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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:

Fogelberg Rota, S. (2019)

Fioravante Martinelli's Roma ricercata nel suo sito and his 'lettore forastiero'

In: Anna Blennow och Stefano Fogelberg Rota (ed.), *Rome and the guidebook tradition: from the Middle Ages to the 20th century* (pp. 163-196). Berlin / Boston:

Walter de Gruyter

<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110615630-005>

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-158294>

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4 Fioravante Martinelli's *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* and his “lettore forastiero”

Fioravante Martinelli's *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (*Rome researched on site*) was one of the most influential guidebooks to Rome during the second half of the seventeenth century. The book was a huge success, reprinted in many new editions and used by numerous travellers. *Roma ricercata* rapidly became very popular after it was first published in Rome 1644 (see Fig. 4.1).¹ At least 34 editions were published between this year and the end of the eighteenth century.² The last edition of *Roma ricercata* dates from as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century.³ Its importance with regard to how Rome was presented to foreign travellers throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can therefore hardly be overestimated.

Present in all editions of *Roma ricercata* is the prologue addressed to the “lettore forastiero” (foreign reader) (see Fig. 4.2). The present article investigates the concept of *forastiero* as developed by Martinelli and seeks to answer the question: *who* thus was the intended reader? This investigation will not only shed light on the readership of Martinelli's guidebook but also illustrate how the particular image, or rather interpretation, of Rome he presented suited certain moral principles that dominated the later seventeenth-century papacy. The identities of the reader – often also traveller to Rome – and of the author will play a central role in my enquiry in order to understand how that Rome of the foreigners, which developed as a result of the broader phenomenon of the Grand Tour, was shaped at the middle of the seventeenth century by the tension between the insider versus the outsider perspective on the city.

I shall first present the author and his works in order to clarify the context in which *Roma ricercata* was written and read. The study of Martinelli's idea of *forastiero* will focus on the prologue, but I shall also aim at a broader history of the book's reception in order to address the difficult question of who actually *read* his book. In providing a few examples of possible actual readers of Martinelli's guide I shall focus on a specific geographic and temporal context, namely Swedish travellers in the first half of the eighteenth century. This part of the article will, inevitably, be more difficult to prove. Even if some owners of Martinelli's guidebook can be identified, not only is it difficult to determine whether they really used the book in Rome, but further whether they ever read it at all. However, this discussion will contribute to the investigation of Martinelli's and his readers' aims when writing and reading *Roma ricercata* respectively.

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1 Martinelli (1644).

2 Caldana (2003) 64.

3 Caldana (2003) 66.

Fig. 4.1: Cover page *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (1644) Skokloster castle Library.

Fig. 4.2: Preface to the *lettore forastiero* ("foreign reader"). *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (1660) Uppsala universitetsbibliotek.

The questions presented here will allow for further investigation into the relationship between Martinelli's intended readers and his presentation of Rome. *How* is Martinelli's presentation of Rome particularly adapted to his readers? And, *which* particular aspects of the city are given more attention than others? In order to answer these questions, I shall undertake a close reading of Martinelli's foreword in order to evince who his expected reader might be and what his or her interests are/may be. Secondly, I shall try to put *Roma ricercata* in its editorial context by presenting the two treatises on the pontifical court – *La Relatione della corte di Roma* by Girolamo Lunadoro and *Il Maestro di Camera* by Francesco Sestini – with which it was published for the first time in Padua in 1650 by editor Paolo Frambotto. Frambotto's editorial strategy of publishing the three texts together will stand out as one of the keys to Martinelli's success. I shall, therefore, concentrate my investigation on the 1662 Venetian edition of *Roma ricercata*, published by Giovanni Pietro Brignonci, which follows Frambotto's important publication, and is one of the extant editions in the Swedish collections.

The author and his works

Fioravante Martinelli was born into a poor Roman family in 1599 and entered the priesthood at an early age.⁴ We have few sources regarding his life before 1630 when he entered the service of Orazio Giustiniani (1580–1649), who was priest of the Congregation of the Oratory of San Filippo Neri. When Giustiniani was appointed Cardinal in 1645 Martinelli became his personal secretary. The influential Giustiniani came from an important Genoese family and his appointment as “primo custode” of the Vatican library in 1630 was an important event for Martinelli's further career. Martinelli was employed here as secretary of Hebrew letters. After a few years he was promoted to secretary of Latin letters – a position he held at least until 1661. Martinelli was not able to fully profit from Giustiniani's advancement because the Cardinal died some years after his appointment in 1649. During the 1640s and 1650s Martinelli wrote several antiquarian studies of Roman churches, based on the sources and manuscripts at his disposal in the Vatican Library.⁵ In these writings he proved his historical-antiquarian learning, but he also demonstrated a certain polemical vein, which shone through in some disputes with other erudite writers. While the majority of his literary works were written in Latin, the guidebook *Roma ricercata* was

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⁴ For a more extensive account of Martinelli's life see D'Onofrio (1969) and Tabacchi (2008) 114–116. I base my account on these two works.

⁵ The first one was a short publication on the history of the Church of the Saints Domenico e Sisto: Martinelli (1635). A few years later Martinelli published a short work on the church of St. Agata which he dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini: Martinelli (1638).

composed in Italian and doubtless aimed at a broader public. This is Martinelli's best known and most successful work. It would later be followed by a Latin guidebook *Roma ex ethnica sacra* (1653), written for a more learned readership.⁶ Although the latter has a sharper focus on church history, much of its content is drawn from the Italian guidebook.

Apart from his literary works, Martinelli is also known for his close relationship with Francesco Borromini. Martinelli probably met the architect from Ticino at the end of the 1650s. Cesare D'Onofrio describes Martinelli's deep friendship with Borromini and considers the fact that they shared the trait of being "difficult" characters as a probable reason for their closeness. More important, however, is Martinelli's great admiration for Borromini and his strenuous defence of his works in a time when Gian Lorenzo Bernini was commonly acknowledged as the pre-eminent architect in Rome.⁷ Martinelli devoted much attention to Borromini in his writings. This is evident especially in the third edition of *Roma ricercata* of 1658, in which the number of references to Borromini's work increased significantly. The French artist Dominique Barrière illustrated the 1658 edition of the guidebook with several engravings and Borromini probably gave Martinelli the drawing of the oratory of the Filippini, close to the Chiesa Nuova (see Fig. 5.5 in Norlander Eliasson's chapter in this volume).⁸ This was also the last edition for which Martinelli was personally responsible and in which the information is more accurate than in the previous ones. Significantly, Martinelli and Borromini collaborated closely on several occasions. Borromini was responsible for the renovation of Martinelli's villa on Monte Mario, and Martinelli began to compose a monograph on Borromini's church Sant'Ivo, which was also given great prominence in *Roma ricercata*. When Martinelli wrote yet another guidebook, between 1660 and 1663, entitled *Roma ornata dell'architettura, pittura e scoltura* (*Rome adorned by architecture, painting and sculpture*), Borromini revised the text and made several suggestions

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⁶ Martinelli (1653).

⁷ This citation from D'Onofrio's account of Martinelli's life clarifies this point: "I mentioned the polemical and therefore difficult character of Martinelli, who was undoubtedly a very intelligent person, completely free from the limitless unctuousness of the time. He is definitely a man, I would say, who swims against the tide. It was not for nothing that he was so deeply attached to Borromini, being the only one at that time who fully understood his genius. And you had to be brave to take up the cudgels for Borromini!" ("Dicevo della litigiosità e, pertanto, del carattere difficile del Martinelli, uomo senza dubbio di grande intelligenza, del tutto privo della strabocchevole untuosità del suo tempo. Egli è decisamente un uomo, direi, controcorrente. Non per nulla egli fu tanto legato al Borromini, del quale probabilmente fu l'unico e solo, in quel tempo, che ne comprendesse pienamente il genio. E per difendere il Borromini così a spada tratta ce ne voleva di coraggio!"). D'Onofrio (1969) 16.

⁸ Connors (1980) 263–264.

on how to complete it. For reasons that remain unknown this later guidebook was not published during Martinelli's lifetime.⁹ Renata Ago has described the relationship between Martinelli and Borromini as one of those "truly and real collaborative friendships", which bound pairs of writers and artists to each other in the Roman *Seicento* resulting in a mutual promotion.¹⁰

Two striking differences between Martinelli's two Italian guidebooks stand out immediately. The first is that while in *Roma ricercata* Martinelli is mainly concerned with the exterior of the churches and buildings he describes, in the manuscript guidebook, *Roma ornata*, Martinelli *enters* into the edifices and offers his readers detailed descriptions of the artworks of the interiors. The second major difference between the two guidebooks is that while *Roma ricercata* is divided in ten "giornate" (daily itineraries) comprising particular walks around the city, *Roma ornata* is divided in two major parts, each in alphabetical order. In the first part the sacred "buildings, paintings and sculptures" are discussed and in the second the author turns to their profane counterparts.¹¹ Given these characteristics we might venture a first tentative definition of the two guidebooks. Whereas *Roma ricercata* is meant to be carried around during the visit to direct the reader to the various sites, *Roma ornata* functions more like an encyclopaedia, to be consulted whenever needed, whether on site, before or after the visit. Martinelli's two guidebooks thus are complementary in nature.

