<http://www.diva-portal.org>

This is the published version of a chapter published in *Rome and the guidebook tradition: from the Middle Ages to the 20th century*.

Citation for the original published chapter:

Blennow, A., Fogelberg Rota, S. (2019)

Introduction

In: Anna Blennow och Stefano Fogelberg Rota (ed.), *Rome and the guidebook tradition: from the Middle Ages to the 20th century* (pp. 1-32). Berlin / Boston: Walter de Gruyter

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110615630-001>

N.B. When citing this work, cite the original published chapter.

Permanent link to this version:

<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:umu:diva-158293>

Introduction

Rome as the guidebook city

Rome is a paradox embodied in a city. It is both alive and buried, both pagan and Christian, both a small Mediterranean village and the historical centre of the western world. Rome is, and has for a very long time been, a place extraordinarily charged with preconceptions and prescriptions concerning cultural and historical heritage. Guidebooks to the city have, from the Middle Ages and onward, played a central role in the development of the iconic image of a place that constitutes a non-negotiable “must-see”. Nowhere is this fact clearer than in guidebooks’ instructions about how to experience Rome. It suffices to take a look into any contemporary guidebook: “It is simply the most fascinating city in Italy – and arguably in the world”; “Rome is one of the most celebrated cities of the world”; “few cities make quite so indelible an impression”.¹

Hyperbole forms part of any guidebook’s rhetorical elements, yet in the case of Rome, these features are, for historical and sociocultural reasons – which will be unveiled in this book – more intensely highlighted than elsewhere. The guidebook quotes above create great expectations, both *in* the tourist and *upon* the tourist, of an aesthetical, cultural and historical experience that is more overwhelming and emotionally forceful than almost anything.

Thus, the obligation to visit Rome has never been put into doubt, although driven by different aims at different times. But *how* should it be visited? That is a task that has occupied writers of guidebooks to Rome for as many centuries as the city has constituted one of the most visited places in the western world. As a consequence of this, a literary commonplace was developed early on, with the statement that even a lifetime would not be enough for seeing all that Rome has to offer. Already in the thirteenth century, the Rome traveller Magister Gregorius (“Master Gregory”) writes in his *Narratio De Mirabilibus Urbis Romae* (“The Marvels of Rome”) that Rome contains so much worthy of seeing, that all of it cannot possibly be seen, much less described, by anyone.²

When the contemporary guidebooks motivate why Rome is such an outstanding place to visit, they mostly go back to two aspects: history and continuity. Of course, Rome is also a treasure when it comes to art, but so are many other cities. History and continuity, on the other hand, seem to be the core of the experience of Rome. The *Blue*

¹ Dunford (2014) 4; Macadam (2000) 8, 59.

² Osborne (1987) chapter 19: *Sed cui contigit universa palatia urbis Romae sermone prosequi, cum nemini, ut arbitror, universa videre contingat?*

Guide explains: “it is above all the sense of history that is so pervasive (...) History is writ large upon the streets and *piazze* of Rome, and it is impossible for the visitor, however casual, not to engage with it.”³ But history also demands the traveller be well prepared: “knowing at least some Roman history is crucial to an understanding of the city”, writes *Rough Guide* in its chapter about history;⁴ “Rome was a city that counted, and this is writ largely on its historic streets”, repeats *Lonely Planet*, and states that “The legacies of its past are embodied in awe-inspiring buildings such as the Roman Forum, the Pantheon and the Vatican”.⁵ But history seems to be no closed chapter in Rome; on the contrary, the visitor to Rome is expected to feel part of this tradition, the ever-developing phases of history heaped up to present-day street level: “all these various eras crowd in on one another to an almost overwhelming degree”.⁶

A traveller in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often stayed for weeks, months, or years in Rome; the late nineteenth-century editions of the Baedeker guidebooks to Rome join in to this tradition by stating that a short visit is not enough to experience the overwhelming impression that Rome makes upon the visitor.⁷ The modern-day traveller, though, is usually confined to even less than a week, perhaps only a weekend, to explore the eternal city. The guidebooks and its readers are consequently confronted with a serious problem: how can the Rome experience be squeezed into a short span of time, and with what result? If the literary commonplace that a lifetime is not enough for seeing Rome suggests to travellers that they are obliged to see as much as possible during their visit, contemporary guidebooks seem to want to put their readers at ease by releasing them from that obligation. Tourists are instead literally advised to not try to “do Rome”, to not embark on an all-inclusive sight-seeing tour, and to not check off all the most important monuments on the must-see lists traded during centuries of pious or pagan pilgrimage. If a tourist tried to do all those things, he or she would be doomed to fail, and suffer exhaustion, Stendhal syndrome and disillusion – the most dangerous risks a traveller can encounter. *Rough Guide* writes that “it is not possible to see everything that Rome has to offer in one visit”, that “you could spend a month here and still only scratch the surface”.⁸ In fact, the traveller can never be predisposed for the impressions that await in Rome: “However much they

³ Macadam (2000) 59.

⁴ Dunford (2014) 308.

⁵ Garwood/Blasi (2012) 2, 6.

⁶ Dunford (2014) 4.

⁷ “Ihren überwältigenden Eindruck fruchtbar zu verarbeiten reicht ein kurzer Besuch nicht aus.” Baedeker (1926) XXXIII.

⁸ Dunford (2014) 4–8.

may have read, and no matter how well travelled they are, no one is ever quite prepared for the exuberant confusion of the city.”⁹

The emotional response of the individual to places of cultural and historical interest is commonly seen as a product of the Romantic era. This effect of Rome upon the visitor goes much further back than that. In the thirteenth-century *Narratio de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae*, Master Gregory admires the view over the city, gets overwhelmed by the many towers and palaces “which no human being can count”, and concludes that Rome either is built by human labour or, perhaps rather, by magic arts. Rome’s grandeur is “incomprehensible” and of “inestimable value”. Gregory is, across the centuries, closely related to any romantic Rome traveller, as well as to a long line of Romans by adoption, from Queen Christina of Sweden to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, born anew in the same moment they entered the eternal city.¹⁰ As in Lord Byron’s renowned verses from *Childe Harold’s pilgrimage* (1812–1818) – “Oh Rome! my country! city of the soul! / The orphans of the heart must turn to thee” – the eternal city is not only a place of history and tradition, but also of feelings and passions. Rome, as this book will argue, is the guidebook city also because of the city’s capacity to establish emotional ties with its visitors. The strong sense of belonging that attached whole generations of travellers to the Eternal City are also, at least to a certain extent, the result of guidebooks’ instructions on how to visit the city.

The “Topos and Topography” project and the study of guidebooks to Rome

Prior to the present volume, no academic in-depth study of the history of guidebooks to Rome has been performed. Earlier research has been performed mostly by art historians and book historians, whose main interest has been notices about the antiquities and art collections of the city, as well as the typology and printing history of the guidebooks. This is typically illustrated by Ludwig Schudt’s classical opus *Le guide di Roma. Materialien zu einer Geschichte der römischen Topographie* from 1930, as Arnold Witte, Eva van Kemenade, Niels Graaf, and Joëlle Terburg show in their

⁹ Dunford (2014) 322.

¹⁰ Osborne (1987) chapter 1: ... *de mirabilibus urbis Romae quae vel arte magica vel humano labore sunt condita. Vehementius igitur admirandam censeo totius urbis inspectionem, ubi tanta seges turrium, tot aedificia palationum, quot nulli hominum contigit enumerare. Quam cum primo a latere montis alonge vidissem, stupefactam mentem meam illud Caesarianum subiit, quod quondam victis Gallis cum Alpes supervolaret inquit, magnae miratus moenia Romae (...) Cuius incomprehensibilem decorem diu admirans deo apud me gratias egi, qui magnus in universa terra ibi opera hominum inaestimabili decore mirificavit.*

contribution to the present volume. In 2000, Sergio Rossetti published an inventory catalogue of guidebooks to Rome up to 1899, containing brief bibliographical notes for each of the 2457 works listed. Nicholas Parsons and Massimo Pazienti published popular-science oriented overviews of the history of guidebooks in 2007 and 2013 respectively; Pazienti with a focus on guidebooks to Rome.¹¹

The only attempt to establish a theoretic framework for the study of guidebooks was made by Esmond S. de Beer in a short article from 1952, where the author underlined the difficulties in defining guidebooks as a “class”, since a wide range of books in fact can serve as guides. Despite these typological stumbling blocks, de Beer singled out guidebooks as “impersonal, systematic, and designed for an overriding purpose”. The “decisive feature of the class”, according to de Beer, was defined as a “combination of inventory and itinerary”.¹²

The scope of the “Topos and Topography” project – based at the Swedish Institute in Rome 2013–2016 and led by Anna Blennow and Stefano Fogelberg Rota – has been to broaden the theory and method of guidebook studies by examining not only the information presented in the guidebooks, but also the identities of the authors, readers, and of Rome itself, and how travellers, texts and topography interact and interrelate over time in a constantly changing, yet surprisingly stable continuum. The historical approach of our investigations has been aimed at detecting the different characters and forms that the guidebook adopted over time, with focus on the city of Rome. Our research questions have centred upon which elements, functions, and strategies contribute to shaping these identities, and how the literary tradition of the guidebook has evolved up to this day. As we argue, the guidebook as such is a product of the complex travel culture that developed in Rome from the early Middle ages and onward – Rome, as no other historical place, is “the guidebook city”. Thus, not only are the texts the focus of this investigation, but also the place, the travellers or readers, and the inhabitants of the eternal city, which is, by a contradictory definition, constantly renewing itself. Rome’s renewals stand out, both in the guidebooks and in related writings, as always carried out in accordance within a strong tradition.

Also concerning chronology, this book proposes an original approach to the subject. The ambition of the “Topos and Topography” project has been to apply a *longue durée* perspective on guidebooks to Rome. Thus, the chapters of this book start off with the renowned Einsiedeln manuscript from around 800 CE and extend all the way up to the early twentieth century and the era of mass tourism. Such a vast timespan entails of course both problems and possibilities. If it goes without saying that it is impossible to be fully consistent and complete within the framework of a

¹¹ Schudt (1930); de Beer (1952); Rossetti (2000); Parsons (2007); Pazienti (2013). Sergio Rossetti (1933–2013) was also a collector of guidebooks to Rome – his library was sold at a Sotheby’s auction in Palazzo Serbelloni in Milan on February 20, 2018.

