

# Tempesta's Rome Recut: Renewing an Urban Icon

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In 1662, Roman publisher Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi released an updated version of Antonio Tempesta's famous 1593 bird's-eye view of Rome (figs. 1, 2). In many ways, this was common practice: printers often reissued important or novel city images, and Tempesta's view very much fit the description. A massive etching on twelve royal sheets, this panorama still holds elite status in the mapping of Rome: one of a select group of images that seem to promise not just a snapshot of the city's past physical form at a storied moment in its history, but also something of its ethos at that time. For Tempesta, that time was the close of the sixteenth century, on the heels of the papacy of Sixtus V (r. 1585–90): the apex of Rome's Renaissance urban changes and a crowning moment in its renewal—emerging as it was not just from the long decline of the Middle Ages and Avignon Papacy, but also the more recent trauma of the 1527 Sack and the larger existential threat posed by the Protestant Reformation. The image publicized the city's triumphant revival in exhaustive detail, with suitable pomp, on a monumental scale.<sup>1</sup>

Many imitations appeared in the decades after the original printing of 1593, their pace picking up after the expiration of Tempesta's ten-year papal privilege—an official decree of protection from unauthorized copies that was probably renewed at least once in his lifetime.<sup>2</sup> Coming many decades later, De Rossi's version of 1662 was not, in any case, a copy: rather, it was a restrike from the original copperplates. Such reprinting was commonplace: in fact, many early modern printers acquired previously engraved plates to augment their own stock. De Rossi's father, Giuseppe de Rossi the Elder, had even specialized in the practice, and it was through him that Giovanni Giacomo had acquired Tempesta's plates.<sup>3</sup> Prior to 1662, Tempesta's view is known to have been restruck at least three times—in 1606, 1645, and 1648—and it is likely that other instances have gone unrecorded.

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<sup>1</sup> Selected bibliography on Tempesta's view includes Christian Hülsen, "Saggio di bibliografia ragionata delle piante icnografiche e prospettiche di Roma dal 1551 al 1748," *Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria* 38 (1915): 24–26, 74–75, no. 84; Franz Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Clemente VIII: la pianta di Roma di Antonio Tempesta del 1593 riprodotta da una copia vaticana del 1606* (Rome: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1932); Amato Pietro Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, 3 vols. (Rome: Istituto di studi romani, 1962), 1:192–93, no. 134; Stefano Borsi, *Roma di Sisto V: la pianta di Antonio Tempesta, 1593* (Rome: Officina, 1986); Eckhard Leuschner, "Prolegomena to a Study of Antonio Tempesta's 'Map of Rome,'" in *Piante di Roma dal Rinascimento ai catasti*, ed. Mario Bevilacqua and Marcello Fagiolo (Rome: Artemide, 2012), 158–67; and Jessica Maier, "Mapping Rome's Rebirth," in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome: 1492–1692*, ed. Pamela Jones, Simon Ditchfield, and Barbara Wisch (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 285–304 (esp. 295–98).

<sup>2</sup> On papal privileges, see Christopher L. C. E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden: Brepols, 2004); Eckhard Leuschner, "The Papal Printing Privilege," *Print Quarterly* 15 (1998): 359–70; Jane Ginsburg, "Proto-Property in Literary and Artistic Works: Sixteenth-Century Papal Printing Privileges," *Columbia Journal of Law and the Arts* 36, no. 3 (2013): 345–458; Jane Ginsburg, "Commentary on Petition from and Privilege Granted to Antonio Tempesta for a Map of Rome (1593)," in *Primary Sources on Copyright (1450–1900)*, ed. L. Bently & M. Kretschmer, 2022, [https://www.copyrighthistory.org/cam/commentary/va\\_1593/va\\_1593\\_com.html](https://www.copyrighthistory.org/cam/commentary/va_1593/va_1593_com.html).

<sup>3</sup> On the career of Giuseppe de Rossi the Elder, see Francesca Consagra, "The De Rossi Family Print Publishing Shop: A Study in the History of the Print Industry in Seventeenth-Century Rome" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1993) (on his practice of acquiring others' copperplates, see 112).

Yet, for all the ways that De Rossi's restrike fits an established pattern, it also stands out from its incrementally revised predecessors. First, that he reprinted the image—even such a prestigious one—quite so long after its inception really pushed the limits of relevance. Second, De Rossi's intervention was considerably more aggressive and self-signaling than the others. In a revamped title banner, he declared the view “di nuovo rintagliato, accresciuto, et abbellito” (newly recut, enlarged, and embellished).<sup>4</sup> If “enlarged and embellished” were standard rhetorical cliché, a bit like saying “new and improved,” “recut” was something else entirely: an abrupt pivot from the hyperbolic to the technical.

