that Lauro worked on this collection for 28 years . He is said to have died in 1605 in Treviso, predating the publication of most of his works.

Century:17th

Figure 3-33. Lauro Roma Antigua Triumphantrix. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1612. Medium: copper engraving. 48.2 x 72.5 cm; map alone = 37.8 x 50.4 cm. Location of original: Biblioteca Vaticana.

Description of Image: Lauro designed and engraved this map which later Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi published sometime between 1649 and 1677. The map appears on the index of De Rossi's print shop of 1677. He conceived it as a line drawing of Rome, oriented with the north to the left, and showing the city's hills and monuments, including its walls and aqueducts. Lauro placed topographic notations

partly on the drawing itself and partly in rubrics to the left and to the right of the image. He engraved on the border twenty scenes of life in the city. In the bottom left we see scenes of Archaic and Republican Rome, in the bottom right, of Imperial Rome. From left to right appear, in the order, the Seven Kings and the Twelve Caesars. Scenes nineteen and twenty depict Christian Rome (Frutaz, 1962, Vol. I, p. 72). The Tiber flows along the bottom of the map, with the Tiber Island depicted as a ship in the bend of the river.

Title inscription at the top of map:

ROMA ANTIGUA TRIUMPHANTRIX, AB ANTIQUIS MONUMENTIS ET RERUM GESTARUM, MEMORIIS ERUTA, HIC A JACOBO LAURO ROMANO, AUCTORE ET SCULPTORE GRAPHICE EXPRESSA.

Title translation:

Ancient Rome triumphant, excavated from its ancient monuments, history and memory, and represented here by Giacomo Lauro, Roman, author and engraver.

Bottom Inscription:

Left:

SUPERIORUM PERMISSU*.*

By permission of (his) superiors.

Right:

ROMAE. CUM PRIVILEGIO SUMMI PONTIFICIS

At Rome. With the privilege (copyright) of the supreme pontiff.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Lauro depicted on *Roma Antigua Triumphantrix* monuments and features of ancient Rome. Prominent among these, besides the Tiber Island shown as a ship, are the Colosseum, the Palatine Hill with the Palace of Domitian, the Baths of Caracalla and Baths of Diocletian, Piazza Navona, the Pantheon, a number of aqueducts, and the city walls.

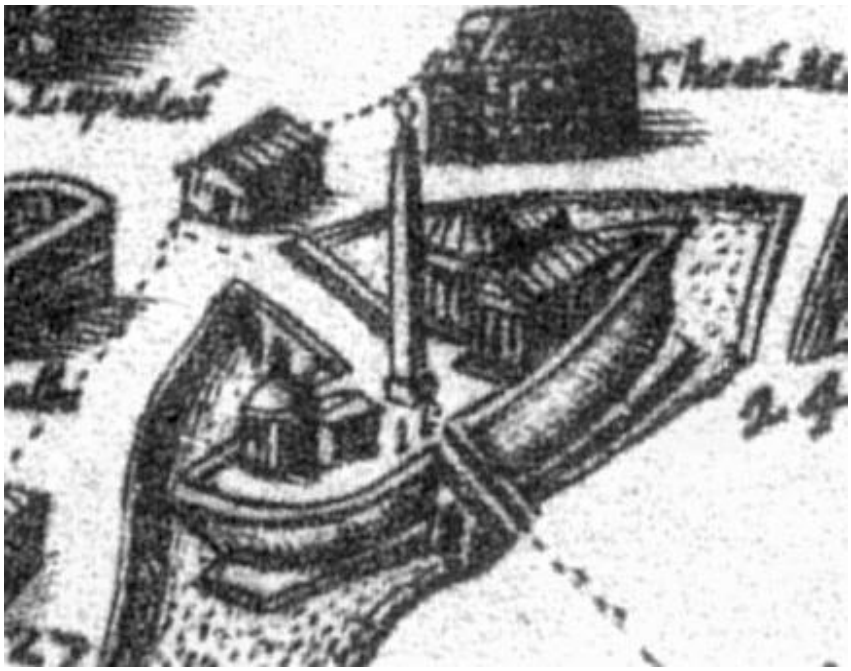

Figure 3-34. Lauro Tiber Island detail from *Roma Antigua Triumphantrix.* Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

Description of Image: As in the representations by Ligorio p.79, Brambilla p. 90, and Dupérac p. 84, Lauro offers a restored view of the Tiber Island according to the iconography of the time, i.e. in the form of a ship resting on an elongated foundation in the Tiber River.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: In contrast with the densely built views shown in the maps by Ligorio (1561) and Duperac (1574) Lauro adopts the selective approach used by Brambilla (1582), which focuses only on archaeological 'highlights'. In the immediate neighborhood of the island Lauro's map identifies traditional landmarks of the Campus Martius such as the temples of Portunus and Hercules Victor. To the right of these structures is the intact Pons Aemilius. Conversely (unlike Ligorio's and Duperac's maps but in agreement with Brambilla's) the west bank is depicted as virtually devoid of buildings. The island shows the traditional ship template of

Renaissance restorations, with an oversized obelisk acting as the ship's mast between the temples of Aesculapius and Jupiter. The architecture is also formulaic, with the conventional mix of dome and basilica forms seen as typical of Roma religious buildings. Unlike other cartographers Lauro makes no attempt at reproducing the decoration of the island bridges. The Pons Fabricius is also depicted as disproportionately larger than the Pons Cestius. Overall Lauro's version of the 'ship' appears clumsier and less sophisticated than most of his contemporaries, a fact possibly explained by his lack of architectural training.

Giovanni Battista (Gianbattista) Falda (1643 -1678): Cartographer and Engraver

Biographical information: Giovanni Battista Falda was born in Valduggia, Novara in Lombardia on December 7, 1643. Little is known about his early years except that he showed a talent for design and spent time in the care of a local painter. At age fourteen, Falda went to Rome with an uncle who introduced him to Bernini. Once in Rome, he began an apprenticeship with Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, an important publisher who later published many of Falda's engravings.

Falda, best known as an engraver of scenes of Rome (*vedute),* developed a realistic style that influenced Roman printmakers such as Alessandro Specchi and Giuseppe Vasi (see p. 128). Falda used deeply bitten lines and shadows combined with topographical accuracy. Falda was among the first *vedutisti* printmakers whose work helped to make the engraved print equal in artistic value to works of paint on canvas. Tourists on the Grand Tour in Rome eagerly sought his *vedute* as souvenirs that became attractive lures for others to embark upon their own journeys (Tice, 2008). Falda's engravings include architectural views of many of the renovations of Pope Alexander VII, and views of gardens, private buildings, and fountains of Rome

(Chappell, 2007). The two best known collections of his prints are the *Gardens of Rome* (1670) and the *Fountains of Rome* (1675). Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi published Falda's two engraved maps of Rome, the widely known large map of 1676 and a smaller map in 1667. The fisrt map incorporates a very accurate portrayal of the Tiber Island and its immediate environs. Falda enjoyed a commercial success during his short but productive life. His prints from copper plates were especially popular (Tice, 2008). Giovanni Battista Falda died in Rome on August 22, 1678.

Century: 17th

Figure 3-35. Falda *NUOVA PIANTA ET ALZATA DELLA CITTÀ DI ROMA CON TUTTE LE STRADE PIAZZE ET EDIFICII DE TEMPII* (New map and elevation of the city of Rome with all the streets, piazzas and temple buildings). Reproduced with permission from Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae, July 2011, [speculum image number, e.g., A1], Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. Date of Image: 1676, Medium: Engraving on copper, 156 x 153 cm, in 12 leaves each 39 x 51 cm. Location of original: Library of the Institute of Archaeology and History of Art in Rome: Roma X 800

Description of Image: Giovanni Battista Falda followed in the view-map tradition of Antonio Tempesta and Mario Cartaro, popular with tourists of that time (Ceen, 2003). Falda surpassed both these cartographers with his map of 1676, which established itself as the most up-to-date and detailed image of Rome in a hundred years, using both ichnographic and pictorial mapping techniques. Unlike Tempesta's, which is a view-map of the city from the Janiculum Hill, Falda's has the viewer floating directly above the city, almost like a "Google Earth" image of early modern times (Maier, 2010). Falda does not use a true perspective but a plan projection at 45 degrees. This simulates three dimensions without having to use vanishing points, or the other elements of modern perspective, providing the viewer with a *volo d'uccello,* or bird's eye view (Tice, 2008).

The entire title found at the top reads:

> NUOVA PIANTA ET ALZATA DELLA CITTÀ DI ROMA CON TUTTE LE STRADE PIAZZE ET EDIFICII DE TEMPII / PALAZZI GIARDINI ET ALTRE FABRICHE ANTICHE E MODERNE COME SI TROVANO AL PRESENTE NEL PONTIFICATO DI N. S. PAPA INNOCENTIO XI CON LE LORO DICHIARATIONI NOMI ET INDICE COPIO / SSISMO disegniata et intagliata da Gio. Battista Falda da Valduggia et date al publico da Gio. Giacomo De Rossi dalle sue stampe in Roma alla Pace l'anno 1676. Con privileggio del Som. Pont ("New map and elevation of the city of Rome with all the streets, piazzas and temple buildings / palaces, gardens and other ancient and modern structures as are found at present in the pontificate of our lord Pope Innocent XI with their explanations, names, and very copious index, designed and engraved by Giov(anni) Battista Falda from Valduggia and presented to the public by Giovani Giacomo De Rossi from his print shop at the S.Maria della Pace in Rome of the year 1676. With the approval of the papacy."

The orientation of the map is with North to the left, and with *una rosa dei venti* , a "wind rose" to the right. At the left, from top to bottom, appear an image of Faith and Justice; b) the coat of arms of Pope Innocent XI, supported by two *putti*,; c) a

dedication to Innocent XI, signed by Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, in a title block supported by three *putti*; d) "Tavola geografica dell'Agro romano overo parte del distretto di Roma novamente designate et intagliata da Gio. Battista Falda," (Geographic table of the Roman countryside, that is a part of the district of Rome newly designed and engraved by Giovanni Battista Falda); e) an index of titular churches and deaconates (the author also indicates those that are parishes); f) and a notation that "Giorgio Widman engraved the letters".

At the right, from top to bottom: a) a preface in which Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi gives an interesting list of works of art from his print shop, the text of which is outlined by the coat of arms of the fourteen *rioni*, (neighborhoods), of Rome; b) an index of the palaces of Rome, in an artistic plate; c) an index of the churches of Rome, with the names of parishes, monasteries, convents, oratories, and confraternities of their neighborhoods in an artistic title block; d) and a scale of one thousand feet (an Italian mile) with a measured form. On the bottom, within an artistic frame appears the label "The nine churches to be visited to for the treasure of indulgences and the relics of the saints" (Frutaz, 1962, Vol. I, p. 221).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Falda's map faithfully records the various changes in the city's architecture since Tempesta's map of 1593, including Bernini's keyhole-shaped piazza at the Vatican (1656 – 1657), the completed Basilica of St. Peter, and gardens created in formerly vacant land. Several important churches constructed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are shown, such as Chiesa Nuova, Sant'Ivo, and Sant'Andrea della Valle (Tice, 2008).

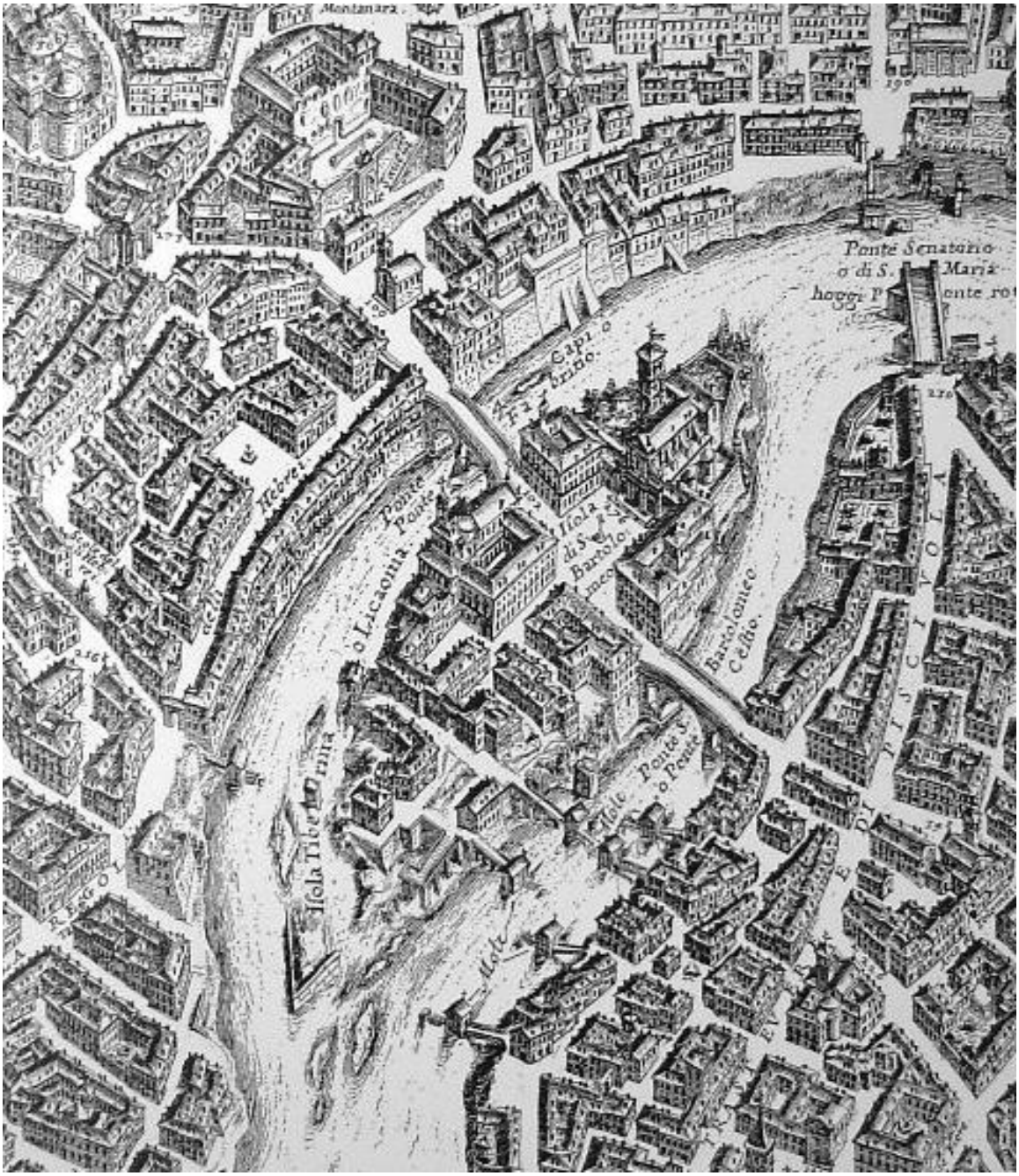

Figure 3-36. Detail of the Tiber Island from NUOVA PIANTA. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

Description of Image: The map offers an extremely detailed rendition of the Tiber Island in 1676 in a bird's eye view from the west. Falda reproduced streets and houses in minute architectural and topographical detail, down to doors, windows, steps,

and landforms such as the fragments of the *Isoletta* that the current eventually dissolved nto the *La Regola* bank. The labels record the names of the bridges as well as the toponymy of the east (Ghetto) and west (Trastevere) banks.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The image offers a clear depiction of the upstream end of the island prior to the disappearance of the *Isoletta* and the overrunning of the area by the Fatebenfratelli Hospital. The latter structure, which in Falda's time occupied only the space immediately adjacent to S.Giovanni Calibita, appears on the map as a square courtyard building immediately to the north of the Pons Fabricius entrance. Very clearly shown is the masonry framing the *Isoletta* where the ancient embankment walls converged forming an acute angle (cf. the entries on Nolli p. 126 and Lanciani at pp.194). We also see several other pieces of land broken off from the island which appear in the views of later artists such as Rosler Franz (p.183). The far end of the island's northern shore is steeply embanked with far fewer buildings than the central and southern parts of the site (most structures stand at the northeast edge of the area). It is clear from Falda's representation that this was a marginal region of the island, used for commercial, rather than residential, purposes. The concentration of watermills—one on the east bank and two on the opposite shore—confirms that the the processing of cereals.area occurred in this aread. A service road, labeled in Nolli's map as *Vicolo della Moletta*, connects the east watermill to one of the two western ones, running across the width of the island. *Vicolo della Moletta* appears to have also marked a boundary between this rougher, utilitarian district and the rest of the island.

Buildings enclosed this area like a separate compound. The arched passageway connected the two areas is visible on the south side of the road. In addition to these important details on the north topography of the island, Falda's map also provides evidence for some Medieval structures obliterated during the later landscaping of the site, namely a watchtower on the northwest shore (immediately above the south watermill) which is probably the same as that painted by Rosler Franz in a watercolor of 1880 ('Avanzi medieval sull'Isola Tiberina' p. 183).

Giovanni Maggi (1566 – 1618): Cartographer

Biographic Information. Giovanni Maggi was a cartographer and one of the first engravers of natural landscapes of Rome, an example of which is *Fanciful Landscape with Waterfall, Ruins, and City with Tall Spires.* One of his early endeavors, his *Bicchierografia* (a collection of 1600 patterns for glassware) added to his fame. Maggi engraved a collection of the nine pilgrim churches shown on his map of 1625. His other engravings included a series of fountains in Rome, Tivoli, and Frascati. Maggi was a man with a great sense of humor who enjoyed telling stories and reciting burlesque poetry.

Maggi designed and engraved three maps of Rome, those of 1599, 1603, and 1608. The last and most famous of his maps, that of 1625 and shown below, he designed, but did not engrave due to economic hardship. After Maggi's death, Paolo Maupin published the 1625 map after transferring the original drawings onto woodcuts. Maggi lived to be over fifty years old and died in Rome in 1618.

Century: 17th

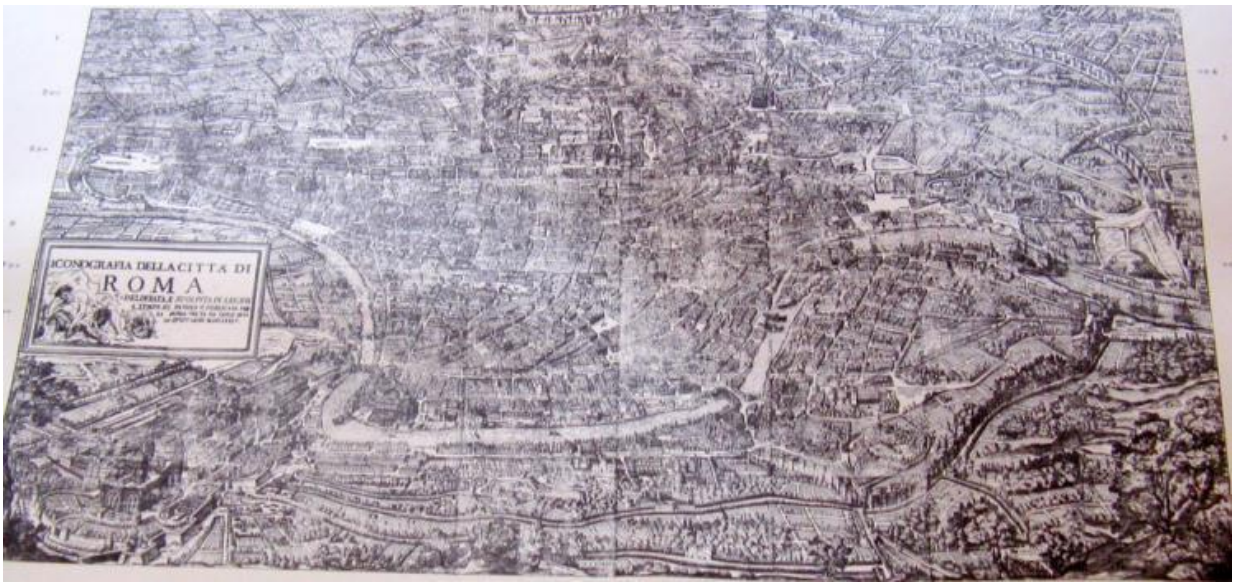

Figure 3-37. Maggi Iconografia della Citta di Roma, 1625. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1625. Medium: Wood cut, 48 sheets, 54 x 48cm. Location of original: Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele

Description of the Image: Maggi did not live to see published the map of 1625 that became a 'bestseller' with contemporary pilgrims, undergoing numerous reprints in the seventeenth century. This work, a *veduta perspettiva*, or view map, followed the tradition of Antonio Tempesta's 1593 *Pianta di Roma al tempo di Clemente* using the same vertical compression technique . The resulting image was rectangular in shape with the north on the left side. The map looks across the Tiber from quite high above the Tiber's right bank (Dilke, 1983, p. 125). As noted earlier, pilgrims and tourists found the view map type much easier to follow than the more technically correct ichnographic style (Ceen, 2003, p. 3).

The left-to-right orientation enabled pilgrims to scan the city from its entrance at the left gate, the Porta del Popolo, to the right (Juan, 2001, pp. 10 – 11). Maggi depicted the buildings in groupings, affording the user a better opportunity to locate easily key pilgrim sites, such as the seven pilgrim churches. An obelisk or column marked each of the churches. The map index also indicated clearly the city's entry and exit points along the routes, that is, the principal city gates and the four bridges over the Tiber River at that time. He showed only two main streets: the *Parione* (Via Ponteficia) crossing the densely built city center and the *Lungara*, running along the west side of the Tiber (Cowan, 2000, p. 66).

Maggi's map of 1625 showed the density of the city and depicted the growth of the urban area with its divisions into districts limited by the city walls and the Tiber River. Rome's houses and public buildings look stacked up and in close proximity to one another. A significant example of this urban expansion was the city's Ghetto, home to 4000 Jews at the beginning of the 17th century. By the end of the century, the population of the Ghetto had more than doubled, causing the area to spread out and to grow vertically (Cowan, 2000, p. 66).

Paul Maupin, a French bookseller living and working in Rome from 1593 published the map—the largest woodcut plan of Rome at the time—after Maggi's death. Carlo Losi reissued it in 1774 using the same woodblocks claiming that he was the first to publish the work. Two more reprintings followed in 1915, by F. Ehrle , and 1962, by A. M. Frutaz (Dilke, 1983, p. 125).

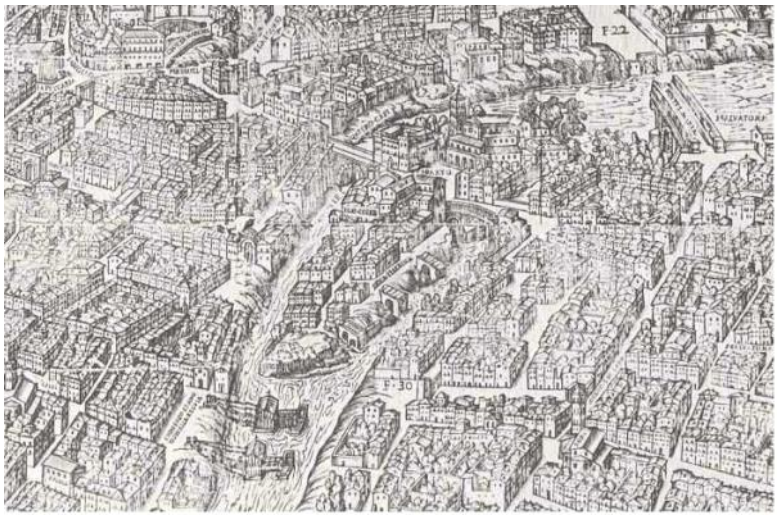

Figure 3-38. Maggi detail of the Tiber Island, *Icnografia della Citta di Roma, 1625.* Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

Description of Image: This accurate view of the Tiber Island from the northern end of the island shows in great detail the density of urban structures on the island and both banks of the Tiber.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Clearly shown is the layout of the two main streets of the island: the long north-south avenue down the center of the island and the east-west street between the two bridges (formerly Vicus Censorii), respectively suggestive of the Cardo and Decumanus of Roman settlements (Wagman, 2005, p. 7). On the island's west bank one can see the label *Isola Tiberina*. Above the island are visible the the remains of the Ponte Rotto and, at the island's upper end, the San Bartolomeo church complex. To the left of the church is the Franciscan convent with the adjacent Caetani Palace. To the right is the convent's west wing, demolished during the construction of Canevari embankments in 1870. In the square below the church is the label *S. Barto(lomeo).* At opposite ends of the square are the island's bridges, the Pons Fabricius, with the label Quattro Capi above it, and the Pons Cestius, shown in its

pre-nineteenth century state. The Church of San Giovanni Calibita, labeled *S(an) Gio(vanni) Colab(ita)* and the early structures of the adjacent Fatebenefratelli Hospital occupy the area immediately below the square. On the right side of the island are the watermills, or molini. Upstream, at the bottom of the image are two more watermills. Just above the bottom two watermills is the Isoletta, the northern tip of the island that later broke off and disappeared. The original ancient embankment walls are visible on the lower part of the Isoletta.