¹² de Beer (1952) 36.

single project, such an approach nevertheless prompts a variety of comparisons regarding the conditions of travelling throughout the centuries, as well as the different descriptions of the city.

Important focal points along this timeline have been identified by the project as the eighth–ninth centuries (the *Einsiedeln* manuscript), the twelfth century (the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*), the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the flourishing antiquarian studies as well as the powerful ideological turn of the Counter-Reformation, and the second half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries with the appearance of large-scale guidebook series such as Baedeker, and the birth of mass tourism. The lack of focus on the eighteenth century, a period that has long dominated research on historical travel literature to Rome, might strike the reader as surprising.¹³ This absence is not only due to the ambition of the authors of this book to embark upon a new path in this field of studies, but also to the fact that guidebooks from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as this publication will serve to show, to a great extent paved the way for the guidebooks of the following century. In fact, several influential guidebooks of the seventeenth century were reprinted and used during the eighteenth century, such as Fioravante Martinelli's *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (1644). Instead, the eighteenth century can be regarded, along with the nineteenth century, as the “travelogue era”, in which travel writing was frequent and manifold. The rhetorical elements and literary topoi from these narratives would also later influence guidebooks in the continuous interchange between these two types of texts that have been active throughout the history of the guidebook. A separate, thorough study on how guidebooks and travelogues interacted during this period would be very important for both guidebook studies and travel studies in general.

Guidebooks, travel literature and genre

The question of whether guidebooks in general, and guidebooks to Rome in particular, can be said to constitute a genre of their own has been addressed from the very beginning of the project in 2013. Guidebooks have in previous research often been incorporated into the broader genre of travel literature without much problematizing.¹⁴

¹³ Among the countless studies concerned with the phenomenon of the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century it will do here to refer to the works of Jeremy Black (2003) and of Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini (1996), as well as of Attilio Brilli (1995) and Cesare De Seta (2001). See also the essential work by Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour* (1999).

¹⁴ See for example the entry in *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*: “The genre of travel literature includes outdoor literature, exploration literature, adventure literature, nature writing, and the guidebook, as well as accounts of visits to foreign countries. The subgenre of travel journals, diaries and direct records of a traveller's experiences, dates back to Pausanias in the second century AD and James Boswell's 1786 *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*.” Cuddon (1999) 937.

Although the complex nature of guidebooks seems to impede a univocal answer to this question, the project members have been able to complicate, nuance and explain the particular functions and uses of guiding texts, giving new evidence for affirming that guidebooks should be conceived of as a literary category of their own.

One of the most important arguments for regarding guidebooks as a separate genre is that they, unlike travel literature in general, are meant to be read and consulted in, or in a close relation to, a specific place. Travel literature in general concerns journeys undertaken by an author persona, while guidebooks are structured to fit the situation that their reader is in a foreign place, in need of guidance. However, a guidebook is something more than just a technical instruction about how to get to a place or from one place to another – it also contains an aim for visiting a place, and a reason behind that aim.

In travel literature in general, the author describes a journey of his or her own in the first person. The reader can travel in the footsteps of the author, often in search of the same sensations the author has described; that is however not an indispensable part of the reading practice. In a guidebook, on the other hand, the author describes a specific journey or visit as a theoretical structure, which is supposed to serve as instructions for other persons making the same journey, be it in reality or in imagination. Travel literature often describes a journey that is already completed, while guidebooks are written in order to be fulfilled only when the reader makes his or her real or imaginary visit to the place described; a guidebook is partly an “incomplete” work until used by the reader. The guidebook and the place are together creating a theatrical performance that the reader either can behold or participate in, and where nothing exists until it is acted upon. Therefore, guidebooks are, maybe to a higher extent than any other literary product, based upon the needs of the traveller, be it practical, behavioural, or moral. Further, the “now” of travel literature and of guidebooks serves to define an evident difference between the two genres. In guidebooks, the “now” of the text is highly accentuated, and lies outside the very book, in the imaginary moment when the reader visits the place described within the guidebook. In travel literature, on the other hand, the “now” is the author’s “now” – the moment when the journey described in the book was undertaken. However, a historical “then” can always, and does often, appear in both genres, in order to describe the history of a place – but always related to the author’s or reader’s “now”.

As a consequence of this, we have focused on not only what guidebooks are and what they contain, but also on what they do, what their functions are, and what effect these functions exert on the reader/traveller. Some of the research questions posed in this book are: How is the description of the city organized in order to be read and also performed by the reader/traveller? How is the visit to a city translated into words, chapters, and rhetorical structures? In the following paragraphs, we will address and analyse the rhetorical and structural aspects of place, text and author, and traveller/reader, that appear in guidebooks over time, and then go into greater detail regarding the genre and tradition of the guidebook.

The place: Rome

The geographical focus for the “Topos and Topography” project has, as mentioned above, been the city of Rome. This choice was made from the assumption that the concept of the guidebook to a certain extent was born in Rome, and our study has very clearly shown that a place or a city itself is an active factor in the development of a guidebook. While some structural elements of guidebooks may be applicable to any region, country or city, a guidebook to Rome can never be the same as a guidebook to Paris, New York or Palmyra. Every place on earth has its predefined literary topoi, its prejudiced characterization, its point of departure for meaning-making.

If Rome, thus, is the *terra d’origine* for the guidebook, what factors made Rome into the “guidebook city”? The unique position Rome acquired in the early Middle Ages as both a frequent travel destination and a complex cultural heritage site created a multi-layered need for guidance which was to become influential on guidebooks and city descriptions to come, from the Middle Ages onward. That Rome supplanted Jerusalem as the most important Christian pilgrimage goal from the early Middle Ages turned Rome into a new Jerusalem, and Christian Rome settled into the physical structure of ancient Rome. The fact that the main cultural and religious characteristics of the city were to a great extent invisible – on the one hand, the religious elements such as the indulgences, and the power that was believed to be exerted by the relics of the saints, and on the other hand, the ever more fragmentary remains of classical Antiquity – created a strong need for information, explanation and reconstruction.¹⁵ But at the same time, Rome also made a powerful visual and physical impression on its visitors. With time, several of the Christian cult places developed into the grandest and most exquisitely ornamented churches and basilicas of the Western world, and the remains of ancient Rome were, although increasingly fragmentized, towering majestically high over the travellers. Thus, the use of hyperbolic descriptions – such as the one by Master Gregory with which we opened this introduction – that were to form part of any guidebook’s rhetorical strategies was already built into the experience of Rome.

This double – or multiple – identity of Rome as both a concept and a city, both an idea and a physical actuality, contributed to creating a tension between the real and the ideal in descriptions and experiences of the city. Roman realities were bearers of ideals and ideas, and imagination and idealism often served as strategies for narrating, constructing and reconstructing Rome. This distinction became even more complex from the fact that visitors often had a detailed prior knowledge of the city from descriptions and depictions, and these, as well as Rome’s position in Western cultural canon, raised both the travellers’ expectations and their duties. Rome was

¹⁵ For the visibility/invisibility of Rome in the early modern period, see for example Delbeke/Morel (2012).

familiar beforehand for almost any visitor, and yet unknown – it was only through travelling that this knowledge could be transformed into tangible reality, and made meaningful and understandable through individual empirical experience.

The tension between real and ideal became even more pronounced when archaeology emerged as a scientific discipline. Previously, the classical texts had served as the main bearers of authority for historical facts, and the Renaissance had contributed with a newly-born antiquarian interest in architectural history. But from the second half of the nineteenth century, systematic archaeological excavations uncovered “the past” by digging it up, and this “past” carried the notion of a physical “truth”, something that made great impact on the authoritative discourse in the guidebooks. The fact that several pasts have always been very present in Rome also raises the issue about which past the guidebook wants to connect with, in the palimpsest of historical layers that Rome often is described as. Every city has its history, but in Rome, the past is felt to exist in the present to a higher extent than in other, less culturally encoded cities, both as a practice established by cultural tradition, and as visually manifested in the urban space.

But Rome is not only a kaleidoscopic weave where every historical period is present. Several thematic divisions of the physical contents of the city have been made in guidebooks over time in an effort to find order among the ruins. Christian Rome was, to begin with, treated separately in early Medieval itineraries and guides, where ancient Rome was physically absent; late Antique regionary catalogues, on the other hand, did not mention any of the Christian monuments present in the city from the beginning of the fourth century. In the later Middle Ages, these two entities of the city became intermingled ideologically and topographically, but from the Renaissance, a division into “ancient” and “modern” Rome emerged in the guidebooks, where “modern” most often was equal to “Christian”.¹⁶ But the descriptions of “modern” Rome also served to enhance the great contemporary production of culture, art and architecture of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. From the nineteenth century and on, however, this distinction gradually disappears, which perhaps can be seen as an indication that visitors now saw Rome as one entity, one cultural heritage site.

The physical, cultural, religious and political changes of any city call for updated and revised descriptions in guidebooks as well as in other literature. Although eternal Rome in some aspects seems to change very slowly, the loss that is implied in any change has always been embedded in the descriptions of the city: loss of the splendour of the ancient monuments; loss of the picturesque and the experienced authenticity through demolition and exploitation. The vanity of all worldly things is both historically, culturally and religiously imbued in the city of Rome, to such an

¹⁶ Delbeke/Morel (2012) wanted to include also “sacred” Rome as a concept separate from “modern” Rome.

extent that the city as a whole often has signified loss as a both powerful and poetic symbol of vanity in countless laments, both in literature in general and in guidebooks specifically.

Yet a city is more than its monuments, art and architecture. The inhabitants of Rome are often absent from idealistic city descriptions, but with the changing needs and aims of the visitors, also the daily life of Rome seeps into the guidebooks. The idea of Rome as a theatre of the world – *Theatrum Mundi* – is a frequent concept in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; a theatre that the visitor both can behold and partake in. Ceremonial etiquette and practical advice appears in guidebooks of the seventeenth century, ethnographical observations and picturesque voyeurism (from a safe distance) in the centuries to come, until the traveller is entrusted to enter into contact with the locals and their customs from the twentieth century on, ironically at the same time as major European cities turn increasingly globalized, something that gradually diminishes their foreignness.

