

Landscape and Antiquity

Artists, scholars, and Travelers in the Roman Campagna (XVIII-XIX c.)

BARBARA TETTI¹

Abstract: During the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth, the flow of foreign artists, scholars and, aristocrats enlivened the Italian and especially the Roman scene, the fulcrum of artistic, antiquarian, and archaeological interests. Focusing on the field of the 'Campagna' such different approaches emerge and some recurring elements, as well as innovative visions and singular sensibilities. Dissemination of publications and prints was decisive in the elaboration of the individual and collective experience, including depiction of antiquities as they appeared to the eyes of observers, and of the fantastic images recalling perceptions and emotions.

Keywords: Rome, Grand Tour, architecture, restoration, Roman Campagna.

Since the liveliest season of the Grand Tour, numerous foreign presences enlivened the Italian and especially the Roman scene, the fulcrum of artistic, antiquarian, and archaeological interests, making contributions related to different cultural matrices and personal sensibilities². The flow of foreign artists, scholars, and aristocrats fuelling the movement of tourists was interrupted by the Napoleonic wars and, due to direct hostilities between France and England, the British presence was reduced to a minimum. British, both resident in Rome and England, tended to perceive the Napoleonic invasion as the final moment of the Grand Tour, seeing the multiplying effect of the formative journey dissolve, an experience that from the personal dimension is transmitted to the community with the return home. During the years of French domination of Rome, ordinary visitors, and students of architecture, unable to travel to the papal city, went to the Richard Durbourgh Museum in London to observe models of Roman monuments, displayed and illustrated by guides who attempted to replicate the tour

1. Department of History, Representation and Restoration of Architecture, Sapienza - University of Rome (barbara.tetti@uniroma1.it).
2. TOZZI-D'AMELIO 2014; VALENTI PROSPERI RODINÒ 2014; TOZZI 2014; PEARCE 1999; LOLLA, 1999; BUCHANAN 1999; BANN 1990; MOMIGLIANO 1950; TETTI 2017; LOLLA 2002; SALMON 2000; RICCIO 2003; PINTO-BARROERO-MAZZOCCA 2003.

itineraries³. However, with the return of Pope Pius VII to the capital of the Papal States, travel and sojourn possibilities were reopened and a phase of enthusiasm for travel in search of classicism was renewed. However, many things changed: numerous works were transported to Paris, laws and regulations on antiquities have been upgraded and modified several times, and the systematic work of clearing large areas has been undertaken⁴.

In this framework, a solid network of relationships emerges, in some cases limited to the acquisition of data or impressions brought back to the land of origin, while in others, more sharply, aimed at a mutual exchange of methods, which will impart decisive impulses to the study of antiquities and its relationship with the context. Therefore, different approaches to ancient remains and landscape emerge and stimulate exchanges of considerations that particularly concern the reading, representation, and interpretation of places, monuments and remains that, circulating among the capitals of Europe, in continuous cross-references, generate consequent reflections on the subject. In particular, in the British *milieu*, as the 'commonplace' of classical education, Rome and its Campagna became an unflinching stop for travelers – including voices of women, often less considered –, and the visit, made in the first person, proved to be a decisive experience in the process of growth and understanding, from which various readings and restitutions originated. This fed a continuous flow of ideas capable of transporting attention to the ancient into a new phase of interest – individual and collective – that initiated on the substratum of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, would manifest itself more clearly in the following century.

Focusing on the field of the Campagna such different approaches emerge and some recurring elements surface, as well as innovative visions and singular sensibilities⁵. These were the years Tischbein returned to Italy, preparing the famous portrait of Goethe against the backdrop of the Roman countryside, among the ruins of the Appian Way and the outline of the Alban Hills, destined to become an iconic image of the Grand Tour. After all, the image of the Roman countryside landscape had been widely circulated. Exemplary is the work of Ma-

3. SALMON 2000, pp. 47-49. Some of the models, reproduced to scale and made of cork, are still preserved at Victoria and Albert Museum of London; GILLESPIE 2016.

4. JONSSON 1986; DE SETA 2005; DEBENEDETTI 2006-2008; GARRIC-PASQUALI-PUPILLO 2021.

5. In progress, as this contribution is being written, is the exhibition *La via Appia nella grafica tra Cinquecento e Novecento* (Rome, September 19, 2023-February 5, 2024), by Gabriella Bocconi.

riano Vasi (1744-1822) who, starting from the engraving models of his father Giuseppe, devoted himself to the publication of the numerous plates *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna*, published in ten volumes from 1747 to 1761⁶. Each series was thematically devoted to a section of Roman architecture and, in particular, several views refer to localities, ruins, and monuments around Rome. It is worth recalling how Giuseppe Vasi's workshop had also been frequented by Giovanni Battista Piranesi⁷, who from the mid-1740s began engravings for *Vedute di Roma*, a series he enriched with plates devoted to monuments outside the city.

Views of the Roman countryside were thus familiar to travelers, usually educated in classical culture, who sought in Rome the 'theatre' in which the events narrated in the writings of Latin authors, learned when they had been schoolboys and students in their formative years, took place. This resonated for a very long time, and still in 1927, Thomas Ashby, in his volume *The Roman Campagna in classical times*, referred to the hill of Monte Sacer as a «historical scene» of *secessio plebis*⁸. In *Description of Latium; or, La Campagna di Roma*⁹, composed between 1778 and 1800 and published in 1805 by Ellis Cornelia Knight, the first lines specify how the volume is dedicated to a British audience with a desire to know the places: «a desire of treading that earth which their early studies have taught them to love and respect»¹⁰.

The locations where the events narrated by the best-known authors took place are defined as scenes, with the word 'theater':

In the Roman Campagna we read, with the more peculiar satisfaction, the works of Livy, of Virgil, and of every other writer who has either related the greatest action performed on this interesting theatre¹¹.

6. COEN 2001; GRELE IUSCO 2005.

7. Around 1742 he attended, perhaps only briefly, Giuseppe Vasi's studio, deepening his knowledge of etching techniques, The brief period of apprenticeship with Vasi is already mentioned in a letter to Giovanni Gaetano Bottari from Naples in 1748; MINOR 2001, p. 419; BEVILACQUA 2015.

8. ASHBY 1927, p. 84: «Immediately after the bridge a hill rises on the right of the road, known as the Mons Sacer. This mount was the historic scene of the retirement of the plebs in 494 B.c. It will be remembered how, in resentment at what was considered an unjust law, the army marched out of Rome and settled here, intending to found a new city; and how the famous speech by Menenius Agrippa on the belly and its members reconciled them to Rome. Nowadays it is a far from pleasing spot, owing to unprepossessing surroundings; but has a glorious view of the surrounding hills, and would have been a fine site for a town better laid out and built than the misnamed garden suburb (on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle) which now occupies it».

9. KNIGHT 1805.

10. *Ibidem*, pp. IX-X.

11. *Ibidem*.