Etchings and engravings are *intaglio* prints, from the verb *intagliare*—to cut in. Similarly, *tagliare*, to cut, refers to the core printmaking technique of incising a metal plate. In this context, therefore, *rintagliare*—to recut—is to alter a previously completed plate, creating what is known as a new state. In early modern city maps and views, the most straightforward type of alteration involved adding a new feature, such as a line of text, by incising it into a blank section of the plate. The process was more tedious when it came to removing, altering, or substituting engraved or etched features. In such cases, the plate had to be hammered out from the back, the surface flattened and burnished before it could be re-incised. The bigger the change, the more work involved.<sup>5</sup> De Rossi's pointed use of the past participle *recut* with regard to Tempesta's image is puzzling on several counts. For one thing, it draws attention to an act of manual revision, not conceptual originality. On a basic level, it also reminds viewers that they are looking at a manufactured image, mediated by a printing matrix, not the city itself. At the very least, then, it seems like a questionable selling point.

By the same token, De Rossi's proudly proclaimed recut raises fundamental questions. What was the lasting value of Tempesta's view? What made it worth painstakingly refashioning for the present, even as it grew increasingly outdated? What features were targeted, and who or what were the motivating factors behind those changes—whose agenda did they serve? This essay seeks answers to these questions not in any single individual or intervention, per se, but rather in the trajectory of the copperplates themselves as they passed from Tempesta to De Rossi and beyond. Now lost, those twelve plates outlived their creator and a series of later guardians. The paper trail they left—in terms of both printed impressions and archival documents—brings to life the internecine feuds and cut-throat world of early modern Roman publishers as they sought novel ways to hitch their own reputations to that of their city. Among other challenges, they had to package Rome's shape-shifting identity for an increasingly international market, while also catering to local patrons and protectors. Increasingly, they sought to safeguard their designs from unscrupulous competitors, enlisting and testing the boundaries of emergent forms of legal protection. In this context, Tempesta's copperplates were reworked repeatedly over their long life to suit a complex and shifting web of interests and stakeholders, experiencing a cycle of decline and renewal much like that of Rome itself.

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<sup>4</sup> Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

<sup>5</sup> Coolie Verner, “Copper-Plate Printing,” in *Five Centuries of Map Printing*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 51–75 (on the alteration of engraved plates, see 66–67).

## Origins

Tempesta's enormous etching was not the first bird's-eye view of Rome, but it was the first to achieve such a grand scale, level of detail, and degree of artistry.<sup>6</sup> On a basic level, it also stood out visually, its appearance completely different from previous images, none of which had amputated Rome so insistently from its surroundings. Tempesta treated the Aurelian Wall as a hard stop, demarcating the urban edge so sharply from the blank background that the city seems to project forward—a discrete organism floating in the ether. Odd and striking, this design was as memorable as Rome itself: a singular, instantly recognizable portrait of an exceptional place.

In key respects, the closest point of reference for Tempesta's view is not any previous printed image of Rome, but rather Jacopo de' Barbari's equally outlandish portrait of Venice from 1500 (fig. 3). That image, likely known to Tempesta, is a woodcut on six extraordinarily large sheets of paper, measuring roughly 4.5 x 9 feet overall to Tempesta's 3.5 x 8.<sup>7</sup> Originating almost a century apart, the two views bear striking similarities in form and format. Jacopo anticipated Tempesta's treatment of the city as a foreshortened cut-out, portraying it literally and figuratively as an island unto itself. Just squeezed in at the top of the image, a token, distant coastline and mountain range do little to tether Venice to its surroundings, instead setting it off as distinct. Similarly, the bravura hatching that surrounds the city's famous fish shape is more suggestive of stratospheric wind patterns than of waves rippling across the lagoon—an effect enhanced by the surrounding cloud banks bearing their respective windheads. Jacopo's Venice, like Tempesta's Rome, has a unique shape that invites zoomorphic analogies, with a clear head and tail, as it were, linked by a central digestive tract or waterway traversing the full length of the body.