Lievan Cruyl (1640 – 1720): Artist

Biographical information: Lieven Cruyl was born in Ghent c. 1640. He worked in Ghent until 1664 where he designed a tower for the local church of St.Michael (Sint Michielskerk), which builders never constructed due to lack of funds. Cruyl went to Rome in 1664 and lived there until 1670. There he created and etched many views of the city and its countryside, some of which publishers included in contemporary collections, e.g. Graevius's *Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum* of 1697. Cruyl employed a type of vision that was at the same time telescopic and wide-angled, having an eye to the details of buildings even at a great distance. From his arrival in Rome at the age of 24, he found himself in competition with another young talent, the 21 year-old Giovanni Battista Falda. Falda was talented and better at executing his work, but lacked the wide-angle eye of Cruyl, who was able to include in one engraved plate what it took Falda two plates to depict (Jatta, 1989). In 1665 he published his *Piccola Pianta di Roma*, but the map was not successful. His *Prospectus Locorum Urbis Romae Insign[ium]* of 1666 did better in boosting his fame. Although he could not compete with Falda in terms of quantity, he did out-do Falda in the quality of his work (Jatta, 1989).

Cruyl travelled to Naples in 1673 and then to Florence in 1676. After his return to Ghent, starting in 1680 he took several journeys to France where he spent time drawing. He finally made Ghent his last home where he died in1720.

Century: 17th

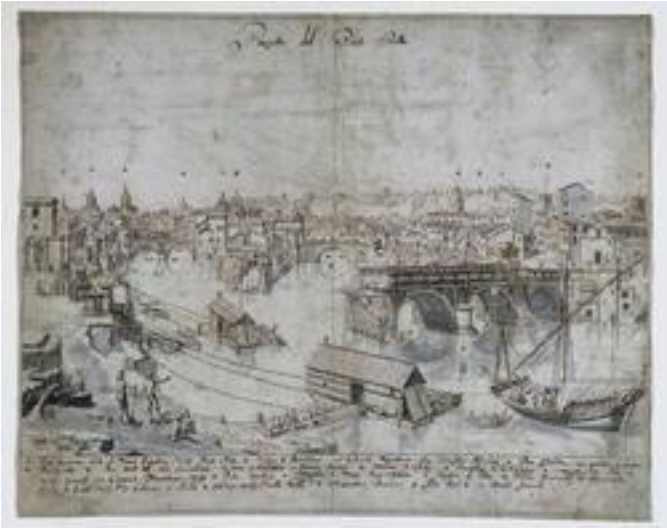

Figure 3-39. Cruyl Eighteen Views of Rome: Diciotto Vedute di Roma: Veduta di ponte Rotto The Ponte Rotto (Prospetto del Ponte Rotto). Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1665. Medium: Drawing, 48.7cm x 39cm. Pen and brown ink and brush and gray wash over graphite; framing lines in brown ink. Location of original: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1943.269.

Description of Image: View of the Ponte Rotto and the Tiber Island from the SE (the direction of all elements in the composition is reversed since the drawing was preparatory for an etching). Cruyl follows du Perác's model (1575) in showing the island from a downstream viewpoint, but differs from it in that he fills the foreground with the ruin of the Ponte Rotto and scenes from the east bank of the river. In the lower part of the composition figures of humans and animals combine with boats and watermills to animate the scenery. The activities depicted are typical of life on the riverbank at the end of the 17th century. Cruyl's wide-angle lens eye captures the sweep of the city, with

its imposing cupolas, from St. Ivo's (on the left) to St. Peter's (in the center); the Tiber Island with its bridges; and a view of the Janiculum in the background (Jatta, 1989). Letter-labels are used to mark some of the architetural landmarks in the composition. These are keyed to a list inscribed at the bottom of the image. The signature of the artist in brown ink is also visible at the lower left.

INSCRIPTION:

A. *Pons Senatorius, today of Santa Maria Egiziaca, commonly called Ponte Rotto*.

B. *Church of San Bartolomeo with Franciscan Convent, formerly the Temple of Aesculapius*.

C. *Pons Fabricius, or Quattro Capi*.

D. *Pons Cestius.*

E. *Pons Xysti III* (i.e. Ponte Sisto), *formerly the Janiculum Bridge.*

F. *Temple of San Salvatore at the Pons Ruptus* (i.e. the Pons Neronianus which once stood in the area of modern day Ponte Vittorio Emanuele; not to be confused with the Ponte Rotto or Pons Aemilius)

G. *Monastery of Santa Cecilia*.

H. *Temple of San Crisogono*.

I. *Temple of San Pietro on the Janiculum Hill with Franciscan Convent, commonly called San Pietro in Montorio.*

K. *Temple of Santa Maria in Trastevere.*

L. *Basilica of St. Peter.*

M. *Church of the Xenodochium SS. Trinitatis*

N. *Church of San Carlo, commonly called* (San Carlo) *dei Catenari.*

O. *Church of San Andrea, commonly called* (

P. *Sapientia Romana* (i.e. the University of Rome, founded in 1303 and referred to as 'Sapientia' from the 15th century onwards)

Q. *Fountain of Paulus V on the Janiculum Hill*.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Besides offering a comprehensive view of the title subject, the Ponte Rotto, Cruyl's etching captures important architectural details from the island and its surroundings, most notably the island's southwest and southeast walls, the original Pons Cestius, and some features of the east bank.

Gaspar Van Wittel [Gaspare Vanvitelli] (c. 1652 – 1736): Artist

Biographical information: Gaspar Van Wittel (known later in Italy as Gaspare or Gasparo Vanvitelli, with the nickname of "Gasparo dagli Occhiali" "or, Gaspare with the Spectacles") was born c.1652 in Amersfoort, Holland. He trained there as a young man with Matthias Withoos. He then went to Rome (c. 1675), where he spent most of the rest of his days known as Vanvitelli. Vanvitelli became one of the main painters of the genre known as *vedute*, or 'views' of the Italian countryside. Approximately half of his views are of the Tiber River itself or places along the Tiber banks. His collection *Views of the Tiber* include fifteen different locations between the Porto della Legna and the Ripa Grande, in 1683 (Trezzani, 1919).

With his realistic representations that conformed to rational ideas of vision, Vanvitelli's *vedute* anticipated an 18th century style of painting . Panoramic perspective was important, as well as careful description of the subject at hand. The point of view reflected that of the ideal spectator, who was most often at ground-level. Unlike earlier view painters of 17th century Rome, whom were the ruins of the city entranced, Vanvitelli painted contemporary subjects and recorded details of the city. He also differed from contemporary artistic movements such as that of the *Bentvueghels* ('Roost-Fellows or 'Migratory Birds'), a group of fellow Dutchmen who depicted sordid scenes of Roman low-life, in that he painted realistic yet carefully redesigned views of Rome of his day (Bruce, 2002). Wealthy tourists of Vanvitelli's time bought these light

and pleasant views of the city, which were in contrast with the gloomy representations of the Roman underclass commissioned by the nobility of the former century as works of charity (Roworth, 2001). Vanvitelli's *vedute* were the height of a genre specializing in bright panoramas filled with precise details (Galassi, 1991).

Vanvitelli never returned to the land of his birth, but continued to work in Rome. He was made a member of Roman Academy and influenced the styles of artists like Giovanni Pannini and Francesco Guardi (Bruce, 2002). He died in Rome on September 13, 1736.

Century: 18th

Figure 3-40. Van Wittel *L'isola vista vista da Est tra i due ponte* – The Island Seen from the East Behind the Two Bridges. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: c. 1711. Medium: Oil on canvas, 47 x 98 cm. Location of original: Galleria dell'Accademia di San Luca, Roma

Description of Image: This veduta is very similar in compostion and theme to Piranesi's Scenografia dell'Isola Tiberina (Antichità Romane, Vol. 10, Plate XI. The fact that it is an oil painting allows the scene to be captured in subtle colors, including the

shimmering waters of the Tiber River. The island is represented in the background, beyond a section of the Forum Boarium riverbank crowded with small fishing and cargo boats. Despite its placement at the rear of the composition, the island is made the center of the painting through a skilful treatment of the light (to bring the background into focus Vanvitelli leaves the foreground in the shadow.) The SE viewpoint allows a clear depiction of the island's south end and its structures, as they could be seen in the early 18th century. From front to back,we see: S.Bartolomeo with its substructures (including the travertine ship of Aesculapius; the Caetani palace and some of the buildings across from it at the west end of S. Bartolomeo's square; the belltower of S.Giovanni Calibita and the roof of the Fatebenefratelli Hospital .

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Vanvitelli's painting offers a naturalistically accurate view of the island's down stream end, with architectural details no longer visible today: most notably, a stretch of opus quadratum masonry in the island's southwest wall and a complete view of the Pons Cestius in its pre-restored form. Off the island proper, we note another section of ancient masonry from the ruined bridgehead of the Pons Aemilius (front right).

Giambattista Nolli (1701 – 1756): Cartographer

Biographical Information: Giambattista Nolli was born in Montronio, Como, the 9th of April 1701 and died in Rome in July of 1756. Nolli's *Pianta Grande* of 1748 is a work of art of great historical significance which moves forward the science and technology of cartography of its era (Ceen, 2005). Nolli began his work on the map in

Rome as part of a commission from Pope Benedict XIV to survey Rome in order to help with the alignment of the fourteen *rioni* or districts of Rome (Arnold, 2003). During a five year period (1735 – 1740) Giambattista Nolli, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, and Giuseppe Vasi converged in Rome and each one collaborated with the other two at different times. From these three men came three views of Rome in the mid-Eighteenth century which complement each other and allow us to know the face of contemporary Rome. The accuracy of topographical details of the city concerned Nolli and Vasi while Piranesi depicted the ancient ruins in a dramatic style (Ceen, 2003).

Nolli's map marks the dividing line between the maps before him which were mostly in "birds-eye" view (looking out over the area from a distinctive point of view) and the ichnographic map, or plan map, which is a depiction from above. The ichnographic approach in Roman cartography is traced to Leonardo Bufalini (whose plan of 1551 Nolli acknowledges in the *Grande Pianta*) and even further back to a map of Imola by Leonardo Da Vinci based on earlier work by L.B. Alberti in Rome (Ceen, 2000). Interestingly, most tourists of the time preferred the bird's eye view format, so Nolli's map was not popular among his contemporaries; later, mostly architects and surveyors appreciated it (Ceen, 2003).

Groundbreaking for his *Grande Pianta* of Rome was its orientation with the magnetic north at the top of the map. Most maps located the East at the top of maps prior to this time. Nolli used the magnetic compass to obtain the accurate

measurements he used for reference points. His principal North-South reference line was the *meridiana della Certosa*, or sun dial of Santa Maria degli Angeli in the Baths of Diocletian. Nolli used this line to make all of his sightings or lines drawn parallel to it. On his map, Nolli makes the use of the compass very clear with not one but two compasses depicted on the map. At the bottom of his map two *putti* consult a compass, The second instance is in front of S. Giovanni in Laterano where one finds a compass rose with a T for Tratamonta (the true north) distinguished from the magnetic north with the thin verticle arrow on which the map is oriented. Further stressing his use of this new scientific knowledge was the drawing of a *putto* using the surveyor's Plane Table at the bottom right of the map. The Plane Table made use of a magnetic compass to indicate the North-South orientation anywhere in the city (Ceen, 2006).

Nolli's map was innovative not only in its ichnographic approach and orientation, but in the fact that it identified almost every facet of the city, be it a palazzo, garden, or bridge, and assigned it a number on an index, from 1 to 1320. Most interesting, is that he also identified the public and semi-public open spaces such as church yards and theater entrances, palace courtyards, entries and stairways. Until recent urban construction, many of these open spaces were open to the public (Ceen, 2003). The Tiber Island lies in *Rione XII Ripa*. Nolli identified all of the major features of the island, including several *vicoli* later covered by the Fatebenefratelli Hospital .

Century: 18th.

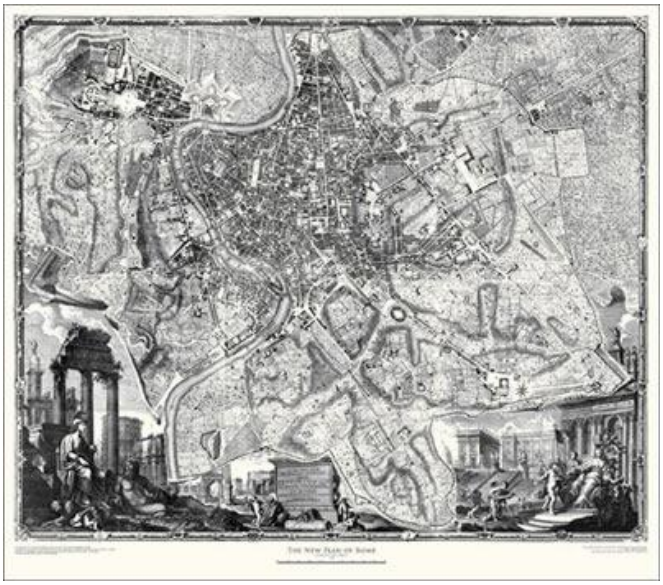

Figure 3-41. Nolli "Nuova Pianta di Roma data in luce da Giambattista Nolli l'anno MVCCLXVIII". Reproduced with permission from Allen Ceen, The Noli Interactive Map, January 2007, http://www.uoregon.edu. Date of Image: 1748, Medium: Copper plate engraving. Location of original: Palazzo della Stamperia (Istituto Nazionale della Grafica, former Calcografia Camerale Romana)

Description of Image: The size of the images is cm. 176 x 208; made up of 12 sheets, each 44 x 69.5. The impact of the map on first glance is that of a decorative piece with architectural views (*vedute*) and mythological and allegorical figures at the two lower corners and along the bottom of the engraving. The author of the *vedute* was Stefano Pozzi. Pozzi placed on opposing sides two complementary aspects of Rome: the ancient monuments and contemporary Christian monuments. This border of the map consists of symbols of the fourteen *rioni* intermixed with medallions and decorative elements. The map's entourage encompasses different buildings, inscriptions, and figures, some of which are particular sites while others express symbols or ideas. The lower left side includes statues personifying the City of Rome and the Tiber as the recumbent river god. Next to them are the ruins of the mythical figures of Romulus and Remus with the She-Wolf. To the back of these figures are the

following ancient monuments, from left to right, each followed by its Index number: *Colonna Traiana* (NN 113); *Arco de' Pantani* (NN 124); *Tre antiche Colonne Scanellate* (NN 928); *L'Antifeteatro Flavio detto il Colosseio* (NN 936); *Arco di Constantino Magno* (NN 935); *Obelisco già Circo Massimo* (NN 10); *Tempio della Pace* (NN 74); *Arco di Tito Imp(eratore)* (NN 73); *Sepolcro di Caio Cestio* (NN 1068); *Obelisco già del Mauso(leo) d'Aug(usto)* (NN 50); *Portico del Tempio della Concordia* (NN 924); *Colonna di Marco Aurelio, e Piazza detta Colonna* (NN 310); *Colonne del Tempio di Giove Tonante* (NN 923); *Arco di Settimio Severo* (NN 96); and *Avanzi del Foro Palladio, o di Nerva* (NN 85).

Next one finds a large marble slab with the title of the map and the dedication to Pope Benedetto XIV. In Nolli's time,workersmoved the slab which was the Antonine pedestal in the Piazza di Montecitorio to the Vatican. The inscription reads:

> "ALLA SANTITÀ DI NOSTRO SIGNORE PAPA BENEDETTO XIV LA NUOVA TOPOGRAFIA DI ROMA OSSEQUIOSAMENTE OFFERISCE E DEDICA L'UMILISSIMO SERVO GIAMBATTISTA NOLLI COMASCO. The translation is as follows: "To his holiness Pope Benedict the 14th, the new map of Rome is obsequiously offered and dedicated by his humble servent Giambattista Nolli of Como."

To the right were monuments that were "modern" at the time of Nolli: including the following: *S. Pietro* (NN 128); *Braccio Nuovo of the Campidoglio* (NN 918); *Palazzo dei Conservatori of the Campidoglio* (NN 919); and *S. Giovanni in Laterano* (NN 5). The consensus is that the images convey a picture of the Church prevailing over the ancient world of paganism. Along the bottom being held by the *putti* are the *bussola*, or magnetic compass, with the wind rose on the map indicating that Nolli oriented his map to the magnetic north rather than the astronomical north. The putti also hold and are

working with the alidade and bussola to draw lines on a plane table, and they also make use of chains that Nolli used for surveying (Ceen, 2005a).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Nolli on his map identified and described by a numbered index 1320 sites by topographical location. Of particular interest to the Tiber Island and its environs are the numbered entries in the *rioni* VII Regola, XI S.Angelo, and XII Ripa.

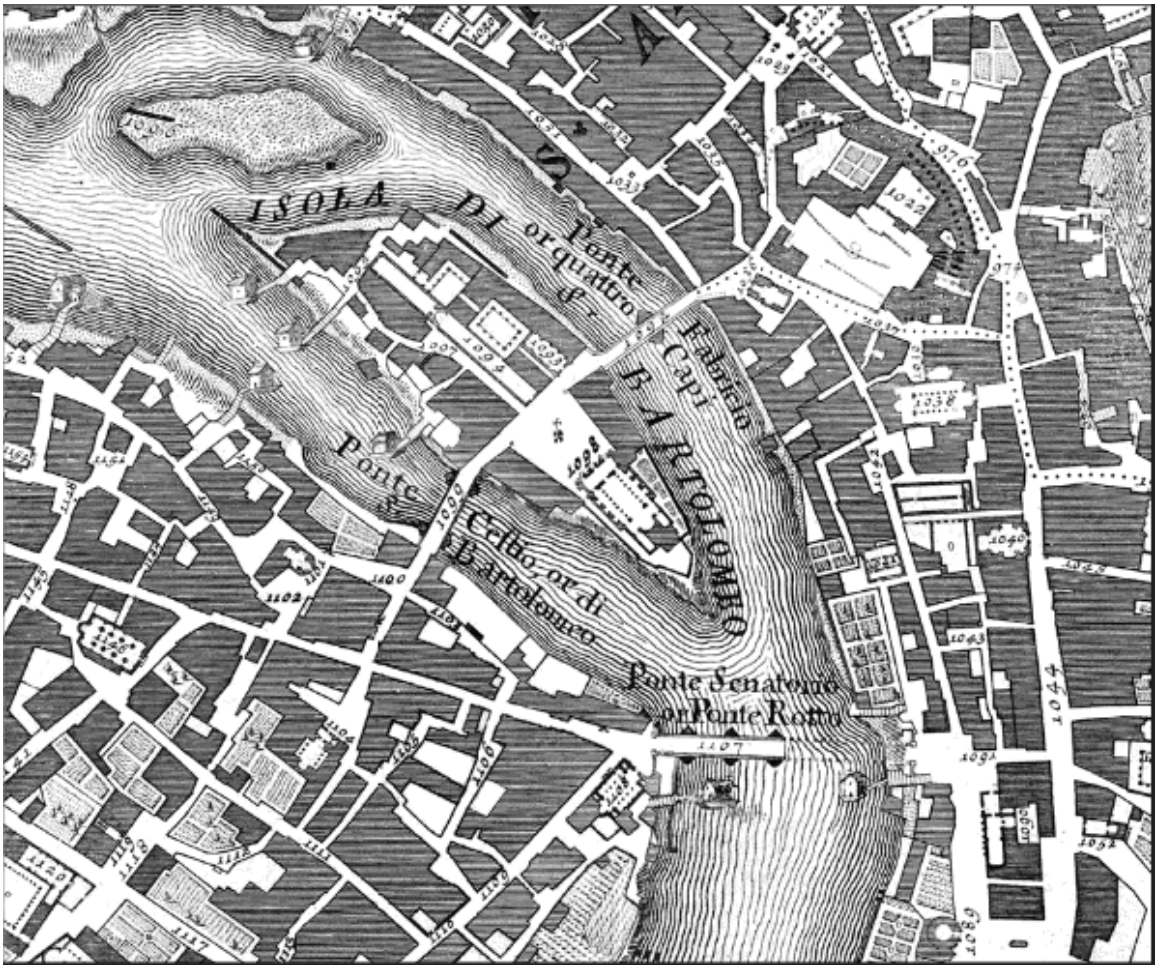

Figure 3-42. Nolli detail of the Tiber Island with Isoletta from "Nuova Pianta di Roma data in luce da Giambattista Nolli l'anno MVCCLXVIII". Reproduced with permission from Allen Ceen, The Noli Interactive Map, January 2007, http://www.uoregon.edu. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving

Description of Image: This image is an all-encompassing view of the Tiber Island and the right and left banks of the Tiber. Included in the upper left of the image is

the now disappeared *Isoletta*, an islet formed from the detachment of the northern tip of the island (see entry on G.Vasi below for more information on this feature). Shown as submerged in Falda's map of 1676, the *Isoletta* appears here for the first time as completely separated.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Taking Bufalini's map as a template, Nolli used his surveyor's skill to depict the Tiber Island with further topographical accuracy. The twenty or more cartographers who lived between Bufalini and Nolli (including Du Pérac, Tempesta, and Falda) also chose to keep Bufalini's street layout as the base for their maps but continued, for commercial reasons, to depict buildings in the three-dimensional view plan which was more appealing to tourists (Ceen, 2003).

Nolli's technical expertise allowed him to represent the island topography in greater detail than Bufalini, providing the toponomastic information omitted by his predecessor (see relevant entry on Bufalini above). In his rendition of the island's street network, Nolli shows the same cross-pattern observed in Bufalini's map, confirming that island planners used the *cardo-decumanus* arrangement in the early days of the island. From Nolli's topographical index (NNs 1095-1097), we learn that the long thoroughfare that crossed the site from north to south in his time was the *Vicolo dell'Isola* and that alongside it were "ancient walls", *muri antichi* (NN 1097). At its north end, *Vicolo dell'Isola* intersected with a smaller street, appropriately named *Vicolo della Moletta* ('Grindstone Alley',) serving one of the three watermills on the west shore of the island (NN 1097). Not included in Nolli's index is the street between the island bridges, which remains unnamed as in Bufalini's map. By far the most important feature in this image, however, is the careful recording of the island's embankments. Sections of ancient wall

are clearly marked, on both shores, near the north tip of the island. Past the intervening arm of water, these appear to continue and converge at an acute angle on the nearby *Isoletta* (NN 1096, *Muri antichi*). Although the island's embankments are documented also in the work of other artists (see e.g. the entry on G.Vasi below), Nolli's is the only evidence for the shape of the perimeter wall in this part of the site.

Other carefully delineated landmarks in Nolli's map, which still survive today, are the Church of S. John Calybite (NN 1093: *Chiesa di S. Giovanni Calibita e Convento de' Benefratelli d'Italia*), shown in its early phase of incorporation into the Fatebenefratelli Hospital (NN 1094: *Spedale de'suddetti or Spedale de'Benefratelli d'Italia*); the Church of San Bartolomeo (NN 1098: *Chiesa Paroc. di S. Bartolomeo all'Isola T.C. e Conv. de' Minori Osservanti con Torre*); the Pons Fabricius (NN 1092: *Ponte Fabricio o Quattro Capi*); the Pons Cestius (NN 1099: *Ponte Cestio)* and the Pons Senatorius (NN 1107: Ponte Rotto).

