



<https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl>

License: Article 25fa pilot End User Agreement

This publication is distributed under the terms of Article 25fa of the Dutch Copyright Act (Auteurswet) with explicit consent by the author. Dutch law entitles the maker of a short scientific work funded either wholly or partially by Dutch public funds to make that work publicly available for no consideration following a reasonable period of time after the work was first published, provided that clear reference is made to the source of the first publication of the work.

This publication is distributed under The Association of Universities in the Netherlands (VSNU) 'Article 25fa implementation' pilot project. In this pilot research outputs of researchers employed by Dutch Universities that comply with the legal requirements of Article 25fa of the Dutch Copyright Act are distributed online and free of cost or other barriers in institutional repositories. Research outputs are distributed six months after their first online publication in the original published version and with proper attribution to the source of the original publication.

You are permitted to download and use the publication for personal purposes. All rights remain with the author(s) and/or copyrights owner(s) of this work. Any use of the publication other than authorised under this licence or copyright law is prohibited.

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please contact the Library through email: OpenAccess@library.leidenuniv.nl

Article details

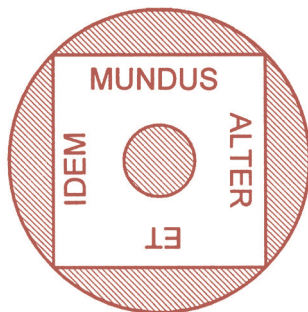
Beer S.T.M. de (2018), Travel Guides for Imaginary Journeys. The Living Presence of Rome in Early Modern Antiquarian Literature, *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 20: 57-81.
<http://www.olms.de/search/Detail.aspx?pr=2009664>

NEULATEINISCHES JAHRBUCH

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

20

2018



OLMS

NEULATEINISCHES JAHRBUCH
JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Gegründet von
MARC LAUREYS UND KARL AUGUST NEUHAUSEN †

Herausgegeben von
MARC LAUREYS

Band 20
2018



Olms-Weidmann
Hildesheim · Zürich · New York
2018

Travel Guides for Imaginary Journeys
The Living Presence of Rome in
Early Modern Antiquarian Literature¹

SUSANNA DE BEER

In 1551 the German Protestant scholar Georgius Fabricius published *Roma*, his guide to the monuments and buildings of ancient Rome, illustrated with passages from ancient literature.² A friend of the author, Adam Siberius, wrote a laudatory poem praising this work because it could replace a journey to the real city of Rome:

In Romam Georgii Fabricii

*Urbis Romuleae situm videre
et montes cupis ambitumque portas
et pontes Tiberis, sacras deorum
aedes et fora porticusque ductus
aquarumque viasque balneasque
et thermas veterumque dissipata
multo pulvere marmora et sepulchra?
Non est, difficili via per Alpes
quod petas Latium modo hic, modo illuc
reptando dominaque in urbe oberres.
Quin hunc exiguo aere comparator
et doctum simul et laboriosum,
quem dat Fabricius tibi, libellum.
Hinc longe Oenotriis remotus oris,
quo te cumque iuvat loco morari,
ceu praesenti oculo intueri et urbem
quanta est Romuleam potes videre.³*

¹ The research for this article was sponsored by NWO (Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research) and was first presented at an interdisciplinary conference on Presence and Agency, organized at Leiden University in 2013. I thank the organizers of this conference, especially Antje Wessels, and the reviewers of the *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* for their constructive feedback.

² Georgius Fabricius, *Roma*. Basel 1551.

³ Poem quoted from Bernhard Kytzler, *Roma Aeterna*. Lateinische und griechische Romdichtung von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart. Zürich 1972, 508: "On Georgius Fabricius' *Roma*. You long to see the site of Romulus' city and its hills, its circumference, and gates, the bridges over the Tiber, the sacred houses of gods, the fora and porticoes, the aqueducts, roads, and baths and the marbles and graves of the ancients, scattered around with much dust? No need to take the difficult road to Latium through the Alps, or to wander about in

The poem asserts that those who wish to see Rome can now read Fabricius' book, which will put the city present before their eyes so that they can see how great it is. Similar statements were added to Francesco Albertini's book on the Marvels of ancient and new Rome (*Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae*), first published in 1510, for example in a distich by Cornelius Cymbalus: *Si priscam quis sive novam vult cernere Romam / is duce Francisco moenia cuncta videt.*⁴ It was not only in laudatory poems by others, but also in the prefaces that antiquarian authors themselves claim that their books can be used as an alternative to a journey to Rome itself. Thus Bartolomeo Marliano writes in the preface to his *Antiquae Romae topographia* (first published in 1534 with this title and later renamed *Urbis Romae topographia*) that books like his will bring pleasure to people that do not have the means to see the city for themselves.⁵

This article analyzes the implications of such laudatory statements about early modern antiquarian literature by approaching them with insights on living presence response and art agency as developed by Caroline van Eck.⁶ Van Eck's approach uses ancient rhetorical theories on vividness together with Alfred Gell's theory about the agency of art, as well as memory studies, to explain how and why viewers respond to certain works of art as if they were alive. This is partly due to the technical virtuosity of the artist in creating lifelike images (*enargeia*), but also to the agency of these works of art. Works of art share this agency

the mistress city, turning here, now there. Just buy, for a small sum of money, this book, both learned and laboriously wrought, given to you by Fabricius. So that now, far away from Oenotria's shore, in whatever place it pleases you to stay, you may gaze upon Romulus' city as if present before your eyes, and see how great she is." Unless indicated otherwise, all translations are mine.

⁴ Francesco Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae*. Basel 1519, fol. iijr.: "Cornelii disticon [= Cornelius Cymbalus]: If anyone wishes to see old or new Rome, he will see all the walls with Francesco as his guide." Similar imagery can be found in the same book on p. 74 in an epigram by Bartholomeus Cyniscus, cf. n. 28.

⁵ Bartolomeo Marliano, *Urbis Romae topographia*. Rome 1544, fol. Aiiir (in the dedication letter by Marliano to the king of France): [...] *animadvertentes harum rerum cognitionem exteris hominibus, quibus visendi urbem copia non est, iocunditati futuram* [...] fore ([...] being of the opinion that the knowledge of these things would give pleasure to foreigners, who do not have the means to see the city for themselves). See also Marc Laureys, Bartolomeo Marliano (1488–1566). Ein Antiquar des 16. Jahrhunderts, in: Gunter Schweikhart, ed., *Antiquarische Gelehrsamkeit und Bildende Kunst. Die Gegenwart der Antike in der Renaissance*. Cologne 1996, 151–167.

⁶ Caroline van Eck, *Art, Agency and Living Presence from the Animated Image to the Excessive Object*. Berlin – Boston 2015, with particular reference to the introduction. I started to consider the early modern antiquarian guides from this perspective in the context of a conference dedicated to this topic, organized by Caroline van Eck and Antje Wessels in Leiden 2013 (cf. n. 1).

with their prototype – i.e. what they represent – based on the memories that people have of their experiences with such prototypes. In other words: people may respond to a statue of Charity as if she were alive because the statue is made with such artistry that it seems to really be alive. The statue can exert a similar kind of agency on the viewer as a real mother feeding her infants, because of the viewer's previous experiences with such a scene in reality.⁷

Although the theories proposed by Van Eck mainly focus on visual works of art representing living beings, they also offer an interesting approach to living presence in written treatises on the city of Rome. There are several points of contact: not only do the rhetorical theories of vividness originate in treatises on literature, these guides were also increasingly adorned with illustrations during the period we are concerned with. Moreover, in the early modern period the city of Rome was often compared to a human being whose life or death was a point of discussion.⁸ Finally, the extent to which the readers are able to experience the living presence of Rome while reading seems to be dependent on their memories with regard to Rome.

Siberius' poem states that reading Fabricius' *Roma* is similar to seeing the city with your own eyes. This implies that the guide is not just describing the prototype – that is Rome – but rather dissolves into Rome itself. It renders Rome a living presence to be experienced by the reader as if he were experiencing a rendez-vous with the *domina* he was longing for, for so long. Marliano's statement that these books give pleasure to those who are not able to visit the city in person furthermore suggests that the texts exert a similar kind of agency on the reader as the real city.

In the following we will continue to look at the guides from the perspective outlined by Van Eck, to see to what extent they live up to these expectations. In so doing we take advantage from the fact that this approach involves all parties related to their creation and functioning (which Gell calls the *art nexus*): the writer, the work of art, its prototype, and the audience.⁹ We will especially consider the prototype of Rome that is revived in these guides: do they really

⁷ Caroline van Eck, *Art, Agency, and Living Presence*, the conclusion to the chapter on Memory (consulted as e-book without page numbers).