In each view, the city's wholesale extraction from its surroundings depends on the pretense of an oblique vantage point well above and just outside the urban perimeter, granting plausibility to the fiction of a vision from a great height. In Jacopo's Venice, there is no pretext of a foothold on earth. The beholder hovers miles above, and just to the south, of the city—a position that has no real topographical corollary on the ground, but rather is chosen because it favors Venice's scenographic core at Piazza San Marco. Tempesta, for his part, nominally chose the Janiculum Hill, outside city walls on Rome's western edge, for his viewpoint, as witnessed by the ground rising up at the bottom margin as if to meet the beholder's feet. Other mapmakers had preceded him in choosing this orientation, but in all cases the Janiculum was little more than a conceit: just as in Jacopo's Venice, the city unfolds panoramically in a manner that would only be possible if it

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<sup>6</sup> Previous bird's-eye views of Rome include prints by Francesco Rosselli and Giovanni Antonio Dosio, but the closest relative was Ugo Pinard's *Urbis Romae descriptio* of 1555—like Tempesta's, a view from the Janiculum. See Jessica Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined: Early Modern Maps of the Eternal City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 115–16.

<sup>7</sup> On Jacopo de' Barbari's view of Venice, see esp. Juergen Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography Before the Year 1500," *The Art Bulletin* 60 (Sept. 1978): 425–74; Kristin Love Huffman, ed., *A View of Venice: Portrait of a Renaissance City* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2024). The sheets used were approximately 100 x 70mm each, considerably larger than even the grandest paper formats known to have been produced at the time. See David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 16–17; Deborah Howard, "Venice as a Dolphin: Further Investigations into Jacopo de' Barbari's View," *Artibus et Historiae* 18, no. 35 (1997): 101–11 (at 103). On late medieval and early Renaissance paper sizes in general, see Paul Needham, "Aldus Manutius's Paper Stocks: The Evidence of Two Uncut Books," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 55, no. 2 (1994): 287–307; Needham, "Format and Paper Size in Fifteenth-Century Printing," in *Materielle Aspekte in der Inkunabelforschung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, in Kommission, 2017), 59–108.

were seen from high up in the atmosphere—which means, of course, that the view would never have been possible at the time.

Within the overarching, rather alien form of Tempesta's cityscape, the multitude of recognizable urban features brings viewers back down to earth and onto more familiar ground. Collectively, these features approximate the same extraordinary level of detail and thoroughness visible in Jacopo's woodcut. North is at left, where the Piazza del Popolo appears just above the Tiber (fig. 4). In the corner below, the Vatican stands out on its own peninsula. St. Peter's is depicted accurately in a transitional state, its newly completed dome towering above a patchwork of old basilica bits still standing and new basilica bits under construction. In front of it is the Egyptian obelisk that had been relocated with great ceremony from its longstanding site at the side of the church, as part of the same campaign of Sixtus V.

Moving toward the central portion of the view and into the Campo Marzio, it takes little effort to spot many more of Rome's great sites, ancient and modern, rising above the infill: a connective tissue that also distinguishes Tempesta's view from earlier, more selective images. Towering above the anonymous urban fabric in the central portion of the view, the Pantheon appears more colossal than it did in reality (fig. 5). Above and to the right of it, also inflated in proportions, is the Church of the Gesù, flagship of the recently founded Jesuit order. Continuing further in the same direction, the Piazza del Campidoglio, marking the edge of the densely settled center, appears partway into its renovation in line with Michelangelo's redesign of the 1530s. Continuing toward upper right, past the Roman Forum and Colosseum, urban development falls away considerably—*insulae* giving way to *orti* and *vigne*—gardens and orchards owned by elite families whose main residence was in the center. At the Lateran complex on the far southeastern edge of the city, the new embellishments of Sixtus V and his architect, Domenico Fontana, include an expanded papal palace and grand north entrance loggia to the basilica, facing inward toward the city. The piazza in front of that revamped entry boasts another soaring obelisk: one of many that had been raised across the city in Sixtus's signature touch, aimed at emphasizing Rome's key shrines and landmarks.

In important respects, Tempesta's view is a vivid portrayal of the city at a specific moment in time: the first public image to advertise the major urban renewal projects of Sixtus V.<sup>8</sup> Beyond his prestigious building projects and symbolic urban flourishes, that pope had decisively pushed the city's infrastructure toward modernization by repairing aqueducts and laying out new streets in the sparsely settled greenbelt that occupied much of Rome's western and southern zones. The new streets slice through the top of Tempesta's view, radiating outward from Santa Maria Maggiore toward other important points in the city—connecting the dots of the obelisks as they create new circulation networks and a blueprint for development (see top of fig. 5).

