



## Falda's Map as a Work of Art

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# Falda's Map as a Work of Art

SARAH MCPHEE

In *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, first published in the 1620s, the Oxford don Robert Burton remarks on the pleasure of maps:

Methinks it would please any man to look upon a geographical map, . . . to behold, as it were, all the remote provinces, towns, cities of the world, and never to go forth of the limits of his study, to measure by the scale and compass their extent, distance, examine their site. . . .<sup>1</sup>

In the seventeenth century large and elaborate ornamental maps adorned the walls of country houses, princely galleries, and scholars' studies. Burton's words invoke the gallery of maps Pope Alexander VII assembled in Castel Gandolfo outside Rome in 1665 and animate Sutton



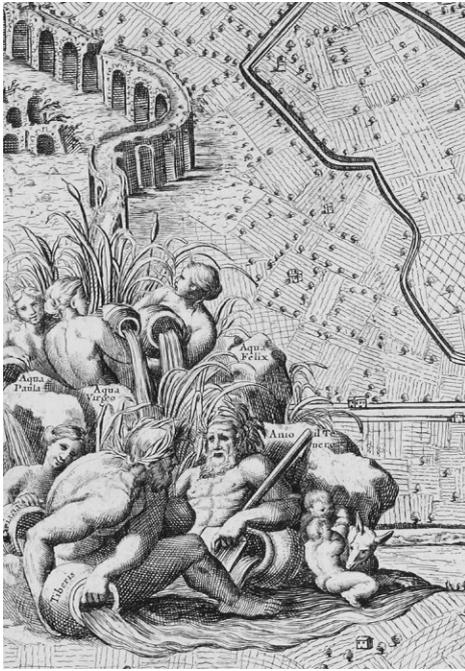
1 Sutton Nicholls, *Pepys's Library, York Buildings (View Facing Windows)*, 1693, ink and gray wash on paper, 13 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 19 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (33.3 × 48.6 cm). Pepys Library, Cambridge, UK (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge)

Nicholls's ink-and-wash drawing of Samuel Pepys's library in London in 1693 (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> There, in a room lined with bookcases and portraits, a map stands out, mounted on canvas and suspended from two cords; it is Giovanni Battista Falda's view of Rome, published in 1676.

Maps provide the visual history of a place. As images they respond to the symbols and iconographic conventions of their time, to technical and scientific innovations of representation and measurement. At their most elemental, maps constitute an evolving accumulation of data, edited and amended by successive generations. At their most poetic, they capture character and transmit a crafted portrait to the world. Over time, a succession of maps records a lively dialogue shaped by opportunity and economy, rivalry and competition, emulation, even hom-

age. No map ignores the images that have come before it. Maps of Rome are no exception.<sup>3</sup>

Without Leonardo Bufalini's careful measurements of the Aurelian Walls, the distinctive perimeter of Matthäus Greuter's "Rome," and its descendants, would not exist; without Greuter's street system, Falda would have spent years surveying; without the numerous neighborhood plan studies made by the likes of Antonio del Grande, or Vincenzo and Felice Della Greca, Matteo Gregorio De Rossi would not have been able to assemble his ichnographic plan, nor to tell us where everyone lived.<sup>4</sup> Mapmakers poached from ornamental prints when fashioning cartouches, or borrowed well-known emblems to make a specific point.<sup>5</sup> The men who made these maps strove for innovation and vied for popular acclaim, but they also included overt acknowledgments, subtle allusions, and artful homages to those who had come before them. The river gods clustered along the left margin of Falda's 1667 map (Fig. 2), for example, make an ornamental bow to those on Greuter's Rome of 1618 (Fig. 3), and in a print for an academic thesis defense made by Greuter in 1617, the German etcher included a central portion of Stefano Buonsignori's celebrated 1584 map of Florence, simultaneously



**2** Giovanni Battista Falda, *Recentis Romae Ichnographia et Hypsographia*, detail showing personifications of aqueducts and river gods, Rome, 1667, etching and engraving, 29½ × 37 in. (75 × 94 cm). Stuart A. Rose Library, Emory University, Atlanta (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Emory University Digital Library Publications Program)

**3** Matthäus Greuter, *Disegno nuovo di Roma moderna con le sue strade, siti et edifici in pianta esatta*, detail showing personifications of the aqueducts and river gods, Rome, 1618, etching and engraving, 51¼ × 84½ in. (130 × 214.7 cm). Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, Rome, P. G. 6A (artwork in the public domain)

**4** Matthäus Greuter, thesis print for the academic defense of Ilario Frumenzi, 1617, engraving. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

**5** Giovanni Battista Falda, *Nuova pianta et alzata della città di Roma con tutte le strade piazze et edifici*, Rome: Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, 1676, etching and engraving, 61 × 61¾ in. (155 × 157 cm). Collection of Vincent J. Buonanno (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Digital Production Services, Brown University Library, Providence, RI)

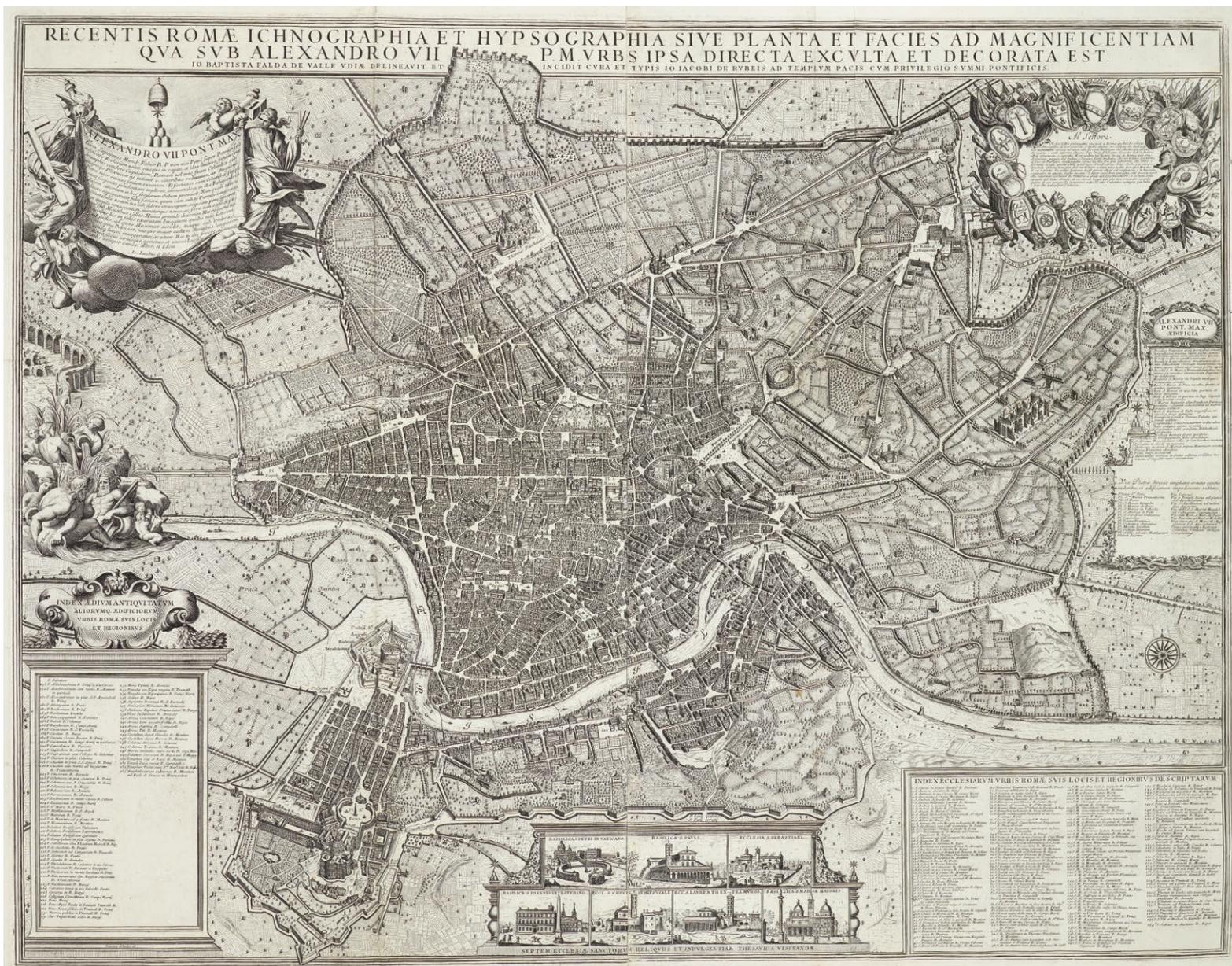


signaling the dedicatee's native city and the etcher's own debt to the Tuscan cartographer (Fig. 4).<sup>6</sup> The genealogy of maps is worth tracing.

The most celebrated map of Rome produced during the seventeenth century is Giovanni Battista Falda's *Nuova pianta et alzata della città di Roma* of 1676 (Fig. 5).<sup>7</sup> Falda's map is considered here as a work of art, with its history, sources, and the evolution of its individual form detailed.<sup>8</sup> Responding to the call of J. B. Harley for reading maps as cultural text, I approach Falda's Rome as an image embedded in the society that produced it and follow the clues of its aesthetic orchestration, which signal through personification, perspective, phrase, and emblem a distilled and encoded form of knowledge.<sup>9</sup> The essential shape of Falda's Rome is so distinctive that it is easily recognized, even when shown from a raking angle, in the ink-and-wash image of the entrance wall of Pepys's London library (Fig. 1).

A resounding success, Falda's map appeared in five successive editions over a period of eighty years, its celebrity eclipsed only by the appearance of Giovanni Battista Nolle's great plan in 1748.<sup>10</sup> The map of 1676 was the second Falda produced for the publisher Giovanni





6 Giovanni Battista Falda, *Recentis Romae Ichnographia et Hypsographia*. Stuart A. Rose Library, Emory University, Atlanta (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Emory University Digital Library Publications Program)

Giacomo De Rossi. In 1667 he had published a first version of Rome, heavily indebted to the German etcher Greuter, that celebrated the urban interventions of Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655–67) (Fig. 6). An index along the right side details the pope's many projects, visible in the fabric of the city, and personifications at the upper left convey the message that under the Chigi pope, Religion has conquered Heresy and Architecture has defeated Time.<sup>11</sup> Nine years and two popes later, the city had grown, and Falda's work and ideas had matured.

Falda's map of 1676 appeared at the culmination of what has been described as a cartographic contest.<sup>12</sup> Five important maps issued in the seventeenth century precede and contribute to it. They are Greuter's Rome of 1618; Giovanni Maggi's monumental woodcut map of 1625; the 1593 map of Antonio Tempesta, reissued by Giovanni Domenico De Rossi in 1645; Lievin Cruyl's hybrid plan/view of 1665; and Matteo Gregorio De Rossi's plan of 1668.<sup>13</sup> Falda's map is distinguished from those that came before it by the clear shape of the city and the legibility of its streets and monuments. It is exceptional because of the beauty and balance of its composition. Rome, the physical city, is the central focus of the map, its acreage crisply delimited by the artfully drawn Aurelian Walls. Rome, the eternal idea, is conveyed by the small vignettes that surround her, explicating aspects of her identity over time. The map

repays close looking, not just for the compelling accuracy of its detail but because a lost world can open here—a world of popes and printers, of architectural etchers and letter engravers, of painters and their antiquarian friends, of papal geographers, land taxes, and the sacred landscape of Latium.