The volume is accompanied by twenty drawings of the locations described and a map illustrating the area southeast of Rome (*fig. 1*). The landscape is presented as particularly beautiful because of the variety of the elevations, the recesses in the rocks that add much to the beauty of the 'scene'. Concerning the stretch of road between Albano and Ariccia, Knight writes:

The road from Albano to Laricia, following the direction of the Via Appia, is peculiarly beautiful: it divides a park belonging to Prince Chigi, whose late father never suffered the trees to be cut down, that artists might enjoy the advantage of studying them in their natural state, and in every stage of their vegetation and decay. The inequality of the ground, and the frequent caves in the rocks, add much to the beauty of the scenery; rustic gates and fountains contribute also to favor the landscape, and they occur at very trifling distances¹².

Still concerning the ancient Latin poets, in October 1789, they began their journey in the footsteps of Horace, Richard Colt Hoare – archaeologist, antiquarian, writer, and English traveler – and Carlo Labruzzi – painter, drafter, and engraver –. The two set out from Rome with the idea of traveling along the Appian Way to Benevento to describe the territory and architecture. The itinerary would be reported in a text, illustrated by a series of views: Hoare would describe the sites and monuments that Labruzzi would return in his drawings¹³. The fruits of this expedition were for Hoare the publication, between 1815 and 1819, of *Recollections Abroad and a Classical Tour through Italy and Sicily*¹⁴, while for Labruzzi over eight hundred drawings and watercolours in which he depicted in particular the architecture and ancient remains. However, of Labruzzi's extraordinary output only twenty-four plates were engraved, which the artist had published in Rome and London in 1794 under the title *Via Appia illustrata ab Urbe Roma ad Capuam*. It is possible to envisage in Labruzzi's work the search for a personal method of representing places. A first nucleus of drawings should be ascribed to the initial phase of the journey, during which the artist made the *in situ* drawings that constituted the models for

12. *Ibidem*, p. 75. Interestingly, the author reports that the greenery is left in its natural state for artists to make vegetation studies from it.

13. Of the whole, 226 folios bound in five folio tomes are preserved today at the Vatican Apostolic Library. The entire collection was kept intact in the Hoare Library at Stourhead until 1883; later, through a series of passages on the London antiquarian market, it was purchased in 1899 by Thomas Ashby, former director of the British School in Rome, only to be sold by his widow to the Vatican Library soon after her spouse's death in 1931. A second set of 188 drawings is in the Sarti Library at the Roman Accademia di S. Luca; LEONE 2004.

14. HOARE 1819. Hoare himself designed many of the most famous monuments, made by his own hand. MALICE 2017; HORNSBY 2000.

the drafting of the monochrome sepia views¹⁵; a second nucleus – mainly consisting of Thomas Ashby's purchase of a *corpus* circulating in England – includes the monochrome watercolors characterized by greater detail and fineness characteristics intended for the final drafting of the series¹⁶.

The views with vestiges immersed in the landscape gave impetus to the dissemination of the image of the best-known ancient architecture as well as more recent finds, contributing to the creation of imagery, particularly declined on the relationship between landscape and ruins (*fig. 2*). Labruzzi's prints became a reference and were the inspiration for several works for decades, including collections of engravings taken from drawings depicting precisely the sites of the Roman countryside: published during the first decade of the nineteenth century by Piero Parboni and Antonio Poggioli with the title *Le antichità d'Albano delineate nei suoi avanzi da C. Labruzzi ed incise da P. Parboni e A. Poggioli*, the one edited by Agostino Rem-Picci in 1844, entitled *Monumenti e ruderi che veggonsi lungo i lati delle prime due miglia della via Appia*, as well as being an inspiration for similar undertakings, including one by Luigi Rossini who published the series *Viaggio pittoresco da Roma a Napoli...* in 1839¹⁷. It is not surprising that many British travelers refer to the landscape of the countryside as 'scenery'. The term, particularly prevalent in the English language between the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth centuries, highlights the link between viewing a place with prominent features as a backdrop for a scene, precisely because it can mean either a view of a natural area, with waters and vegetation, or a backdrop structure or setting for a stage¹⁸.

In 1820 James Hackewill published *A picturesque tour of Italy*, including numerous views of places surrounding the papal city. Hackewill sojourned in Rome between 1816 and 1817¹⁹ and, upon his return home, drew up a series of travel directions, which he gave to William Turner,

15. Today preserved at the Sarti Library of the Academy of San Luca in Rome and from the testamentary bequest of Labruzzi himself.

16. The collection is now housed in the Vatican Library.

17. DE' POLIGNAC 1993; RASPI SERRA 1993; DE ROSA-JATTA 2013, p. 178, nr. 22; LE PERA BURANELLI-TURCHETTI 2003, pp. 33-38; ASHBY 1903; CLIFFORD-DICKINSON 2012; FUSCONI 1984, f. 2, p.10; n.11 p. 28; MARCHESI 2018, p.78; MASSAFRA 1993.

18. www.collinsdictionary.com, *scenery*, definition e recorded usage, *ad vocem*.

19. HAKEWILL 1820, *Preface*. Numerous drawings are preserved in the British School at Rome Library and published in CUBBERLEY-HERMANN 1992. Hackewill attempted to devote a second specific publication to Italian museums, *Outlines of the principals Galerie of Sculpture in Italy*, which, however, he failed to complete.

commissioning him to produce a series of drawings for the volume. Turner arrived in Italy in August 1819 and produced copious amounts of sketches and watercolors, keeping diaries of notes and sketches that reveal the attention to the landscape that would lead to the highly refined outcomes of phenomenology, the most intense manifestations of which he depicted. In his volume, Hakewill included, among others, an engraving devoted to the view of Ariccia and one of the mausoleum of Cecilia Metella, taken precisely from Turner's drawings. In *La Riccia's* engraving, in the foreground, the layout of the Appian Way, at the edges of which some remains of ancient vestiges can be seen, and the vegetation, here less lush but populated with human and animal figures; further on, the architectures of the city (fig. 3a). Hakewill also associates the table with the poet Horace; the commentary reports:

We are here upon the ancient Via Appian, the large nagged stones of which (for such was the Roman fashion of making roads) are still visible in many parts. In front is seen the village La Riccia, anciently Ariccia, the first night's resting place of Horace in leaving Rome to join the suite of his patron Maecenas, who was himself proceeding to meet the legates of Antony at Brundisium, with a view of effecting a reconciliation between him and Augustus. The humorous description of this journey, made near two thousand years back, is still the companion of every tourist on the route from Rome to Naples²⁰.

In the view of the Metelli tomb, the remains encompassed by the *castrum Caetani* stand out in the left half of the view, while on the other half, the sequence of buildings that line the Appian Way can be seen against the backdrop of the city's skyline, characterized by hills and maritime pines. In this perspective, Turner brings into play the relationship between the route dotted with ruins to the denser core of the urban center. Again, people and animals are included in the landscape, as well as the wild vegetation that covers the ancient remains, with climbing, drooping plants and small shrubs (fig. 3b). Although Turner's travel notebook includes numerous sketches of each place portrayed, taken from longer or closer distances, from multiple viewpoints, with central, highly angled perspectives or with projections that form a personal path of study of the object and its context, some of the views included in the volume take up drawings drafted by Hakewill in 1817, known to Turner²¹, with more conventional framing.