In equally important ways, however, Tempesta's image also speaks to Rome's more enduring identity as ancient *caput mundi*. Ruins are shown on an equal footing with modern landmarks—so too, for that matter, are myriad medieval *campanili* and baronial towers. All eras play their part in the larger monumental fabric uniting modern and historical Rome in a physical continuum. Seen in that light, the recent Sistine changes become just the latest chapter in Rome's long life. In short, Tempesta deftly embedded his celebration of the city's present in a holistic picture of two millennia

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<sup>8</sup> For background on the development of Rome in the Renaissance, see esp. Spiro Kostof, "The Popes as Planners: Rome, 1450–1650," in *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 485–509; Rabun Taylor and Katherine W. Rinne, *Rome: An Urban History from Antiquity to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 251–80.

of history. This approach helps to explain why the image lent itself to later repetition: with incremental updates, it could stay current, while keeping its basic message intact.

The nature of that message becomes explicit in Tempesta's decorative and textual entourage, which frames modern Rome as the culmination of its prior selves. His lofty if ungainly Latin title, which extends across the bottom margin in meticulous Roman capitals, reads "Recens prout hodie iacet almae urbis Romae cum omnibus viis aedificiisque prospectus accuratissime delineatus" (Modern prospect of the bountiful city of Rome as it lies today with all the streets and buildings most accurately delineated). With its double emphasis on the present, coupling *modern* with *today*, the title leads right into a cartouche in the lower right corner, its rectangular frame surmounted by a winsome personification of the city, enthroned on a pile of trophies and holding a winged victory statuette (fig. 6). The message here is as plain as Tempesta's title is opaque: Rome, *now*, triumphant.

Tempesta himself also lays claim to that triumph. The text within the cartouche proudly declares that he, "Antonio Tempesta the Florentine," personally "invented, drew, and etched the image" ("Antonio Tempesta Florentinus invenit delineavit et incidit"). He was justified in calling attention to this combination of roles, which was indeed unusual for a time in which the production of printed city views was increasingly characterized by division of labor.<sup>9</sup> And yet for all that Tempesta sings his own praises, it is worth noting that no individual pope is singled out for special mention—not Sixtus V, whose fingerprints were all over the city in other ways, and not Clement VIII, who was pope at the time the view was published. In the dedication text at left, occupying a banderole squeezed in between Piazza del Popolo and the Vatican, Tempesta instead credits "the holy popes" in general for contributing to Rome's renewed vigor. In this way, he studiously avoids associating the work too closely with one powerful figure even as he proclaims his own status as author.<sup>10</sup>

Only one other person is mentioned by name: Giacomo Bosio, Knight of Malta and official historian of the Order of St. John, to whom Tempesta dedicated the image. Here, as in any ambitious printed work, the choice of dedicatee was strategic and transactional. Typically, a high-ranking individual had to agree to have his name associated with a publication in this manner. In return for the honor and publicity, he was expected to furnish financial or other support. We know that Bosio was a noble who owned some of Tempesta's paintings.<sup>11</sup> We do not know exactly why Tempesta chose him, but we can assume the choice was carefully calculated to gain some advantage.<sup>12</sup> Tempesta seems to have been a well-connected, savvy operator who knew how to enlist powerful backers. Aside from his undefined links to Bosio, he had also cultivated the favor of Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani, a high-ranking member of the curia who became the artist's

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<sup>9</sup> Maier, "Mapping Rome's Rebirth," 298–300.

<sup>10</sup> It was also pragmatic if one considers that 1590–92 witnessed a series of unusually short papacies, with four papal deaths occurring in less than 18 months. It is possible that Tempesta was planning to acknowledge Sixtus V directly in some way but changed his calculation after the pope died on August 27, 1590. As he neared finishing it, Tempesta might have been wary to include the name of the current pope given the recent, unfortunate track record of his predecessors when it came to time in office. After Sixtus V died on August 27, 1590, he was succeeded by Urban VII (r. September 15–27, 1590); then Gregory XIV (December 5, 1590–October 16, 1591); and Innocent IX (Oct. 29, 1591–Dec. 30, 1591) before Clement VIII assumed the tiara on January 30, 1592. As luck would have it, Clement enjoyed a relatively long papacy, serving until his death on March 3, 1605.

<sup>11</sup> Leuschner, "Prolegomena," 161.