The map is composed of twelve plates, which are both etched and engraved. Once assembled, the whole image measures roughly five by five feet.<sup>14</sup> It is framed by an ornamental border of palmettes, set against oval fields and shaded to resemble carving.<sup>15</sup> Across the top, the title reads: “New plan and elevation of the city of Rome, with all of the streets, piazzas, and churches; palaces, gardens and other buildings ancient and modern as are found at the present time during the pontificate of Pope Innocent XI with their proper names and a most copious index, designed and engraved by Gio. Battista Falda of Valduggia and given to the public by Gio. Giacomo De Rossi from his press at the Pace in the year 1676 with the privilege of the pope.”<sup>16</sup> The “plan” and “elevation” signaled in the title refer to the marriage of view types presented here. Falda’s map has a scale and purports to be a measurable, almost ichnographic plan, above which buildings rise in parallel projection, presenting their courtyards for inspection and the windows of their facades for counting.<sup>17</sup>

It is the clarity of his miniaturist detail that ultimately conquers viewers, leaving the palm of victory in the young etcher’s hands.

Nonetheless, “Falda’s map” must be understood as a confection, orchestrated by the publisher Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi. The work of at least seven men is presented here; it was the genius of Falda to marry these contributions so that the map reads as if it were the work of just one.

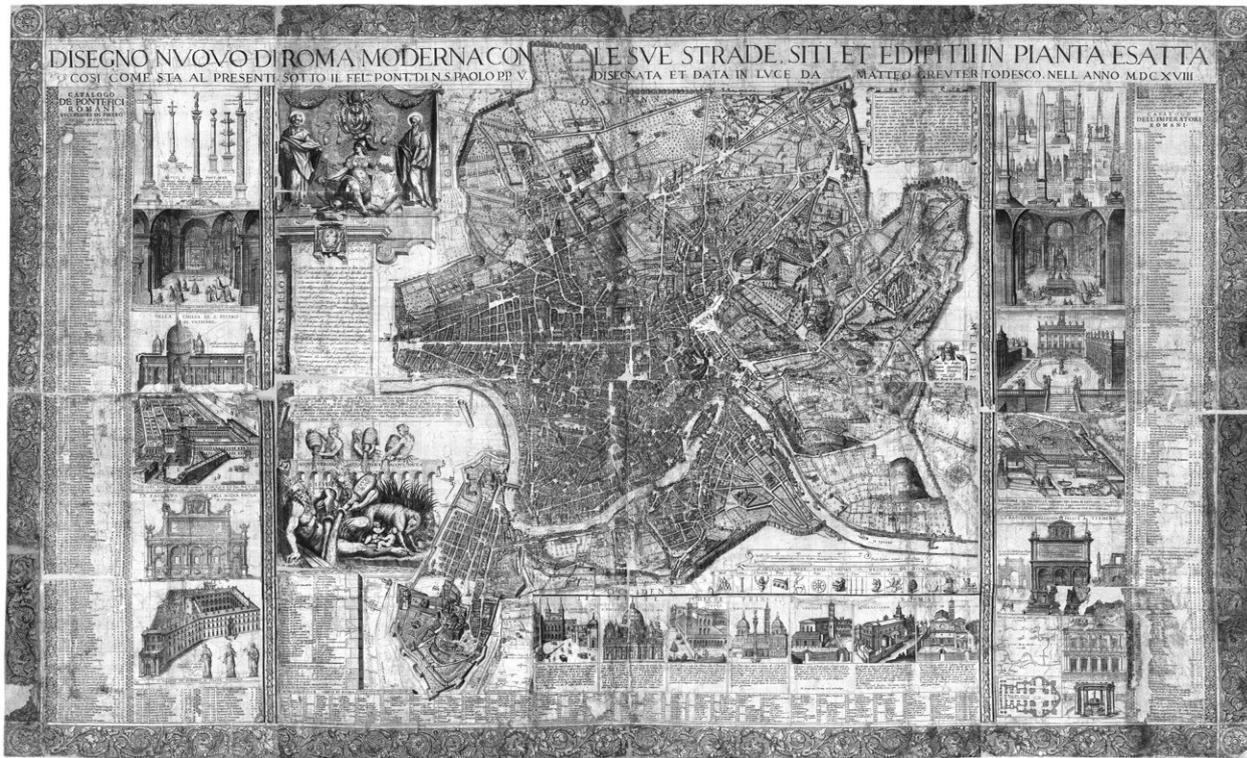
The distinctive shape of the city was set by the engineer Leonardo Bufalini, who in 1551 published a map of Rome with carefully surveyed walls (Fig. 7).<sup>18</sup> Following convention, he placed east at the top. The Aurelian perimeter was reused by Greuter in his map of 1618 (Fig. 8), by Matteo Gregorio De Rossi in 1668 (Fig. 9), and reappears once again in Falda’s map, functioning as a familiar stamp of authenticity (Fig. 5).

Falda cleared away the land outside the walls so that Rome seems to float. But he tethered her to the frame with the beginnings of the ancient consular roads that leave the city at the monumental gates. Moving clockwise from the north, we see the Porta del Popolo at the beginning of the Via Flaminia, the Porta and Via Salaria, the

Porta Pia giving access to the Via Nomentana. To the east, the Porta di San Lorenzo marks the beginning of the Via Tiburtina, the Porta Maggiore opens on to the Via Prenestina and the Via Labicana, and the Porta di San Giovanni to the Via Campana. To the south the Porta San Sebastiano leads to the Via Appia, the Porta San Paolo to the Via Ostiense, the Porta



7 Leonardo Bufalini, *Roma*, Rome: Antonio Blado, 1551; 2nd ed., Antonio Trevisi, 1560, woodcut on 24 sheets, approx. 78¾ × 74¾ in. (200 × 190 cm). British Library, London (artwork in the public domain; photograph © British Library Board, Maps S.T.R. 175)



8 Matthäus Greuter, *Disegno nuovo di Roma moderna con le sue strade, siti et edifitii in pianta esatta*, Rome, 1618, etching and engraving, original sheets joined digitally, 51¼ × 84½ in. (130 × 214.7 cm). Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, Rome, P. G. 6A (artwork in the public domain)

9 Matteo Gregorio De Rossi and Lievin Cruyl, *Nuova pianta di Roma presente*, Rome: Giovanni Battista De Rossi, 1668, etching and engraving, 66½ × 50¾ in. (169 × 129 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France)



Portese to the Via Portuense, and finally the Porta San Pancrazio to the west gives access to the Via Aurelia.

The city itself is traversed by well-known roads established by the Romans and by Renaissance popes to link the principal monuments and pilgrimage sites. Falda artfully adjusted and straightened them so that they vector across the urban fabric with cardinal clarity: the Via Flaminia points straight south to the Campidoglio—the religious heart of ancient Rome, the civic core of the modern city, and dead center in the five-by-five-foot assemblage. With only a minor jog, the Via Paolina would take a pilgrim from the Porta del Popolo to Santa Maria Maggiore; there, turning south, he could proceed directly to the Basilica of Saint John Lateran or, traveling due west, he arrived at the Column of Trajan.

Binding the city along its western edge, and separating the Vatican and the neighborhood of Trastevere from the greater whole, is the Tiber River, dotted with boats, implying a sense of motion in the otherwise static image. Falda makes these paths so clear that the draftsman who recorded Pepys's study has reduced the city proper to just these routes (Fig. 1). The map provides mesmerizing detail about the seventeenth-century urban fabric, inviting the viewer to follow streets, gauge distances, identify familiar monuments, and discover others not yet known. To appreciate the consummate artistry of the image, however, and the particular culture that produced it, we must step outside the walls to consider the surrounding ornament.

#### PERSONIFICATIONS

At the upper left, and on axis with the Vatican complex below it, a personification variously identified as Religion or Faith, but more pointedly, the Roman Church or Papacy, rests on a throne of clouds, her right hand on a temple and steadying the papal cross, her left holding the keys of Peter (Fig. 10). Justice, with fasces, axe, and scales, looks toward her, and winged putti hover nearby, presenting the arms and tiara of the reigning pope, Innocent XI.<sup>19</sup> At the feet of the Papacy, the publisher De Rossi verbally prostrates himself, suggesting that his map and prints, warmed by the rising sun of the Odescalchi pontificate, join in spreading the message of the new pope.<sup>20</sup> Although the map is dedicated to Innocent XI, these personifications, or likely just the inscription, were created late in the game. Pope Clement X Altieri died on July 22, 1676. Innocent XI assumed the papal throne in late September. Despite the dedication, the great map was conceived and executed almost entirely during the Altieri pontificate.

Squinting, one can read on the dome and entablature of the small temple that Carlo Maratti invented and drew the image, and that Pietro Aquila engraved it.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, as Jennifer Montagu and Nicolas Turner first noted, Maratti's preparatory drawing survives (Fig. 11).<sup>22</sup> Executed in red chalk, brown ink and wash, with white heightening, the Maratti drawing is a beautiful Raphaellesque composition. It has been cut down at the corners to accommodate the putti and the Aurelian Walls of the printed map. If one looks closely at the drawing, one will notice that the right hand of the Papacy has been moved. Traces of black chalk and white highlight suggest that she was once intended to hold the cross further up the shaft, as does the figure of Religion in another Maratti drawing from the same years (Fig. 12).<sup>23</sup> In this drawing, Religion, her face characteristically veiled, holds the cross in her right hand and is adored by personifications of the four parts of the world: America, with a feathered head-dress; Africa, with a lion; Asia, with incense; and Europe, at left, with a temple. With minor variations, the temples in the two drawings are the same. Cesare Ripa tells us that Europe holds the temple "to indicate that in her [lands], at the present moment, there is the perfect and most true religion, superior to all others."<sup>24</sup> Given the geographic context of Maratti's image on Falda's map, the hybrid iconography is apt. In the allegorical figures at the upper left corner of Falda's map, there is a clear allusion to geography, to the idea that the papacy



rules over Christian Europe embodied in the temple, and that in her lands, Justice looks for guidance to the papacy.

Over time, Maratti's image persisted. When François Deseine published his *Description of New Rome* in Amsterdam in 1704, he included a number of Falda's prints of the principal piazzas and churches; the figure of the Roman Church from Falda's 1676 map reappears in Deseine's frontispiece (Fig. 13).<sup>25</sup> There, beneath a portrait of the reigning pope flanked by the arms of the Senate and People of Rome and those of the Albani pontificate, the Papacy wears her tiara, holds the papal cross, and supports a small model of Saint Peter's Basilica on her lap. In this image, however, she is specifically identified as Roma Sancta, Holy or Christian Rome.