⁸ It was in fact an ancient literary topos to address Rome and to ask her for favors, or lament her state, weakened by illness or old age, as in Michael Roberts, *Rome Personified, Rome Epitomized. Representations of Rome in the Poetry of the Early Fifth Century*, in: *American Journal of Philology* 122 (2001), 533–565. Numerous humanist poems use this topos and present a personified Rome, either revived to her former glorious state or teaching the world about the vicissitudes of Fortune.

⁹ Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford 1998.

represent the Rome a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century traveler would have encountered if he or she had the means or money? We will further discuss the artistry by means of which the writers aim to create a living presence, as well as the reason why this characteristic is singled out for praise.

When it comes to the agency these guides exert on their readers, we can already disclose that this was rather limited. Even if they may have influenced their readers' emotions on the state of Rome, we have no testimonies of readers mistaking their books for the real city and acting accordingly – in the same way as we have such testimonies for statues or paintings. Although this was due to their textual rather than visual nature, we will see that it was actually the authors' confidence in text that triggered such laudatory statements in the first place. We will also see that the fact that these guides tried to meet various goals all at once made it impossible for them to truly dissolve into one specific prototype.

The texts we are concerned with are, in chronological order, Biondo Flavio's *Roma instaurata* (1446), Albertini's *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (1510), Andrea Fulvio's *Antiquitates urbis* (1527), Marliano's *Urbis Romae topographia* (1534) and Fabricius' *Roma* (1550).¹⁰ Although we shall mostly focus on the aspects they have in common, it should be noted that these texts also differ widely in numerous ways. First, there is a clear development within Antiquarianism from Biondo onwards throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which can be summarized under the headings specialization, internationalization and professionalization.¹¹ Moreover, they also differ from each other with respect to their attitudes towards contemporary Rome, an aspect which,

¹⁰ Literature about these texts is abundant. A thorough monograph in which they all figure, and to which my discussion owes much, is Ruth Kritzer, *Rom: bewunderte Vergangenheit – inszenierte Gegenwart. Die Stadt in literarischen Topographien der Renaissance*. Vienna 2012. See also Angelo Mazzocco – Marc Laureys, eds., *A New Sense of the Past. The Scholarship of Biondo Flavio (1392–1463)*. Leuven 2016, Martin Disselkamp, *Vom Glanz der Antiquare. Ein Interpretationsvorschlag zur Rom-Topographik der Frühen Neuzeit*, in: id. et al., eds., *Das alte Rom und die neue Zeit. Varianten des Rom-Mythos zwischen Petrarca und dem Barock*. Tübingen 2006, 253–278, and further Sergio Rossetti, ed., *Rome. A Bibliography from the Invention of Printing through 1899*. Vol. IV: *The Guides*. Firenze 2000, and Ludwig Schudt, *Le guide di Roma. Materialen zu einer Geschichte der römischen Topographie*. Vienna 1930. Quotations from these works are from the following editions: Biondo Flavio, *Roma instaurata*. Basel 1531; Francesco Albertini, *Opusculum* [...]. Basel 1519; Andrea Fulvio, *Antiquitates Urbis*. Rome 1527; Bartolomeo Marliano, *Urbis Romae Topographia*. Roma 1544, and Georgius Fabricius, *Roma*. Basel 1587.

¹¹ Cf. Laureys (as in n. 5), 153.

as we will see, determines the specific prototype of Rome in each of these antiquarian works.¹²

The living presence of ancient Rome

To start with the prototype, we can immediately observe that all the guides at hand have a clear focus on ancient Rome. They all start off with the origins of Rome and then continue their description of the city from the outside (walls, gates, roads) to the inside, working their way through the city mostly by means of category (bridges, temples, obelisks etc.).¹³ Their most important sources are ancient literary sources.¹⁴ This clearly shows in the numerous explicit references to classical literature in all texts, but in a most literal fashion this can be observed in Fabricius' *Roma*, a text interspersed with classical quotations about the monuments discussed [see fig. 1].

This primacy of ancient literature as a source is closely related to the authors' primary goal, that is to contribute to the reading of this same body of texts. Through these books about the topography of Rome readers of ancient literature could finally identify and localize all the buildings they came across when reading, for example, Cicero or Propertius. Knowledge of ancient monuments was deemed 'necessary to explain various places in ancient authors', as Marliano states in his preface.¹⁵ Fabricius also mentions as his most important goal to be of use for those who read ancient literature, but even extended his role further to that of commentator of passages that had not been commented on sufficiently by predecessors.¹⁶

¹² Similar conclusions are reached in a recent monograph on early modern maps of Rome by Jessica Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined. Early Modern Maps of the Eternal City*. Chicago – London 2015, which argues that these maps not only described the city as accurately as possible, but also offered a "vision" of the city with all her timeless and unique qualities.

¹³ This is a conventional feature of descriptions of cities, see Kritzer (as in n. 10), 62–64. Marliano is the first to partly break with this tradition by offering a more realistic tour through the city, see Laureys (as in n. 5), 158.

¹⁴ See e.g. Leonhard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past. Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*. New Haven – London 1999, 30: "It would be more accurate to say that for these founders of a humanistic approach to classical remains, archaeology is a subset of the study of texts."

¹⁵ Marliano, *Topographia* (as in n. 5), fol. Aair: [...] *animadvertentes harum rerum cognitionem [...] ad varia auctorum loca explicanda necessariam nedum conducibilem fore.*

¹⁶ Fabricius, *Roma* (as in n. 2), 9: *Propositi enim mei haec summa fuit, ut iis prodessem, qui historias veteres legerent, et poetarum libros in manibus haberent; unde et pluribus testimonijs ipsorum utor, et ubi omissiores fuerunt interpretes, praecipue recentiores, locos ipsos explico.* (Because it was the highest goal of my undertaking, to be of use for those who read the ancient histories and who have the books of the poets in their hands; therefore I use many references from these same authors, and where the commentators have been negligent, especially the more recent ones,

Taking ancient literature as a starting point means that not just visible remains and their functions were identified, but attention was also paid to the description and localization of buildings that did not exist anymore. It also means that elaborate *ekphrasis* of the visual appearance of Roman architecture and works of art are very rare. This is both in line with their sources, which are literary and historical rather than artistic, and their general focus on localizing buildings and relating their history. Or as Fulvio explained in his preface: [...] *non ut architectus, sed historico more describere curavi*.¹⁷

So, if they do not use such typical literary devices as the *ekphrasis*, how do these guides bring ancient Rome back to life? They use other types of visual imagery, on the basis of these same textual sources. A first area in which we find visual imagery is in the topographical descriptions, of which *evidentia* was singled out by Quintilian to be a very important aspect.¹⁸ One way to achieve *evidentia* would be to give detailed information, for example in the form of measurements and numbers. As such all authors discuss the size of the city from its foundation onwards, and give information about the amount of gates, bridges, temples and so on.¹⁹ But also more general references to the multitude, magnitude and height of the ancient buildings would cause the reader to imagine just how unique a sight it must have been.²⁰

A second area is represented by the quotations and references to ancient texts that actively invite the reader to imagine the historical events or daily activities of the ancient Romans that have taken place at these sites. Frances Muecke discussed two such passages from Biondo's *Roma triumphans*, showing how they

I explain the places themselves). In line with this purpose Fabricius' work has an index of authors he uses or explains in his work.

¹⁷ Fulvio, *Antiquitates* (as in n. 10), fol. Biiir. (praefatio): "I took great care to describe (sc. the city) not as an architect, but as a historiographer."

¹⁸ For the relationship between topography and *evidentia* in these guides see Kritzer (as in n. 10), 25–26, and Disselkamp (as in n. 10), 259. The reference to Quintilian is to *Institutio oratoria* IX, 2, 44.

¹⁹ E.g. Fulvio, *Antiquitates* (as in n. 10), fol. IIIr.: (*De moenibus, ambitu et pomerio antiquae urbis*): *Sunt qui tradant moenia antiquae urbis habuisse DXxxxiiii turres, cum propugnaculis sine numero. hodie vero cclxvi. Ambitum autem priscae urbis fuisse olim xxx millibus passuum scribit Plinius. Sed postea Aurelianus Caesar ampliavit usque ad l milia passuum teste Flavio Vopisco*. (Some writers say that the walls of the ancient city had 634 towers, with ramparts of which no amount is mentioned; today however there are 366. The circumference of the ancient city was once 20 miles, Pliny writes. But later on Emperor Aurelian amplified it to 50 miles, witness Flavius Vopiscus).