The text and the author

Despite the presence of the city, it is in the text that the meeting place between author and reader is located. It is in the text, and through it, that the identities of these two categories are shaped and developed. The text and the guidebook can be said to form the “third place” between imaginary and real that Edward Soja has discussed regarding spatial theory.¹⁷ As much as the structure of the city influences the guidebook, the guidebook and its narratives in turn shape and construct the city. So how does this construction take place?

At the core of the guidebook structure – as well as at the core of the need for a guidebook in the first place – is the organization of knowledge. The guidebook wants to establish boundaries for knowledge, and order it, thereby appropriating the known and the unknown world for the benefit of the reader/traveller. The guidebook must apply order to the “chaos” of the city and the indescribability of Rome.¹⁸

This organization and ordering can be done in several ways: thematically, topographically, and chronologically. As Anna Bortolozzi demonstrates in her chapter, a thematic structure is found in Andrea Palladio's *L'Antichità di Roma* (1554), which groups the ancient monuments of Rome together according to their function: temples, baths, bridges and hills are listed as inventory subgroups of the entity that is Rome. This technique is found already in the late Antique regionary catalogues of Rome, as well as in the twelfth-century *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, and given Palladio's explicit contempt for the *Mirabilia* expressed in the preface to *L'Antichità di Roma*,

¹⁷ Soja (1996).

¹⁸ See for example Fogelberg Rota in this volume.

where he deemed the Medieval tradition as “full of astounding lies”,¹⁹ his dependence on the late Antique and Medieval tradition in this case is even more noteworthy. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks have, thus, described Palladio’s guidebooks as “transitional”, representing two types of history: the Medieval anecdotic one and the rational “modern” one.²⁰ The city becomes an encyclopaedic catalogue, less suited to the practical use of an actual visitor to the city.

A loosely chronological organization is instead found in Henrik Schück’s early twentieth-century book *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* (“*Rome. A Passage Through the Centuries*”) and is, as Frederick Whitling shows in his chapter, typical for a historically-oriented guidebook such as Schück’s. A chronological structure indicates that systematic guidance through eras and periods of history, art, and architecture is more desirable than the practicality of a visit to the city.

The most common way to organize a guidebook, however, is topographically, and often through itineraries and suggested routes through the city. A topographical structure makes it easier to organize a visit in a limited period of time, something which has been crucial for many a visitor from Medieval pilgrims to contemporary tourists. Since the early Medieval itineraries to the martyr tombs outside the city walls, this way of organizing a guidebook has been applied by the anonymous author of the Medieval *Einsiedeln* manuscript, Bartholomeo Marliano and Andrea Palladio in the sixteenth century, Fioravante Martinelli in the seventeenth century, Karl Baedeker in the nineteenth century and Ellen Rydelius in the twentieth century, just to mention examples from the guidebook works studied within the “Topos and Topography” project.

The way of constructing and presenting itineraries differs slightly over time. As Anna Blennow shows in her chapter, the *Einsiedeln* manuscript created itineraries as lists of monuments from one city gate to another, without indication of the time needed for completing them. A clear time division is found in *Le cose maravigliose dell’alma città di Roma*, edited by Girolamo Franzini in 1588, where an itinerary structure of three days, *giornate*, is presented *per li forastieri, che vengono per vedere le Antichità di Roma* (for the foreigners who come to see the antiquities of Rome).²¹ Andrea Palladio divided his description of the churches of Rome into four sections, though with no indication of the amount of time needed for each route.²² Fioravante Martinelli used the clear division into daily itineraries, augmented to ten days, and Giuseppe Vasi in the eighteenth century composed an eight-day route structure to be used together with his grand map of Rome.²³ Even if proper itineraries were not

¹⁹ Hart/Hicks (2006) fol. I.

²⁰ Hart/Hicks (2006) li.

²¹ Cantatore (2012) 79 v.

²² Hart/Hicks (2006) xlviii–xlix.

²³ Vasi (1765a) 9: “Itinerario istruttivo, diviso in otto stagioni o giornate, per ritrovare con facilità tutte le magnificenze antiche e moderne di Roma” (Instructive itinerary, divided into eight stages or days, in order to easily find all the ancient and modern magnificences of Rome).

included in the Baedeker guide, a recommendation was given for the length of the stay (not less than two weeks).²⁴ Ellen Rydelius's whole series of guidebooks to European cities published in the mid-twentieth century, including Rome, had "eight days" in their very title, such as *Rom på 8 dagar* (*Rome in eight days*), as shown by Carina Burman's study in the present volume.

The topographical organization stands out as the most user-friendly for an actual visitor, and is often constructed explicitly upon the needs of the traveller. The itineraries often start at places conveniently close to where the traveller would stay – *ponte S. Angelo* for the Medieval pilgrim, *via dell'Orso* in Fioravante Martinelli's guidebook, and near the Spanish Steps for Rydelius's readers. However, itineraries tell us not only about the city, but also, indirectly, about the context and identity of the travellers. What did visitors need and want to see in various periods of time? Were the tours through the city directed by duty or leisure, by detailed and learned curiosity or hurried ticking off of top-ten monuments? During the field studies of the "Topos and Topography" project, we compared the descriptions of various monuments as well as itineraries and routes over time in our respective guidebooks from the Middle Ages up to and including the first half of the twentieth century. In a performative and synchronic reading, the cultural layers in the history of the guidebook have, thus, been enhanced, and through the movement established by the guidebook, the project has partly been able to reconstruct and analyse the aims and target groups of the guidebooks, as well as the historical topography of Rome (see *Appendix I* and *II* in this volume). In places with a long touristic history, such as Rome, itineraries in guidebooks over time will also inevitably create intensified patterns of touristic movement in the very structure of the city itself, which then will make it possible for a traveller to navigate even without the help of a book.

A topographical tool for understanding the structure as well as the beauty of the city is the description of views. Ever since Master Gregory in the thirteenth century wrote about how he beheld Rome from afar, encompassing the overwhelming multitude of monuments therein, views have been used as a pedagogical feature in the guidebooks, as well as imitated in early maps of Rome, often using the view from the Gianicolo hill, as in Giuseppe Vasi's *Prospetto d'Alma Città di Roma Visto dal Monte Gianicolo* from 1765.²⁵ A view divides distant objects into ordered units, and also sometimes makes a closer visit superfluous. That a view is both pedagogic and aesthetic is apparent from the Baedeker guidebook's account of the view from the Pincio: the dome of St. Peter's will catch the eye at first through its magnificence, then various monuments to the left and to the right are described in order, framed by Monte Mario and its cypresses to the right, and the Gianicolo with its pine trees to the left.²⁶

²⁴ Baedeker (1926) XI–XII.

²⁵ Vasi (1765b).

²⁶ "Von der westlichen Terrasse hat man eine berühmte Aussicht, die besonders durch den Blick auf die über dem neuen Prati-Viertel riesengroß aufragende Peterskuppel immer aufs neue fesselt; r. vom

The itinerary structure also implies certain ways to address and guide the reader rhetorically. The imperative to move can be expressed in various ways, but always needs to be of a practical and clear composition. From the seventh century on, this is often achieved by using verbs in the second person, and often in the future tense, such as “you will find”, “you will see”, “you enter”, and so on.²⁷ But who is the sender of this information? This leads us to the question of the author’s voice in the guidebooks, as well as the authority of that discourse. How is the reader addressed, and by whom?

To begin with, the preface of a guidebook is, through the centuries, a very important arena for constructing and establishing the identities of author and reader respectively, as is shown for example by Fogelberg Rota in this volume concerning Fioravante Martinelli and his readers. In the foreword, descriptions of the genesis of the book is also often found. A recurring topos has shown to be the reference to friends of the author, on whose advice or request the guidebook has been initiated. From Master Gregory in the thirteenth century to Fioravante Martinelli in the seventeenth century and Ellen Rydelius in the twentieth, the friends also become a guarantee for both the need for a guidebook, and the author’s capacity and suitability to write it.²⁸

In the foreword, addresses to patrons can also be found, as well as poems with a place-specific theme, and very frequently literary quotes from earlier authors. The mark of authenticity and reliability, that every guidebook needs, is often created by referring to earlier literary sources: in Medieval and Renaissance texts, references are made to classical authors – poets as well as historians – and in later guidebooks to antiquarians and archaeologists. In guidebooks to Rome, this practice is especially enhanced because of the extreme historical complexity of the city. Thus, the authority of the guidebook is often brought in from the context outside the book itself, because the production of knowledge necessarily is located outside the frames of the guidebook – no author could handle, structure and present the history and topography of Rome without sources. The information can be presented openly, with reference to the works consulted, or more veiled: *The Voyage of Italy*, the renowned guidebook of Richard Lassells from 1670, has, for example, partly copied the itineraries created by Fioravante Martinelli in his *Roma Ricercata*, without mentioning this.²⁹ Ellen Rydelius, on the other hand, did not hide the fact that she relied on the

Vatikan der mit Zypressen beplante Monte Mario, l. die Pinien auf dem Janiculum (Passeggiata Margherita); vorn am Tiber, der selbst nicht sichtbar ist, die Engelsburg; von den Gebäuden im diesseitigen Stadtteil treten l. die Kuppelkirchen S. Carlo al Corso und (fern) S. Carlo ai Catinari hervor, dazwischen die flache Kuppel des Pantheons; dann l. das riesige Nationaldenkmal; r. davon der obere Teil der Marc-Aurelsäule auf der Piazza Colonna; l. der Palatin und (näher) der kgl. Palast auf dem Quirinal”. Baedeker (1926) 240.

²⁷ See for example the chapters of Blennow and Fogelberg Rota in this publication.

²⁸ See the chapters of Blennow, Fogelberg Rota, and Burman.

²⁹ See for example Lassells’ description of a tour through Trastevere as compared with Martinelli’s itinerary in the same area. The tour as described by Lassells goes from S. Onofrio with the tomb of Torquato Tasso, along via della Lungara to palazzo Salviati, Villa Chisi, and porta Settimiana.

Baedeker guidebook for historical and practical information; she even recommends that the reader consults the Baedeker for a more in-depth description of the archaeological sites.³⁰ And in the Baedeker, as Sabrina Norlander Eliasson shows in her chapter, scholarly expertise has been summoned especially for the guidebook: the foreword on art by Anton Springer both serves to educate the reader on an advanced level, but also enforce the authority of the book and the editor.