20. HAKEWILL 1820, pl. *La Riccia*.

21. See Tate Gallery, Joseph Mallord William Turner, Albano, Nemi, Rome Sketchbook, D15384 Turner Bequest CLXXXII 47 and 48, and MOORBY 2012. Turner was certainly familiar with Hakewill's drawings and, in particular, had already completed a watercolor of the tomb based on another Hakewill

From a vantage point close to that chosen by Turner is the view from the high ground toward the tomb of Cecilia Metella and the city portrayed by Alessio De Marchis in the early eighteenth century²². De Marchis had come to Rome in 1701 to devote himself to study in the workshop of Pieter Philip Roos, who set him up as a landscape painter, establishing him as a «spiritoso pittore di paesi, vedute, massi, fabbriche, rotte antiche»²³. His drawings of the Roman period depicted mainly the countryside and were characterized by a broad technique, based on the use of a brown watercolor, spread over pencil²⁴. In the illustration, one recognizes characteristic luminous contrasts, the detailed architecture portrayed, framed in a barely hinted environment²⁵: the tool of drawing more than to investigate the existing reality, manifests the intention to render an image in which the ancient element appears within an ideal context that celebrates the ruin as a characterizing element of the landscape. Some Roman views by De Marchis were preserved in the collection of Italian drawings of the architect James Gibbs, who returned home after his stay in Rome in the early eighteenth century, in a dedicated album. In *A Collection of Drawings of Roman Bridges, And of Ornaments in Perspective, of Temples, Houses, Monuments...* – which also includes Italian drawings drafted decades after his stay, demonstrating the deep connection established with the city – the sheets related to the theme of antiquity constitute a prime example of the growing attention to the legacy of the past that emerged during the eighteenth century and reverberated throughout Europe²⁶ (figs. 4a, b).

In the same year 1820 in which Hackewill published *A picturesque tour of Italy*, engraved by Elizabeth Frances Batty, was given to the presses in London *Italian scenery*. In the first lines, it is clearly expressed how travel was considered necessary for young people initiated into classical education, not least because it was «the scene of some of the poets' most delightful narratives»²⁷.

drawing before his 1819 Italian tour.

22. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, James Gibbs collection, *A Collection of Drawings of Roman Bridges...*, Alessio De Marchis, *Monochrome sketch of the tomb of Cecilia Metella on the via Appia*, III-37-c. <https://www.calcografica.it/disegni/inventario.php?id=D-FC125211>

23. ENGGASS-ENGGASS 1977.

24. CHIARINI 1990; BARBONE PUGLIESE 2016; BUSIRI VICI 1976; CHIARINI 1967; DI CARPEGNA 1956

25. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, James Gibbs collection, *A Collection of Drawings of Roman Bridges...*, III-31. Also in the collection is the unattributed drawing, Landscape in water-colour wash seems close to De Marchis's ways; the drawing would seem to be aimed more at recalling an atmosphere than restoring buildings and landscape.

26. TETTI 2016.

27. ANON-BATTY 1820, pag. 1-2: «To have seen Italy is [...] by many considered the necessary complement

A recurrent inspiration of the tourists, a verse by the Latin poet Horace opens the chapter in which the landscape near Ariccia is described, of which – like Hakewill – Batty inserts a view²⁸. The description is matched by a view that reveals special attention paid to the close connection between vegetation, ancient ruins, and architecture²⁹: the road layout, characterized by basalt paving and the lush vegetation recur, occupying most of the illustration, while beyond it the tops of the architecture are discernible (*fig. 5*).

In this setting, of particular interest appears the figure of architect Joseph Woods³⁰, who reached Rome on January 1, 1817. Following his stay in the papal state capital, Woods published in 1828 in London *Letters of an Architect from France Italy and Greece*, in the form of an epistolary. In the text, the author emphasizes how for an architect the need to visit Rome and experience, first-hand, its environment and landscape is inescapable, and how no other way is equally valid for understanding its values:

In spite of all that may have been seen elsewhere of magnificent buildings, and all of the views and drawings which have been published of the eternal city, Rome is still a new world to an architect. You may know in detail the appearance of every building here, but you can't feel nothing, you can't imagine nothing of the effect produced, on seeing, on finding yourself thus among them³¹.

His reflections urge the contemplation of architecture in relation to places, points of view, and the mutual relationship they establish in space, and thus to the landscape:

nothing has astonished me more than the numerous fine points of views which the ancient city must have offered. The hills were insignificant in themselves, but they seem made to display the buildings to the great advantage; [...] the hills and country about Rome are well disposed for architecture, and for uniting its object with those of the landscape³².

of a classical education. The theatre of some of the most pleasing fiction of the poets».

28. *Ibidem*, p. 123: «Egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma Hospitio modico», cf. Q. HORATI FLACCI, *Sermones*, Liber I, satura V.
29. *Ibidem*, p. 124 «from Rome, at a distance of sixteen miles ; at least, it was as far as Horace thought proper to proceed the first day of his “Brundisium iter”, the Appian Way, the “Queen of Roads” along which the poet proceeded, and the pavement of which is seen in the view, is still passed over by those who visit La Riccia [...] The modern town stands upon the summit of the hill, surrounded by olive groves and gardens»; plate XXXVII.
30. Joseph Woods (1776-1864) was a botanist and geologist, member of the Society of Antiquaries, honorary member of the Society of British Architects; in 1806 first president of the London Architectural Society. In 1816 he visited France, Switzerland and Italy and published in 1828 *Letters of an Architect from France Italy and Greece*.
31. Woods 1828, l. XXIII, p. 327.
32. *Ibidem*, l. XXIII p. 329; January 1817.

Wood devoted himself to the exploration of the countryside and, concentrating particularly on the observation of ruins, he considered as most notable the said ruins of *Roma Vecchia* in the area southeast of the city³³, reserving several pages of his work for it (*fig. 6*). Specifically interested in architecture, in his letter entitled *Neighbourhood of Rome*³⁴, Wood describes the buildings that seem to him to be most notable; but while rich in detail are the descriptions of the better-known buildings, it seems to be more difficult for him to describe the ruins that spread widely:

we are now on or near the Appian way. Names have been given, but without authority, and the ruins are mostly mere masses of rubble, to which no form can be assigned. Some however are larger, and contain vaulted chambers, others are domed. Indeed the form, the extent, and the materials of the more perfect remains all vary, but it would be tedious to enumerate them³⁵.

However, referring precisely to the Campagna, commenting on the perception of it in an overall view, the architect describes the elements he recognizes as characterizing it and does not fail to refer to the ruins that dot the area as factors that enter into the formation of the image, enriching the “picturesque” view of the scene.

You perhaps imagine, from having heard of the dreary and desolate Campagna, that there are no agreeable walks about the city, but if you have formed any such notion, you are very much mistaken. The ground about Rome is exceedingly well disposed for pleasant scenery; the country being intersected by several valleys of no great width, each bounded by steep banks of moderate height, from the top of which you catch the gently varied line of Monte Albano, and the distant Apennines. [...]. Wherever art has interfered to adorn these slopes, or where some natural patch of wood is suffered to grow, the effect is highly pleasing, especially if in addition, some picturesque ruin crown the summit. Sometimes when the eye is elevated above these slopes, such features enrich the nearer landscape, while the long lines of the ancient aqueducts give an interest to the middle distance.