²⁰ E.g. Fulvio, *Antiquitates* (as in n. 10), fol. IIIr.: *Unde si quis postea altitudinem tectorum addat, nullius urbis altitudinem in toto orbe potuisse comparari scribit Plinius*. (If someone would later add the height of the houses [i.e. to the height of the hills], the height could not be compared to that in any other city in the world, Pliny writes).

tie in with Biondo's wish to see papal Rome as a continuation of ancient Rome.²¹ Hubertus Günther also hints at such passages when he claims that one of the goals of antiquarian literature on Rome was to offer a vivid image of ancient Rome.²² If considered from the viewpoint of living presence response, we may consider such passages as inviting the readers to experience these events as happening before their eyes while they read.

Crucial in this respect is that the city of Rome can be considered an 'Erinnerungsraum' par excellence, and most monuments in Rome as 'lieux de mémoire'.²³ They are not just places or buildings, but are also – intended or unintended – triggers of the cultural memory of events that have taken place there. But just as crucial is the fact that the physicality of these monuments does not really matter, nor even whether they were still visible in contemporary Rome, or exactly what they looked like. As triggers of cultural memory, a textual representation appears to be sufficient, or even preferable. This may be explained if we consider that the readers' recollection of the events described in these antiquarian guides does not rely on them actually having experienced these events before, or having visited the location before, but on them having read about them before in classical texts.

Instead of being a disadvantage, the literary and textual aspects of these antiquarians' works on Rome were actually a major source of pride for their authors. They considered their guides as literary monuments that would preserve the memory of what was still left of Rome and would reconstruct Rome with the imagination, and thus testify to the supremacy of text over other forms of art.²⁴ The writers shared this belief in the durability of literature with the ancients, and considered it proven by Rome's current fate.²⁵ All around them they saw

²¹ Frances Muecke, *Ante oculos ponere. Vision and Imagination in Flavio Biondo's "Roma Triumphans"*, in: *Papers of the British School at Rome* 79 (2011), 275–298.

²² Hubertus Günther, *L'idea di Roma antica nella 'Roma instaurata' di Flavio Biondo*, in: Sergio Rossi – Stefano Valeri, eds., *Le due Rome del Quattrocento. Melozzo, Antoniazio e la cultura artistica del '400 romano*. Roma 1997, 380–393.

²³ For *lieu de mémoire*, a concept coined by Pierre Nora with regard to France, see in general Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*. München 1999, and for cities in particular see Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts. Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford 2003.

²⁴ For this aspect of humanist antiquarianism see Thomas Greene, *Resurrecting Rome. The Double Task of the Humanist Imagination*, in: Paul A. Ramsey, ed., *Rome in the Renaissance. The City and the Myth*. Binghamton 1982, 41–54.

²⁵ Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.30, 1: *Exegi monumentum aere perennius*. For this topos in ancient literature see Catharine Edwards, *Writing Rome. Textual Approaches to the City*. Cambridge 1996, 6; for the Renaissance especially Andrew Hui, *The Poetics of Ruins in Renaissance Literature*. New York 2016.

the effects of time and neglect on the Roman monuments, and they deplored the damage done by the use of ancient sites as quarries for building material. At the same time ancient literature provided them with information about buildings long gone, and they saw a comparable future for themselves.

The suggestion that these guides could replace a visit to the real city should thus be seen in the context of confidence and hope, whereby the authors seem concerned not only with their contemporary readers, but also with readers in the future. Consider, for example, the preface to Biondo's *Roma instaurata*. Although Biondo extensively praises pope Eugenius IV for restoring the splendor of the city, he daringly adds the following remark:

*Aggrediar itaque assumptum mihi tuam in gloriam munus futurum confisus, ut posterī aliquando diiudicent [...] utrumne [...] tanto facta impendio opera vel rudi stilo potuerim imitari, et calce, latericio, materia, lapide aut aere an litteris facta solidior diuturniorve maneat instauratio.*²⁶

A similar statement can be found in a laudatory poem by another friend of Fabricius, who states that the monuments of Rome will fall down, but that her name *Roma* will last as long as the monuments of (this) bright talent will flourish.²⁷ If text is best suited for the reconstruction and preservation of ancient Rome, it thus surpasses the city itself, a feature that is emphasized by titles such as *Roma instaurata*, or simply *Roma*. This superiority of textual representations for experiencing ancient Rome was thus a prominent reason for praising antiquarian books, as we see again in Bartholomeus Cyniscus' epigram dedicated to Francesco Albertini:

*Qui cupis eversam iam per tot saecula Romam
primaevam in faciem cernere: nostra legas.*

²⁶ Biondo (as in n. 10), 222 (Praefatio): "I will therefore start on the task that I have taken on me and that will be to your glory, confiding that someday future generations will judge [...] whether I will have been able to imitate [...] these works made with such great expense with just a simple pencil; and whether the restoration by means of chalk, brick, timber, stone and bronze will remain stronger and more lasting than the restoration by means of literature."

²⁷ Fabricius (as in n. 2), 12 (poem by Lazarus Buonamicus, vs. 9–12): *At Romae, Aeneadum magnum et memorabile nomen / tempus edax rerum tollere non potuit / nec poterit donec clari monumenta vigeant / ingenij, quae non ulla senecta rapit.* (But the great and memorable name of Rome and the Romans all-devouring time has not been able to destroy, and neither will it as long as the monuments of (this) bright talent will flourish, monuments that no old age can take away).

*His namque inspicias fora cuncta, theatra, cloacas
aelogya, eurypos, balnea, templa, vias.*²⁸

Here we encounter aspects similar to those we saw in Siberius' poem: that reading (*legas*) can replace seeing (*cernere, inspicias*) and that Rome could be considered a human being who, through this book, can be 'looked in the face'. However, Cyniscus suggests a different prototype for Albertini's book than Siberius seems to have had in mind for Fabricius' book. Where Siberius suggests that Fabricius' *Roma* can replace a visit to contemporary Rome, Cyniscus praises Albertini for bringing back the living presence of youthful Rome, the Rome before she was overthrown.

Cyniscus' praise seems to be more fitting for the antiquarian guides under discussion, if we consider what we have seen so far. For one thing, the main prototype seems to be ancient Rome, even if we cannot identify it exactly as a 'real' Rome at any point in time.²⁹ Furthermore the authors invite their readers to experience the living presence of ancient Rome more through historical recollections than through visual memories. This can be understood from the textual sources of these memories, both for the readers and the writers alike. Finally, the textual nature of these guides is actually their major source of pride, because it offers the only entrance left to experience a prototype that is now irretrievably lost. In this respect they resemble the numerous disappointed and critical statements that 'Rome was not in Rome anymore' or that ancient Rome was 'dead'. Such sentiments were, for example, expressed in Joachim Du Bellay's famous French sonnets on the antiquities of Rome: "Nouveau venu, qui cherches Rome en Rome / et rien de Rome en Rome n'apperçois", as well as in his Latin poetry: *ipsaque nunc tumulus mortua Roma sui est.*³⁰

²⁸ Albertini (as in n. 4), 74: "You, who wish to see Rome, already overthrown for so many centuries, in her youthful shape, read ours. Because here you will see all fora, theatres, sewers, inscriptions, aqueducts, baths, temples and roads." These are the first four verses of eight in total.

²⁹ It rather forms a palimpsest of (ancient) Romes on top of each other, a metaphor that is explained in Huyssen (as in n. 23).

³⁰ Joachim Du Bellay, *Antiquitez de Rome* 3: "Newcomer, you who look for Rome in Rome, and not a sign of Rome in Rome can see." Quoted from Walter Rehm, *Europäische Romdichtung*. München 1960, 96; id., *Poemata* 1.2 (*Descriptio Romae*), vs. 30: "Dead Rome is now a tomb to herself", quoted from Kytzler (as in n. 3), 504. For a thorough discussion of this literary theme see Christophe Imbert, *Rome n'est plus dans Rome. Formule magique pour un centre perdu*. Paris 2011; for a brief overview of the idea of Rome in the Renaissance see Susanna de Beer, *Rom als symbolischer Ort*, in: Manfred Landfester, ed., *Der Neue Pauly*. 2. Staffel. Bd. 9: Renaissance-Humanismus. Lexikon zur Antikerezeption. Stuttgart 2014, 856–864.