But as a counterweight to the reliance upon sources outside the book, the personal experience of the author is also often used with the same aim to create authenticity and reliability. Again, this is an element found from the Middle Ages (for example in Master Gregory's *Narratio de Mirabilibus*) and right through the Renaissance (in guidebooks by among others Bartolomeo Marliano and Andrea Palladio) and beyond: the reassurance that the author saw, examined and measured every monument, every height and every distance with his or her own eyes, hands and feet.³¹ But for this method to succeed, it is necessary that the author step forward in the text as an identifiable individual, an "I". The voice that is chosen by a guidebook for communication with its readers thus defines both what kind of information can be transmitted, and with which authority. The personal voice of an author is, again, not confined to any specific period, but appears throughout the chronological time-span studied within the "Topos and Topography" project. The personal experience thus presented of an author is perhaps less aimed at being repeated and re-enacted by the reader, than to build the trust between author and reader that will provide on the one hand authority for the author, and, on the other hand, a feeling of safety in the reader. Fioravante Martinelli's underlined identity as "Roman" guaranteed that he knew his subject better than a foreigner would do; Ellen Rydelius's acquaintance with the city after having lived there many years gave her the capacity of describing Rome from the inside, but at the same time with an attentive view on the specific needs of a Swedish reader. Rydelius is also a good example of the modern, friendly, personal guide, who addresses the reader with a "we", just as if Rydelius in person accompanied the reader in the streets of Rome. The notion of experiencing

Lassells describes the gate very similarly to Martinelli: "so called from Septimius Severus, who built here his Therme"; Martinelli: "da Settimio Severo Imperatore che qui edifice le sue Terme". Lassells, similar to Martinelli, then goes on to the fountain of pope Paul V, and to the Franciscan convent and church of S. Pietro in Montorio. There, Lassells says, "you have a fair sight of Rome under you from this Hill. This Hill was anciently called Janiculus; and upon it was buried Statius the Poet, and at the Foot of it Numa Pompilius." Martinelli writes: "Sopra di questo colle fù sepolto Statio poeta; e sotto di esso Numa Pompilio...". Lassells, as Martinelli, then goes downhill to the churches of S. Maria in Scala, S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Francesco in Ripa, S. Cecilia in Trastevere and ends the Trastevere tour at S. Crisogono. Lassells adds some information not found in Martinelli, and does not copy all of the sights of Martinelli's route, but it still remains obvious that Lassells used Martinelli's guide as a framework for his description of Rome. Lassells (1670) II, 44–49; Martinelli (1650) 15–23.

30 See Burman in this volume.

31 See the chapters of Blennow; Bortolozzi; Plahte Tschudi in this volume.

Rome together with someone else was used in the plot of Madame de Staël's influential novel *Corinne, ou l'Italie* (1806), where the poetess Corinne guides the Scotsman Lord Nelvil through Rome during their problematic love affair: "When Oswald and Corinne set out the next day, they were confident and at ease. They were friends who were travelling together. They began to say *we*. Oh, how touching it is when lovers say *we*."³²

Closely related to notions of authority is the question of objectivity and subjectivity in the guidebooks. But subjectivity is not necessarily connected with a subjective guiding voice. A personal voice can also be objective, and, as Frederick Whitling shows, a seemingly un-personalized and anonymous voice can also present very subjective views, something which will inevitably lead to confusion for the reader. Whitling describes how the highly renowned Swedish literature historian Henrik Schück, in his *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*, exemplifies the authoritative guidebook author, who guided his readers to at-the-time-established archaeological, architectural and art-historical canons. But the entangled editorial history of *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna* – which was updated in two different phases between 1949 and 1956 – actualizes the adaptation of the identity of the guidebook author to different contexts; or better yet in this case, the non-adaptation. Classical archaeologist Erik Sjöqvist was given the task to revise Schück's book, in order to include the results of the excavations carried out in the decades since its first edition, with the explicit indication of not altering Schück's style. Whitling discusses the almost schizophrenic and nostalgic results of this endeavour. Equally difficult to ascertain is the target group for Schück's book. The reader might in this case not correspond to the traveller, as opposed to the other guidebooks investigated in the volume, mostly due to the grand format and higher educational claims of the book. However, these appear rather as an ideal that can as equally attract as discourage its reader.

The Baedeker guide is at first glance a masterpiece of dry objectivity, yet, as Sabrina Norlander Eliasson shows in her chapter, value-based and taste-forming discourses are pervading its structure through the system of giving one or two stars to especially worthy monuments, objects and places. This practice refers back to the personal opinions on art history presented in the preface of Anton Springer. In fact, every guidebook, however objective it may seem, often turns out to have a subjective agenda that only can be traced by carefully analysing the identities of author, reader, patrons and the societal and cultural context in which the book was created and used. The claim of science-based knowledge, which characterizes Baedeker's *Mittel-Italien und Rom* (1867), unveils the influence of the authors, who were often recruited among the expanding universities of the time.

The subjectivity in a guidebook is also traceable in what the author has on the one hand included and on the other hand left out of the guidebook. Even though

³² For Rydelius, see Burman in this volume. For *Corinne*, see de Staël (2008) chapter IV, 62.

guidebooks, due to their encyclopaedic nature, want to give the impression of including “everything” in their narratives, their limited format – which needs to be handy and portable – makes necessary both a selective and an “economized” content. Sometimes, things are left out by accident and included in following editions, but often, a reason behind exclusion can be found in the personal opinions and agenda of the author. The early Baedeker editions, for example, left out a great deal of Baroque art due to the art historical taste conventions of the time.

The parallel between a subjective, personal guidebook and a personal guide is obvious, and the author of such a book often tries to embody this role, as does Ellen Rydelius for example. With some exceptions, it is difficult to find traces of the personal guides – who through the centuries must have been even more numerous in Rome than the guidebooks to the city – in travel literature and archival material.³³

The authority of a guidebook – be it gentle and comradely or stern and demanding – also contributes to capturing not only the attention and trust, but also the actions and performances of the reader. A guidebook needs to control the readers’ gaze and taste as well as their movements through the city and behaviour in specific places. Sabrina Norlander Eliasson shows how the Baedeker guide directs and controls the gaze of the reader in every surrounding, and not only describes, but prescribes how the reader is supposed to value the sight. But also the movement of the reader – in the itinerary-based guidebooks – is controlled by the frequent use of words such as left, right, enter, exit, proceed, and so on. In the previous pages, we have seen how the interaction and relation between reader and author is established and negotiated in the guidebooks. But how do authors and guidebooks relate to the identity of their subject, the city of Rome?

In the guidebooks, several kinds of *topoi* collaborate to create the rhetorical strategies for describing Rome to the visitor. Here, as the “*Topos and Topography*” project has discussed, it is important to discern between, on the one hand, general literary *topoi* of a city or place and, on the other hand, guidebook-typical *topoi*. Several of the commonplaces that belong to the literary tradition on Rome – notions that the city is greater than anything, not possible to be described in words or experienced in a lifetime, and a palimpsest of history – are in fact not confined to guidebooks, but appear in any genre. The place-induced *topoi* can, however, be further developed and established by the guidebooks, and so, as in many other cases, guidebooks are acting in a constant interplay not only with the place they describe but also with other literature connected with it. In the same way, the hyperbolic language originally developed to describe the city of Rome can be employed by guidebooks to other cities or countries as well; every place must in

³³ A brief recollection of the history of personal guides, “*ciceroni*”, in Rome is found in the introduction by Laura Bianchini in Sergio Rossetti’s catalogue over printed guidebooks to Rome. Rossetti (2000) XXVII–XXXI. See also Plahte Tschudi (2017) 82–88, for Giovanni Alto and Giovanni Grosso, two famous guides in early seventeenth-century Rome.

some way be presented as unique and not like anywhere else in order to motivate a guidebook about it. Yet, the hyperbolic language, though expected by the reader, can also cause problems in the form of too highly raised expectations, as will be further shown below.

A guidebook to Rome must handle the fact described previously, that the tension between ideal and real, facts and fiction is higher in Rome than in most other places. At the same time, one of the functions of any guidebook is the constant transcending of the boundaries between real and ideal, where the described city becomes a construction that only exists between the covers of the book, based upon the interpretation, mediation and imagination of the author. The palimpsest character of Rome makes a thorough constructional and re-constructional work necessary in order to make the place understandable for the reader. The fragmentary city must be reconstructed, but how and where? In the book, or in the mind of the reader? Should multiple solutions be offered, or only one?

To justify their own existence, guidebooks must make a wholeness out of the fragments. This is especially the practice of the Renaissance guidebooks and archaeological treatises, as Victor Plahte Tschudi and Anna Bortolozzi show in their chapters. Symmetrical and ideal reconstructions were often preferred; a monument was presented as it should have been, not necessarily the way it could have been. Yet, in the empirically based antiquarianism of the sixteenth century, the actual state of a monument could now be accurately delineated, too, instead of an ideal reconstruction of it. Typical for many guidebooks, due to an aim of simplified clarity, is the choice of one specific point in time for describing a monument. Henrik Schück, in his *Rom. En vandring genom seklerna*, stands out for doing the contrary: following a monument, such as the Colosseum or the Capitoline hill, over time, and thus sketching miniature biographies over the architectonical object. Through Schück's description, several shades of the kaleidoscopic palimpsest shine through for the reader.

The necessary imagination of the reader in order to reconstruct and thus understand the monuments is frequently called upon by the guidebooks by evoking emotions and dramatic settings. This strategy seems to be heightened with the historical importance of the place, especially at the Capitoline hill, the Forum and the Colosseum. But proper images have also been used to help the reconstructive process. One of the first illustrated guidebooks is the previously mentioned *Le cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma*, published by Girolamo Franzini in 1588.³⁴ Collections of engravings additionally served to give the reader an accurate and detailed view of a monument, and the emerging print culture helped to prepare the traveller beforehand for the Roman experience. The first occurrence of a map in a guidebook, as further shown by Plahte Tschudi, was in Bartholomeo Marliano's *Urbis Romae*

³⁴ Cantatore (2012).