Finally, Martinelli apparently collaborated with the influential antiquarian and art critic Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–1696) in writing yet another short Roman guidebook: the *Nota delli Musei, librerie, gallerie, et ornamenti di statue e pitture ne' palazzi, nelle case, e ne' giardini di Roma* (*Note on the museums, libraries, galleries and the ornaments of statues and paintings in the palaces, houses and gardens of Rome*). This work consists of a long list of Roman collections ordered alphabetically and very briefly described. It was published anonymously in Rome 1664 and has been attributed to both Bellori and Martinelli. Stefano Pierguidi has recently, convincingly, argued that the two

⁹ Cesare D'Onofrio published Martinelli's *Roma ornata* in 1969 together with the numerous marginal notes by Borromini. D'Onofrio proposes two possible explanations for its defaulted publication, i.e. Martinelli's vigorous defence of Borromini's work, in a period when the architect had been much criticized, and the publication of Alveri (1664), which in some ways replicated *Roma ornata*. D'Onofrio (1969) XII.

¹⁰ "veri e propri sodalizi". Ago (2014) 186. Accessed on 3 August 2018. Other similar collaborations discussed by Ago are the ones between Giambattista Marino and Galileo Galilei or between Filippo Baldinucci and Gian Lorenzo Bernini. On Martinelli's monograph on Sant'Ivo see Connors (2000), 7–21 and 17–18.

¹¹ "l'architetture, pitture, e sculture". Martinelli (1969) 6.

co-authored the work following an accurate investigation of the editorial context of the work, to which I shall return.¹² Pierguidi suggests that while Martinelli wrote the part concerning the libraries, especially those of the religious orders that he was deeply familiar with, Bellori wrote those concerning the collections of antiquities and the short treatise on ancient painting which ends the publication.¹³

One of the main reasons for the great popularity of *Roma ricercata* is the brief and concise character of Martinelli's descriptions of both ancient and contemporary monuments. Yet Martinelli's principal focus lies on the latter. In his classical study on guidebooks to Rome, Ludwig Schudt draws attention to the innovative qualities of *Roma ricercata*, emphasizing Martinelli's ten-days-format of the book, as well as the itineraries he suggested.¹⁴ The novelty consisted not so much in the division into different days but rather in the tours themselves, that is, what could be defined as Martinelli's suggested topographical organization of the city into distinct sections.¹⁵ On the other hand, the content of Martinelli's guidebook shows no innovative character; rather, it relies heavily on existing sources. Originality was, however, neither required nor expected in a seventeenth-century guidebook. In fact, as discussed in the introduction to this volume, a constant dialogue with previous texts is a constitutive element of the guidebook tradition. Among the earlier texts and guidebooks quoted by Martinelli are Giorgio Vasari's influential biographies of the Italian artists, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani* (1550), as well as four important forerunners of *Roma ricercata*: Pompilio Totti's *Ritratto di Roma antica* (1627) and *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (1638), Gaspare Celio's *Memoria fatta Dal Signor Gaspare Celio dell'habito di Christo. Delli Nomi dell'Artefici delle Pitture che sono in alcune Chiese, Facciate e Palazzi di Roma* (1638) and Giovanni Baglione's *Le nove chiese di Roma* (1639).¹⁶ The information provided by Martinelli is thus rarely original, and is in fact rather dependent on other sources. The author has no

¹² Pierguidi (2011) 225–232. Already Margaret Daly Davis proposed Martinelli as one of the possible authors of the *Nota delli Musei* in Daly Davis (2005) 203–207. Tomaso Montanari brought new evidence to this question when he presented an important letter by Bellori to Carlo Dati (dated 16 March 1668) in which the antiquarian confirmed his authorship of a “operetta senza mio nome” (small work without my name). Montanari (2000) 39–49. For a detailed account of these vicissitudes, see Pierguidi (2011).

¹³ Pierguidi (2011) 230.

¹⁴ Schudt (1930). Schudt's book has been translated to Italian and commented in Caldana (2003). I quote here from Caldana's edition. Schudt, *Le guide di Roma* in Caldana (2003) 135.

¹⁵ The ten-days-format – of which the last day is devoted to touring the seven station churches – is in fact similar to the seven-days limitation put on pilgrims during the Middle Age for their stay in Rome. On this limitation see Birch (2000).

¹⁶ Vasari (1550); Totti (1627) and Totti (1638); Celio (1638) and Baglione (1639).

particular concerns in admitting his dependence on previous writers' accounts, which he claims, however, to have verified by visiting the monuments himself and, in some cases, measuring them. Schudt ranks *Roma ricercata* among the "Populäre Guiden" – "Guide di Divulgazione" in Alberto Caldana's Italian translation – that is to say popular, didactic guides. This classification is not intended to degrade Martinelli's guidebook, which on the contrary is praised by Schudt for its capacity to appeal to learned travellers visiting Rome with limited time at their disposal.¹⁷ Its concise descriptions and the handiness of its format (24°, for the first edition, which corresponds approximately to 11 × 5 cm) are the main reasons for *Roma ricercata*'s success. Martinelli's guide must have stood as the ideal companion for those travellers to Rome who sought a short but well informed overview of the city. In the following, we shall see several examples of the succinct character of *Roma ricercata*.

The prologue "Al lettore forastiero"

A history of how *Roma ricercata* was received must inevitably have Martinelli's prologue to the "foreign reader" at its focal point. The first question to be addressed is: What does Martinelli mean by *forastiero*? An initial answer to this question might be that this category is only distantly comparable to what we mean by "foreign" today. The etymological origin of *forastiero*, or *forestiero*, is to be found in the Latin *foris* (outside). The word was apparently introduced to Italian from Provençal ("forestière") and is found in, among other, Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1351). This adjective refers simply to everything or everyone arriving from 'outside', from elsewhere, by extension to those who came from another city or country.¹⁸ So, for instance, the addressee of Girolamo Lunadoro's above-mentioned *Relatione della corte di Roma*, the future Cardinal Carlo de' Medici (1595–1666), son of the grand duke Ferdinando de' Medici and Christine of Lorraine, was also a *forastiero* in Rome since he originally came from the Grand duchy of Tuscany. I shall return to the relation between Martinelli's readers and the readers of Lunadoro's and Sestini's treatises on the papal court, given that from 1650 onwards the three works were published in a common volume. The fact that a combined edition addressed the readers of these three works was one of the keys to *Roma ricercata*'s success.

A *Forastiero* could equally be someone originating from North of the Alps or from any of the many states into which the Italian peninsula was divided in the Early Modern era. As a confirmation of the first category of readers, at least six extant copies of *Roma ricercata* are to be found in the collections of Swedish libraries. Three are conserved in

¹⁷ Schudt (2003) 64.

¹⁸ "forèstiero" in treccani.it. Accessed on 3 August 2018.

Fig. 4.3: Note in the inside cover (last page) *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (1662). Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket.

the National Library of Sweden, two in the Skokloster Castle Library, and one in the University Library of Uppsala. One can deduce some ideas about the owners of three of these copies. For instance, the National Library's copy, published 1662 in Venice by the editor Giovanni Pietro Brigonci, has a Swedish inscription on the inside cover revealing that the book was bought in Bologna in June 1733 for an amount of 3 *bajochi* (see Fig. 4.3).¹⁹ So, even if we do not know the name of this particular Swedish (?) traveller, we can surmise that it was bought on the way to, or from, Rome and might also imagine that it was read during the journey. Another copy of *Roma ricercata* in the National

¹⁹ "Bologna d: 10 Junij 1733. / N: Kost. 3 Bajochi". Martinelli (1662).

Library of Sweden – this time of the 1677 Venetian edition of Benetto Miloco – contains the signature of the book's owner: "Joh. Hermansson" (see Fig. 4.4). This was probably Johannes Hermansson (1679–1737), *professor skytteanus* (professor in eloquence and political science) at the University of Uppsala from 1717 onwards.²⁰ A poetical composition in Italian dedicated to his doctoral candidate Johan Aspman attests to Hermansson's acquaintance with the language and most likely experience of the Italian peninsula.²¹ Finally, we have no less than two signatures in the 1660 Venetian edition, once again printed by Brigonci, conserved at Uppsala University Library: "Jonas Rothoff" which has been crossed out and under which the signature "J. Arrhenius" has been added. Jacob Arrhenius (1642–1725) was professor of history at Uppsala University from 1687 to 1716 (see Fig. 4.5).²²

As mentioned previously, *forastiero* is equally used to designate strangers whether from the North or the South of the Alps. Whatever the origins of Martinelli's readers, it is of interest to note the concordance between reader and traveller in terms of the addressee of his prologue. Although Martinelli manifestly turns to the former he apparently equates these two categories and aims just as much at the latter. This is, obviously, quite the norm for a guidebook, but we should, nevertheless, highlight the self-consciousness of Martinelli's address to his reader as both reader and traveller. *Roma ricercata* is designed to be used *in situ*, that is *in urbe*. Another guidebook to Rome from the beginning of the seventeenth century clarifies the condition or, maybe better, perception of *forastiero*. In Ottavio Panciroli's *Tesori Nascosti dell'Alma Città di Roma* (*Hidden Treasures of the Holy City of Rome*), written for the Jubilee of 1600, the author traces the history of the Jubilee and describes the great participation at the first one, held in the year 1300. Panciroli refers to the first Jubilee in the ensuing lines that follow his preface addressed to the "divoto Lettore" (pious reader):

[...] so Giacomo, Cardinal of S. Giorgio and nephew of the aforementioned Pope [Bonifatius VIII], was there when Bonifatius decreed the bull of the Holy year, and recounts in his libretto about it how at the vespers of Christmas Eve 1299 a great number of people, including both Romans and *forastieri*, had gathered at the Basilica of S. Pietro [...]²³

²⁰ *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* (1969–71) 691. The signature "Joh. Hermansson" might, however, also refer to his son, the general Johan von Hermansson (1726–1793).