In addition to the depiction of antiquities, as they appeared to the eyes of observers, much enthusiasm came from the possibility of delineating the image of the ancient city. To draw up ideal reconstructions, probably commissioned by Duchess Elizabeth of Devonshire, architect Charles Robert Cockerell³⁶ returned to settle in Rome for a second stay in 1816.

33. *Ibidem*, letter XXXIII, p 38: «This groupe of ruins is sometimes called Roma Vecchia, but there is another Roma Vecchia more considerable, on the Appian way, of which I shall give you some account in my next walk».

34. *Ibidem*, letter XXXIV, *Neighbourhood of Rome*, Rome, May 1817, pp. 40-52; on Via Appia pages 40-48.

35. *Ibidem*, p. 42.

36. Charles Robert Cockerell stayed in Rome for the second time from late 1816 to spring 1817; in May 1810 he traveled to Greece, Asia Minor and Sicily; based on these trips he published drawings and texts. In late 1814

Cockerell drafted several versions of the ideal vision of Rome that long influenced the European imagination: his vision was spread by the reproduction drafted by George Scharf³⁷ entitled *Rome in the Augustan Age, a Restoration by C. R. Cockerell R. A.*, and then included on the title page of Thomas Babington Macaulay's³⁸ successful volume *Lays of Ancient Rome*, a collection of poems related to heroic episodes in archaic Roman history, which sold tens of thousands of copies in the first ten years alone. Among the most popular texts of the first half of the nineteenth century is *The last days of Pompeii* by Edward Bulwer-Lytton³⁹ in which the intent behind the reconstructions, literary and artistic, is clearly expressed:

The burning desire to rebuild those beautiful ruins, and animate the bones scattered over the surface of them [...] traverse the chasm of eighteen centuries, evoking to new existence the City of Death⁴⁰.

Moreover, dedicating the volume to the topographer, draughtsman, and engraver William Gell, with whom the author had explored Pompeii during his Neapolitan sojourn, Lytton mentions several times the evocative capacity of the images: «the only erudition that demands a work of this kind, is that antiquity transfixed, so to speak, in images»⁴¹.

William Gell arrived in Italy in 1814 in the retinue of Caroline of Brunswick, wife of King George IV of England⁴². Staying between Rome

he reached Italy and visited Naples and Pompeii; in 1815-1816 and was in Rome where he made important friendships, including one with the French painter Ingres; BORDELEAU 2014. The correspondence between Duchess Elizabeth of Devonshire and the architect includes a letter from 1818 in which the noblewoman, praising the drawings, describes them as «valuable explanations» of ancient Rome. Cockerell had already done similar work for some ancient architecture in Athens, which he called 'restoration', to be understood as 'restorations'; SALMON 2000.

37. The impact of this publication is investigated in Edwards' 2007 contribution. Copies of the engraving are at the Marco Besso Foundation, *Antico Foro Romano/Tempio dei Castori già Giove Statore/Tempio e recinto di Vesta l'antico Foro Romano* by C.R. Cockerell, and Istituto Centrale per la Grafica (FC 36777).

38. *Lays of Ancient Rome* collects poems by Thomas Babington Macaulay, four of them related to heroic episodes in archaic Roman history, with tragic and dramatic themes; sells over 18,000 copies in the first ten years.

39. BULWER-LYTTON 1834.

40. *Ibidem*, Preface; an Italian translation of the first version of the text that appeared in Italian is given by E. BULWER, *Gli ultimi giorni di Pompei*, Naples 1836.

41. *Ibidem*.

42. William Gell, was among the members of the Society of Dilettanti, the Society of Antiquaries of London, the Institute of France and the Royal Academy in Berlin and a Fellow of the Royal Society. He published several volumes concerning antiquities including *Geography and Antiquities of Ithaca and Itinerary of Greece, Topography of Rome and its Vicinity, e Pompeiana*. In the retinue of Caroline of Brunswick, wife of King George IV, he was in Pompeii as an escort of Sir William Drummond, Keppel Craven, John Auldjo, Lady Blessington and Sir Walter Scott. For a profile: RICCIO 2013; SWEET 2015; CLAY 1976.

and Naples, he immediately began work on the ruins of Pompeii, applying what he had learned from the education imparted to him by Thomas Blare⁴³ – his mother's second husband, a topographer and scholar of antiquities – and published *Pompeiana* in 1817⁴⁴, together with the architect John Peter Gandy⁴⁵, with whom he had participated in expeditions to Greece on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti. In the volume, two illustrations are repeatedly placed side by side for the description of a single monument: one in its ruined state and one with its ideal representation, enlivened by vivid scenes of daily life⁴⁶. Such a way of depicting antiquities fulfilled and at the same time fed the desire to visualize the ancient world through images, with components of fantasy, but it also proved to be of fundamental importance because of the rigorous methods adopted: in fact, the graphs were drawn up by Gell based on the most up-to-date scientific techniques – particularly with the aid of the *camera lucida* – with the aim of obtaining reproductions of the ruins as faithfully as possible and making known to the reader those cases in which the appearance of the places had been partially altered⁴⁷. The confrontation of the existing situation with the ideal reconstruction was destined for wide success and persistence. It was precisely to the description of the places closest to the city, between the walls and the plain below the Alban Hills, that two large plates were devoted, entitled *Monumenti della via Appia dalla Porta Capena al miglio XI*, by Paolo Cacchiatelli and Gregorio Cleter, published in 1878⁴⁸. The two etching illustrations, of considerable size, consist of twenty-one depictions each illustrating the monuments along the road, while in the centre stands a bird's-eye view – in central perspective – to the south: in the first plate

43. Thomas Blare (1764-1818), a member of the Society of the Middle Temple and the Antiquarian Society, makes numerous studies on the topography and antiquities of the Hertfordshire. RICCIO 2013.

44. GELL-GANDY 1817-1819.

45. John Peter Deering, previously Gandy (1787-1850), in 1805 as a student at the Royal Academy; in 1810 he exhibited two drawings *An Ancient City* and *The Environs of an Ancient City*; from 1811 to 1813 he was in Greece with a Society of Amateurs expedition, where he came into contact with Lord Elgin. In 1814 he exhibited again at the Royal Academy *The Mystic Temple of Ceres*; BURNET 1885-1900.

46. W. Gell, *The Temple of Fortuna Augusta and The Temple of Fortuna Augusta*, Restored Perspective; GELL-GANDY 1817-1819, pl. XX e XXI.

47. The working method is already specified in the preface of the first edition of the volume GELL-GANDY 1817-1819, Preface: «it may be proper to state, that the original drawings for this work were made by the camera lucida, by Sir William Gell. To render the subject clearer, a slight alteration has in two or three instances been made, but always mentioned in the text»; the same note is also given in the second edition.

