THE GRAND TOUR IN THE COLLI ALBANI

FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE GRAND TOUR IN THE COLLI ALBANI FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

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PREFACE

Notes with impressions and curiosities, but also paintings, drawings and "reliefs" of archaeological monuments – that have now become hubs for a network of itineraries: these are some of the legacies of the Grand Tour phenomenon, the well known journey that involved the off-springs of European aristocracy as an important component for the fulfilment of their personal and artistic education. Although already known in the seventeenth century, the Grand Tour had a great driving force in Italy following the exceptional discoveries of Pompeii and Herculaneum, around the middle of the 18th century. The area of the Alban Hills is also recognized as an inexhaustible source of inspiration for travellers-artists who found the perfect combination of spectacular nature and the remains of a glorious past in the landscapes south of Rome. In addition, between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in the areas around Rome, often still wild, the feverish archaeological research spread, promoted above all by English gentlemen who, driven by the desire for discovery, organized "digging societies", feeding an increasingly voracious market of antiquities in Europe.

The season of archaeological excavations concerning Gabii, Nemi, Genzano, Lanuvio, Velletri, responds to the demand for ancient marbles of foreign collectors but has left us, on the other hand, works of great documentary value such as the drawings by Carlo Labruzzi or the writings of Carlo Fea or Nicola Ratti. These are the years of Napoleon's Campaign in Italy and the Treaty of Tolentino (1797) which imposes a harsh surrender on Pope Pius VI and above all a great requisition of works of art of the territory: among all, we remember the huge statue of the Pallas Veliterna (also known as Pallas of Velletri), today at the Musée du Louvre. But it is the same period that gave birth to Stefano Borgia's Collectibles "of the four parts of the world", which from 1769 to 1804 gathered ten classes of objects belonging to ten civilizations from around the world in his house in Velletri; or of "travelers of discovery", such as Marianna Frediani Dionigi from Lanuvio or the American John Izard Middleton, to whom we owe a very rich archaeological documentation of territories less travelled by the youth of the Grand Tour.

The centrality of the Alban Hills in the Grand Tour has never diminished. Yet, we may observe a change in the way to approach the tour across time. After a long period of silence between the World War One and World War Two, the Grand Tour journey was resumed as "Gita ai Castelli" [excursion to the Roman Castles] a very popular outing for "tourists" coming from very close places. It is only in the last few years that a strong desire to know, to travel and discover our territories is reappearing. The attitude that characterizes this

growing interest for the Alban Hills, is more respectful and more appropriate to their cultural value.

On the one hand, the Police Forces, together with the Authorities in charge, continue in their work of recovering archaeological and art assets unlawfully stolen, on the other, young and not-so-young Italians and Europeans return to travel "in the footsteps of the Grand Tour". They often make the journey on foot, but with technological tools that allow to capture landscapes and monumental beauties more effectively. Today's walkers walk the Appian Way but also the paths next to the lakes of Castel Gandolfo and Nemi, they photograph the same views that the eighteenth and nineteenth century artists portrayed in their works and share their experiences and suggestions on social media: a new Grand Tour, perhaps with more ephemeral results than in the past, but no less intense, in terms of pleasure and knowledge for those who launch themselves in this adventure.

I wish that this book will be a useful companion for those who are about to embark on the Alban Hills Tour.

Simona Carosi

Superintendence of Archeology, Fine Arts and Landscape for the Rome Metropolitan Area, the Province of Viterbo and Southern Etruria

INTRODUCTION
Account of a project

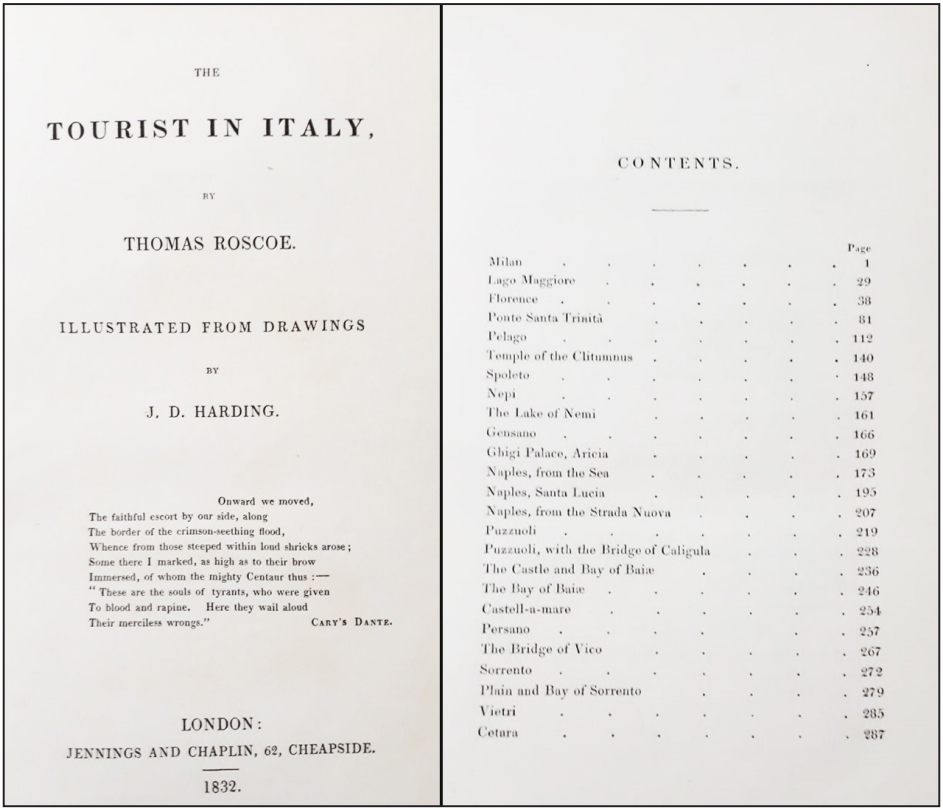
Virginia Volterra

In this introduction I will briefly explain how the idea of this project started with the collaboration of a group of friends and resulted in the essays collected here.

Around the end of 2015, in the library of Villino Volterra, recently restored (Veneziani & Volterra, 2008, new edition 2018) I discovered a book entitled *The Tourist in Italy* by Thomas Roscoe, published in 1832. The volume guides the foreign tourist through Italy and offers a description not only of big cities as *Milan, Florence* and *Naples*, but also locations in the Colli Albani area, with three chapters devoted respectively to *The Lake of Nemi, Ghigi Palace, Aricia, Gensano.*

The beautiful image realized by the American photographer, and great friend, Diane Farris in the cover of the present volume, represents the book by Roscoe flying on top of the Chigi Palace today.

This guide for the tourist, who indicated the Colli Albani as one of the main step of the Grand Tour in Italy, aroused my curiosity and made me, and a group of friends, eager to learn



THE

TOURIST IN ITALY,

BY

THOMAS ROSCOE.

ILLUSTRATED FROM DRAWINGS

BY

J. D. HARDING.

Onward we moved,
The faithful escort by our side, along
The border of the crimson-seething flood,
Whence from those steeped within loud shrieks arose;
Some there I marked, as high as to their brow
Immersed, of whom the mighty Centaur thus :—
" These are the souls of tyrants, who were given
To blood and rapine. Here they wail aloud
Their merciless wrongs." CARY'S DANTE.

LONDON:
JENNINGS AND CHAPLIN, 62, CHEAPSIDE.

1832.

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more about the Grand Tour in the area around the Villino, that is in the stretch of Via Appia going from Albano Laziale to Genzano and Nemi where in 1904 my grandparents decided to build their summer residence. The group included not only friends from Rome with various competences but also friends living in the area and already very interested in this topic.

During the first meetings we did realize that, although there were many publications on the topic of the Grand Tour in Italy, with the exception of the books by Renato Mammuc-

cari on the Campagna Romana, only two publications were available in Italian on the Grand Tour in the area of Colli Albani, and precisely *La Locanda Martorelli e il Grand Tour d'Italie sui Colli Albani,* by Francesco Petrucci published in *1996*, and the catalogue of a very interesting exhibition held in 2012 and entitled *Oltre Roma. Nei Colli Albani e Prenestini ai tempi del Grand Tour* edited by Isabella Salvagni and Margherita Fratarcangeli.

Since the beginning of 2016 and starting from these publications, each participant in our group of friends began to focus on one particular topic depending on the specific interest: from archaeology to painting, from botanic to literature and history. Very soon we realized that many travellers (British, French, American, German, as well from many other different nationalities) have visited the area following their specific interest toward the ruins from the past, the beautiful nature or just the passion of observing new habits and people. We also discovered that many travellers were women who ventured alone or with friends in this area (Ghini 2012, Badin 2016).

For the rest of that year we organized a series of informal meetings at the Villino Volterra where we could exchange information we were collecting. The period we focused on was between the second half of the '700 until the beginning of the '900 at the time of the first world war.

The more active participant was, since that time, my old colleague at CNR and friend Vittoria Giuliani, who started to discover and download intensively new texts of travellers who were describing in particular the Colli Albani area.

Meanwhile we began to find in the library of the Villino other interesting books on the same topic and we started also to buy on the antiquarian book market Italian (as well as British and French) many other texts. Among the books already present in the library there was the extraordinary description of Ariccia and its surroundings by Emanuele Lucidi published at the end of '700, which has been later recalled by the historian and archaeologist of ancient Rome, Antonio Nibby and in the following century by another important historian and archivist Renato Lefevre, who, with great passion, also assisted in the last years by Mario Leoni, has left many historical-archaeological, also photographic, memories of the history of Ariccia and its monuments.

In the Bibliography reported at the end of this volume we have marked with an asterisk the volumes present today in the Villino's Library and with double asterisk those present in different editions.

Around the same period, we started also to explore the surroundings, looking forward to retrace some of same paths described, painted or sketched by the travellers. In the first months of the following year, 2017, a more restricted group, constituted by Marisa Dalai, Vittoria Giuliani, Sara Scarselletta, myself and Roberta Londi (who joined us following the suggestion of the "Amici di Palazzo Chigi") started to think about the possibility to realise a sort of publication reporting some of the results of our searching to a larger audience.

In the spring of the same year we had the opportunity to present our project through a powerpoint presentation at the Villino to the mayor of the town of Nemi, Alberto Bertucci,

as well as the mayor Roberto Di Felice and the young assessor Elisa Refrigeri of the town of Ariccia. Thank in particular to the support and enthusiasm of the latter toward our project we decided to propose the organization of three seminars on the Grand Tour to disseminate the results of our research on travellers and artists who have left pictorial or written traces of their passage in this area.

At this stage Margherita Fratarcangeli joined our group and the talks have been held with the patronage of the Comune di Ariccia in the Sala Bariatinsky, of palazzo Chigi in the autumn of 2017 with a significant presence of public coming from Rome and the surroundings. Dates and titles of the three talks are reported in the following poster.

We therefore decided to make the updated seminar texts available as e-books in Italian and English.

The first contribution by Marisa Dalai, art historian and professor emeritus of University of Roma, Sapienza, offers a general introduction to the topic of the Grand Tour. In particular changes happening in the course of the years are described as well as various visual and written sources which have depicted the Colli Albani area, from letters, to diaries, to maps.

The second contribution by Sara Scarselletta, a young archaeological researcher and tourist guide, focuses on the different means of transport adopted by travellers as well as the places where they stopped to rest. Particular attention is devoted to the interest manifested by tourists toward local habits and traditions.

The contribution by Vittoria Giuliani, environmental psychologist and retired researcher from the Institute of Cogni-

Con il Patrocinio della Città di Ariccia

IL GRAND TOUR NEI COLLI ALBANI DALLE ORIGINI AI PRIMI DEL NOVECENTO

PALAZZO CHIGI
SALA BARIATINSKY, ORE 17.30

20 OTTOBRE
I VIAGGIATORI

Marisa Dalai, storica dell'arte
Roberta Londi, anglista e membro dell'associazione "Amici di Palazzo Chigi"

27 OTTOBRE
IL VIAGGIO, SOSTE E PERICOLI

Vittoria Giuliani, psicologa ambientale
Sara Scarselletta, archeologa e membro dell'associazione "Amici di Palazzo Chigi"

3 NOVEMBRE
GLI ARTISTI

Francesco Petrucci, conservatore di Palazzo Chigi
Margherita Fratarcangeli, storica dell'arte e membro dell'associazione "Amici di Palazzo Chigi"

tive Science and Technologies of CNR, reports the different opinions expressed by travellers regarding the landscape, the towns, the inhabitants and in particular products such as Colli Albani wines. Different judgments are related to historical changes and also the different cultural background of the travellers.

The following contribution by Roberta Londi, Anglist and program coordinator for Auburn University Abroad program in Italy with Interlinea Group, describes more carefully the British and American travellers who have been inspired by the Colli Albani area since the romantic period until the first world war.

The last contribution by Francesco Petrucci, architect and director of the Chigi Palace in Ariccia, focuses on the paintings realized by several artists and referring to the Colli Albani area. Particular attention is devoted to the paintings *en plein air* which has been developed in Ariccia and surroundings as described by the artists themselves.

The realization of this project has been not only culturally enriching, but also very enjoyable. It has been also enjoyable, in the last two years, the possibility to retrace together with our friends and guests the same routes described and painted by the Grand Tourists, admiring similar views and reading some of their more significant descriptions. We hope that the readers of this volume would also have similar experiences and appreciate the past comparing it with what the present can still offer to us.

THE GRAND TOUR IN ITALY[1]

Looking for antiquities and nature in the Colli Albani

Marisa Dalai Emiliani

The Grand Tour is one of the most fascinating phenomena in European cultural as well as social history and in the mentality of modern times. For the young English aristocracy who, starting from the 17th century, travelled through Europe, then, into the enlightened 18th century, also for intellectuals and artists of France, Germany and other countries of the continent - among which Russia, Spain, Holland, Denmark and the Scandinavian countries - this journey takes on a growing importance and diffusion as an indispensable experience of knowledge and training. The Grand Tour is a cosmopolitan and secular experience with very different characteristics from the medieval religious pilgrimage which had as its aims the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem or Rome, capital of Christianity, or even Santiago de Compostela.

Fig. 1. Nathaniel Dance, *Conversation piece*, 1760. Philadelphia Museum of Art (Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi, archives)

At the beginning the protagonists of the Grand Tour were the off-springs of British nobility (Fig. 1) or the very wealthy gentlemen. Their voyage through Europe, generally lasted three years, one of which was spent in the *Bel Paese* (i.e. Italy). They often brought with them a tutor, that is a preceptor, as well as artists, well read men and women, philosophers and scientists with the duty of deepening their knowledge and documenting even with images the great number of aspects of the places visited. The true objective at the centre of what

appears today to be a real fashion was Italy. To say Grand Tour, with a French expression, but coined and diffused in England between the XVII and the early XVIII century, principally meant 'Travels to Italy'. Italy with all the remains of classical antiquity of which the excavations of Pompei and Ercolano, and even before that of Rome, were bringing those ruins into light. Italy of the landscapes characterized in such an original and diverse way by the witnesses of thousands of years of history. Italy, country of the famous cities of art, like Florence, Rome, Naples, Venice, as well as Sicily. Italy, with its musical events, with its theatres, libraries, picture galleries, *palazzi*, its churches with Raphael and Titian. Italy still divided into many different states, those of the Ancien Régime. But if the geopolitical fragmentation carried rather a lot of complications and discomfort for the travellers, it could also be a further point of interest as pointed out by **Joseph Addison** (1672-1719), in 1705:

> *There is certainly no place in the world, where a man may travel with greater pleasure and advantage, than in Italy. One finds something more particular in the face of the country, and more astonishing in the works of nature, than can be met with in any other part of Europe. It is the great school of music and painting, and contains in it all the noblest productions of statuary and architecture, both ancient and modern. It abounds with cabinets of curiosities and vast collections of all kinds of antiquities. No other country in the world has such a variety of governments, that are so different in their constitutions, and so refined in their politics. There*

> *is scarce any part of the nation that is not famous in history, nor so much as a mountain or river, that has not been the scene of some extraordinary action.* (Addison 1767: 1)

Between the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, after the years of the Napoleonic campaigns, of the confiscation, the thefts and vandalism, the physiognomy of the Italian patrimony changes: the harmony, which had tied together for centuries the works of art and the places where they were created, breaks. But time changes also the perceptions, the attraction of the travellers and artists of the first half of the 19th century, who describe reality through the filter of a Romantic sensitivity where one understands their passion for the scenery, their search for uncontaminated nature seen through the aesthetic category of the 'sublime'. Curiosity also grows, both for anthropology and folklore, of the inhabitants of the places visited, for the "popolo" (i.e. people) and their different customs and traditions, and their way of life (Fig. 2).

In the second half of the Nineteenth century, travelling is progressively transformed from an individual adventure to a typically bourgeois habit, even of whole families, who having a very popular guide book like the famous *Baedeker*, could follow itineraries for their sightseeing according to a selection and a hierarchy of values beforehand and communicated, not to say imposed, through the typographic language of the asterisks (used to point out the most important and not to be missed works of art). A modality of travelling which later would bring to the mass tourism of the 20th century, made

Fig. 2. Charles Grignion, *Villa Borghese. The "saltarello",* London, British Museum (Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi, archives)

possible, on the one side, by the political and social gain of "free time" given to employees starting from the first years of the last century and favoured, on the other hand, by the development of modern means of transport, by the railways, cars and ending with planes.

Coming back to the origins of the Grand Tour and to its the transformations in time, it is well worth keeping in mind that, in addition to paintings, drawings, incisions, maps, reliefs – i.e. a great number of visual descriptions –, we have as well a vast production of published sources which allow us

to understand the unchanging events and also the variables of the travel in Italy, the itineraries followed more, the favourite destinations, but also the individual reactions of the single travellers that change according to their culture, their tastes and even the prejudices according to the countries they come from, but also in relationship to the historical and political circumstances in which the trip takes place or is told and ex post evaluated.