Giuseppe Vasi (1710 – 1782): Engraver, Painter

Biographical information: Giuseppe Vasi, engraver and painter, was born in 1710 in Sicily, at Palermo (Leoni, 2004) or Corleone (Casali, 2003). As a young man of fifteen, after early schooling in the classical subjects, he trained in printmaking, possibly at the Collegio Carolino, a Jesuit institution in Palermo. Here Francesco Ciché taught etching, and it is assumed that Vasi studied under him.

Vasi then came to Rome 1736 where he studied works of Ghezzi, Pannini, and Juvarra. In 1741 he engraved a work for the first volume of the Capitoline Museum. In 1746 he etched five views of the the Palazzo Farnese di Caprarola, and in 1750 he engraved the plates depicting the seventeen jubilees held up to that time.

During a five year period (1735 – 1740) Giuseppe Vasi, Giambattista Nolli, and Giovanni Battista Piranesi worked together in Rome, giving us three views of the city. (See Nolli entry, p. 121.) In 1740, when Piranesi came to Rome, Vasi became his mentor. Vasi's style first attracted Piranes. Later, after his apprenticeship, he distanced himself from Vasi both personally and artistically. Piranesi's break with his mentor had a lot to do with his own flamboyant temperament: as H. Focillon writes, "When still the pupil of the Sicilian, Giuseppe Vasi -- a competent, although thoroughly academic engraver – Piranesi asked his master to give him the secret of 'true' etching, and when Vasi was unable, because of his limited capabilities, to reveal it, it is said that the apprentice flew into a violent rage" (Focillon, 1948, p. 49).

In 1747 Vasi came to Naples, where he received an appointment as Royal Engraver. From 1747 to 1761 he worked on his most important work, the ten books of the *Magnificenze di Roma* ('Magnificent (Monuments) of Rome'), a wide-ranging collection of engravings of the papal city. In 1763 he engraved the *Itinerario istruttivo per ritrovare le antiche e moderne magnificenze di Roma*, ('Itinerary Guide for the Re-discovery of the Ancient and Modern Magnificent (Monuments) of Rome'). Published in 1754, the fifth book on the buildings and bridges on the Tiber is actually the oldest of the series (Scano, 1992). This work became an important and widely used guide for foreign tourists. In 1765 he published "Il prospetto di Roma." His death on April 16, 1782 prevented him from completing his final work, "La caduta del fiume Velino nella Nera." Vasi is buried across from the Tiber Island in the Church of San Gregorio a Quattro Capi.

Century: 18th

Figure 3-43. Vasi Piazza Montanara » Magnificenze book 2, plate N. 30. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1754 (Note the date of all of the following images is the same.) Medium: copper plate engraving (Note all of the following images are the same medium.). Location of original: Palazzo della Stamperia (Istituto Nazionale della Grafica, former Calcografia Camerale Romana) founded by Pope Clement XII in 1738 near Fontana di Trevi. (Note all of the following originals located in this location.)

Description of Image: The image shows a view of Piazza Montanara from S, with Innocent XII's fountain in the foreground and the Theater of Marcellus, rebuilt as Palazzo Savelli-Orsini, in the background. The fountain, as well as the shops and some of the other minor buildings depicted in the vicinity of the theater, are no longer visible today. Below the image is the inscription with the title of the etching and a list of the main landmarks in it:

"Montanara Square"

"1, Fountain. 2, Theater of Marcellus, adapted to a palace for the Savelli family and now owned by the excellent Orsini family."

Vasi comments extensively on these structures in the following passages from the Itinerary, providing a number of interesting historical, topographical, and etymological details:

> Piazza Montanara = Day 5th, p.205: 201: “The name is derived from the mountain people who convene in this square to be hired for the day. Innocent XII established the fountain with the water that comes from the Capitol. In its vicinities was one of Rome’s most ancient city gates, named (Porta) Carmentalis, from the famous seer Carmenta, mother of Evander, who lived here. Not far was the Forum Holitorium, the vegetable market, and the Colonna Lattaria, where babies were taken to be nursed.”
>
> Theater of Marcellus = Day 5th, p.204: 200: “This most noble theater was built by Augustus for the entertainment of Roman nobility, and as a memorial to the son of his daughter Octavia, Marcellus. Such was its magnificence and architectural perfection that the little that is left of it served as a model for the early master architects of our time. It had a capacity of thirty thousand spectators and on the first memorial celebration for Marcellus six hundred African wild beasts were killed in it. On its ruins a magnificent palace was built, first by the Pierleoni family, then by the Savelli princes; now it is the residence of the Dukes Orsini. It is decorated with statues, busts, and ancient reliefs, with many modern rare artworks worth of a prince.”

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The title feature of the etching, Piazza Montanara, occupied the northwest end of the vegetable market of Rome, or the Forum Holitorium. In this part of the market Augustus built a theater formerly planned by Julius Caesar. Shown in the image are architectural details from the middle and lower tiers of the structure, build in the Doric and Ionic orders. The proximity of this building to the shrine of Aesculapius on the Tiber Island recalls the traditional placement of theatrical structures in Greek Asclepieia, where musical and dramatic events were part of the therapy. Along with the adjacent precint of Apollo Medicus, in the NW (not shown in the etching), the Theater of Marcellus may have thus constituted, topographically and culturally, an extension of the Asclepium on the Island. Since Ludi Apollinares included dramatic performances, it is likely that earlier theatrical structures existed in the area.

(These, however, would have been temporary installations of wood and cannot be traced archaeologically.)

Figure 3-44. Vasi Spaggia detta Regola *Magnificenze*, book 5, plate N. 90 Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

Description of Image: Here Vasi depicts a beach, known as 'La Regola', that once stretched on the left bank of the Tiber immediately to the north of the island. In one point the beach is built up with flood deposits rising significantly above ground level. In the foreground are sail-and row-boats, as this section of the river carried the traffic between the ports of Ripa Grande and Ripetta. In the background are the buildings of the old waterfront, most of which workers demolished in the later XIX century for the construction of the 'Muraglioni.' Below the image is the inscription with the title of the etching and a list of the main landmarks in it (cited from left to right):

> Beach called La Regola" "1, Part of the Collegio dei Sacerdoti (i.e. Collegio Ecclesiastico, better known as Ospizio dei Mendicanti). 2, Dome of San Carlo a Catenari. 3, Church of the Saints Vincenzo and Anastasio. 4, District of the Vaccinari or of the Tanners.

Of these structures, only two survive today, the Collegio Ecclesiastico/Ospizio dei Mendicanti near Ponte Sisto and the Church of San Carlo a Catenari (or: ai Catinari) in Via dei Giubbonari. Both are further illustrated by Vasi elsewhere in the *Itinerary*. Like the Tiber Island, the District of the Vaccinari had a church dedicated to Saint Bartholomew, patron of tanners. The memory of the place is preserved in the name of modern day Via di S.Bartolomeo de'Vaccinari.

Vasi gives a topographical and geological overview of the area in this passage from the *Itinerary*:

> Day 7th, p.287: 316: "Since the river is wider here than anywhere else, sand piles up on both of its shores. Hence the area was first known by the name 'Arenula', now corrupted into 'Renella'. Great were the delights of this beach, as attested by the wonderful marble remains that continue to be discovered there.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: This representation of La Regola gives a good idea of the sandy banks that formed north of the island on both sides of the river. The memory of these sands survives in the toponomastics of the place, in the names such as Via Arenula. Downstream from La Regola, where now is the bridgehead of Ponte Garibaldi, there was an indentation in the bank with another, smaller beach known as "Renalla' (see "Day 7th" of the *Itinerary* cited above). Here is where several maps of Rome locate the so-called *Isoletta*, a fragment from the north tip of the Tiber Island detached in the 17th century. As shown in Vasi's next plate, the *Isoletta* contained substantial remains of the island's embankment walls (see also Falda 1676, Nolli 1748,; cf. Lanciani, relevant plate in *FUR*.)

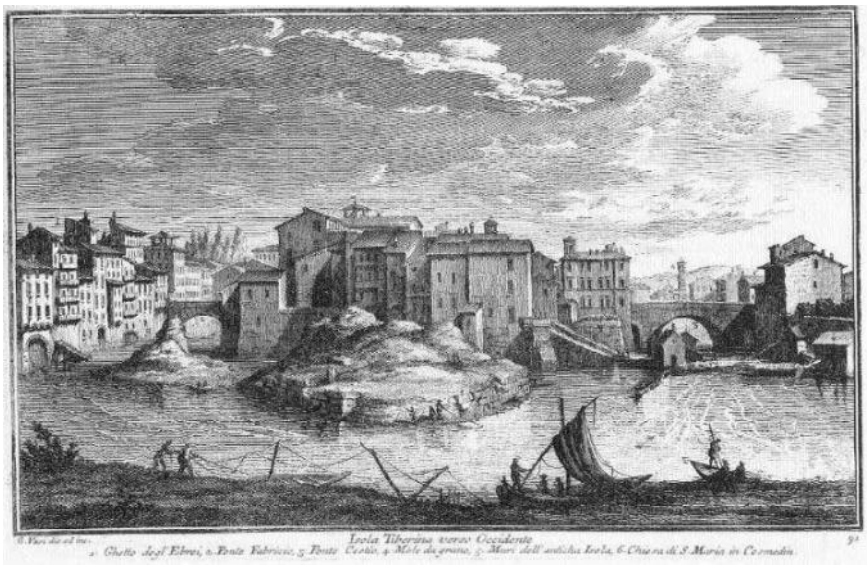

Figure 3-45. Vasi *Isola Tiberina verso Occidente Magnificenze*, book 5, plate N. 91. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

Description of Image: The view is from a beach to the northeast of the island, the so-called Renella (see commentary to plate 90 above). A section of the beach is depicted in the foreground, providing the setting for a fishing scene. At the center of the composition, in the background, is the island with the two bridges, fronted by the Isoletta. In the right channel a grain mill projects towards Trastevere. Buildings from the old waterfronts line up at the sides of the composition.

Below the image is the inscription with the title of the etching and a list of the main landmarks in it (cited from left to right):

> "Tiber Island towards the West" 1, Jewish Ghetto. 2, Pons Fabricius. 3, Pons Cestius. 4, Grain Mill. 5, Ancient Island Walls. 6, Church of S.Maria in Cosmedin

Each of these features is discussed at length in the text of the *Itinerary*. Especially relevant to the analysis of plate 91 is the following passage:

> Day 5th, p.244: 259: Beside the church of S.Bartolomeo we can see the construction of the ship by means of large boulders, with the serpent of Aesculapius still discernible in a stone relief. On the other side, up river, one can see other boulders forming the ship's bow, around which, as we said, the body of

S.Quirino and various other martyrs thrown in the Tiber by the pagans were recovered. Grain mills, though invented and introduced in Belisarius' time, existed in Rome already from the monarchic period.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Vasi's plate 91 is one of the most valuable documents for the reconstruction of the north end of the island, lost with the disappearance of the Isoletta. The view from the Renella allows a close, detailed depiction of embankment walls on this islet. Consistently with the evidence from Nolli's map of 1748, the plate shows two sections of opus quadratum masonry converging at the north end of the isoletta. Up to four courses of blocks are visible above water. Thanks to Vasi's accurate rendition, it is possible to match their arrangement in stretchers and headers to that of the two wall sections still extant on the island east side (under the office of the river police and beside the Pons Fabricius). Today the masonry at the tip of the islet is missing; on this point, cf. the drawing by Gamucci of 1569 depicting the same subject. Plate 91 also preserves a good view of the Pons Cestius prior to its rebuilding.

Figure 3-46. Vasi Chiesa di S. Bartolomeo all'Isola Magnificenze, book 5, plate N. 92. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

Description of Image: The plate shows a view of the island's square from the NW, deliberately expanded to encompass the buildings on three sides of the square. Angle and viewpoint are manipulated to capture maximum detail, according to a technique that can be loosely compared to wide-angle photography. Vasi and other artists of the *vedutismo* movement used this procedure especially when dealing with crowded urban environments (contrast, for example, Vasi's near-photographic depictions of Rome's extramural sections, the *disabitato*, where he could rely on a completely unobstructed view of his subjects). In the case of the present image, the correction of the natural perspective deceivingly amplifies the size of the island's square (which is small even now that all buildings on its west side have been cleared out, occupying today a trapezoidal space of ca. 400 x 300 x 500 m, with 400 m being the distance between the two bridges at the trapezoid's base).

Otherwise Vasi's rendition of Piazza S.Bartolomeo shows the same unrivaled accuracy of detail as the rest of his etchings. Depicted from left to right are: the entrance to the Pons Fabricius, with the small church of S.Gregorio in the background; the Caetani tower; the east wing of the Franciscan convent; the Church of S.Bartolomeo; the west wing of the convent and other buildings that flanked the entrance to the Pons Cestius prior to the late XIX century reorganization of the riverfront. The image is enlivened by scenes of the square's daily life, with horses, carriages, and people strolling.

Below the image is the inscription with the title of the etching and a list of the main landmarks in it (cited from left to right):

Church of S.Bartolomeo at the Island:" A, Inscription (= CIL 6, 567) which is in the 1, Franciscan Convent. 2, Part of Pons Cestius. 3, Part of Pons Fabricius or Quattro Capi. 4, S.Gregorio a Ponnte Quattro Capi. 5, Part of Rome.

As usual, on each of these features Vasi comments at length in the text of the *Itinerary*, including a discussion on the value of CIL 6, 567 for the reconstruction of the island's history:

Day 5th, p.241: 256: "In the small cloister is displayed an inscription discovered during excavations near this church under the pontificate of Gregory XIII. This document is used by some scholars to show that St.Justin the Martyr was wrong in asserting that in Rome there was a statue of Simon Magus set up by the Romans inter duos pontes" (Lugli, 1952, II, pp.154-155: 67-68; cf. 69-74. Cf. LTUR s.v. 'Semo Sancus in Insula')

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Beneath the square depicted in this plate stood in antiquity an open space, sometimes indicated as *Inter Duos Pontes (*Lugli, 1952, II, p.136: 14-19) , which extended immediately to the N of the temple of Aesculapius. A street named *Vicus Censori* linking the Pons Fabricius to the Pons Cestius bisected it from east to west[5] By Vasi's time, the ground on the island had risen to today's level, burying the ancient topography under 4-4,50 m of fill[6]. On account of this, and of the visual distortion described above, plate 92 is of little help in reconstructing the central area of the island. Vasi's image captures nonetheless two important archaeological features no longer visible on the site today, a column from the

[5] Lugli 1952, II, p.142: 1-3. LTUR s.v. "Vicus Censori"; Besnier 1900, pp. 54-55. On the discovery of a section of this street near the ramp to the Pons Cestius see *NdS* 1883, p.188; Besnier 1900, p.122. [footnote count is off from deletions].

[6] An excavation conducted in 1676 in Piazza S.Bartolomeo reached down to a depth of 18 Roman palms, i.e. 4,50 m (report in G.P. Bellori, *Selecti nummi duo Antoniniani: quorum primus anni novi auspicia, alter commodum & annium verum Caesares exhibet: ex bibliotheca emin. principis Camilli cardinalis Maximi, editi a Jo. Petro Bellorio* (Rome 1676) p.41; cf. Besnier 1900, p.43). Writing about the access ramp to the Pons Fabricius which is now underground, R. Lanciani comments: "The student must remember that the streets of ancient Rome were from three to five meters lower than t he present ones, while the bridges have remained the same; the inclines which gave access to them were, therefore, much longer and steeper than they are now, and offered space for several more openings or *archi*, which have since been buried by the accumulation of the soil. These steep inclines were called *pedes pontis,* and *cosciae* in the Middle Ages" (1897, p.18). See also Besnier 1900, p.122.

temple of Aesculapius that stood in the piazza in front of S.Bartolomeo, replacing an earlier obelisk[7], and the inscription to Semo Sancus cited above[8]. (The latter shows and antiquarian copying the plate while lying outdoors on the N side of the square.) The caption below the image and the corresponding passage of the *Itinerary* inform us however that the nuns kept the inscription inside the convent's cloister. This is an example of how, just as he manipulates the natural perspective of a *veduta* to afford a better view of the monuments in it, Vasi sometimes can go as far as rearranging the location itself of the monuments. In the case at point, he has relocated CIL 6, 567 from the convent to the square, moving it to the foreground of the composition so as to make its content legible to the viewer (the text reads: *Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio*).

Figure 3-47. Vasi Ponte Quattro Capi *Magnificenze*, book 5, plate N. 93. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

[7] The so-called *'**colonna** infame'*, on whose shaft used to be attached a 'blacklist' of individuals who did not attend mass on Easter day. Damaged by a carriage in 1867, the column was replaced two years later by the '**guglia**' which we see today, a work by sculptor I.Giacometti commissioned by pope Pius XIX; see discussion in Bruce 2004, p.41.

[8] The discovery of this monument, dating to 1574, is recorded in Cod. Barberini XXX, 92 p.3: 'found last year at S.Bartolomeo on the Island, near the hospital across the entrance to the convent, during the construction of the new foundations. Nearby is a fragment from an obelisk (*piramide*) with Egyptian hieroglyphs, like that of S.Macuto. The obelisk is about four and half Roman palms and the writing is clear and well-executed'. Cf. Besnier 1900, p.287.

Description of Image: Although its title reads *Ponte Quattro Capi*, this is a wide-ranging *veduta* of the Tiber Island from the SE reminiscent of similar works by Dupérac, Piranesi, and Cruyl. The angle is the same as in Cruyl's Prospetto del Ponte Rotto, with a full view of of this bridge between scenes from the east bank in the foreground and the island in the background (unlike Cruyl, Vasi displays only one grain mill).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The features of archaeological interest preserved in this image are the same as those in Cruyl's drawing (see p.116).

Figure 3-48. Vasi Chiesa e Spedale di S. Gionvanni Dio *Magnificenze*, book 9, plate N. 173. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it.

Description of Image: The image is an artificially expanded view of the Church of S.Giovanni Calibita and Piazza S.Bartolomeo from the Pons Fabricius according to the same criteria used for pl.92, Figure 3 - 46 (see discussion above). From left to right we see the Caetani tower, Piazza S.Bartolomeo with the so-called *colonna infame* at the center (see above, commentary to plate 92), the west wing of the Franciscan convent, the entrance to the Pons Cestius, and the Fatebenefratelli Hospital with the

Church of S.Giovanni Calibita. The title feature of the plate occupies the right foreground; beyond the Pons Cestius, in the far background, is a glimpse of Trastevere.

> Below the image is the inscription with the title of the etching and a list of the main landmarks in it (cited from left to right): Church and Hospital of S.Giovanni di Dio" 1, Part of Ponte Quattro Capi (Pons Fabricius). 2,Church and Hospital of the Bonfratelli (Fatebenefratelli) 3, Pons Cestius. 4, Part of Trastevere. 5) Franciscan Convent by S.Bartolomeo at the Island.

Further comments by Vasi on these structures are found in the text of the *Itinerary* (Day 5th *passim*; specifically on S.Giovanni Calibita: p.240: 255).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Except for the *colonna infame*, which probably belonged to the sanctuary of Aesculapius, (see discussion above) and the bridgehead of the Pons Cestius in its original form and setting, this plate does not preserve much of the ancient topography no longer visible today. Unlike its companion *veduta*, plate 92, it does a better job at portraying the slope in the square's floor (especially noticeable near the Pons Cestius entrance)—a result of the original difference in elevation between the *inter duos pontes* area and the bridges. See commentary to pl.92 above.

Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720 – 1778): Artist

Biographical information: Giovanni Battista Piranesi was born near Venice at Mojano di Mestre on October 4, 1720. He was the son of a stonemason and trained early under the guidance of his uncle, Matteo Lucchesi, an architectural engineer. His early training gave him an understanding of masonry construction and the use of winches, scaffolding, hawsers, pulleys, and chains. His learned from a variety of sources: he was well-versed in the vocabulary of classicism from the works of Andrea Palladio; he studied architectural drawing on Ferdinando Bibiena's book on civil architecture (1711); finally, his practice of drawing buildings on a diagonal and greatly

foreshortened seems to have come from his knowledge of contemporary Venetian stage design. When Piranesi visited Rome in 1740 the great diversity of the city's ancient and contemporary architecture had an impact on him. During a five year period (1735 – 1740) Giambattista Nolli, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, and Giuseppe Vasi all worked in Rome, giving us three different individual perspectives of the city.

In Rome, Piranesi studied etching under Vasi. At first he felt an attraction to Vasi's precise style but then broke up with him. Piranesi's flamboyant temperament played a great part in the break: "When still the pupil of the Sicilian, Giuseppe Vasi -- a competent, although thoroughly academic engraver – Piranesi asked his master to give him the secret of 'true' etching, and when Vasi was unable, because of his limited capabilities, to reveal it, it is said that the apprentice flew into a violent rage (Focillon, 1948, p. 49). Piranesi began to etch large views of Rome's most visited sites, both modern and ancient, that formed the heart of his Magnificenze di Roma, for sale by book seller Giovanni Bouchard. These etchings vied with those of Vasi by the same title, thus adding to the enmity between the two (Sassoli, 1999, p. 23).

Piranesi also benefited from the influence of Nolli's work, especially the latter's use of the recently discovered Severan Marble Plan (see entries on FUR p. 42 and Nolli and the exhibit, p.43). In 1742 Nolli had been commissioned to set up a display of the fragments on the Campidoglio. Piranesi spent time at Nolli's exhibit, making drawings which he later used for his Antichità Romane (Ceen, 2003, p. 23). He appears to have been somewhat critical of Nolli's organization, possibly out of resentment for not being chosen to supervise the exhibit (Ceen, 2003, p. 25).

The innovations of Nolli's Nuova Pianta di Roma are interwoven with the first experiences of Piranesi in the City, and had an impact on his artistic, technical, and intellectual formation. One of Nolli's most important influences on Piranesi was the combined use of the historical and cartographical disciplines according to the emerging scientific methodologies. The first collection of Piranesi's works, Antichità Romane, published in 1756, consisted of 135 etchings. Included in this collection is his Pianta di Roma of 1778, a map combining his unique vision of ancient Rome with selected fragments of the Severan Marble Plan (Frutaz, 1962, Vol. I, p. 79). Piranesi's used sixty-seven of these fragments for both the map and other individual engravings in the collection. These etchings, which sold as souvenirs for travellers on the Grand Tour, were a sensation across Europe. Aristocrats were especially fond of architectural engravings. By the 1800's, the techniques of tonality and shading in copper plate engraving had become so refined and precise that they almost resembled modern photographs

Piranesi combined his knowledge of archeology, his training as an engineer and architect, and his studies of stage design to create another important collection of etchings, his uniquely romanticized Vedute di Roma. Contact with Tiepolo in 1744, transformed Piranesi's tight style into a more dramatic one. This pushed him to manipulate the scale of buildings and darkness and light, to make them appear larger, grander, and more dramatic. From 1747 to the year of his death in 1778, Piranesi's created 1440 works in twenty-nine volumes. His strong belief in the prowess of Roman engineering helped bolster the Roman side in the Greek-Roman clash of "who were the better architects and engineers." With their strong emphasis on engineering, vedute

such as Piranesi's Basilica of Maxentius exemplified the power of Romanità that made his prints so attractive as souvenirs of the Grand Tour.

Century: 18th

Figure 3-49. Piranesi Image 1 Scenografia dell'Isola Tiberina – Scenery of the Tiber Island, Kamei 431. From: Vol. 10: Il Campo Marzio dell'Antica Roma. From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving. Location of Original: Private collection.

Description of Image: 203 x 445 mm. This long range view of the Tiber Island from upstream combines influences of Giuseppe Vasi in the precision of the architectural detail with a 'Romantic' interpretation of the natural elements in the landscape (especially noticeable in the growth covering the Ponte Rotto in the foreground and in the rendering of the island's vegetation).

Inscription:

1. Scenographia Insulæ Tiberinæ. 2. Reliquiae veterum substructionum. 3. Reliquiae veteris navis Lapideae. 4. Templum Divi Bartholomaei. 5. Pons Fabricius. 6. Pons Gratianus. 7. Roma citra Tiberim. 8. Roma trans Tiberim. 9. Reliquiae Pontis Senatorij.