De Rossi had employed Maratti in the past, and he stocked his prints in the shop at the Pace. It was Maratti who drew the personifications that appear at upper left in Falda's first map, where they trumpet the accomplishments of the Chigi Pope Alexander VII: Religion triumphing over Heresy and Architecture vanquishing Time (Figs. 14, 15).<sup>26</sup> Maratti was a student of Andrea Sacchi and a favorite of the antiquarian and critic Giovan Pietro Bellori.<sup>27</sup> Bellori had provided the artist with the program for the ceiling frescoes in the Palazzo Altieri, where personifications of similar ample beauty adorn the ceiling.<sup>28</sup>

Pietro Aquila, an etcher from Marsala, Sicily, and a good friend of Maratti, engraved Maratti's drawing for the 1676 map. He had worked for Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, engraving the Carracci frescoes in the Palazzo Farnese and the "Bible of Raphael" in the Vatican Loggia for the publications cited by De Rossi in his "Letter to the Noble and Studious Reader" at the upper right side of the map.<sup>29</sup>

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### RIONI SHIELDS

While the papacy is given pride of place in the upper left side of the map, at the upper right, the citizens and civic government of the city hold sway (Fig. 16). Here, an aureole of shields bristles with halberds, helmets, swords, and scabbards. A banderole identifies the medley as the "symbols and arms of the fourteen districts of Rome."<sup>30</sup> The lion and star-topped *monti*, or mountains, of Sixtus V stand for the region of Borgo, the stag's head and cross for the region of Sant'Eustachio in the Campus Martius, the mariner's wheel for the neighborhood along the Tiber's edge known as Ripa. At the top, and presiding over the whole, are the crowned arms of the "Senatus populusque romanus," or the Senate and People of Rome.<sup>31</sup>

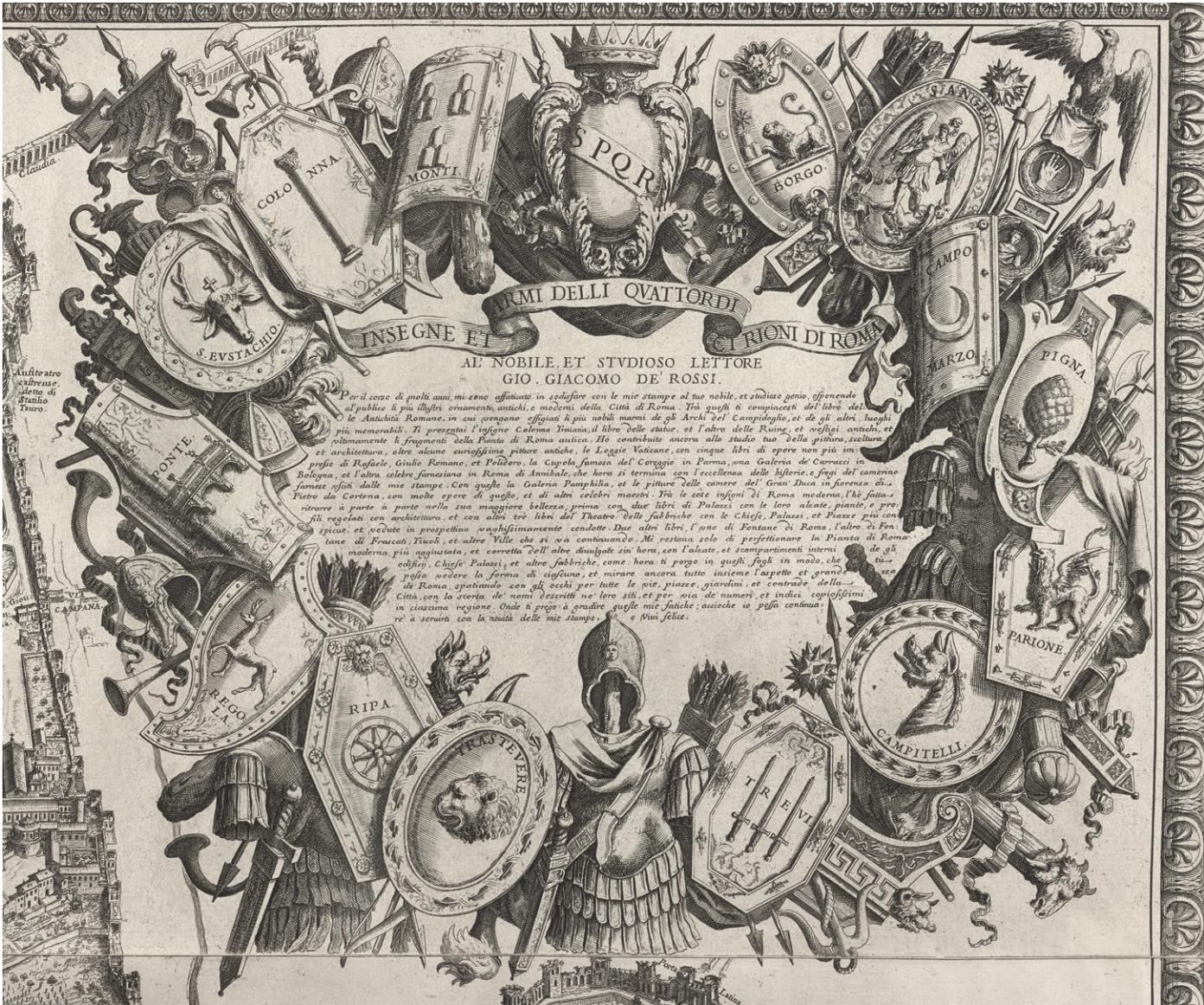
In the seventeenth century the civic government of the "People of Rome" was administered from the Capitoline Hill (Fig. 17).<sup>32</sup> Three elected officials or conservators from the regional divisions of the city served as magistrates and administrators for three-month terms from their palace at the Campidoglio. The papacy supplied a senator for the Senator's Palace and appointed two street masters and two master judiciaries to work with the conservators.

**14** Carlo Maratti, Sketch for dedication group on Giovanni Battista Falda, *Recentis Romae Ichnographia et Hypsographia*, 1667, black chalk, pen and brown ink, and brown wash on brown paper, with ink gall damages, 9 7/8 x 7 1/8 in. (25 x 18 cm). Private collection (artwork in the public domain)



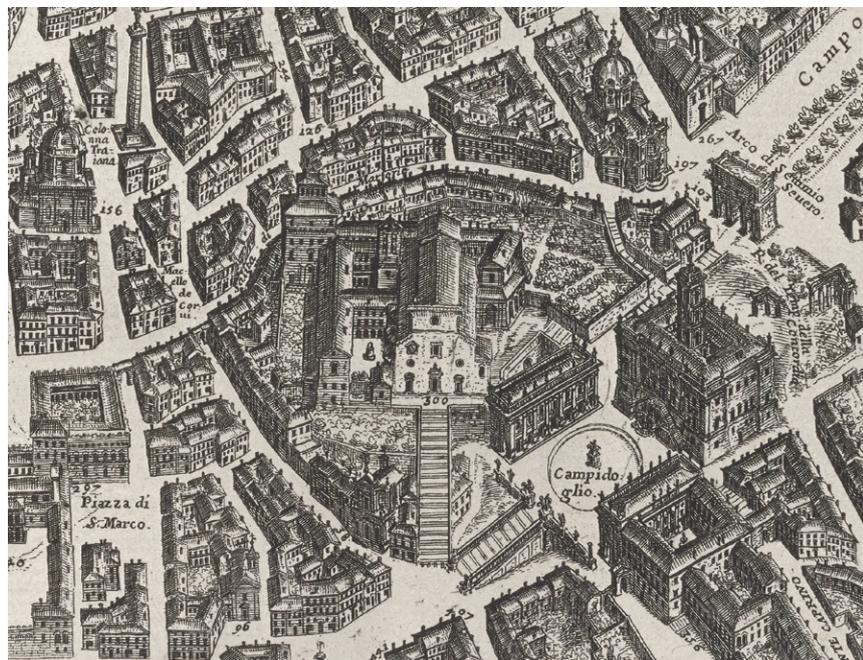
**15** Giovanni Battista Falda, *Recentis Romae Ichnographia et Hypsographia*, detail showing dedication with Religion triumphing over Heresy and Architecture vanquishing Time. Stuart A. Rose Library, Emory University, Atlanta (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Emory University Digital Library Publications Program)

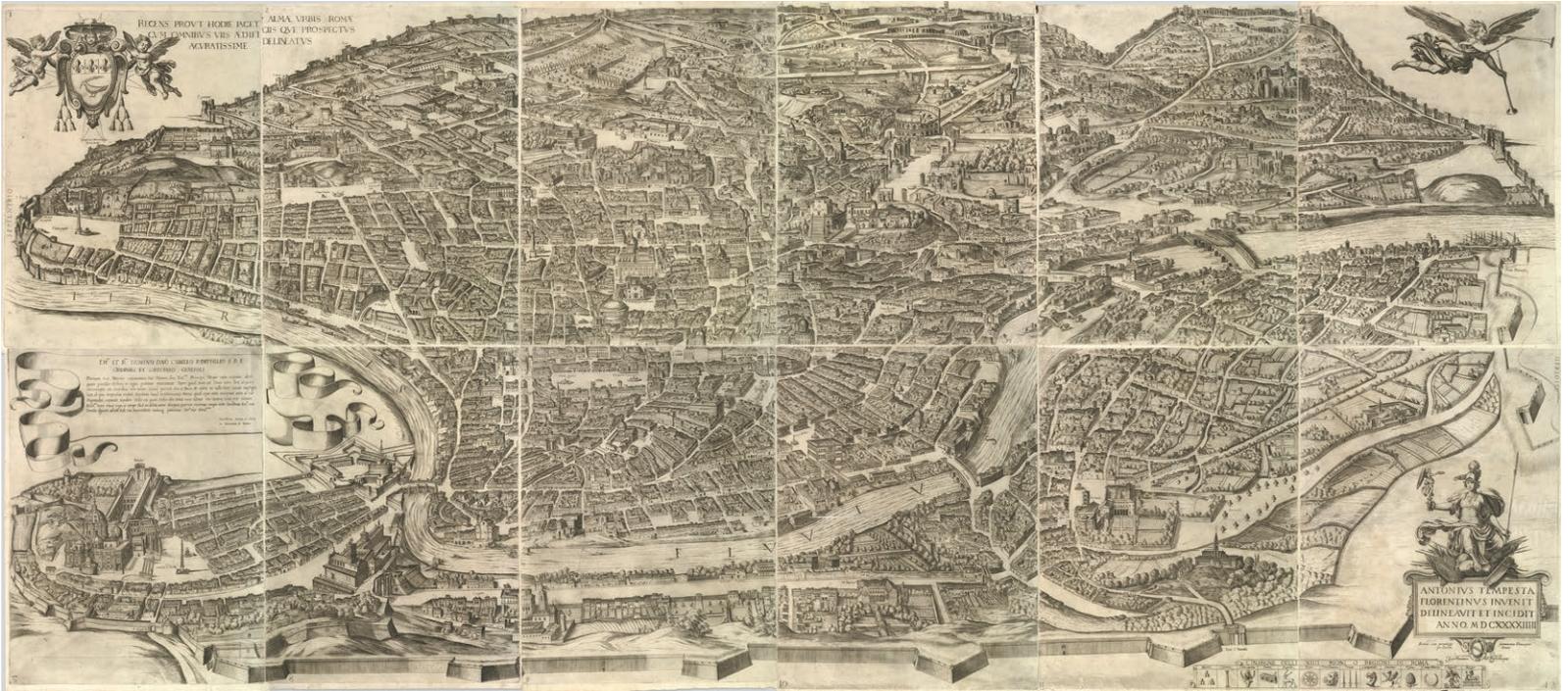




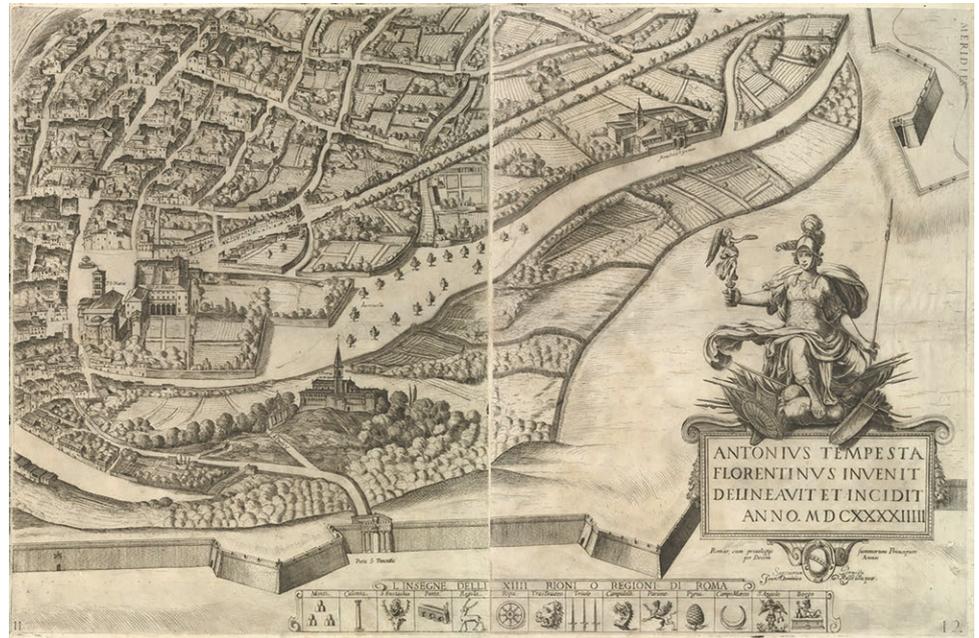
**16** Giovanni Battista Falda, *Nuova pianta et alzata della città di Roma con tutte le strade piazze et edificii*, detail showing De Rossi's letter to the reader surrounded by rioni shields. Collection of Vincent J. Buonanno (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Digital Production Services, Brown University Library, Providence, RI)