48. Paolo Cacchiatelli, Gregorio Cleter, *Monumenti della via Appia dalla porta Capena al miglio XI quali si trovano nel 1859 e Monumenti della via Appia dalla porta Capena al miglio XI restaurati*, Roma, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Fondo Nazionale; folder FN215.

are the representations reflecting what the draughtsman's eye could see while in the second the respective ideal view. Gell's collaboration with the Italian archaeologist Antonio Nibby, which was a turning point in the study of antiquity, is also to be referred to as the first two decades of the XIX century.

The collaboration between the two scholars made a decisive contribution to topography, through the integration of a systematic survey of places, the reproduction of physical parameters of the territory, and the search for precise identification of ruins. Nibby and Gell devoted themselves to the editing of the volume *Le mura di Roma*, published in 1820, which included the map *Pianta de' recinti di Roma*, with the characteristic graphics of the English topographer, as well as thirty-one plates depicting gates, stretches of walls, towers, substructures, enlivened by scenes of daily life. The structures are rendered in perspective images, delineated with great attention to the constituent elements, enriched by human figures that enliven the scene and aid understanding of size and proportion. Detailed also appear the elements that frame the monument, and precise is the representation of the vegetation that grows freely on the monuments and forms part of the same image of what remains of the ancient city. When the two scholars' interest expanded to the antiquities of Latium, Gell drafted a detailed map, completed in 1822 and published in 1827 under the title *Tentamen Geographicum*⁴⁹. Widespread among travelers, in 1834 the map was published again in London, engraved by James Gardner senior, under the title *Rome & its environs*, from a trigonometrical survey, appended to the double volume *Topography of Rome and its vicinity* with texts by Nibby, printed thanks to funding from the Society of Dilettanti. The map depicts a wide area, extending from the Latium coast to the slopes of the Abruzzi Apennines, surveyed through the method of triangulation, in an accurate elaboration attentive to the measurable parameters of orography, hydrography and routes and accompanied by indications of ancient and contemporary place names⁵⁰ (fig. 7). In the engraving, executed by Filippo Troiani, Gell's contribution is particularly recognizable: in accordance with the ways of British representation, as made clear in the preface, the map is presented in very strong colors, especially in the depiction of the highest mountain

49. In FRUTAZ 1972, I, LV, 3, fig. , III, fig. 239; on the subject MASETTI-GALLIA 2016; IOVINE 2013-2014.

50. Compare illustratively W. Gell, *Albano Lake*, Topography 1, notebook 4, study for *The topography of Rome and its vicinity*, London 1834; https://ipervisions.digitalcollections.bsr.ac.uk/gell_e/Gell_1834_p.28

ranges, and the toponymy is given in particularly minute characters, with the aim of always leaving the physical state of the soil legible⁵¹. It emerges how Gell's attention remained focused on the search for the most suitable methods of restoring places rigorously, reporting their tangible characteristics as much as possible, as much in the case of illustrations from which to derive ideal reconstructions as in the case of the drafting of maps needed by scholars and tourists.

Alongside rigorous historical research, Romantic tendencies privileging the perception of the environment and landscape began to appear, which would be tastefully embodied by Turner who stopped in the same notebooks in which he drew the vestiges of the Roman countryside, the emotions aroused by the spectacle of incredible natural events⁵². The narrative of personal experience was a turning point in the perception of the elements that constitute space and architecture with its memory value, encouraging reflections on the personal and collective past. Visiting the countryside, and traversing such a layered palimpsest of history came to be recognized as an experience that also passes through the senses, stimulating reflections on one's own memory and identity, contributing to the emergence of personal characteristics and sensibilities. Here, too, there is no shortage of female voices, rarely invested in professional roles, fully embedded in the spirit of an era and a society. The accounts of Charlotte Eaton, who published the three-volume collection, *Rome in the Nineteenth century*, with letters written during her sojourns between 1817 and 1818, are emblematic of the enthusiasm that accompanied the visit to Rome, which, recently freed from French domination, was also taking on a decisive role thanks to archaeological excavations and antiquarian studies: «at Rome, it is not the present or the future that occupies us, but the past»⁵³. Eaton highlights the relationship between city and landscape, describing a peculiar unity between the present and ancient city. From the top of the Capitol tower, she describes the view to the south, where the Campagna is recognizable at a great distance by the route of the Appian Way:

51. QUILICI GIGLI 1994; ASOR ROSA *et alii* 2007; BEVILACQUA 2005; SPONBERG PEDLEY 2004; CLIVIO MARZOLI, 1985; GEYMONAT 1985; LAURETI 1985; LO SARDO 1987; BRANCATI 1990. NIBBY 1837, I, p. X: «[...] era necessario mantenere nella tinta quella gradazione di colore che fosse proporzionata all'altezza rispettiva de' monti, in modo che nerissimi apparissero i più alti, e successivamente men tetri i meno elevati».

52. TETTI 2019; TETTI 2023.

53. EATON 1820, vol. I, p. XIII.

We ascended to the summit of the lofty Tower of the Capitol. What a prospect burst upon our view! To the north, to the east, and even to the west, the Modern City extends; but to the south, Ancient Rome reigns alone. The time-stricken Mistress of the World, sadly seated on her deserted hills, amidst the ruined trophies of her fame, and the moldering monuments of her power, seems silently to mourn the fall of the city of her greatness. On her solitude the habitations of man have not dared to intrude: no monuments of his existence appear, except such as connect him with eternity. A few decaying contents and churches, amongst which the Basilica of St John Lateran stands proudly pre-eminent, are the only modern buildings that meet the eye. From the Capitol (the ancient Citadel) on which we stand, we behold her hills, now heaped with ruins and shaded with the dark pine and cypress – the wide waste of the Campagna – the plain of Latium, bounded by its storied mountains, and intersected by the far, distant windings of the yellow Tiber, the grass-grown Forum at our feet, with its shattered porticos, its fallen columns, its overthrown temples, and its triumphal arches, fast moldering to decay [...] backed by the turreted walls of the city – the Tower of Cecilia Metella – and, far beyond, the long black line of the Via Appia, marked by moldering and forgotten tombs – and ruined aqueducts stretching over the deserted plain in majestic loneliness to the woody hills which terminate the view⁵⁴.

In the words of Jane Waldie, Charlotte's sister, who traveled with her, and who published in 1820, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, the flow of emotions emerges and again the landscape as theatre, now a metaphor for the human story, individual and collective: «When we reflect, indeed, on all the changes and commotions of which Rome has been the theatre, we are led rather to wonder that any, than that so few, vestiges other ancient magnificence should remain to our days»⁵⁵; while the visit to *Roma Vecchia* stimulates the expression of the characters of spontaneity and subjectivity, even of dream and melancholy:

Beyond this, the ruins of Roma Vecchia mix among the tombs that line the Appian Way. Though thus indistinct, and “unknown to fame” because unnamed by classic authors- there is something very striking about this cluster of ruins. A melancholy, somewhat allied to pleasure, ever steals over the soul amid the deserted habitations of a great nation; - and the very obscurity that hangs over these fragments adds, perhaps, to this feeling, by leaving the imagination to people them as it pleases⁵⁶.