²¹ The composition – which begins with the line "Come l'honesto ben parecchie volte" ("As the honest one on many occasions") – is dedicated "Al virtuoso giovane / Giovanni Aspman / sopra la sua disputazione / della / guardia della buona riputatione / sotto un cattivo prencipe / Gio. Hermansson" (To the virtuous young man Johan Aspman, on the occasion of his dissertation on the preservation of a good reputation during [the reign] of a bad prince. Hermansson (1735). I thank Andreas Hellerstedt and Axel Hörstedt for directing my attention to this dissertation.

²² *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* (1920) 276.

²³ "[...] e Giacomo Cardinale di S. Giorgio nipote di detto Papa [Bonifacio VIII], che si trovò nell'anno 1300 quando Bonifatio fece la Bolla dell'Anno santo, narra in un suo libretto dell'anno santo, come nelli Vespri della Vigilia di Natale dell'anno 1299 era concorsa una grandissima quantità, tanto di Romani, quanto di *forastieri* alla Basilica di S. Pietro, [...]" Panciroli (1625) 3.

Fig. 4.4: *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (1677). Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket.

Fig. 4.5: Title page of *Relatione della corte di Roma* (1660). Uppsala universitetsbibliotek.

The implication of Panciroli's two categories, "Romani" and "forastieri", is, obviously, that all those who do not pertain to the first by definition belong to the second.

The dichotomy between locals and strangers is already implied in the title of *Roma ricercata* where the author is designated as "Fioravante Martinelli romano".²⁴ This is the case, for example, of the 1662 Venetian edition of Brignonci – which I choose to quote from – as well as for several other editions printed in the Northeast region of Italy. The fact that Martinelli's origin is omitted in the first edition of *Roma ricercata*, as well as in the later ones printed in Rome, suggests that this was taken for granted in the Roman publications (see Fig. 4.1). The Venetian editors refer to Martinelli – in this case, as in Baedeker's, more of a concept than a person – as Roman in an obvious attempt to enhance the authority of his guidebook. However, Martinelli himself had hinted at this strategy, not only in his original title – in which his readers are named as *forastieri* (see Fig. 4.1) – but also in his prologue where he constantly presents himself as an insider expert of the city. The rhetorical strategy of self-fashioning his *persona* as an initiated connoisseur of Rome is connected to the traditional role of the guide, who personally guided *forastieri* in the city. Several times, Martinelli refers to the foreign reader/traveller for which *Roma ricercata* is especially intended. He thus establishes a significant and authoritative distance between himself and his readers. So, for example, in the following lines:

The passage of time and human interference have left us with nothing more than the name of the City of Romulus. The visible relics of that other [city] constructed by Kings, Consuls and Emperors are but few in number and confused in such a manner with the new [city], which dates from the Christian era, that *forastieri* would never recognise them without a guide. My intention is to serve you, without too much effort or diligence. I shall show you the way to the main streets to see the most important things, after which you will easily be able to focus on other things whilst strolling at your own pace.²⁵

Martinelli seeks to provide the reader/traveller with an overview of contemporary, modern, Rome where the few and barely recognisable remains from Antiquity are intermingled within the Christian city. His description will give basic, but learned, information for those interested in a basic outline of the city. Moreover, the author promises his reader/traveller that he will not tire him/her with "too much motion" or "diligence". Martinelli's invitation to guide his reader through the confusion caused by the juxtaposition of the Ancient and the "new", contemporary, city is already a

²⁴ Martinelli (1662).

²⁵ "Il tempo, e gl'humani accidenti hanno lasciato della Città di Romolo il solo nome: e le reliquie apparenti dell'altra fabricata da Regi, Consoli, & Imperatori, sono poche, e confuse in modo con la nuova, fabricata nel Christianesimo, che senza guida difficilmente si possono riconoscere dal forastiero. Io che penso servirvi senza straccarvi col moto, e con la soverchia applicatione, vi condurrò per le principali strade à vedere le cose più segnalate, dalle quali facilmente poi v'internerete nell'altre da passeggiarsi con vostro comodo maggiore." Martinelli (1662) 10–11.

hint that he will focus on the latter, which should be given primacy as it embodies the true faith. *Roma ricercata* offers a first approach to the city that will need further explorations and readings on the part of the traveller. Martinelli will present his reader with concise and essential information on the city and avoid lengthy and tiresome descriptions.

By emphasizing here the necessity of having a guide when navigating the city Martinelli subsequently legitimises the role of his own book, which is a substitute for a living personal guide. This guide must necessarily be Roman, as suggested by Martinelli himself, who thus claims precedence in the interpretation of the city. The explicit reference “Romano” in, for instance, the 1662 Venetian edition strengthens the authority of *Roma ricercata* as an insider’s work and hints at some sort of contest between Italian and foreign guidebooks. Apparently the beginnings of the guidebook genre, or rather the guidebook tradition, as discussed in the introduction to this volume, can be located in the writings of foreign travellers to Rome. An early example is, for instance, the Augustinian friar John Capgrave’s *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, a description of Rome from the fifteenth century.²⁶ As the cultural geographer Brice Gruet has argued in his book on the Roman street, *La Rue à Rome, miroir de la ville*, the relevance of a particular foreign gaze on the image of Rome conveyed during the Renaissance should not be underestimated “because the reading of the city is there totally different from that of the ordinary inhabitants (cultivated or not).”²⁷ Apart from the obvious consideration that a guidebook is commonly written for those who do not live in a particular city, and are therefore not acquainted with it, it is equally true that a foreigner might be more receptive to the needs and demands of other foreigners. For example, an inhabitant in a city is seldom the right person to suggest a hotel to a tourist. Moreover, Gruet discusses the “décalage” (difference or gap) between the everyday city of the inhabitants and the one of the foreigners. Although it seems logic to define the first one as the real city and the latter as the image of it conveyed, for instance, in writings, I think it is more useful to see these two categories as mutually dependent on each other. In fact, the ideal image of Rome is developed and conveyed both in the narratives of its inhabitants and in those of its visitors. This archetypal representation of the city can, possibly, be approached by using the concept of hyperplace, developed by, among others, French philosopher Jean Baudrillard. In his notion of the hyperplace, Baudrillard argues that the narratives of a place can create a reality more ‘real’ than the place itself.²⁸ Martinelli’s narrative about Rome is certainly imbued with the same energy that is implied in the concept of hyperplace, conferring an ideal meaning to the reality of the city. In *Roma ricercata*, this meaning is intimately connected to the city’s early Christian tradition.

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²⁶ Capgrave (1911).

²⁷ “[...] car la lecture de la ville y est totalement différente de celle des habitantes ordinaires (cultivés ou non).” Gruet (2006) 306.

²⁸ Baudrillard (1994).

The interaction between the everyday and the extraordinary city plays an important role in *Roma ricercata*. The constant emphasis of guidebooks on the remarkable elements of the city, exemplified by their focus on monuments, overshadows the daily life and activities of the inhabitants that are mainly carried out on the street. This focus on the exceptional aspects of the city connects guidebooks to the influential twelfth century *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* (*Marvels of the City of Rome*) with its attention to the surprising, curious and marvellous aspects of the city. As Anna Blennow explains in her chapter in this volume, this important work was passed down from a section on the Capitoline Hill in *De septem mundi miraculis* (*Seven Wonders of the world*), attributed to the Venerable Bede (672 ca.–735), in which legends and anecdotes characterise the description of Rome. The taste for anecdotes fostered by this tradition influenced guidebooks to Rome for centuries to come. However, this monument-focused image of the city, which is constitutive of what I have already defined as the foreigners' Rome, seems, at a certain point in the Early Modern period, to have been the object of a contest between an outsider and an insider view of the city. It seems reasonable to locate this dispute between the first uses of the word “guida” to designate guidebooks, around the middle of the sixteenth century, and the hundred years following the Council of Trent (1545–1563), that is the heyday of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. The affirmation of a right of precedence in the interpretation of the city is undoubtedly connected to Rome's religious character. The publication of travelogues in the vernacular languages of the foreign travellers to Rome and the Italian peninsula, which were also used as guidebooks, could potentially undermine the authority of the Catholic Church by presenting ideas and beliefs in conflict with its orthodoxy. This is the case, for example, of the late seventeenth-century French Huguenot traveller François Maximilien Misson (1650 ca.–1722) who in his *Nouveau voyage d'Italie*, published in The Hague in 1691, joined in the common Protestant critique of the illicit trade of relics.²⁹ The matter of official precedence as regards interpretations of the city of Rome led to the introduction of the papal *privilegio*, and its large-scale diffusion in the sixteenth century, as discussed by Victor Plahte Tschudi in his chapter, where he investigates Francesco Albertini's *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris Urbis Romae* (1510). Martinelli's prologue addressed to the “lettore forastiero” must therefore be interpreted in the particular context of Counter-Reformation Rome as an effort to guide foreign travellers to the correct appreciation of the papal city. This true understanding of Rome must necessarily be in accordance with Catholic orthodoxy.