The living presence of contemporary Rome

However, Siberius' praise is not far off from the truth either, because the guides represent contemporary Rome as well. Their prototype was thus more or less hybrid, a feature that put the readers' imagination considerably to the test. Humanist authors may have pretended that text was the ideal medium to enter ancient Rome, but in practice many people – including the writers themselves – also sought traces of ancient Rome at her physical location, or even considered ancient Rome to be still alive somehow in contemporary Rome. In the following we will see that these practical and ideological perspectives were also catered for in the guides under discussion.

We find several references to contemporary Rome that make most sense when consulted in Rome, and which invite the reader to experience the contemporary instead of (only) the ancient city. Some of these references appear to be mostly instrumental, included as means to facilitate the localization of ancient sites. Such references are actually quite frequent in all guides.³¹ Fabricius mentions this function explicitly at the point where he starts to describe some modern churches:

*De templis sanctorum [...] addere aliquid visum fuit, tum ut aliquem diligentiorum ad maius studium excitarem, tum ut consulerem peregrinantibus: nam ex eorum situ multa aedificia et monumenta antiqua describi facilius possunt.*³²

Such references reemphasize the authors' focus on antiquity, but also acknowledge that some knowledge of contemporary Rome is an asset. Often in the case of such location markers the texts invite the reader to imagine himself on the spot described. They do this by following a certain route, by using deictic pronouns, or by using verbs of seeing, both in the first person of the author and in the more general third person passive.³³ The use of such visual language also

³¹ E.g. Biondo (as in n. 10), 234: *Celeberrimum ea in arce Iovis Optimi Maximi Templum ad eam situm fuit partum, ubi nunc dicitur Salvator in Maximinis* (the most famous temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was built on this citadel at that point, where now the church named 'Salvator in Maximinis' is located).

³² Fabricius (as in n. 2), 236: "I have decided to add something on the churches of the Saints: both to incite a rather diligent person to seriously study them, and to be of use for travellers, because from their locations many ancient buildings and monuments can be described more easily."

³³ E.g. Marliano (as in n. 5), 28: *Quoniam descendentibus e Capitolio primum occurrit vallis inter ipsum et Palatium, par est ut eius loca proximo loco annotemus* (because those who descend from the Capitoline first come across the valley between that hill and the Palatine, it seems right that we next discuss these sites); Biondo (as in n. 10), 245: [...] *ubi nunc apud ecclesiam sancti Petri ad vincula fornices maximos intra ruinarum vastitatem, contra amphitheatrum nunc colosseum extare videmus, curia vetus fuit [...]* (where we now, close to the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, see enormous

points to the fact that these authors, despite their focus on ancient literature as a source, often worked from personal observation themselves.

Another way in which contemporary Rome is evoked, is by statements that inform the reader whether a specific structure is gone or still exists, or to describe the current state of ancient buildings.³⁴ Even if they are often very factual statements, such references to the ruinous state of the city nevertheless also ‘create a mood, an ethos of glory and loss’, in a similar way as the poetic images we saw in the previous paragraph.³⁵ Sometimes this is actually made explicit, as in the following passage by Fulvio on the Capitol:

*Capitolium, ut olim templis et sacris aedificiis ornatissimum, nunc magnis ruinis obrutum deformatumque commiserationem quondam fletumque spectantibus movet.*³⁶

Not only a reflection on the contrast between past and present Rome, this quotation also considers Rome’s capacity to trigger the emotions of visitors, who are moved to tears as if they were being confronted with the pain of a living human being. Perhaps it is a little too far-fetched to suggest that Fulvio’s guide exerts a similar kind of agency on his readers as the ruined city on visitors, but some of the emotional impact is definitely transferred to the written pages, thereby partly dissolving the boundaries between the represented and the representation. The emotional response is likely further heightened by the readers’ recollection of a crucial passage in Virgil’s *Aeneid*, to which Fulvio alludes here, and which tells how Rome, once bare, has become golden in Augustus’ days.³⁷

arches among the vast ruins, opposite to the amphitheatre that is now called the Colosseum, used to be the old Curia); Marliano (as in n. 5), 26: *Ante eandem porticum duo pari forma fluviorum simulacra seminuda visuntur* (in front of the same portico two similar half-naked statues of rivers can be seen).

³⁴ E.g. Biondo (as in n. 10), 248: [...] *non dubitamus eam fuisse, que nunc ad Tiberim contra Iani templum propemodum integra exstat* ([...] we do not doubt that this is the one, which now still stands almost intact at the Tiber, opposite to the temple of Janus).

³⁵ Cf. n. 30. Quoted from Elizabeth McCahill, *Reviving the Eternal City. Rome and the Papal Court*. Cambridge, MA 2013, 172–173, with regard to Biondo’s statement that the Capitol ‘once ornamented by so many buildings, now is bare’ (cf. Biondo [as in n. 10], 234: *Nunc vero [...] nihil habet is Capitolinus Tarpeiusque mons tantis olim aedificiis exornatus*).

³⁶ Fulvio (as in n. 10), fol. XXIIr.: “The Capitol, although once most beautifully furnished with temples and sacred buildings, now buried under huge ruins and deformed, moves the beholders to compassion and lament.”

³⁷ Fulvio’s contrast between past and present Rome is a reversal of Virgil’s statement about the Capitol in *Aeneid* 8, 348: *aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis*. The most famous reversal of this statement is found in Poggio Bracciolini, *De varietate fortunae*, book 1: *aurea quondam, nunc squalida spinetis vepribusque referta*.

Besides rupture and absence, ruins also represent continuity and presence. Even if dead or mutilated, the prototype of ancient Rome can still somehow be experienced in the contemporary ruins. Thus references to the present state of ancient Rome's remains make the reader all the more aware of the difficult distinction between ancient and contemporary Rome. A similar awareness is generated by descriptions of places where antiquities were collected, such as the galleries of ancient statues on the Capitoline or in the Vatican, or the collection of manuscripts in the Vatican Library.³⁸ These passages, which we find both in Fulvio's *Antiquitates* and Marliano's *Topographia*, offer both a vivid image of the ancient works of art themselves, and of the site where they were on display.³⁹ As such they give some very rare, vivid and ekphrastic descriptions which could guide the reader during a real visit, but through which he or she could also visit the galleries of antiquities in the mind's eye.

Fulvio's descriptions combine details of size, materials and iconography of the statues with indications of the positions in which they can be found in the museum. He also adds information on their provenance, as in this passage about the famous statue of Hercules, still in the Capitoline collection:

*Intra limen statim a dextris surgit Simulacrum aereum inauratum ac nudum Herculis adhuc impuberis, dextra clavam, sinistra vero aurea Hesperidum mala tenens, que in prima sustulit iuventa, quod signum in ruinis arae maximae in foro boario mea aetate repertum est.*⁴⁰

Marliano's account of the Capitoline collection is comparable to that by Fulvio in that he also combines descriptions of the gallery itself with descriptions of the statues, and even adds some remarks about their beauty.⁴¹ Interestingly, Marliano also includes a description and illustration of this same Hercules statue in his section on the Forum Boarium, the place where the statue used to stand in ancient times and where it had only been discovered recently [see fig. 2].⁴²

³⁸ For these references to contemporary galleries see Kritzer (as in n. 10), 45.

³⁹ Fulvio (as in n. 10), fols. XXr.–XXIv. on the Capitoline hill and fols. XXVr.–XXVIv. on the Vatican hill; Marliano (as in n. 10), 26–27: *De quibusdam statutis, aliisque rebus antiquis quae hodie sunt in Capitolio*.

⁴⁰ Fulvio (as in n. 10), fol. XXIr.: “Immediately right at the entrance rises the bronze gilded and nude statue of Hercules, still young, holding in his right hand the club, but in his left hand the apples of the Hesperides, which he had taken in his earliest youth. This statue was found in my age in the ruins of the Ara maxima at the Forum Boarium.” Further statues are introduced with *visuntur* (are seen); the thorn-puller (or *spinario*) is called *pastori haud absimilis* (not unlike a herdsman).

⁴¹ Marliano (as in n. 10), 27: *Ibidem est et Satyri statua pulcherrima* (At the same spot is located a most beautiful statue of a Satyr).

⁴² Marliano (as in n. 10), 55.

This double usage of the same statue underlines how much the Roman antiquities were considered part of both ancient and contemporary Rome.⁴³ We saw the same effect in case of the ruins, but the descriptions of the statues have a much more positive undertone, triggering admiration instead of tears.