From the briefly outlined picture emerges a series of elements that gave rise to different approaches that, nurturing a flow of ideas, brought the perception of the relationship between landscape and antiquity into a new phase. An uninterrupted reflection linked the exploration of the places narrated in the Latin classics – for which travel became the search for the

54. *Ibidem*, vol. I, letter XXI, pp. 328, 333, 334.

55. WALDIE 1820, p. 23.

56. *Ibidem*, p. 370.

‘scene’ of events, the ‘theatre’ of exploits – with the antiquarian interest that stimulated the reconnaissance and collections of views of antiquity, in which in addition to the city, the Campagna also played a leading role – as in the case of Labruzzi’s fortunate views that had a very long echo –.

This aroused interest in ideal reconstructions of the most celebrated monuments and sites but also of the large, recently excavated areas; this kindled the imagination of the daily life that took place in antiquity and thus of the ancient environment and landscape, in more fantastic or increasingly rigorous forms – as emerges from Gell’s work and the fruitful collaboration with historian Nibby –. Exploration outside the urban centre of the city of Rome, which expands to the Campagna, is configured, in a broad sense, as a test of knowledge, a stimulus to search for what is not directly known, an ability to relate to what is different, and an experience of the emotional relationship with what is foreign. Thus travel takes on a relevant subjective dimension and becomes part of the process of self-discovery, from which originates the construction of a renewed personal identity. Narrated also through the telling of emotions, the journey taken became decisive in the elaboration of the experience of each of the travelers, and then of the collective one, with the dissemination of publications and prints. This also contributed decisively to the investigation, deep understanding, and then consideration of the ancient and its intimate relationship with the landscape of which it is a part, fuelling a process that would bring a new vision in the decades to come.

Travels and explorations were recounted, by women and men, by intellectuals, artists and architects, in accounts of words and images, in the picturesque tours, which precisely in the exploration of the Campagna returned in one-way recurring patterns and another different sensibilities and the peculiar interests.

* *A special thanks to Dr. Alessia Verdino for the English edition. In the frame of the writer’s lines of interest in the theme, the present contribution originates from the study carried out by the author for the research “The construction of the Appian landscapes in the Pontine lands: history and conservation of a ‘difficult’ landscape”, ricerca di Ateneo, Dipartimento di Storia, disegno e restauro dell’architettura – Facoltà di Architettura, Sapienza – University of Rome (2022).*

References

ANON-BATTY 1829

ANNON F., BATTY E., 1820. *Italian Scenery. From Drawings Made in 1817*, London: Rodwell & Martin.

ASHBY 1903

ASHBY T., 1903. "Dessins inédits de Carlo Labruzzi", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 23: 375-418.

ASHBY 1927

ASHBY T., 1927. *The Roman Campagna in classical times*, London: E. Benn, Macmillan Co.

ASOR ROSA *et alii* 2007

ASOR ROSA L., MARCELLI M., ROSSI P., SASSO D'ELIA L., 2007. "Strumenti cartografici per la tutela e pianificazione del suburbio di Roma: dalla carta dell'Agro romano alla carta per la qualità nel nuovo Piano regolatore", *Semestrale di studi e ricerche di Geografia*, 1: 61-84.

BANN 1990

BANN S., 1990. *The invention of the History: essays on the representation of the past*, London: Manchester University Press.

BARBONE PUGLIESE 2016

BARBONE PUGLIESE N. (ed.), 2016. *Alessio De Marchis e i pittori di paesaggio a Roma tra Sei e Settecento*, catalogue of the exhibition (Bitonto, 26 February - 22 April 2016), Foggia: Claudio Grenzi.

BEVILACQUA 2005

BEVILACQUA M., 2005. "Nolli, Vasi, Piranesi, Percorsi e incontri nella città del Settecento", in M. BEVILACQUA (ed.), *Immagine di Roma antica e moderna*, Roma: Artemide: 9-19.

BEVILACQUA 2015

BEVILACQUA, M., 2015. "Giovanni Battista Piranesi", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, v. 84, *sub voce*.

BIANCONI 1779 [1802]

BIANCONI G.L., 1779. *Elogio storico del cavaliere Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Celebre antiquario ed incisore di Roma*, in G.L. BIANCONI, *Opere del consigliere Gian Lodovico Bianconi bolognese, ministro della corte di Sassonia presso la Santa Sede ed incisore di Roma*, Milan: Tipografia de' Classici italiani, II: 127-140.

BORDELEAU 2014

BORDELEAU A., 2014. *Charles Robert Cockerell, Architect in Time. Reflections around Anachronistic Drawings*, London: Ashgate.

BRANCATI 1990

BRANCATI A., 1990. *La cartografia dell'agro romano*, Roma: Palombi.

BUCHANAN 1999

BUCHANAN A., 1999. "Science and sensibility: architecture and antiquarianism in the early XIX century, in M. MYRONE, L. PELTZ (eds.), *Producing the past, aspect of antiquarian culture and practice, 1700-1850*, Aldershot: Routledge: 169-186.

BULWER-LYTTON 1834

BULWER-LYTTON E., 1834. *The last days of Pompeii*, London: Richard Bentley.

BURNET 1885-1900

BURNET G.W., 1885-1900. "Deering, John Peter", in *Dictionary of National Biography*. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1885-1900, v. 14, *sub voce*.

BUSIRI VICI 1976

BUSIRI VICI A., 1976. *Trittico paesistico romano del '700: Paolo Anesi, Paolo Monaldi, Alessio De Marchis*, Rome: U. Bozzi.

CHIARINI 1967

CHIARINI M. (ed.), 1967. *Paesisti, bamboccianti e vedutisti nella Roma seicentesca*, Firenze: Tipolitografia STIAV.

CHIARINI 1990

CHIARINI M., 1990. "Alessio De Marchis", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, v. 38, *sub voce*.

CLAY 1976

CLAY E., 1976. *Sir William Gell in Italy. Letters to the society of Dilettanti*, London: Hamilton.

CLIFFORD-DICKINSON 2012

CLIFFORD T., DICKINSON C., 2012. *Carlo Labruzzi. The Grand Tour*", London: Simon C. Dickinson Ltd.

CLIVIO MARZOLI 1985

CLIVIO MARZOLI C. (ed.), 1985. *Imago et mensura mundi*, Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani.

COEN 2001

COEN P., 2001. "Arte, cultura e mercato in una bottega romana del XVIII secolo: l'impresa calcografica di Giuseppe e Mariano Vasi, fra continuità e rinnovamento", *Bollettino d'Arte*, 85: 23-74.

CUBBERLEY-HERMANN 1992

CUBBERLEY T., HERMANN L. (eds.), 1992. *Twilight of the Grand Tour. A Catalogue of the drawings by Jame Hakewill in the British School at Rome Library*, Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato.

DEBENEDETTI 2008

DEBENEDETTI E. (ed.), 2008. *Architetti e ingegneri a confronto, l'immagine di Roma fra Clemente XIII e Pio VII*, Roma: Bonsignori.