1.Scenery of the Tiber Island. 2.Remains of the old substructures. 3.Remains of the old ship of stone. 4. Temple of Saint Bartholomew. 5. Pons Fabricius. 6. Pons

Gratianus. 7. Rome this side of the Tiber. 8.Rome across the Tiber. 9. Remains of the Pons Senatorius.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: In addition to various Roman structures still visible today ('ship' monument, Fabricius and Cestius bridges—the latter in its former aspect prior to the 19th century reconstruction), the image preserves a very rare view of the embankment wall which framed the southwest side of the island. This masonry, no longer extant, could be seen at times of low tide; cf. Lanciani in Besnier 1900, p.36.

Figure 3-50. Piranesi Image 2 Veduta dell'Isola Tiberina.Kamei 74. View of the Tiber Island. From Vol. 16: Vedute di Roma. From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-Tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: copper plate engraving

Description of Image: A south view of the island like n.1 Figure 3 – 49 above, but closer and showing a darker, more romantic interpretation of the subject. The

rendition of the Roman ruins, overrun by tangled vines, combines with the emphatic foreshortening of the island to create a dramatic effect. The overgrowth on the ancient stones is so cloying that it has almost a sick feeling about it: "On the river island, a vegetal cancer devours the travertine prow of Aesculapius' serpent ship" (Sassoli, 1999, p. 26). One of Piranesi's most successful *vedute*, this engraving has been reproduced by many later artists, see e.g. L. Rossini's 'Veduta dell'Isola Tiberina' (from *Le Antichità Romane*, 1819-1823) or H. Reinhard's chromolithography 'Tiberinsel' (from *Album des klassischen Altertums*, 1869).

Inscription:

VEDUTA dell'Isola Tiberina. A Avanzi delle Sostruzioni del Tempio d'Esculapio, e sù parte di esse la Poppa della nave di Travertino simbolica di quella, che condusse il Serpe da Epidauro. B Effigie d'Esculapio. C Chiesa di S. Bartolomeo. D Ponte antico detto quattro capi. E Ponte antico detto Ferrato.

VIEW of the Tiber Island. A. Remains of the Substructure of the Temple of Aesculapius and, over part of it, the Stern of the Travertine Ship symbolic of that which had carried the Snake of Epidaurus. B. Effigy of Aesculapius. C. Church of San Bartolomeo. D. Ancient bridge called Four Heads. E. Ancient bridge called the Iron Bridge.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: For all of its dramatic feel, the image is a nearly photographic rendition of the travertine 'ship' monument and its tufa substructures as the latter could still be seen above ground in Piranesi's day. Obscured by buildup over the following century, workmen briefly exposed these substructures again in the late 1800's, during which time archaeologists photographed and sketched them (see Lanciani *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 1896, p.61), and then permanently covered again under the concrete 'skirt' that now encloses the island.

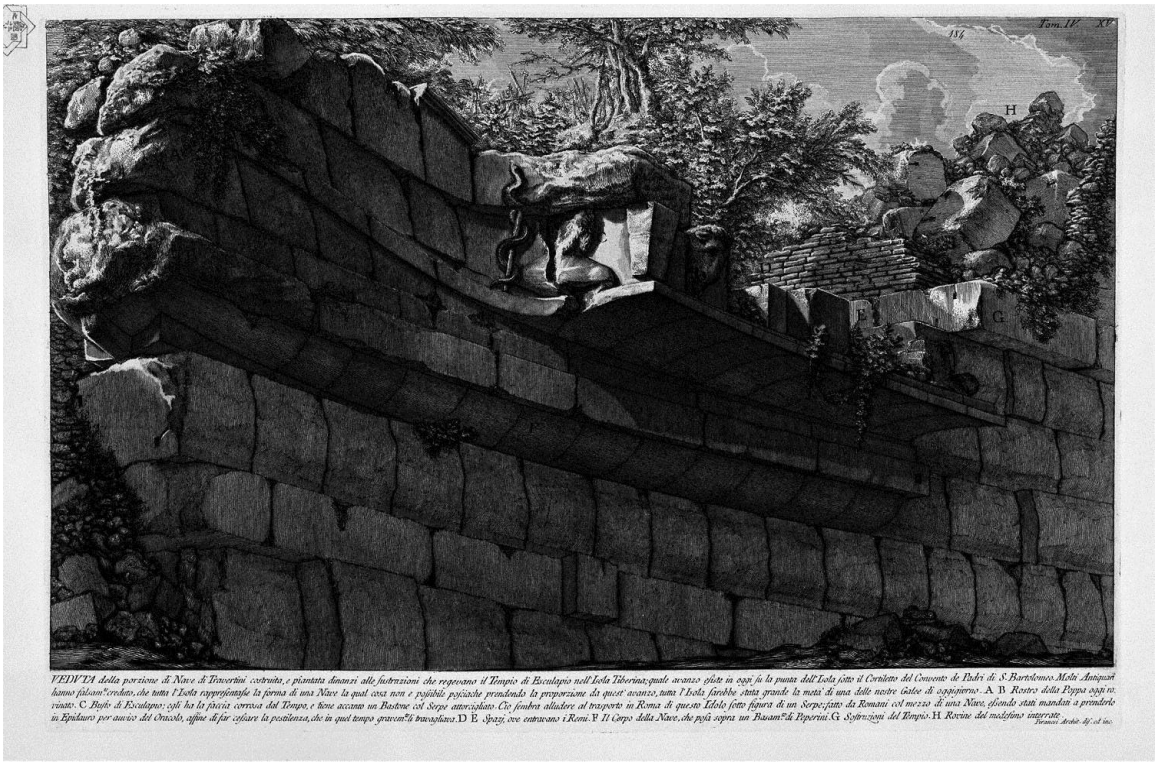

Figure 3-51. Piranesi Image 3 Veduta della porzione di Nave di Travertini costruita e *piantata dinanzi alle sostruzioni del Tempio di Esculapio nell'Isola Tiberina. – View of a Portion of the Travertine Ship and the exposed Front of the Temple of Aesculapius on the Tiber Island.* From: V. 4 *Le Antichità Romane "I Ponti Antichi, gli Avanzi dei Teatri, dei Portici e di Altri Monumenti di Roma.* From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving

Description of Image: Piranesi offers here a close up view of the southeast wall of the island and the ornamental Travertine revetment commonly referred to as the 'Ship' monument or 'ship of Aesculapius'. This and the following three images could be interpreted as archaeological and architectural 'footnotes' to the well-known south view of the island at n.2 above. The foliage overgrowth again imparts the sense of gloom to the image.

Inscription:

VEDUTA della porzione di Nave di Travertini costruita, e piantata dinanzi alle sustruzioni che regevano il Tempio di Esculapio nell'Isola Tiberina; quale avanzo

esiste in oggi su la punta dell'Isola sotto il Cortiletto del Convento de Padri di S. Bartolomeo. Molti Antiquari hanno falsam(en)te creduto, che tutta l'Isola rappresentasse la forma di una Nave la qual cosa non e possibile posciache prendendo la proporzione da quest'avanzo, tutta l'Isola sarebbe stata grande la metà di una delle nostre Galee di oggigiorno. **A B** Rostro della Poppa oggi rovinato. **C** Busto di Esculapio: egli ha la faccia corrosa dal Tempo, e tiene accanto un Bastone col Serpe attorcigliato. Cio sembra alludere al trasporto in Roma di questo Idolo sotto figura di un Serpe; fatto da Romani col mezzo di una Nave essendo stati mandati a prenderlo in Epidauro per avviso del Oracolo, affine di far cessare la pestilenza, che in quel tempo gravem(en)te li travagliava. **D E** Spazj, ove entravano i Remi. **F** Il Corpo della Nave, che posa sopra un Basam(en)to di Peperini. **G** Sostruzioni del Tempio. **H** Rovine del medesimo interrate. Piranesi Archit(etto) dis(egno) ed inc(ise).

View of a portion of the Travertine Ship built and set up in front of the substructure supporting the Temple of Aesculapius on the Tiber island; remains which exist today at the tip of the Island below the Courtyard of the Convent of the Fathers of San Bartolomeo. Many antiquarians have falsely believed, that the whole Island might have represented the form of a ship, something which it is not possible, for, when taking the proportion of this remain, [we see that] the whole island would have been as big as half of one of today's ships. A. B. Figurehead of the stern, today in ruins. C. Bust of Aesculapius: his face is eroded by time, and he has nearby a staff with the snake entwined. This seems an allusion to the way this idol was transported to Rome under the guise of a snake; it was done by means of a ship by Romans who had been sent to retrieve it in Epidaurus on the advice of an Oracle, in order to stop the pestilence affecting themin that time. D. E. Space where the oars enter. F. The body of the ship, placed on top of a foundation of Peperino. G. Substructure of the Temple. H. Ruins of the same, covered by earth.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: As with n.3 Figure 3 - 51 above, this image is a detailed and architecturally accurate rendition of the sculptural decoration on the southeast side of the island. All details of the ship, technical (hull, oarbox) as well as decorative (Aesculapius *parasema*, or figurehead, and bull *protome*), are faithfully reproduced as they can still be observed today. In addition Piranesi preserves important evidence about parts that are no longer visible, namely the tufa substructures atop which the 'ship' stands: these are shown as three courses of opus quadratum masonry, two rows of headers with a middle row of stretchers, emerging several feet above ground.

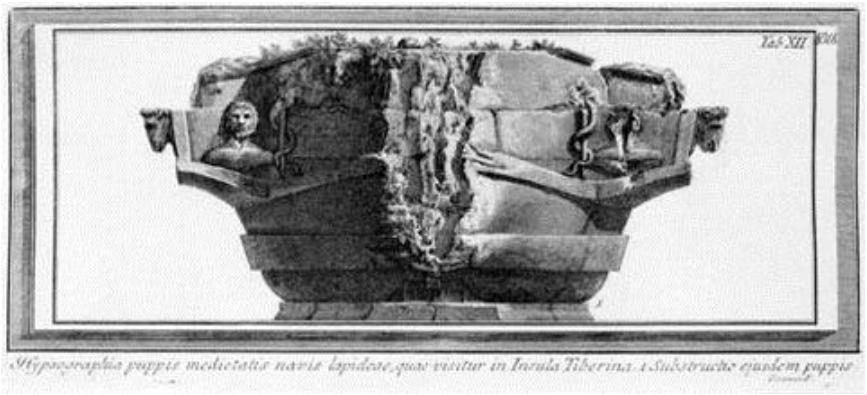

Figure 3-52. Piranesi Image 4 La Nave marmorea dell'Isola Tiberina veduta di poppa – The Marble Ship of the Tiber Island viewed from the stern. From: V. 10: Il Campo Marzio dell' Antica Roma. From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving, 131 X 293 mm

Description of Image: The image is a reconstruction of the island's 'Ship Monument." Only the sculptural parts in travertine part are shown.

Inscription:

Hypsographia puppis medietatis navis lapideae, quae visitur in Insula Tiberina. 1 Substructio ejusdem puppis.

Central elevation of the ship of stone, which is seen on the Tiber Island. 1. Substructure of the same.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Piranesi's reconstructs the 'Ship Monument' according to the prevailing opinion that the latter was a tridimensional sculpture rather than a one-sided relief. The missing west side is rendered as a symmetrical image of the east one, with the Aesculapius figurehead and the bull protome fully restored. As he specifies in the text accompanying plate n.3 above, Piranesi rejected the idea that this sculpture was part of a landscaping design originally extending to the entire perimeter of the island. Like many antiquarians of his time, on the other hand, he believed that the ship section represented in the monument was a

stern (It. *poppa*, Lat. *puppis*) rather than a prow. For a recent interpretation of these remains, in light of modern archaeological techniques, see the study by Krauss (*MDAIR* 59, 1946).

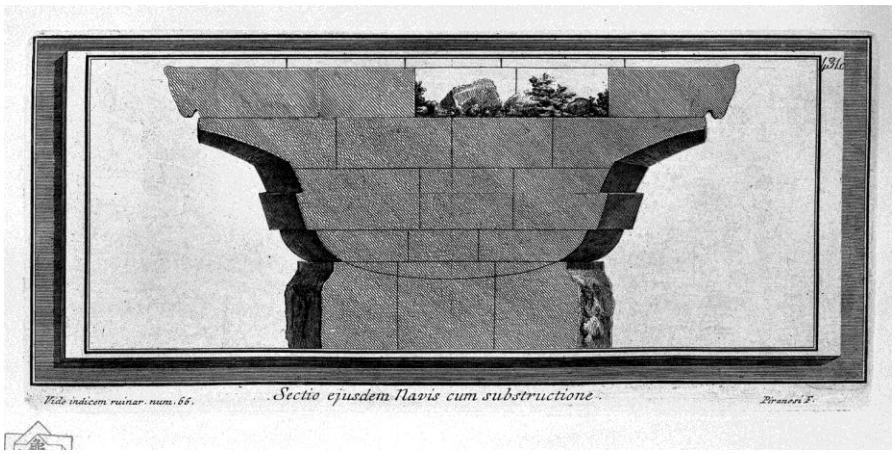

Figure 3-53. Piranesi Image 5 Sezione della Nave predetta – A Section of the Aforementioned Ship From: V. 10*:* Il Campo Marzio dell' Antica Roma. From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving, 120X288

Description of Image: Same as n. 4 above, shown in cross-section with the addition of the substructure.

Inscription:

Sectio ejusdem Navis cum substructione. Vide indicem ruinarum. 66.

Section of the same ship with the substructure. See index of ruins, number 66.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: This cross-section of the Travertine Ship of Aesculapius is representative of Piranesi's tendency to combine technical knowledge and imagination in the study of ancient architecture. Like most of his restorations, the images included in this catalog are remarkable for their attention to minute architectural and engineering detail, while at the same time they show a

fondness for the imaginary and the fantastic that have no parallels in other illustrators of Roman antiquities.

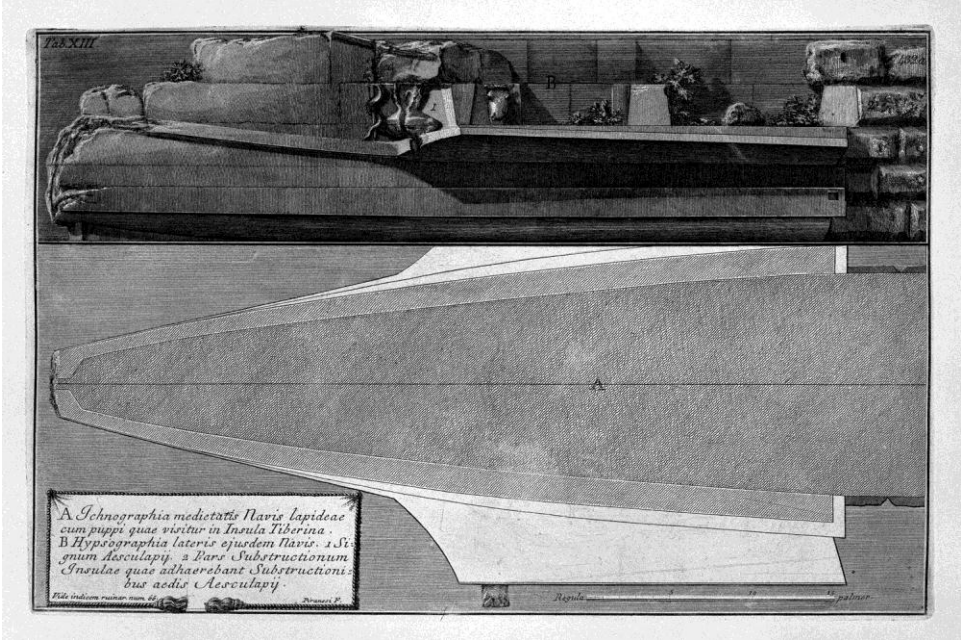

Figure 3-54. Piranesi Image 6 Pianta e veduta laterale della stessa Nave – Map and Side View of the Same Ship. From: V. 10*:* Il Campo Marzio dell' Antica Roma. From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving, 260X399 mm

Description of Image: Piranesi, who knew that the 'Ship Monument' was below the size of a real life vessel, shows here the two sides of this sculpture converging at a very narrow angle in order to maintain a realistic proportion. While his reconstruction is technically correct, there is no guarantee that the ancient landscapers had a similar concern for realism and it is more likely that—if the monument was indeed two-sided—its sides would have been placed at a much wider angle, following the alignment of the underlying embankment walls. Cf. E. Dupérac's view of the south end of the island included above in this catalog p.86.

Inscription:

A Ichnographia medietatis Navis Lapideae cum puppi quae visitur in Insula Tiberina. B Hypsographia lateris ejusdem Navis. 1 Signum Aesculapij. 2. Pars Substructionum Insulae quae adhaerebant Substructionibus aedis Aesculpaij.

Central ichnographic view of the Ship of Stone with the stern which is seen on the Tiber Island. B. Elevation of the side of the same ship. 1 Image of Aesculapius. 2 Part of the island foundations adjacent to those of the temple of Aesculapius

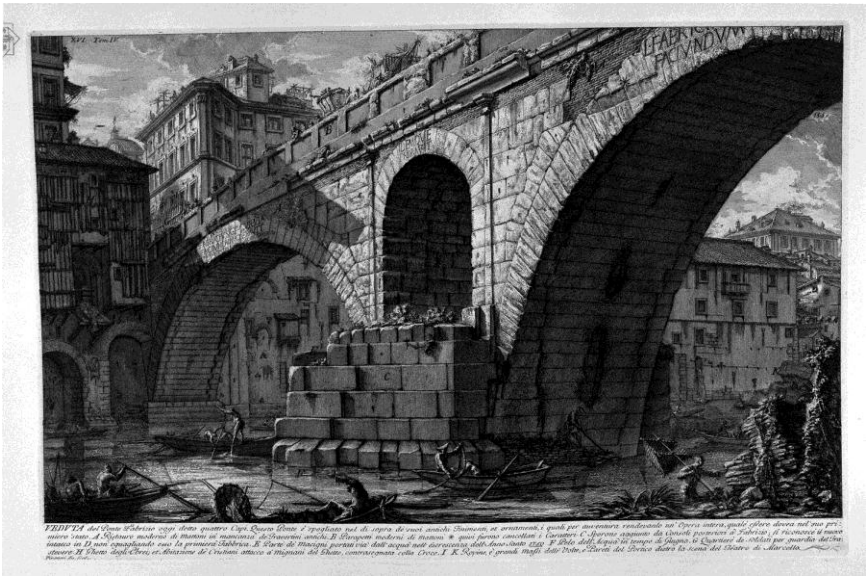

Figure 3-55. Piranesi Image 7 Veduta del Ponte Fabrizio oggi detto dei Quattro Capi – View of the Ponte Fabrizio today called the Four Heads. From: V. 4: *Le Antichità Romane "I Ponti Antichi, gli Avanzi dei Teatri, dei Portici e di Altri Monumenti di Roma".* From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving, 260X399 mm

Description of Image: The plate offers an architecturally accurate northeast view of the Pons Fabricius and the river embankment at the west edge of the Jewish Ghetto. Vasi's influence on his student Piranesi is particularly evident here, especially in the painstaking attention to detail. Sparse weeds and old decaying structures add the dramatic effect typical of Piranesian *vedute.*

Inscription:

VEDVTA del Ponte Fabrizio oggi detto quattro Capi. Questo Ponte è spogliato nel di sopra de' suoi antichi Finimenti, et ornamenti, i quali per avventura rendevanlo

un'Opera intera, quale essere dovea nel suo primiero stato. **A** Ristauro moderno di Mattoni in mancanza de' Travertini antichi**. B** Parapetti moderni di mattoni * quivi furono cancellati i Caratteri. **C** Sperone aggiunto da Consoli posteriori a Fabrizio; si riconosce il nuovo intacco in **D**, non eguagliando esso la primiera Fabbrica. **E** Parte de' Macigni portati via dall'acqua nell'escrescenza dell'Anno Santo 1750. **F** Pelo dell'Acqua in tempo di Giugno. **G** Quartiere de Soldati per guardia del Trastevere. **H** Ghetto degli Ebrei; et Abitazione de Cristiani attacco à Mignani del Ghetto, contrasegnata colla Croce. **I K** Rovine, e grandi Massi delle Volte, e Pareti del Portico dietro la scena del Teatro di Marcello.

View of the Fabricius bridge today called (Bridge) of Four Heads. This bridge is bared on top of its ancient finishings and decorations, which happened to make it a complete work, such as it must have been in its earlier state. **A** Modern restoration of bricks in the absence of the ancient Travertine. **B** Modern parapet of bricks: here the inscribed characters were erased. **C** Pier added after Fabricius by later consuls: the new attachment is shown in **D**, differing from the earlier one. **E** Part of the boulders carried by the water in the flood of the Holy Year 1750. **F** Water level in the time of June. **G** Soldiers quarters for the guarding of Trastevere. **H** Ghetto of the Jews; and living quarters of Christians with attachment to the Mignani's of the Ghetto , marked by the cross. **I K** Ruins, and great blocks from the arches and walls of the portico behind the stage of the Theater of Marcellus.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The view is from the island's eastern shore, near the Pons Fabricius west arch. In addition to an accurate rendition of the bridge and its inscriptions, as they can still be seen today, the plate shows a small section of the Ghetto riverside obliterated by the 19th century renovations**.**

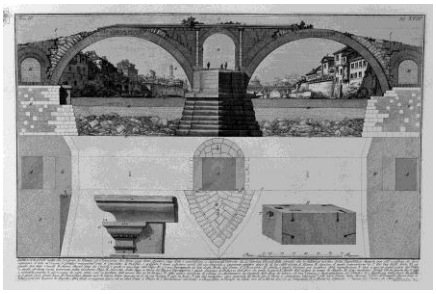

Figure 3-56. Piranesi Image 8 Pianta, elevazione e particolari costruttivi del Ponte dei Quattro Capi – Map, Elevation and Construction Details of the Bridge of the Four Heads. From: V. IV: *Le Antichità Romane "I Ponti Antichi, gli Avanzi dei Teatri, dei Portici e di Altri Monumenti di Roma.* From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving, 260X399 mm

Description of Image: The plate includes a full elevation view of the Pons Fabricius (seen from the North) with a plan and two detail drawings of the moldings and the stone masonry. Non-Roman renovations and additions have been removed.

Inscription:

DIMOSTRANSI nella Tav(ol)a presente la Pianta, ed Elevazione del Ponte, oggi detto Quattro Capi. Egli è antichissimo, e chiamavasi Fabrizio da L. Fabrizio Presid(ent)e delle Strade, che lo fabbricò nel fine della Repubblica. Augusto poi coll'occasione, che fece ripurgare il letto al Tevere, lo fortifico maggiorm(en)te sotto il Consolato di M. Lolio, e Q. Lepido l'Anno vigesimo terzo del suo Imperio, e quaranta quattro dopo la di lui edificazione. **A.** Pianta. **B.** Sperone, il quale sopravanza in **C.** dai lati degli Archi **D**, aggiunto dai detti Consoli. **E.** Nuovi Ripari, fatti da Consoli, i quali si uniscono alle Ripe **F**; e sono soprapposti ai lati degli Archi del Ponte. **G.** Elevazione. **H.** Archi, i quali servono per iscarico delle inondazioni. **I** Sino a questo segno parte del Ponte, e degli Archetti resta interrata nelle moderne Ripe . **K.** Spaccato delle Ripe a linea de' Ripari soprapposti, i quali cingono il Peduzzo dell'Arco da ambe le parti. **L.** Livello dell'acqua in tempo di Agosto. **M.** Letto moderno. Notasi che in questo sito il Letto è mutabile , poichè le escrescenze de ogni anno ora vi portano dell'arena ora ve la levano. **N.** Letto antico ricoperto di rovine. **O.** Modinature de Capitelli dell'Arco di mezzo co(n) sua Cornice, e Restremazione del Pilastro **P**, e Larghezza dello stesso da piede. **Q**, il quale posa senza base. **R.** Travertino situato nel di sopra dello sperone in **S**; la cui Testata **T**. esce in fuori. **I** Lati del medesimo sono guarniti de buchi per li Perni, e connettono internam(en)te colle altre Pietre dello Sperone. **V.** Foro nell'angolo esterno fatto a bella posta per legarvi le Barche. Altri simili si veggono quivi, ed in altri Ponti. **1.** Chiesa di S. Bartolomeo all'Isola. **2.** Ponte Rotto. **3.** Tempio di Cibele, ora di S. Maria del Sole. **4.** Campanile di S. Maria in Cosmedin. **5.** Rovine del Teatro di Marcello.