The principal published sources of the Grand Tour are two in number, two threads that intertwine are fed and contaminate each other. On the one hand, the so called travel literature - diaries, *mémoirs*, letters, true stories -, on the other hand, the literature that was taken for the trip, which was constituted by texts that had the characteristics of a travel guide, instruments at the service of those who undertook the voyage to Italy, principally in English, French and German. The foreign guide books start with the Italian artistic literature, starting from the 16th century one - Giorgio Vasari's *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti [Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects]* but also Machiavelli for historical facts -, to texts of local erudite scholars, and they greatly use the classical Latin sources to describe the antiquities. But, as time passed, they ended up mainly reproducing the former models, copying or translating parts from the sources but duplicating errors and stereotypes, sometimes not even taking into account the direct vision of the places described.

This is not the case of the first English guide book, that of **Richard Lassels** (1603?-1668), *The Voyage of Italy [...] with Instructions concerning Travel*, written in 1654 and published

Fig. 3. Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy […] with Instructions concerning Travel,* 1670. Title page.

posthumously in Paris in 1670, where the author, an ecclesiastical man, boasts of having made the trip five times and been tutor of many noble English gentlemen. Lassels describes the 'Grand Tour' of France – he is one of the first to use the expression 'Grand Tour'- and the 'Journey through Italy'. The front page of his volume is illustrated with an Italian allegory (Fig. 3).

We know that **Charles-Louis de Montesquieu**, the author of *De l'Esprit des Lois* [*The Spirit of the Laws*], to visit the peninsula in1728 brought with him as a guide the *Remarks on several Parts of Italy in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703* (London 1705) of the above quoted Richard Addison in the French translation which had just been printed. Together with the Addison book, he brought the more trustworthy guide available in his language, that is the *Nouveau Voyage d'Italie* [*The new voyage of Italy*] (Paris 1691) by **Maximilien Misson** (1650?-1722), a compendium of the most important geographical, demographic, historical, artistic and cultural information for the itinerary from Genoa down to Naples and back. It is in four volumes rather small in size of which the last one is *Mémoirs pour les voyageurs* [*Memoires for the travellers*], with a great deal of information and practical advice with useful indexes for consultation. A true *vademecum* for the intellectual traveller during the greater part of the 18th century, repeatedly reprinted, Misson's guide was a dear companion, among many others travellers, for **Charles De Brosses** (1709-1777), as can be seen by his famous *Lettres familières écrites d'Italie* [*Family letters written from Italy*] between 1739 and 1740 (published only in 1799). In the second half of the century, having become obsolete, it was substituted by the *Voyage en Italie* [*Voyage in Italy*] by the astronomer and journalist **Joseph-Jérôme de La Lande** (1732 –1807), published in Paris in 1769, the most complete travel guide, documented and systematic which never appeared about Italy, and which soon would be imposed on the international editorial market. It is not surprising that,

for example, the most fortunate guide book in German, that of **Johann Jacob Volkmann** (1732 –1803) - famous for the exact and enormous number of references to the pages of the *Italienische Reise by* Wolfgang Goethe, in Italy between 1786 and 1788 -, was a free translation and an up to date version of the work of La Lande.

It is therefore from the descriptions included in the XXIV and XXV chapters of La Lande's book that one must reconstruct the itineraries, the observation points of the scenery, the ancient and modern monuments, the ruins and the most visited and admired buildings by the travellers in transit in the area of the Colli Albani, from Castelgandolfo to Albano, from Ariccia to Nemi and Genzano, along the Appian Way which one had to necessarily follow to reach Naples after having visited Rome and vice versa. It will not be surprising if you come up, with this updated text, in addition to the numerous quotations from Latin writers and poets, also in precise reference to two very recent antiquarian illustrated works such as the *Descrizione e disegno dell'emissario del Lago Albano [The Emissary of Lake Albano]*, printed in 1762 and the *Antichità d'Albano e di Castel Gandolfo [Antiquities of Albano and of Castel Gandolfo]*, in 1764, (Fig. 4) created and engraved by **Giovan Battista Piranesi** (1720–1778).

It is as if one is looking at the surprising and knowledgable tables of Piranesi while reading the report of the visit to the enormous cisterns of Albano, referring to the presumed Palazzo of Domiziano:

Fig. 4. Giovan Battista Piranesi, *Antiquities of Albano and of Castel Gandolfo*, Roma 1764. Frontispiece

The underground cisterns make one understand the existence of enormous buildings, they were built both as baths which the Romans made constant use of, as well as for the supply of the great quantities of water necessary for the fountains which decorated the gardens. Those of Albano are perfectly conserved, one can clearly distinguish the influx of water and the outflow of the water to empty them. They are covered with a very smooth and hard covering like marble which is called "Opus Segninum". (La Lande 1769, Tome V: 431-32)

And more:

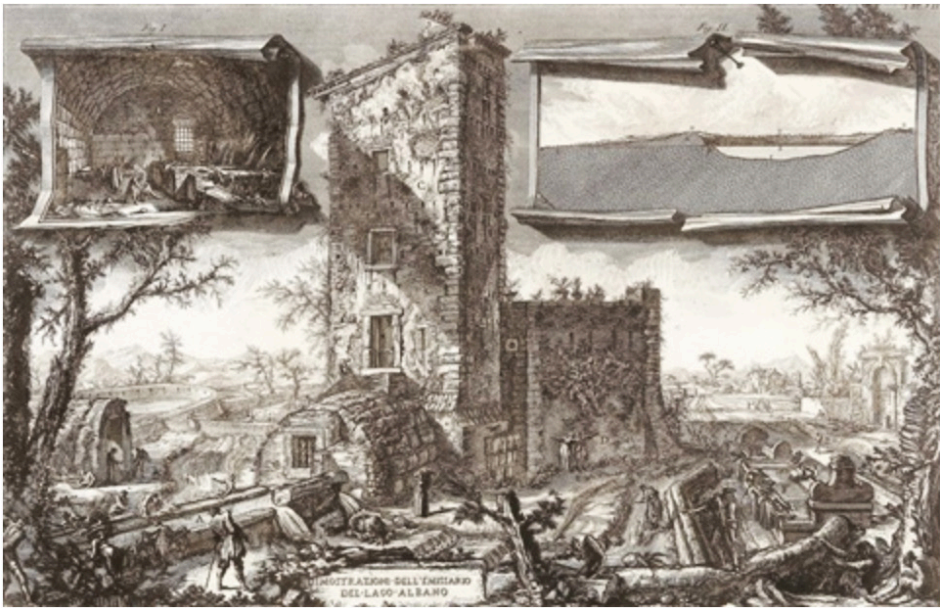

Fig. 5. Giovan Battista Piranesi, *Demonstration of the Emissarium of Lake Albano*, 1762 (private collection)

> *Mister Piranesi discovered two grottoes on the shores of the lake which show they were Ninfei, kinds of monuments that Homer and Virgil write about, that were never described before. It was said that the Ninfei were places where weddings were celebrated, others sustained that they were ornate rooms with statues of Nymphs destined to take the fresh air. In fact those of Albano are dug out into the mountains, one of which has regular walls with architectonic designs and you can still see the indentations where the statues of the Nymphs might have been as well as the stone seats to rest on. The land has at its centre a kind of pool which was probably filled with water to bathe in.* (*id*: 433)

Exact and detailed is the description of the emissaries of Lake Albano, once again explained on the model of the theses and measurements of the tables of Piranesi (Fig. 5):

> *The canal of Lake Albano is one of the oldest and most particular works of the Romans. It is a kind of drain and emissary through which the water of the lake flows out towards the flat land below, which is on the other side of the mountain when the water rises too much. This is what Cicero writes "ex quo illa admirabilis a majoribus Albanae aquae facta deductio est". It was made by the Romans in 398 BC [...] A hole was made in the mountain that runs along the Lake in the area where the castle of Castel Gandolfo is situated. They dug a canal 1260 toises long, three and a half feet wide and about six feet high. Piranesi has given us a vast description of this canal and of the two cisterns, one of which is situated towards the beginning of the canal towards the lake and the other at the end of the canal towards the plains. This incredible work was built with great solidity and precision which serves even today for the same purpose without ever having been repaired. It seems as if you are looking at an Egyptian monument, it has the same architectural knowledge, the same way of constructing. These Romans really worked for immortality.* (*id*: 434-35)

Very detailed information and clever quotations are given about Monte Cavo, both from a historical and naturalistic point of view, with an unprecedented scientific rigour.

Mount Cavo, time ago mons Albanus, takes its name from the old city of Alba which was situated at the foot of this mountain on the shores of Lake Albano, today Lake Castello. The modern name for Monte Cavo is due to the fact that, towards Rome, it forms a kind of lower indentation or concavity. It is at the top of this mountain that the famous Temple of Jupiter Latialis was built, but today there is no trace of it. It was Tarquinio the Proud who had it built more than five hundred years before Christ ….This mountain of Albano, so famous for Roman history, is also very important for its origin and for the naturalistic characteristics. It is an almost isolated relief compared to the others of Latium, covered over by homogeneous materials in part and also with heterogeneous ones. One can find stones containing minerals and glass substances as well as pumice stone and lava, very similar to those of Mount Vesuvius. (*id*: 437-38)

The so called *Tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii* on the outskirts of Albano is also mentioned with the discussion about the different interpretations of the scholars and the option for the thesis that recognised the ruins of the monument as the mausoleum of Pompeo, on the testimony of Plutarc and the hypotheses of Pirro Ligorio.

The frequent observations on the amenity of the gardens and the very varied scenery, the greenery of the oaks, the view of Lake Castello from above, the stimulating air, the incredible view of the panorama from the terrace of the Cappuccini, is breath taking, and was immortalised by a drawing

by François Bouchet. Not very pleasant instead - and it is not surprising because of the rococò taste which was very much in fashion - the opinion on the baroque tables of Guercino, Guido Reni, Pietro da Cortona kept in the churches, and on the same architectures of Bernini (both the Church of Castelgandolfo and that of Ariccia), described with quite a lot of criticism and reserve. The Pope's residence at Castelgandolfo is remembered by the happiness with which Benedict XIV resided there in autumn.

To Genzano and Nemi La Lande dedicates a whole chapter, the XXVth one, and points out in the first place the house of Carlo Maratta, besides the castle of the Sforza Cesarini Counts, while referring to Lake Nemi, or the mirror of Diana, he widely evokes the myths tied to the cult of the Goddess, quoting Virgil, Ovid and Strabone.

To conclude, it is very important again to underline how one of the most indispensable instruments to carry out the Grand Tour and to programme it were the maps, which were usually included in the guide books. This can be seen, among many, from a precious little painting done on copper by a minor painter from Siena, dated 1647, and kept in the Capitolo Canterbury Cathedral, which represents John Bargrave, an Anglican priest and preceptor, with his nephew John Raymond, on the right, and another young *grand tourist* while they were looking at a geographical map of Italy (Fig. 6). The following year, **John Raymond** (1610 - 1680) will publish *Il Mercurio italico*, an itinerary that describes the travels through Italy made with his uncle in the years 1646 and 1647, after having stayed in Siena for two months to learn Italian.

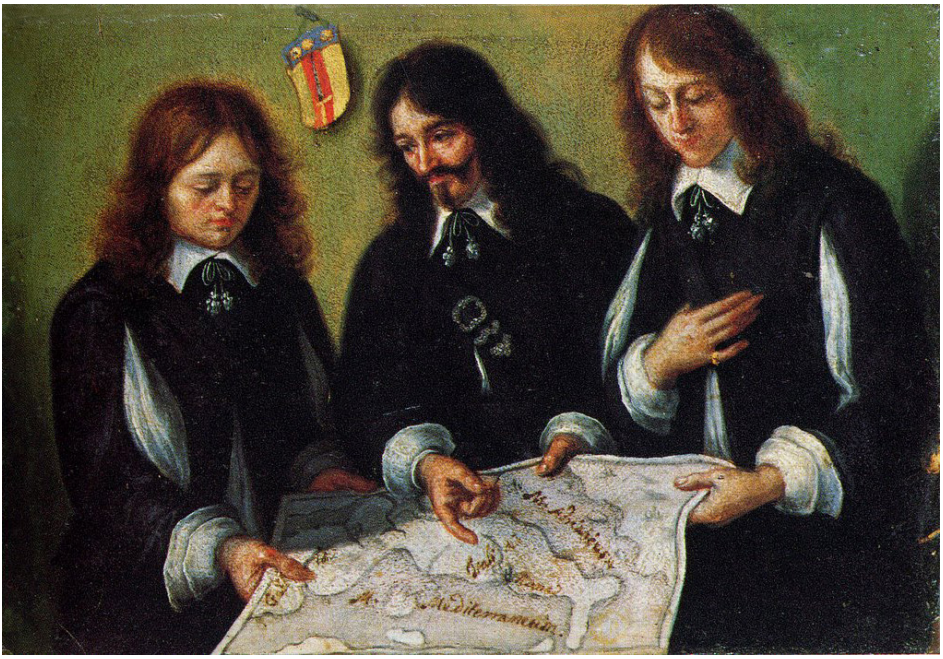

Fig. 6. Matteo Bolognini, *John Bargrave with John Raymond and pupil Alexander Chapman*, 1647, Canterbury Cathedral Library (Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi, archives)

A century later, the "Portrait of George Legge, Viscount of Lewisham" (Fig. 7) while looking at a map of the peninsula is also eloquent. It was painted by Pompeo Batoni during the English Lord's stay in Rome in 1778.

Finally, as what specifically concerns the territory of the Colli Albani, from the first cartographic and topographic representations designed with scientific rigour, one must remember the tables that illustrated the *Viaggio antiquario ne' contorni di Roma*, [*Antiquarian studies around the outskirts of Rome*] edited in Italian and French by **Antonio Nibby** (1792-1839) and published in Rome in 1819. He wrote the text after having examined the territory and done many reliefs on the field. Nib-

Fig. 7. Pompeo Batoni, *George Legge, Viscount of Lewisham*, 1768. Madrid, Museum Nacional del Prado (Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi, archives)

Fig. 8. Pietro e Giuseppe Vallardi, *Itinerario italiano, o sia descrizione dei viaggi per le strade più frequentate alle principali città d'Italia,* Milan 1816, Map of Italy.

by was a famous archaeologist, antiquarian, topographer and expert in Greek art history in favour of the French, who was known and appreciated by Stendhal for his other very famous erudite work, the *Itinerario istruttivo di Roma antica e moderna ovvero Descrizione generale dei monumenti antichi e moderni e delle opere le più insigni di pittura, scultura, ed architettura di questa alma città e delle sue vicinanze del cavalier M. Vasi antiquario romano riveduta, corretta ed accresciuta da A. Nibby* [*The instructive itinerary of ancient and modern Rome, that is The general description of the ancient and modern monuments and of the most famous paintings, sculptures and architecture of this city by the Cavalier M.Vasi, a Roman antiquarian, revised, corrected and enlarged by A.Nibbi*].

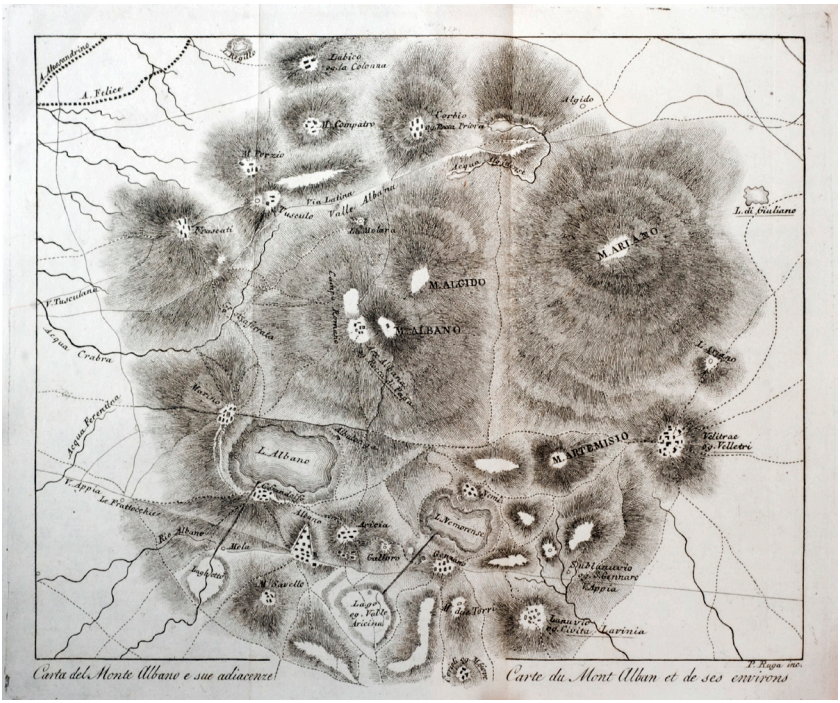

Fig. 9. Antonio Nibby, *Viaggio antiquario ne' contorni di Roma*, Roma 1819, vol. II, Map of Mount Albano and neighbouring land

It came out in 1818 and was reprinted and used for consultation for all that century (Fig. 9). To confirm this, at least one name among all is that of the German historian **Ferdinand Gregorovius** (1821-1891), author of *Wanderjahre in Italien* [*Walking Years in Italy*] (1856-1877). Among all his pilgrimages along the peninsula, often on foot, there are also his visits to the antiquities of the Colli Albani.