The idea that the city needs to be approached according to a specific plan is developed at length in the prologue:

Having frequently taken leisurely, or devotional, strolls through this city, and noting how all around me there is evidence of ancient noble deeds and of sanctified illustrious memories and

²⁹ Ditchfield (2000), 53. On Misson's book – which was later published in English with the title *A new voyage to Italy* (London 1699) – see also Spence (2004) 376–377.

buildings, which due to their great number cannot be entrusted to the spectator's memory without endangering the truth, I resolved to briefly note them in the order which I deemed would facilitate visiting them. My friends saw this and judged it necessary for the forastiero who, lacking a guide, often ends up inevitably circling around the city, and leaves confused and amazed by the chaos, but with his desires unsatisfied, I felt compelled to publish it in the same order I had initially intended.³⁰

Martinelli's first and foremost purpose is to order the city's "chaos" by relying on a particular approach. His briefly sketched observations of the city are the result of his walks around the city for leisure or devotion. The connection and the order of appearance of these two terms are noteworthy. Martinelli's particular order for viewing the sights of Rome that he offers – or perhaps gently imposes – on the foreign reader of his guidebook is qualified as "necessary". It might be useful to linger briefly on the compulsory character of Martinelli's proposition. The prologue presents the proposed progression of the visit to Rome as a given and almost natural arrangement. This order is necessary as it enables the visitor to acquire a specific image of the city, namely the one Martinelli and his "friends" want him or her to acquire. We can presume that Martinelli here refers to the ecclesiastical and learned circles he belonged to in his capacity as secretary at the Vatican library. His close relationship with his patron and protector Cardinal Giustiniani, who later became first librarian of the Vatican Library, was decisive for Martinelli's access to this milieu. The works of those Church historians who gravitated around the Congregation of the Oratory, including Antonio Bosio (1575–1629), influenced Martinelli's approach to Christian Rome. The *archeologia sacra* (*Christian archaeology*) proposed by these historians had its roots in the devotional practices of the founder of the Congregation, San Filippo Neri (1515–1595), who had renewed and formalised the tradition of the procession to the seven Churches. This Lenten tradition usually took place on Holy Thursday and consisted of a penance walk between the four Major basilicas – San Pietro, San Paolo fuori le mura, Santa Maria Maggiore and San Giovanni in Laterano – and three further martyr churches.³¹ The pilgrimage to the holy places in which martyrs had prayed, preached, and died was a powerful act of reinforcement of the practical devotions of the Counter-Reformation. The

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30 "Per questa Città dunque passeggiando ben spesso per diporto, ò divotione, & osservandola da tutte le parti illustrata con nobili successi antichi, e santificata con illustri memorie, & edificij, li quali per la loro moltitudine non possono senza pericolo della verità fidarsi alla memoria dello spettatore, risolsi brevemente notare il tutto con quell'ordine che a me pareva più facile, per trascorrerla. Ciò visto da amici, e giudicandolo necessario per il forastiero, il quale senza guida ben spesso rivolgendosi inestricabilmente per la città, ne parte da quella confuso sì dalla magnificenza d'un chaos, ma non soddisfatto ne' suoi desiderii, sono stato necessitato à publicarlo con l'ordine medesimo, che mi sono prescritto." Martinelli (1662) 5.

31 The last three churches have changed over time. In Martinelli's time they were: San Lorenzo fuori le mura, San Sebastiano and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Today the procession is held twice a year, in May and September, shortly before the Feast of San Filippo Neri.

establishment of these religious observances was not only directed against the Protestants, as part of the polemics between the two churches, but aimed also at arousing a profound spiritual conversion in the loyal Catholic believers.³² A similar twofold aim also characterises, as stated previously, Martinelli's *Roma ricercata*. The double address of his prologue clearly situates Martinelli and his work in the Counter-Reformation project of persuading both Catholics and Protestants through a religious experience of the arts. As said, this is the background against which *Roma ricercata* must be considered.

In the passage cited above, Martinelli argues, almost imperceptibly, for the necessity of presenting a true image of the city. The “chaos” that impedes a correct appreciation of the city is that of misinterpretation. All of his efforts are aimed at avoiding the ‘endangering’ of truth. The real issue at stake here is that of fully understanding the primacy of the Catholic Church over Antiquity in the Roman topography. The greatness of ancient Rome should be seen only as a prefiguration of the new Christian city. This claim, together with the statements that he will focus more on the Modern city, shows the importance of religion for Martinelli's guidebook. Enrico Parlato has observed how Martinelli sets the beginning of Rome's history not back to the legendary Romulus and Remus but to the beginning of the fourth century in the time of Emperor Constantine. A citation by St. Jerome (347 ca.–420) opens *Roma ricercata*, defining the transformation from the Ancient, pagan, city to the Modern, Christian, as a new foundation.³³ Moreover, Parlato discusses Martinelli's double roles as an antiquarian and as a Church historian to emphasize the influence of the Counter-Reformation on his work and his view of ancient monuments as testimonies to the metamorphosis of the city. This particular combination is reflected in *Roma ricercata*. Martinelli's connection to the abovementioned antiquarian and art critic Bellori – later to become *commissario delle antichità* for Pope Clemens X (Emilio Altieri, 1670–1676) – is important evidence of his antiquarian orientation, while his association with the Congregation of the Oratory confirms his identity as Church historian.³⁴ This latter influence stands out clearly in the following quote, introducing the procession of the seven churches, in which the term “pious” is interestingly used in connection with *forastiero*:

To remind you that this journey should begin only after you have confessed your sins I deem unnecessary, because I cannot believe that the pious *forastiero* would undertake a pilgrimage through streets paved and bathed in the blood and bones of martyrs who are buried in

³² Ditchfield (2000) 46; 51–52.

³³ “Auratum squallet Capitolium, fuligine et araneorum telis omnia Romae templa cooperta sunt; movetur urbs sedibus suis et inundans populus ante delubra semiruta currit ad martyrum tumulos (Hier. Ep. 107, 1 ad Laetam)” (The golden Capitol is stained, all the temples of Rome have been covered with soot and cobwebs. The city has been moved from its place and a mass of population runs around the semi-destroyed temples of the martyrs' graves). I thank Anna Blennow for her help in the translation of this citation. Parlato (2014) 54–65.

³⁴ On Bellori and his antiquarianism in Rome during the seventeenth century see Barroero (2000) 1–6.

subterranean cemeteries, and visit churches enriched through an infinite amount of indulgences, without having partaken of the necessary sacraments of Penitence and the Eucharist as is usually commanded by their Highnesses the Popes when administering their Plenary Indulgences.³⁵

This passage is of the utmost importance. Martinelli refers here to a “pious *forastiero*”, apparently leaving out all the Protestants coming from North of the Alps. We know, however, that Northern European travellers often read Martinelli’s guidebook. The belief that Martinelli’s guidebook was read across the religious divide that was engendered, according to Schudt, by the fact that *Roma ricercata* belongs to a new category of guidebooks, more focused on the description of modern artworks than on the devotional aspects of the visit to Rome, therefore needs to be, at least partly, reconsidered. The relationship between the modern character of *Roma ricercata* and its constant references to different aspects of piety calls for further investigation. Martinelli seems interested in arousing the devotion of the *forastiero*. Regardless of whether he or she is a Catholic Florentine or a Protestant Swede, he hopes that the traveller will become pious in the course of the visit.

A confirmation of this interpretation of the *forastiero* addressed by Martinelli comes from yet another guidebook to Rome that draws on the success of *Roma ricercata*, namely Pietro de’ Sebastiani’s *Le cose più notabili tanto de’ giardini, quanto de’ palazzi, librerie, mosei, e gallerie di Roma, per facilitare la curiosità de’ forastieri* (*The most noteworthy things pertaining to the gardens, palaces, libraries, museums and galleries of Rome to facilitate the curiosity of the forastieri*, 1677). Apart from the shared address to the foreign visitor to Rome, Sebastiani also imitated the content of Martinelli’s and Bellori’s *Nota delli Musei*, and replicated the editorial success of *Roma ricercata* by publishing his own work together with two other texts. This included a grammar book for visitors coming from North of the Alps.³⁶

To sum up: in the prologue Martinelli describes his “lettore *forastiero*” as a novice traveller to Rome who must be guided through the city by means of a brief and agile presentation.