In the present plate are shown the map and elevation of the bridge called today the Four Heads. It is very ancient and is named Fabricio after L. Fabricius, Superintendent of Streets, who built it at the end of the Republic. Later Augustus, in the [same] occasion in which he cleaned the bed of the Tiber again, he reinforced [the bridge] greatly under the the consulship of M. Lolius and Q. Lepidus, in the twentieth-third year of his empire, and forty-four years after the date of [the bridge's] construction. A. Map B. Cutwater, projecting in C beyond the sides of the Arches D, being an addition by the consuls. E. New repairs, made

by the consuls, adjoining the bank F and abutting the bridge sides. G. Elevation. H. Arches used for the overflow of water in time of flood. I. Up to this mark, part of the bridge, and the small arches is enterred in the modern bank. K. Cross-section of the bank aligned with the repairs built over it and bracing the Foot of the Arch on both sides. L. Water level in the time of Augustus. M. Modern bed. Note that in this area the bed is mutable, because each year floods bring some silt in and wash some other away. N. Ancient bed layered with ruins. O. Molding of the central arch capital, with its cornice and the ending part of the pilaster P, and its width [measured] from the foot Q, which sits without a base. R. Travertine situated on the top of the cutwater in S, the head of which, T, projects outwards. The sides of the same are pierced with clamp holes and connect from inside with the other blocks of the cutwater. V. Cleat on the outer edge made for the purpose of tying up boats. Similar ones can be seen here and in other bridges. 1. Church of San Bartolomeo on the Island. 2. Ponte Rotto. 3. Temple of Cibele, now of Santa Maria del Sole. 4. Bell tower of Santa Maria in Cosmedin. 5. Ruins of the Theater of Marcellus.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Along with a wealth of other architectural details (Piranesi's survey of the Pons Fabricius masonry is still awaiting replacement by a more current study!), this plate contains important information about structures no longer visible today, such as the two smaller arches at the bridge's east and west entrances. Construction in Piranesi's time covered both of these (Lanciani 1897, p.18); during the building of the new Tiber embankments in the late 19th century, workers exposed only the western one. It is a testimony to Piranesi's architectural skill that he was able to study and reproduce such structures without the aid of modern technology. The plate also offers detailed landscape views of the Forum Boarium riverside and the island's southeast shore as they were in the 18th century, as well as a realistic depiction of the antiquities-littered river bed prior to the rakings of the late 1800's (Pensabene et al. 1980).

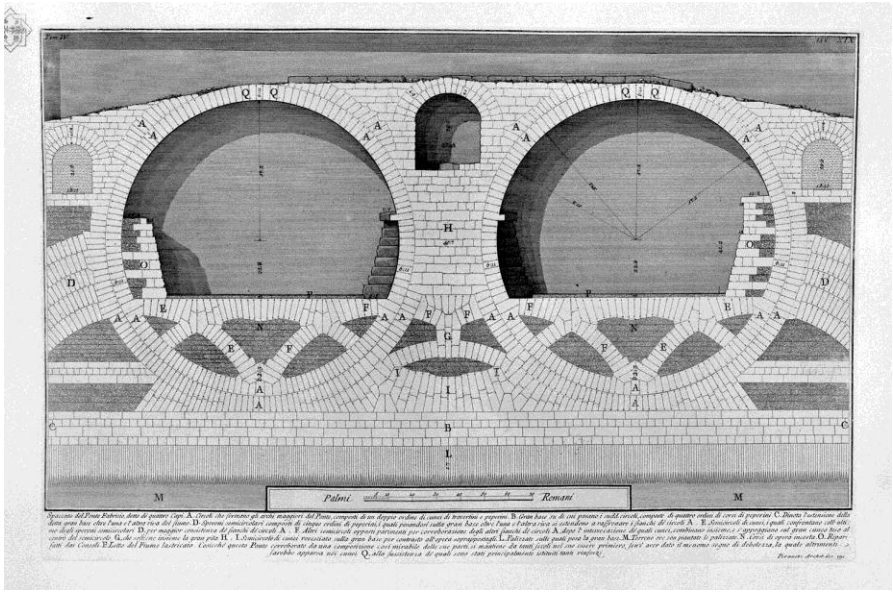

Figure 3-57. Piranesi Image 9 Spaccato del Ponte dei Quattro Capi – A Cross-Section of the Bridge of the Four Heads. From: V. IV: *Le Antichità Romane "I Ponti Antichi, gli Avanzi dei Teatri, dei Portici e di Altri Monumenti di Roma."* From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving, 397X605 mm.

Description of Image: The engraving shows a detailed and architecturally accurate cross-section of the Pons Fabricius along with a fanciful reconstruction of its substructures. For a similar approach see also Piranesi's renditions of the Pons Cestius (n. 15 Figure 3 – 63 below). As with the previous plate, all Non-Roman elements have been removed.

Inscription:

Spaccato del Ponte Fabrizio, detto dè quattro Capi. **A**. Circoli che formano gli archi maggiori del Ponte, composti di un doppio ordine di cunei di travertini e peperini. **B**. Gran base su di cui posano i sudd. circoli, composte di quattro ordini di corsi de peprini. **C**. Dinota l'estensione della detta gran base oltre l'una e l'altra riva del fiume. **D**. Speroni semicircolari composti di cinque ordini di peperini, i quali posandosi sulla gran base oltre l'una e l'altra riva si estendono a raffrenare i fianchi de' circoli **A**. **E**. Semicircoli di cunei, i quali confrontano coll'ultimo degli speroni semicircolari **D**, per maggior consistenza dè fianchi dè circoli, **A**. **F**. Altri semicircoli opposti parimenti per corroborazione degli altri fianchi dè circoli **A**, dopo l'intersecazione dè quali cunei, combinano insieme, e s'appoggiano sul gran

cuneo teso al centro del semicircolo **G**, che sostiene insieme la gran pila **H**. **I**. Semicircolo di cunei rovesciato sulla gran base per contrasto all'opera soprappostagli. **L**. Palizzate sulle quali posa la gran base. **M**. Terreno ove son piantate le palizzate. **N**. Corsi di opera incerta. **O**. Ripari fatti dai Consoli. **P**. Letto del Fiume lastricato. Cosicchè questo Ponte corroborato da una composizione così mirabile delle sue parti, si mantiene da tanti secoli nel suo essere primiero, senz'aver dato il menomo segno di debolezza, la quale altrimenti. sarebbe apparsa nei cunei **Q**, alla sussistenza dè quali sono stati principalmente istituiti tanti rinforzi.

Piranesi Archit(etto) dis(egnò) ed inc(ise).

Cross-section of the Pons Fabricius, called of the Four Heads. **A.** Circles which form the major arches of the bridge, composed of a double row of wedges (voussoirs) of travertine and peperino tufa. **B.** Great base on which stand the aforesaid circles, composed of four rows of courses of peperino tufa. **C**. Marks the extension of the great base into both banks of the river. **D.** Semicircular cutwaters made of five courses of peperino which, resting on the great base extend into both banks to reinforce the flanks of the circles **A**. **E.** Semicircles of wedges (voussoirs), which abut the last semicircular cutwater **D**, for the extra reinforcement of the sides of the circles **A**. **F.** Additional abutting semicircles likewise [built] for the reinforcement of the other sides of the circles **A**, [which] after their wedges (voussoirs) intersect, mesh together and rest on the large extending wedge of semicircle **G**, which supports the great pier. **L.** Palisades on which the large base rests. **M.** Terrain in which the palisades are planted. **N.** Sections in opus incertum. **O.** Repairs made by the consuls. **P.** Paved riverbed. Reinforced by elements so admirably assembled together, this bridge retained for many centuries its pristine state, without giving the least sign of weakness, which would otherwise have manifested itself in the wedges (voussoirs) **Q**, for the preservation of which so many reinforcements have been especially implemented.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: As with n.8 Figure 3 – 56 above, this image preserves useful evidence about the two smaller arches no longer visible today at the east and west ends of the bridge. Much of the data provided about the deck, piers, abutments, and cutwaters also remains valuable, while the reconstruction of the infrastructure, if too fanciful for scientific use, bears testimony to Piranesi's visionary genius and unparalleled etchmanship.

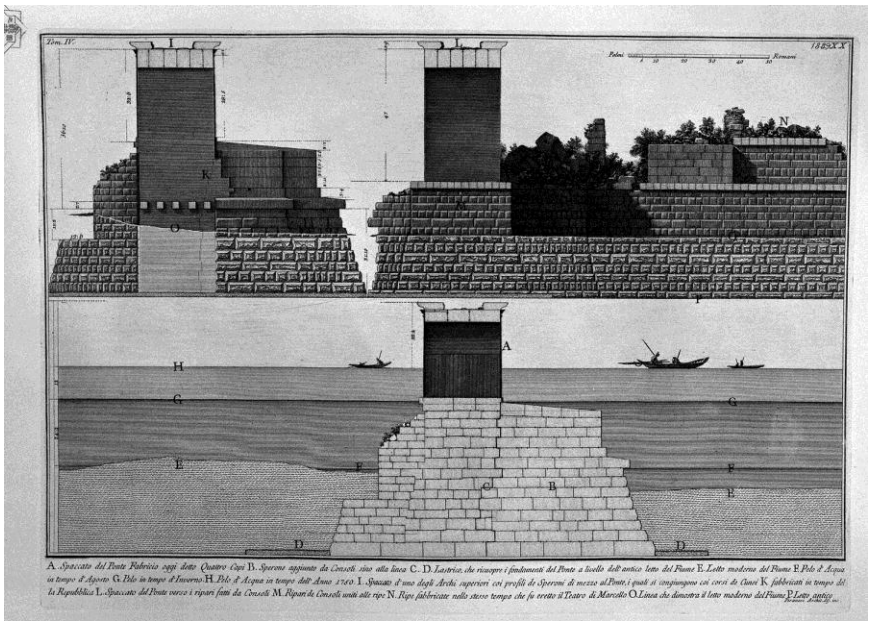

Figure 3-58. Piranesi Image 10: Altri spaccati, profili e particolari del Ponte dei Quattro Capi – Other Cross-Sections, Profiles and Particulars of the Bridge of the Four Heads From: V. IV: *Le Antichità Romane "I Ponti Antichi, gli Avanzi dei Teatri, dei Portici e di Altri Monumenti di Roma."* From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving, 373X524 mm

Description of Image: The plated is conceived as an addendum to the previous one, with detailed elevations and cross-sections of the Pons Fabricius' piers and cutwaters, as well as illustrations of these structures' relation to the Tiber bed and adjacent banks **.**

> **A**. paccato del Ponte Fabricio oggi detto Quattro Capi **B**. Sperone aggiunto da Consoli sino alla linea **C**. **D**. Lastrico, che ricuopre i fondamenti del Ponte a livello dell'antico letto del Fiume **E**. Letto moderno del Fiume **F**. Pelo d'Acqua in tempo d'Agosto **G**. Pelo in tempo d'Inverno. **H**. Pelo d'Acqua in tempo dell'Anno 1750. **I**. Spaccato d'uno degli Archi superiori coi profili de Speroni di mezzo al Ponte, i quali si congiungono coi corsi de Cunei **K** fabbricati in tempo della Repubblica. **L**. Spaccato del ponte verso i ripari fatti da Consoli **M**. Ripari de Consoli uniti alle ripe **N**. Ripe fabbricate nello stesso tempo che fu eretto il Teatro di Marcello **O**. Linea che dimostra il letto moderno del Fiume **P**. Letto antico.
>
> Piranesi Archit(etto) dis(egnò) ed inc(ise).

A. Cross-section of the Pons Fabricius today called the Four Heads. **B.** Cutwater added by the consuls up to the line **C.** **D.** Pavement that covers the foundation of the bridge at the level of the ancient river bed. **E.** Modern riverbed. **F.** Water level in the time of Augustus. **G.** Water level inwinter time. **H.** Water level in the time of the year 1750. **I.** Cross-section of one of the upper arches with profiles of the bridge's central cutwaters , those which adjoin the courses of voussoirs K biult in the time of the Republic. **L.** Cross-section of the bridge near the repairs made by the consuls. **M.** Repairs of the consuls connected to the bank. **N.** Embankments built in the same time as the Theater of Marcellus. **O.** Line showing the modern the riverbed. **P.** Ancient (river) bed.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The plate adds further detail to the architectural studies of the Pons Fabricius in nn.7-9 above. Particularly valuable is the depiction of the ancient embankment on the Tiber's east shore ('N'), no longer visible today, except in a few spots along the lower course of the river. Piranesi accurately reproduces the opus quadratum masonry in alternate courses of stretcher and header blocks.

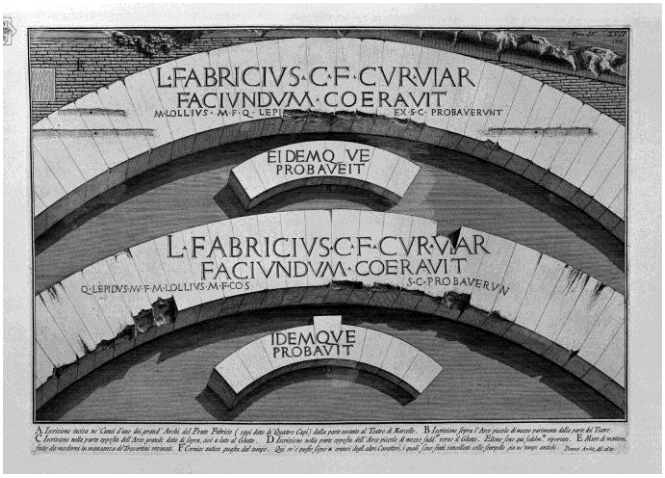

Figure 3-59. Piranesi Image 11: Iscrizioni incise nel Ponte dei Quattro Capi – Inscriptions engraved on the Bridge of the Four Heads. From: V. IV: *Le Antichità Romane "I Ponti Antichi, gli Avanzi dei Teatri, dei Portici e di Altri Monumenti di Roma".* From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving, 373X524 mm. Location of Original: Palazzo della Stamperia (Istituto Nazionale della Grafica former Calcografia Camerale Romana)) founded by Pope Clement XII in 1738) near Fontana di Trevi. **

Description of Image: The plate is an illustration, executed with almost photographic accuracy, of the four inscriptions engraved on the north and south sides of the Pons Fabricius.

Inscription:

A Iscrizione incisa ne' Cunei d'uno dei grand'Archi del Ponte Fabricio (oggi detto de' Quattro Capi) dalla parte accanto al Teatro di Marcello. **B** Iscrizione sopra l'Arco piccolo di mezzo parimente dalla parte del Teatro. **C** Iscrizione nella parte opposta dell'Arco grande detto di sopra, cioè a lato al Ghetto. **D** Iscrizione nella parte opposta dell'Arco piccolo di mezzo sudd(et)to verso il Ghetto. Elleno sono qui fedelm(en)te riportate. **E** Muro di mattoni, fatto da moderni in mancanza de' Travertini rovinati. **F** Cornice antica guasta dal tempo. Quì ov'è questo segno* eranvi degli altri Caratteri, i quali sono stati cancellati collo scarpello gia ne' tempi antichi.

Piranesi Archit(etto) dis(egnò) ed inc(ise).

Inscription Translation: A. Inscription engraved on the wedges (voussoirs) of the great arch of the Pons Fabricius (today called of the Four Heads) on the side of the Theater of Marcellus. B. Inscription on the small central arch, also on the theater side. C. Inscription on the top of the great arch on the opposite side, i.e. on the side of the Ghetto. D. Inscription on the opposite side of the aforesaid small central arch facing the Ghetto. These [inscriptions] are faithfully reported here. E. Brick wall installed by modern (builders) in absence of the damaged travertine. F. Ancient cornice ruined by time. Here where this sign * is, there were other letters, which had been already erased in antiquity with the chisel .

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The plate illustrates the original inscription by the bridge's builder, L.Fabricius, and a later inscription recording later repair work supervised by the consuls Q. Lepidus and M. Lollius (*CIL* 1^2 751 = VI 1305, *cf.* 31594). Both texts are engraved in duplicate, on either side of the bridge:

North side

On the major central arch:

(1) *L(ucius) Fabricius C(aii) f(ilius) cur(ator) viar(um) / faciundum coeravit*

On the small central arch:

(1a) *eidemque probaveit*.

Lucius Fabricius, son of Gaius, superintendant of roads, oversaw the completion of this project and approved it.

On the major central arch, below 1:

(2) *M(arcus) Lollius M(arci) f(ilius) Q(uintus) Lepi[dus M(arci) f(ilius) co(nsule)s] ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) probaverunt.*

The consuls Marcus Lollius son of Marcus and Quintus Lepidus son of Marcus approved [the work] by decision of senate.

South side:

On the major central arch:

(3) *L(ucius) Fabricius C(aii) f(ilius) cur(ator) viar(um) / faciundum coeravit /*

On the small central arch:

(3a) *idemque probavit*.

Lucius Fabricius, son of Gaius, superintendant of roads, oversaw the completion of this project and approved it.

On the major central arch, below 3:

Q(uintus) Lepidus M(arci) f(ilius) M(arcus) Lollius M(arci) f(ilius) co(nsule)s [ex] s(enatus) c(onsulto) probaverun[t]

The consuls Quintus Lepidus son of Marcus and Marcus Lollius son of Marcus approved [the work] by decision of senate.

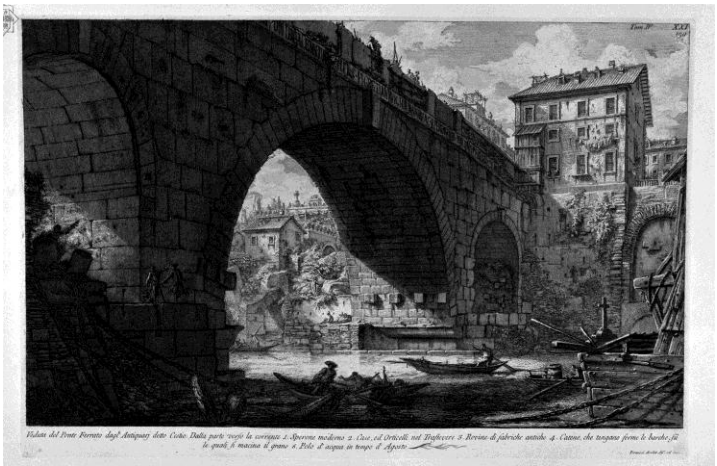

Figure 3-60. Piranesi Image 12: Veduta del Ponte Cestio – View of the Ponte Cesti. From: V. IV: *Le Antichità Romane "I Ponti Antichi, gli Avanzi dei Teatri, dei Portici e di Altri Monumenti di Roma".* From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving, 396X601 mm

Description of Image: In n. 12 Piranesi offers a view of the Pons Cestius (referred to as Ponte Ferrato, 'Iron Bridge' or 'Iron-Reinforced Bridge' according to the toponomastics of 18th century Rome) from the Tiber Island's west shore. Included in the view are snippets of Trastevere landscape and architecture.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The principal feature of the engraving is the Pons Cestius and its immediate surroundings. Piranesi preserves a detailed image of this structure prior to its demolition and reconstruction (in enlarged form) in the late nineteenth century. The patch of Roman stonework visible on the Trastevere shore (3) and the anchorage for the floating watermill in the foreground (4) are noteworthy.

Inscription:

Veduta del Ponte Ferrato dagl'Antiquarj detto Cestio. Dalla parte verso la corrente. **1.** Sperone moderno **2.** Case, ed Orticelli nel Trastevere **3.** Rovine di fabriche antiche **4.** Catene, che tengano ferme le barche, sù le quali si macina il grano 5. Pelo d'acqua in tempo d'Agosto.

Inscription translation:

View of the Bridge of Iron from Antiquity called Cestius. Of the part facing the current. 1. Modern Sperone. 2. Houses and little Gardens in Trastevere. 3. Ruins of ancient construction. 4. Chains, which hold fastened the boats, on which grain is ground. 5. Surface of the water in the time of Augustus.

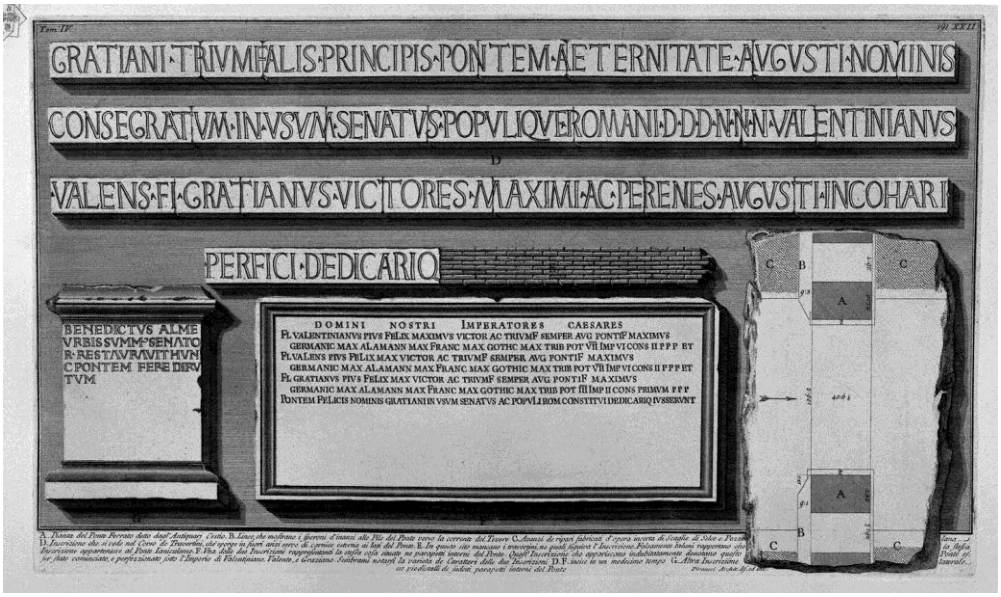

Figure 3-61. Piranesi Image 13.: Pianta ed inscrizioni del Ponte Cestio – Map and Inscriptions of the Ponte Cestio. From: V. IV: *Le Antichità Romane "I Ponti Antichi, gli Avanzi dei Teatri, dei Portici e di Altri Monumenti di Roma".* From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778* . Medium: Copper Plate Engraving, 352X602 mm.

Description of Image: This plate is a map and a the inscriptions on the Pons Cestius. Archaeologists falsely reported the inscriptions to belong to the Janiculum bridge. The inscriptions point out the construction of the bridge to have been during the reigns of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The main features of the plate is the map of the Pons Cestius to the right and the inscriptions on the top of the plate and to the left.

Inscription:

A. Pianta del Ponte Ferrato detto dagl'Antiquarj Cestio. B. Linee che mostrano i speroni d'innanzi alle Pile del Ponte verso la corrente del Tevere C. Avanzi de ripari fabricati d'opera incerta di Scaglie di Selce e v.D. Iscrizione che si vede nel Corso de Travertini, chè sporge in fuori anzi serve di cornice esterna ai lati del Ponte. E. In questo sito mancano i travertini, ne quali seguiva l'Iscrizione. Falsamente taluni rapportano che la stessa Iscrizione appartenesse al Ponte Ianiculense. F. Vna delle due Iscrizioni rappresntanti la stessa cosa situate ne

parapetti interni del Ponte. Quest'Inscrizione che appariscono indubitatamente denotano questo Ponte esser stato cominciato, e perfezzionato sotto l'Imperio di Valentiniano, Valente, e Graziano. Sembrami notarsi la varieta de Caratteri delle due Inscrizioni D.F. incise in un medesimo tempo G. Altra Inscrizione laterale ne piedistalli de sudetti parapetti interni del Ponte.

A. Map of the Bridge of Iron called in Anitiquity Cestius. B. Lines that show the sperone [tufa] prior to the pier of the bridge facing the current of the Tiber. C. Remains of repairs build of *opera incerta* [a masonary style] of tiles of slate. D. Incription that is seen on the course of travertine that sticks out on the outside rather serves as the outside cornice for the sides of the bridge. E. In this site are lacking the travertine on which were continuing the inscription. Falsely some report that the same inscripton belong to the Janiculum bridge. F. One of the two inscriptions represent the same thing situated on the inside parapet of the bridge. These inscriptons that appear undoubtedly denote this bridge to have been begun and completed under the reign of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian. It appears to note the variety of characteristics of the two inscriptions D. F. Engraving at the same time.. G. Another inscription on the sides on the pedestals of the aforesaid inside parapets of the bridge.