Topographia from 1534. But in this period, illustrations were still expensive to produce, and most guidebooks left them out for the sake of economy and practicality.³⁵

Another tool for activating the reader's imagination is the practice of letting them travel in the footsteps of another person, whether contemporary, historical or purely fictional. Guidebooks often refer to the fact that a famous individual once visited a monument, that an author once lived in the building, that an artist once painted this view. In this way, a curiosity is awakened in the reader, a new relationship with the place becomes possible, and adventurous walks in the footsteps of a special person enhance the nostalgia of things lost, which is always present in the Roman context. Related to this phenomenon is the fact that almost any book with a certain geographical context could be used as a guidebook, in such a case letting a person or a narrative dictate the experience of the place. But guidebooks can also, in their aim to enhance the reader's education, refer to actual persons to whom the reader is supposed to turn for the sake of information, due to the fact that all the existing facts cannot be crammed into one book. Girolamo Franzini, for example, recommends the reader contact a certain Monsignor Gieronimo Garimberto in the Monte Citorio area, to be shown a multitude of art and sculpture under his guidance.³⁶ Furthermore, epigraphy could be referred to by the guidebooks as providers of information, especially concerning indulgences and relics in churches. In his guidebook to the churches of Rome, Andrea Palladio admits to having taken most of the informative material in his book "from the [papal] bulls that can be consulted in many of these churches, either near the choir or affixed in other places (...) and from very old marble inscriptions."³⁷

Referring to actual persons in Rome of course demands that this person is still to be found in the indicated place. Another necessity for the guidebook is that it be updated with the latest and most accurate information, especially concerning practical facts such as opening times, restaurants, hotels, et cetera. Therefore, regarding the more successful guidebooks, we usually find a multitude of revisions and editions, such as those discussed by Fogelberg Rota and Burman in their chapters regarding the extremely popular and used guidebooks by Martinelli and Rydelius. The fact that the city itself changes over time, as do the needs of the traveller, are other important aspects that can be traced in the cases where we are able to follow a series of editions of the same guidebook over time, most evidently seen in the chapter by Burman on the guidebook of Ellen Rydelius.

³⁵ See for example the chapters of Bortolozzi and Fogelberg Rota in this volume.

³⁶ Cantatore (2012) 84 v: "desiderando di vedere cose rare così in scultura, come in pittura, domandate in monte Citorio la casa di Monsignor Gieronimo Garimberto, vescovo di Galese, che là vi faranno mostrare cose infinite, & tutte rare" (if you wish to see rare sculptures or paintings, ask in the Monte Citorio area for the house of Monsignor Gieronimo Garimberto, Welsh bishop, and there you will be shown infinite and rare things).

³⁷ Hart/Hicks (2006) 97.

Not only are the authors of guidebooks, as we have seen, continually victims of borrowing and plagiarizing, strategies which they adopt in their turn – the systematic building on previous textual traditions described above – but even their names have often been used without their consent. These circumstances are proved by the effort to regulate the editorial system as early as in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when pope Julius II (1503–1513) granted Francesco Albertini the copyright, *privilegio*, to publish his *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris Urbis Romae* (1510). As Victor Plahte Tschudi shows in his chapter, similar regulations aimed not only to protect what we today intend as authors' rights, but also to claim a correct image of the city – that is, the one approved by the papacy.

This instability of the author's position, fluctuating authorship and claims of authority also has notable exceptions, such as Andrea Palladio, as investigated by Anna Bortolozzi in this volume. Palladio was certainly a renowned architect when he wrote his guidebooks to Rome, but his attempt was, as Bortolozzi shows, aimed at legitimising his position as learned. The Paduan architect thus wrote himself into the humanistic tradition, enhancing his prestige and asserting his image of antiquity. His numerous travels to Rome, the references to ancient and modern authors, as well as his method of scientifically measuring the remnants of the ancient city are all directed at asserting his authorship.

Let us now, in conclusion, make a few remarks about the actual book itself as an object. As important as the various rhetorical features of the guidebook for defining a guidebook is its sheer size, and a very small size at that. A guidebook must be possible to bring to the place in question – both Fioravante Martinelli and Ellen Rydelius instruct their readers as if actually walking about with the guidebook in hand. Of course, a guidebook can be consulted at home, before the journey, or read after the completion of it as a tool for memory and nostalgia, but its main physical characteristic must be suited to the fact that the reader will bring it along on the journey. Let us therefore also have a look at the reader of the guidebook, who, literally, brings the volume around on the streets of Rome to find his or her way.

The traveller and the reader

The “Topos and Topography” project has, as previously mentioned, focused not only on the guidebooks and their authors, but also on the travellers and readers, present and traceable indirectly in the frameworks of need and use that have created the guidebooks. The meeting of the individual with the foreign, the traveller as insider or outsider, the positions of the author and reader respectively and their interaction, the nationality and gender of the traveller – all of these questions have been addressed within the project. We have, above all, investigated how the needs of certain travellers in a defined period of time have contributed to the structure of the guidebooks,

something which is related both to the literary critic Hans Robert Jauss's definition of a "horizon of expectation", the expectations and contexts activated by a certain text or genre,³⁸ and to the genre theory of Carolyn Miller regarding need and rhetorical situation, to which we will return below. The development of a guidebook is, therefore, to a great extent connected not only to the place in which it is envisaged and used, but also to the identity of its readers. Author and reader meet through the guidebook as well as in the city, and while the needs of the readers structure the guidebook, the book is, in turn, making demands on the traveller.

To begin with, it is evident that the identities of reader and traveller merge between the covers of a guidebook. A guidebook user can be said to walk through the text in his or her mind, as well as to "read" the city with the help of the guidebook. Although armchair travellers probably use guidebooks for imaginary travels as often as actual travellers use them in the place of destination, the guidebook, in its character as an incomplete work, is completed only when the reader uses it *in situ*. Thus, the performative acts of the reader are needed in order to obtain a functional guidebook, and the guidebook structure, with all its force, tries to support the reader in this achievement. But, as the project studies have made clear, this arduous activity by the guidebook can also put the reader at risk, if the task to perform becomes too complex to handle.

The movement through the city into which the guidebook directs its reader is, in the case of Rome, highly focused on walking as the means of getting around. Walking is also one of the performative acts that the reader must undertake to fulfil the guidebook's contract – to "read" Rome by walking through it and, in this way, remembering and re-enacting the historical structures that are no longer visible in the cityscape. Yet, it is probable that the traveller who could afford it went by carriage or horse, and from the late nineteenth century and forward, via trams and cars. The highlighted walking can instead be seen as connected with the long tradition of pilgrimage, and the authenticity and toil that comes with that religiously tinted experience. But walking can also be seen as a way of perceiving the measures, distances and views of the city in the humanism-coloured empirical practice in examples such as Bartholomeo Marliano's *Urbis Romae Topographia*, with focus on actual experience rather than reliance on the classical authors.

Walking as perception and walking as a cultural phenomenon are frequently addressed in contemporary discourse. Rebecca Solnit's book *Wanderlust* (2001) discussed the political, aesthetic, and social meaning of walking in history and fiction. Lauren Elkin, in her *Flâneuse* from 2016, wrote that "Walking is mapping with your feet. It helps you piece a city together, connecting up neighbourhoods that might otherwise have remained discrete entities, different planets bound to each other, sustained yet remote". While walking is perhaps imbedded in the cultural history of Rome to a greater extent than in other cities, the very act of walking is a general

³⁸ Jauss/Benzinger 1970.

signifier of travelling and experiencing, and further studies of the guidebook tradition for cities other than Rome would elucidate the question of how and if the walking practice as recommended by guidebooks differs in the respective geographical locations. As to the practice of walking, the concept of “silent walks” was presented by doctoral student Jilke Golbach, UCL, at one of the workshops of the “Topos and Topography” project, and the project members also engaged in a silent walk led by Golbach through the city of Rome.³⁹

But walking also makes the traveller come into close contact with the potential dangers of the city, such as dirt, exhaustion, and local inhabitants. The Baedeker guide explicitly wanted its readers to avoid such threats at all cost, making the traveller independent from the local context, yet securely able to appreciate the sights of the city with the guidebook as its protection. As has been evident during the field studies of the “Topos and Topography” project, many of the proposed itineraries of the guidebooks are in fact not possible to complete in the time frame stated by the guidebook. Thus, the itineraries always constitute a risk of making the reader miss out on the expected experience by presenting too much information and too many sightseeing stops. Even Ellen Rydelius, who otherwise advises the reader to have a leisurely and playful attitude to the journey, does her utmost to include as much as possible in her itineraries.

The hyperbolic language, as mentioned previously, is another potential risk for the reader. Non-realized anticipations of overwhelmedness can lead to disappointment and delusion. The cultural obligation to visit Rome is not, and has never been, an easily manageable activity. To travel means a loss of a lot of things: security, safety, and control, as well as a loss of home (even though the rhetoric of the guidebooks underlines that the true home for everyone in Western culture is Rome). The guidebooks, interestingly, do not address this issue. It is instead often found in travel literature, where the testimonial of an, often unsuccessful, arrival in Rome, which gradually is substituted with a growing love for the city, until the traveller is regarding him or herself as a true citizen of Rome at the point of departure, has become a recurring topos.⁴⁰

Just as walking to a certain extent could be seen as historically entangled with the travellers’ experience of Rome, the religious aspect of the visit is something that is also deeply rooted in the discourse about the journey to Rome and the expected experience of the visitor. The entire map of early itineraries in Rome was drawn up by

³⁹ Golbach’s silent walk was inspired by a similar event, “Walking Methodologies – A Silent Circle, held by the UCL Urban Laboratory, London, in April 2014.