All of the texts under discussion here combine the two features we have discussed so far: as literary monuments they aim to create the living presence of ancient Rome, while as guides they also include references to contemporary Rome, mainly to facilitate the localization of the ancient remains. However, they do not all combine both aspects to the same extent or in the same manner. In the following I will discuss some of these differences, which I assign partly to a historical development taking place in this exact period, and partly to the ideological differences between the authors with regard to the nature of the prototype Rome.

First, in the period covered by these texts, the research on the topography and history of Rome evolved from mainly philological work based on ancient literature into a discipline that also took material sources into account. This inclusion of personal observation automatically brought contemporary Rome into the picture. Moreover, during the same period the city of Rome was under papal rule and saw an urban and architectural revival, which both featured many new buildings, but also reserved a prominent place for the ancient monuments – restored anew or put on display.⁴⁴ As a result, in the course of the sixteenth century, Rome saw an increase of tourists, who were attracted by the ancient legacy as much as by the new papal grandeur. Such tourists, so it seemed, could also be catered to by the same antiquarian texts which originally may have had mainly scholarly purposes.

These developments are reflected in a specific physical feature of the books under discussion here, namely in the illustrations. The intentionally very historical and literary nature of these antiquarian Rome guides explains why illustrations were not included in the first editions of these works. However, this does not mean that visual images were not important at all in the antiquarian project of reconstructing and restoring the ancient splendor of Rome; rather, such imagery belonged more to the field of the architects and artists. The most famous

⁴³ Marliano adds a cross-reference to his second book, where he had already mentioned this statue to be on display in the gallery of antiquities on the Capitoline.

⁴⁴ For these activities see, amongst others, McCahill (as in n. 35); Kathleen Christian, *Empire without End. Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350–1527*. New Haven – London 2010; and David Karmon, *The Ruin of the Eternal City. Antiquity and Preservation in Renaissance Rome*. Oxford 2011.

among them was probably Raphael, with whom Andrea Fulvio closely cooperated. When these guidebooks were first illustrated, they benefited from the existence of such images, which were primarily focused on the architecture of ancient Rome.

We can clearly see this in the first guide that was illustrated which was Marliano's, originally published in 1534 without illustrations, and reissued in 1544 with illustrations. The author refers to this innovative feature in the preface of his new edition:

[...] *additis etiam ipsius urbis quorundamque insignium aedificiorum descriptionibus ad exemplar accurate expressis id effecimus, ut unumquodque aedificium in qua parte positum fuerit, hodieque extet, facile dignosci possit.*⁴⁵

Although Marliano suggests that the illustrations facilitate the identification and localization of certain buildings (similar to how Fabricius explained why he included Christian churches), this is not actually the kind of information the illustrations offer. Instead, they consist mainly of ground plans, idealized outlines or cross-sections of buildings, and three drawings of ancient statues [see figs. 3–6].⁴⁶ They mainly represent the architecture of specific buildings, or building forms, which can be understood from the source they are drawn from, that is from Sebastiano Serlio's 'Libro terzo dell'architettura', printed in Venice in 1540.⁴⁷ Presenting mainly whole buildings, these images offer a reconstruction of ancient Roman architecture rather than a visual representation of contemporary Rome. The illustrations were thus not completely in line with the text they accompanied, which focused more on history and topography than on architecture. They do not help in localizing or identifying ancient structures either, but were probably only added as an attractive feature. However, interestingly, they do seem to align with the laudatory statements added to these guides, as they offer the reader a visual entrance into ancient Rome.

It was only in the second half of the sixteenth century that publishers started to actually adapt the guides to be used for travel purposes, not only in size and price, but also by means of the illustrations. A very illustrative case in this respect is the publication of both Fulvio's *Antiquitates*, translated into Italian, and

⁴⁵ Marliano (as in n. 10), 2: “[...] and through addition of illustrations of the city itself and of some significant buildings, printed accurately after its exemplar, we have secured that it can be easily discerned in which part a certain building had been located or today still exists.”

⁴⁶ See Maier (as in n. 12), especially chapter 2, in which Maier discusses the relationship between early modern maps and drawings with contemporary antiquarian treatises.

⁴⁷ See Peter Jacks, Guidebooks to Ancient Rome, in: Anthony Grafton et al., eds., *The Classical Tradition*. Cambridge, MA 2010, 414. The three engravings of ancient sculpture (Romulus and Remus, Hercules and the Laocoon) must come from another source.

Marliano's *Topographia*, published in 1588 by the same Venice publisher and printer Girolamo Franzini [see fig. 7].⁴⁸ In that same year Franzini also published the first edition of 'Le cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma', which is usually seen as the first 'real' travel guide.⁴⁹ In precisely that year, 1588, Rome expected a lot of visitors, as Pope Sixtus V had announced a special jubilee year.⁵⁰

Interestingly, in all the publications mentioned above, Franzini employed the same illustrations. Although some of the illustrations are also idealized images, just like the illustrations in the 1544 edition of Marliano, most illustrations resemble Rome as you would have seen it, with ancient ruins among more recent structures [see figs. 8–10]. Just like the textual references to contemporary Rome, such images also serve to localize ancient buildings, or to corroborate statements about the present state of Rome's antiquities.

Thus, in tandem with the historical development through which Rome drew more and more visitors, the antiquarian guides increasingly included references to and illustrations of contemporary Rome, assisting both the reader and visitor in discovering ancient Rome in the midst of the real city. However, the extent to which these books specifically pay attention to contemporary Rome cannot only be labeled as practical, as it also depends on the question of whether they see contemporary Rome as a continuation of ancient Rome or not, or, in other words, to what extent they assume the prototype of ancient Rome to be dead or still alive.

Biondo, Albertini and Fulvio to some extent integrate ancient and early modern Rome in order to underline the papal claim to the imperial power of Rome. Although Biondo and Fulvio still focus on antiquity, they do offer some details about contemporary Roman structures and praise the popes for their efforts to restore Rome to her old glory.⁵¹ For Albertini, however, the integration of both

⁴⁸ Bartolomeo Marliano, *Urbis Romae topographia*. Venice 1588; Andrea Fulvio, *L'antichità di Roma*. Venice 1588.

⁴⁹ See Flavio Cantatore, Girolamo Franzini e *Le cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma* (1588). *Roma antica e moderna in una guida per Sisto V*, in: *Roma nel Rinascimento* (2006), 133–142.

⁵⁰ Both the size and language made them suitable for travellers. Moreover, at the end is added a list of ancient and modern names for all kinds of sites in and outside the city of Rome, which makes sense for travellers who want to localize the ancient sites in modern Rome. The title page further confirms the link with Sixtus V: "Con le aggiuntioni ed annotazioni di Girolamo Ferrucci Romano, tanto intorno a molte cose antiche, come anche alle cose celebri renovate et stabilite dall Santità di N. S. Sisto V."

⁵¹ For Biondo's references to the papal restoration and embellishment of Rome see McCahill (as in n. 35), especially chapter 6. For Fulvio's view on papal Rome see Marc Laureys, *Das*

‘Romes’ was an explicit goal, as the title of his work suggests. The section on ‘old Rome’ has all the features of the other antiquarian books under discussion. The passages that link this section to the section on ‘new Rome’ reflect Albertini’s view on the continuity of Rome, as they underline the sanctity of the ground itself and praise the papal efforts to restore the ancient city to her former glory.⁵² Albertini first mentions Pope Sixtus IV who “started to restore the city”.⁵³ He then moves on to Pope Julius II, to whom this book is dedicated, and by whose efforts Rome can deservedly be called ‘new’. These statements thus keep up the image of ancient Rome still being alive, or brought back to life. Such images are also frequent in contemporary poetry, for example in Janus Vitalis’ epigram entitled *Roma instaurata*, which represents Rome as a phoenix being reborn from her ashes.⁵⁴

Marliano, on the other hand – disillusioned by the Sack of Rome in 1527 – and the Protestant Fabricius largely deny papal Rome, or at least the papal claim to the legacy of ancient Rome.⁵⁵ When they include references to contemporary Rome, they do so selectively. These references mostly relate to antiquity in one

alte und das neue Rom in Andrea Fulvius Antiquaria Urbis, in: Disselkamp (as in n. 10), 201–220. Fulvio concluded his work with a section on *Ecclesiae celebriores novae urbis* (fol. XCVIIv.), and included the Vatican library in the lemma *De bibliothecis antiquis* (fol. LXXXIIIr.), after which he added an entry on the first printers’ houses in Rome. In his section on the Vatican hill (fols. XXVr.–XXVIv.) he mentions the restoration works in Saint Peter’s by Pope Martin V and the construction of the Vatican Palace by Sixtus IV and Julius II.