<sup>12</sup> On this practice, see Consagra, "The De Rossi Family," 104–6.

patron and is recorded as having submitted Tempesta's petition for a papal privilege, a factor that surely facilitated its acceptance.<sup>13</sup>

Tempesta sought and received official recognition for his achievement in the form of that ten-year privilege from Clement VIII Aldobrandini (r. 1592–1605). His petition is preserved in the Vatican Apostolic Archive together with the papal decree granting it.<sup>14</sup> As in the map's cartouche, Tempesta opens his entreaty by giving his name and profession in the same breath as his native city, likely calculating that it will predispose the pope, also a Florentine, to look upon him favorably: "Holy Father," he writes,

Antonio Tempesta, Florentine painter, having in this city published a work of new Rome, of which he is not only the creator, but also has designed and engraved with his own hand, with much personal expense, effort, and care for many years, and fearing that others may usurp this work from him for themselves by copying it, and consequently gather the fruits of his efforts, therefore approaches Your Holiness and humbly requests...a special privilege as is usually granted to every creator of new works, so that no one in the Papal State may for ten years print, have printed, or have others make said work.<sup>15</sup>

Tempesta did not stop there, however, sneaking in an additional request: "and that all other works that the Supplicant shall in the future create or publish with permission of the superiors may enjoy the same Privilege as well."<sup>16</sup> If Tempesta implies—perhaps a touch disingenuously—that a ten-year privilege is par for the course, he betrays no hint that his terse addendum was in fact an audacious request for a blanket monopoly covering not just a specific work already in existence, but also any future design he might produce during the ten-year period.

The decree granting Tempesta's privilege also survives in the Vatican Apostolic Archive—remarkably, in both draft and final form.<sup>17</sup> As Jane Ginsburg has discussed in her insightful analysis of these documents, edits made between the two versions suggest that papal authorities seriously considered granting all that Tempesta had requested.<sup>18</sup> The draft privilege dictated that "for a decade to be counted from this day, absolutely no men of whatever situation they are or may be, except for Antonio himself and his heirs or those holding cause and responsibility from them for a time, may print" the map "in whatever form" (larger, smaller, etc.)—adding, at the end, "or *anything else* concerning to him."<sup>19</sup> Had that key clause remained in the final version, it would indeed have extended the same protection to any printed work he might create during the term of the privilege. However, in the preserved working draft, that wording is crossed out, and a more specific provision inserted: "and also *whatever other plans of places and of cities of this kind,*

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<sup>13</sup> On Tempesta's privilege see Ginsburg, "Commentary"; Witcombe, *Prints and Privilegio*, 241–2; Leuschner, "Prolegomena," 160 (on the document, 167n7). On Giustiniani as collector, see Silvia Danesi Squarzina, "The Collections of Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani, Part I," *The Burlington Magazine* 139, no. 1136 (Nov. 1997): 766–91.

<sup>14</sup> Vatican Apostolic Archives, Sec. Brev. Reg. 208 F. 76r.

<sup>15</sup> For the scanned document together with transcription and translation, see "Petition from and Privilege Granted to Antonio Tempesta for a Map of Rome (1593)," *Primary Sources on Copyright (1450-1900)*, ed. L. Bently & M. Kretschmer, [https://www.copyrighthistory.org/cam/tools/request/showRecord.php?id=record\\_va\\_1593](https://www.copyrighthistory.org/cam/tools/request/showRecord.php?id=record_va_1593).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Vatican Apostolic Archives, Sec. Brev. Reg. 208 F. 75r-v (draft privilege) and 74r-v (privilege as granted).

<sup>18</sup> Ginsburg, "Commentary on Petition."

<sup>19</sup> Emphasis mine. For the scanned documents along with transcriptions and translations of them as cited here, see again "Petition from and Privilege Granted to Antonio Tempesta."

which he will have devised, and arranged to be engraved in bronze tablets.”<sup>20</sup> The privilege decree was formalized with exactly that language in place. Tempesta therefore received his ten-year privilege, and authorities seemed to have at least entertained the notion of the more extensive monopoly, but ultimately stopped short of it, instead granting him a consolation prize incentivizing him to produce more city images. Had he specialized in maps and views, this unprecedented concession would have been quite an advantage indeed—but he did not. The *Prospectus* remained unique in his oeuvre: a monumental outlier. Be that as it may, Tempesta’s map proudly bears the privilege that was granted, albeit in the literal fine print just beneath the authorial cartouche at right: “Romae, cum privilegiis summorum principum per Decem Annos” ([Printed in] Rome, with the privileges of the highest princes for ten years).