**17** Giovanni Battista Falda, *Nuova pianta et alzata della città di Roma con tutte le strade piazze et edificii*, detail showing the Campidoglio. Collection of Vincent J. Buonanno (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Digital Production Services, Brown University Library, Providence, RI)





**18** Antonio Tempesta, *Recens prout hodie iacet almae urbis Romae cum omnibus viis aedificiisque prospectus accuratissime delineatus*, and detail personification of Rome and *rioni* symbols, Rome, 1593, reissued with revisions 1645, etching with some engraving, 41 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 94 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (105 × 240 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Edward Pearce Casey Fund, 1983, 1983.1027(1–12) (artwork in the public domain)

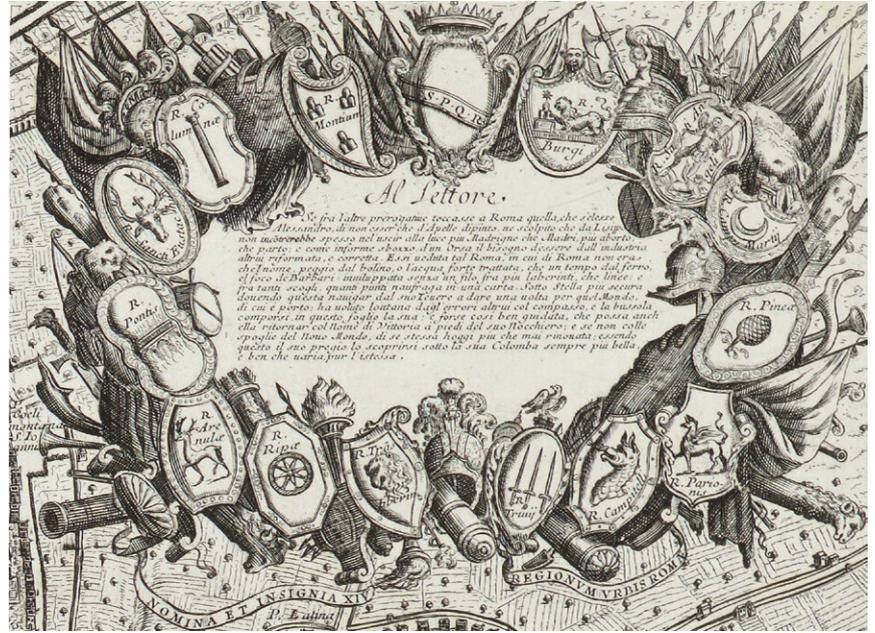


The neighborhood districts, or *rioni*, themselves were run by fourteen elected officials known as *caporioni*. They heard local cases, participated in the papal *posse*, the procession from the Vatican to the Lateran in which the pope took formal possession of his diocese, and headed the artisan militias, each of which numbered some twenty to thirty men, who patrolled the borders of the individual *rioni* during a Vacant See. Though the borders have changed, Rome has been divided into fourteen neighborhoods since antiquity. The symbols of the *rioni* and their military function have long been alluded to in maps.

In 1593 Tempesta alluded to the *rioni* at the bottom right edge of his map, with a helmeted personification of Rome seated atop armor and flags and holding a tiny Victory bestowing a wreath (Fig. 18). The flags refer to those symbolizing the *rioni*, displayed during the *posse* procession and hung from the balustrades atop the Campidoglio (Fig. 19). The *rioni* symbols appear on Greuter's map of 1618 (Fig. 8), on the 1645 reprint of Tempesta made



**19** Giovanni Battista Falda, *Solenne cavalcata dal Palazzo Vaticano alla Basilica Lateranense per il possesso di Papa Clemente XI*, detail showing the Campidoglio with flags bearing the symbols of the *rioni*, Rome: Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, 1669; reissued with revisions, Rome: Domenico De Rossi, 1701, etching and engraving, 13 × 35½ in. (33 × 89.1 cm). Stuart A. Rose Library, Emory University, Atlanta (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Emory University Digital Library Publications Program)



**20** Giovanni Battista Falda, *Recentis Romae Ichnographia et Hypsographia*, detail showing De Rossi's letter to the reader surrounded by flags and *rioni* shields. Stuart A. Rose Library, Emory University, Atlanta (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Emory University Digital Library Publications Program)



**21** Giovanni Battista Falda, *Chiesa dedicata alla Madonna di Loreto de Fornari nella regione de Monti*, from *Il nuovo teatro delle fabbriche, et edifici, in prospettiva di Roma moderna*, Rome, 1669, pl. 7, showing the Column of Trajan (Colonna Traiana), etching, 6¾ × 11¾ in. (17.1 × 28.9 cm). Collection of Vincent J. Buonanno (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Digital Production Services, Brown University Library, Providence, RI)

for Giovanni Domenico De Rossi (Fig. 18), on the 1667 map of Falda (Fig. 20; compare with Fig. 16), and on the latter's map of 1676.

While the assembly of shields on Falda's earlier map was derived largely from Tempesta, a boldness and a specificity to the military adornments on the 1676 map invite a closer look (Fig. 16). Here, banners have given way to spears and standards, but, as on the earlier Falda map, the shields enclose a message from the publisher Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi.

De Rossi writes to "the noble and studious reader," and his text amounts to a res gestae of his publishing career. He refers by subject to the many books he has published: on the ancient arches, the Column of Trajan, and the fragments of the marble plan; on the loggia of Raphael at the Vatican, Annibale Carracci's frescoes in the Galleria Farnese, Pietro da Cortona's frescoes at the Palazzo Pamphilj. He has recorded the churches, palaces, and piazzas of the city and the fountains of Rome and Frascati. All that remains is to perfect the map of the city, which he has done here in the elaborate image he sets before our eyes.<sup>33</sup>

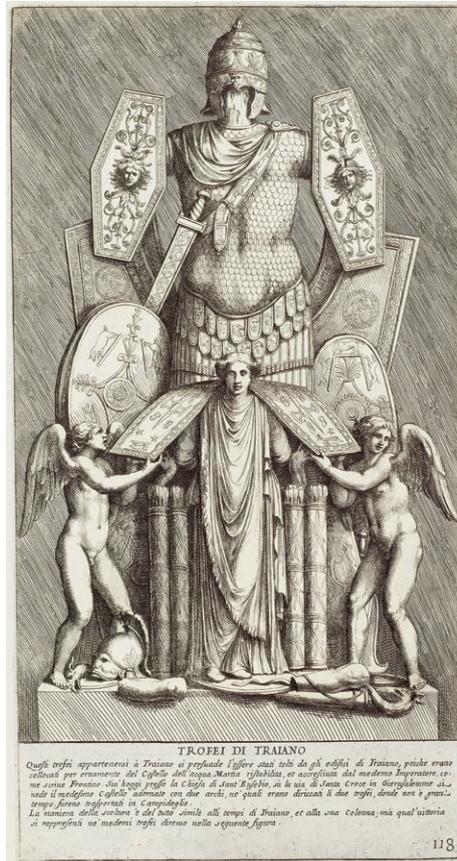
De Rossi's words provide important keys to the meaning of his map. His books on churches, palaces, and piazzas were filled with the work of the map's young etcher, Giovanni Battista Falda. These earlier studies underlie the crisp architectural specificity and command of the cartographic image (Fig. 21). The books on the Galleria Farnese and the



**22** Pietro Santi Bartoli, detail of the relief from the Column of Trajan showing trophies and military standards of the Dacians with Victory writing on a shield, from Pietro Santi Bartoli, Giovan Pietro Bellori, Alfonso Chacón, and Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, *Colonna Traiana eretta dal senato e popolo romano all'Imperatore Traiano Augusto nel suo foro in Roma*, Rome, 1673, pl. 58, engraving, 7 1/4 x 14 3/8 in. (18.4 x 36.5 cm). Stuart A. Rose Library, Emory University, Atlanta (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Emory University Digital Library Publications Program)

**23** Pietro Santi Bartoli, detail of the relief from the Column of Trajan showing Roman soldiers carrying standards, from Pietro Santi Bartoli, Giovan Pietro Bellori, Alfonso Chacón, and Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, *Colonna Traiana eretta dal senato e popolo romano all'Imperatore Traiano Augusto nel suo foro in Roma*, Rome, 1673, pl. 5, engraving, 7 1/8 x 14 3/8 in. (18.1 x 36.5 cm). Stuart A. Rose Library, Emory University, Atlanta (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Emory University Digital Library Publications Program)

**24** Pietro Santi Bartoli, *Trophies of Trajan*, from Pietro Santi Bartoli, Giovan Pietro Bellori, Alfonso Chacón, and Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, *Colonna Traiana eretta dal senato e popolo romano all'Imperatore Traiano Augusto nel suo foro in Roma*, Rome, 1673, pl. 118, engraving, 14 1/2 x 7 1/2 in. (36.8 x 19.1 cm). Stuart A. Rose Library, Emory University, Atlanta (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Emory University Digital Library Publications Program)



**25** *Trophies of Marius*, the western balustrade of the Campidoglio, late 1st or early 2nd century CE, marble, 13 ft. 10 1/2 in. x 7 ft. 5 1/2 in. (4.23 x 2.27 m) (artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author)

Loggie of Raphael were engraved by Aquila, who incised Maratti's personifications in the upper left-hand corner of the map. The books on ancient arches, on the marble plan, and on Trajan's Column were the work of Bellori, the celebrated writer and antiquarian and Carlo Maratti's close friend.

To understand the significance of De Rossi's *rioni* ornament in 1676 we should turn the pages of his *Colonna Traiana*, where the war between the Roman legions and the Dacians unfolds in the etchings of Pietro Santi Bartoli and in Bellori's commentary.<sup>34</sup> There we find the shields that appear on Falda's map, the Draco military standards of the Dacian warriors (Fig. 22), the standards topped by eagles signifying Roman legions; we find the open hands that symbolize loyalty/concord, wreathed images of emperors (Figs. 23), the initials S.C., for "Senatus Populusque Romanus": "By the Order of the Roman Senate" (compare with Fig. 16).<sup>35</sup> At the base of Falda's corona of symbols, on axis with the crowned shield of the Senate and People of Rome, is the military dress of a disembodied warrior displayed on a club, with cuirass, metal lappets, quiver, sword, scabbard, and helmet. Drawn from the penultimate page of the book,

the image refers to the so-called Trophies of Marius, known to Bellori as the Trophies of Trajan (Figs. 24, 25). The stone sculptures these engravings depict were moved to the Campidoglio in 1590 by Pope Sixtus V and still adorn the balustrades there today.<sup>36</sup> Bellori had charge of these monuments while at work on his text, for in 1670, Clement X had made him *antiquario di Roma*, superintendent of the city's ancient monuments.<sup>37</sup> When Falda used Bartoli's etching of the "Trophies" on his map, he did not copy it line for line but gracefully acknowledged his inspiration by adjusting the angle of the sword.

The Column of Trajan is one of the great vertical markers to survive from antiquity. A topographic beacon for urban planners and pilgrims, its reliefs celebrate the prowess of the Roman legions, specifically, the Praetorian Guard, in their battle with the Dacians (Fig. 21).