Notes

1 Translated by Carroll Mortera

PLEASURES AND SORROWS OF THE JOURNEY

The routes, the stops, the transports

Sara Scarselletta

The Grand Tourists, coming from different countries and social classes, have throughout the centuries chosen Italy as their favourite destination, home of history and art, place of wonderful natural landscapes. The only contemplation of such beauty generated in the tourists poetry and admiration, that after long and difficult trips arrived in the country to learn everything about our culture.

The itineraries they choose passed through the most important cities of Italy and where in part the same as today, in part they changed all over the centuries. The "Campagna Romana" has been at the centre of various itineraries, that passed also in the area of the Alban Hills, where the magic of the natural landscapes of the two lakes coexisted with the ruins of a glorious past and the tales about the foundation of the city of Rome and the Latin culture.

Fig. 1 Pietro e Giuseppe Vallardi, *Itinerario italiano […]*, 1824. *Itinerary from Rome to Naples*

The roads that arrived in the area were different, and in some cases passed in the same places crossed by the Roman consular streets, first of all the Appian way, the so called *Regina Viarum*, that passed through almost all the towns of the Castelli Romani and arrived to Naples, often used by the travellers who came from Rome going to the capital of Campania.

Another road corresponded to the modern Via dei Laghi, passing by the so called Macchia della Fajola, where, cause to the reclamation of the Pontinian marshes, constituted a valid alternative to the usual itinerary from the Middle Ages to the 18th century.

At that time a new road passing through Albano, Ariccia, Genzano and Velletri was realized, thanks to which it became easier to move in the area.

There were many and different itineraries, walking, riding or going by donkey or with the carriage , of which we have different and detailed descriptions offered by many voyagers.

The following test was written by a women tourist, **Louise Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun** (1755-1842), that was one of the most important portraitist of her age:

> *…When the heat became unbearable in Rome, I made different excursions in the surroundings, hoping to find an house where I could stay with the duchess de Fleury. I went first to la Riccia, I made there a charming walk in the woods, that are superb and very picturesque. You can find there a lot of ancient trees and a beautiful fountain...* (Vigée Le Brun, 1835: 75)

The next passage comes instead from the volume written by the American writer and poet **Henry Wadsworth Longfellow** (1807–1882), and talks about the different itineraries present in the area of Nemi, Genzano, Ariccia, Albano and Castel Gandolfo:

> *...But my chief delight was in sauntering along the many woodland walks, which diverge in every direction from the gates of La Riccia. One of these plunges down the steep declivity of the hill, and, threading its way through a most romantic valley, leads to the shapeless tomb of the Horatii and the pleasant village of Albano. Another conducts you over swelling uplands and through wooded hollows to Genzano and the sequestered Lake of Nemi, which lies in its deep crater, like the waters of a well, all coiled into itself and round, "as sleeps the snake." A third, and the most beautiful of all, runs in an undulating line along the crest of the last and lowest ridge of the Albanian*

Hills, and leads to the borders of the Alban Lake. In parts it hides itself in thick leaved hollows, in parts climbs the open hill-side and overlooks the Campagna. Then it winds along the brim of the deep, oval basin of the lake, to the village of Castel Gandolfo, and thence onward to Marino, Grotta-Ferrata, and Frascati. That part of the road which looks down upon the lake passes through a magnificent gallery of thick embowering trees...

...This long sylvan arcade is called the Galleria-di sopra to distinguish it from the Galleria-di sotto a similar, though less beautiful avenue, leading from Castel Gandolfo to Albano, under the brow of the hill. Another pathway conducts you round the southern shore of the Alban Lake, and, after passing the site of the ancient Alba Longa, and the convent of Palazzuolo, turns off to the right through a luxuriant forest, and climbs the rugged precipice of Rocca di Papa. Behind this village swells the rounded peak of Monte Cavo, the highest pinnacle of the Albanian Hills, rising three thousand feet above the level of the sea. Upon its summit once stood a temple of Jupiter, and the Triumphal Way, by which the Roman conquerors ascended once a year in solemn procession to offer sacrifices, still leads you up the side of the hill... (Longfellow 1856: 347-349)

Finally, almost a century later, here is how **Lilian Whiting** (1859–1942), an American journalist, poetess and writer, in her *Italy, the magic land* tells us how the area of the Alban Hills was often a destination for trips:

> *...It was at a pleasant déjeûner one spring day in Rome that the project was launched, that we should go motoring that afternoon to Frascati, Albano, Castel Gandolfo, Lago di Nemi, and all that wonderful region […] These outlying towns, Frascati, Albano, Castel Gandolfo, and Lago di Nemi, the picturesque group in the Alban Mountains, are some sixteen to eighteen miles from Rome...* (Whiting 1907: 98)

The period the voyagers stayed in a place lasted in some cases several days, so that they could visit as more places as they could. In that cases they needed an appropriate accommodation.

The length of the stay influenced the choice of the place where to stop: the taverns sold drinks, the inns sold food and used to rent rooms where to sleep. The innkeeper was very important, and often had the function of credit brokerage, mediation, deposit of stocks and informer of the public authority, with policing functions. Later on, even the coach inns became places where the traveller could be hosted.

In the work of Pietro e Giuseppe Vallardi, *Itinerario italiano, o sia descrizione dei viaggi per le strade più frequentate alle principali città d'Italia*, edited in Milano in 1824, it is possible to find a detailed list of the various coach inns from Rome to Terracina, and the time employed to reach them.

The most famous inn of the Roman Castles was the Martorelli Inn, very well described by Francesco Petrucci inside this volume.

VIAGGIO XLIX.

Da Roma a Terracina per le Paludi Pontine ed a Fondi	Poste	Distanza in miglia	Tempo in viaggio
Da Roma (*posta reale*)			or. min.
a Torre di mezza-via	1 1/2		1 25
ad Albano	1		1 35
a Genzano (1)	3/4		1
a Velletri	1		1
a Cisterna	1		1 30
a Torre de' tre Ponti	1 1/2		1 35
a Bocca di fiume	1		1 25
a Mesa	1		1 20
a Ponte maggiore	1		1 15
a Terracina	1		1 10
a Fondi	1 1/2		1 45
	12 1/4	69	15

Locande: Su questa strada non si hanno buone locande: le migliori sono a *Velletri* e a *Terracina*, dove un magnifico albergo è stato di recente costrutto presso il mare.

La prima città che s' incontra fuori di *Roma* su la *Via Appia*, è *Albano*, anticamente *Albanum Pompeii*, fabbricata su le rovine di *Alba-Longa*. Poco numerosa ne è la popolazione: vi si osservano diversi avanzi d' antichità, tra i quali merita speciale attenzione la tomba detta dei *Curiazj*.

In una piacevole situazione è posto *Genzano*, castello mediocre presso il lago di *Nemi*, denominato dagli antichi *Specchio* di *Diana*, perchè questa Dea

(1) *Si pone un terzo cavallo da* Albano *a* Genzano *e non viceversa; da* Velletri *a* Genzano *e non viceversa.*

Fig. 2. Pietro e Giuseppe Vallardi, *Itinerario italiano […],* 1824. *Inns and distances from Rome to Terracina*

The English writer Augustus **John Cuthbert Hare** (1834-1903) reported inside his book *Days near Rome*, written in 1875, that even in Albano it was possible to find good places where to stay:

> *The Hotel de Paris (occupying an old palace) at Albano, is perhaps the best, and is comfortable. The Albergo della Posta, belonging to the same landlord, is an old-established inn in the Italian style, and has a few pleasant rooms towards the Campagna. The Hotel de Rome, on the other side of the street, nearer Lariccia and the country, is comfortable and well-furnished: the upper floor is very cold in winter. The Hotel de Russie, near the Roman gate and the Villa Doria, is an old-fashioned inn, with less pretensions. At all the hotels at Albano the charges are very high in comparison with other places near Rome, and quite unreasonably so. It is necessary on arriving to make a fixed bargain at all of them, and for everything...* (Hare 1875: 50)

Another inn in the area was the one at Nemi, the so called Locanda Desanctis, that still today has preserved the registers with the names and professions of the voyagers that were hosted there between 1829 and 1996. The place is indicated even in the **Baedeker Guide** about central Italy and Rome:

> *The inn (Trattoria Desanctis, tolerable, bargaining advisable) posses a small verandah which command a delightful view of the lake and the castle of Genzano, of an old watch – tower beyond them, and of the extensive plain and the sea...* (Baedeker 1890: 371)

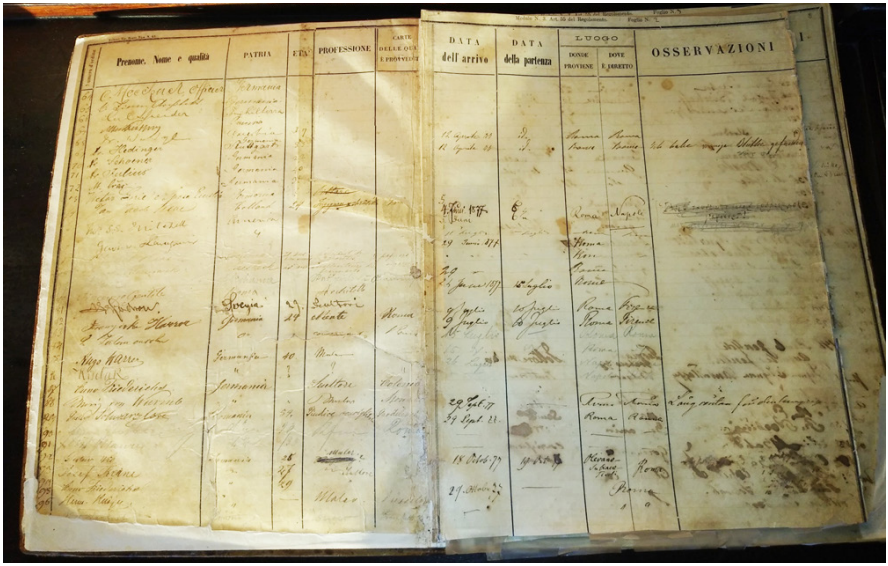

Fig. 3. *The "travellers' notebooks" kept in the Restaurant "Specchio di Diana", where Locanda De Sanctis was previously located*

It is possible still today to admire the landscape from the same terrace above the lake.

There was in Nemi another inn, the Osteria della Fajola, that gave support to the tourists which passed in the area to arrive to Naples.

The inside of the inns was generally decorated with wooden tables and benches. The food was typical of the local cooking and the wine bottles were made in pottery. The cost of the different dishes was written on the wall, where it was possible to see even images and popular sayings.

Typical games made at the inn were the so called «passatella», the «morra» and cards games.

These traditional costumes were loved by the voyagers, who realized often descriptions of these scenes, painted or written.

Fig. 4. Franz Ludwig Catel, *Crown prince Ludwig in the Spanish Wine Tavern in Rome*, 1824, Neue Pinakotek, Munich (Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi, archives)

The products of the land of the Roman Castles were famous between the travellers, first of all wine and oil, and sometimes the process of production was well described by them, as in *Rome* by **Mildred Anna Rosalie Tuker** (1862-1957) e **Hope Malleson** (1863-1931):

> *...The olive harvest is in November or December. Nowhere is the olive more appreciated than in Italy where Minerva is said to have bestowed it, the*

horse, which was Vulcan's gift, coming only second in usefulness. The picked fruit is made into the finer oil, then the fallen olives are gathered by women and girls, and the occupation is very popular, as what is thus earned helps to provide the winter comforts. Fine oil has a very delicate scarcely perceptible taste and smell, and an Italian condemns the oil by saying "L'olio si sente" [One can taste it]. Frying is generally done with oil and some vegetables and all fish are cooked with it. "Ojo è sempre ojo, ma strutto! chi sa che struttaccio sarà?" [Oil is always oil, but who knows what lard may be?] they say... (Tuker & Malleson 1905: 80)

Generally the experience that the tourists had was positive, but sometimes it was the opposite and the way they had to say it to the other voyagers (cause they did not have *Trip advisor*) was to tell their story, as does the French historian **Hippolyte Taine** (1828-1893) in *L'Italie et la Vie italienne, souvenirs de voyage*:

...We have dinner at Genzano and we are obliged to buy the meat on our own; the innkeeper refuses to compromise himself, but he indicates us a sausages seller. This inn is really wild: it is like a stable supported by an arch. The mules, the donkeys come in and out, passing next to the tables, and their horseshoes sound on the paved. The spider webs hang from the blackened beams, and the light comes from outside like a big wave in which swims in a swirl the dust of the shadow. In front of the fireplace, the hostess cooks on a heart

whose smoke spreads in the room. I imagine that Don Quichotte, three hundred years ago found inns like this one in the parched plains of the Channel. As chairs, wooden benches; as delicacies eggs and then eggs. The small mendicants follow us till the table with an incredible insistence. It is impossible to describe their shreds and their dirt. One of them wears trousers so ripped that it is possible to see the half of the two thighs; the shreds dangle all around. An old women has on the head , as hat, a kitchen rag, a doormat against whom it seems that an army rubbed the feet... (Taine 1865: 302-303)

Maximilien Misson (1650?-1722) inside his book *Nouveau Voyage d'Italie: avec un mémoire contenant des avis utiles à ceux qui voudront faire le mesme voyage*, published in 1668, suggested to the voyagers to bring their own bed or at list sheets and blankets, and **Mariana Starke** (1762-1838)**,** inside her work *Travels in Europe Between the Years 1824 and 1828***,** published in 1834, recommended to wear on the dress a shirt, to avoid the contact with bugs and fleas.

Other places where it was possible to stop and sleep, especially for the poor people, were the convents, where it was possible to have the immunity: for this reason they were generally chosen by brigands.

To head out the difficulties of the journey, starting from the 18th century, there was specialized personnel, that had to help daily the tourist with all the problems he could find. There was the so called *Avantcourier*, who had to ride before the carriage and gave advises about the places that could be

visited. Another important figure is the one of the *Bear Leader*, who had to guide the young boys and girls coming from the Middle Class during their cultural trip: they were often men who had a great knowledge and knew at list the local language.

Thanks to the changes of the road network, in the long period during which the Grand Tour develops, it is possible to observe many differences in the practicality, speed and efficiency of the means of transport. There are various examples of the ways of making the journey, that were linked to the financial possibilities but even to the preferences of the tourists. Some of them used to walk, other ones preferred to ride a horse or a donkey, but most of them took the diligence; the members of the aristocracy generally took a carriage.

An anonymous book dated back to the half of the '700, *Il viaggiatore moderno [...]*, gives an idea of the different types of journeys:

> *… The one who rides a horse, in addition to the general rules said before, being cold and cause is winter time, has to try to get a good hat, waterproof, wide and ample; he has to have head and body well covered, to not to suffer the damages of cold; he has to wear good boots, in addition to the saddle, and to press with a good band the belly of the horse, to stay still while moving and during the smashes of the beast.*
>
> *Before riding he has to fast or to eat little: after that he has to moderate the horse so that he can ride slowly, cause sudden movements are not good for the digestion.*

Riding the horse he has to be careful to not to fall asleep, cause he can suffer a great harm; passing through steep and slippery cliffs he has to get down from the horse and rather to try to walk with his feet [...] Stopping at inns and hotels, he has to control well if the horse is well treated and he has to be there when it eats, so that innkeepers and hoteliers, and sometimes the servants themselves, can't deceive him being so true the adage that says that the eye of the owner fats the horse, cause if the animal doesn't have the right meal he can faint on the road: never leave the horse together with mares, cause it could become debilitated, and not finish the trip... (Il viaggiatore moderno 1794: 17)

A diligence could host till 30 people, with anatomic seats and suspensions between the passengers place and the wheels to avoid the jolts due to the holes and stones on the street. The various models of diligence changed all over the centuries, becoming bigger and more complex but losing stability. Each diligence was divided into three parts: starting from the front there were the *coupé* or sometimes the *cabriolet*, the *berlina* and at the end the *rotonda* or *tonneau*.

The seats were three in the *coupé*, six in the *berlina* and four in the *rotonda*; the price of every compartment decreased from the anterior to the posterior ones. The baggages were collocated on the roof of the passengers compartment. Over the *coupé* there was another plate, called *imperial*, where other passengers could seat down and they were protected by the rain and the cold by a *capote* made by leather and wood. That were the cheapest seats.

The last evolution of the carriage was constituted by the realization in 1854 by Bordino of the steam *landò*, powered with carbon coke, and able to arrive to a speed of 6 – 8 km/h, with an autonomy of almost two hours.

The personnel was generally constituted by two persons: the coachman, that seated on the box and rode the horse, and a *postiglione*, who during the journey rode before the horse on the left.

The horses were changed every coach inn. The stay in the inns was used by the passengers also to get on and off the coaches. Each coach could be accessorised in relation to the needs of the tourists and the necessity to make the journey comfortable for the passenger. There were drawers where to put the various accessories (for example the telescope, the clock, the liquor holder...), pillows to cushion the jolts, a hermetic latch of the windows, lunch service, the set for the vanity table, and games to make during the trip.