DEBENEDETTI 2016

DEBENEDETTI E. (ed.), 2016. *Giovanni Battista Piranesi. Predecessori, contemporanei e successori. Studi in onore di John Wilton-Ely*, Rome: Quasar.

DE ROSA-JATTA 2013

DE ROSA P. A., JATTA B., 2013. *La Via Appia nei disegni di Carlo Labruzzi alla Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

DE SETA 2005

DE SETA C. (ed.), 2005. *Imago Urbis Romae, l'immagine di Roma in età moderna*, Rome: Electa.

DE' POLIGNAC 1993

DE' POLIGNAC F., 1993. "La fortune du «columbarium»", in J. RASPI SEERRA (ed.), *Idea e scienza dell'antichità. Roma e l'Europa 1700-1770*, Rome: Quasar: 41-89.

DI CARPEGNA 1956

DI CARPEGNA N., 1956. *Paesisti e vedutisti a Roma nel Seicento e nel Settecento: terza esposizione temporanea delle pitture seicentesche e settecentesche della Galleria nazionale*, Rome: Del Turco.

EDWARDS 2007

EDWARDS C., 2007. "Translating empire? Macaulay's Rome", in C. EDWARDS (ed.), *Roman Presences: receptions of Rome in European culture, 1789-1945*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 70-87.

ENGGASS-ENGGASS 1977

ENGGASS C., ENGGASS R. (eds.), 1977. *N. Pio, "Le vite di pittori, scultori et architetti in compendio da numero di ducento venticinque"*, Roma 1724, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

FRUTAZ 1972

FRUTAZ P. A., 1972. *Le carte del Lazio*, Roma: Istituto di Studi Romani.

FUSCONI 1984

FUSCONI G., 1984. *I paesaggi di Nicolas-Didier Boguet e i luoghi tibulliani: dalle collezioni del Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe*, Rome: De Luca.

GARRIC-PASQUALI-PUPILLO 2021

GARRIC J.-P., PASQUALI S., PUPILLO M. (eds.), 2021. *Roma in età napoleonica, Antico, architettura e città da modello a laboratorio*, Rome: Officina Libraria.

GELL-GANDY 1817-1819

GELL W., GANDY J.P., 1817-1819. *Pompeiana. The Topography, edifices, and ornaments of Pompeii*, London: Rodweel & Martin.

GEYMONAT 1985

GEYMONAT L., 1985. "Perché un filosofo della scienza si interessa di cartografia", in CLIVIO MARZOLI C. (ed.), *Imago et mensura mundi*, Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani: 7-9.

GILLESPIE 2016

GILLESPIE R., 2016. "Richard Du Bourg's «Classical Exhibition», 1775-1819", *Journal of the History of Collections*, 29, 2: 251-269.

GRELLI IUSCO 2005

GRELLI IUSCO A. (ed.), 2005. *Giuseppe Vasi. Il fondo di matrici dell'Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica. Osservazioni e divulgazioni*, Rome: Artemide.

HAKEWILL 1820

HAKEWILL J., 1820. *A picturesque tour of Italy*, London: J. Murray.

HIND 1923

HIND A., 1923. "Laura Piranesi", *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 43, 246: 140.

HYDE 2015

HYDE M., 2015. *Piranesi's Lost Words, Pennsylvania*, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

HYDE 2016

HYDE M., 2016. "Marcher sur les traces de son père: The Piranesi Enterprise between Rome and Paris", in E. DEBENEDETTI (ed.), *Giovanni Battista Piranesi. Predecessori, contemporanei e successori. Studi in onore di John Wilton-Ely*, Rome: Quasar: 263-278.

HOARE 1819

HOARE R.C., 1819. *Recollections Abroad and A Classical Tour through Italy and Sicily*, London: M. Mawman.

HORNSBY 2000

HORNSBY C., 2000. "Carlo Labruzzi: an album of thirteen aquatints dedicated to Sir Richard Colt Hoare", *Apollo*: 151, 457: 3-8.

IOVINE 2013-2014

F. IOVINE F., 2013-2014. *Antonio Nibby e la Carta de' dintorni di Roma: un viaggio lungo cinque anni*, Degree Thesis, Rome: University of Roma Tre (advisor: prof. C. Masetti).

JONSSON 1986

JONSSON M., 1986. *La cura dei monumenti alle origini: restauro e scavo di monumenti antichi a Roma 1800-1830*, Stockholm: Åström.

KNIGHT 1805

KNIGHT E.C., 1805. *Description of Latium; or, La Campagna di Roma*, London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme.

LAURETI 1985

LAURETI L., 1985. "Origini e sviluppo del tematismo nella cartografia italiana tra il Settecento e l'Ottocento con particolare riferimento al Mezzogiorno", in C. CLIVIO MARZOLI (ed.), *Imago et mensura mundi*, Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani: 479-486.

LEONE 2004

LEONE F., 2004. "Carlo Labruzzi", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, v. 63, *sub voce*.

LE PERA BURANELLI 1994

LE PERA BURANELLI S., 1994. *La cartografia dei beni storici, archeologici e paesistici nelle grandi aree urbane dal censimento alla tutela*, Rome: Quasar.

LE PERA BURANELLI-TURCHETTI 2003

LE PERA BURANELLI S., TURCHETTI R., 2003. *Sulla via Appia da Roma a Brindisi. Le fotografie di Thomas Ashby (1891-1925)*, Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.

LOLLA 1999

LOLLA M.G., 1999. "Ceci n'est pas un monument. Vetusta Monumenta and antiquarianism aesthetics", in M. MYRONE, L. PELTZ (eds.), *Producing the past, aspect of antiquarian culture and practice, 1700-1850*, Aldershot: Routledge: 15- 34.

LOLLA 2002

LOLLA M.G., 2002. "Monuments and texts: antiquarianism and the beauty of antiquity", *Art History*, 25: 431-449.

LO SARDO 1987

LO SARDO E., 1987. "La cartografia dello Stato Pontificio in età napoleonica", in *Villes et territoire pendant la période napoléonienne (France et Italie)*, Roma: Boccard: 121-131.

MALIZIA 2017

MALIZIA R., 2017. *Lungo l'Appia a Terracina nel 1789: sulle tracce del viaggio di Orazio*, Terracina: Bookart.

MARCHESI 2018

MARCHESI R., 2018. *Il Grand Tour nel Golfo di Gaeta*, Gaeta: Ali Ribelli.

MARONNIE 2022

MARONNIE B., 2022. "«Sulle singolari tracce del padre»: Laura Piranesi incisora", in M.C. MISITI, G. SCALONI (eds.), *Giambattista Piranesi: Sognare il Sogno Impossibile*, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Roma 2022 (<https://doi.org/10.53786/piranesimultimediale.24>).

MASETTI-GALLIA 1827

MASETTI C., GALLIA A., 2016. “La Carta de’ dintorni di Roma di William Gell e Antonio Nibby (1827)”, *Bollettino della Associazione Italiana di Cartografia*, 156: 46-58.