Conciseness – which is the main stylistic feature of *Roma ricercata* – therefore stands out as particularly important for the *forastiero* traveller on his first encoun-

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35 “Il ricordarvi, che questo viaggio si dovrebbe fare confessato, e comunicato, lo stimo superfluo, non potendomi persuadere, che una peregrinatione, che si fa per strade lastricate, & inaffiate con ossa, e sangue de’ martiri, che sono nelli sotterranei cemeterij, & per visitare chiese arricchite d’infinito numero d’Indulgenze, pensi il devoto *forastiero* doversi fare senza il necessario mezzo del Sacramento della Penitenza, & Eucharistia, come per il più commandano li Sommi Pontefici nel concedere l’Indulgenze Plenarie.” Martinelli (1662) 138–139.

36 The title of the grammar book is *Nuovo metodo per acquistare brevemente la lingua toscana romana per commodità delle nazioni oltramontane* (*New method for rapidly learning the Tuscan tongue of the Roman court for the use of the nations from north of the Alps*). Pierguidi (2011) 225.

ter with the magnitude of the eternal city. He or she should be adequately introduced to Rome in accordance with the true, Christian nature of the city. *Roma ricercata* needs to be concise in order not to tire its reader too much. Its presentation of the eternal city must therefore focus on the most important sites. The author is aware that his description of Rome might be considered as too short but he has good arguments for his brevity:

I realize that you could complain that I guide you with too laconic a discourse to account for what you see. But believe me, if I was to instruct you of all the principles, additions, ornaments and qualities of all the institutes, temples, palaces, gardens, squares, statues, paintings, relics, devotions, hospitals, colleges, confraternities, monasteries and all the other things of the city, my pen would fail me and you would also run out of time for your pilgrimage [visit], because many books would be necessary to satisfy your curiosity.³⁷

A whole library would not be big enough to describe all the treasures of Rome, the enormous quantity of which Martinelli renders in these lines through his long enumeration of the categories of buildings, artworks and institutions in the eternal city. Martinelli's task is to offer the traveller an introduction to the city that might suffice for the duration of a first visit. At a later occasion the traveller will need to complete this overview with further readings, among which Martinelli subsequently recommends his own further writings on Rome.³⁸ Martinelli's apology for the brevity of his description of the city conceals a declaration of his great learning about Rome, in his capacity as both antiquarian and Church historian. Martinelli's claim to authority is, as discussed both in the introduction and elsewhere in this volume, an essential features of the guidebook's genre over time. The author also redirects his reader to the inscriptions and custodians that are to be found at the different sites, in order to procure more information through their written or spoken words.³⁹ The role of

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37 "M'accorgo, che vi potete dolere, ch'io vi guidi, con discorso troppo laconico, per la notitia di ciò, che si vede; ma credetemi, se vi volessi istruire delli principii, augmenti, ornamenti, e qualità di tutti gl'istituti, tempj, palazzi, giardini, piazze, statue, pitture, reliquie, divotioni, ospidali, collegii, confraternità, monasterii, & altre cose della città, mancherebbe la penna in un col tempo prescritto alla vostra peregrinatione, poiche molti libri sarebbero necessari per soddisfare alla curiosità vostra." Martinelli (1662) 6.

38 See the quotation in note 39.

39 "My task is to briefly convey to you what will suffice at the time of your pilgrimage [visit], without caring to enumerate for you all the sacred bodies, notable relics, and sepulchres of illustrious men, nor the precious ornaments or indulgences. This not only because I shall guide you everywhere these are located, but also because you will be informed of them by the inscriptions you will see there and by the guardians you will meet. Your diligent curiosity [and desire] to profit from everything will moreover compensate [for the shortness of the account]. Later, in due time, you will acquire through the study of many printed books complete knowledge of all the sacred and profane antiquities of the City, which I have sketched in my *Roma sacra* printed in the year 1653." ("L'istituto mio è di significarvi brevemente quanto basta alla velocità della vostra peregrinatione, non curandomi di

inscriptions serving as complementary sources of knowledge in guidebooks is a practice dating back to, at least, the Einsiedeln manuscript from around the year 800 – an aspect that Anna Blennow has discussed in depth in her chapter – and something that also was noted by prominent architects from the sixteenth century, such as Pirro Ligorio and Andrea Palladio (see Anna Bortolozzi in this volume). Martinelli invites his reader/traveller – here the two categories are entirely overlapping – to seek more information from locals. The custodians Martinelli recommends are what we could today, anachronistically, define as ‘authorised guides’. The information they will convey about the sites under their control is guaranteed by their loyalty to the organization for which they work, that is the Catholic Church. In this respect, *Roma ricercata* is markedly different from those modern, tourist guidebooks which, following Baedeker’s example, promote the complete independence of the traveller from the people living at the sites visited (see Sabrina Norlander Eliasson in this volume).

Finally, it is worth noting that in this last quote, as well as in the previous one, the term “peregrinatione” (pilgrimage) is used for travel. Although it is probably impossible to fully understand the exact meaning Martinelli imparted to this expression – considering also its present meaning of ‘travelling’ – the religious implications are clear. The triumph of the Modern, Christian, city over the Ancient, Pagan, one is clearly conveyed in expressions such as “purged by the heathen blood”.⁴⁰ Rome is “reborn” as a “new City” thanks to its “palaces, churches, gardens, bridges, pyramids, columns and other buildings, no less admirable than the ancient ones”.⁴¹ Martinelli pledges to his “lettore forastiero” that he will demonstrate the supremacy of Christian Rome over its Ancient forerunner. To lighten up this highly serious engagement Martinelli concludes his prologue with some final words on the utility of his guidebook. *Roma ricercata* will serve “to stroll around the City, with some guidance, and with honest entertainment”.⁴² Martinelli’s use of the Horatian form of expression – reminiscent of the Latin poet’s renowned “utile dulci” – gives the impression that Martinelli was imparting a moral task to the *forastiero*.

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numerarvi li corpi santi, le reliquie insigni, li sepolchri d’huomini illustri, gl’ornamenti pretiosi, e l’indulgenze, non tanto perche suppongo condurvi per ogni loco, dove sono, quanto, che delle note, che in ciascun luogo vedrete, e dalli custodi ne potrete essere informati; & oltre a ciò supplirà la curiosa diligenza vostra a godere il tutto: poi con tempo più opportuno arriverete, con lo studio di molti libri stampati, all’intiera notitia dell’antichità sacre, e profane della Città, li quali v’ho accennati nella mia Roma sacra stampata in Latino nell’anno 1653.”). Martinelli (1662) 6.

⁴⁰ “purgata dall’idolatro sangue”. Martinelli (1662) 3.

⁴¹ “E risorta la nuova Città con palazzi, chiese, giardini, ponti, piramidi, colonne, & altri edificij non meno riguardevoli de gli antichi: [. . .]”. Martinelli (1662) 4.

⁴² “per passeggiare per la Città, con qualche regola, e con virtuoso trattenimento.” Martinelli (1662) 4.

The “order” of the visit: Martinelli’s topographical organization of Rome

In the previous paragraph, I gave an outline of Martinelli’s *forastiero* reader/traveller based on a close reading of the foreword of *Roma ricercata*. I shall now turn my attention to the order of the visit that Martinelli envisages for his *forastiero*, aiming to answer the question of which particular aspects of the city are given priority in *Roma ricercata* and how the rationale for this specifically relates to the intended reader.

Martinelli’s ten “giornate” (daily itineraries) always start from Via dell’Orso, close to the southern parts of via di Ripetta, where, as he writes at the beginning of the first *giornata*, most of the visitors found lodgings:

So, as the strada dell’Orso and of Tordinona – already paved in Sixtus IV’s time and therefore called Sistina – is renowned among the *forastieri* for its many inns, the majority of them have their lodgings in this district. It seems therefore convenient to me that with this guide you start and finish your journeys here every day.⁴³

The visit to the city makes an orderly progression from north to south, which was at that time also the usual way of entering the city, through the Porta del Popolo. As every itinerary always commenced from via dell’Orso and its surroundings, and returned there at the end of each day, these routes naturally took a circular form (see Fig. 1 in Appendix II).

Given this fundamental organizational principle of the tours, Martinelli’s first and foremost criterion for his description of the city, stated and restated several times, is brevity. A striking example of Martinelli’s conciseness is to be found at the beginning of the second *giornata*, “Per il Trastevere”, when he recommends that the reader/traveller visits the tomb of the sixteenth-century poet Torquato Tasso in the church of Sant’Onofrio on the Gianicolo. The *forastiero* is advised to cross the Tiber over the bridge of Sant’Angelo, starting from via dell’Orso in the same way as the previous day: “Go back to the Bridge of Sant’Angelo to see the beautiful Church of S. Onofrio in which Torquato Tasso, Italian Poet, is buried”.⁴⁴ Apart from highlighting its beauty Martinelli does not describe Sant’Onofrio at all, but refers the visitor to the information to be found *in situ*. The specification “Italian” for Tasso locates the provenance of the reader/traveller outside Rome and the Italian peninsula. This qualifier should, however, also be intended as a linguistic and literary one

⁴³ “Per tanto essendo, per la moltitudine de gli alberghi, notissima à forastieri la strada dell’Orso, e di Tordinona, lastricata già da Sisto Quarto di mattoni, che perciò nel suo secolo si diceva, Sistina, facilmente prende la maggior parte d’essi l’habitatione in questa contrada: per il che da questa parmi necessario che con la presente guida principiate, e terminate giornalmente il vostro viaggio.” Martinelli (1662) 11.