⁴⁰ See for example H. V. Morton’s *A Traveller in Rome* (first published 1957): “Could this be my balcony? Was this the place I had been dreaming of for weeks? I could see nothing but the building opposite, which had been carelessly splashed with brown limewash many years ago.” Morton (1987) 15. Nathaniel Hawthorne in *The Marble Faun* (first published 1860) describes in an often-quoted passage how a traveller, who has left Rome tired, worn out and sick at heart, by and by discovers to their astonishment that “our heart-strings have mysteriously attached themselves to the Eternal City, and are drawing us thitherward again, as if it were more familiar, more intimately our home, than even the spot where we were born!” Hawthorne (2002) 294–295.

the need and practice of Medieval pilgrims to visit sanctuaries and martyr tombs all around the city, and these route structures were further consolidated in early modern Rome. The awe that is part of the horizon of expectation both of the individual traveller and of the guidebook rhetoric has also been closely related to the religious and the notion of sacred objects over time. The experience of art, historical monuments and archaeological remains during the visit to Rome has a double function of enhancing the religious sentiments of the believer, and creating an aesthetical emotion of wonder and awe in the non-believer. This duality is sometimes acted upon in the guidebooks, depending on their agenda, such as in Martinelli's *Roma Ricercata*, where it is explicitly stated that the very exposure of sacred art and venerable treasures on the traveller could, or should, lead him or her on the path towards the true faith. The tension between Protestantism and Catholicism is constantly inducing rhetorical strategies in post-reformation guidebooks, and the traveller could never be unaware of the performances, materiality, and aestheticism of religion that pervade all parts of the city. The foreignness of the religious ceremonies for a non-Catholic, or a Catholic of a different creed, is in the guidebooks presented as a constant source of curiosity – from the Einsiedeln manuscript and on – as well as potential danger, and is also included in the notions on the picturesque found in guidebooks from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

But because this awe and wonder is part of the horizon of expectation, just as in the case of the hyperbolic language described above, the traveller again runs a risk of not being able to reach the grade of emotions wanted and expected. Contemporary, everyday life is something that often represents this threat in guidebooks from post 1870, when Rome emerged as the modern capital of the newly formed nation of Italy (see Whitling and Burman in this volume). Traffic, alterations in the cityscape, and also tourism itself is described as disturbing for the traveller in search of the authentic experience of Rome.⁴¹ Archaeology is another activity that can be seen as reducing awe, and this can be related to the discussion of which, or whose, authenticity the guidebook or traveller is looking for. In fact, it is only archaeology that has contributed to partly restructuring the itineraries and routes of the guidebooks. For example, Forum Romanum was not a place where the traveller was expected to remain for long, perhaps not even to thread, before the large-scale excavations of it throughout the twentieth century made it into a complex and duty-laden site for the tourist, and often placed in the very beginning of the topographical structure in the guidebook.

The forceful ideological powers behind the Catholic Counter-Reformation is also an important factor for several of the most influential guidebooks to Rome and their authors, such as Francesco Albertini, Andrea Palladio and Fioravante Martinelli, as

⁴¹ For a study of how modern life, according to guidebooks, threatens the historical experience in Athens, see Penny Travlou (2002).

shown by Plahte Tschudi, Bortolozzi, and Fogelberg Rota in this volume. Evidence of this is the increasing number of claims on a “true” image of the city from the second half of the sixteenth century. The threats posed by the Protestant reformation, in the form of travelogues and guidebooks in the vernacular languages of the foreign travellers, were believed to undermine the authority of the Catholic Church by presenting ideas and beliefs in conflict with its orthodoxy.

As described in the paragraph on religion and awe above, the identity of the traveller as a foreigner and/or outsider quite naturally is an aspect that any guidebook has to deal with. The Roman experience, though, again offers a more complex relation to this phenomenon, as the established commonplace of Western culture is that Rome already is the home of every civilized and cultivated individual. As mentioned earlier, Rome’s double character as both foreign and familiar is something that pervades travelogues and guidebooks through the centuries. Often, a visitor to Rome already had a relation to the sites and monuments through education, visual culture, and preparatory reading. In Fioravante Martinelli’s *Roma ricercata*, the rhetorical construction of the expected foreign reader is especially evident. Different paratextual elements in *Roma ricercata*, such as the foreword to the *lettore forastiero* (foreign reader), or the indication that the author is a Roman, seem to suggest that the insider-outsider relationship is privileged in this particular guidebook. At first glance, the same correlation seems to apply to guidebooks in general as well. The situation is, however, definitely more complex, both in Martinelli’s case and for the other guidebooks discussed in this volume. The fact that it is first with the Venetian editions of *Roma ricercata* – starting around the 1650s – that Martinelli’s Roman identity is strongly emphasized already in the title, entails that his status as writer of the guidebook adapts to the different contexts in which it is published. Martinelli’s claim to convey a true image of Rome is, however, already embedded in the dichotomy between locals and strangers implied in his address to the “foreign reader”. This particular reader/traveller is exhorted to turn to elements and persons familiar with the topography of the city (such as inscriptions or the guardians at the sites visited) in order to be confronted with an approved interpretation of the city. To confirm the fluctuating identity of the traveller/reader, the term *forastiero*, foreigner, in the context of seventeenth-century Rome could equally be someone coming from North of the Alps or from any of the many states into which the Italian peninsula was divided.

The insider-outsider perspective is also especially highlighted in Ellen Rydelius’s *Rom på 8 dagar*, which is clearly, and innovatively, addressed to Swedish middle-class readers by a writer who, at least partly, shares many of their ideals and expectations. Rydelius’s rhetorical persona is that of the initiated friend who knows Rome inside out and therefore affectionately shows her favourite spots. However, *Rom på 8 dagar* is still a guidebook written by a Swedish author for a Swedish reader, describing what is for both of them a foreign topography. Identities are continually negotiated and seldom univocal in guidebooks.

The foreignness found in the meeting between the traveller and the place can be carefully handled by the guidebooks. The Baedeker guidebook, as discussed by Norlander Eliasson, is revealing of the necessity of giving easy access to an aesthetic appreciation of the art treasures of Rome, as well as the high demands guidebooks sometimes place on their readers. Readers indeed should prepare themselves for their trips beforehand, and possess an adequate level of education in order to fully appreciate the sites visited. These requests, together with the particular geographical presentation of Rome together with Central Italy, are evident reminiscences of the Grand Tour practice of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The emancipation from any dependence on the local inhabitants, which the Baedeker reader is invited to pursue, is a strong defining element of the readers/travellers. In this case, these will mostly correspond to the Northern European grand tourists of the previous centuries, whose travels were, in the second half of nineteenth century, “democratized” by the advancement of the means of travelling, especially the railway system. Baedeker’s guide to Rome appears thus as the complete opposite of Martinelli’s *Roma ricercata*, with its invitation to adopt the point of view of the native author and, to a certain extent, merge into the life of the city.

If a journey on the one hand could be meticulously prepared for by reading and education, the guidebook rhetoric, on the other hand, often hyperbolically underlines that nothing really could prepare the traveller for the actual experience of Rome. In this commonplace, the mythical, semi-religious dimension of the visit to the eternal city surfaces again, suggesting that Rome could not be understood from history books, or, for that part, guidebooks, but rather must be lived with the senses. Emotions and imagination are frequently called upon in almost every guidebook as tools for grasping what Rome is all about. Only in this way will the reader be able to see what cannot be seen, reconstruct the fragmentary, and succeed in the existential meaning-making that is the essence of a journey to Rome. From the early twentieth century and on, as shown by Burman in this volume, the sensorial experience is enhanced in the guidebooks’ rhetorical strategies. The sound, smell, and taste of Rome is described as increasingly important for the traveller to experience, and meals in authentic restaurants as well as picturesque picnics become tools for the pleasure of the traveller, now partly freed from the serious cultural obligations of previous centuries. This sensorial practice appears already in the travelogues of the eighteenth century, as discussed by Chloe Chard, member of the reference group of the project, in her *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour* (1999); at the Oslo conference of the “Topos and Topography” project in 2014, Chard expanded on this in a presentation about eating and picnics as reconciliatory, ceremonial bonds with the ancient past, and a way of being part of the picturesque and of foreign surroundings.

But the ideal, the educational, and the imaginative are not the only ingredients for a journey to Rome. The practical advice, such as where to stay, how much to pay, where and what to eat, and what to wear, which today are seen as some of the most characteristic features of a guidebook, entered relatively late in the guidebook

tradition, except for the itineraries as mentioned above. These basic and practical needs of a traveller are addressed in Martinelli's *Roma ricercata* in the form of an appendix of main streets, market days, where to find fruit vendors, et cetera. The guidebooks of the Grand Tour era, covering a route through Europe with several stops on the way to Rome, generally included practical advice, especially Thomas Nugent's *The Grand Tour* from 1749. This was further elaborated on in the 1820s by Mariana Starke, author of *Travels in Europe between the years 1824 and 1828*, a guidebook that would set the standards for both the Murray and the Baedeker guidebooks during the nineteenth century. Starke was sometimes ridiculed in her time for being obsessed with costs for everything from a meal to a fur coat, but in fact this phenomenon is an important symptom of the changing identity of travellers which brought new needs: limited budgets, the disappearance of an international social network for security and guidance for the travelling classes, a democratic possibility for the growing middle class to travel, and for women to travel alone. In the seemingly simple recommendations of hotels, restaurants, bars and shops, something important happens: the actual journey in all its aspects, not only the place and its monuments, threads forth in the text and becomes increasingly visible in the guidebook tradition.