An anonymous writer of the half of the 19th century describes in the *Nuovissima Guida del Viaggiatore in Italia* the main characteristics of a diligence:

> *In all the Italian countries there are public diligences. This means of transport is as ready as cheap, and especially for the ones who have little time, and a limited duration of their trip. The most comfortable way is in any case using the horses of the livery barn and of the carriage, having care to choose it light and of solid construction, having to pass often mountainous villages; and besides it is important to save the saddle horses. The railways are still not generalized in Italy; however the*

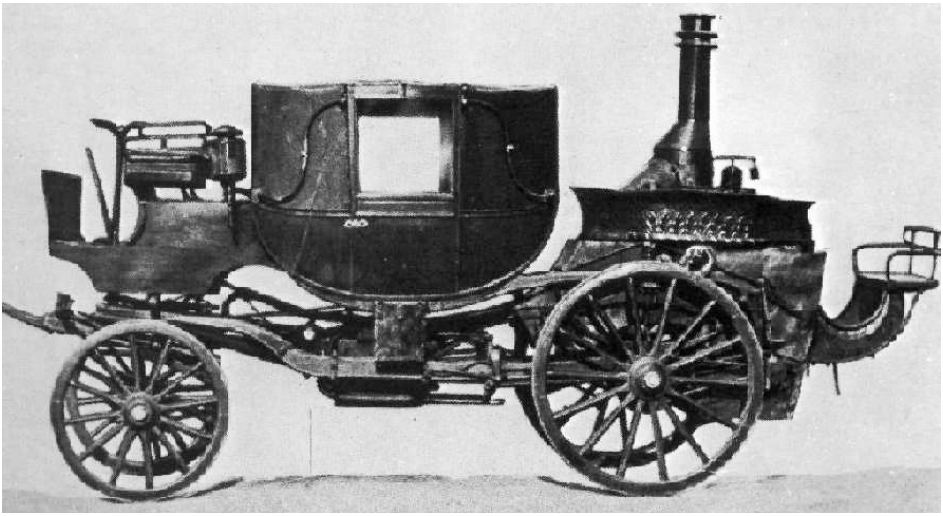

Fig. 5. *Sream landò* made by Virginio Bordino in 1854. Torino, Museo dell'automobile

ones which are already operating will be useful for the traveller. There is even another way to travel that isn't without advantages. We are talking about coachmen, a kind of charioteers that abound in all the principal Italian cities, and who make their routes wherever. But it is important to arrange in advance the price, and let us be clear, particularly if the trip is long. These coachmen travel almost between 30 and 35 miles per day (10 to 12 leagues). The price of the seats is based on the number of travellers that were found. It is also good to know that the price of the travel from a capital to another capital is always less than a trip from a capital to boroughs or villages not so much frequented, cause the coachmen often have to come back with empty seats. Whenever the trip is longer than two days, it is used to include in the cost of the seats the lunch and the night at the

hotel. This treatment is advantageous, because people are better served and can avoid any challenge with the innkeepers. That means of transport, all included, can arrive to a daily amount of 12 francs..." (Avvertimenti a chi intraprende un viaggio in Italia 1852: X).

About the price for the rent of a carriage **Hare**, already mentioned, writes:

The charges for carriages are most extortionate and ought to be universally resisted. If no bargain is made at the railway-station, travellers are liable to a charge of 10 or even 15 francs for a carriage to take them to their hotel. Places in the open omnibus, without luggage, cost one franc each. It is far more economical as well as pleasanter for a party of people to take a carriage from Rome to Albano (costing 20 francs), than to go by the railway and be at the mercy of the Albano carriages on arriving. Those who stay long in the place will find it much less expensive to walk across the viaduct to Lariccia and take a carriage from thence, or even to order one from Genzano. Donkeys cost four francs by the day, the donkeyman four francs, and the guide seven francs these prices include the whole excursion by Monte Cavo and Nemi... (Hare 1875, vol. 1: 50)

The tram and the ferry constituted a great change for the arrival in the area of the Alban Hills, that became easier to join thanks to the building of the viaduct of Ariccia, realized in 1856 by Pope Pius IX.

Fig. 6. *Postcard of Albano Laziale showing the "Imperial" cars crossing Corso Vittorio Emanuele* (around 1910)

That structure allowed people to go quickly from Albano to Ariccia, without having any problem and avoiding the passage through the valley, infested by brigands. The famous "banditti", who lived in the woods all around Italy, were outcast people, which earned money from the rush at the tourists who passed in their area. Their figure was full of mystery and in certain cases voyagers were fascinated by them, having them dedicated all their lives to the fight against wealthy landowners.

Many of the travellers write about their presence in the Castelli Romani, as ironically relates the above-mentioned **Vigee Le Brun** (1755-1842):

In certain circumstances, I have to confess it, my friend (the duchess de Fleury) and I were not more courageous than my daughter (who some days before said to have seen a ghost). One day we went together for a walk in the woods of La Riccia, and to reach a wide valley in the nearby, we took a path from where it is possible to see on the right and left many ancient tombs, lined with ivy. This road is really isolated. Suddenly, we noticed that behind us arrived a man, that seemed to be a brigand. We accelerate the pace, the man follows us; frightened as we are and cause we wanted to make him believe that our servants were not far, the duchess calls Francisco, I call Germain; but the enemy was still coming, and cause we were too sure that the ones we called would not come, we started to climb the hill, running full ahead, to get to the wide road that is on top.I never knew if the one who forced us to limp in that way was a brigand or the most honest man in the world. (Vigée Le Brun 1835: 77-78)

The most famous brigand of the Roman Castles is certainly Gasperone or Gasparrone, a young shepherd originally from Sonnino, forced by different episodes of his life to become a brigand.

His life full of adventure became famous even outside Italy and was illustrated inside the volume edited in Paris by **Pietro Masi**, who described him as follows:

He was not moved by greed and instead of amassing a fortune with his numerous loots, he liked to distribute

Fig. 7. Portrait of *Gasperone*, paint in1825 by an anonimous French painter. Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi – Sala dell'Archibugio

them to all the ones he met, in particular to the old men and the poor children. He had bloody instincts; and for truth's sake I have to say that he was disgusted by killing a man less than a butcher by killing a lamb. But it is right to recognize that he never killed without a reason and without proof, and not for pleasure, as someone wants you to believe. The men that Gasbaroni slaughtered without mercy were spies, informants, gendarmes and archers... (Masi 1867: 79)

The American writer **H.W. Longfellow** tells us, in *Pilgrmage beyond the sea*, to have seen in Ariccia a portrait of Gasparone:

> *It hung directly in front of me; a coarse print, representing the dark, stern countenance of that sinful man, a face that wore an expression of savage ferocity and coarse sensuality. I had heard his story told in the village; the accustomed tale of outrage, violence, and murder...* (Longfellow 1856: 345)

The description he makes gives an idea of the contrasting feelings in the voyagers. A quirky tale about brigands was illustrated by the French author **Stendhal** (1783-1842):

> *During his adventurous life, two things, from which he never separates, reassure the Italian brigand: his carbine, in which he confides to save his life, and the Virgin Mary, in which he trusts to save his soul. Nothing is more frightful than this mixture of savagery and superstition! A man such this one convinces himself at the end that the death on the gallows, preceded by the absolution given by a priest, will assure him a place in heaven. Such conviction often pushes a poor devil to commit a crime that will give him a death penalty, with the aim to reach a happiness that is ensured by the sacrifice of his own life! In short these are people who can kill you in the right way, with the rosary in the hand and accompanying their dagger with a "for God's sake".* (Stendhal 1833: 238)

A particularly dangerous place was in Nemi the area of the Macchia della Fajola, in correspondence with the modern Via dei Laghi, where tourists used to pass going to Naples. It was difficult to get through the woods without being robbed, so there were special soldiers, which protected people who had to pass there and lived at the second floor of the Fajola Inn, built in the XVIth century by the marquis Frangipane.

Here a tale made by the Italian writer **Francesco Valesio** (1670-1742):

> *…May 1738 – on Saturday the 31st... the Marquis Truglioni from Ancona, a very poor horseman, having walked from Marino to Nemi to find the Marquis Frangipane, was killed on the road through the woods of La Fajola, stealing him not so much money, and the clasp and the silver box, and his body was found after two days in the ditch of the woods...* (Valesio 1979, vol. VI: 139-40)

In conclusion, the experience the tourists had in the area of the Roman Castles, full of difficulties or extremely positive, was impossible to forget and was impressed in their souls.

As **John Moore** (1761-1809) wrote, while having a walk in the woods of Nemi:

> *I never saw a place more formed for contemplation and solemn ideas.* (Moore 1795, vol. 2: 306)

LANDSCAPES, LOCALES, LOCALS AND LIBATIONS

A small anthology of historic accounts of the Grand Tour in the Colli Albani

Maria Vittoria Giuliani and Diane Farris

One doesn't often find a subject on which there is such agreement - over three centuries by diverse travellers - as on the subject of travel to Italy, the Grand Tour. From the beginning of the seventeenth to the end of the nineteenth century, travellers from many countries - with a wide variety of interests and motivations - travelled to Italy and recorded their impressions. What follows is a review of this literature, in the authors' own words.

The well known *Preface* of the English essayist and politician **Joseph Addison** (1672-1719) broadly exemplifies the shared vision of our country that the travellers of the Grand Tour held. Within his *Remarks on several parts of Italy, &c.* – already reported by Marisa Dalai – he offers: «*There is certainly no place in the world, where a man may travel with*

greater pleasure and advantage, than in Italy. etc.» (Addison 1767, p. 1).

As might be expected, we can also find more or less pronounced differences in evaluation, both on the travel to Italy in general and on the region of particular interest to us, the Colli Albani. We will focus on similarities and differences in the accounts of travellers to the Colli Albani in order to understand how much they can tell us not only about the places, but also about the values, interests and changes of the travellers over the course of time. What accounts for the varying perspectives in these writings? It is not only personal taste and preference, but also the broader political situation, religious affiliations and the transition from Enlightenment to Romanticism that colours and alters the visitors' views.

The Grand Tour itself - which in the eighteenth century became an obligatory stage in the education of young English aristocrats – had aroused a lively debate in England in the previous century. The debate derived in part from the hostility created between the two countries for reasons both political (such as the Spanish predominance in Italy that took place after the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis of 1559) and religious (i.e. the tightening of relations between Catholics and Protestants following the Council of Trent of 1563 and the excommunication of "Elisabetta, Pretended Queen of England" in 1570 with the papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis).*

One of the best-known opponents of the educational journey in general, but particularly in Italy, is the English pedagogue **Roger Ascham** (1515-1568). In *The Schoolmaster*, published in 1570, he – even while advising the reading of the *Cortegiano* by Baldassar Castiglione – argues that:

> *...one year at home in England, would do a young gentleman more good, I wiss, than three years travel abroad spent in Italy* because *"He that by living and travelling in Italy bringeth home into England out of Italy the religion, the learning, the policy, the experience, the manners of Italy. That is to say, for religion, Papistry or worse; for learning, less commonly than they carried out with them; for policy, a factious heart, a discoursing head, a mind to meddle in all men's matters; for experience, plenty of new mischiefs never known in England before; for manners, variety of vanities and change of filthy living.* (Ascham 1909: 65)

Similarly, in the picaresque novel *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594) by the satirical writer **Thomas Nashe** (1567-1601), we find:

> *Italy, the paradise of the earth and the epicure's heaven, how doth it form our young master? [...] From thence he brings the art of atheism, the art of epicurizing, the art of whoring, the art of poisoning, the art of sodomitry. The only probable good thing they have to keep us from utterly condemning it is that it maketh a man an excellent courtier, a curious carpet-knight, which is, by interpretation, a fine close lecher, a glorious hypocrite.* (Nashe 1920: 96-97)

The hostility went in both directions: in 1567 the papal bull *In coena domini* of Pius V was published, which excluded the "heretics" from the Italian states, and in 1580 Elizabeth I outlawed the presence of Jesuits in England. The Private

Council of Her Majesty revoked travel licenses in Rome and in all the territories "not with us in league or friendship", that everyone, except the traders, had to obtain, on penalty of confiscation of their properties. As a result, English Catholics feared the return home and Protestants feared the inquisition in Italy, so that when the traveller **Fynes Moryson** (1566-1630) went to Rome to Cardinal Bellarmino (the trip to Europe took place between 1591 and 1595), to visit the college of Jesuits, he was careful not to be recognized as English, and presented himself «*attired like an Italian, and carefull not to use any strange gestures*» and «*having made profession of my great respect to him, I told him that I was a French man, and came to Rome for performance of some religious vowes, and to see the monuments...*» (Moryson 1907, vol. 1: 304).

Conflicted relations between Spain and England diminished after the defeat of the *Invencible Armada* in 1587, and the journey to Italy acquired the positive connotation that it had in the following two centuries. **Richard Lassels** (1603?-1668), who, as already mentioned by Marisa Dalai Emiliani, is considered the creator of the phrase "Grand Tour", lists a number of reasons why the journey is a positive one:

1. *For the first, to wit, the Profit of Travelling, it's certain, that if this world be a great book, as S. Augustine calls it, none study this great Book so much as the Traveler. [...]*

2. *Travelling preserves my young nobleman from surfeiting of his parents, and weans him from the dangerous fondness of his Mother. [...]*

3. *Travelling takes my young nobleman four notches lower, in his self conceit and pride.[...]*

4. *Travelling takes off in some sort, that aboriginal curse, which was laid upon mankind even almost at the beginning of the World, I mean, the confusion of Tongues [...] by making us learn many languages, and converse freely with people of other Countryes. [...]*

5. *Travelling makes us acquainted with a World of our kindred we never saw before. [...]*

6. *Traveling enables a man, much for his Countries service. It makes the merchant rich, by showing him what abounds, and wantes, in other countryes; that so he may know what to import, what to export. [...]*

7. *Travelling brings a man a World of particular profits. It contents the minde with the rare discourses we hear from learned men... [...]*

8. *Travelling makes my young Nobleman return home again to his Country like a blessing Sun... having enlightened his understanding with fine notions [...]*

9. *In fine, Examples (the best Philosophy) shew us, that the greatest Princes Europe hath seen, these many years, to wit, Charles the V, and the King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, were both of them great Travelers....* (Lassels 1670, Preface: n.p.)

Irish historian and travel writer **Thomas Nugent** (1700? -1772) adds his voice to the positive chorus in his *The Grand Tour*, published in 1749:

> *that noble and ancient custom of travelling, a custom so visibly tending to enrich the mind with knowledge, to rectify the judgment, to compose the outward manners, and to form the complete gentleman...* (Nugent 1749, vol. 1: Preface: VII-VIII)

The debate is not limited to England. For example, Swiss travel writer **Béat Louis de Muralt** (1665-1749), in his *Lettres sur les Anglois et les François et sur les Voiages* (1725), was skeptical about the formative usefulness of the journey, exalting instead the sedentary life in the countryside:

> *The Custom which establishes the Travels, is all the more bad, that the Peoples whom we are going to see, the polite Peoples, whose Manners and the Lifestile impose upon us, are the most corrupt, at least in certain respects, & that, consequently, there is more to lose among them than to win. Thus, the Romans went to lose their rest of Virtue among the Greeks; that in the last centuries, we were corrupted in the Travels we made in Italy...* (Muralt 1725: 465)

On the contrary, the entry on the travel ["Voyage"] written by **Louis de Jaucourt** (1704-1779), French physician and the most prolific contributor to the *Encyclopédie*, published in 1751, underscores the educational role of the journey, "the school of life", particularly in Italy:

The great men of antiquity have judged that there was no better school of life than that of travelling; a school where one learns the diversity of so many other lives, where one always finds some new lesson in this great book of the world; & where the change of air with exercise is beneficial to the body & mind. [...] The travels extend the spirit, raise it, enrich it with knowledge, and cure it of national prejudices. It is a kind of study which is not supplemented by books, and by the relation of others; it is necessary to judge by oneself of men, places, and objects. [...] Thus the principal goal which one must propose oneself in his travels, is without any doubt to examine the manners, the customs, the genius of other nations, their dominant taste, their arts, their sciences, their manufactures & their trade. [...] It is in particular a country beyond the Alps, which deserves the curiosity of all those whose education has been cultivated by the letters. […] modern Italy offers the curious only the remains of that Italy so famous formerly; but these debris are always worthy of our attention. (Jaucourt 1765: 476-77)

This, as we saw in Dalai's chapter, stands out as the majority position; throughout the eighteenth century, travel books multiplied. The *Nouveau Voyage d'Italie* by French writer and traveller **Maximilien Misson** (1650? -1722), written in form of letters and printed in 1691, was for the next fifty years one of the most consulted guides for travellers, but also a literary model. In presenting his text, Misson says he wrote it in the form of letters because «*the style of letters is a concise style, a*

free & familiar style», and adds with reference to foreigners who write about Italy:

> *...they often tell us great stories of very small things. Having noticed these defects, I took care to fall into them: I examined cold-blooded the things by letting the admirers evaporate in praises and exclamations, without letting me be surprised by their pompous and superlatives terms. But if I have not had the complacency to always admire them, I also hope that I will not be accused of a prevention opposed to that which I blame; since it will be seen that I praise with pleasure the things that, according to my judgment, deserve to be praised.* (Misson 1702, Avertissement: n.p.)

Following in some ways the suggestions of Misson, throughout the next century, the description of the route from Rome to the Alban Hills, the hills and the towns, is generally given in a rather predictable format. A recurring element is the fascination with antiquities - the tomb of the Horatii and Curiazi, the Emissary, the tomb of Ascanio - often with extensive quotes from Latin texts- as well as the two lakes of Albano and Nemi. The latter, which combines the enchantment of the landscape with the ancient legends of Virbio, Diana and Egeria, together with the panorama that can be seen from the Capuchin Convent of Albano, is perhaps the place that garners the most enthusiastic comments, consistent throughout two centuries. This is exemplified in texts from **Joseph Addison** to the French composer **Charles Gounod** (1818-1893) and the American journalist and poet, **Lilian Whiting** (1859-1942):

There is nothing at Albano so remarkable as the prospect from the Capuchin's garden, which for the extent and variety of pleasing incidents is, I think, the most delightful one that I ever saw. (Addison 1705: 218).