In the seventeenth century Pietro da Cortona drew the column, as did Nicolas Poussin, who cast it in plaster for Louis XIV of France. In his *Vite de' pittori, scultori, et architetti moderni*, published in 1672, Bellori described the column as an inexhaustible repertory of suggestions about the ancient world.<sup>38</sup> What a foreigner like Pepys might have read as an exquisite ornamental frame for the Roman publisher's note to his readers would have struck a deeper chord for Roman viewers in the circle of De Rossi.

Falda's confection invokes specific artists and an archaeological quest to understand the customs, habits, and achievements of the Roman world; it leads to their friend and champion Bellori and to De Rossi's recent book. The echoes of Bartoli's engravings of arms and armor, arranged in oval form, in turn, lead us back to the heart of the map, the Piazza del Campidoglio and the civic government of seventeenth-century Rome. On Falda's map the Praetorian Guard is

declared the ancestor of the *rioni* militias. Its essential role for the defense of the ancient city is further signaled on Falda's map by an eastern jog in the Aurelian Walls, accommodating the ancient barracks of the guard. The Castro Praetorio overlaps the map's own title, this portion of the city embraced by Falda's name (Fig. 26).<sup>39</sup>

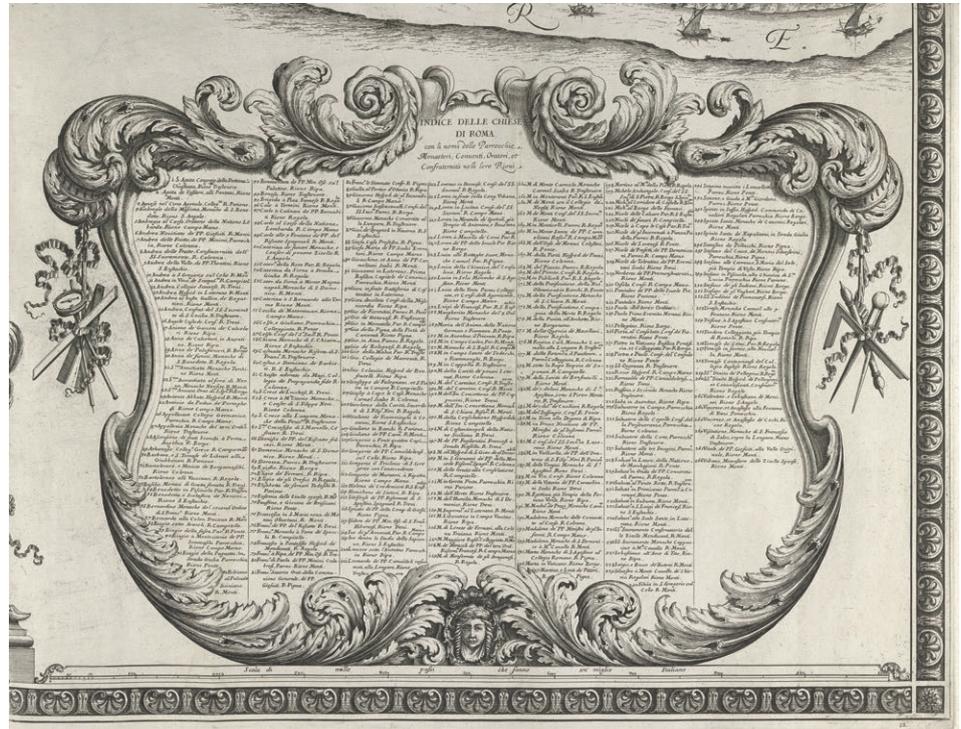
## INDICES

Sweeping clockwise around the lower half of the map, one finds the indices: palaces appear on the right side, on horizon with the Campus Martius—the most densely built portion of the city. Churches anchor the lower right, and the titular and diaconal churches of the cardinals flank the left (Fig. 5). These are indices that work: they are organized both alphabetically and by number (476 items are given), and each item is identified by *rione* and other specific information. The churches, for example, are listed by name, with additional detail: whether it is a parish church, under the direction of a specific religious order, linked to a confraternity, or oratory. The information is at once copious and concise. The reader can work back and forth from map to index or index to map. The palace index reads as a wall plaque with Cortonesque ornaments. Churches appear within a large acanthus cartouche that echoes the dimensions of the *rioni* symbols above (Fig. 27). A plain column of cardinals' titular churches along the left side evokes text in a book (Fig. 28). Just to the right of this index, along the base of the map, an inscription records that Giorgio Widman engraved the letters.



26 Giovanni Battista Falda, *Nuova pianta et alzata della città di Roma con tutte le strade piazze et edifici*, detail showing Castro Pretorio. Collection of Vincent J. Buonanno (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Digital Production Services, Brown University Library, Providence, RI)

**27** Giovanni Battista Falda, *Nuova pianta et alzata della città di Roma con tutte le strade piazze et edifici*, detail showing Index of the Churches of Rome within a cartouche with mapmaker's tools suspended at the sides. Collection of Vincent J. Buonanno (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Digital Production Services, Brown University Library, Providence, RI)



**28** Giovanni Battista Falda, *Nuova pianta et alzata della città di Roma con tutte le strade piazze et edifici*, detail showing Saint Peter's and land to the south, outside the Borgo walls. Collection of Vincent J. Buonanno (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Digital Production Services, Brown University Library, Providence, RI)



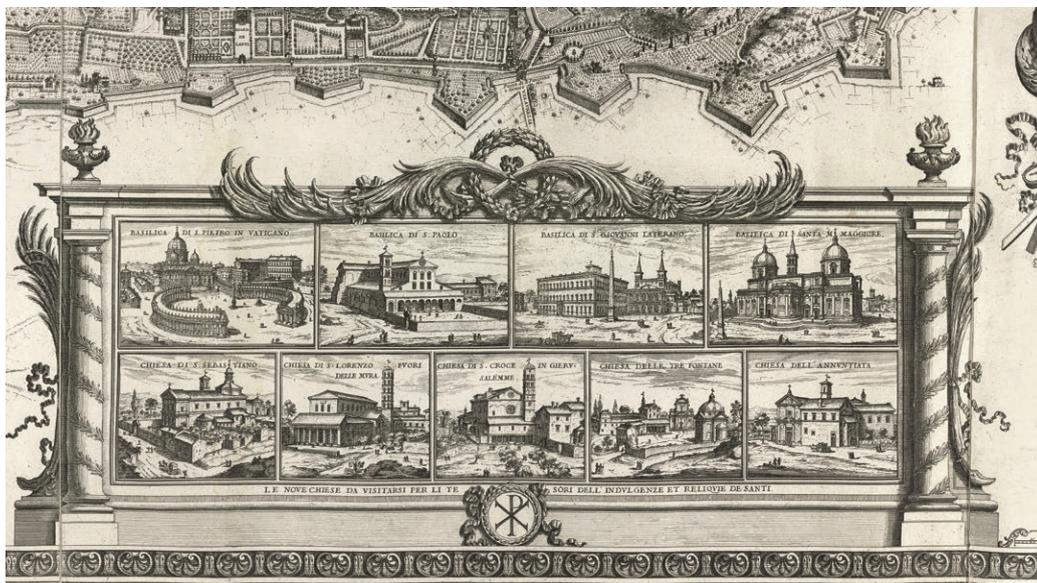
Giorgio Widman and his brother, or perhaps cousin, Daniel both worked for the De Rossi family in the middle decades of the seventeenth century. Daniel copied maps for Giovan Domenico De Rossi, before the printer's premature death in 1653. Giorgio worked for Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi copying maps and engraving letters, as he did here.<sup>40</sup>

Following the numerical prompts of the indices to stroll the streets of Rome, Falda's artistry and Widman's labor come into focus. Buildings are identified by Arabic numerals, which generally appear in the white spaces of roads and piazzas and, rarely, on a roof. Capital block letters spell out the names of major arteries: "STRADA GIULIA," "STRADA FELICE," "STRADA DEL CORSO"; they mingle with the landscape of large land parcels: "GIARDINO DE FARNESI," "GIARDINO DE LODOVISI," "BORGO DELLE FORNACI," "GIARDINO PONTIFICIO DI BELVEDERE"; they identify the NOVE CHIESE at the base of the map and the symbols of the *rioni* on their shields at upper right; they are used in the titles of the indices and that of the map within the map, where they also appear along the beach and in the sea. Piazzas are named using upper- and lowercase letters, as are other topographic features such as Acquedotti (aqueducts), Porte (gates), and Ponti (bridges), the Meta sudante (a fountain) and Sepoltura di C. Cestio (the pyramid of C. Cestio). Widman reserved cursive at a heroic scale for "IL FIUME TEVERE" (the Tiber River).

Falda included a wind rose at right, with the cross of Jerusalem pointing east and a fleur-de-lis north (Fig. 5). Its placement between the indices for palaces and churches and just above the flowing Tiber is not arbitrary. Together, they are the escort that De Rossi describes in his letter to readers, inviting us to stroll the streets with our eyes, and extending to the map Sforza Pallavicino's keen observation that in books the index facilitates the literary voyage as the compass had the maritime.<sup>41</sup>

The index of churches rests on a scale of *passi*, or strides, a thousand of which make up an Italian mile, and the tools of both etcher and surveyor dangle from acanthus fronds: at left, a magnetic compass, scale, ruler, and etching needle; at right, dividers, a T square, and a

*toccalapis*, or drawing instrument. The base of the map is entirely devoted to the church. Saint Peter's has pride of place at left, balancing civic government diagonally across the map. At center, Tuscan columns wrapped with spiraling laurel and bedecked with martyrs' palms frame the nine pilgrimage churches, or "Tesori," treasures the faithful must visit to witness the relics of the saints and receive indulgences (Figs. 5, 29).<sup>42</sup> The views of these churches are miniature versions of the kind of work Falda had been producing for De Rossi for a decade.<sup>43</sup>

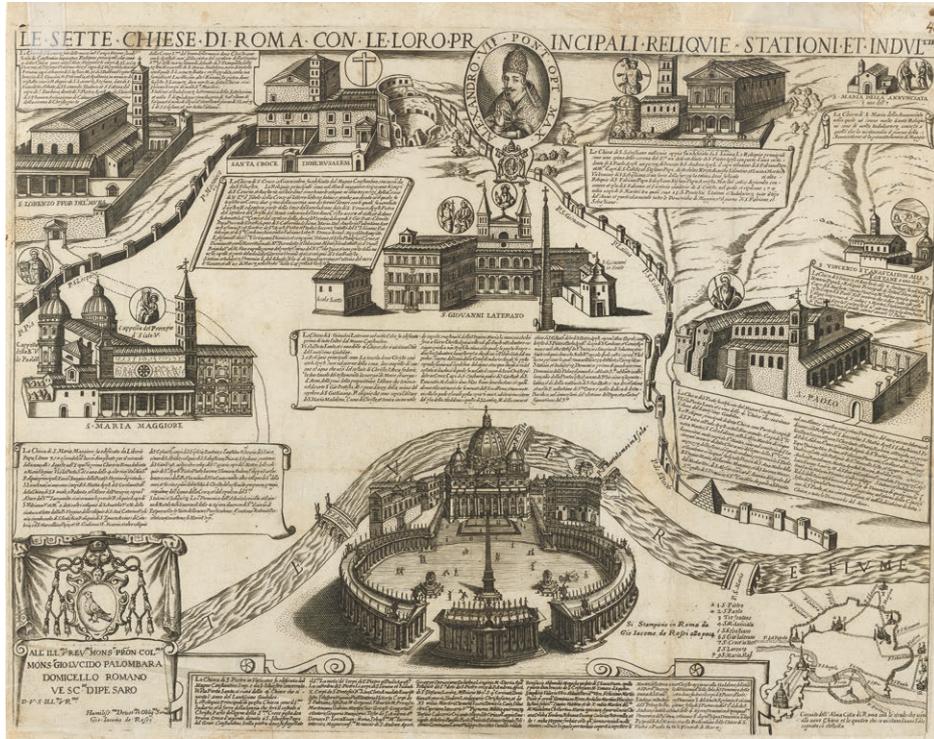


29 Giovanni Battista Falda, *Nuova pianta et alzata della città di Roma con tutte le strade piazze et edifici*, detail showing the nine principal pilgrimage churches. Collection of Vincent J. Buonanno (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Digital Production Services, Brown University Library, Providence, RI)

the Vatican Borgo and the framed images of the pilgrimage churches something unique occurs on the map. Here the otherwise cream-colored paper is filled with faintly etched houses, tilled fields, and winding roads, two of which lead us south to martyrs' palms (Fig. 28).