⁴⁴ “Ritornate per il Ponte sant’Angelo, à vedere la vaga Chiesa di s. Onofrio, nella quale stà sepolto Torquato Tasso Poeta Italiano.” Martinelli (1662) 24.

and not only as a geographical indication. Some lines later we find a striking example of how Martinelli helps his reader/traveller conceptualize the space of the city:

*After a few more steps you will come out of the Lungara through the gate commonly known as Settignana [Settimiana] from Emperor Septimius Severus, who, according to some, built his Thermae with an Altar to Janus here. [...] When you exit from this gate you will go up to the right to behold the fountain of the Alsietina aqueduct, constructed with marble taken from the ruins of the Forum of Emperor Nerva by order of Paul V, to which the waters from the lake of Bracciano flowed through a duct thirty-five miles in length. [my italics]*⁴⁵

Roma ricercata guides, in the true sense of the word, the reader/traveller from one place in the city to the other. Expressions such as “after a few steps” or “go up to the right” create an internalised mind map of the city that helps the visitors to find their way around Rome.

If the succinct character of Martinelli’s account is striking, his omissions are even more so. The brevity of *Roma ricercata* is the result of a selection process through which the author establishes an order of priority among the monuments and spots of interests of Rome. This is an aspect that has been noticed by Brice Gruet, who underlines the excluding and authoritative character of Martinelli’s tours.⁴⁶ In Gruet’s words, this sort of ranking gives “an extraordinarily normative picture of the city, which operates a classifying gaze between what is worth seeing and all the rest”.⁴⁷ This vision of Rome favours a tour in which monuments such as churches, palaces and important squares, overshadow the rest of the city. Gruet’s point is particularly interesting as he notes how Martinelli’s presentation of the city to foreign eyes applies a particular gaze on it, that is, a specific strategy to render what is unfamiliar familiar or, better, to give the stranger access to Rome. By encountering the specific monuments and sites as parts of pre-determined walks around the city, the *forastiero* rapidly grows accustomed to its topography at the same pace as he or she begins to recognize these places. The priority given to monuments is intimately connected to the traveller’s memory. As Gruet reminds us “the purpose of a monument, as is well-known, is to remind one of something”.⁴⁸ That Martinelli’s and other contemporary guidebooks focus on the symbolic places of the city is a heritage from the *mirabilia*-tradition, mainly intended to activate travellers’ memories so that they will remember certain specific aspects of the city

⁴⁵ “*Con pochi passi uscite dalla Longara per la porta chiamata volgarmente Settignana, da Settimio Severo Imperatore, che qui edificò le sue Terme con Altare à Giano, secondo alcuni. [...] Usciti da questa porta salirete à man dritta à vedere la fontana dell’acqua Alsietina fabricata di marmi cavati nelle ruine del Foro di Nerva Imperatore d’ordine di Paolo V e fattevi condurre l’acqua dal lago di Bracciano con tratto di trentacinque miglia di condotto. [my italics]*”. Martinelli (1662) 24.

⁴⁶ Gruet (2008).

⁴⁷ “image extraordinairement normative de la ville, opérant un véritable tri du regard entre ce qui valait la peine d’être vu et le reste.” Gruet (2008) 271.

⁴⁸ “Or un monument sert, on le sait, à se *ressouvenir*.” Gruet (2006) 320.

when they return back home.⁴⁹ The following, already quoted, passage from the foreword, explains the risk run by the traveller who visits Rome without the specific order imparted by a guide, be it a person or a text. He “departs from it confused by the magnificence of a chaos, but unsatisfied in his desires”.⁵⁰ However anachronistic this reference might seem it is noteworthy how Italian twentieth-century novelist Italo Calvino, in *Le città invisibili* (1972), emphasises precisely memory and desire as two major urban aspects with the capacity to trigger an appreciation of the city.⁵¹ Although Calvino's short stories are about imaginary cities, this perspective equally suits real ones. Martinelli's guidebook and Calvino's stories, in different ways, both reveal the fact that cities are built just as much by the tales about them as by their physical walls, streets, squares et cetera. All cities are thus also characterised by their own imaginary qualities. Finally, the marked focus on monuments that the guidebook tradition entails lies at the core of the tourist approach to travelling. This attitude is so deeply rooted in our appreciation of cities that it might, in fact, be difficult to recognize it. Nowadays tourists – a category just as broad as Martinelli's *forastiero*-class – are mainly interested in, or rather, chiefly directed to monuments and different spots of interest, to the detriment of the everyday life of the cities. Even in those cases where experiencing the ordinary/everyday life of cities is the goal, as in the increasingly frequent invitation of contemporary guidebooks to ‘go local’, this involves some sort of monumentalisation of this experience of the city.

Martinelli's guide nevertheless compensates for its main interest in the extraordinary aspects of the city by adding, at the end of the book, two lists: one of the gates, hills and districts of the city and the other of “The squares and districts in which different arts reside and in which Fairs and Markets are held”.⁵² These lists already appeared – together with an index – in the first edition in 1644 and were reprinted in all later editions. Gruet considers the list of artisans unique among seventeenth-century guidebooks to Rome because it leads the traveller to also perceive the city according to its professions. What it reveals is the Rome of the contemporary Romans, the ordinary and everyday city that is most often neglected in other guidebooks. Hence, the specialised activities and professions of the city also acted as spatial markers in the topographical conceptualization of the city.⁵³ Gruet, who focuses his investigation on the 1658 edition, asks himself if Martinelli's success might depend on the particular attention he shows to everyday aspects of the city. My investigation of the concept of *forastiero* in *Roma ricercata* strengthens Gruet's hypothesis, as the overall experience of the city Martinelli promotes is especially

⁴⁹ Gruet (2006) 305.

⁵⁰ “ne parte da quella confuso sì dalla magnificenza d'un chaos, ma non soddisfatto ne' suoi desiderii”. Martinelli (1662) 5.

⁵¹ Calvino (1993) V–XI.

⁵² “Piazze, e contrade, doue risiedono diverse arti, e si fanno Fiere, o Mercati”. Martinelli (1662) 173.

⁵³ Gruet (2008) 269–270.

designed for the foreign traveller to Rome. In fact, the reason why Martinelli includes such lists appears to be connected to his focus on meeting every possible need of the foreign visitor to Rome. Quite obviously such lists were of less interest to the Roman citizens. Here lies, in my opinion, Martinelli's real innovation, that is, in writing a guidebook which is particularly designed to meet potential demands of the *forastiero* reader/traveller, even the more practical ones.

Moreover, the tours proposed by Martinelli lead the traveller not only to Rome's monuments and extraordinary sites, but also, by means of circular movements, to places where they get a glimpse of the rest of the city. This aspect of the appreciation of the city eludes any investigation, but must nonetheless be taken into account. My experience of walking around in Rome following Martinelli's tours has brought my attention to this point.⁵⁴ The circularity of the walks allows the travellers to recognize the places they pass as their stay in Rome progresses. Martinelli's travellers move in circles not only from the start of the tours until their end at via dell'Orso, but also within the tours themselves, during which they often pass by monuments and sites that have already been visited. An account of Martinelli's ten tours clearly shows the circularity of these movements around the city.

The first and second days of *Roma ricercata* are dedicated respectively to St. Peter's Basilica and the Vatican ("Per il Borgo Vaticano") and, as mentioned previously, Trastevere. Both itineraries lead to the right bank of the Tiber by crossing the Sant'Angelo bridge (see Fig. 4.6). The choice of St. Peter's Basilica as the 'gateway' to the visit of the city establishes a clear hierarchy between the sites to be visited, according to which Christian, Modern Rome is always privileged. During the second day Martinelli guides his reader/traveller to an impressive number of churches (see Fig. 1 in Appendix II). After the aforementioned Sant'Onofrio with Tasso's grave, his proposed visit includes the monastery of Regina Coeli, San Pietro in Montorio, Santa Maria della Scala, Santa Maria del Carmine, Santa Maria in Trastevere, San Francesco a Ripa, Santa Maria dell'Orto, Santa Cecilia, San Crisogono and Sant'Agata. Only two secular buildings are included in this second itinerary: villa Chigi and palazzo Riario, today known as villa Farnesina and palazzo Corsini. While Martinelli praises the work of the "divino Raffaele" (divine Raphael) with regard to the former, he only mentions the latter. Rome's sacred nature is astonishingly dominant. The reader/traveller is then invited to return to his/her lodging in via dell'Orso by means of Ponte Sisto. This walk took, and still takes, a good while – at least all morning and most of the afternoon – depending of course on the length of each stop. Martinelli's concluding remark alludes to the tiring character of this itinerary: "It is now time to turn back to your lodging".⁵⁵

⁵⁴ In the period between October 2013 and November 2016 I walked all of Martinelli's ten itineraries in *Roma ricercata*.