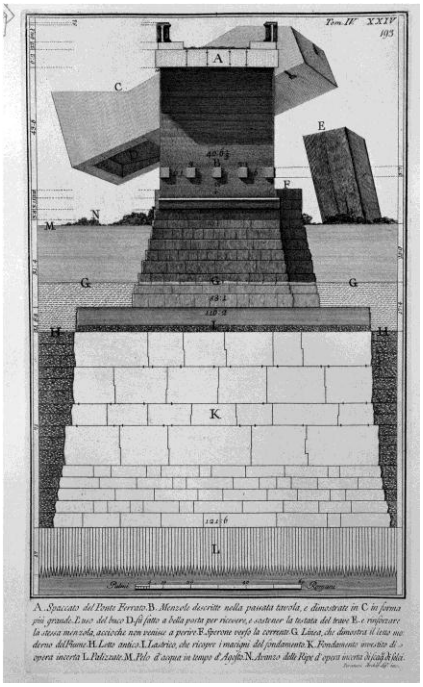

Figure 3-62. Piranesi Image 14: Spaccato del Ponte Cestio. – Cross-section of the Pons Cestius. *From V. IV: Le Antichità Romane "I Ponti Antichi, gli Avanzi dei Teatri, dei Portici e di Altri Monumenti di Roma".* From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving, 334X217

Description of Image: This is a cross-section of the Pons Cestius, showing its construction and its foundation in the river bed and in relation to the bank.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: This detailed plate shows the brackets, holes, and beams of the Pons Cestius. The lower part of the images shows the tufa facing the current, a line showing the modern river bed and the ancient river bed, as well as pavement covering boulders, the palisade, and the water surface in the time of Augustus.

Inscription:

A. Spaccato del Ponte Ferrato. **B.** Menzole descritte nella passata tavola, e dimostrate in **C** in forma più grande. L'uso del buco **D.** fù fatto a bella posta per ricevere, e sostener la testata del trave **E.** e rinforzare la stessa menzola, accioche non venisse a perire. **F.** Sperone verso la corrente. **G.** Linea, che dimostra il letto moderno del Fiume. **H.** Letto antico. **I.** Lastrico, che ricopre i macigni del fondamento. **K.** Fondamento investito di opera incerta **L.** Palizzate. **M.** Pelo d'acqua in tempo d'Agosto. **N.** Avanzo delle Ripe d'opera incerta di scag(li)ie di selci.

A. Cross-Section of the Iron Bridge. **B.** Brackets described on the previous plate, and displayed in **C** in a larger format. The use of a hole **D** was deliberately made in order to support and receive the end of the beam **E** and reinforce the bracket itself, so that it would not deteriorate. **F.** Cutwater facing the current. **G.** Line that points out the modern bed of the river. **H** Ancient bed. **I.** Pavement that covers the boulders of the foundation. **K.** Foundation covered by *opus incertum*. **L.** Palisade **M.** Water level in August. **N.** Remains of embankment in *opus incertum* of. flint flakings.

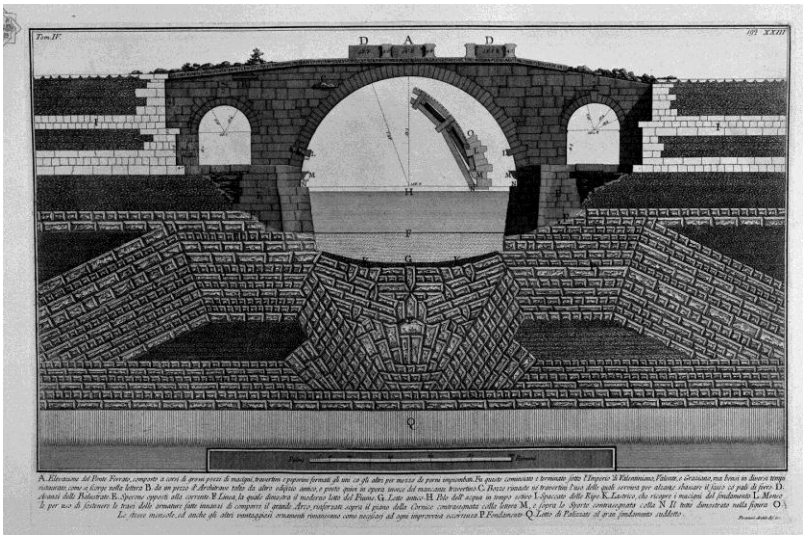

Figure 3-63. Piranesi Image 15: Elevazione del Ponte Cestio e suoi fondamenti, K 192 – Elevation of the Pons Cestius and its Foundation. From: V. IV: *Le Antichità Romane "I Ponti Antichi, gli Avanzi dei Teatri, dei Portici e di Altri Monumenti di Roma".* From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving, 351X600mm

Description of Image: The plate shows a north elevation of the Ponte Cestius, with a highly imaginative reconstruction of its substructures (see n.9 above for the same approach applied to the Pons Fabricius).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: As in the similar plate on the Pons Fabricius (n.9), rigorous architectural analysis is combined here with Piranesi's taste for the fantastic. In the image, below the sober diagram of the bridge's substructures (with the study of the brackets and all other construction devices still visible in the 17th century), we see an imaginary spread of underground structures of tufa and rubblework arranged into a dramatic design. The bold inventiveness of these reconstructions is reminescent of the approach used in *Carceri d'Invenzione,* the Piranesian work that paved the way to the Romantic and Surrealistic movements in Western art.

Inscription:

A. Elevazione del Ponte Ferrato, composto a corsi di grossi pezzi di macigni, travertini e peperini fermati gli uni cogli altri per mezzo de perni impiombati. Fu questo cominciato e terminato sotto l'Imperio di Valentiniano, Valente, e Graziano, ma bensi in diversi tempi ristaurato, come si scorge nella lettera **B**. da un pezzo d'Architrave tolto da altro edifizio antico, posto quivi in opera invece del mancante travertino. **C**. Bozze rimaste nè travertini l'uso delle quali serviva per alzare, e sbassare il sasso co' pali di ferro. **D**. Avanzi delle Balustrate. **E**. Sperone opposti alla corrente. **F.** Linea, la quale dimostra il moderno letto del Fiume. **G**. Letto antico. **H** Pelo dell'acqua in tempo estivo **I.** Spaccato delle Ripe. **K.** Lastrico, che ricopre i macigni del fondamento. **L.** Mensole per uso di sostenere le travi delle armature fatte innanzi di comporre il grande Arco, rinforzate sopra il piano della Cornice contrasegnata colla lettera **M**, e sopra lo Sporto contrasegnato colla **N**. Il tutto dimostrato nella figura **O**. Le stesse mensole, ed anche gli altri vantaggiosi ornamenti rimanevano come necessarj ad ogni improvvisa occorenza. **P.** Fondamento. **Q.** Letto di Palizzate al gran fondamento suddetto.

A. Elevation of the Iron Bridge, made of courses of large pieces of travertine and peperino boulders, fastened to one another by lead clamps. This [bridge] was begun and finished under the reign of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, but restored at different times, as proven in the letter **B.** by an architrave fragment from another ancient building, inserted here in place of the missing travertine. C. Extant studs on the travertine used for lifting and lowering the stone with iron poles. **D.** Remains of the Balustrude. **E.** Cutwater facing the current. **F.** Line showing the modern river bed. **G.** The ancient bed. **H.** The water level in summer time. **I** Cross-section of the banks**. K.** Pavement covering the boulders of the foundation. L. Brackets used to hold up the scaffolding before the big arch was built, reinforced above the cornice marked with the letter M and above the projection marked with N. The whole is shown in letter O. These brackets and all other similarly useful apparatus have been left for use in any unexpected occurrence. P. Foundation. Q. Palisade bed for the afore said foundation.

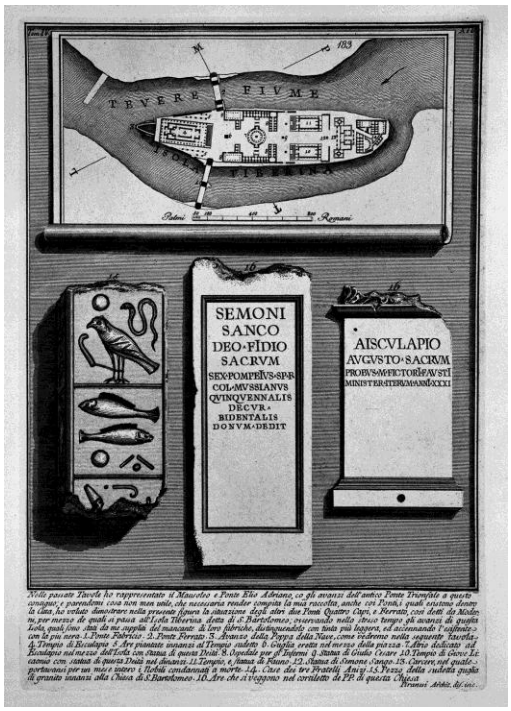

Figure 3-64. Piranesi Image 16: Pianta dell'Isola Tiberina e dei due ponti che ad essa conduccono Kamei 183. From: V. 10*:* Il Campo Marzio dell' Antica Roma - Map of the Tiber Island and of the two bridges that lead to it. From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving, 293X234 mm.

Description of Image: In this plate Piranesi offers his own plan of the ancient topography of the island with illustrations of three monuments visible at the site (an altar, a statue base, and a fragment from the island obelisk).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: In contrast with his whimsical restorations of bridge substructures, Piranesi's map of the island is remarkable for its sober use of the philological, epigraphical, and archaeological evidence. Piranesi restores the ancient topography mainly on the evidence of the literary sources (as with the identification and setting of the various temples). When possible, however, he applies his architectural knowledge in the interpretation of extant structures (as in the case of the 'Ship Monument', which he restores as a stand alone sculpture than a

landscape design extending to the entire perimeter of the island). It is unclear whether he used any of the evidence from the newly discovered FUR fragments (see biographical note above, --. Piranesi depicted fragments 32b and c-d-e in Book I: II of the Antichità Romane, but probably did not realize that the fragments showed the island). Also noteworthy are his illustrations of three extant antiquities found at the site:

(1) a fragment from the upper shaft of the so-called Tiber Obelisk, shown here as still whole (three separate panels from this stone are now at the Louvre and the Archaeological Museum in Naples)[9]; (2) the inscribed base of a statue to Semo Sancus (see also entry on G.Vasi below, p. 137); and (3) an inscribed altar to Aesculapius from the early empire.

Details on the two inscriptions are given below:

(2) CIL VI, 567: marble base found in 1574, now in the Vatican Museum.

Semoni | *Sanco* | *deo fidio* | *sacrum* | *Sex(tus) Pompeius Sp(urii) f(ilius)* | *Col(lina tribu) Mussianus* | *quinquennalis* | *dec(uriae)* | *bidentalis* | *donum dedit.*

Sextus Pompeius Mussianus son of Spurius, of the tribe Collina, quinquennial (magistrate) of the bidental decuria, gave this gift to Semo Sancus Deus Fidius.

(3) CIL VI, 12: marble base unearthed in San Bartolomeo square in 1676, now in the Vatican Museum.

Aisculapio | *Augusto sacrum* | *Probus M(arcus) Fictori Fausti (servus)* | *mi-*

nister iterum anni XXXI.

Probus Marcus, (servant of) Fictorius Faustus, serving as temple assistant for the second time at the age of 31, [dedicated this] sacred gift to the venerable Aesculapius.

Inscription:

Nelle passate Tavole ho rappresentato il Mausoleo e Ponte Elio Adriano, co gli avanzi dell'antico Ponte Trionfale a questo contiguo; e parendomi cosa non men utile, che necessaria render compita la mia raccolta, anche coi Ponti, i quali

[9] See A. Roullet, The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome (1972) pp.79-82 n.85.

esistono dentro la Citta, ho voluto dimostrare nella presente figura la situazione degli altri due Ponti Quattro Capi, e Ferrato così dettì da Moderni, per mezzo de quali si passa all'Isola Tiberina detta di S. Bartolomeo; osservando nello stesso tempo gli avanzi di questa Isola, quali sono stati da me suppliti, del mancante di loro fabriche, distinguendolo con tinta più leggera, ed accennando l'esistente con la piu nera. **1.** Ponte Fabricio. **2.** Ponte Ferrato. **3.** Avanzo della Poppa della Nave, come vedremo nella seguente tavola **4.** Tempio di Esculapio **5** Are piantate innanzi al Tempio sudetto **6.** Guglia eretta nel mezzo della piazza. **7.** Atrio dedicato ad Esculapio nel mezzo dell'Isola con Statua di questa Deità. **8.** Ospedale per gl'Infermi **9.** Statua di Giulio Cesare **10.** Tempio di Giove Licaonio con statua di questa Deità nel dinanzi. **11.** Tempio, e statua di Fauno. **12.** Statua di Semone Sango. **13.** Carcere, nel quale portavansi per un mese intero i Nobili condannati a morte. **14.** Case dei tre Fratelli Anizj. **15.** Pezzo della sudetta guglia di granito innanzi alla Chiesa di S. Bartolomeo. **16.** Are che sì veggono nel cortiletto de (Padri) di questa Chiesa.

Piranesi archit(etto) dis(egnò) inc(ise).

Inscription translation: In the past plates I have represented the Mausoleum and the Bridge of Aelius Hadrian, with the remains of the ancient Triumphal Bridge contiguous to it; and seeming to me no less useful, and necessary, to complete my collection by also including the bridges which exist within the city, I wanted to represent in the present figure the state of two other bridges, currently called Bridge of the Four Heads and Iron Bridge, by means of which one crosses to the Tiber Island [now] called [Island] of San Bartolomeo; at the same time [I wanted to] note the ruins of that island as I restored them, distinguishing the [structures] which are no longer there with a lighter ink, and accentuating the extant [ones] with a darker color. **1**. Pons Fabricius. **2**. The Iron Bridge. **3**. Remains of the Stern of the ship, as we will see in the following plate. **4**. Temple of Aesculapius. **5**. Altars placed in front of the aforesaid temple. **6**.The obelisk erected in the middle of the square. **7**. Atrium dedicated to Aesculapius in the middle of the island with a statue of this god. **8.** Hospital for the sick. **9.** Statue of Julius Caesar. **10.** Temple of Jupiter Lycaonius with a statue of this god in front. 11. Temple and statue of Faunus. 12. Statue of Semo Sancus. 13. Prison, into which aristocrats condemned to death were brought for a whole month. 14. Houses of the three Anicii brothers. 15 Fragment fromthe aforesaid spire of granite in front of the Church of San Bartolomeo. 16. Altars that are seen in the courtyard of the Fathers of this church.

Figure 3-65. Piranesi Image 17: *Avanzo di un pilastro con vari intrecci d'ornamenti (Villa Medici). Colonna trovata all'Isola Tiberina. Kamei 546* - Remain of a pillar with various interwoven decorations. Column found at the Tiber Island. From: V. 12 Vasi, Candelabri, Cippi, Sarcofagi, Tripodi, Lucerne ed Ornamenti Antichi. From *Opere di Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, Kamei Collection, http://www.coe.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp:8080/e_piranesi.htm/, March 16, 2010. Date of Image: 1747 – 1778*. Medium: Copper Plate Engraving, 260X399 mm

Description of Image: Along with a fragment from an ornamental pilaster in the Villa Medici (shown in full and detail views) this plate features a column in the Jenkins collection found on the Tiber Island. The engraving is dedicated to the architect and nobleman Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Erdmannsdorff, one of the chief representatives of the German Neoclassical movement.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Piranesi's plate preserves a rare example of ornamental architecture from the island, a column engraved with decorative foliage and the entwined serpent of Aesculapius. No measurements are provided, but the accompanying text specifies that workmen found the column in the area of San Bartolomeo, the former site of Aesculapius' precinct. Since the monument may have

belonged to the Jenkins collection, it is possible that archaeologists unearthed it during the excavations conducted by the British collector on S.Bartolomeo square in 1765. Piranesi had a close relationship with Jenkins; both were members of the Society of Antiquaries in London and the Accademia di S.Luca in Rome.

Inscription and captions:

All'Illustrissimo Signor Erdmansdorff Cavaliere Sassone amatore e seguace delle belle arti In atto d'Ossequio il Cavaliere Gio(van) Batt(ist)a Piranesi D(omini) D(onum) D(edit). Avanzo di un pilastro con varj intrecci d'ornamenti e diversi animali di lavoro mirabile, questo si vede nella Villa Medici in Roma. Cornice in grande del pilastro Colonna ritrovata all'Isola Tiberiana vicino alla Chiesa di S. Bartolomeo ov'era anticamente il Tempio d'Esculapio. Si vede presso il Sig.r Jenkins.

Inscription translation: To the very illustrious Sir Erdmansdorff, Saxon Knight, lover and follower of the fine arts, the Knight Giovanni Battista Piranesi gave this gift as a sign of respect. Remains of a pillar with various woven decorations and diverse animals of marvelous work, this is seen on the Villa Medici in Rome.

Column found at the Tiber Island near the Church of San Bartolomeo where the Temple of Aesculapius was located in antiquiy. It can be seen in Mr. Jenkins' collection. The enlarged cornice of the pillar.

Ettore Roesler Franz (1845 – 1907): Artist

Biographical information: Ettore Roesler Franz was born on May 11, 1845 in Rome. His parents were Luigi and Teresa Bondi. His family, of German ancestry, owned and operated the *Hotel d'Allemagne* near the Piazza di Spagna. Franz grew up in a culturally rich atmosphere at the hotel, whose visitors included such political, artistic, and literary notables as Napoleon's brother Lucian, Richard Wagner, Ferdinand de Lesseps, Stendhal the archaeologist, Johann Joachim Winckelmann, and the poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Until age 30, Franz spent his time working in his family's businesses, especially the *Banca Roesler Franz Ad. & Figli* which had an office on the Via Condotti. He attended the *Istituto dei Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane*, the

Collegio di Propaganda Fide, and the *Accademia di San Luca*, where he studied architecture.

Franz began to focus on watercolor painting in1875 when he co-founded with Nazareno Cipriani "The Society of Watercolourists in Rome," over which he presided for a number of years. He sought to paint the essence of things, attending faithfully to the details of people and objects. He lived and worked in a period of great changes in Rome, at the time of Italy's unification.

The great flood of 1870 devastated the banks of the Tiber. The city responded by commissioning the Canevari embankment project, which altered dramatically the historical landscape and urban architecture along the Tiber River. Both photographers and academically trained painters sought to capture the changes (Scherer, p. 33). Franz was aware of the rapid disappearance of so many of the river's physical features and of the people whose livelihoods depended on the old ways, changes that inspired his collection of 120 watercolors called *Roma Sparita*, "Disappeared Rome." These paintings depict life along the Tiber, including images of fishermen, wood-carriers, tanners, water carriers, washer-women, dyers, makers of terracotta pots, millers, boatmen, and men who quarried sand. He had a special talent for using the transparency of watercolors to depict the changing moods of clouds and rain in gray and silver during the rainy season and also to capture the countryside in the full sun of summer (Scherer, p. 33).

The collection initially appeared in three parts consisting of 40 paintings each. The mayor of Rome purchased the first group for 18,000 lire, setting it up for exhibition at the Palazzo delle Esposizioni in 1883. After Franz died in 1907, the city of Rome

bought the rest of the collection for 35,000 lire. Later the city displayed the collection or parts of it in various sites, including the Palazzetto della Farnesina, the Museum of Rome in Piazza Bocca della Verità , and Palazzo Braschi. Today twenty-seven of the paintings reside at the Folklore Museum in Trastevere.

Franz had a great love for Great Britain and purchased most of his watercolor supplies there. John Constable and William Turner influenced Franz's work. In addition to life along the Tiber, Franz also painted subjects like Tivoli and Abruzzi landscapes. He admired Ville d'Este and the works of Piranesi. In 1903 the people of Tivoli acclaimed him an honorary citizen. He died in1907 in Rome at the age of 62. Century: 19th

Figure 3-66. Franz Image1: Ponte Fabricio, the island, and Ponte Cestio, seen from the southwest. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1875. Medium: Watercolor. Location of original: the *Roma Sparita* collection is located primarily at the Palazzo Braschi; twenty-seven of the paintings are also at the Folklore Museum in Trastevere.

Description of Image: Franz shows a southwest view of the island, with the back of the Church of San Bartolmeo in the foreground, the Ponte Cestio to the left and the Ponte Fabricio to the right. The church's belltower above the roofline marks the high focus of the image. See also Van Wittel p.120, Franz, p. 173, and Corot p.189 for this traditional view of the island.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The painting preserves images of the Ponte Cestio and the southwest shore of the island as they were before the rebuilding of the late 19th century. The west wing of the Franciscan Convent previously annexed to San Bartolomeo is also shown at the island end of the Ponte Cestio. The medieval wall depicted in the foreground below the backyard of San Bartolomeo included sections of the ancient Roman embankment visible along the waterline in the time of low tide. For example, Piranesi p. 143 and Lanciani in his notebooks include depictions of these features.

Figure 3-67. Franz Image 2: Preparatory sketch for Ponte Fabricio, the island, and Ponte Cestio, seen from the southwest. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1875. Medium: preparatory sketch for n.1 Figure 3 – 66 above. Location of original: See n.1 Figure 3 - 66 above.

Description of Image: Except for the strip of eastern shore shown here in the foreground, for the rest the image is the same as the finished painting. In the final version Franz also expanded the perspective to include more architectural detail at the city end of either bridge.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: See n.1 Figure 3 - 6 above.

Figure 3-68. Franz Image 3: Ponte Cestio and the Tiber Island: The island and Ponte Cestio from the Trastevere bank; watermills, SS Annunziata and S.Francesco. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1878. Medium: Watercolor. Location of original: See n.1 above.

Description of Image: In this close-up view of the Trastevere shore and island west side, workers are taking a break on the river bank. Franz shows the details of the foreground including a broken-down fence and a hitching post. Small figures of men appear working on the far watermill. The river is tranquil and the sky is only a bit hazy.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The Ponte Cestio is shown in its pre-restored form, with the buildings which stood at its entrance before the demolitions of the late 19th century. Behind their roofline the belltower of S.Bartolomeo is visible. Also shown are two watermills, one of which with a ramp leading up to the island upper level.

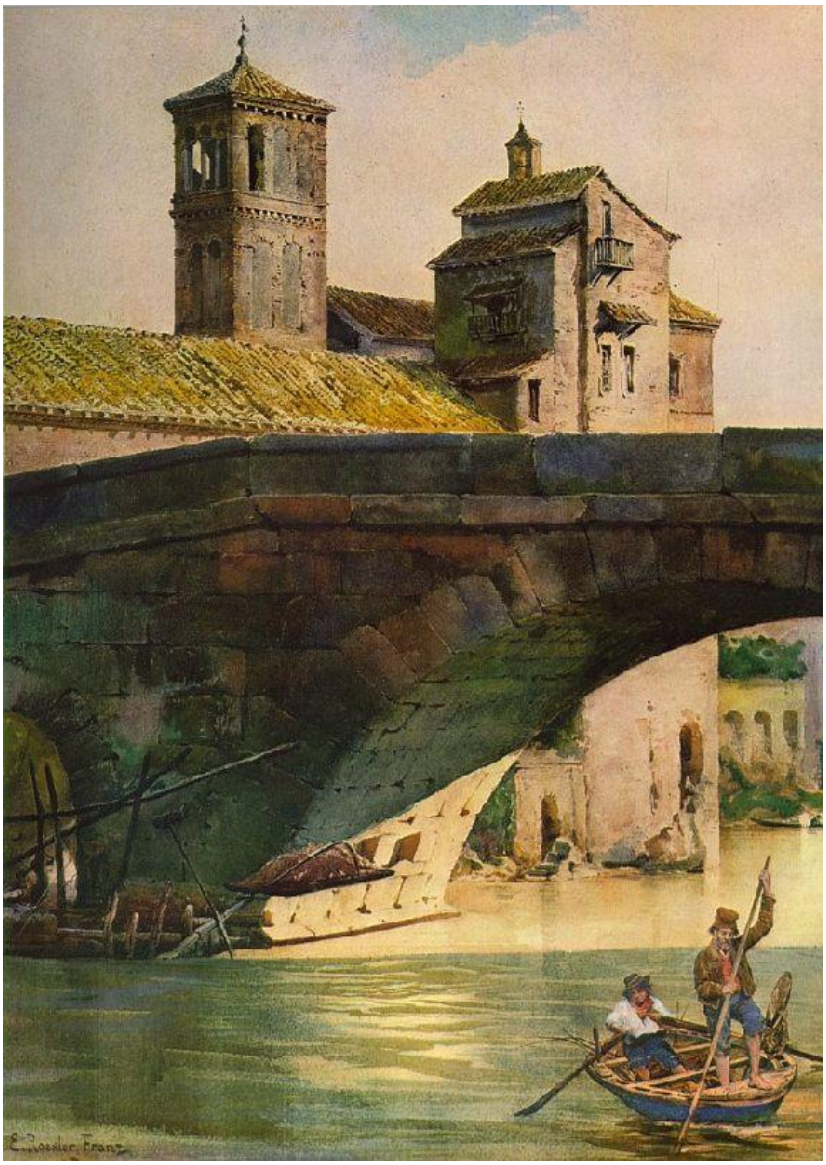

Figure 3-69. Franz Image 4: Ponte Cestio, close-up view from the west (with S.Bartolomeo and the Franciscan convent in the background). Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1875. Medium: Watercolor. Location of original: See n.1 above.