During his long career, Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi published a number of prints for Jubilee years commemorating the saints, relics, and itineraries followed in visiting the pilgrimage churches, known as the "sette chiese" (seven churches) (Fig. 30). As an example from

**30** Giacomo Lauro, after a drawing by Antonio Tempesta, *Le sette chiese di Roma*, Rome: Giacomo Lauro, 1630; revised and updated, Rome: Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, ca. 1660, engraving, 14¾ × 19½ in. (37.5 × 48.6 cm). Collection of Vincent J. Buonanno (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Digital Production Services, Brown University Library, Providence, RI)



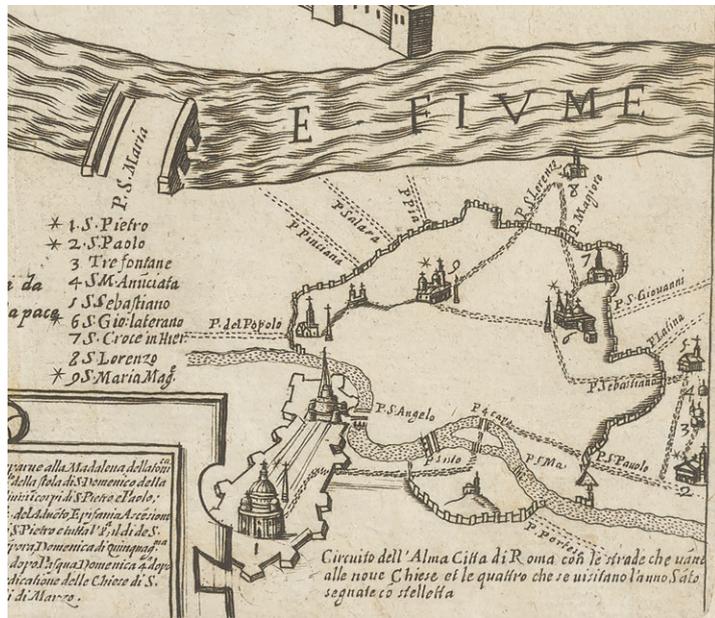
the pontificate of Alexander VII makes clear, one left Saint Peter's, crossed the Tiber island and exited the city through the Porta San Paolo to visit the basilica of that name on the Via Ostiense; one then traveled south to the church of the Tre Fontane and east to the Annunciata and San Sebastiano on the Via Appia. Only then did the pilgrim reenter the city to visit San Giovanni in Laterano and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, leaving the walls once again at the

Porta Maggiore to visit the church of San Lorenzo, and returning along the Via Tiburtina to reenter the city at the Porta San Lorenzo and arrive at Santa Maria Maggiore.<sup>44</sup> De Rossi traced this circuit in a small inset in the lower right side of the print (Fig. 31).<sup>45</sup> This is the route that Falda invoked with the churches at the base of his map, triggering a visual search for the circuit, within and without the walls and gates of Rome.

### MAP WITHIN THE MAP

It is travel beyond the walls that brings us to the final element adorning Falda's Rome: the map within the map. This map, at center left, is nestled into the first bend of the Tiber as it enters Rome from the north, its orientation matching that of the main map, though the wind rose here corrects the proper position of the city so that Saint Peter's apse points west (Figs. 5, 32). The scrolling edge of the paper at the top of the map at first looks like a bit of topography, shadowed with multiple etched lines, following the curve of the embankment. The small map bears the title *Tavola Geografica dell'Agro Romano ovvero Parte del Distretto di Roma* and specifies that it was "designed anew by the etcher Giovanni Battista Falda."<sup>46</sup>

The inset image places the distinctive footprint of Rome along the Tiber, just south of the point where the Aniene joins that river. At the coast, the Tiber empties into the Tyrhennian Sea. Waterways of various dimensions crisscross the map like an elaborate circulatory system, large veins converging and capillaries tapering to fine points. The volcanic crater lake of Bracciano stands out to the west, emphatically shaded, and larger in its dimensions than Rome. The Alban Hills are shown in bird's-eye perspective, and forests are suggested by small clusters of stylized trees.



**31** Giacomo Lauro, after a drawing by Antonio Tempesta, *Le sette chiese di Roma*, revised and updated, Rome: Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, ca. 1660, detail showing the circuit of nine churches visited during Holy Year. Collection of Vincent J. Buonanno (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Digital Production Services, Brown University Library, Providence, RI)

forests are suggested by small clusters of stylized trees.

Falda has overlaid his map with a Ptolemaic grid, placing Rome at 36 degrees 30 minutes longitude by 41 degrees 55 minutes latitude. In fact, Falda owned a copy of Ptolemy's *Geography*, which gave the rough locations of a variety of ancient sites.<sup>47</sup>

Looking more closely at the contour of Rome, with the teardrop of the Vatican extending to the west, one notes a radiance of dotted lines tracing the consular roads. Judging from



**34** Innocenzo Mattei, *Tavola esatta dell'antico Latio e nova campagna di Roma situata sotto il quinto clima. . .*, Rome: Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, 1666, engraving, 19¾ x 24½ in. (50 x 62 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

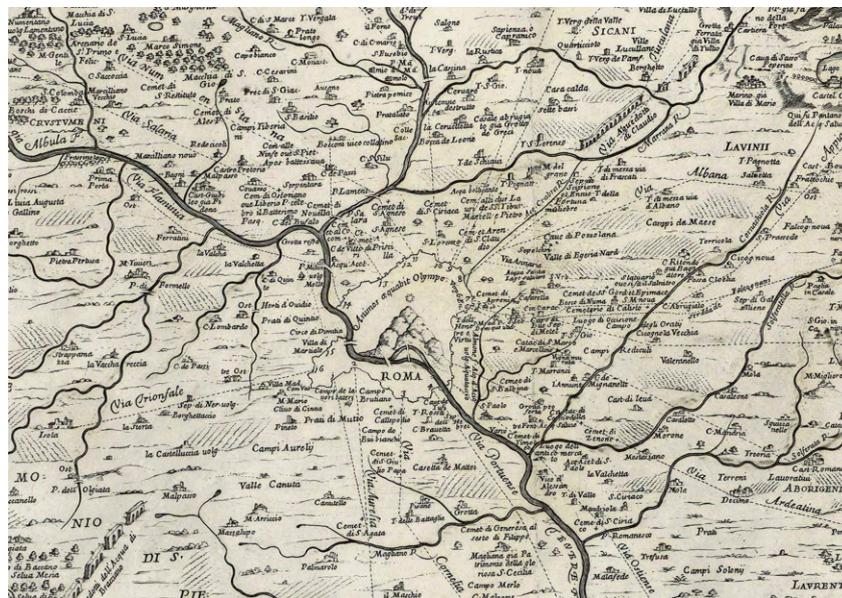


tracks of the consular roads, however, Giorgio Widman has been busy, engraving the names of the Early Christian cemeteries: San Calpodio, San Calisto, Santa Ciriaca, to name just a few.<sup>51</sup> In addition to the geography of the Agro Romano, Falda gave us the sacred topography of the landscape outside Rome.

Among the volumes listed in Falda's library is one identified simply by its author's last name: "Severano."<sup>52</sup> Giovanni Severano was an Oratorian priest and authority in the field of Christian archaeology, who promulgated the practice of visiting the seven churches as revived by the founding Oratorian Saint Filippo Neri.<sup>53</sup> In 1630 Severano published his *Memorie sacre delle sette chiese di Roma . . .*, in which he elaborated on the topography, monuments, holy relics, and rituals the pilgrim would encounter on his route.<sup>54</sup> The volume adheres to the standard itinerary, proceeding in sequence from Saint Peter's to Santa Maria Maggiore. When approaching San Sebastiano, Severano instructed, "all the countryside you cross should be considered sacred, since there are many catacombs."<sup>55</sup> Falda's map suggests that he consulted Severano, as the identification of many monuments echoes specific details given in the text.

In addition to composing the *Memorie sacre*, Severano devoted himself to completing Antonio Bosio's *Roma sotterranea*, which appeared in 1634.<sup>56</sup> In a text of some 670 pages, Bosio and Severano follow each of the consular roads, detailing the site and location of the Early Christian cemeteries surrounding the city. As they wrote at the opening of the book: "The early Christians made these cemeteries to bury their dead, . . . and particularly the martyred Saints, whose bodies were left untended after being killed. They were transported by night to the cemetery closest to the site of martyrdom, despite the fact that this practice was prohibited on pain of death."<sup>57</sup> The front-

**35** Innocenzo Mattei, *Tavola esatta dell'antico Latio e nova campagna di Roma situata sotto il quinto clima. . .*, detail showing consular roads and Early Christian cemeteries. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. Compare with Fig. 29 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Bibliothèque Nationale de France)



piece of *Roma sotterranea* shows a triumphal arch in three levels topped by flaming urns and the arms of Urban VIII (Fig. 36).<sup>58</sup> In the attic register, scenes of martyrdom flank Religion, seated above the broken statues of the classical world. The middle register records the transportation of corpses and their burial in the wall tombs of the catacombs. The title is flanked by two Chi-Rho symbols adorned with ribbons and martyrs' palms, and the base of the arch includes ornamental bundles of the tools of martyrdom and a relief with the blessing Christ flanked by stories of resurrection. This is a book of Christian archaeology that describes in

minute detail the “sacred countryside” surrounding Rome and the “Tesori” of the “Santi Martiri” buried there.

The sacred landscape of Rome had particular currency for Pope Clement X, for whom Falda’s map was originally conceived. He canonized five saints, beatified others, and, despite poor health, repeatedly made the arduous pilgrimage to the seven principal churches. Clement was acutely concerned for the safety of the treasured relics, hidden away in the cemeteries, and in 1672 issued a decree protecting them from forgers and thieves by establishing a strict protocol that placed the Vicar of Rome in charge of their excavation, examination, and authentication.<sup>59</sup> The sacred landscape was rendered explicit in the extensive printed frame surrounding the 1674 map of the region made by Clement X’s geographer. There, in addition to providing a history of the region and naming the sixteen gates of Rome, Innocenzo Mattei included a numbered list, keyed to the map, of the specific sites of martyrdom for fifty-one Roman saints, noting the sources of his information, among which Bosio and Severano appear.<sup>60</sup>

That we are meant to think of sacred geography when we look at Falda’s Rome is signaled by the consular roads that extend beyond the walls of the city, by the pilgrim circuit initiated in the topography south of Saint Peter’s and the Vatican and clearly inscribed in the map within the map, and by the echoes of Bosio’s frontispiece in the flaming urns, martyrs’ palms, and Chi-Rho symbols adorning the nine principal pilgrim churches at the base (Fig. 29).