⁵² Albertini ends the second book (Opusculum, Ni r.) with a section *De laude ipsius urbis*. He starts the third book (Opusculum, Nij v.) with a section *De nova urbe*. His rhetoric fits in with the papal ideology of the return of the Golden Age, and Rome as New Jerusalem, as seen for example in Egidio da Viterbo’s thought, cf. John O’Malley, Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform. A Study in Renaissance Thought. Leiden 1968.

⁵³ For Sixtus IV’s contributions to the renovation of Rome see Fabio Benzi, Sisto IV Renovator Urbis. Architettura a Roma 1471–1484. Rome 1990.

⁵⁴ Janus Vitalis, *Roma instaurata*, 5–8: *Quam vere est mundi Roma una unius imago / Quam ve unam Romam non nisi Roma refert / En velut expurgata repullulat ardua Quercus / Grandior e cinere est Roma renata suo* (How true that Rome alone is the image of this one world / Or that nothing but Rome represents the one Rome / Behold, just as a tall oak burgeons anew once lopped / So is Rome reborn greater from her ashes.) Quoted with translation from George Hugo Tucker, *The Poet’s Odyssey*. Joachim Du Bellay and the Antiquitez de Rome. Oxford 1990, 256–257.

⁵⁵ For Marliano’s more ‘neutral’ and factual approach to the idea of Rome, see Laureys (as in n. 5), 160–161. On the contemporary state of Rome Fabricius (as in n. 2) remarks (227): *Urbis Romae veluti cadaver, omnibus paene Barbaris lacerantibus, ante oculos hodie iacet* (Today the corpse – so to say – of the city of Rome lies before our eyes, being mutilated by almost all barbarians).

way or another, or they concern initiatives that are praiseworthy from the humanist perspective, such as the graves of important contemporary scholars.⁵⁶ This can be better understood if we consider the enthusiasm with which humanists from all over Europe, regardless of their religious or political interests, traveled to Rome to catch a glimpse of her eternal magnificence.

Conclusion

Laudatory poems like Siberius' suggest that reading early modern antiquarian literature on Rome could replace a visit to the real city, but can it indeed? We have seen that the prototype which most of these books represent is not contemporary, but ancient Rome. Moreover, they do not make her come alive before the eyes of the reader by ekphrastically describing her physical features, but rather by a detailed counting of her parts and vivid references to the historical events she has witnessed, both primarily based on textual evidence.

The authors of these books seem more concerned with bridging the chronological divide between antiquity and their own days than with bridging the geographical divide between contemporary Rome and their readers who are elsewhere. They may even have been altogether more concerned with future than with contemporary readers. At the least, it seems that their confidence in text as the best way to preserve and to revive the ancient prototype was the primary basis for such laudatory statements. At the same time such statements are an expression of these guides' competition with the contemporary city of Rome, which by some was considered not able to represent the ancient prototype, and not worthy by others.

Yet, these authors were not completely immune to the practices of tourism and the papal propaganda based on the revival of Rome either. Without being conceived as actual travel guides, in practice they increasingly began to be used as such. They were adapted accordingly, to offer an ever-growing audience the opportunity to experience Rome, both in the imagination and during a visit to the city itself. However, their focus did not change completely, as references to contemporary Rome almost all reflect a certain practical or ideological relationship to the ancient prototype. They either serve to localize ancient remains, or reflect on the continuity or discontinuity of ancient Rome in the present. With such a hybrid nature, these books would not have been mistaken easily for either ancient or contemporary Rome, but as travel guides for imaginary journeys to an idealized city they served their purpose well.

⁵⁶ Fabricius (as in n. 2), 236. Many of these epitaphs were located in churches, which was one of the reasons for Fabricius to add these churches in the first place, besides the opportunities they offered to localize ancient remains, cf. n. 32.

Illustrations (reproduced with permission of the Leiden University Library)

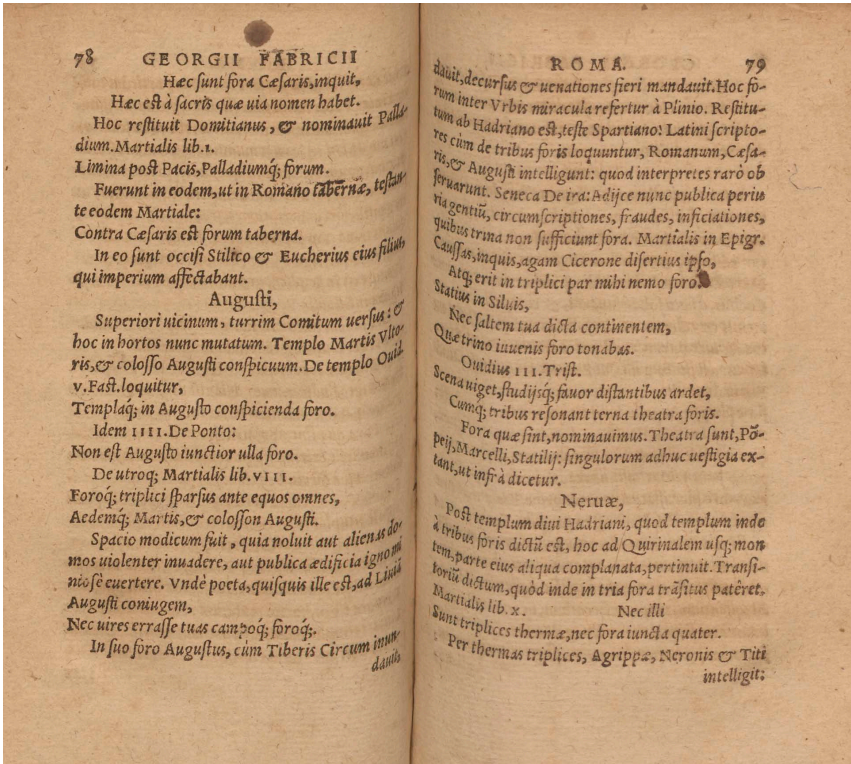


Fig. 1: Fabricius, Roma. Basel 1587, 78–79.

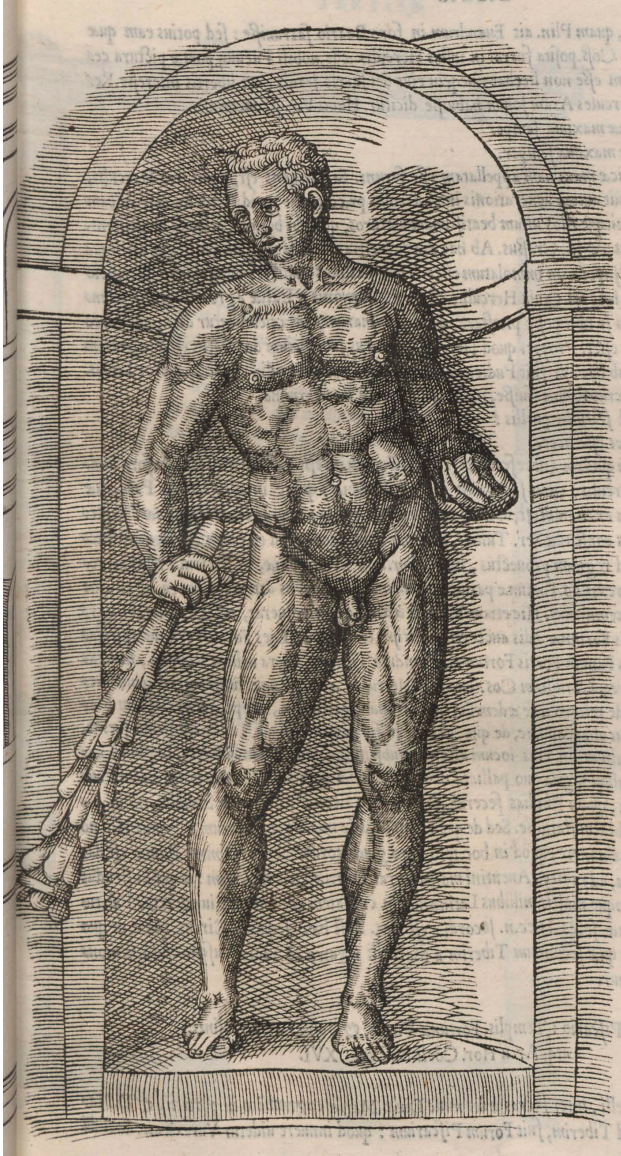


Fig. 2: Marliano, *Topographia*. Roma 1544, 55. The statue of Hercules on display on the Capitoline, discussed by Marliano in the section on the Forum Boarium where it was found.