One of my favorite sites, in the vicinity of Rome, was the village of Nemi, with its lake which the eye discovers in the depths of a vast crater and which is surrounded by dense woods of splendid vegetation. The tour of the lake, by the upper road, is one of the most beautiful walks that can be dreamed of: made by a beautiful day and ended with a sunset as it was given me to contemplate it on seeing the sea of the heights of Gensano is an enchanting and indelible memory. (Gounod 1896: 126)

The beauty of the avenue of ilex trees through which we flew from Castel Gandolfo to Lago di Nemi surpasses description. (Whiting 1907: 212)

Only one comment seems unenthusiastic, that of British writer **Vernon Lee** (pseudonym of Violet Paget, 1856-1935) who, although generally positive about the landscape, dedicates only a brief comment to the lake: *«The little round Lake of Nemi disappointed me.»* (Lee 1906: 64).

In the nineteenth century, the style became more colourful, and based (especially among women), on personal experience rather than repeating the previous guides. To differentiate the descriptions of the places, in particular those belonging to the

Papal State, several factors intervene, in addition to religious affiliation. There were many historical factors influencing commentators' perspectives: the political upheavals between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the French revolution, the Napoleonic period and subsequent restoration and the birth of Romanticism. The Romantic movement brought a change in the type of travellers, which in this area was characterized by the extensive presence of artists, who perhaps constituted the majority of those who visited, and often remained for a long period in the area.

A significant difference emerges with reference to the description of the Roman Campaign. The adjective that almost uniformly describes it is "desolate", emphasizing the contrast with the traces of ancient splendour. But while eighteenth-century travellers see this contrast in a negative way, especially in reference to the living conditions of the inhabitants, and with an "enlightened" attitude try to explain the reasons for the change, romantic or post-romantic painters seem to rather appreciate its landscape qualities, as the following examples show.

Charles De Brosses (1709-1777), French writer and politician, writes in 1739:

> *So here we are in this campaign, miserable beyond all we can say. Not a marble, not a house, and do not take it from Romulus. I was wrong to accuse him in my previous letter; the land is the most fertile land in the world, and would produce everything one would like if it were cultivated. You will say to me: Why is it not?*

We will answer you: Because of the interplay of the air, which kills all who come to live there. But I answer that the proposition is reciprocal. He is not inhabited because there is bad weather, and there is bad weather because he is not inhabited. [...] The first source of this unfortunate adventure comes, allegedly, from a false policy of Sixtus V, which probably did not feel the consequences. When he was raised to the papacy, disorder and impunity reigned in the state, where the principal nobles had all erected themselves into so many little tyrants. There was little less danger than difficulty in dealing with evil openly. Sixtus V wished to deprive them of their riches, the source of their insolence, by diminishing the immense revenue they derived from their lands. He made an absolute prohibition of getting the corn out of the ecclesiastical state. The people at first saw with pleasure an edict which seemed to procure food for them in greater abundance and cheaper, but as the country produced much more grain than it could consume, they were soon so cheap. that agriculture fell. Only what was necessary was cultivated; large estates remained uncultivated, and afterwards became unhealthy, and consequently became depopulated, so that the evil having spread from canton to canton, all became as I told you. (Brosses 1858, vol. 1: 346-48)

And Scottish physician **John Moore** (1729-1802), who from 1769 to 1778 accompanied the Duke of Hamilton on a Grand Tour of Europe, writes in 1781:

Nothing can surpass the admirable assemblage of hills, meadows, lakes, cascades, gardens, ruins, groves, and terraces, which charm the eye, as you wander among the shades of Frescati and Albano, which appear in new beauty as they are viewed from different points, and captivate the beholder with endless variety. One reflexion obtrudes itself on the mind, and disturbs the satisfaction which such pleasing scenes would otherwise produce ; it arises from beholding the poverty of infinitely the greater part of the inhabitants of those villages. - Not that they seem miserable or discontented - a few roasted chestnuts, and some bunches of grapes, which he may have for a penny, will maintain an Italian peasant a whole day; but the easier they are satisfied, and the less repining they are, the more earnestly do we with that they were better provided for. (Moore 1795: 317)

Totally positive are instead the descriptions of nineteenth-century artists, as for instance **John Ruskin** (1819-1900), English art critic and painter, in 1843:

It had been wild weather when I left Rome, and all across the Campagna the clouds were sweeping in sulphurous blue, with a clap of thunder or two, and breaking gleams of sun along the Claudian aqueduct lighting up the infinity of its arches like the bridge of chaos. But as I climbed the long slope of the Alban Mount, the storm swept finally to the north, and the noble outline of the domes of Albano, and graceful darkness of its ilex

grove, rose against pure streaks of alternate blue and amber; the upper sky gradually flushing through the last fragments of rain-cloud in deep palpitating azure, half æther and half dew. The noonday sun came slanting down the rocky slopes of La Riccia, and their masses of entangled and tall foliage, whose autumnal tints were mixed with the wet verdure of a thousand evergreens, were penetrated with it as with rain. I cannot call it colour, it was conflagration. Purple, and crimson, and scarlet, like the curtains of God's tabernacle, the rejoicing trees sank into the valley in showers of light, every separate leaf quivering with buoyant and burning life; each, as it turned to reflect or to transmit the sunbeam, first a torch and then an emerald. (Ruskin 1879, vol. 1, part 2: 155-56)

And **William Wetmore Story** (1819-1895), American sculptor, art critic, and poet, in 1863:

Various as the Campagna is in outline it is quite as various in colour, reflecting every aspect of the sky, and answering every touch of the seasons. Day after day it shifts the slide of its wondrous panorama of changeful pictures - now tender in the fresh green and flower-flush of spring - now golden in the matured richness of summer - and now subdued and softened into purple-browns in the autumn and winter. Silent and grand, with shifting opal hues of blue, violet, and rose, the mountains look upon the plain. Light clouds hide and cling to their airy crags, or drag along them their trailing shadows.

Looking down from the Alban Hill one sees in the summer noons wild thunder-storms, with sloping spears of rain and flashing blades of lightning, charge over the plain and burst here and there among the ruins, while all around the full sunshine basks upon the Campagna, and trembles over the mountains. Towards twilight the landscape is transfigured in a blaze of colour - the earth seems fused in a fire of sunset - the ruins are of beaten gold - the meadows and hollows are as crucibles where delicate rainbows melt into every tone and gradation of colour - a hazy and misty splendour floats over the shadows, and earth drinks in the glory of the heavens. (Story 1864, vol. 2: 12)

The Villages and their inhabitants

There is a similar situation in the assessment of the villages, which are generally judged somewhat negatively, particularly when compared to their past glory, as in the comments of French writer **Pierre Brussel** (1725-1781?) in 1768:

Our Ciceroni embarked with us, pointed out on the road four small towns, Albano, Laricci, Lavini, & Gensano, which formerly famous, are now only huts, without excepting the first, Albe, which made long-times head against the Romans. (Brussel 1728, tome 2: 23).

Even in the following century, the criticisms focus on the streets, houses, and often the food and inns - not by chance,

almost all mention Horace's phrase in the Satire V: "*Egressum magna me excepit Aricia Rome, Hospitio modico*" [Released from the great Rome, I was took in a modest inn in Ariccia]. These negative aspects, however, are somehow compensated by the beautiful location and the views that these villages offer, the picturesque costumes of the inhabitants, and above all the beauty of women who, together with the landscape, are one of the privileged subjects of the works of the artists who stay here. The contrast is expressed somewhat ironically by French bishop, writer and painter **Louis-Gaston de Ségur** (1820-1881) about Genzano:

> *Gensano is a very old and very pretty city: pretty for an artist, that is to say, very ugly for an honest bourgeois* (Ségur, 1882: 266)

and about Ariccia*:*

> *In ten minutes we arrive at the foot of a mountain, on the top of which is built the small town of La Riccia. I can not say how much the sight of this black and ancient city, in the midst of the foliage, and at the top of a huge rock, impressed me deeply; it is made for a painter, and a painter must have no marrow in his bones to avoid swooning himself in front of La Riccia.* (*id.*: 262-63)

This coexistence of negative and positive aspects is expressed in various ways by almost all authors throughout the century. For example, the English writer and landscape artist **Ellis Cornelia Knight** (1757-1837), who, after praising

the panorama of Ariccia (cf. the quotation of Roberta Londi), concludes:

> *The situation of this little town is beyond description beautiful, but the streets have nothing to recommend them; and though they contain many comfortable dwellings, there is no house worthy of observation, except the palace of Prince Chigi...* (Knight 1805: 78)

Or the American poet and educator **Henry Wadsworth Longfellow** (1807-1882). He also finishes his praises to Ariccia's position and panorama (cf. chapter by Roberta Londi), with a short negative phrase:

> *The town itself, however, is mean and dirty. The only inhabitable part is near the northern gate, where the two streets of the village meet...* (Longfellow 1856: 343)

A little less critical the French poet **Louise Colet** (1810-1876):

> *You will see the Italian peasants living pell-mell on this rock with their goats and pigs. The houses are dirty, but picturesque; residents as in Albano kept the ancient character in all its purity and its energy...* (Colet 1864: 455)

James Edward Freeman (1810-1884), American painter and diplomat, offers an uncharitable description of Ariccia:

> *Whatever Lariccia may* have *been, it is now but an insignificant place of less than two thousand human*

souls, most of them pitifully poor and ignorant; yet, miserable, degraded, and without cultivation as they are, they assume a contempt for the strangers who come among them, calling all nations indiscriminately, as a rule, Inglese *and barbarians. It boasts a church, a palace, and an inn; then its other dwellings dwindle, with few exceptions, into small, poverty-invested habitations, unwholesome, and crowded with a ragged and suffering population.* (Freeman 1877: 260-61)

Yet, despite these negative judgments on the inhabitants, he decided to stay there for more than a month, attracted by the prospect of having one of those locals *«pretty, black-eyed maidens, both shy and mischievous, whose forms and features, well put on canvas, would have made a picture to challenge admiration»* (*id.*: 262) as a model.

The local girls have always been appreciated by travellers, men and women also. As noted by the French writer and poet Madame **Du Boccage** (Anne-Marie Le Page 1710-1802):

How much the inhabitants of Albano seemed pretty! I saw them Sunday out of church with clothes like sails in gauze recrouffés, pesky, the same delicacy aprons, fair clothes size & a lot of adornment. (Boccage 1764, vol. 3: 306)

The Ukrainian dramatist **Nikolai Vasil'evich Gogol** (1809-1852), in the novel *Rome* describes as follows (most likely inspired by Vittoria Caldoni) the girl with whom the protagonist is in love:

Try to look at the lightning, when, having opened black clouds like coal, it will be unbearably fluttered with a whole flood of brilliance. Those are the eyes of the Annunziata from Albano. Everything reminds in her those ancient times, when the marble made sparks under the chisels of the sculptors. Her hair, thick and black as the pitch, is raised in two heavy braids that crown her head while four curls fall on the neck. When she turns her face shining like snow, her image will be impressed in your heart. When you see her figure in profile, it strikes you the purity of the lines, which no brush has ever managed to make. Seen from behind, her wonderful hair raised upwards shows the splendour of the neck and perfection of the shoulders, a miraculous perfection, that nowhere can be found on the earth - it is a miracle! But the most wonderful thing is when she looks straight into yours eyes with her eyes, it freezes your blood and takes your breath away Her full voice rang like copper. There is no agile panther that can match her in speed, strength and pride. Everything in her is a masterpiece of creation, from the shoulders to the legs shaped old, to the little finger. (Gogol 1841: 22)

Faced with these descriptions, so full of contrasting elements, one cannot fail to be amazed and intrigued by the two extreme cases represented by **John Chetwode Eustace** (1762-1815) and Lady **Sydney Morgan** (née Owenson, 1776-1859), the first totally positive and the second completely negative:

Eustace:

The town of Albano consists almost totally of one long street, in general well built and airy; but its chief advantage is its lofty situation; and its ornaments are the beautiful country houses and walks that surround it on all sides. (Eustace 1821, vol. 2: 255)

and about Ariccia:

It is extremely well built and pretty, particularly about the square which is adorned with a handsome church on one side, and on the other, with a palace or rather a villa. It stands on the summit of a hill and is surrounded with groves and gardens... (*id.*: 267)

Lady Morgan:

The peasantry of Albano, with their curious costume, give life to the dirty and disorderly town, where already five convents are re-opened, and filled (as the innkeeper assured us) entirely with strangers. All the horrors of modern Latium lie towards the right... [...] *The dreary hill of La Riccia is ascended from Albano, crowned by the ruined town; still more dreary, and preserving monuments of the great causes of these terrible effects. La Riccia (Aricia) is black and mouldering, and fearful as its inhabitants, with their fierce and squalid features; save only the great Palace of the Chigi, and the vast Church that faces it; yet they too are gloomy and dilapidated...* (Morgan 1821, vol. 2: 319)

Since both visited these places more or less in the same period, it is difficult not to think that there must be a reason, beyond the intrinsic characteristics of the places, for the vastly differing perspectives. If we look at the characters of these two authors, an explanation can perhaps be found in their political-ideological opinions: Eustace was an Anglo-Irish Catholic priest, a staunch supporter of Italy and against France, whose trip to Italy took place in 1802 as a companion of three young aristocrats, while Lady Morgan, although also of Irish origin, was a supporter of the French revolution and then of Napoleon, therefore extremely opposed to the Church State. In fact, Morgan herself says of the book of Eustace, which *«is the book of a churchman and a Catholic partisan»*.

The Papal Palace in Castel Gandolfo

Similar reasons may explain the difference in tone with which the interior of the papal palace in Castel Gandolfo is described. All visitors, without exception, find it poor and without interest, but for some of them this is a fact that somehow relates to the Pope's merit. For example, **Pierre Brussel** (1725? -1821?) - after having ironically described the luxurious ceremony of the delivery to the Pope of a white horse, gift and tribute from the King of Naples, in St Peter's Square in Rome - seems to appreciate the simplicity of the Castel Gandolfo palace:

> *Walls painted with frescoes, crimson beds and armchairs of crimson damask, wooden stools painted without*

number, mediocre paintings, here is the inventory of the interior of this little palace, this not ostentatious furniture has edified us. (Brussel 1768, vol. 2: 27)

The French astronomer **Joseph-Jérôme de Lalande** (1732-1807)**,** an atheist educated by Jesuits, comments:

The castle of Castel Gandolfo has nothing remarkable; it is a simple house devoid of all decoration; there is a lot of lodging and several galleries; but everything is so simple, that one would rather take this house for the retirement of a Superior of Order than for the pleasure-house of a Sovereign. The Pope's room is very modestly furnished with a simple bed of damask with large painted wooden chairs. (La Lande 1769, vol. 5: 425-26)

Ellis Cornelia Knight (1757-1837), Tory and anti-revolutionary, says that it is *«a building of considerable size, and has in it noble apartments, furnished with that dignified simplicity which characterizes the residence of an ecclesiastical sovereign.»* (Knight 1805: 54)

For others, like **Louise Colet** (1810-1876), poet and novelist revolutionary, follower of Garibaldi and author of *Les derniers abbés, mœurs religieuses de l'Italie* (which was confiscated by the pontifical police for its anticlerical content), Castel Gandolfo is simply a typical example of priests' lack of taste:

As we were going to drive up Castel Gandolfo square, the custodian of the popes' villa came to offer us a showing of the palace. We arrived, by a badly swept staircase, in large rooms in enfilade all equally vulgar; one would have said a series of parlours as one sees in modern convents: mediocre pictures, dirty armchairs, crucifixes in painted wood. The inelegance of the priests, the carelessness of the monks, something sordid that strikes in all the clerical dwellings, when the art does not impress its grandeur. But Castel Gandolfo's palace contains neither a painting nor a rare marble. The room of Pius IX is as commonplace as the others. The ceremonial salon is a Chinese salon; the grotesque postures of mandarins entertain the little papal court. (Colet 1864, vol. 4: 456)

Wine

Perhaps the subject on which opinions differ most is the wine of the Castelli region - on which almost all the authors mentioned leave us a comment - and here it is difficult to find "ideological" reasons to explain the differences. Starting from **Richard Lassels**, who is wholly positive, through the famous writer **Charles Dickens** (1812-1870), who is rather negative, we have a continuous alternation of favorable and contrary judgments.