Genre and tradition

After having travelled through the guidebook themes over time, let us now return to the question of genre and guidebooks, a field full of complexity. Guidebooks can be defined as travel literature, and any specimen of travel literature can be used as a guidebook – in fact, almost any book could in some way be used as a guidebook. The journey towards a stabilization and characterization of the guidebook genre, therefore, is at immediate risk of losing itself in this unknown yet well-known territory. The land of the guidebook has several definite and defined borders, yet the guidebook keeps crossing these borders. The structure and contents of a guidebook can seem static and evident, yet the guidebook genre keeps borrowing rhetorical themes, various topoi and structural elements from other genres, reshaping them for its own needs, while at the same time contributing to develop these other genres. Thus, guidebooks are by definition multimodal, that is, working on several cognitive levels and with various visual and textual tools to transmit information. Further, the guidebooks are multimodal in measures that arguably cannot be found in any other traditional genres or media: they contain images, maps, descriptions, plans, symbols, temporal and spatial guidelines and value-transmitting texts. They also thread outside their physical boundaries by interacting both with the reader and with their context at large. Creating movement, action and development, they conduct the reader into a certain behaviour, movement scheme, relation praxis and sensuous intensity. They work intertextually by referring to other written sources, which can be

books, myths, rumours or even actual persons that are in possession of a certain kind of knowledge. The multimodal web that includes author, guidebook, reader and place, can be more deeply understood through the concept of “semiotic landscapes”, introduced by Adam Jaworski and Crispin Thurlow as the interplay between “language, visual discourse, and the spatial practices and dimensions of culture”.⁴²

The guidebook puts into action what could be described as a chiastic metamorphosis, where the book itself becomes the ideal city, the microcosm of experience, and in a way the solely indispensable object for knowledge of the place, whether read in front of the monuments or in an armchair at home. At the same time, and through the same mechanisms, the city, or the place itself, turns from reality into fiction, a map, a lexicon, an encyclopaedia – it turns into a book.⁴³

Some specific genre theories have proved especially fruitful for the project, departing from a workshop held in collaboration with the University of Gothenburg in 2014, during which professor Eva Haettner Aurelius introduced the different stages and uses of genre theory. Haettner Aurelius drew attention to Alastair Fowler’s consideration that genres may appear more outlined if compared to one another.⁴⁴ In this case, the differences between travel literature and guidebooks are part of what forms the genre of the guidebook, even though the two genres belong to the same family. Fowler also regarded genres as flexible rather than fixed, and argued that a genre in fact change each time a new work is added to it. He further posed the question about what constitutes literature, and what, consequently, is not literature. A main characteristic of the guidebook is that it is not literary; it is nonfiction – Fowler defined “travel books” as one of the genres whose literary status is ambiguous. Guidebooks could, then, be labelled as what Fowler calls *occasional* texts, intimately connected with the situation of the reader/traveller.⁴⁵ On the other hand, guidebooks continuously borrow themes, quotations and references from literary works. In their turn, literary works can be used as guidebooks, and the reading of a guidebook can produce a literary experience or aesthetical pleasure in the reader depending on various factors. The literary topoi used by the guidebook can be further developed within the genre, only to later exit the genre and continue their existence within another genre.⁴⁶

Thus, speaking with Fowler, the guidebook genre must be seen as open and flexible. Several other genres, such as letters, novels and travelogues, influence and

⁴² Jaworski/Thurlow (2010) 1.

⁴³ The notion of the guidebook as a microcosmical or ideal “city”, and the city itself as a “book”, was first introduced by Victor Plahte Tschudi (2010).

⁴⁴ Fowler (1982) 34.

⁴⁵ Confer Fowler’s comment on occasional genres such as *epithalamia* and epitaphs, with social functions of a different kind, forming part of “ceremonies or monuments and sharing their actual force”, Fowler (1982) 7.

⁴⁶ Fowler (1982) 11–23.

are influenced by the guidebook in a continuous interplay. Yet, a set of genre-typical elements can be defined for the guidebook; these were tentatively described by three “Topos and Topography”-participants in an article in the periodical *Scandia* in 2015.⁴⁷ The genre analysis has also contributed to identifying guidebook-specific topoi, as well as place-specific Rome-related topoi that can occur in any literary work. This fact has served to illuminate how generic elements in guidebooks relate to the literary tradition on the city of Rome, and how, at the same time, the literary topoi have influenced the guidebook as a genre.

As mentioned previously, the guidebook genre is, to a very high extent, user oriented, and the needs, situation and context of the traveller have contributed to shaping the guidebook tradition over time. Regarding these aspects, the genre theory of Carolyn Miller can contribute to a deeper understanding of the factors that create a work in the guidebook genre. Miller’s view is that a genre is based upon *situation* and *need* (or *exigence*), which means that the defining factors of a genre are contextual and lie outside the text itself. The exigence of a reader in a certain situation creates a rhetorical response that shapes the genre. “Rhetorical situation”, according to Miller, is any situation where speech in the wider sense – including written text – is produced, and “exigence” signifies the need, problem, or issue that causes the speech to be made. By studying guidebooks from these aspects, and not solely or mainly based on actual elements in the very text, the guiding functionality of the works can be traced and compared in a more nuanced way.⁴⁸

Let’s first take a look at more subjective descriptions of journeys. The situation for the creation of a work of this kind is that the author or narrator finds him or herself in a foreign place, with a need to structure and document this experience. This produces a rhetorical response in the form of a narrative, describing the sights of the journey, but not created from the situation in which the readers find themselves. Such a narrative can also be written for personal use of the author him or herself, or a close circle of related individuals, and not intended for sharing with any traveller. But even if these texts were not created specifically as guidebooks, nothing contradicts that they can be used as such – or simply read as an imaginative travel description. This aspect might be clarified through a comparison to the apodemic travel literature from the mid-sixteenth century. Known as *ars apodemica*, these works denoted a genre of travel descriptions made by individuals on Grand Tours or other European journeys. Often preserved only in single manuscript copies, they contain practical information regarding the journey, such as time schedules and travel costs, as well as geographical, historical and cultural information about the places visited, always in a very dry and objective manner of style. Even if these descriptions were brought home and probably kept as personal reference material in the family library, they seem in equal grade to

⁴⁷ Blennow *et al.*, 2015.

⁴⁸ Miller (1984).

having been written just for the sake of writing itself: the experience of travel, channelled by writing down an account of the journey along the way.⁴⁹

On the other hand, the rhetorical situation in which an imagined reader – located in or soon travelling to foreign places – needs cultural, geographical and historical guidance, forms the exigence to which the guidebook is a rhetorical response. Geographical, topographical, cultural and historical information arranged, ordered and selected for the benefit of a reader with limited time and insufficient prior knowledge – all of these phenomena can constitute a guidebook.

One of the main needs of the reader when it comes to travel literature is evasion and curiosity; the foreign place described as far away from the reader, and a wish or a need to visit the place may never occur. The situation of the reader in the case of the guidebook is, on the other hand, that the foreign place has come so near to the reader that an urgent need for assistance arises. Thus, foreignness (and of course the subject matter as journeys) is a concept that unites guidebooks and travel literature, while the situation and need of the reader instead separate them. The foremost prerequisite of the guidebook – its generative situation – is that a person is on foreign ground. This requires that mobility be a factor in the contemporary societal context. Three main such mobility revolutions have been crucial for the development of the guidebook: Medieval pilgrimages, early modern Grand Tour travelling, and the emergence of modern tourism from the mid-nineteenth century on.

Another defining factor of guidebooks is the guiding functions of the texts. An important distinction has been made between rhetorical elements as well as the functions that are created through the use of these elements, and how they interact with the reader. Thus, more than as a set of stable features, we consider the guidebook as constituted by continually moving and evolving functions. The authoritative voice of the text – either anonymous and seemingly objective, or personal and subjective – along with the text structures concerning spatiality and movement, are the tools that create these guiding functions. Furthermore, moral exhortations or value judgements contribute to a guiding function from an identity-shaping aspect that plays an important role in travelling as formation and education.

Even if the guidebook can, in our opinion, be defined as a genre, we find that a term that describes the guidebook phenomenon even more succinctly is the concept of “tradition”. Not only is the guidebook to a large extent conscious of its tradition, it is also most dependent upon this tradition, primarily because it is practically impossible to produce a guidebook that does not relate to structure and contents of earlier works of the kind. The guidebook is chained to the tradition through which it has been born – no one can write a guidebook from scratch. Yet each guidebook must be new in order to be functional. It must show old facts from a new angle, or update outdated facts about a renewed place. While travel literature has a strong notion of exploration and

⁴⁹ Winberg (2000).

individuality, the guidebook requires that the road is already paved by someone else, often by generations of previous travellers. In fact, many guidebooks rely heavily on earlier exemplars, almost to the point of plagiarism. But this plagiarism, or rather *imitatio* – that is, the emulation, adaptation and reworking of a source text by an earlier author – is necessary for the establishment of the tradition that will seal the contract of trust between the author and the reader/traveller. This is in fact also necessary for our preconception of the genre. When we buy a guidebook, we “know” instantly what we get even before looking inside it. We may “know” nothing about the city or the place it describes, but we “know” that it will educate us about it, and are fairly certain of what kind of information we will receive. This knowledge, this horizon of expectation – to use the term established by Hans Robert Jauss – this contract between author and reader could not have been established by anything else than an age-old tradition as well as similarity of situations when it comes to travelling.

Thus, more than a genre, strictly speaking, guidebooks constitute a tradition. All guidebooks, and in particular guidebooks to Rome, allude to, deal with and renew a certain already existing tradition concerning the city.

Conclusion

The “Topos and Topography” project has been able to show how surprisingly stable the guidebook tradition has remained over time. As a concluding experiment, let us take a look at two recent guidebooks to Rome, and how they relate to the themes, strategies and elements that are found in the historical guidebook tradition. Since we have seen previously that the foreword of a guidebook often bears several keys to its aims, strategies and structures, we will focus on how the two authors address their readers and introduce their themes there.

Amanda Claridge, Emerita Professor of Roman Archaeology at Royal Holloway University of London, published an archaeological guidebook to Rome in 1998.⁵⁰ The book has a short foreword of a few pages, and Claridge’s first sentence reads: “Writing guidebooks to the antiquities of Rome has been going on for centuries and all those that have ever been written have steered a similar course, between fact and fiction, or rather, between two different kinds of reality.” Here, we have the guidebook tradition, and the eternal characteristic of Rome as historical palimpsest, and both fact and fiction. And at the same time as the book describes the guidebook tradition, it writes itself into the same tradition by joining the same topos. Soon, the hyperboles appear regarding Rome’s uniqueness and grandness: it is “one of the most deeply stratified and complex urban sites in existence”. Claridge also points out that “the ancient city was very large (...) far larger than its Medieval and Renaissance

⁵⁰ Claridge (1998); revised edition 2010.

successors.” Next, walking as the ideal practice for sightseeing is highlighted: it’s easier and quicker. Therefore, it is better to use a topographical organization of the visit, rather than to try to see everything in chronological or typological order. The ideal place to start is chosen by Claridge as the Forum and the Palatine – the “monumental, political Rome” of the past, and also the richest in archaeological remains. And lastly, Claridge delineates the structure of the book: because it is a historical and archaeological guidebook, she has devoted the first part of it to a mainly chronological narrative. After that, each region of the city has its own chapter, starting from the Forum Romanum.⁵¹