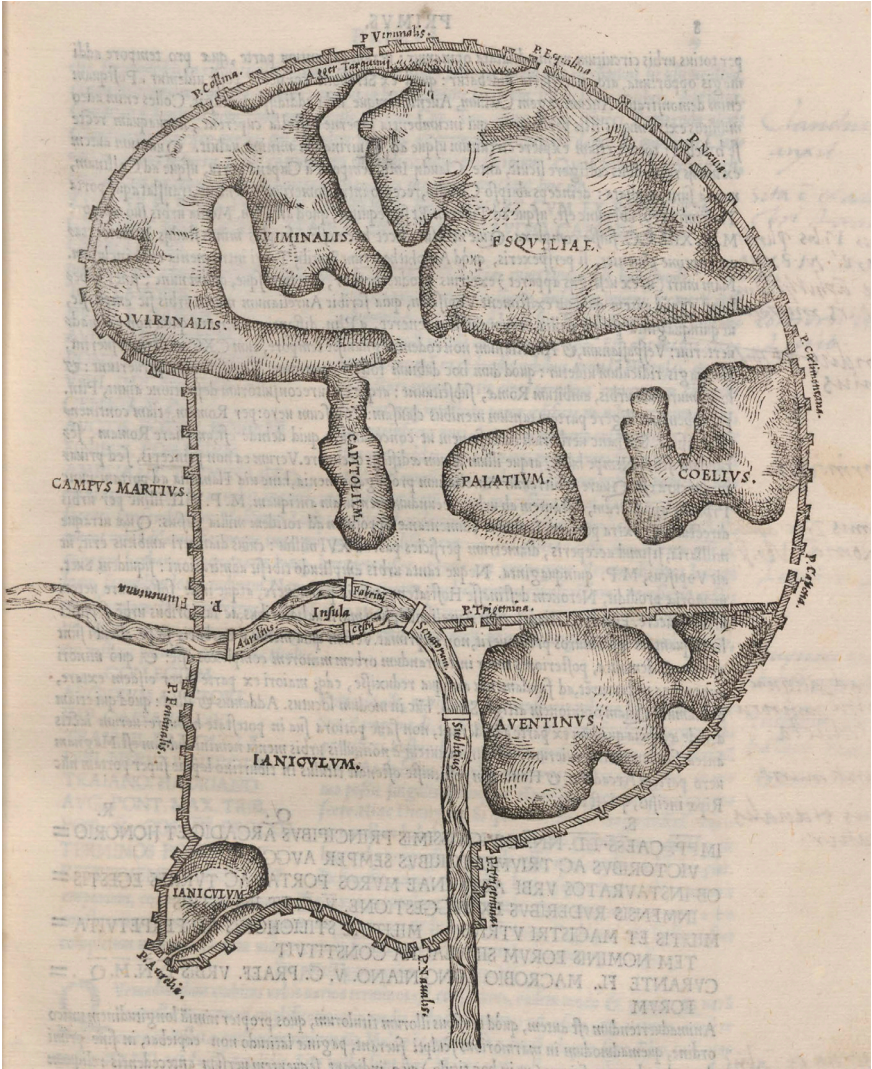


Fig. 3. Marliano, Topographia. Roma 1544, 7. A map of the seven hills of Rome.

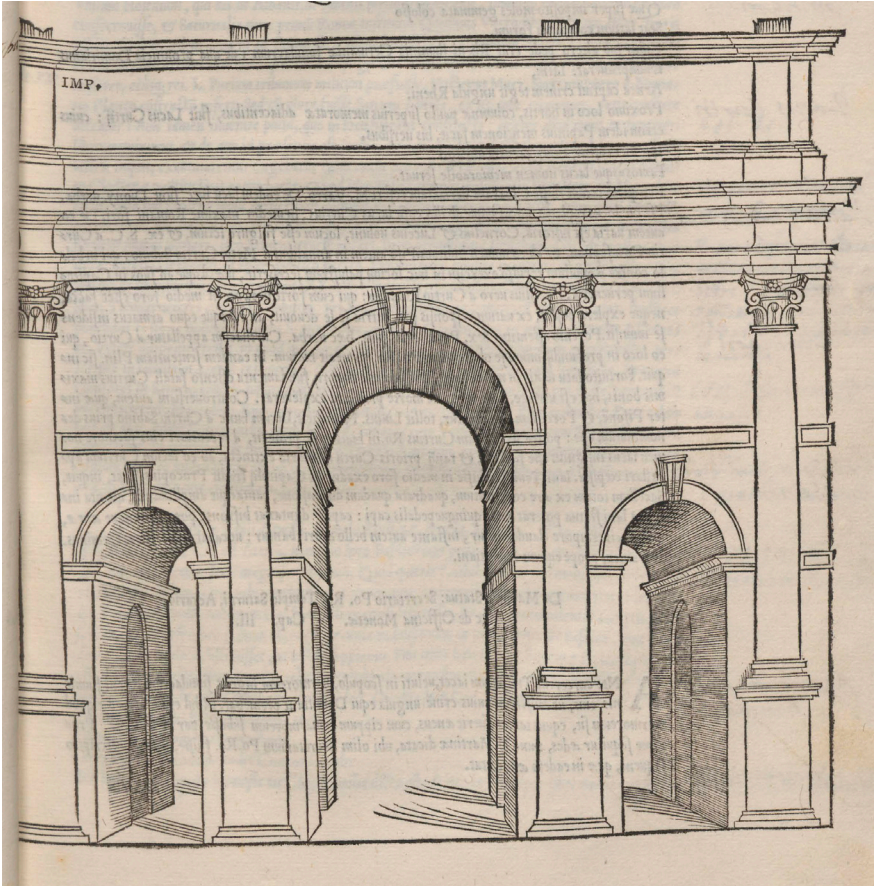


Fig. 4: Marliano, *Topographia*. Roma 1544, 39. The arch of Septimius Severus.

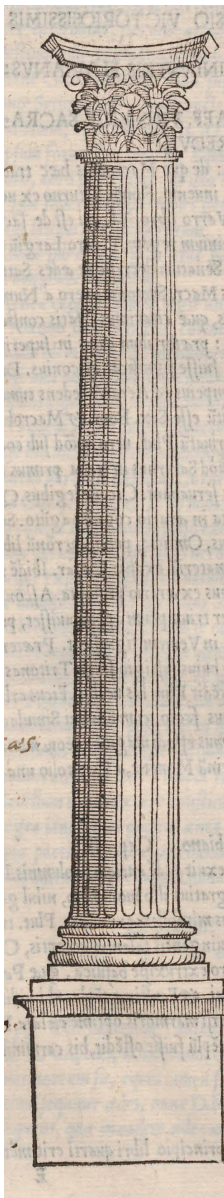


Fig. 5: Marliano, *Topographia*. Roma 1544, 42. A column of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina.