Richard Lassels:

In Albano, I saw nothing of moment but an old Church, and some old houses: yet seeing it stands in so good an air,

I wonder the great men of Rome have not built houses here, where the wine is so exquisitely good. Indeed, this wine makes this town be much taken notice of by all strangers, as being the best wine that's constantly drunk in Rome. (Lassels 1670, 2nd part: 307)

In contrast, **Joseph Addison** says:

Albano keeps up its credit still for wine, which perhaps would be as good as it was anciently, did they preserve it to as great an age... (Addison 1767: 219)

Charles de Brosses, is also definitely negative**:**

*Cynthianum [*Genzano*], in which a small yellowish liquor, bland and sweet, which has been misunderstood given the name of wine, grows in abundance; but it is highly extolled. It is not the vinum generosum of the ancient Romans; but in geometrical terms, the modern Romans are to the ancients, as the Genzano is to the Falernian wine.* (Brosses 1836, vol. 2: 317-18)

Thomas Nugent, without personally taking a position, says about Albano that: *«The town is famous for its excellent wine.»* (Nugent 1749, vol. 3: 271)

Similar is the judgement of the Catholic priest, historian and biologist **José Viera y Clavijo** (1731-1813), who visits Italy in 1780-81:

The city of Albano is small, country and situated for the most part on the hillside not far from the famous lake of its name. [...] There are many vineyards and their wines are among the most valuable in Italy. (Viera y Clavijo 1849: 104)

Ellis Cornelia Knight (1805) agrees, although harbors some doubts:

The wine of Gensano is strong, and much esteemed in the Pope's states [...] The soil of Albano is peculiarly fertile; and the wine it produces is thought to be good, though not so much esteemed as it was in the days of Horace. (Knight 1805: 71)

John Chetwode Eustache (1762-1805), an Anglo-Irish Catholic priest and antiquary, is very positive:

The air on the Alban and Tusculan hills is always pure and wholesome; the soil is extremely fertile, and, in some places, remarkable as it was anciently for excellent wine. The best now bears the name, as it grows in the neighbourhood, of Gensano, anciently Cynthianum. (Eustache 1821: 277)

This is balanced by the judgment of the English **Henry Coxe**[2] (pseud. of John Millard):

Wine in the environs of Rome is much inferior to that of Gensano, Albano, and Velletri. Some of these have the colour of a deep yellow, and are sold from five to

three sous per bottle; that of eight is excellent; it is of a light saffron colour, raid having much of a saccharine quality, is particularly agreeable to the female taste. (Coxe 1815: 267)

On the other hand, the French politician and man of letters **Jean-Claude Fulchiron** writes (1774-1859):

The air we breathe at Gensano is healthy; the vineyards of the surroundings are in great reputation in Italy only; for the wines of this country displease, by their gentleness, foreigners, and are not an object of exploitation. In general, Italian wines are all consumed in the country, except that collected on the flanks of Vesuvius, and still this trade is of little importance. (Fulchiron 1841, vol. 2: 9)

Similarly, playwright and French journalist **Louis Poinsinet de Sivry** (1733-1804) writes:

Genzano is famous in Italy for its mediocre wine and the beauty of its women, which I do not want to dispute. (Sivry 1843: 229)

And from **Charles Dickens**:

There is Albano, with its lovely lake and wooded shore, and with its wine, that certainly has not improved since the days of Horace, and in these times hardly justifies his panegyric. (Dickens 1846: 213)

Since positive and negative judgments, even if they tend to worsen over time, regularly alternate in the century and a half under consideration, one may question whether the differences are actually due to changes in the quality of the wine. The suspicion also arises that many authors, especially in the eighteenth-century, relied on hearsay rather than making a personal judgment.

On the subject of why the wine may be disappointing, the opinions vary. The clergyman and historian from Ariccia **Emanuele Lucidi** – in his historical *Memorie storiche dell'antichissimo municipio ora terra dell'Ariccia e delle due colonie Genzano e Nemi*, published in 1796 – maintains that the quality of the wine is excellent, but often it is not well preserved. And this would also seem the opinion of Madame **du Boccage**:

> *...if the vine growers of the best cantons would make the wines, and keep them as attentively as their ancestors, perhaps they would be as good. The Romans surrounded them in large earthen vessels, many years before drinking them.* (Boccage 1764: 306)

However, there are many who say that it is not only a matter of conservation, but also of processing: the grapes are good, but the wine is bad, if not perhaps even adulterated, as Swiss writer **Charles-Victor de Bonstetten** (1745-1832) said:

> *Fortunately for France the perfection of wine depends on so many things, that it is not to be believed that it is ever found in Italy. The goodness of the wines supposes the very expensive cultivation of the vines; a cellar par-*

aphernalia that small farmers never have; knowledge in the conduct of wine, which they will long miss; considerable capital to keep them, and finally a freedom of commerce which is not in the minds of the Italian governments. [...] All the principles seem to be lacking at the same time for the vine growers of Lazio. I saw at Albano the most beautiful grapes in the world, poured in barrels, placed upright and smashed from above, where the wine remained exposed for forty-five days; for such is the rule. [...] Finally, it is not enough that the wine has merit, it is necessary to know how to make it stand out in the world. (Bonstetten 1804: 283-84)

Ellis Cornelia Knight says that:

Near Galoro, and also on the road to Gensano, is a rustic fountain overhung with trees, and called la Fontana della bugia, or "the fountain of deceit", from its being a resting place for the people who bring wine from Gensano, and are here supposed to replenish the casks with water. (Knight 1805: 81)

William Wetmore Story in turn goes into the details of these practices:

The vines are well cultivated and bear delicious grapes; but nothing can be more careless than the manner in which the wine is made. No pains are taken in the selection and distribution of, the grapes so as to obtain different qualities of wine; but good and bad, stems and

all, are cast pell-mell into one great vat, and the result, of course, is a wine far inferior to that which might be produced. Were the Romans as careful and skillful as the French in their modes of manufacture, they might produce wine equal, if not superior, to the best wines of Burgundy. (Story 1864: 245)

Mildred Anna Rosalie Tuker and **Hope Malleson** (1905), two English women, members of the Women's Social and Political Union, who spent many years in Rome, add other details:

The wine of the Castelli romani is famous; every district makes both red and white, the latter being generally preferred in Rome itself; the white "Frascati" and white "Genzano" are famous; Albano wine is praised by Horace, and excellent "Marino" is still made in the vineyards of the Scotch college which has its summer quarters there. [...] but the difficulty in some of these small towns is to find a vine grower to take sufficient pains with his wine making. Colouring matter is usually employed for the red wines, the least noxious resource being a plentiful admixture of elderberry. The wine made one year is not as a rule drunk till the next; it is not prepared for exportation, but is kept, or sent to Rome, in barrels, from which it is decanted for retail commerce into flasks where the wine is protected with a few drops of oil in lieu of a cork. (Tuker and Malleson 1905: 79)

It must be said that these seem convincing speeches, but, evidently taste is personal and idiosyncratic. So we close with this quote by the English journalist and writer **Richard Ellis Roberts** (1879-1953), which seems to integrate the discordant opinions:

We went on from Nemi to Genzano, and there we entered the Trattoria Stocchi della Grotta Azzurra. Of Genzano Baedeker says in his blunt, Teutonic way: "Officially known as Genzano di Roma, the poverty-stricken village presents no attraction beyond its fine situation, high above the S.W. bank of the Lago di Nemi." That is not true. I'm afraid that the representative of Karl Baedeker was, on that trip, a teetotaller. Genzano produces one of the most seductive and pleasing wines that it has ever been my good fortune to meet. I am, I hope, a fairly eclectic drinker; and I have only one rule. If possible, drink in each country the country's drink. [...] The wine of Genzano is sweet; it is sticky; it is rather heavy - that is, it has all the qualities that I abhor in wine. And yet, as I sit writing this in Cornwall, I feel that the price of a railway ticket to Rome is not too dear for a litre of it. It is a troll-wine, a wine bewitched, a wine enchanted and enchanting. It is WINE. It is what poets sang of, and compared to blood; and it is the wine for which strong men have bartered lands and money and honour. It is wine, the symbol: the wine that make the glad man's heart. It is the wine of which the wise man said, "Look not on the wine when it is red", but drink it. Behind its sweetness and stickiness there is a

subtle, elective something, a curious yet definite thrill, a volcanic quality which makes it a drink worth walking and waiting for. (Roberts 1911: 150)

Notes

1 Ref. to Milton's *Paradise Lost*

2 On Henry Coxe, despite the fact that the book is highly quoted, we couldn't find any information, except that it is a pseudonym for John Millard, lived between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and only the hypothesis that it is the same John Millard author of a *Gentleman's Guide on His Tour through France* (1768) and a *Traveller's Guide in Switzerland* (1816).

THE ALBAN HILLS THROUGH THE EYES OF 19TH CENTURY BRITISH AND AMERICAN WRITERS

Italy in the British culture and the suggestions of the Anglo-American intellectuals between Genzano, Ariccia, Nemi and Albano

Roberta Londi

Italy in the Anglo-Saxon culture and the reasons to travel

> *A man who has not been in Italy, is always conscious of an inferiority, from his not having seen what it is expected a man should see*. (Boswell 1906: 25)

This is how Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), one of the greatest British scholars, describes the need for a trip to Italy as a fundamental step in his human and artistic formation.

Since the Renaissance, Italy in Britain was considered the capital of culture in Europe and the *Bel Paese* became a source of inspiration for the Anglo-Saxon arts. An exemplary case is that of the greatest English bard, William Shakespeare, who sets many of his most famous theatrical works in Italy (to name a few: *Romeo and Juliet, Otello, Julius Caesar, the Merchant of Venice, The Taming of the Shrew, The two gentlemen of Verona, Much ado about nothing* etc.).

This massive presence of narrative settings and aesthetic choices in his works (about a half) is representative of a careful study of our country by writers of his stature who looked carefully at our country, but of course this also created a wide appeal on the variegated Shakespearean public, composed by intellectuals but also by common people who attended his performances, with a consequent increase in the coming centuries of the interest, idealization and fascination that the British people felt for Italy.

Many other British writers showed Italian inspirations such as John Milton and his *Paradise Lost*, which pays tribute to Dante and his Divine Comedy, William Blake and his literary and artistic work and many others, confirming the evident attention given to our arts by the British cultural elite which constituted, at least in the early stages of the Grand Tour and before the arrival of bourgeois and mass tourism, the main base of the travellers.

From the end of the 18th century, many historical and literary events took place in the English society which, directly or indirectly, further influenced the growing romantic "fashion" of Italy as an ancient, evocative land, lying in its archaic beauty.

In the historical context, the end of the 18th century represents the beginning of the era of great revolutions: in a few decades, in fact, the world was upset by great changes that led to the independence of the American colonies, to the liberation of the French people from the monarchy and the industrialization on British soil.

The English Industrial Revolution considerably changed the aesthetics of the major English cities: the country is transformed into an industrial centre, the cities proliferate of factories, the life of the workers - as Charles Dickens will later remind us in his great social novels - is marked by the new rhythms and working hours. Italy is still very far from this process of modernization, still a predominantly agricultural, ancient country, dormant in its archaic rhythms.

In the literary sphere, towards the end of the 18th century, at the same time as the development of the pre-romantic current, we see the birth of the so-called "Gothic Novel", then brought to maximum popularity by authors such as Mary Shelley, Bram Stoker, Edgar Allan Poe.

A genre conventionally born in 1764 with the *Castle of Otranto*, a novel by the English politician and writer (and also a grand tourist) Horace Walpole followed by the novel *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) by the writer Ann Radcliffe. The works are not randomly set in Italy, thus presenting our country, with its history, its ancient castles, its mysteries, as the ideal setting for these dark and mysterious stories.

The Romanticism, the great philosophical-artistic-literary current, originates in this culturally prolific historical moment. Developed in Germany at the end of the 18th cen-

tury, it spreads throughout Europe, manifesting itself from the beginning as a sort of "rebellion" against the previous tastes and canons. If the arts in the Enlightenment era sought a certain balance, harmony, a response to precise aesthetic parameters and an almost scientific description of reality, with romanticism all of this is completely overturned.

At the centre of romantic works there is an expressive research based on the representation of strong emotions, not necessarily positive like love or affection, but also negative like pain, fear, trepidation. The transience of life captures the fantasies of the romantics, the love for the picturesque and the folklore are elevated to aesthetic categories, the relationship with nature is individual and personal, a sublimated, unrealistic relationship. In this view, Italy was to the eyes of romantic travellers as extremely interesting and full of inspiration with its history, its ruins and its ancient glories, its uncontaminated nature, and traditions.

Since the beginning of the 18th century in the United Kingdom all scholars read the Italian classics as part of their academic education and, in the noble class, it was believed that every young aristocrat had to make the trip to Italy to complete his own educational and training path. In the early 19th century about 1500 English students are in Italy: five hundred in Rome, the rest mainly between Florence, Livorno and Pisa. Of course, today these numbers seem absolutely ridiculous if compared to current tourism, but for the time, when travelling was still an elitist event, these numbers are indicative of the growing English presence in Italy. An exemplary case in our area of interest, the Alban Hills,

is represented by the British noblewoman Caroline Shirley. Granddaughter of Count Robert Shirley, Caroline, in the wake of the Grand Tour, frequently travels to Italy to complete her education and here, in Rome, she meets and then marries Duke Lorenzo Sforza Cesarini, who will dedicate to her the beautiful English park located in Genzano, overlooking Lake Nemi.

The typical itinerary of the English travellers started from the white cliffs of Dover, crossing the English Channel and reaching the French land. From France, proceeding southward, they would normally arrive in Switzerland and then, past the Alps, they finally arrived in our country. Once in Italy, the route always included the main Italian cities, such as Venice, Florence, Rome, Naples and, if in possession of a boat, even the Sicily of Greek antiquities. The itinerary, however, due to the love of the English for local folklore and customs, also included stops in small villages such as in the Castelli Romani, and villages like Ariccia, which even had a famous inn, the Locanda Martorelli, specifically dedicated to artists and writers, represented a sort of essential stop on the itinerary between Rome and Naples.

In the 19th century we have the arrival of the great American travellers, who faced long journeys to reach the old continent, attracted by European history and culture. **Matthias Bruen** (1793-1829), Presbyterian minister of the city of New York, in his travel report published in 1817 gives us an interesting description of his experience in Italy, from North to South, representing the journey as a sort of metaphor of life, of a personal and spiritual growth through the Italian experience:

A journey in Italy may be compared with the course of human life. The plains of Lombardy and the vale of Arno are rich and smooth and beautiful as youth, we come to Rome for the sights and experience and reflections which suit manhood, we return after the bustle of life to the comforts congenial to age and which are provided in sunshine and air and the bounties of nature as we find them at Naples and we at last behold Paestum as the soberest evening scene which shuts up our wearisome pilgrimage and ends our toil. (Bruen 1823: 14)

English and American writers in the Alban Hills

Fascinated by nature and local traditions, many were the English and American writers who, during the Roman stop, let themselves be enchanted by the villages of the Alban Hills, immortalizing them in their works.

Among the most famous romantic grand tourists we cannot fail to mention **George Gordon Byron** (1788-1824), an indomitable traveller and incarnation of a pure romantic spirit.

Lord Byron left the United Kingdom for the first time in 1809 for a two-year journey to Portugal, Spain and Albania. In 1816 he definitively abandoned his homeland, and died in 1824 in Greece during the war of independence for a rheumatic fever. He stayed in Switzerland with English friend and poet Percy Bysshe Shelley and his wife Mary Shelley, whom, during this stay with friends, composed her Gothic master-

Fig. 1. Thomas Phillips, *Lord Byron,* 1813. Nottingham, Newstead Abbey (Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi, archives)

piece Frankenstein. The Shelleys also visited Italy, where P.B. Shelley died in 1822 and was then buried in the non-Catholic cemetery of Rome; Mary published a story set in Albano, the Sisters of Albano, in 1850.

In 1817 Byron arrived in Italy and spent twenty-two days in Rome where he composed the fourth song of his *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, a poem about his travel experiences, and was impressed by the majesty of the ancient ruins of the eter-

nal city which, with romantic emphasis, called "*O Rome! my country! city of the soul!*"

From here he moved towards the Castelli Romani, being particularly struck by the beauty of Nemi and the history of Albano, which he describes in his *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*:

Lo, Nemi! navelled in the woody hills
So far, that the uprooting wind which tears
The oak from his foundation, and which spills
The ocean o'er its boundary, and bears
Its foam against the skies, reluctant spares
The oval mirror of thy glassy lake;
And, calm as cherished hate, its surface wears
A deep cold settled aspect nought can shake,
All coiled into itself and round, as sleeps the snake.

And near Albano's scarce divided waves
Shine from a sister valley; - and afar
The Tiber winds, and the broad ocean laves
The Latian coast where sprung the Epic war,
'Arms and the Man,' whose reascending star
Rose o'er an empire, - but beneath thy right
Tully reposed from Rome; - and where yon bar
Of girdling mountains intercepts the sight,
The Sabine farm was tilled, the weary bard's delight. (Byron 1900: 280-281)

In the early 1800s we also find in the Alban Hills some British women, writers and intellectuals such as **Cornelia Knight** (1757-1837).

Fig. 2. Angelica Kauffmann, *Ellis Cornelia Knight*, 1793. Manchester Art Gallery (Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi, archives)

Writer and painter, she met many English personalities under the reign of George III, such as Admiral Nelson. After the death of her father, she settled in Italy with her mother. In 1818 she met Massimo D'Azeglio in Castel Gandolfo and became his teacher of English, sciences and fine arts. She will die in Paris. In 1805 she published her work *Description of Latium or La Campagna Romana*, in which, with great sensitivity and attention, she described the small villages visited, here in particular Ariccia:

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

Laricia is only a short mile from Albano; yet the prospect continually varies, and a considerable series of views may be taken on this road; one of the most interesting of which is, that where the palace of the Prince with the cupola, and turrets of the opposite church, appear above the trees, and produce so fine an effect, that innumerable paintings and drawings of it are every where to be seen. (Knight 1805: 75)

Another writer who visited the Alban Hills during these years is **Charlotte Anne Eaton** (1788–1859), a travel writer, who arrives in Belgium in 1815 and then moves to Italy. In 1820 she publishes anonymously her travel diary on her Italian experience: *Rome in the 19th century*. In this evocative passage she talks about her visit to Monte Cavo (Monte Albano), the highest viewpoint in the area, where she is impressed by the territory that faces her gaze:

LETTER XCV.
ASCENT OF THE ALBAN MOUNT

After breakfast, on a beautiful May morning, at the door of the inn, we mounted our asses, which carried us all with great ease and safety, although the long legs of some of the gentlemen nearly touched the ground. We passed the Capuchin Convent, the terrace of which,- forbidden to females, - commands a most beautiful prospect, and then turning along the banks of the lake, wound through magnificent woods and thick copses of oak, chestnut, and hazel, looking down into the deep crystal basin below, and above to the towering summit of the classic mountain, whose sylvan sides we were ascending. [...] All Latium lay like a map beneath our feet; the regions far to the south, which, in returning from Naples, we had seemed to leave behind for ever, were once more revealed to our view. [...] ...we gazed upon towns and villages, and mountains, famed in early history, and in classic song... upon the ancient Tiber... upon Rome, with the stupendous ruins of the Coliseum, and the proud dome of St Peter's; - upon the northern heights of Mount Ciminus and Soracte, that seemed to shut us out from the land of our birth; - and upon the range of the Sabine Hills, and the lofty summits of the Appenines, that in proud and embattled grandeur rose up into the heavens, as if to fence in the classic plains of Italy. (Eaton 1820, vol. 3: 383-394)

One of the most prolific and multifaceted English travellers who visited the Alban Hills was **John Ruskin** (1819-1900). Writer, painter, poet and art critic, his interpretation of art and architecture strongly influenced Victorian aesthetics.