Pepys could experience the pleasure of this map, navigating the foreign city from the comfort of his study, strolling her streets and piazzas, visiting papal and princely palaces, taking in the vista of the Forum and Colosseum from the heights of the Campidoglio, and comparing the layout of Rome as a whole to that of his native London, recently rebuilt. But having made the circuit of the walls, briefly examining the “ornaments” in dialogue with the urban fabric, I hope to have sug-

gested the artistry at work in this image and the ways a deeper understanding of the milieu that produced it may give access to what once propelled active readers of the map.

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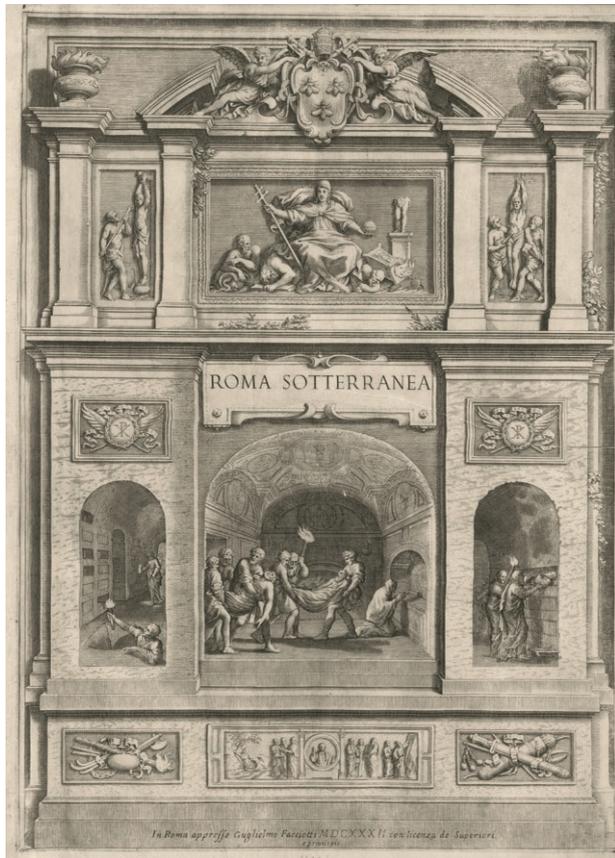
#### NOTES

This essay was first presented at the annual meetings of the Renaissance Society of America in Berlin, and later at the European Art History Seminar at the Newberry Library in Chicago. I am grateful to the participants on both of these occasions for their comments and suggestions. I would like to thank Laura Somenzi and Abbey Hafer for research assistance, Claudia Swan for reading an early draft, and Vincent J. Buonanno for supplying the photographs of his stunning Falda map and related works on paper.

1. Robert Burton, “The Second Partition,” in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Holbrook Jackson (1628; New York: New York Review of Books, 2001), 89.
2. For Pope Alexander VII’s gallery, see Francesca Consagra, “The De Rossi Family Print Publishing Shop: A Study in the History of the Print Industry in Seventeenth-Century Rome” (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1993), 84; Sutton Nicholls’s

drawing *Pepys’s Library, York Buildings (View Facing Windows)* can be found at the Pepys Library, Magdalen College, Cambridge, <http://www.magd.cam.ac.uk/the-pepys-library/>. On the general theme of map ownership and display, see most recently Genevieve Carlton, *Worldly Consumers: The Demand for Maps in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

3. For an excellent survey of the early modern maps of Rome with essential bibliography, see Jessica Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined: Early Modern Maps of the Eternal City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).
4. For images of the maps of Leonardo Bufalini, Matthäus Greuter, and Matteo Gregorio De Rossi, see Amato Pietro Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, 3 vols. (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1962–67). For the plan studies of Antonio del Grande and Vincenzo and Felice Della Greca, see Dorothy Metzger Habel, *The Urban Development of*



**36** Frontispiece of Antonio Bosio, *Roma sotterranea*, Rome, 1632, engraving, 17% × 12% in. (44.7 × 32 cm). University of Freiburg, Historical Collections (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg)

*Rome in the Age of Alexander VII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), passim.

5. See James A. Welu, "The Sources and Development of Cartographic Ornamentation in the Netherlands," in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); and idem, "Vermeer and Cartography" (PhD diss., Boston University, 1977). For Lievin Cruyl's pointed use of the motto of the Plantin Press in Antwerp on Matteo Gregorio De Rossi's map, see Joseph Connors, "Giovanni Battista Falda and Lievin Cruyl: Rivalry between Printmakers and Publishers in the Mapping of Rome," in *Piante di Roma: Dal Rinascimento ai Catasti*, ed. Mario Bevilacqua and Marcello Fagiolo (Rome: Artemide, 2012), 225.

6. I thank Louise Rice for bringing the thesis print to my attention. For Greuter's print, see Domenico Allegri et al., *Music for an Academic Defense: Rome, 1617*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 134 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2004).

7. On Falda's map, see Sarah McPhee, "Rome 1676: Falda's View," in Bevilacqua and Fagiolo, *Piante di Roma*, 232–43, with earlier bibliography; in the same volume, see James Tice, "'Tutto Insieme': Giovanni Battista Falda's Nuova Pianta di Roma of 1676," 244–59, and Antonio Pietro Latini, "Urbanistica a Roma nelle piante di Falda," 260–71. See now also Mario Bevilacqua, "Cartografia e immagini urbane: Giovanni Battista Falda e Cornelis Meyer nella Roma di Innocenzo XI," in *Innocenzo XI Odescalchi: Papa, politico, committente* (Rome: Viella, 2014), 289–308. For a zoomable image of Falda's map of 1676 see Envisioning Baroque Rome, <https://www.baroque-rome.org/research/>.

8. The notion of considering maps as works of art is hardly new. In 1980 David Woodward convened a conference on the subject and collected the published papers in a seminal volume, *Art and Cartography*, which has had a tremendous influence on the field. More recently, see Jesús Escobar, "Map as Tapestry: Science and Art in Pedro Teixeira's 1656 Representation of Madrid," *Art Bulletin* 96, no. 1 (March 2014): 50–69.

9. J. B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 153.

10. On the various editions of Falda's 1676 map, see Christian Huelsen, "Saggio di bibliografia ragionata delle piante icnografiche e prospettiche di Roma dal 1551 al 1748," in *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* 38 (1915): 26–29, 95–98; Francis Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Clemente X: La pianta di Roma di Giambattista Falda del 1676, riprodotta da uno degli esemplari originali* (Rome: Danesi, 1931); Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, 1:221–22, pls. 357–63; Italo Insolera, *Roma: Immagini e realtà dal X al XX secolo* (Bari: Laterza, 1980), 269–76; Mario Bevilacqua, "Piante e vedute di Roma dall'Umanesimo all'Illuminismo," in *Imago Urbis Romae: L'immagine di Roma in età moderna*, ed. Cesare De Seta (Milan: Electa, 2005), 93–103; and now Latini, "Urbanistica a Roma nelle piante del Falda," 261.

11. See Richard Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655–1667* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 146–47, 194; and Sarah McPhee, "Teatro," in *Antichità, Teatro, Magnificenza: Renaissance and Baroque Images of*

*Rome*, ed. McPhee, exh. cat. (Atlanta: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 2013), 30–31.

12. Huelsen, "Saggio di bibliografia," 27, first described map production in seventeenth-century Rome in these terms; see now Connors, "Giovanni Battista Falda and Lievin Cruyl," 219–31.

13. For images of these and other maps of Rome, see Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*. For a zoomable image of Matteo Gregorio De Rossi's map of 1668, see Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52504106s/fi.item.zoom>.

14. The individual plates measure 15 $\frac{3}{8}$  by 20 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (39 by 51 cm). The whole assembled measures 61 by 61 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (155 by 157 cm).

15. Georg Schelbert, "All'ombra di Falda: La pianta di Roma di Matteo Gregorio De Rossi del 1668," in Bevilacqua and Fagiolo, *Piante di Roma*, 280 and n. 58, points out that both the ornamental border and the isolation of the title across the top of Falda's map are derived from Matteo Gregorio De Rossi's 1668 plan of the city.

16. "Nuova pianta etalzata della citta di Roma con tutte le strade piazze et edificii de tempii palazzi giardini et altre fabbriche antiche e moderne come si trovano al presente nel pontificato di N.S. Innocentio XI con le loro dichiarazioni nomi et indice copiosissimo disegnata 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 col privileggio del Sommo Pontefice."

17. "Parallel projection" here describes a method of pictorial representation in which three-dimensional structures are suggested using parallel lines set at oblique angles to imply depth and volume, without being truly measurable. Hints of perspective convergence are added by the artist to enhance the effect. On the history of this mode of representation, see Massimo Scolari, *Oblique Drawing: A History of Anti-Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012). On the development of the ichnographic plan, see John Pinto, "Origins and Development of the Ichnographic City Plan," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 35 (1976): 38–42. On the hybrid plan/view, see Lucia Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a New Representational Language," *Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994): 105–28. In his 1656 map of Madrid, Pedro Teixeira declares that the image is so clear that one can count the doorways and windows ("se podran contar las puertas y ventanas"). De Rossi's note to readers on Falda's map makes a similar claim.

18. No example of the 1551 edition survives. The map is only known in the second edition, issued by Trevisi. See Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined*, 82.

19. In ancient Rome, the fasces were borne by lictors, whose role was to protect the magistrates, thus guarding justice. See Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, ed. Piero Buscaroli (1618; Milan: TEA, 1992), 162: "Il fascio de verghe con la scure, era portato anticamente in Roma da littori innanzi a Consoli, & al Tribuno della Plebe, per mostrar che non si deve rimaner di castigare, ove richiede la Giustizia, ne si deve esser precipitoso: ma dar tempo a maturare il giudizio nello sciorre delle verghe."

20. The text reads: "Alla Santità di N. Sig.re / Innocentio XI. / Beatissimo Padre / La Città di Roma, che nella felicissima essaltatione di V. S.tà Risuona / Dal Vaticano,

Et Da Suoi Colli Le Publiche Acclamazioni / Del Di Lei Gloriosissimo Nome, Adombrata Nelle Mie / Stampe Io Porto Alli Piedi della S.ta V. Accioche / Inradiata Dal Sole Nascente Nel Suo Pontifical / Soglio, Formi Anch'Essa Voci Di Giubilo, Et Es- / prima Un'Accento Almeno Della Mia Profondis- / sima Divozione. Prego Dio Che Adempia I Voti Di / Roma Istessa, Et Del Christianesimo Tutto Ne' / Fausti Progressi De Santissimi Pensieri, Et Per- / sona Di V. S.tà À Cui Prostrato Bacio I Santissimi / Piedi. / Gio Giacomo De Rossi."

21. The inscription reads: "Car. Maratti In. et delin. Piet. Aquila inc."

22. See George G. Goldner et al., eds., *European Drawings: Catalogue of the Collections* (Malibu, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2001), cat. no. 23.

23. See the entry by Ann H. Sievers for *Religion Adored by the Four Parts of the World*, in *Master Drawings from the Smith College Museum of Art*, ed. Sievers, with Linda Muehlig and Nancy Rich (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 2000), cat. no. 15, where the formal relation with the Getty image is noted.

24. Ripa, *Iconologia*, 296: "ch'in lei al presente ci è la perfetta & verissima Religione, & superiore a tutte l'altre."

25. Frontispiece of *New Rome*, from François Jacques Deseine, *Beschryving van Oud en Nieuw Rome* (Amsterdam, 1704).

26. For De Rossi's stock of Maratti prints, see Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, *Indice delle stampe intagliate in rame, al bulino, & all'acqua forte esistenti nella Stamperia* (Rome, 1677). On the map of 1667, see Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII*, 146–47, 194.

27. For the relationship between Bellori and Maratti, see Giovan Pietro Bellori, "Life of Carlo Maratti," in *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. Alice Sedgwick Wohl, ed. Hellmut Wohl (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 396–440. See also Evelina Borea, *L'idea del bello: Viaggio per Roma nel seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, 2 vols. (Rome: De Luca, 2000), passim.