⁵⁵ "È tempo di fare ritorno alla vostra habitatione". Martinelli (1662) 30.

Fig. 4.6: Ponte Sant'Angelo. Detail from Giovanni Battista Nolli, *Nuova pianta di Roma* (1748). Wikimedia Commons.

Similar circular movements are suggested for all the following days' itineraries. The third day ("Da Strada Giulia all'Isola di S. Bartolomeo") covers the area around via Giulia, starting from San Giovanni dei Fiorentini (close to via dell'Orso) and goes down to the Tiber island, more or less between what is today corso Vittorio Emanuele and the Tiber. The churches and palaces located on via Giulia are the main goals of this walk. The former are just as numerous as on the previous day. The Church of Saint Birgitta of Sweden is briefly described as the place "in which she received some visions from Christ Our Lord and, according to some, died a saint's death".⁵⁶ Palazzo Farnese, Falconieri and Spada are the three prominent palaces recommended on this day. Martinelli highlights Borromini's renovations to Palazzo Falconieri. Notably, this day's tour continues to San Gerolamo where San Filippo Neri founded the Congregation of the Oratory and to Santa Maria in Vallicella, the so-called Chiesa Nuova to

⁵⁶ "nella quale hebbe alcune visioni da Christo Signor Nostro; & in essa, secondo alcuni, morì santamente". Martinelli (1662) 35–36.

which this Congregation moved in 1577 (Fig. 5.5). Here, Borromini's courtyard is praised with these words:

This sacristy is embraced by two courtyards, the porticos and loggias of which are held up by only one, composed, order of arches, and not by several as has been architecture usual until today. This invention truly renders this building more magnificent and the wit of its Creator, Borromini, more admirable.⁵⁷

Martinelli's appreciation of his friend Borromini's work is clear in these lines, as is his interest in modern, contemporary art and architecture. Raphael and Borromini are the two masters and examples to follow in these fields. The itinerary of the third day continues to Campo de' Fiori and ends on the Tiber island, after a short passage through the Jewish Ghetto.

The itineraries for the ensuing days move slightly eastwards. The fourth day ("Da S. Lorenzo in Damaso al Monte Aventino") goes from the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, just behind Campo de' Fiori, to Sant'Andrea della Valle first and then to Piazza Mattei where the traveller/reader is invited to stop by Taddeo Landini's "fountain with the Dolphins", today better known as the *Fontana delle Tartarughe* (*Fountain of the Turtles*).⁵⁸ This day's itinerary then continues to Palazzo Savelli, which had been built in the old Theatre of Marcellus, past Santa Maria in Cosmedin and up to the Aventine where another great number of churches are recommended. The itinerary of the fifth day ("Dalla Piazza di Pasquino per li monti Celio, e Palatino") starts off from Piazza di Pasquino and goes to the Celio and the Palatine hills. On the way to the Celio Martinelli's reader/traveller passes by the Monastery of Tor de' Specchi, founded by Santa Francesca Romana (1384–1440), and once again by the Theatre of Marcellus, which he or she should recognize from the previous day. The sixth day ("Da S. Salvatore del Lauro per Campo Vaccino, e per le Carrine") begins from San Salvatore in Lauro and crosses through Piazza Navona to the Capitoline Hill. Borromini is once again praised for his interventions in the churches of Sant'Agnese and Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza, which are described at length. From here the itinerary continues to the Capitoline Hill and then on to the Forum Romanum – which the *forastiero* had passed close by on both day four and five – and then to the Colosseum, San Pietro in Vincoli and San Francesco di Paola on the way back to Piazza Venezia, close to the Capitoline Hill.

The three following days are concentrated on the western part of the city and the areas around Piazza del Popolo. The seventh day ("Dalla Piazza di S. Apollinare per il Monte Viminale, e Quirinale") is concerned with the surroundings of Santa Maria

⁵⁷ "Viene abbracciata la detta sagrestia da due cortili, li cui portici, e loggie, sono sostenute con un solo ordine composito, e non da più, come è stata solita operare l'architettura fin'hora: inventione al certo, che rende più magnifica la fabrica, e più ammirabile l'ingegno del Borromino suo Autore." Martinelli (1662) 39.

⁵⁸ "la fontana con Delfini". Martinelli (1662) 43.

Maggiore and the Quirinale. From the Church of Sant'Apollinare the *forastiero* is invited to visit first Sant'Agostino and then the Church of the French nation: "The church of San Luigi de' Francesi enriched with noble paintings and graves, where the square in which it was located had been named de' Saponari in the year 1509."⁵⁹ Apart from the brevity of the description it is noteworthy that Martinelli does not mention the two paintings of Caravaggio conserved in this church, which today attract a great number of tourists. According to Martinelli Caravaggio's realism is here, as elsewhere, surpassed by the classicist aesthetics of Raphael. Martinelli then points out Palazzo Giustiniani to his reader/traveller, standing just in front of San Luigi, and praises it for its collection of statues and paintings. This palace was well-known to Martinelli because of his connection to Cardinal Orazio Giustiniani. This day's tour continues with another series of churches: Sant'Eustacchio, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, with the nearby monastery of the Dominicans, Santo Stefano in Cacco, the Collegio Romano – just mentioned in one single line – Santa Maria in via Lata, on which Martinelli had already written a study, Santi Apostoli, et cetera. The walk continues to the district of Suburra and, after a while, to Santa Maria Maggiore and finally to the Quirinale. The itinerary of the eighth day ("Da Piazza Nicosia alle Terme Diocletiane") stretches from the Collegio Clementino to Campo Marzio and Fontana di Trevi, and then all the way to the Baths of Diocletian. The ninth day ("Da Piazza Nicosia alle Porte del Popolo, e Pinciana") covers what has been left over from the previous days, starting from Palazzo Borghese and leading up to the Pincio and Villa Borghese. Finally, the last day is dedicated to the abovementioned traditional tour of the seven churches instituted by San Filippo Neri. These are: San Pietro, San Paolo fuori le mura, Santa Maria Maggiore, San Giovanni in Laterano, San Lorenzo fuori le mura, San Sebastiano and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Notably, all of them had already been described in the previous tours.

To sum up: these different walks must inevitably have increased the travellers' awareness of the city, something that led to readers of *Roma ricercata* also being pulled into its everyday elements. These double registers, which allow one to visit both the learned and the everyday city at the same time, are active thanks to what Gruet calls a "vision in which space is internalised and represented above all as a route".⁶⁰ The organized itineraries and the absence of maps generates this internalised space through which the *forastieri* found their way in the city. This space, which is a blend of magnificent and mundane elements of the city, is particularly suited for a visitor who is interested both in sightseeing and in the practicalities of visiting a foreign city (street names, food markets, art galleries, shops, et cetera). All these aspects are, finally, essential for the creation of the foreigners' Rome that would become increasingly important in the age of the Grand Tour. Martinelli's efforts to combine the extraordinary

⁵⁹ "La chiesa di S. Luigi de' Francesi, ricca di nobili pitture, e sepolcri, la cui piazza si chiamava nell'ann. 1509 de' Saponari." Martinelli (1662) 95.

⁶⁰ "vision dans laquelle l'espace est intériorisé et représenté avant tout comme parcours." Gruet (2008) 262. Gruet refers here to Pietro Ianni's ideas as put forward in Ianni (1984).

and the everyday aspects of the city were augmented by the publication, from 1650 and onwards, of *Roma ricercata* in a single volume with two treatises on the pontifical court: *La Relatione della corte di Roma* by Girolamo Lunadoro and *Il Maestro di Camera* by Francesco Sestini. These two texts, which I shall discuss in the next section, treat a variety of practical issues pertaining to the city and its institutions.

La Relatione della corte di Roma and Il Maestro di Camera

The second edition of *Roma ricercata* appeared in 1650, on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Catholic Church. It was published in Rome together with *Racconto dell'anno santo*, a historical overview over the Jubilee. As previously mentioned, that same year the printer from Padua Paolo Frambotto published Martinelli's guidebook together with Lunadoro's and Sestini's treatises. This was the first of many editions in which the three texts appeared together.⁶¹ In 1660 the editor Giovanni Pietro Brignonci published a similar edition of *Roma ricercata* in Venice. In the Paduan and Venetian editions *Roma ricercata* was always placed as the last of the three.⁶²

La Relatione della corte di Roma and *Il Maestro di Camera* can be best described as guidebooks to the administration and ceremonial of the pontifical court, phenomena that apparently not only were of equal interest to the eternal city itself but also appealed to the same audience. As already mentioned, Lunadoro had a very specific reader in mind when he wrote *Relatione della corte di Roma*: the future Cardinal Carlo de' Medici. It was Carlo's mother, Christine of Lorraine, who commissioned this treatise in 1611, four years before his election as Cardinal in 1615. Lunadoro's text was widely disseminated in manuscript form from the outset and later published for the first time in Rome in 1635.⁶³ The initiative to publish it was taken by the author's nephew, Romolo Lunadoro, in response to the publication of Francesco Sestini's *Il Maestro di Camera*, which drew so heavily on *Relatione della corte di Roma* that the relation between the two texts can almost be described as plagiarism.⁶⁴ Several new editions of Lunadoro's work followed and the text was for a long time considered the best manual for papal ceremonial. The reason it was written in the first place was to

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⁶¹ Interestingly, *La Relatione della corte di Roma* was also published in a shared volume with *Nota delli Musei* in 1664 by the Roman editor Deversin, together with Felice Cesaretti, at the "stamperia del Falco" (press il Falco), something which connects the short guidebook, previously attributed to Bellori alone, even more closely with Martinelli as well.