MASSAFRA 1993

MASSAFRA M.G., 1993 “*Via Appia illustrata ab Urbe Roma ad Capuam*. Disegni di Carlo Labruzzi nel Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe”, *Bollettino dei Musei comunali di Roma*, 7: 43-56.

MINOR 2001

MINOR H.H., 2001. “Rejecting Piranesi”, *The Burlington magazine*, 143: 412-419.

MOMIGLIANO 1950

MOMIGLIANO A., 1950. “Ancient history and the antiquarianism”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 13: 285-315.

MYRONE-PELTZ 1999

MYRONE M., PELTZ L. (eds.), 1999. *Producing the past, aspect of antiquarian culture and practice, 1700-1850*, Aldershot: Routledge.

MOORBY 2024

MOORBY N., 2024. *The Via Appia Antica, Rome: the Circus of Maxentius; and Two Views Approaching the Tomb of Cecilia Metella 1819 by Joseph Mallord William Turner*, in D. BLAYNEY BROWN (ed.), *J.M.W. Turner: Sketchbooks, Drawings and Watercolours*, London: Tate Research Publication (<https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/joseph-mallord-william-turner-the-via-appia-antica-rome-the-circus-of-maxentius-and-two-r1132679>)

NIBBY-GELL 1820

NIBBY A., GELL W., 1820. *Le mura di Roma*, Rome: Vincenzo Poggioli.

NIBBY 1837

NIBBY A., 1837. *Analisi s storico-topografico-antiquaria della carta de’ dintorni di Roma*, Rome: Tipografia delle Belle Arti.

OECHSLIN 1975

OECHSLIN W., 1975. “Luigi Canina”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, v. 78, *sub voce*.

PEARCE 2007

PEARCE S., 2007. *Visions of antiquity. The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707-2007*, London: Society of Antiquaries of London.

PINTO-BARROERO-MAZZOCCA 2003

PINTO S., BARROERO L., MAZZOCCA F. (eds.), 2003. *Maestà di Roma. Da Napoleone all’Unità d’Italia*, Rome: Electa.

QUILICI GIGLI 1994

QUILICI GIGLI S., 1994. "Da Nibby al programma *Latium Vetus*: centocinquanta anni di ricerche topografiche nella campagna romana", in *La cartografia dei beni storici, archeologici e paesistici nelle grandi aree urbane dal censimento alla tutela*, Rome: Quasar: 25-28.

RASPI SERRA 1993

RASPI SERRA J. (ed.), 1993. *Idea e scienza dell'antichità. Roma e l'Europa 1700-1770*, Rome: Quasar.

RICCIO 2003

RICCIO B., 2003. "Omaggi inglesi", in S. PINTO, L. BARROERO, F. MAZZOCCA (eds.), *Maestà di Roma. Da Napoleone all'Unità d'Italia*, Rome: Electa: 193-206.

RICCIO 2013

RICCIO B. (ed.), 2013. *William Gell, archeologo, viaggiatore e cortigiano*, Rome: Gangemi.

SALMON 2000

SALMON, F. 2000. *Building on ruins*, Ashgate: Aldershot.

SPONBERG PEDLEY 2004

SPONBERG PEDLEY M., 2004. "Scienza e cartografia. Roma nell'Europa dei lumi", in M. BEVILACQUA (ed.), *Immagine di Roma*, Rome: Artemide: 37-47.

SWEET 2004

SWEET R., 2004. *Antiquaries. The discovery of the past in XVIII Britain*, London: Hambledon Continuum.

SWEET 2015

SWEET R., 2015. "William Gell and Pompeiana (1817/1819 and 1832)", *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 83: 245-281.

TETTI 2016

TETTI B., 2016. "The Space Between the Banks of the Tevere River: Carlo Marchionni's Drawings for Three Roman Bridges" in C. SMYLITPOULOS (ed.), *Agents of Space: Eighteenth- Century Art, Architecture and Visual Culture*, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 61-77.

TETTI 2017

TETTI B., 2017. "Studio dell'antico. Echi e contributi europei", in I. FIUMI SERMATTEI, R. REGOLI, M.P. SETTE (eds.), *Antico, conservazione e restauro nell'età di Leone XII*, Ancona: Quaderni del Consiglio Regionale delle Marche: 271-296.

TETTI 2019

TETTI B., 2019. "A Path Through Ruins, Remains and Monuments: Historical Heritage Consideration", in S. DUTTA (ed.), *Early XIX c. Women's British Writings, British Women, Travel and Empire, 1770-1850*, London: Routledge Publisher: 52-69.

TETTI 2023

TETTI B., 2023. "Identity Perception in Monuments, Ruins and Remains: Roman and Romano-British Heritage in British Travel Accounts c.1770-1820", in F. LEMBO FAZIO, V. TOMASSETTI (eds), *Emotions and Architecture. Forging Mediterranean Cities Between the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time*, London: Routledge Publisher: 151-174.

TOZZI 2014

TOZZI S., 2014. "Tra ragione e sentimento. Roma nelle immagini dei vedutisti stranieri", in S. TOZZI, A.M. D'AMELIO (eds.), *Luoghi comuni. Vedutisti stranieri a Roma tra il XVIII e il XIX secolo*, Rome: Campisano: 13-32.

TOZZI-D'AMELIO 2014

TOZZI S., A.M. D'AMELIO (eds.), 2014. *Luoghi comuni. Vedutisti stranieri a Roma tra il XVIII e il XIX secolo*, Rome: Campisano.

VALENTI PROSPERI RODINÒ 2014

VALENTI PROSPERI RODINÒ S., 2014. "«O Roma, mia patria, città dell'anima». Il mito di Roma e della campagna romana nei pittori e incisori francesi, inglesi e tedeschi del XVIII e XIX secolo", in S. TOZZI, A.M. D'AMELIO (eds.), *Luoghi comuni. Vedutisti stranieri a Roma tra il XVIII e il XIX secolo*, Rome: Campisano: 9-12.

WALDIE 1820

WALDIE J., 1820. *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, London: J. Murray.

WOODS 1828

WOODS J., 1828. *Letters of an Architect from France Italy and Greece*, London: John and Arthur Arch.



Fig. 1 – C. Knight, Map of the Campagna (KNIGHT 1805).

Fig. 2 – C. Labruzzi, Continuazione dei Sepolcri antichi sulla Via Appia (LABRUZZI 1794, tav. 18).





Fig. 3a – W. Turner, La Riccia (HAKEWILL 1820).

Fig. 3b – W. Turner, Tomb of Cecilia Metella (HAKEWILL 1820).



Fig. 4a – A. De Marchis, Paesaggio Laziale (Rome, Biblioteca Corsini; Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Fondo Corsini; Fondo Corsini; scatola 70).

Fig. 4b – A. De Marchis, Tomb of Cecilia Metella with a view of the Via Appia Antica (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Western Art Print Room, Western Art, WA1925.342.41.3)



Fig. 5 – E. Frances Batty, La Riccia (BATTY 1820, pl. 36).

Fig. 6 – J. Woods, Temple of Rediculus (WOOD 1828).



Fig. 7 – W. Gell, The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity, 1834 (BSR 600.784.3).