At Oxford he met William Turner, another great English presence in Italy, and Lewis Carroll. His first trip to our country dates back to 1840, together with his parents he follows the classic stops of the Grand Tour and travels across France and Italy until Paestum. During this journey he stops in the Alban Hills, and, in the first volume of his encyclopedic work *Modern Painters*, he describes Ariccia and its panoramic views with a memorable passage, with a word that becomes colour, that becomes image:

> *Far up into the recesses of the valley, the green vistas arched like the hollows of mighty waves of some crystalline sea, with the arbutus flowers dashed along their flanks for foam, and silver flakes of orange spray tossed into the air around them, breaking over the grey walls of rock into a thousand separate stars, fading and kindling alternately as the weak wind lifted and let them fall. [...] ...and over all, the multitudinous bars of amber and rose, the sacred clouds that have no darkness, and only exist to illumine, were seen in fathomless intervals between the solemn and orbed repose of the stone pines, passing to lose themselves in the last, white, blinding lustre of the measureless line where the Campagna melted into the blaze of the sea.* (Ruskin 1903: 279-280)

Fig. 3. Jonh Ruskin, *Autoritratto,* 1861, *"Ruskin, Turner and the pre-Raphaelites"*, Robert Hewison, 2000

In 1845 a second trip to Italy: this is the period where he experiences the discovery of Italian art and, in terms of personal creativity, the creation of his best watercolours. A new trip to Italy, again with his parents, dates back to 1858.

In the middle of the century, one of the most important English storytellers visits the Castelli Romani: **Charles Dickens** (1812-1870). Writer, journalist and travel reporter, for his social novels (*Oliver Twist, David Copperfield, Hard Times, Christmas Carol*) he is considered one of the most important novelists of all time.

Fig. 4. Ary Scheffer, *Charles Dickens*, 1855, National Portrait Gallery, London (Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi, archives)

In 1844-1845, Dickens took a break from writing and went to France and Italy with his family. He settled in Genoa and from there he went to the main Italian cities: Rome, Naples (with Mount Vesuvius still very active), Florence, Bologna and Venice. It is the picturesque Italian street life that captures his imagination. Dickens is particularly attracted by customs, popular traditions, games and parties, shows and the exuberance of the Roman carnival. The work that will immor-

talize these Italian suggestions is *Pictures from Italy* (1846). Early bird and walker, as we learn in the text, one of his excursions will take him to Albano, along the Ancient Appian way, whose ancient and timeless landscape inspires the following passage:

> *One day, we walked out, a little party of three, to Albano, fourteen miles distant; possessed by a great desire to go there, by the ancient Appian way, long since ruined and overgrown. [...] The aspect of the desolate Campagna in one direction, where it was most level, reminded me of an American prairie; but what is the solitude of a region where men have never dwelt, to that of a Desert, where a mighty race have left their foot-prints in the earth from which they have vanished; where the resting-places of their Dead, have fallen like their Dead; and the broken hourglass of Time is but a heap of idle dust! Returning, by the road, at sunset; and looking, from the distance, on the course we had taken in the morning, I almost felt (as I had felt when I first saw it, at that hour) as if the sun would never rise again, but looked its last, that night, upon a ruined world.* (Dickens 1846: 213-215)

Of no less importance is the presence in the Alban Hills of great American writers such as Longfellow and Henry James.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882), writer and poet, among the first American scholars to reach a worldwide fame, was a great scholar of Dante Alighieri and in 1826 he gave life to the so-called "Circolo Dante" which promoted the

knowledge of the Divine Comedy in the United States. Along with his colleagues at the club, Longfellow left in May 1826 for a three-year European tour. He visited France, Spain, Italy, Germany and England. In 1835, he published the work that photographs his European experience, *Outre mer, a Pilgrimage beyond the sea.*

Ariccia is represented in this passage of the *Pilgrimage*, in which he writes about the presence of many foreign painters active in the area, enchanted by the landscapes and views of the village:

> *I passed the month of September at the village of La Riccia, which stands upon the western declivity of the Albanian hills, looking towards Rome. Its situation is one of the most beautiful which Italy can boast. Like a mural crown, it encircles the brow of a romantic hill; woodlands of the most luxuriant foliage whisper around it ; above rise the rugged summits of the Abruzzi, and beneath lies the level floor of the Campagna, blotted with ruined tombs, and marked with broken but magnificent aqueducts that point the way to Rome. The whole region is classic ground. The Appian Way leads you from the gate of Rome to the gate of La Riccia. On one hand you have the Alban Lake, on the other the Lake of Nemi; and the sylvan retreats around nymph Egeria.* (Longfellow 1835: 342-343)

> *[...] During the summer months. La Riccia is a favorite resort of foreign artists who are pursuing their studies in the churches and galleries of Rome. Tired of copying the*

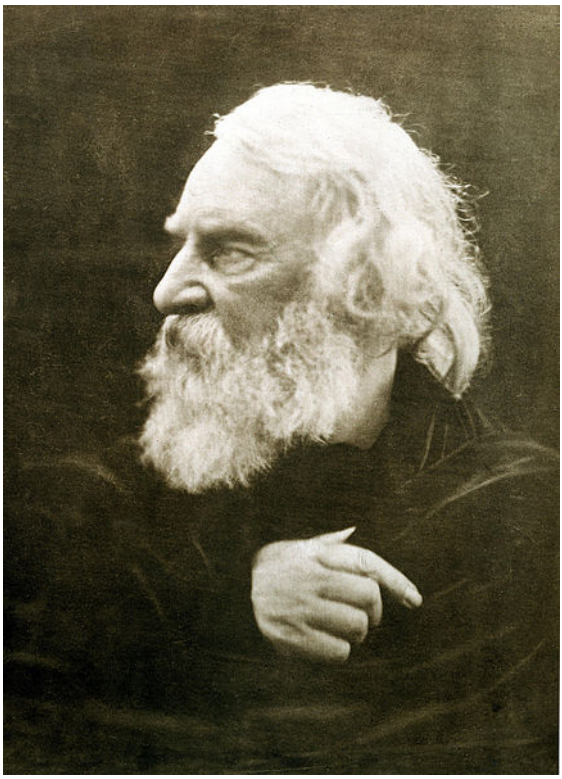

Fig. 5. Julia Margaret Cameron, *Photographic portrait of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, 1868

works of art, they go forth to copy the works of nature; and you will find them perched on their camp-stools at every picturesque point of view, with white umbrellas to shield them from the sun, and paint-boxes upon their knees, sketching with busy hands the smiling features of the landscape. The peasantry, too, are fine models for their study. The women of Genzano are noted for their beauty, and almost every village in the neighbourhood has something peculiar in its costume. (*id*. 354)

Finally, we cannot fail to mention the American **Henry James** (1843-1916). Writer and literary critic, he was born from a rich family of intellectuals with whom, in his youth, he made continuous journeys between Europe and America, studying with well-known tutors in Switzerland, England, France and Germany, deepening European literatures in the original language.

In 1876 James moved permanently to England but the dualism between the old and the new continent will almost never abandon his writing. The novels of James, in fact, often revolve around the contrast between the old world - an artistically refined, corrupt and fascinating Europe - and the new world - a frank, self-assured America trapped in puritan social conventions. His most famous work, *The Portait of a Lady*, published in 1881, was written during his stay in Venice and was deeply affected by his feelings, becoming the emblem of the conflict between the innocence of American youth and dangerous European decadence. In *Daisy Miller* in 1878, set between Switzerland and Italy, the protagonist Daisy is buried in the non-Catholic cemetery of Rome.

Italian Hours (1909) is the autobiographical work that tells his Italian experience more directly. James will visit Ariccia, Albano, Genzano, Nemi, the latter mentioned in the following passage for the celebrated beauty of its position, but also for its "obscure" inhabitants. These verses make us also smile, imagining the intellectual James struggling with the inhabitants of the village:

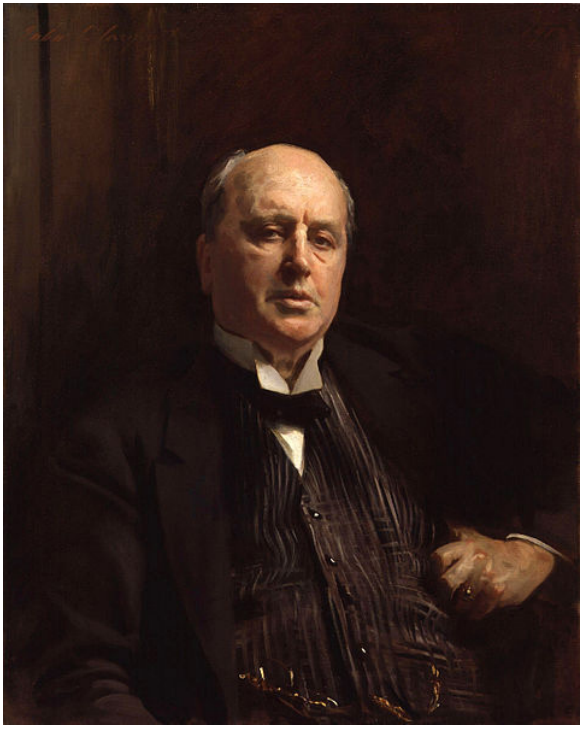

Fig. 6. John Singer Sargent, *Henry James*, 1913. London, National Portrait Gallery (Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi, archives)

I should like to spare a word for mouldy little Nemi, perched upon a cliff high above the lake, at the opposite side; but after all, when I had climbed up into it from the water-side, passing beneath a great arch which I suppose once topped a gateway, and counted its twenty or thirty apparent inhabitants peeping at me from black doorways, and looked at the old round tower at whose base the village clusters, and declared that it was all queer, queer, desperately queer, I had said all that is worth saying about it. Nemi has a much better

appreciation of its lovely position than Genzano, where your only view of the lake is from a dunghill behind one of the houses. At the foot of the round tower is an overhanging terrace, from which you may feast your eyes on the only freshness they find in these dusky human hives - the blooming seam, as one may call it, of strong wild flowers which binds the crumbling walls to the face of the cliff. (James 1909: 252)

The reading of these passages, of these fragments of life lost in a past so far and so close, includes also the Alban Hills in that phenomenon of the Grand Tour that was the fulcrum of a fundamental cultural exchange. Different characters, with different thoughts and motivations, reach our territory, write about it, live it in its beauties and in its everyday life. The permanence of international scholars and artists, the encounter with our culture and the circulation of their works in a foreign land allowed something unique: a process of internationalization of these small villages that became part of a cosmopolitan culture.

THE "CASTELLI ROMANI SCHOOL" AND THE MARTORELLI INN IN ARICCIA[1]

Artists and intellectuals from Europe and America in the 19th century[2]

Francesco Petrucci

The Castelli Romani were for some centuries among the main Italian experimentation sites on the subject of landscape painting, since its inception as an autonomous genre in the early seventeenth century, in the various declinations of the classical, ideal, conceived, heroic, idyllic, Arcadian historical and natural landscape.

The desolate perception of the Roman countryside, which still in the early years of the last century appeared as a malarial and desert land, strewn with the ruins of ancient aqueducts, towers and old farmhouses, crossed only by herds of oxen, buffaloes and herds, changed considerably aspect ascending the Colli Albani, in the obligatory transit of the Via Appia

towards south (*"Er deserto". The Roman Countryside in the collections of the Museum of Rome*, 2016: 49-68).

Dominated by Monte Cavo, the ancient *Mons Albanus* of the Latins, covered by a luxuriant vegetation of mixed deciduous forests and by the attractions of the lakes of Albano and Nemi, the hills of Rome appeared dotted with the presence of picturesque villages perched on the heights, from the ruins of Roman villas and the sumptuous residences of the aristocracy that had its feuds here. Even the popes, especially after 1626, when Pope Urban VIII chose Castel Gandolfo as a Spring-Summer resort residence, moved the papal court here for a few months.

In this area of sublime beauty, now unfortunately suffocated by the urban pressure of Rome, the main protagonists of landscape painting were active, drawing inspiration for their idealizing concept of the Lazio environmental context, as a place of mind and spirit, quintessence of myth and history.

Domenichino, the inventor of the classical landscape, was active in the abbey of San Nilo in Grottaferrata and in the Aldobrandini villa in Frascati. In the pictorial cycles here realized on canvas, he illustrated the concept of noble nature. Claude Lorrain also worked here, and in 1639, with the *View of Castel Gandolfo* of the Barberini collection, he realized one of the first exact representations of these places (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum), while in the *Landscape with the nymph Egeria* of 1669 he gave us a transfigured vision of lake Nemi (Naples, Capodimonte). Gaspar Dughet, at the service of those Roman patrons who had their country residences in the area, frescoed the Palaz-

zo Pamphilj in Valmontone, but from the Alban landscape he drew inspiration for his innovative naturalistic openings, according to a "panic" principle of immanence of the divine. The iconographic fortune of the Castelli Romani was amplified in the golden age of the Grand Tour, pursuing the concept of Arcadian nature, in idealized settings, with Franz van Bloemen, Gaspar van Wittel, Andrea Locatelli, Hendrick van Lint, Paolo Anesi and many others.

Landscape painting from being considered a minor genre by seventeenth-century treatises, gradually assumed equal dignity with respect to history painting. From the second half of the eighteenth century until the unification of Italy - or rather to the capture of Rome, when the eternal city, as **Ferdinand Gregorovius** (1821-1891) said, from the capital of the world became the capital of the new nation ("*Rome will lose the air of a world republic that I breathed for eighteen years, it descends to the rank of capital of the Italians*", Gregorovius 1967, II: 528) -, the territory of the Colli Albani, true emblem of the romantic "sentiment of nature", was the scene of an exceptional cultural and artistic ferment, due to the massive presence of painters and intellectuals from all over Europe, but also from the United States of America.

After all, poets and writers expressed in their writings a particular enthusiasm for this territory, defined by the Welsh painter Thomas Jones (1742-1803) "Magic Land" (Ingamelles 1997, p. 29), whose endless quotations would be very long to list (in this regard, see the essay by M.V. Giuliani in this volume).

Montesquieu wrote:

> *The whole country, between Tivoli, Frascati and Palestrina is better and richer than the one I saw between Florence and Rome, and from Rome to Naples, without comparison [...] a very fortunate district, especially between Monte Porzio, Frascati, Marino, Castelgandofo, Albano and Genzano.* (Montesquieu 1896, vol. 2, pp. 57-58)

The Scottish intellectual **John Moore** (1729-1802), tutor of Duke of Hamilton during his journey to Italy from 1769 to 1778, emphasized:

> *Nothing can surpass the admirable assemblage of hills, meadows, lakes, cascades, gardens, ruins, groves, and terraces, which charm the eye, as you wander among the shades of Frascati and Albano, which appear in new beauty as they are viewed from different points, and captivate the beholder with endless variety.* (Moore 1795: 309)

The American, sculptor and writer **William Wetmore Story** (1819-1895) in 1863 was struck by the emotional force of the panorama from the southern slope of the Castelli Romani, the one facing the sea:

> *Looking down from the Alban Hill one sees in the summer noons wild thunder-storms, with sloping spears of rain and flashing blades of lightning, charge over the*

plain and burst here and there among the ruins, while all around the full sunshine basks upon the Campagna, and trembles over the mountains. Towards twilight the landscape is transfigured in a blaze of colour - the earth seems fused in a fire of sunset - the ruins are of beaten gold - the meadows and hollows are as crucibles where delicate rainbows melt into every tone and gradation of colour - a hazy and misty splendour floats over the shadows, and earth drinks in the glory of the heavens. (Story 1864, vol 2: 12)

As I have written many times, taking inspiration from this landscape, a real *en plein air* school of painting developed in the romantic age, especially thanks to foreign artists, French, Germans, Danish, British, Scandinavians, Russians, but then also Americans (Petrucci 1995a and 2003).

From the last quarter of the eighteenth century even theorists encouraged young artists to leave the city and its monuments, to go and paint nature in the countryside, as **Pierre-Henry de Valenciennes** (1750-1819) did with his students, directing them right towards the Colli Albani even if the final aim was to rework historical landscapes in *ateliers* (Valenciennes 1800: 601).

In those times, successive hordes of Nordic invaders, no more armed with tools of destruction but of palettes, canvases and colours, peacefully occupy Italy, crossing it also according to new directions. The main destination remains Rome and the surrounding area, widely explored by the artists. There is no place in the Roman countryside that has not been described,

painted or jusr sketched with a pencil on a sheet (Wilton & Bignamini 1997, Sisi 2003, Ottani Cavina & Calbi 2005).

Going along the Appian Way, the artists climb the Colli Albani, absorbing the mysterious call full of classical literary suggestions, they paint the light and its changing impressions, the woods, the lakes and the villages, and from there they go down into the countryside, up to Anzio, the most beautiful stretch of the Roman coast, the only area in which the coast rises above the sea, with the attraction of the noble villas, the Neronian and the Innocentian port, the picturesque village of Nettuno.

In opposition to the urban character of the landscape painting of the Venetian tradition, these artists rediscover nature and are attracted by the integration of the ancient villages of Lazio with the landscape, more than buildings of the city. The interest is cognitive and the realized paintings are not only precious souvenirs to sell or to bring back home after the trip, but also models for innumerable engravings and lithographs that are reproduced in tourist publications or travel *vademecum*.