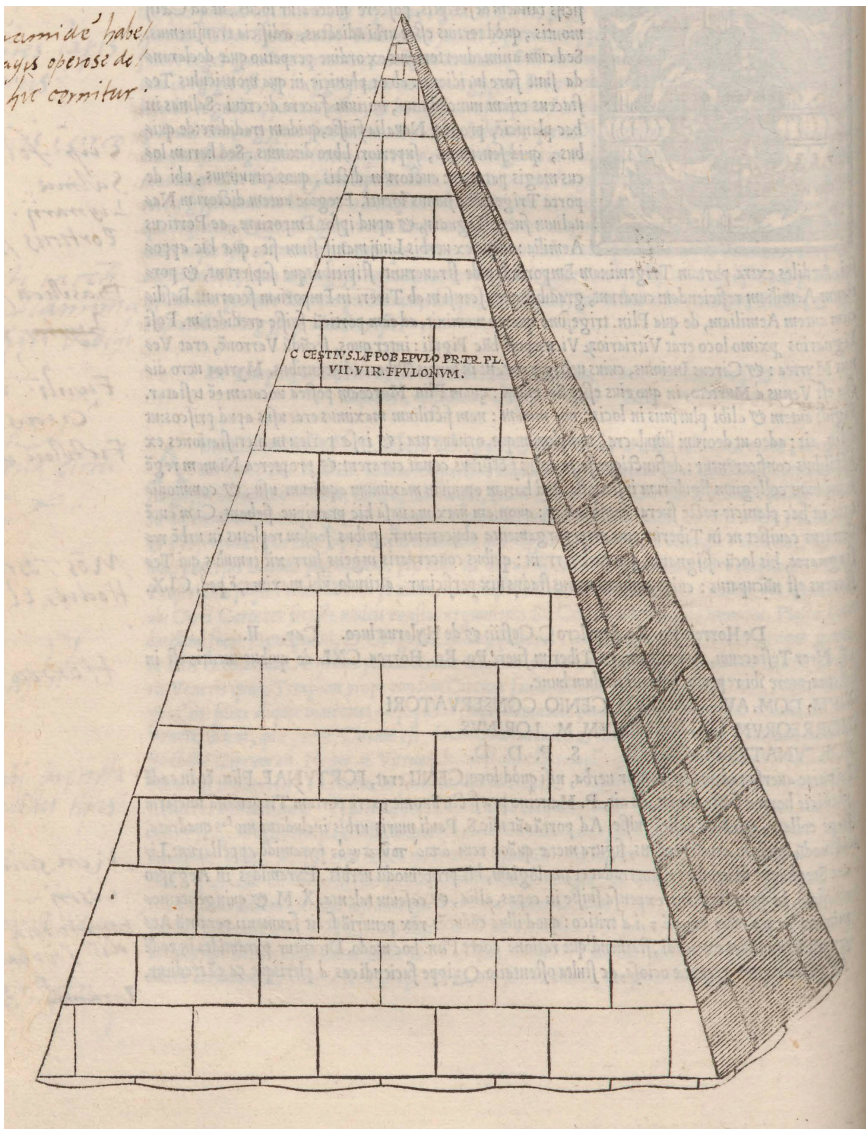


Fig. 6: Marliano, *Topographia*. Roma 1544, 64. The pyramid of Cestius.

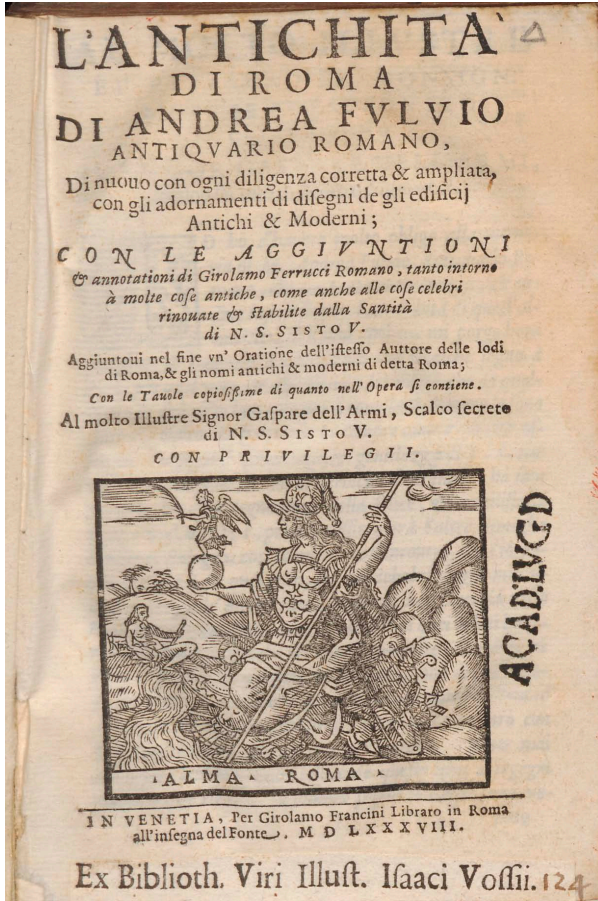


Fig. 7: Fulvio, L'antichità di Roma. Venice 1588. Title page.



Fig. 8: Fulvio, *L'antichità di Roma*. Venice 1588, 112. The arch of Septimius Severus.

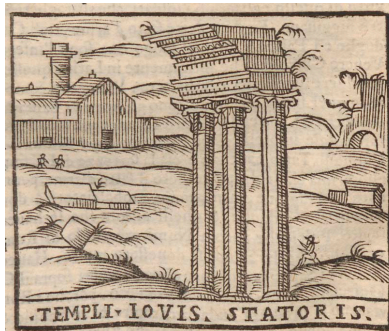


Fig. 9: Fulvio, *L'antichità di Roma*. Venice 1588, 45. The temple of Jupiter Stator.



Fig. 10: Fulvio, *L'antichità di Roma*. Venice 1588, 143. The pyramid of Cestius.

Conspectus rerum

In memoriam

MARC LAUREYS, Karl August Neuhausen (1939–2017)	5
COLETTE NATIVEL, Alain Michel (1929–2017)	25

I. Commentationes

ELISABETH AYDIN, <i>Le Peplus Graecorum Epigrammatum</i> de Daniel Heinsius, une adaptation de Diogène Laërce à la Renaissance	29
SUSANNA DE BEER, Travel Guides for Imaginary Journeys. The Living Presence of Rome in Early Modern Antiquarian Literature	57
STEPHANUS DI BRAZZANO, De Caspare Vrsino Velio Planudeorum epigrammatum interprete – Pars II	83
REINHOLD F. GLEI/NINA TOMASZEWSKI, Turning nonsense into sense? Two Latin Translations of ‘The Hunting of the Snark’	127
TILL HABITH, Die Turnus-Tragödie des Friedrich Lasdorp	149
HANS KILB, Pius II. Piccolomini auf dem Monte Cavo – Rezeption von Strabo, Biondo und Lukan in Komm. 708–710 (2248–2252)	215
ANNAMARIA LESIGANG-BRUCKMÜLLER, Lateinische Lobgedichte auf Autor und Werk in der Einleitung zu Valvasors ‚Ehre des Herzogtums Krain‘	241
WALTHER LUDWIG, Die lateinische Fabelsammlung von Joseph Lang (1811) – eine Huldigung an Lessing als <i>Aesopus Germaniae</i>	267
WALTHER LUDWIG, Das 1685 gegründete Stuttgarter <i>Gymnasium illustre</i> , die Salomonischen sieben Säulen des Hauses der Weisheit und die frühneuzeitlichen Obelisk in Krakau und Holstein	289
WALTHER LUDWIG, Deutsche Klassiker und andere Gelehrte im Stammbuch von Georg Wilhelm Prahmer (1789–1799)	351
WILLIAM C. McDONALD, <i>In pago Wormaciensi videbatur</i> . The Reception of an Anecdote of Ekkehard von Aura by Trithemius	393
CAROLIN RITTER, Ovids heimliche Rache an Augustus. Der Brief <i>Julia Augusto</i> in Mark Alexander Boyds <i>Epistulae Heroides</i> (1592)	419
UTA SCHMIDT-CLAUSEN, Das Menschenleben in neun Strophen. Franco Estius’ Gedicht auf dem Kupferstich <i>Tabula Cebeitis</i> von Hendrick Goltzius (1592)	445
NINA TOMASZEWSKI, <i>Oratio ad Hibernos</i> . A political speech ‘by Cicero’ in support of Richard Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	487

II. Investigandarum rerum prospectus

REINHOLD F. GLEI, Neulateinische Forschungsprojekte521

III. Librorum existimationes

Anja Stadeler, Horazrezeption in der Renaissance (CHRISTOPH PIEPER)529

Jeroen De Keyser, Francesco Filelfo, Collected Letters. Epistolarum Libri XLVIII (ALEXANDER WINKLER)534

Tuomo Pekkanen, Passio secundum Matthaicum, Requiem Latinum Aliaque Carmina Latina (EMILIO BANDIERA).....539

Stefan Weise (Hrsg.), HELLENISTI! Altgriechisch als Literatursprache im neuzeitlichen Europa (REINHOLD F. GLEI).....544

Antonio Iurilli, Quinto Orazio Flacco. Annali delle edizioni a stampa, secoli xv–xviii (MARC LAUREYS)550

IV. Quaestiones recentissimae

JEFFREY A. WHITE, *Galeas per montes*: A Note on Biondo Flavio.....553

FIDEL RÄDLE, Zur Neuauflage von Harry C. Schnurs Anthologie „Lateinische Gedichte deutscher Humanisten“556

HAN LAMERS, Additional Evidence That Poliziano’s Epm. 74 Is Not His574

V. Nuntii

JEAN-LOUIS CHARLET, XXIX° Convegno internazionale Istituto Studi Umanistici F. Petrarca.....577

MARC LAUREYS, Nova universitatis Bonnensis documenta Latinitate donata (XVIII)582

REINHOLD F. GLEI ET AL., *Epistula uxoris*: Ovids Ehefrau an den verbannten Dichter587

MARC LAUREYS, Decimoséptimo Congreso Internacional de la Sociedad Internacional de Estudios Neolatinos595