28. See Jennifer Montagu, "Bellori, Maratti and the Palazzo Altieri," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978): 334–40.

29. For Pietro Aquila, see Alfredo Petrucci, "Aquila, Pietro," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 3 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1961), 656–57.

30. "INSEGNE ET ARMI DELLI QUATTORDICI RIONI DI ROMA."

31. On the *rioni* and their symbols, see Carlo Pietrangeli, "Insegne e stemmi dei rioni di Roma," *Capitolium* 28, no. 6 (1953): 182–92; idem, "Lo stemma di Roma," *Capitolium* 32, no. 1 (1957): 9; and idem, "Il Gonfalone di Roma," *Capitolium* 32, no. 7 (1957): 14–16.

32. See especially Laurie Nussdorfer, *The Civic Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 57–94.

33. "Per il corso di molti anni, mi sono affaticato in sodisfare con le mie stampe al tuo nobile, et studioso genio, esponendo al pubblico li più illustri ornamenti, antichi, e moderni della Città di Roma. Trà questi ti compiacesti del libro delle Antichità Romane, in cui vengono effigiati

li più nobili marmi de gli Archi del Campidoglio, et de gli altri luoghi più memorabili. Ti presentai l'insigne Colonna Traiana, il libro delle statue, et l'altro delle Ruine, et vestigi antichi, et ultimamente li fragmenti della Pianta di Roma antica. Hò contribuito ancora allo studio tuo della pittura, scoltura, et architettura, oltre alcune curiosissime pitture antiche, le Loggie Vaticane, con cinque libri di opera non più imprese di Rafaele, Giulio Romano, et Polidoro, la Cupola famosa del Coreggio in Parma, una Galeria de' Carracci in Bologna, et l'altra celebre farnesiana in Roma di Annibale, che hora si termina con l'eccellenza delle historie, e fregi del camerino farnese usciti dalle mie stampe. Con queste la Galeria Pamphilia, et le pitture delle camere del Gran' Duca in fiorenza di Pietro da Cortona, con molte opere di questo, et di altri celebri maestri. Tirà le cose insigne di Roma moderna, l'hò fatta ritrarre à parte à parte nella sua maggiore bellezza; prima con due libri di Palazzi con le loro alzate, piante, e profili regolati con architettura, et con altri trè libri del Theatro delle fabbriche con le Chiese, Palazzi, et Piazze più conspicue, et vedute in prospettiva vaghissimamente condotte. Due altri libri, l'uno di Fontane di Roma, l'altro di Fontane di Frascati, Tivoli, et altre Ville che si va continuando. Mi restava solo di perfettionare la Pianta di Roma moderna, più aggiustata, et corretta dell'altre divulgate sin' hora, con l'alzate, et scompartimenti interni de gli edificij, Chiese Palazzi, et altre fabbriche, come hora ti porgo in questi fogli in modo, che tù possa vedere la forma di ciascuno, et mirare ancora tutto insieme l'aspetto et grandezza di Roma, spatiando con gli occhi per tutte le vie, piazze, giardini, et contrade della Città, con la scorta de' nomi descritti ne' loro siti, et per via de' numeri, et indici copiosissimi in ciascuna regione. Onde ti prego à gradire queste mie fatiche; accioche io possa continuare à servirti con la novità delle mie stampe, e vivi felice."

34. Pietro Santi Bartoli et al., *Colonna Traiana eretta dal senato e popolo romano all'Imperatore Traiano Augusto nel suo foro in Roma: Scolpita con l'histoire della guerra dacica la prima e la seconda espeditioe, e vittoria contro il Re Decebalò* (Rome, 1673).

35. *Ibid.*, pl. 115.

36. Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), 363–64.

37. Torgil Magnuson, *Rome in the Age of Bernini*, vol. 2 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1986), 289.

38. Vincenzo Farinella, "Bellori e la Colonna Traiana," in Borea, *L'idea del bello*, 2:589, writes: "In the *Lives*, in fact, the Column of Trajan plays an important role as a monument symbolizing the past and present grandeur of Rome, but also as an inexhaustible repertory of antiquarian suggestions and compositional schemes guaranteed by the classical tradition." See Bellori, *Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, esp. 148, 149, 319, 320.

39. This detail also signals the map's debt to Matthäus Greuter. In his 1618 map of Rome, the Castro Pretorio overlaps the title. See Fig. 8.

40. On Daniel and Giorgio Widman, see Consagra, "The De Rossi Family Print Publishing Shop," 335–36 and n. 96; John Beldon Scott and Joseph Connors, "Patronage and the Visual Encomium during the Pontificate of Urban VIII: The Ideal Palazzo Barberini in a Dedicatory Print,"

*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 40 (1995): 197n1; and Mariarosa Cesari, "New Evidence for the Date of Five Rare Dutch-Italian Wall Maps: F. de Wit's World Map and W. J. Blaeu's Four Continents," *Imago Mundi* 64, no. 1 (2012): 41–59.

41. Sforza Pallavicino, *Massime, ed espressioni di civile, ed ecclesiastica prudenza, estratte dall'Istoria del Concilio di Trento* (Rome, 1713), quoted in the prolegomena to *Bernini's Biographies: Critical Essays*, ed. Maarten Delbeke, Evonne Levy, and Steven Ostrow (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 33.

42. The churches are identified from upper left to lower right and include the "Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano, Basilica di S. Paolo, Basilica di S. Giovanni Laterano, Basilica di Santa M. Maggiore, Chiesa di S. Sebastiano, Chiesa di S. Lorenzo Fuori delle Mura, Chiesa di S. Croce in Gierusalemme, Chiesa delle Tre Fontane, Chiesa dell'Annunziata." Incised on the lower edge of the frame can be read: "Le nove chiese da visitarsi per li tesori dell'indulgenze et reliquie de santi."

43. See in particular the three volumes of Giovanni Battista Falda, *Il nuovo teatro delle fabbriche, et edificij, in prospettiva di Roma moderna* (Rome: Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, 1665–69).

44. On the evolution and expansion of this route (from seven to nine churches) and its representation in print, see Barbara Wisch, "The Matrix: *Le Sette Chiese di Roma* of 1575 and the Image of Pilgrimage," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 56–57 (2011–12): 271–303. See also Giovanni Baglione, *Le nove chiese di Roma* (Rome, 1639).

45. De Rossi's *Sette chiese* print of about 1660 updates the image originally designed by Antonio Tempesta and engraved and published by Giacomo Lauro in 1630.

46. "novamente Disegnata et intagliata da Gio. Batta Falda."

47. Falda's postmortem inventory lists the volume as "Claudio Tolomeo Geografia tomi dui del Volg." See Archivio di Stato di Roma (hereafter ASR), Trenta Notai Capitolini, Ufficio 30, vol. 268, fol. 502r. I am currently preparing Falda's will and inventory for publication.

48. For the Catasto Alessandrino of 1660, Innocenzo Mattei made maps ASR 428/30 (Testa di Lepre di sopra e di sotto) for the Pamphili family; 429/14 (Pratolongo) together with his relative: Michele Mattei; 430/3 (Torre San Giovanni); 433/30 (Scurano) for the Pamphili family. See E-R Istituto per i Beni Artistici Culturali e Naturali, "Patrimonio culturale dell'Emilia-Romagna," accessed August 29, 2016, [http://bccc.ibr.regione.emilia-romagna.it/pater/loadcard.do?id\\_card=54641](http://bccc.ibr.regione.emilia-romagna.it/pater/loadcard.do?id_card=54641); and Susanna Passigli, "La costruzione del 'Catasto Alessandrino' (1660): Agrimensori, geometri e periti misuratori," in Bevilacqua and Fagiolo, *Piante di Roma*, 371–91, at 387 for the list of Mattei's maps. On the map of 1666, see Roberto Almagià, *Documenti cartografici dello Stato Pontificio* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1960), 39; and Amato Pietro Frutaz, *Le carte del Lazio*, 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1972), 1:32–34, XVII.6, 2: pl. 47.

49. See Athanasius Kircher and Jan Jansson, *Athanasii Kircheri è Soc. Jesu Latium: Id est, nova & parallela Latium veteris tum novi descriptio* (Amsterdam, 1671), in which the map appears at the beginning of the text;

Almagià, *Documenti cartografici dello Stato Pontificio*, 39–40, pl. LXVI; and Frutaz, *Le carte del Lazio*, 1:64–67, XXX, 2: pls. 154–56.

50. On Innocenzo Mattei, see Giovanni Benedetto Mittarelli and Anselmo Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses Ordinis Sancti Benedicti: Quibus plura interferuntur tum ceteras Italico-monasticas res, tum historiam Ecclesiasticam remque Diplomaticam illustrantia* 8 (Venice, 1764), 461–62.

51. Reading counterclockwise from Saint Peter's, one finds twenty cemeteries: "S. Grotte Vaticane, Cim. di S. Agata, Cimiterio di Callepodio, C. all'Orso Piteato, Cim. Di Generosa, Cim. Di S. Ciriaco, C. di S. Zenone, C. di Comodilla, C. di S. Callisto, C. di Gordiano, C. di S. Claudio, Cim. di S. Tertullino e Semplicio, Cim. alli dui Allori de S.S. Pietro e Marcellino, Cimiterio di Zotico, Cimiterio di S. Ciriaca, C. di S. Nicomede, Cimitero delle Ninfe, C. di S. Agnese, C. del Cocomero, Cimiterio di S. Valentino, C. di Novella."

52. ASR, Trenta Notai Capitolini, Ufficio 30, vol. 268, fol. 503r.

53. See Wisch, "The Matrix," 280.

54. Giovanni Severano, *Memorie sacre delle sette chiese di Roma. . . .* (Rome, 1630). This was the same year that Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi first issued his updated *Sette chiese* print.

55. Severano, *Memorie sacre*, 419, quoted in Simon Ditchfield, "Text before Trowel: Antonio Bosio's *Roma Sotteranea* Revisited," in *The Church Retrospective*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 351.

56. On the relationship between Bosio and Severano, see Ingo Herklotz, "Antonio Bosio e Giovanni Severano: Precisazioni su una collaborazione," *Studi Romani* 56, nos. 1–4 (2008): 233–46, with earlier bibliography. See also Ditchfield, "Text before Trowel," 343–60.

57. Antonio Bosio, *Roma sotteranea* (Rome, 1632), 1: "In tal forma dunque fecero quei primi Christiani li Cimiterij in diversi loro poderi, poco lontano dalle vie pubbliche, intorno alle mura di Roma, per seppellirvi i defonti; e particolarmente i Santi Martiri; li corpi de' quali (essendo per ordine de gl'Imperatori Idolatri lasciati insepolti da' Carnefici ne' luoghi, dove gli havevano fatti morire) erano presi da' Christiani, e portati di notte occultamente à quel Cimiterio, ch'era più vicino à detti luoghi; non ostante la prohibitione fattali sotto pena della vita."

58. Jörg Merz, "Pietro da Cortona und das Frontispiz zu Antonio Bosios 'Roma Sotteranea,'" *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 30 (2003): 229–44, has made a convincing case for Pietro da Cortona as the author of the drawing on which the frontispiece is based.

59. Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, trans. Ernest Graf, vol. 31 (Saint Louis, MO: Herder Book Company, 1924), 441, 467–69.

60. A single copy of Innocenzo Mattei's 1674 map survives with the printed border intact. It can be found in the Biblioteca Alessandrina, Rome, Banc. a. 43. Further evidence that this map was an important source for Falda is the fact that notations along the border of the cartographic image place Rome at lat. 41° 55', long. 36° 30', just as Falda shows it. See Almagià, *Documenti cartografici dello Stato Pontificio*, 39–40, pl. LXVI; and Frutaz, *Le carte del Lazio*, 1:64–67, XXX, 2: pls. 154–56.