Description of Image: Two boatmen, shown in the right foreground, provide the 'pretext' for a landscape study of the Tiber Island's west side, with detailed views ofPonte Cestio, the belltower of S.Bartolomeo, and the island's roofline. The realistic rendition of the architectural structures is combined with a more impressionistic technique for vegetation and other natural elements. In the left side of the image we also see a wooden winch extending from the island's shore.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The watercolor preserves an architecturally detailed image of Ponte Cestio prior to its dismantlement and reconstruction in the late nineteenth century. Special attention is given to the masonry, expecially the facing of the bridge's north side, the voussoirs of the eastern and central arches, and the central arch's underside. Past the bridge, in the right background, a segment of embankment wall rises above the waterline in front of an archway (this is the same masonry also shown by Piranesi, p.151 n.7).

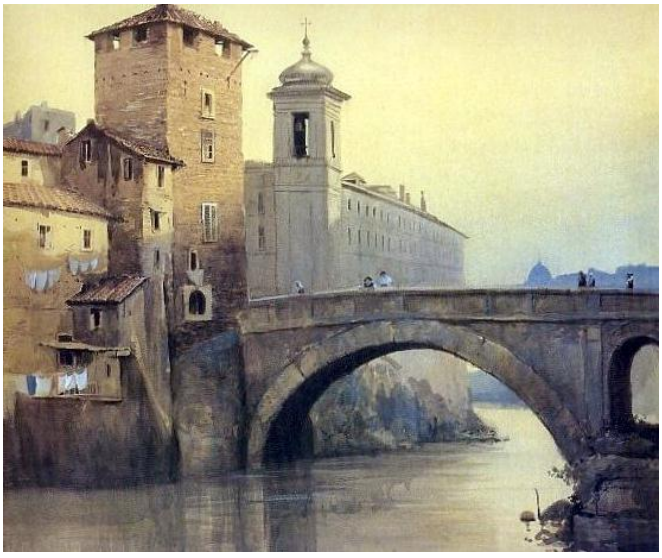

Figure 3-70. Franz Image 5: Ponte Fabricio from the southeast, with (from left to right) Caetani tower, S.Giovanni Calibita, and Fatebenefratelli hospital. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1888 . Medium: Watercolor. Location of original: See n.1 above.

Description of Image: The watercolor is a study of the Tiber Island's east topography, as seen with the light shining from the north. In it we observe Franz's customary interest for architectural detail and carefully rendered light effects. As usual, small sketches of daily life (hanging laundry, traffic on the bridge) are used to increase the realism of the scene.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Except for some of the domestic structures abutting the Caetani tower from the south, most of the architecture shown in this image is still in place today (Franz's watercolor may well be one of the earliest representations of the Fatebenefratelli hospital in its current form). Barely visible, below the hospital, is the island's eastern shore, covered almost completely by the high water (the concrete 'apron' which now surrounds the site is a twentieth century addition).

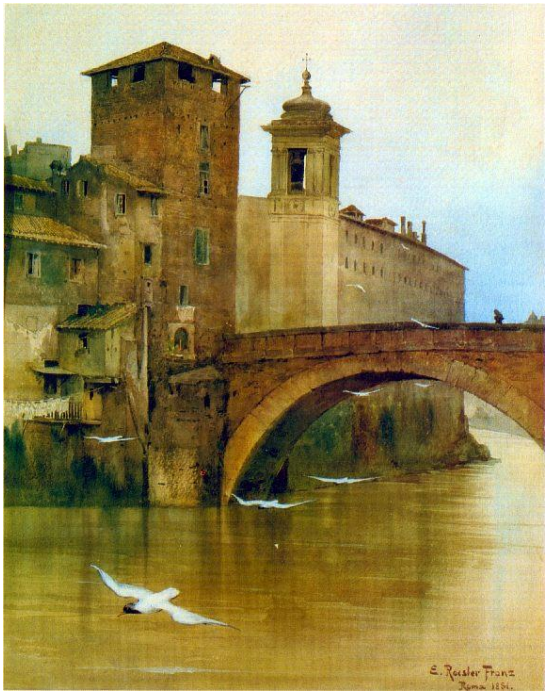

Figure 3-71. Franz Image 6: Ponte Fabricio from the southeast, with (from left to right) Caetani tower, S.Giovanni Calibita, and Fatebenefratelli hospital. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1854. Medium: Watercolor. Location of original: See n.1 above.

Description of Image: The watercolor is an earlier version of n. 5 above, with the same landscape shown at a different time of day and from a sightly closer view. Besides the differences in the lighting, in this version a flight of seagulls has been added to the central part of the composition, while the traffic on the bridge has been reduced to a single, lonely figure.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: See n.5 above.

Figure 3-72. Franz Image 7: Ponte Senatorio, detto Ponte Rotto. A destra la chiesa del Salvatore e ruderi presso i bagni di Donna Olimpia (dalle sponde della Ripa Greca o via di Porta Leone). ("Pons Senatorius, also called Ponte Rotto. To the right (*sic*) the Church of the Saviour and Ruins near the Baths of Donna Olimpia (from the bank of the Greek Shore or the street of the Lion Gate"). Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1880. Medium: Watercolor. Location of original: See n.1 above.

Description of Image: Franz shows a view of the Tiber from the southeast with the Pons Aemilius, or 'Ponte Rotto', in the foreground, the south tip of the Tiber island behind it, and the Roman skyline in the far background. In front of the bridge, to the lower right is a barge with a smaller boat on tow.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: the watercolor preserves an image of the surviving west section of the Ponte Rotto (the part which still survived after a flood in the late 16th century wiped away the east section). An architecturally detailed depiction of S. Bartolomeo appears above the bridge. Two understated but archaeologically significant views of the island's southwest embankment show through the bridge's left and center arches. The brown patch in the wall section visible through the left arch could indicate some of the Roman masonry once visible on this side of the island (see above, 1)

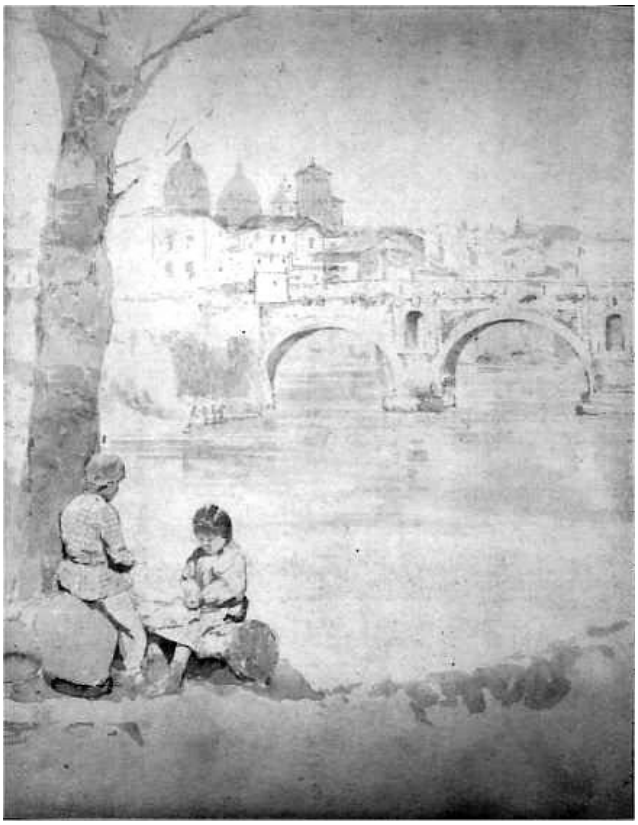

Figure 3-73. Franz Image 8: Bambini sotto un albero in riva al Tevere alla Salara dopo Ponte Rotto ("Children under a Tree on the Tiber shore at the Salara after Ponte Rotto"). Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: Medium: Monochrome watercolor. Location of original: See n.1 above.

Description of Image: Franz uses an impressionistic technique to depict, in black and white, an idyllic image of two children placidly sitting on some rocks with the Ponte Rotto. In the background is the faint and muted image of the Tiber Island.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: A view of the Ponte Rotto similar to n.7 is the main archaeological feature of this watercolor. The Tiber Island is muted but does fill out the rear of the picture.

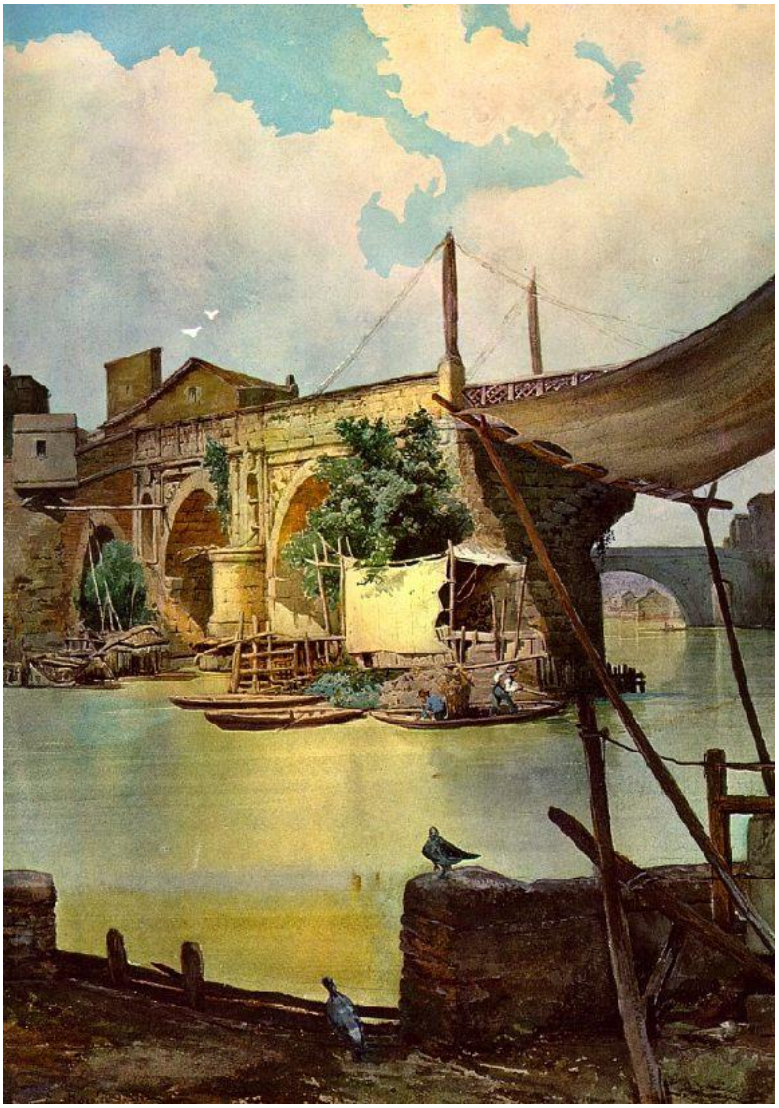

Figure 3-74. Franz Image 9: Barche di pescatori a Ponte Rotto ("Boats and fishermen at Ponte Rotto"). Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1883. Medium: Watercolor. Location of original: See n.1 above.

Description of Image: Franz's interest in light effects (see also pp. 177–178 n.5, pp.178–179 n. 6, pp.185–186 n. 13) is shown in this representation of the Ponte Rotto and the region immediately downstream of the island. From an opening in the clouds the afternoon sun shines over the ruins of the bridge and the central part of the composition, streaking the water with yellow light. Under the Ponte Rotto two boatmen busy themselves near an awning-topped wooden structure set up on the bridge's pier. Another similar awning is visible in the right foreground—also marked by the presence of two pigeons. In the shadowed zone to the right of the composition we see Ponte Cestio and the west shore of the Tiber Island with its watermills.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The watercolor preserves a view of the west section of the Ponte Rotto as it stood before its demolition in the late nineteenth century (cf. commentary to n.7 above). Other important features shown here in their pre-restored appearance are the Ponte Cestio and the medieval buildings of the island's west shore. In the foreground, the two white blocks at the right end may be part of an ancient embankment wall.

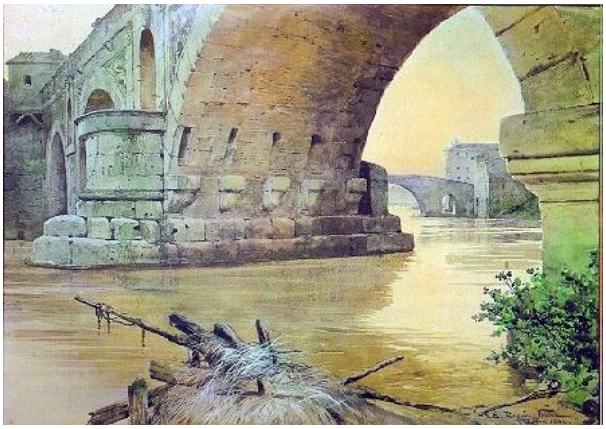

Figure 3-75. Franz Image 10: Ponte Rotto from southeast, with Ponte Cestio and Tiber Island in the background. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1884. Medium: Watercolor. Location of original: See n.1 above.

Description of Image: The watercolor is a variant of n.9 above, shown from the viewpoint of the two fishermen near the east pier. Of the apparatus and vegetation crowding this location in the previous image, only a small part is depicted here; human figures are uncharacteristically absent.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Because of the close-up view, this representation adds to the architectural detail of n.9, especially in the rendition of the bridge's masonry (particular attention is given to the underside of the eastern arch). The different angle also allows a glimpse of the Tiber Island's southwest shore.

Figure 3-76. Franz Image 11: Avanzi medievali sull'Isola tiberina ("Medieval ruins on the Tiber Island"). Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1880. Medium: Watercolor. Location of original: See n.1 above.

Description of Image: the watercolor preserves a rare close-up view of the northwest end of the island. The desolate scenery is consistent with other representations of this site (e.g. Vasi pp.135–136, Maggi pp.117–118), which appears to have been less densely inhabited than the rest of the island (perhaps on account of

its exposure to the river's current? On the detachment of the so-called 'Isoletta' see p.p. 196 - 200). Shown in this image, behind a small boat in the foreground, is a tall Medieval structure no longer in existence today, accessed by a stairway to the right. In the background is a view of the Tiber's west bank, with a watermill and the Roman skyline.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: On the south wall of the medieval structure, which appears to be some kind of lookout, is a stone slab carved in relief—possibly a re-used Roman element. On top of the structure, behind a parapet supported by small arches, are three stone columns also likely to be Roman. In the background some large rocky outcrops projecting from the water capture a view of the island's rough, sparsely inhabited north end.

Figure 3-77. Franz Image 12: Isola Tiberina da ponente col Ponte Cestio prima delle ultime demolizioni ("Tiber Island from West before the Last Demolitions"). Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1878. Medium: Watercolor. Location of original: See n.1 above.

Description of Image: Tiber Island, Ponte Cestio, and Trastevere are shown from upstream (approximately the location of modern day Ponte Garibaldi). In the foreground are two boats with fishermen. Another boat is visible near the tip of the island.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: As the title says, this work preserves a view of the north tip of the island before the demolitions of the late nineteenth century. All the buildings shown at the very front of the site are no longer in existence today, replaced by the modern 'spartiacque' which now connects to the piers of Ponte Garibaldi. No recognizable Roman structures are visible, except for Ponte Cestio in the right background. The rocks shown in n. 11 above are submerged here by the high water.

Figure 3-78. Franz Image 13:Isola Tiberina sotto la neve ("Tiber Island under the Snow"). Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1890. Medium: Watercolor. Location of original: See n.1 above.

Description of Image: The subject is the same as n.12 above, shown from a more pronounced eastern angle. Unlike most of the previous images, which stand out for their meticulous attention to architectural detail, in this work Franz adopts an Impressionistic or Pointilistic style to capture the blurred outlines and unusual light of a snowy landscape.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Dated twelve years after n.12, the watercolor shows the buildings at the north tip of the island at the time of their dismantlement in the 1890's.

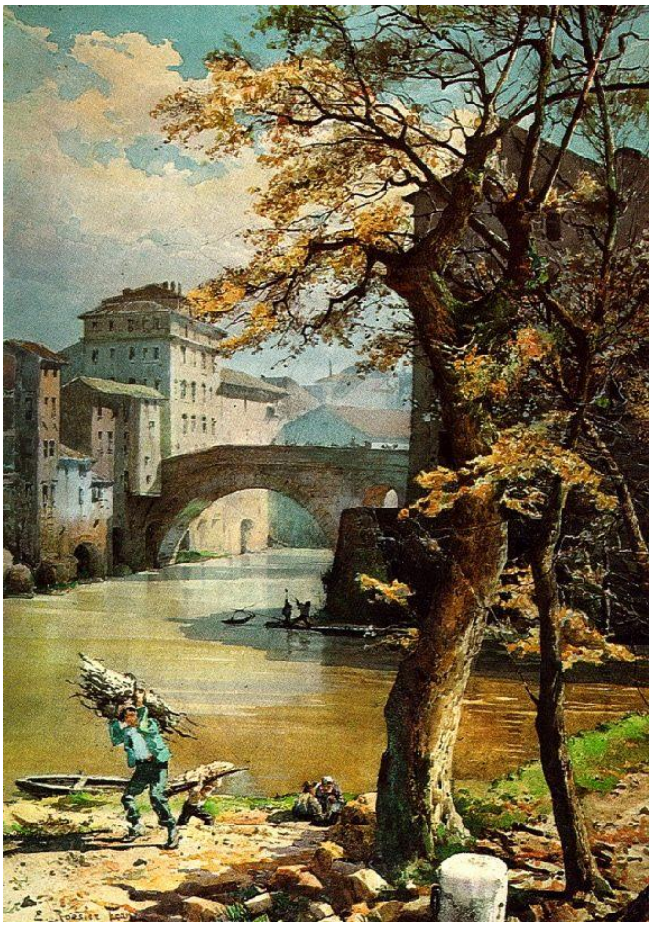

Figure 3-79. Franz Image 14: Sponda del Tevere alla Regola presso il Ghetto ("Tiber Bank at the Regola near the Ghetto"). Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1880. Medium: Watercolor. Location of original: See n.1 above.

Description of Image: According to the painting's title, the view is from a small beach on the east bank of the river, known as 'La Regola' (see pp. 111, 126, 133). In the foreground are a man and a child carrying wood, while two other people appear to be resting near the water. A small boat is tied to the shore on the left. In the mid-distance in front of the Ponte Fabricio two fishermen are pulling up a net.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: In the foreground is a white cylindrical object which could be a Roman column drum. For the rest, the watercolor preserves a detailed view of Ponte Fabricio and the Campus Martius riverbank as they looked prior to the building of the modern embankment. Although it lies in a shadowed area and is partially blocked out by a tree, the northern tip of the island is also clearly distinguishable to the right of the composition (the tall building at the front is most likely the same as the own shown in nn. 12-13 above).

Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot (1796 – 1875): Artist

Biographical information: Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot was born in Paris on July 17, 1796 to prosperous middle class parents. His father, a cloth dealer, helped his mother run her milliner's shop. Corot's parents put him under the care of others during his childhood. A nurse cared for him during his early years. He studied at the *Lycée Pierre Corneille* in Rouen, a doctrinaire Catholic school, from 1807-1812 under the care of a guardian, a family friend named M. Sennegon. Sennegon influenced Corot's love of nature, instilled in long walks they took together. By the time Corot was twenty-five years old, it became clear that he would not follow in his father's profession as a draper. His father provided him with an allowance of 1,500 *livres* a year, which enabled young Corot to begin to work as a painter (Eitner, p. 200).

Corot learned painting in a typical fashion for the time: studying the artwork at the Louvre and working with teachers trained in the Neoclassical style of landscape painting; then traveling to Rome in 1825. Corot perfected his talent by sketching and painting outdoors (Bowness). In Rome he became part of a group of painters which included Théodore Caruelle d'Aligny, Edouard Bertin, and Léon Fleury. This entourage painted the countryside near Rome. Corot produced some of his most beautiful paintings in Città Castellana, Terni, and Lake Nemi, where he made oil studies that formed the basis for later studio pieces that throughout his career he submitted to the Salon, the official art exhibition of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* in Paris.

While in Rome, Corot spent as much time out of doors as he could. Despite living in Rome amidst profuse ancient and Renaissance art, he did not seem interested in his immediate surroundings and he is reported to have never seen Michaelangelo's Sistine Chapel [SOURCE?]. During his first stay in Italy, Corot produced about 150 oil studies, small in size, concentrating on architecture. In 1826 and 1827, Corot took trips along the Tiber, sketching the countryside and small towns as he went, including the view titled *Island of San Bartolomeo* and *Narni Bridge*.

Corot returned to Paris in 1828 where he continued in his custom of painting out of doors during the fall, spring, and summer, and doing his studio work during the winter. He traveled again to Italy in the fall of 1834, concentrating on the northern lakes area, especially Desenzano, Riva, and Como. He also made one final six-month trip to Rome in May of 1843, visiting the nearby towns of Genzano, Tivoli, and Lake Nemi. These three trips furnished his small oil landscape studies that were the basis for all of his later studio paintings.

Back in Paris, Corot worked in his studio, restricted by a gout ailment that curtailed his travels from 1866 through 1870. He gained fame as the Salon displayed more of his works each year, and he sold more as a result. He was still active in Paris during the siege of the city in the Franco-Prussian War. As late as 1872 he was able to travel again and resume painting out of doors. He died after a brief illness on February 22, 1875 (Eitner, p. 210). Corot's landscape painting influenced the later artists of the Impressionist movement, especially Camille Pissaro; Berthe Morisot, who was Corot's own student; and Claude Monet.

Century: 19th

Figure 3-80. Corot Island of San Bartolomeo. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1826 – 1828. Medium: Oil on paper, mounted on canvas, 27cm by 43cm. Location of original: Private collection.

Description of Image: The view is a familiar one from the southwest (cf. e.g. Van Wittell p.120, Piranesi p.144 and Franz p.173*)*, showing the Ponte Cestio to the left, the back of the Church of San Bartolomeo with its bell tower just off center to the right, and the Ponte Fabricio to the far right. The painting shows Corot's interest in the play of light

and his developing reliance on a limited color palette and balanced geometric shapes. The color palette is restricted to shades of ochres and browns, with touches of a muted green and blue for the sky and water. The painting is made up of block-like shapes, with each element in a geometrical balance. The two bridges anchor the painting at its sides. There are almost no diagonal lines, as perspective is created by the play of light on the dark and lighter shades of the buildings. The color mosaic shown in this painting puts Corot's work clearly on the path to the modern Impressionistic era (Galassi, p. 158).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: As in the similar views by Piranesi and Franz, Corot's painting preserves the aspect of the island's west side before the Canevari embankment work at the end of the 19th century. The west wing of the Franciscan Convent is shown to the left of the Church of San Bartolomeo and jutting up against Ponte Cestio. Captured at a time of low tide, this view would have displayed sections from the Roman substructures usually hidden below the water line (see commentary to Piranesi, p. 143). Regrettably for the ancient topographer, all minute architectural detail is blurred out to emphasize the outline geometry.