### *Intermezzi*

In 1593, Tempesta was in his late 30s, with much of his working life still ahead of him. After a long and productive career, he died in Rome in 1630, in his mid-70s. He is believed to have held onto the twelve copperplates that constituted the *Prospectus* for that entire time, which makes perfect sense from a business standpoint. Their material and artistic value would have been plain, but it was their potential output that really made them prized possessions in the context of Rome’s intensely competitive print industry.<sup>21</sup>

Concentrated in the Parione district near Piazza Navona, that industry had gained considerable momentum in the early to mid-1500s, as increasing specialization and division of labor kept pace with rapidly expanding markets. Antonio Lafreri, a French émigré, became the key sixteenth-century publishing impresario after he partnered with a more established figure, Antonio Salamanca, in 1553. Following the latter’s death in 1562, Lafreri cemented his hold over the city’s print business. One of his specialties was maps and city views, an increasingly fashionable subject that he marketed by means of direct sales as well as a printed inventory first issued in 1573. This innovation offered collectors a dazzling variety of menu options. More than simply a catalog of merchandise available for purchase—which is to say prints—Lafreri’s stock list was a testament to the correspondingly extraordinary array of figured copperplates in his possession: these were perhaps his most vital business assets.<sup>22</sup>

Yet not all copperplates were created equal. Tempesta’s twelve, for their part, were unusually large, detailed, and skillful—and of course they were the constituent parts of an even greater ensemble. For all of these reasons, they would have held signal value. It comes as a bit of a surprise, then, that despite keeping those plates for nearly four decades, Tempesta is known to have issued

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<sup>20</sup> In Vatican Apostolic Archives, Sec. Brev. Reg. 208 F. 75r, “seu quidpiam aliud ad eum spectans” is crossed out and “nec non quascunque alias eiusdem generis locorum et Urbium descriptiones, quas ipse invenerit, et aeneis tabulis incidi fecerit” inserted. See “Petition from and Privilege Granted to Antonio Tempesta.” Emphasis mine.

<sup>21</sup> On Rome’s early modern print industry, see Consagra, “The De Rossi Family”; David Woodward, “The Italian Map Trade, 1480–1650,” in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 773–803, especially 775–79; Evelyn Lincoln, “Printers and Publishers in Early Modern Rome,” in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome: 1492–1692*, ed. Pamela Jones, Simon Ditchfield, and Barbara Wisch (Leiden, 2019), 546–63.

<sup>22</sup> On Lafreri, see Francesco Ehrle, *Roma prima di Sisto V: la pianta di Roma du Pérac-Lafréry del 1577* (Rome: Danesi, 1908); Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 298–309; Woodward, “The Italian Map Trade,” 775–77; Peter Parshall, “Antonio Lafreri’s *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*,” *Print Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (March 2006): 3–28.

just one new state of the view, dated 1606.<sup>23</sup> There, his only change was to the date in the cartouche: “MDXCIII” became “MDCVI.” Comparison of the first state with this one reveals the surgical nature of his intervention: the printmaker left the original “MD” in place, replaced “XVI” with “CV,” retaining the second and removing the third “I” (fig. 7).

We cannot rule out that Tempesta might have issued other, as yet untraced states between 1606 and 1630, the year of his death, and regardless, it is entirely plausible that he continued pulling prints from the plates over those decades, on demand or as perceived need arose: the date of a state should not be conflated with the year of issue. At some point after 1630, the plates for the view came into the possession of Giuseppe de Rossi the Elder, father of Giovanni Giacomo. An expatriate from Milan who had established a print shop near Piazza Navona around 1616, Giuseppe founded the first De Rossi print shop in Rome, which over the decades became a training ground for two indentured nephews and two sons who would all go on to found their own businesses under the same surname within blocks of each other at or near Piazza Navona—thereby sowing the seeds of confusion among scholars, collectors, and connoisseurs ever since. Francesca Consagra’s exhaustive, archivally based dissertation of 1993 remains the authoritative source on this extended family and, through them, the continued evolution of the Roman print industry in the 1600s.<sup>24</sup>

Giuseppe the Elder died in 1639, and Tempesta’s plates were listed in a shop inventory made prior to the settlement of his estate, which consisted primarily of copperplates amassed since his arrival in Rome—many of them originating in Lafreri’s stock from the previous century—as well as some printed material.<sup>25</sup> Because three of his four sons were still underage at the time of his death, the division of property was delayed for almost a decade until 1648, during which time the stock of plates remained in the family workshop, managed by the eldest son, Giovanni Domenico, under the watchful eye of his mother Flaminia. Although four sons would eventually divide up their father’s inheritance, only two, the first and third, would go into the family business.<sup>26</sup>

In 1645, during this interim period, Giovanni Domenico issued the next known restrike of Tempesta’s plates (fig. 8).<sup>27</sup> Compared to Tempesta’s original, it is remarkable how little has changed, a half century after the first state. Of course, the overall form is the same—indeed, that distinctive framework really could not be changed without fully replacing the plates, or at least altering them beyond recognition. The wording of Tempesta’s title also stays the same, but it has migrated from the bottom margin to the upper left, making way for an outsize depiction of the new Janiculum Hill fortifications of Urban VIII, just completed in 1643. This relatively conspicuous change helps to place this restrike in its own moment, namely the mid-1600s.