While Amanda Claridge’s book is representative of scholarly authority, Georgina Masson, a British author who lived in Rome for several decades, represents another author type: the insider. First published in 1965, her book is still being reprinted as part of the series “Companion Guides”, typical for the learned but friendly guidebook tradition of the twentieth century.⁵² Masson’s preface starts with the traditional rhetoric: the first sentence is: “*Roma, non basta una vita*” (Rome, a lifetime is not enough), the Rome-topos *par préférence*. After an excuse that a guidebook can never cover everything, partly because no one can know everything about Rome “even after living there for twenty years”, Masson introduces walking as the preferred way of seeing and experiencing Rome. The book is therefore ordered topographically into daily itineraries, starting and ending at central or easily accessible places. Yet another topos of the guidebook tradition appears when Masson thanks her friends, without whose advice the book would not have been written. The preface ends with a literary quote, from Augustus Hare’s *Walks in Rome* (1860): “When we have once known Rome, and then left her, hating her with all our might (...) we are astonished by the discovery, by and by, that our heartstrings have mysteriously attached themselves to the Eternal City, and are drawing us thitherward again, as if it were more familiar, more intimately our home, than even the spot where we were born”.⁵³

Since Masson’s guidebook was (and still is) reprinted in several editions, another author, John Fort, took over editorship from the 2003 edition. Fort added a preface of his own, describing the circumstances of his revisions: why did she leave out the churches S. Silvestro and S. Susanna – was it because of the antipathy towards the Baroque ever since the days of Baedeker? On a more practical level, Fort mentioned that he felt obliged to try to determine whether Masson’s itineraries were functional for a visitor, and he came to the firm conclusion that “the suggested regime of two walks a day for two weeks was quite categorically impossible to follow; even one walk every day for two weeks would be an extreme undertaking.” Therefore, Fort decided to remove these instructions.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Claridge (1998) 1–2.

⁵² Masson (2009).

⁵³ Masson (2009) xv–xvii.

⁵⁴ Masson (2009) xviii–xxi.

Masson's first chapter covers the Capitoline hill, and here we find several elements typical for the guidebook tradition already on the first few pages. The book immediately connects to the literary tradition: the first sentence is a quote from the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, followed by references to Petrarch, Montaigne and Gibbon. But on the next page, Masson quickly gets on a more personal note with the reader. Just like Corinne, she starts to say "we": "So let us begin at the Capitol and let us time our first visit, ideally, to coincide with the hour after sunset ... Viewed thus for the first time this sight of the Capitol is an unforgettable experience, fixed for ever in one's memory." Here, emotion and imagination also enter the picture as tools for deep understanding of the city and reconstruction of its history. Regarding the Forum, Masson says: "Seen by day it requires something of the knowledge of an archaeologist and the imagination of a poet to conjure up what this prospect must once have been. But at night, especially when a rising moon adds its magic to a diffused glow of the illuminations and stark reality is clothed in mysterious shadows, it is not nearly so difficult to picture what has happened here." When standing on the hill and looking out over the Forum, Masson invites the reader to imagine walking in the footsteps of historical persons, such as the Renaissance humanist Poggio Bracciolini: "It is quite possible that Poggio stood on almost exactly the same spot as we ...". After having described the Capitoline Museums, Masson gives the reader a very practical bit of advice: "From the very beginning, however, it is as well to remember that the average mind – and feet – can stand just so much sight-seeing at a time, and enthusiastic efforts to drive them beyond this limit will only end in disaster." The remedy for this is to pause often, for example with a "really good Roman lunch". This is another feature typical for the twentieth century – the friendly care-taking of the reader – but can also be seen as part of the traditional rhetorical strategy of underlining Rome's magnificence by describing the exhaustion it brings.

So, let us start our journey among the guidebooks, and sites, of Rome. Please, do take a break between the chapters and monuments whenever you feel tired of walking through this book!

Bibliography

- Baedeker (1926): Baedeker, Karl (1926), *Italien von den Alpen bis Neapel*, Leipzig.
- de Beer (1952): de Beer, Esmond S. (1952), "The development of the guide-book until the early nineteenth century", in: *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, third series, vol. XV, 35–46.
- Black (2003): Black, Jeremy (2003), *Italy and the Grand Tour*, New Haven/London.
- Blennow *et al.* (2015): Blennow, Anna, Fogelberg Rota, Stefano, and Whitling, Frederick (2015), "Roma antiqua et moderna. Guideboken som genre genom seklerna", in: *Scandia: tidskrift för historisk forskning*, 81:2, 90–106.
- Brilli (1995): Brilli, Attilio (1995), *Quando viaggiare era un'arte. Il romanzo del Grand Tour*, Bologna.

- Caldana (2003): Caldana, Alberto (2003), *Le guide di Roma. Ludwig Schudt e la sua bibliografia. Letteratura critica e Catalogo ragionato*, Rome.
- Cantatore (2012): Cantatore, Flavia (ed.) (2012), *Le cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma, nell'edizione di Girolamo Franzini, Venezia 1588*, Roma.
- Chard 1999: Chard, Chloe (1999) *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: travel writing and imaginative geography, 1600–1830*, Manchester.
- Claridge (1998): Claridge, Amanda (1998) *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*, Oxford.
- Cuddon (1999): Cuddon, John Andrew (1999), *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, London.
- Delbeke/Morel (2012): Delbeke, Maarten and Morel, Anne-Françoise (2012), “Roma Antica, Sacra, Moderna: The Analogous Romes of the Travel Guide”, in: *Library Trends* 61 (2), 397–417.
- Dunford (2014): Dunford, Martin, *The Rough Guide to Rome*, London.
- Elkin (2016): Elkin, Lauren (2016), *Flâneuse. Women walk the city in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London*, London.
- Fowler (1982): Fowler, Alastair (1982), *Kinds of Literature: an Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*, Oxford.
- Garwood/Blasi (2012): Garwood, Duncan and Blasi, Abigail, *Lonely Planet Discover Rome – experience the best of Rome*, Melbourne.
- Hart/Hicks (2006): Hart, Vaughan and Hicks, Peter (2006), *Palladio's Rome. A Translation of Andrea Palladio's Two Guidebooks to Rome*, New Haven and London.
- Hawthorne (2002): Hawthorne, Nathaniel (2002), *The Marble Faun, or, The Romance of Monte Beni*, with an introduction by Peter Robb, New York/Toronto.
- Jauss/Benzinger (1970): Jauss, Hans Robert and Benzinger, Elizabeth (1970), “Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory”, in: *New Literary History* vol. 2, no. 1, 7–37.
- Jaworski/Thurlow (2010): Jaworski, Adam and Thurlow, Crispin (eds.) (2010), *Semiotic Landscapes: Language, Image, Space*, London/New York.
- Lassells (1670): Lassells, Richard (1670), *The Voyage of Italy, or A Compleat Journey through Italy, in Two Parts*, Paris.
- Macadam (2000): Macadam, Alta (2000), *City Guide Rome (Blue Guide)*, London/New York.
- Martinelli (1650): Martinelli, Fioravante (1650), *Roma ricercata nel suo sito*, Roma.
- Masson (2009): Masson, Georgina (2009), *The Companion Guide to Rome* (revised by John Fort), Woodbridge.
- Miller (1984): Miller, Carolyn R. (1984), “Genre as Social Action”, in: *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 70:2, 151–167.
- Morton (1987): Morton, Henry Vollam (1987), *A Traveller in Rome*, London.
- Nugent (1749): Nugent, Thomas (1749), *The Grand Tour*, vol. III, London.
- Osborne (1987): Osborne, John (1987), *Master Gregorius, 'The marvels of Rome' (Medieval Sources in Translation 31)*, Toronto.
- Parsons (2007): Parsons, Nicholas (2007), *Worth the Detour – a History of the Guidebook*, Stroud.
- Pazienti (2013): Pazienti, Massimo (2013), *Le Guide di Roma tra Medioevo e Novecento*, Roma.
- Plahte Tschudi (2010): Plahte Tschudi, Victor (2010), “De skritt lærde. En guidet tur i Roma-guiden”, in: *Samtiden* 03/2010, vol. 119, 78–87.
- Plahte Tschudi (2017): Plahte Tschudi, Victor (2017), *Baroque Antiquity: Archaeological Imagination in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge.
- Rossetti (2000): Rossetti, Sergio (2000), *Rome. A bibliography from the invention of printing through 1899*. I. *The guide books*, Florence.
- Schudt (1930): Schudt, Ludwig (1930), *Le guide di Roma: Materialien zu einer Geschichte der römischen Topographie unter Benützung des Handschriftlichen Nachlasses von Oskar Pollak*, Wien/Augsburg.

- De Seta (2001): De Seta, Cesare (2001), *L'Italia del Grand Tour: da Montaigne a Goethe*, Napoli.
- Soja (1996): Soja, Edward (1996), *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*, Oxford.
- Solnit (2001), Solnit, Rebecca (2001), *Wanderlust. A History of Walking*, London.
- De Staël (2008): de Staël, Germaine (2008), *Corinne, or Italy*, translated and edited by Sylvia Raphael, Oxford.
- Starke (1828): Starke, Mariana (1828), *Travels in Europe between the years 1824 and 1828*, London.
- Sturgis (2011): Sturgis, Matthew (2011), *When in Rome. 2000 Years of Roman Sightseeing*, London.
- Travlou (2002): Travlou, Penny (2002), "Go Athens: A Journey to the Centre of the City", in: *Tourism – Between Place and Performance*, Simon Coleman and Mike Crang (eds.), New York/Oxford, 108–127.
- Vasi (1765a): Vasi, Giuseppe (1765), *Indice Istorico del Gran Prospetto di Roma ovvero Itinerario Istruttivo Per ritrovare con facilità, tutte le magnificenze antiche e moderne di Roma, e di alcune Città, e Castelli Suburbani*, Roma.
- Vasi (1765b): Vasi, Giuseppe (1765), *Prospetto d'Alma Città Di Roma Visto Dal Monte Gianicolo*.
- Wilton/Bignamini (1996): Wilton, Andrew and Bignamini, Ilaria (eds.) (1996), *Grand tour. The lure of Italy in the eighteenth century*, London.
- Winberg (2000): Winberg, Ola (2000), "Mårten Törnhielm och den europeiska resan. Reseberättande under 1600-talet", in *Från Siljan till Karakorum: Resor under sju sekler*, Hanna Hodacs and Åsa Karlsson (eds.), Lund, 98–126.