The views of the Lazio landscapes consecrated by the Roman literature of Virgil, Ovid and Horace, are fascinating for the artists not for the archaeological and antiquarian element but rather for the folklore, the beauty of women, the harmonious relationship between nature, ancient and modern vestiges. But what attracts them the most and drives them to face a long and tiring journey is the "search for light". The Mediterranean brightness of the Colli Albani offers the Nordic traveller a unique and unrepeatable opportunity to study its

Fig. 1. Carlo Labruzzi, *Il Sepolcro di Pompeo al Albano*, 1782 (private collection)

refractions, the chromatic variations induced in the foliage, the vibrations of the surfaces struck by the sun, the glance of the sea in the sunsets and in the dawns.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the precursors of a new approach to the landscape, more than classicist Italians such as Giovanni Campovecchio or Carlo Labruzzi, are above all foreigners such as Richard Wilson, Jonathan Skelton, Joseph Wright of Derby, Jakob Philipp Hackert, Nicolas Didier Boguet, John Robert Cozens, Rodolphe Ducros. Hackert's painting shows a hyper-descriptive tendency, with particular attention to the context and to the clarification of every detail, and immortalises the Roman countryside in solemn views at one hundred and eighty degrees. A documentary aspiration, almost abstract in its solar fullness.

Fig. 2. Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, *Ariccia*, 1827. Baden, Museum Langmatt (Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi archives)

The poetics of the "sublime", which this landscape fully expresses with its altimetric variations, the rocks and centuries-old holm-oaks overhanging the lakes, the immensity of the views over the entire countryside to the Tyrrhenian Sea, is one of the reasons of Romanticism, well described by the theorist and art critic **Francesco Milizia** (1725-1798) in his Dictionary (Milizia 1797, vol. 2: 92-93).

The artists professed realism, taking direct contact with reality, without intellectual filters and academic mediation. As the English painter Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) recalled, the great landscape painter Claude Joseph Vernet told his students to "paint from life rather than draw", a precept followed by Thomas Jones and learned by his teacher Richard Wilson whom had met Vernet in Rome.

In Jones we also find the attraction for apparently uninteresting subjects, such as broken walls, roofs and domes, a precedent as developed by Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes, Granet and Corot in the Roman countryside. We have in these artists an alternation of light and coloured shadow, which expresses the innovative meaning of extemporaneous painting from life to capture the variations of natural radiation.

Also **François-René de Chateaubriand** (1768-1848) in 1795 invited young artists to leave Rome and go to paint nature: *"it is in the midst of the campaigns that they must take their first lessons."* (Chateaubriand, 1828: 5)

According to the precepts of the French Academy, painting in the open air was always aimed at composing in their studios idealized landscapes (*paysage bien tempéré*), which improved nature, removing the imperfections of the places. However, as **Vincent Pomarède**, director of mediation and cultural programming of the Louvre writes:

> *...after 1840, the preparation of the great historical composition became slowly secondary, while the pleasure of working en plein air gradually became an intrinsic finality for all artists; painting from life then imposed itself as a goal in its own right.* (Pomarède 2003: 284)

The phenomenon had an increase and a sort of academic codification - in a school without professors and theorists in the chair, but animated by a training intended as an interactive cultural exchange, free from pre-established positions - with the opening in 1818 of the Martorelli Inn on the main

Fig. 3. Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Lake Nemi,* 1828. London, Tate Gallery (Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi archives)

square of Ariccia, which became the main meeting place of the various artistic communities in the Alban area, a sort of *Caffè Greco* on the hills or *veristic* landscape academy.

The "plenarist" painters, equipped with work tools, walked the territory of the Colli Albani, going even further, up to the surrounding countryside, to the Tyrrhenian coast or to the Prenestine mountains. At lunch or in the evening, upon returning from their excursions, they exhibited their works in a room of the inn and shared their opinions.

They left written evidence of their stay, also documenting the presence of various other artists, painters such as Massimo D'Azeglio, in Ariccia in 1826, James Freeman, in 1837, and Nino Costa, in 1852-1859 (D'Azeglio 1959; Costa 1983).

Fig. 4. Michail Ivanovic Lebedev, *Ariccia near Rome*, 1836, St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum (Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi archives)

The cultural views were diversified, with the coexistence of a romantic and sentimental concept of the landscape, with the neoclassical *paysage historique* of the French Academy, the variant of the Italian "historiated landscape", the purism of the Nazarenes, but above all the adherence to the realism without hierarchy of subject, that is the objectivity applied to visual perception, promoted by English, French and then American painters. It was precisely this exchange of different ideas and visions that resulted in ever-changing critical contributions and profitable inputs for common growth.

Just in the Roman countryside the *pensionnaires* of the French Academy, but also various Nordic artists, experiment that tonal painting, made of shadow and light without intermediate passages, that chiaroscuro simplification which

precedes Impressionism but also the Macchiaioli movement. An example is the Langmatt Foundation's *View of Ariccia*, painted by Corot around 1827, which is already an Impressionist work!

And this happens a few kilometers away from Rome, in that sort of outdoor painting academy that was the Colli Albani, in a polycentric system that had as its focal point the inn of Sor Antonio Martorelli active until about 1880. If aristocrats and wealthy bourgeois, but also many intellectuals, found comfortable lodgings in Albano, the artists preferred to live in community in the Ariccia residence. The preference of this district is remembered by the American painter **James Freeman** (1810-1884):

> *It was customary for resident foreign artists to leave Rome, if possible, for the months of August and September, and go to places not far away from their studios, but sufficiently elevated to escape the malarious influences of the Campagna. Among the favourite places were Albano, Ariccia, Nemi, and Castel Gandolfo. These small towns are close upon the borders of two charming little lakes, Nemi and Albano, with woods, and groves, and pleasant rambles in all directions.* (Freeman 1877: 21)

And further on:

> *Of the many small towns in the vicinity of Rome, Lariccia is considered one of the most salubrious. When the season warned us that it was prudent to quit the*

"Eternal City," we were in the habit of going up to that small town of the Albin range to pass three or four months. (*id.*: 259)

William Turner (1775-1851), who reaches a coloristic and expressive synthesis of surprising modernity through a visionary inspiration, arrives in the Ariccia inn in 1819, making a series of views of Lake Nemi that represent one of his most successful subjects, also as an inspiration for later works. Many sketches about Ariccia, the Albano and Nemi lakes are in his *Sketchbook* (London, Tate Gallery, D15461), while his *La Riccia* (Williamstown, Mass., The Clark Art Institute) was engraved by John Pye and published in 1819.

Nino Costa (1826-1903), who lived in Ariccia from 1850 to 1853, remembered the stay of the great artist as follows:

Martorelli also told me how Turner, while he was staying at his inn, sent some of his paintings to London. It seems that exhibition organizers wrote to him to know which side was up, not knowing which side to hang them. And he replied: "On any side, it is the same." (Costa 1983: 137)

A paradox, but a new concept in the language of figurative art if you think about it!

Achille Etna Michaillon (1796–1822), one of the promises of French painting who died prematurely at only twenty-six, sets original landscape views wandering in the Castelli Romani, between Frascati and Ariccia, according to a new spirit of approach not mediated by the realism, and for this he was consid-

ered a precursor of the *École de Barbizon*. In Rome from 1816 to 1820, he may have attended the inn immediately after it opened. Certainly his great pupil **Camille Corot** (1796-1875) stopped here, probably already on his first trip to Italy in 1825-28. According to Rossetti Agresti, Nino Costa met the French master right in the Locanda Martorelli, who was still a young man on holiday with his family on the Colli Albani, of course during his second trip of 1843 when the Roman painter was just seventeen (Rossetti Agresti 1904, p. 55, Marabottini 1990, p. 13).

The great American poet and writer **Henry Wadsworth Longfellow** (1807-1882), stayed here in September 1828, attending the inn and staying in the neighbouring Casino Antonini. He gave us an accurate description of the main itineraries, which were those followed by the artists. It remains singular and surprising that in his travel diary in Europe, of the three chapters dedicated to Italy one regards Rome and one "The Village of La Riccia" (Longfellow 1835, pp. 342-362; Longfellow 1857, pp. 448-460 ; Petrucci 1995a, pp. 107-110).

Nikolaj Vasil'evič Gogol' (1809-1852), arrived in Rome in 1837, in July of the following year he stayed in the inn where he wrote a chapter of The Dead Souls, while Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906) in 1866 completed his drama the Brand. Here died in 1874 the distinguished mathematician Barnaba Tortolini, founder of the Annals of mathematical and physical sciences, while **Gaetano Moroni** (1802-1883) completed the Indices of his famous Dictionary of historical-ecclesiastical scholarship in Ariccia:

Having finished writing the original Manuscript of the General index, thankful to God, I wrote to you: Ariccia August 24th 1875: Laus Deo. - Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed Nomini Tuo da gloriam (Moroni 1879, vol. 6: 588).

The Locanda Martorelli thus becomes a literary café and an academy of academies. Here in fact artists of different nationalities meet, confronting each other on the problems of landscape painting, out of the division of the single academies of origin, which favoured the isolation of the various groups in the city.

D'Azeglio (1798-1866) writes:

In the year 1826 the Martorelli inn, completely full, could have been called the Hotel of the Four Nations, if there hadn't been much more. A long table gathered us all at mealtimes; and I met several of them, who, at that time, began their artistic career. They were mainly French, and I got close to some of them, really dear people. In the morning, each of us left with his tools looking for form of studies; at lunchtime everyone put their work in a common room, which served as a permanent exhibition. Very useful thing, turning on the emulation [...] Among my fellow students of that time, some became later celebrities, or at least I saw their names cited with praise in the articles on the Paris exhibition. (D'Azeglio 1959: 307-308)

James Freeman, here in 1836-1837, also informs us that the owner of the inn was also the Mayor of Ariccia at the time:

> *Martorelli, the keeper of the inn, was the gonfaloniere of the village. Staying at his modest hotel were many artists of various countries, among them Toermor, a noted Saxon painter, and a particular friend of ours.*

Adding that Martorelli:

> *...has often had for its guests Vernet, Cornelius, Gibson, and other celebrated artists. I have seen traces of the genius of some of these eminent men in rough sketches upon the walls of the bedrooms where they slept. There was one room in particular famous for some remarkable caricatures, but which whitewashing and bluewashing have recently buried out of sight.* (Freeman 1877: 265-267)

These are the caricatures that re-emerged in 1990 in a room on the third floor of the building, considered lost by the local literature (Petrucci 1995a, pp. 54-56). Numerous painters, including D'Azeglio and Costa himself, presented an innovative painting according to the new naturalist style. "*Every day in our life in Ariccia we went to work from life at great distances, riding a donkey*" says Costa, who remained in Martorelli's inn from 1853 to 1859. Here he met Nazarene artists such as Peter von Cornelius, Johann F. Overbeck, Andreas and Oswald Achembach, but also naturalists like Villers, George Mason, Emile David or Lord Leighton.

Fig. 5. Oswald Achenbach, *Morning* (*Castel Gandolfo Lake)*, 1850-54. Windsor Castle, Royal Collection Trust (Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi archives)

The confrontation between anti-naturalists and painters of reality was born within the inn itself, as Nino Costa recalled in 1853 regarding the controversy of the Polish painter Stankevitch against the Nazarenes:

> *What does Overbeck do with his cold angels in a shirt... with those dead Christs, with that Virgin Mary incapable of having children? He should take a baby as he is in the cradle, paint him as he is and teach us something. And Cornelius should take Overbeck, put him on the cross, paint him the way he is and it will be the best thing he has ever done in his life...* (Costa 1983: 137-138)

Moreover, a famous painting by Costa, *Women embarking wood in Anzio*, executed in 1852 during the Ariccia period (Rome, National Gallery of Ancient Art), aroused a strong impression in Giovanni Fattori, leading exponent of "Macchiaioli", who considered it a reference point for his painting and the codification of the "macchia" (spot). (Marabottini, 1990, pp. 17 and 23)

The artists were also attracted by the population and the local beauties that acted as their models, to the point of creating a real genre, that of the portrait of the young commoner from Lazio. Among them the most famous was **Vittoria Caldoni** (1805-1890), the beauty of Albano, who posed for Overbeck, Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Horace Vernet, Rudolph Schadow, Berthel Thorvaldsen, Pietro Tenerani and many others, *"creating the topos of irreproducibility of her beauty"* (Giuliani 2012, p. 24). Vittoria married the Russian painter Gregorij Làpčenko leaving Albano around 1839, but the common friend Aleksàndr Ivanov, the greatest Russian painter of the nineteenth century, continued to visit the town and relatives of Caldoni, leaving various paintings depicting the area.

There were also numerous American artists who visited the Colli Albani, including some members of the Hudson River School, providing an important contribution to the landscape painting of the Roman countryside in the nineteenth century. Free from any academic conditioning and little influenced by the legacy of images of those places over the centuries, they also introduce unusual points of view and original expressive modalities (Vance et al. 2019).

One of the first views of the area by an American artist is a historiated landscape by **Robert Walter Weir** (1803-1889), who stayed in Rome from 1825 to 1827, depicting *The Duke of Bourbon's Halt at La Riccia, on His March to the Assau Rome , May 3d, 1527*, painted in New York in 1834 based on sketches or previous drawings, with an idealized but fairly faithful view of the village of Ariccia at sunset (Los Angeles County Museum of Art).

Thomas Cole (1801-1848), considered the founder of the Hudson River School and exponent of a romantic landscape vision, present in Italy in 1842, left us a suggestive and objective view of Nemi from the west coast of the lake, with a young woman in prayer in a country chapel, signed and dated 1845, entitled *Il Pensieroso* (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts). Among the forerunners and most active exponents of the American artistic colony in Rome are **Samuel Morse** (1791-1872), better known as an inventor (the telegraph) than as a painter, and his friend **John Gadsby Chapman** (1808-1889), who, after a first trip around 1830, settled here with his family from 1850 to 1884, including his son Conrad who was also a painter, making numerous small oil paintings dedicated to the Roman countryside and the Colli Albani.

Thomas Worthington Whittredge (1820-1910) was in Rome with **Sanford Gifford** (1803-1880), exponent of the American luminism, in 1856-1857. The two artists painted views of the two lakes, the first with great spontaneity showing a lack of interest in academic canons, favouring close-ups with walls or rocks, while the second returned one of Nemi's most emotional and intense images, painting the sultry sunset

of a summer day from a decentralized point of view compared to the usual view, usually centred between the villages of Nemi and Genzano (Lake Nemi, Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo Ohio).

Whittredge gives a list of some American painters present in Nemi, when he remembers that there was only one inn with a single bed here, «*even if it was big enough to host for one night Whittredge himself, Sanford R. Gifford, William Beard, William Stanley Hoseltine, Thomas Buchnan Read and even a place for another guest.*» (Baker 1964: 35)

James Edward Freeman (1810–1884), as he wrote in the first volume of his memoirs, drew inspiration from life scenes captured in Ariccia, where he stopped several times («*We, myself and wife, spent two or three summers there*»), and in particular for about a month in the summer of 1837, for his painting *Costume Picture* (private collection). The artist informs us that:

> *About us, in other similar towns close by, were many of my artistic compatriots, and friends of other lands whose vocations were art, and who, like ourselves, came to spend the malarious months among the Alban hills.* (Freeman 1877: 260)

Freeman was particularly attracted by the young women of the place, models appreciated by all the artists, among which "Checca" (for an artistic profile of the painter see McGuigan & McGuigan, 2009). The Philadelphia painter **William Stanley Haseltine** (1835-1900) also spent a week in

Fig. 6. George Inness, *Il lago di Nemi e Genzano sullo sfondo,* 1872. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi, archives)

Albano in 1877 and in June 1822 he stayed there for three weeks, painting various pictures.

The artist who, however, attended the Colli Albani most assiduously, creating numerous original perspectives taken from different angles, with great interest in the atmospheric rendering and in the light effects, is **George Inness** (1825-1894), the major 19th century American landscape painter. Inness undertook two trips to Italy, the first one between 1851 and the beginning of 1852, the second one between 1870 and 1874, stopping also in Albano (Quick 2007).

In conclusion, we can therefore speak of a real "Martorelli Inn Academy" or "School of the Castelli Romani", which precedes the Barbizon School active since 1835, the

Macchiaioli movement, which in the meetings at the Caffè Michelangelo in Florence between 1855 and 1867 advocated an anti-academic painting capable of reproducing "the impression of truth" (Fattori), and the same Impressionism that developed between 1867 and 1880.

The landscape painting that developed in Rome and on the Colli Albani between the end of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, in the wake of the *Grand Tour*, represents an important premise for the great European naturalistic movements. Despite the excess of printed paper on the subject this has not been emphasized by specific studies, still blocked on a passive and uncritical observation of the Impressionist myth, exalted as a phenomenon that arose almost from nothing, in exhibitions increasingly promoted in various Italian cities, including Rome.

Even the exhibition *Maestà di Roma* (Roma, French Academy, 2003), aimed at exalting an unlikely leading role of Rome in the field of European art during the nineteenth century, did not catch that the innovation is not represented by the classicism - after the death of Canova Rome loses its prominent role and the supremacy progressively passes to Paris, as a section of this exhibition showed widely - but by the landscape painting, which was created by foreign artists, active in their respective academies and institutes of culture, who operated in the Roman countryside. A revolution carried out by the French, Germans, English, Danish, Swiss, Austrians and Americans, who had a fundamental point of reference in the Castelli Romani School.

Notes

1 Translated by Roberta Londi

2 I have dealt with this subject several times, which I consider to have been overlooked by the critics, and in this regard I refer to Petrucci 1995a; Petrucci 1995b; Petrucci 2003; Petrucci 2005; Petrucci 2006a; Petrucci 2006b; Petrucci 2009; Petrucci 2012; Petrucci 2016

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