Individual features within the city function in the same way. New St. Peter’s, for example, has been updated to remove the vestiges of the old basilica’s nave that had still appeared in Tempesta’s version, and to show the façade as completed by Carlo Maderno in the 1610s. Careful scrutiny of the cityscape in general reveals many additional updates. City views were increasingly hyped for being up to date or “most recent,” so changes like these kept the view current and competitive.<sup>28</sup> Many features stay the same, too. Of course, the ancient ruins show little change, and it scarcely needs saying that these features were synonymous with the city’s timeless appeal, not to mention

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<sup>23</sup> Hülsen, “Saggio di bibliografia ragionata,” 75, no. 18b; this is the state reproduced in Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Clemente VIII*.

<sup>24</sup> Consagra, “The De Rossi Family.”

<sup>25</sup> Lincoln, “Printers and Publishers,” 561.

<sup>26</sup> See Consagra, “The De Rossi Family,” 245–98, for an analysis of the 1648 shop inventory and a thorough account of the family business during this period; for a transcription of the inventory see 482–532.

<sup>27</sup> Clemente Marigliani, *Le piante di Roma delle collezioni private* (Rome: Provincia di Roma, 2007), 202.

<sup>28</sup> On this growing emphasis, see esp. Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined*, 163–210.

an important selling point in this or any map catering to an international market of antiquarian scholars.<sup>29</sup>

The marginalia also show adjustments and additions. At lower right, there appears a new vignette with the symbols of Rome's *riani* or neighborhoods, while at upper left, the coat of arms has changed to reflect a new dedicatee—a cardinal from a prominent Roman family, Camillo Pamphilj. Much like Tempesta had done when changing the map's date in 1606, the printmaker here worked pragmatically within the existing form. The shape of the shield and the winged putti are unchanged, but a cardinal's hat and tassels have been added at the top, and Bosio's insignia swapped for the Pamphilj lilies and dove (fig. 9). The new patron's name also replaces Bosio's in the banderole at left, and where Tempesta had signed off at the end of the dedicatory text in 1593 and 1606, we now find the Latinized name of Giovanni Domenico de Rossi, spelled out in minute Italic script in the banderole's lower right corner: "Dominicus de Rubeis" (fig. 10). The ghosts of previous engraved marks, imperfectly expunged from the copperplates, appear near several of the letters—particularly toward the end of "Dominicus"—suggesting that another name previously occupied this spot, perhaps that of Giuseppe the Elder in an unrecorded state.

Moving to the author's cartouche at lower right, only the date changes—from MDCVI to MDCXXXIII— a mystifying overcomplication of what should have been MDCXLV (fig. 11). Again, the vestiges of previous marks can be seen in this reworked part of the plate, in proximity to the first three X's, where the previous "VI" and flanking triangular point are still partly visible.<sup>30</sup> Above that, Tempesta's name occupies the marquee position as before, his authorship clearly still a selling point fifteen years after his death. On a smaller scale below, the location and language of the papal privilege is unchanged, but beneath it the name of the current printer again appears, this time in small italics: "Joan. Dominico de Rossi alla pace" (*alla Pace* an allusion to the location of the family print shop in the eponymous piazza fronting Santa Maria della Pace, steps from Piazza Navona).

Overall, the 1645 restrike is a sensitive and subtle update. What makes Rome *Rome* stays the same, and what makes Tempesta *Tempesta* stays the same. The few changes are done with a light touch, geared toward adjusting only what is necessary to keep the map relevant to its own moment and its own cast of stakeholders. The basic message is still about the city, first, and Antonio Tempesta the Florentine, second.

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<sup>29</sup> On the sixteenth-century Roman print business and the growing market for imagery of Rome, see Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined*, 152–59; on its expansion in the seventeenth century, see Jessica Maier, "Mapping Rome's Rebirth," 298–303, and esp. Consagra, "The De Rossi Family."