Pietro Parboni (1783 -1841): Artist

Biographical information: Pietro Parboni was born in 1783 in Rome, where he worked for most of his life, specializing in landscapes. His principal work was the *Nuova Raccolta Delle Principali Vedute Antiche et Moderne Dell'Alma Città di Roma e Sue Vicinanze,* (*A New Collection of the Principal Ancient and Modern Views of the Nourishing City of Rome and its Neighborhoods*), authored with his brother Achille Parboni and published around 1830 by Giacomo Antonelli. It consisted of fifty plates dated from 1824 to 1826. Among his others works were a *Veduta della eruzione del*

Vesuvio accaduta l'anno 1771 (*View of the Eruption of Vesuvius [which] Happened in the Year 1771*) and his collaboration with Antonio Nibby on Nibby's *Mura di Roma* (*The Walls of Rome,* Rome 1820). Parboni also worked with his brother Achille in the Galleria Pitti of Luigi Brandi in Rome (Masci, 2004). He died in 1841.

Century: 19th

Figure 3-81. Parboni 'Veduta dell'Isola Tiberina': from Nuova raccolta delle principali vedute antiche, e Moderne dell'alma citta di Roma e sue Vicinanze, 20. Reproduced with permission from Bruno Leoni, The Tiber Island Homepage, July, 2007, http://www.isolatiberina.it. Date of Image: 1824 – 1826. Medium: Copper plate engraving

Description of Image: The Tiber Island is shown in a traditional southeast view from downstream. Except for the use of a full color palette, Parboni's image is a near-identical replica of a 1820 black and white engraving from L. Rossini's *Le Antichità Romane*, (1819-1823, t.45, 'Veduta dell'Isola Tiberina', not included in this catalog). In both of these works the emphasis on the Ship Monument and the foreshortened view of the island are strongly reminiscent of Giovanni Battista Piranesi's *Veduta dell'Isola*

Tiberina in book 16 of *Antichità Romane,* but without the dark romantic feel of Piranesi's original. Both Rossini and Parboni appear to rely on their predecessor's work for the architectural rendition of the monument. See the entry on Piranesi at p. 140. For similar representations of the island during high tide, with its beaches covered by water, see e.g. Rosler Franz's *veduta* from the west bank, p. 175.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Parboni's image preserves the topography of the south tip of the island before the structures now occupied by the River Police filled up the area. Prior to this expansion the modern construction stopped at the south wall of the back yard of S.Bartolomeo, with the 'Ship Monument' projecting southwards on its tufa support wall[10]. As Piranesi's model shows, the concrete foundation surrounding the island covered the three lower courses of this wall. T he engraving offers an unencumbered view of the seven courses of tufa masonry visible at the time.

Amadeo Rodolfo Giuseppe Filippo Lanciani (1845 – 1929): Cartographer, engineer, archaeologist

Biographical information: Rodolfo Lanciani was born into an old noble family in Montecelio, now a suburb of Rome, in 1845. His father, Pietro Lanciani, was an engineer and his brother-in-law, Count Virginio Vespignani, was a draftsman and architect. Lanciani attended the Collegio Romano (a Jesuit institution) and then trained in engineering at the University of Rome. Before he was twenty years old, he started his career as an archaeologist at Portus, the ancient harbor of Rome, working for Prince Torlonia. Captivated by this experience he then pursued a degree in literature

[10] In another view of the island from downstream ('Isola Tiberina', not included in this catalog), Parboni shows the area to the west of the 'Ship Monument' as overgrown with scrub and a tall tree.

specializing in Greek and Latin to strengthen his research skills (Sorensen, 2000). Lanciani's distinguished career in archaeology spanned over sixty years. He, along with Henri Jordan (1833 – 1866), Christian Karl Friedrich Hülsen (1858 – 1935), and Giacomo Boni (1853-1925) were the first four scholars to approach Roman archaeology in a scientific manner (Richardson, 1992, p. xxiv).

Governing officials appointed Lanciani to the position of secretary of the *Commissione Archaeologica Comunale* in 1872. His first work, published in 1881 was a commentary on Sextus Iulius Frontinus's work on the water systems of ancient Rome*, Topografia di Roma antica i commentarii di Frontino intorno le acque e gli acquedotti . Silloge epigrafica acquaria.* (*Topography of Ancient Rome and Frontinus's commentaries on Waters and Aqueducts. An Epigraphic Corpus on Hydrology* (Richardson, 1992, p.xxv). Lanciani held the post of chief engineer at the Technical Office of Excavations from 1877 to 1890, directing excavations and restoration projects in Rome shortly after the city became the capital of united Italy. He personally excavated at numerous sites making a number of important discoveries, including the House of the Vestals in the Roman Forum (Thayer, 2011). In 1882 he became chair of Roman topography at the University of Rome, serving in this position tuntil 1927. The two foremost publications in his long and prestigious bibliography are the monumental *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità (The History of the Excavations of Rome and Notices about the Roman Collections of Antiquities* 1902 and the major topographical map *Forma Urbis Romae* (1893 – 1901). The multi-volume work *Storia degli scavi di Roma* contains Lanciani's preparatory research for the *Forma Urbis Romae.*

The *Formae Urbis Romae* is a map of ancient Rome with an overlay of modern topography. The work spans a time period from ancient time until 1605. Lanciani used color to mark different historical periods: black for the ancient city, red for the modern city (post Renaissance), and blue for contemporary architecture. He also used blue for hydrological features.Since then there have been many new discoveries and corrections to his work. In spite of this, it remains as a brilliant work of scholarshiop with lasting value for scholars (Richardson, 1992, p. xxiv). The map now needs to be updated in light of all recent discoveries in Classical and Early Modern Roman archaeology; nevertheless, even in the digital era, Lanciani's *Forma* continues to be one of the standard references for the study of Roman topography (Richardson, 1992, p. xxiv). Lanciani continued to work and contribute to his field until shortly before his death in Rome at age 82 on May 21, 1929.

Century: 20th

Figure 3-82. Lanciani *Forma Urbis Romae.* Reproduced with permission from René Seindal, Lanciani: Forma Urbis Romae, September 2011, http://sights.seindal.dk/sight/290_Lanciani_Forma_Urbis_Romae.html. Date of Image: 1893 – 1901. Medium: Color copper plate engraving. Location of originals: Vatican Library's Institute of Roman Studies

Description of Image: Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae* consists of forty-six copper plates, drawn originally according to a scale of 1:1000, each 25 by 36 inches.

The orientation of the map is with the north at the top. Lithographer Luigi Salomone published the work for editor Ulrico Hoepli. The Topographic Indices consist of two parts: First Part: Monuments and places of the city of Rome in plates of drawings; Second Part: I. Neighborhoods, piazzas, riverbanks, highways, streets, and alleyways; II. Churches, oratories, chapels; III. Flower gardens, vegetable gardens, vineyards, and houses. For the topographic identifications marked the map, Lanciani used both Italian and Latin, and the same color scheme described above (Frutaz, 1962, Vol I, p. 94).

Archaeological/Topographical Features: The map contains a very detailed and accurate overview of the urban topography of Rome from the origins of the city to the early seventeenth century, overlaid with the topography of Lanciani's time. It reflects the results of archaeological explorations in Rome up to about 1900.

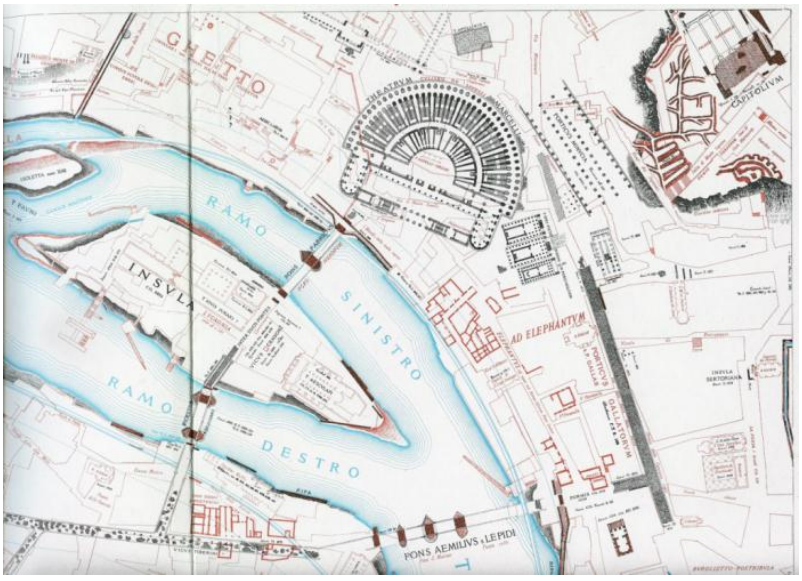

Figure 3-83. Lanciani Plate XXVIII – 'Isola Tiberina'. Detail from the lower right. . Reproduced with permission from René Seindal, Lanciani: Forma Urbis Romae, September 2011, http://sights.seindal.dk/sight/290_Lanciani_Forma_Urbis_Romae.html.

Description of Image: Figure 3 - 82 shows the lower right portion of Plate XXVIII completed by Lanciani between 1899 and 1901. From the left, this portion of the plate

shows approximately three-quarters of the Isoletta, then the Tiber Island with the right branch of the Tiber to the bottom and the left branch above the island. In the upper left section is the Ghetto, with the Theater of Marcellus and the Porticus of Octavia. To the right of the island and a below it is the Pons Aemilius, and to the extreme upper right, is a part of the Capitol.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: In addition to chronologically differentiated outlines of the island's topography and architecture, Lanciani's map records valuable information on all known excavations at the site prior to the twentieth century. Except for the materials published in the periodicals *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* and *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, Lanciani's map and *Storia degli scavi* are the only available source for these early data.

Figure 3-84. Lanciani Plate XXVIII – 'Isola Tiberina'. detail from the upper left. Reproduced with permission from René Seindal, Lanciani: Forma Urbis Romae, September 2011, http://sights.seindal.dk/sight/290_Lanciani_Forma_Urbis_Romae.html.

Description of Image: This portion from the upper left of Plate XXVIII is included here to complete the view of the Isoletta and La Renella beach not shown in the former

image. The sites are represented as they stood in the 18th century near the site of the later Ponte Garibaldi.

Archaeological/Topographical Features: Lanciani records on the Isoletta a testimony by Francesco de Ficoroni, who saw on this site ‘Rovine di gran pezzi di pietre’ (‘Ruins from great pieces of stone’, Ficoroni I 142). These ruins may have belonged to the island’s north embankment, near the site of the Temple of Faunus (placed by Lanciani in the submerged area to the southwest).

CHAPTER 4
CONCLUSIONS

The previous chapter presented a collection of sixty-one images of the Tiber Island, spanning a period of approximately 1700 years. It included a variety of representational media such as maps, engravings, ink drawings, and watercolors. This corpus brings together highlights of the island's pictorial history from the 3rd to the 20th century of our era which can be used to recover topographical and archaeological evidence currently irretrievable by other means.

Two quickly identifiable themes that run intertwined through the collection are the island's connection to healing and its ship-like form. The healing theme has its origin in the story of Aesculapius's introduction to Rome discussed in Chapter II. The "ship shape" theme develops later during the Renaissance. In addition, the analysis of the images affords a glimpse into the early architectural shaping of the island which, like many other Roman settlements, appears to have developed from the traditional *cardo* and *decumanus* scheme of the military camp. Other parallel or subordinate topics that follow from the corpus include: 1) the island's continued role in Roman economy as the primary site for the processing of cereals, from the Monarchy to the late 19th century; and (2) the island's relationship to the Tiber River and the erosion of its banks marked by dramatic changes in shape and their impact on local topography and architecture. This final chapter offers a brief overview of these themes, first through the aerial depictions of the cartographers, then according to the south and north land views preserved by painters and engravers. The discussion is arranged in chronological order to show the changes over time.

The Tiber Island from Above.

The *Forma Urbis Romae*, or Severan Marble Plan, dated to 211 A.D., is our earliest extant depiction of the Tiber Island. The exact function of this map, which hangs on the wall of the Temple of Peace (thought to have been the office of the *Praefectus Urbi*, the city prefect) remains a matter of conjecture. Of the 1186 fragments that remain today, those which show the Tiber Island bear the inscription INTER [D]VOS | PONTES and [IN]SVL[A], confirming the toponimy used in the literary sources. The fragments most likely show the south end of the site, with a partial view of the southwest embankment wall curving inward to enclose an open space (current Piazza S.Bartolomeo?) bound with colonnades in the tradition of ancient Asclepiea.

After a break of over ten centuries, the cartographic history of the Tiber Island resumes in the 14th century with the map of Fra Paolino da Venezia, to continue uninterrupted from the 15th century onwards thanks to the intellectual stimulus and scientific advances of the Renaissance. Despite its 'flattened' perspective, Fra Paolino's map successfulyl rendered the basic architectural layout of the island with its two churches and main buildings. Not all Late Medieval and Renaissance cartographers showed an equal interest in the topography of this site. In spite of his groundbreaking application of mathematical principles to cartography and the use of modern surveying tools such as the theodolite (a tool to measure horizontal and vertical angles), Leon Battista Alberti, for example, only depicts the Tiber Island in simple outline (as do later artists of the 16th and 17th centuries not included in this catalog, such as Muenster, Fauno, Oporino, Gamucci, and Nardini). With his ichnographic map of 1551, Leonardo Bufalini was the first cartographer to offer a detailed representation of the island's street system, paving the way for the later depictions by Du Pérac, Tempesta, Falda, and

Nolli, who retained and improved Bufalini's template in their maps. The evidence of these cartographers is essential for the restoration of the site's original plan, arranged in the traditional cross pattern of the Roman military camp not shown in the extant fragments of the *Forma Urbis Romae*. From Bufalini to Nolli, these maps also allow us to follow the changes across time in the site's physical layout, such as the detachment of its northermost extremity or 'Isoletta.' Especially important in this regard is the plan of 18th-century engineer and surveyor G.B. Nolli, which includes accurate tracings of the Roman walls still visible on the 'Isoletta' in 1748. It is thanks to the visual testimonies of cartographers such as Duperac (1577), Falda, and Nolli that we can restore the architectural outline of the island's south and north ends, once enclosed by embanment walls converging at an acute angle as in the cutwaters of a bridge. R. Lanciani used this and other evidence from Nolli's work as a basis for his renowned *Forma Urbis Romae* (1893-1901).

Parallel to the scientific approach described above, the early cartography of the Tiber Island also shows a more interpretive, fanciful trend in which artists and cartographers restore this site as a large size boat (Ligorio, Dupérac 1574, Brambilla). Inspired by the 'Ship Monument' at the southeast end of the island, this motif is a construct of Renaissance antquarians and has no basis in the ancient evidence. Although rejected as early as the 17th century by Piranesi and others, the myth of the Ship of Stone has had an enduring influence on the island's iconography which can be traced throughout the site's pictorial history. Rather than as topic of archaeological significance, this antiquarian fabrication constitutes an intriguing case of cultural

reception because it continues on into modern life, for example, the *Nave di Pietra* exhibit in 1983.

The Southern Views of the Tiber Island

Downstream views of the island were a favorite theme of painters and engravers. The southeast view, which encompassed the travertine revetment with the 'Ship of Aesculapius' and the Pons Fabricius, presented artists with a richer and more varied imagery than the desolate landscape at the opposite end of the site. The 'straight' south view, from an imaginary point directly downstream from the island, also interested artists as a study in perspective.

Etienne Du Pérac's engraving '*Vestigii della Isola di S(an)to. Bartolomeo*' is the first of a long series of variations on this theme. His direct south perspective preserves important archaeological information. He offers clear views of both bridges and San Bartolomeo's posterior structures, showing the Roman embankment work supporting them. Especially significant archaeologically is his depiction of the lower tier of the embankment no longer extant today. Lieven Cruyl's preparatory sketch *Veduta di Ponte Rotto* follows Du Pérac's model, although from a greater distance and with the ruins of the Ponte Rotto in the foreground.

Gaspar Van Wittel's *The Island Seen from the East Behind the Two Bridges* of 1711, a similar viewpoint to Piranesi's *Scenografia dell'Isola Tiberina,* similarly preserves important evidence about the site's south embankment works, showing a rare view of the *opus quadratum* masonry once visible at the island's southwest shore, with a depiction of the Pons Cestius in its pre-restored form in the background. Other well-known south views of the island from the 18th century include Giuseppe Vasi's *View of the Ponte Rotto*, compositionally similar to the works by du Pérac and Cruyl, and

Giovanni Battista Piranesi's *Scenery of the Tiber Island*. Piranesi in particular showed a keen interest in this area which also occurs in his much copied and very influential *View of the Tiber Island,* a dramatically foreshortened rendition of the island's south end with the 'Ship of Aesculapius' in the foreground.[1] Along with the two other engravings he dedicated to the 'Ship' monument, *View of a Portion of the Travertine Ship* and *Exposed Front of the Temple of Aesculapius on the Tiber Island*, Piranesi's images record important evidence about the three courses of *opus quadratum* masonry once visible below the sculpture. Likewise, the aforementioned *Scenery of the Tiber Island* offers an extremely rare view of the same substructures on the southwest shore of the site.

The 19th century saw the appearance of a significant number of island views in oil and watercolor. During this period Ettore Roesler Franz stands out as one of the most prolific illustrators of the site, with six watercolors of the Ponte Rotto and Ponte Fabricio from downstream. Although they do not add much to the evidence preserved in Piranesi's work, Franz's watercolors still offer detailed 'ensemble' views of the Tiber Island as it appeared shortly before the massive renovations of the 1870s. Indeed Franz is one of the last artists concerned with the island to retain the interest for architectural detail characteristic of the *Vedutismo* movement. With the advent of photography, the demand for this type of product subsided in favor of the new technology. Other emerging trends in landscape art, such as the quest for light effects, replace the architectural focus of 18th century *vedute*. Corot's oil on paper, *Island of San Bartolomeo*, is an example of such development. With its use of balanced block-like

[1] See e.g. Parboni's near-identical engraving in the 19th century, p. 191.

geometric shapes and a deliberately limited color palette, Corot legitimately is a precursor of the modern Impressionistic movement.

Overall the south views of the Tiber Island from the 16th century onwards are marked by a realism and an architectural accuracy that balance the highly interpretive, mythologizing approach of the early Renaissance. Their evidence is especially important for the correct interpretation of the sculptural revetment on the southeast side of the site. Following Piranesi's intuition, it is better understood as a stand-alone monument rather than part of a larger landscaping design.

The Northern Views of the Tiber Island

Unlike the south end, which has suffered little damage and still retains some evidence of the original Roman architecture, the north extremity of the Tiber Island has undergone major alteration due to its exposure to the current. Also, if the rest of the island preserves much of its Medieval and Early Modern topography, this region has undergone a complete rebuilding in the last two centuries to accommodate the expansion of the Fatebenefratelli Hospital. Thus, even more so than for any other part of the island, the visual testimonies of painters and engravers are crucial to the restoration of the former aspect of the area. From the northeast views by the Anonymus Escurialensis and especially Giuliano da Sangallo, we observe that during the late Middle Ages, fewer people inhabited and developed the upstream end of the island than the downstream end — most likely on account of its unfavorable location. Sixteenth century engraver H. Cock confirms this information, offering a full view of the area, depicting it as a desolate looking, rocky landscape with a few Medieval ruins overrun by weeds. Later representations, such as, e.g., that by cartographer G. Falda, allow us to follow the progressive erosion of the region until its detachment as a separate islet (the

so called 'Isoletta') and its final disappearance between the 18th and 19th centuries. G.Vasi's *Isola Tiberina verso Occidente* of 1754 best portrays the Roman embankment walls visible in the maps by Falda and Nolli (see above). G. Vasi's careful rendition of the masonry enables us to match this structure no longer extant today with the two extant *opus quadratum* sections on the east side the island. Finally, E. Roesler Franz's watercolors best chronicles the last days of the island's north end prior to its relandscaping in the late 19th century. Franz's north and northwest views are especially important for their recording of the medieval architecture, as well as the scattered Roman structures enmeshed with it.

Evidence from artists and cartographers also contributes, on occasion, to the study of material other than walls and architectural structures. The accurate representations of engravers such as Vasi and Piranesi are thus of great importance for the recording of inscriptions (e.g. CIL 6, 567 in Vasi's '*Chiesa di S.Bartolomeo all'Isola*' and Piranesi's '*Pianta dell'Isola Tiberina e dei due ponti che ad essa conduccono*'), sculptures, or other small artifacts and their original contexts (e.g. the fragment from the Tiberine Obelisk in the same plate by Piranesi). As in the case of buildings, embankments, and streets, these images help us retrieve information now inaccessible to the spade of archaeologists.

APPENDIX A
ARTISTS AND CARTOGRAPHERS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Alberti, Leon Battista	(1404 – 1472)
Brambilla, Ambrogio	(mid-16th to early 17th Century)
Bufalini, Leonardo	(d. 1552)
Cock, Hieronymus	(c. 1510 – 1570)
Codex Escurialensis	(ca. 1491)
Corot, Jean Baptiste	(1796 – 1875)
Cruyl, Lieven	(c. 1640 – 1720)
Dupéac, Etienne	(1525 – 1601)
Falda, Giovanni Battista	(1643- 1678)
Forma Urbis Romae	(AD: 203 – 211 AD)
Fra Paolino da Venezia	(ca 1270 – 1344)
Franz, Ettore Roesler	(1845 – 1907)
Lanciani, Rodolfo	(1845 – 1929)
Lauro, Giacomo	(1550 – 1605)
Ligorio, Pirro	(1513 – 1583)
Maggi, Giovanni	(1566 – 1618)
Nolli, Giambattista	(1701 – 1756)
Parboni, Pietro	(1783 -1841)
Piranesi, Giovanni Battista	(1720 – 1778)
Sangallo, Giuliano da	(1443 – 1516)
Tempesta, Antonio	(1555 – 1630)
Van Wittel, Gaspar	(c. 1652 – 1736)
Vasi, Giuseppe	(1710 – 1782)

APPENDIX B
OTHER TIBER ISLAND ARTISTS AND CARTOGRAPHERS

Altobelli
Anderson
Anesi
Baptist
Barbault
Barbey
Bernardini
Bertelli
Bigot
Bos
Brueghel, Il Vecchio
Campannari
Canevari
Cannina
Cartaro
Celio
Chatelaiin
Chatsworth
Chauffourier
Chiesa e Gambarini
De Bry
Del Pollaiuolo
De Michelis
De Moucheron
De Rossi
Delannoy
Di Bartolo
Di G
Di Sciullo
De Pérac, S.
Feroni
Ferreri
Florimi
Galle
Gamucci
Giocondo
Greuter
Gussman
Holdsworth
Huelsen
Jung
Lafreri
Letourouilly
Marchesini

Martinelli
Morlachi
Munster
Nardini
Nibby
Oporino
Panini
Patouillard
Penna
Pinard
Rossi
Rossini
Ruga
Sadler
Silvestre
Specchi
Tarquini
Thiollet-Eherhard
Tidmarsh and Brewer
Tuminello
Vander Aa
Van Lint
Van Nieulant
Vaudoyer
Von Sandrart
Wagner
Walinsky

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Catherine Ann Dunar was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. She graduated from Homestead High School in Mequon, Wisconsin. She earned a Bachelor of Arts in Spanish from Marquette University, and a Master of Arts in Spanish literature, from the University of California–Los Angeles. She also earned an associate degree in computer programming.

Catherine's first teaching position was at Hueneme High School in Oxnard, California where she taught Spanish and social studies to non–English speakers. After a series of moves, due to her husband Andrew's academic career, Catherine resumed her teaching career at Randolph School in Huntsville, Alabama where she taught Spanish and continues to teach Latin. She was named Alabama Foreign Language Teacher of the Year in 2000. She also continued her Latin studies at the University of Alabama–Huntsville and at Troy State University–Troy Alabama.

A Fulbright scholarship in 1994 at the American Academy Summer School in Rome and at the Villa Vergiliana changed the course of her professional life. This pivotal summer inspired her to devote her time and effort totally to classical studies. Catherine and her husband Andrew, Professor of History at the University of Alabama–Huntsville, share a love of history and travel. They have three children: James, Kimberly, and Michael.