⁶² For a thorough account of the editorial history of *Roma ricercata* see Pierguidi (2011) 227–228 and Caldana (2003) 64–69.

⁶³ Lunadoro (1635).

⁶⁴ Pierguidi (2011) 227.

counter the rumours that came from Rome about Carlo's election. Yet another treatise, this time anonymous, was commissioned for Carlo's appointment as Cardinal and his subsequent move from Florence to Rome in 1615, namely the *Istruttione di come si ha da governare alla corte di Roma*, preserved in the Vatican Library.⁶⁵ Both texts had a very specific and practical aim and use. Carlo de' Medici needed to be informed in detail about the pontifical court to meet the demands of his new employment.

A short overview of Lunadoro's life gives us a sense of the content and importance of his treatise. Lunadoro was born in Siena in 1575, in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and came to Rome first in 1594 as secretary of Abbot Lanfranco Margotti, in his turn secretary of Cardinal Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini, nephew of Clemens VIII, Pope Ippolito Aldobrandini (1592–1605). Lunadoro was later employed by Cardinal Aldobrandini himself and became his *maestro di camera* (*master of the household*). His good services in this capacity earned him the title of earl and the election to the order of Santo Stefano, founded by Cosimo I de' Medici in 1561. At the election of Paul V in 1605, Lunadoro entered in the service of Cardinal Scipione Borghese Caffarelli. He was subsequently for a short period Filippo Carafa's *maestro di camera*. Carafa was Marquis of Castelvetero and nephew of the Pope. Lunadoro was later employed by Francesco Borghese, Pope Paul Vs brother.⁶⁶ Lunadoro was, in other words, a much appreciated and very experienced courtier who had held the difficult post of *maestro di camera* on several occasions. He, or rather his treatise, was therefore the best possible guide to the pontifical court, which is confirmed by the fact that it was not only published in countless editions, but also circulated in a great number of manuscript copies even before it was printed.

The significance of the *Relatione della corte di Roma* can also be measured by the important position its addressee Cardinal Carlo de' Medici attained at the court in Rome. After his election to Cardinal by Paul V he soon became the leader of the faction within the Papal consistory that promoted a transversal politics, somehow independent from French and Spanish interests. Although this position remained informal he acted as some sort of arbiter in the Conclave of 1622, during which he stood up as the protector of the interests of the Italian states. The long papacy of the Barberini Pope, Urban VIII (1623–1644), reinforced his position, and the alliance between the Roman aristocracy and Spain, which led to the election of Innocent X (Giovanni Battista Pamphilj, 1644–1655) in 1644, had an important proponent in Carlo de' Medici.⁶⁷ The successive Pope, Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi, 1655–1667), honoured him by appointing him as one of the two papal legates, together with Cardinal Frederick of Hesse-Darmstadt (1616–1682), who welcomed Queen Christina

⁶⁵ Brunelli (2009) 31–33.

⁶⁶ Crucitti (2006) 554–557.

⁶⁷ Visceglia (1998) 85.

of Sweden (1626–1689) on her arrival in Rome in December 1655. To sum up, these events bear witness to the important career of Cardinal Carlo de' Medici, which, in some measure, Lunadoro's treatise prepared him for.

So, what kind of instructions does Lunadoro provide his reader with? *Relatione della corte di Roma* gives a detailed account of the organisation of the court of Rome, its hierarchies and offices, and their different tasks. The author also describes all the rites and ceremonies held in Rome, as well as the conduct to be observed at every single occasion. Lunadoro's continuous references to the different dresses and colours of the representatives of the court are an example of his accuracy. There is, for instance, a whole paragraph dedicated to "The distinction between the red and scarlet dress to be used by Cardinals on a daily basis",⁶⁸ and when Lunadoro discusses the offices of the Master of ceremonies he describes how "they always dress in scarlet and with soutane and soprana, with sleeve down to the floor, filling and black buttons".⁶⁹

Francesco Sestini's *Il Maestro di Camera* overlaps with Lunadoro's *Relatione della corte di Roma*. The rites and ceremonies of the papal court described by Sestini are basically the same as in Lunadoro's treatise. *Il Maestro di Camera* shows the same practical concerns as its forerunner, something which stands out clearly in this quote introducing the paragraph "Della dignità Cardinalitia" (On Cardinals' worthiness):

Such have I myself dealt with this [the matters pertaining Cardinals] in my capacity as Master of Ceremonies and have noted down, by and by, that which I have learned and done, for the sake of my memory and instruction. However, where I earlier comprehended these things in a confused and disordered manner I later gave them the form they needed in order to be understood by, and satisfy, my friends who asked me to publish them.⁷⁰

These lines are revealing of the similarities of aims that connect Sestini's and Lunadoro's treatises with Martinelli's guidebook. The idea of giving a specific order to the information, necessary to guide the reader through a number of complicated situations or places, is a common characteristic of the three texts. Their joint publication in one single volume seems to have met a specific demand from foreign and Italian travellers to Rome, namely to present a totality of all possible aspects pertaining to the court of Rome, such as its

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⁶⁸ "Distinzione dell'habito rosso, e pavonazzo che devono usar li Card. giornalmente". Lunadoro (1660) 148.

⁶⁹ "[...] vestono continuamente pavonazzo, e con sottana, e soprana, con maniche lunghe fino à terra, con l'imbottiture, e bottoni negri". Lunadoro (1660) 148.

⁷⁰ "Onde io mentre mi sono essercitato in esse, come Maestro di Camera, hò notato di mano in mano quello, che in tal maniera mi è succeduto di haver a sapere, & operare, non ad altro fine, che a memoria, & instruttione mia. Ma però dove prima io havevo ogni cosa confusa, e senza ordine, hò dato poi loro quella forma, che hanno, e che basta solamente a farle intellegibili, & a sodisfare gli amici, che mi hanno fatto istanza di voler vederle." Sestini (1672) 4.

administration and its many rites and ceremonies, as well as the architectural and artistic sites of the city. It seems reasonable that these editions were published with the expectation of finding a good market among travellers passing by through Padua and Venice on their way to Rome. The three texts published together could be used as a sort of encyclopaedia of the city of Rome. The function of the index and of the lists was particularly important in this respect. The functional aspect of these editions of Martinelli's guidebook is also clear through their simpler graphic design. These publications were printed in a small format and with no illustrations. This editorial context for *Roma ricercata* appears to be directed by a strong will to *appropriate* the city in all its aspects.

Conclusion

In my analysis of Martinelli's intended reader, and traveller, as he or she appears in the prologue to *Roma ricercata*, I have focused on the concept of the *forastiero*. This qualification defines everyone coming from outside Rome as the main target of the guidebook. Martinelli thus, implicitly, reserves for himself, in his quality as Roman, the right of possessing the true interpretation of the city. This simple, almost imperceptible, rhetorical strategy implies that all other interpretations are to be deemed false, or at least to be doubted. *Roma ricercata* should therefore be considered in the context of the increasing publication of travelogues and guidebooks on Rome by foreigners. Martinelli's presentation of the city responds to the need of the Catholic Church to control the image of the city that was conveyed to the numerous travellers to Rome. The requirement to control potentially subversive interpretations of the city that might endanger or damage the authority of the Church therefore lies at the core of *Roma ricercata*. Although Martinelli's guidebook is undeniably 'modern' in the way it presents contemporary architecture and art, often inviting its readers to an aesthetic appreciation of them, this aspect is always subordinate to the religious experience. The order of the visit proposed by Martinelli in his ten tours around the city exemplifies this hidden agenda. The topographical organization of the city that he proposes always puts Christian, Modern Rome first. A specific, foreign, gaze on the city is thus constructed by Martinelli, a *romano*, by means of an enhanced focus on the monuments of Christian Rome. Despite the fact that the extraordinary aspects of the city are given priority, Martinelli manages to include the everyday life of the city as well, through the addition of a separate section of lists and appendices. The common life of the city appears thus as an important backdrop to the monuments and the different holy sites. Martinelli's conciseness in his descriptions of the city lure the *forastiero* reader/traveller to partake in the Christian history of the city which

is, at first glance, difficult to engage in. This aspect of the guidebook is enhanced by its publication together with Lunadoro's and Sestini's treatises. However, *Roma ricercata*'s focus on the most important monuments and sites imposes, in a very subtle way, a hierarchical order on the elements of the city. With the aim to convert the traveller to a pilgrim, the sacred, Christian city is always given top priority. Thus, the *forastiero* envisaged by Martinelli is always, regardless of his provenance, at least potentially "pious" ("devoto").

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