<sup>30</sup> In terms of copperplate forensics, this clue, combined with the odd Roman numerical form for 1645, raises two plausible scenarios with regard to possible intervening states. It is conceivable, given the lingering presence of the "VI," that none had appeared—i.e. that almost four decades had passed without changes to the plates. Another possibility is that Tempesta himself had changed the date to, say, 1630 (MDCXXX), the year of his death—which in turn would also help to explain why the 1645 restrike is dated so strangely. By rendering that date with a final "X" followed by five "I's" the engraver would have been able to forego the toilsome hammering and burnishing required to transform MDCXXX into MDCVL in favor of simply adding extra numerals at the end. Those five "I's" are still curious, however: why not use "V"? The choice would make sense if there had been intervening states earlier in the same decade—such as 1640 (which would have been rendered as MDCXXXX), 1641 (MDCXXXXI), 1642 (MDCXXXXII), or 1643 (MDCXXXXIII). Proper form would dictate that a hypothetical state dated 1644 would be rendered with a final "IV" (just as 1645 should really end with a "V"). Again, however, if the printmaker wished to avoid the whole hammering business, he could simply opt for an unorthodox Roman numeral format, adding one or more "I's." Any of these scenarios would make sense and fit with the evidence from the plates. The most we can conclude, then, is the likelihood of intervening states.

In 1648, the De Rossi brothers reached a legal agreement to divide the copperplates they had inherited from their father.<sup>31</sup> Within months, another restrike appeared, incorporating minute changes.<sup>32</sup> As usual, the date in Roman numerals was updated, becoming MDCXLVIII (finally, it seems, amending the awkward format of the 1645 state). Beneath the privilege, which may or may not have been renewed for the occasion, Giovanni Domenico's imprint was replaced to read "Giovan Giacomo de Rossi alla Pace." This was Giovanni Giacomo's first foray into restriking Tempesta. Just twenty-one years old, he had just come into possession of the copperplates—"12 pezzi della Roma" (twelve pieces of Rome)—as they were listed in the shop inventory. Those twelve *pezzi della Roma* were a core part of his inheritance and, along with a few dozen other plates he received from his father's estate, they became the cornerstone of his independent business.<sup>33</sup> The tiny, modified imprint of the 1645 state should really be seen as a big bang: the start of an illustrious career. Over the following decades, Giovanni Giacomo rose to become the most successful print entrepreneur of early modern Rome: a path cleared when his older brother—and main rival—Giovanni Domenico died suddenly in 1653, eliminating any serious competition.

## Recut

Almost fifteen years passed before Giovanni Giacomo issued his second known restrike, by which time he was fully established in Rome's print industry. The recut version of 1662—itsself reissued just two years later with only the date changed, to 1664—was considerably more drastic than that of 1645, but it is important to acknowledge that key elements remained in place: the memorable form, so tied to Tempesta's original; the ruins and historic structures, so tied to Rome's past; and with them many of the "new" classics from the Renaissance (see again fig. 1).<sup>34</sup> All of these features were deeply tied to the growing market for printed imagery of the city.

The marginalia, however, is another story. Here, too, profit comes into play. Many of the more obvious changes are best categorized as stylistic updates, geared toward modernizing the ornamentation to suit late seventeenth-century tastes. The dedication at left, for example, has become a complex and polished allegorical vignette (fig. 12, below). Partly inspired by a similar one from Matteo Greuter's large plan of 1618, it depicts the dedicatee's coat of arms crowning an array of quintessentially Roman symbols: below, the Tiber and Teverone river gods flanking the she-wolf nursing Romulus and Remus; above, female personifications of aqueducts repaired thanks to papal beneficence. At the map's upper left, meanwhile, Tempesta's ungainly winged putti, struggling to hold aloft the patron's insignia, have been replaced by more elegant, graceful, distinctly baroque figures. The only real survivor from the map's early decorative apparatus is Tempesta's personification of Rome at lower right.

All of these aesthetic enhancements—likely what Giovanni Giacomo was indicating with the term "newly embellished"—probably stemmed from market considerations, which is to say the desire to make the view as stylistically current and visually appealing as possible. When it came to potential profit, however, dedications still rivaled sales—and De Rossi's dedicatee is now Mario Chigi, noteworthy mainly for being the brother of Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655–67). In fact, his

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<sup>31</sup> On the division of the copperplates, see Consagra, "The De Rossi Family," 246–52.

<sup>32</sup> Leuschner alludes to other variants of this state. See Leuschner, "Prolegomena," 167n18.

<sup>33</sup> On the 1648 inventory, which lists each brother's share of the copperplates, see above, n. 25. For Giovanni Giacomo's share, see Consagra, "The De Rossi Family," 499–506 (the twelve plates for Tempesta's view are listed on 506).

<sup>34</sup> Due to image availability, the 1664 version is the one illustrated in this essay (see fig. 2 and details in figs. 12, 13, and 14).

stature by proxy is stated in no uncertain terms in the reworked allegorical cartouche at left, where the dedicatory text hails him as “Fratello di N[ostro] Signore” (brother of His Holiness). The coat of arms there and the one at upper left borne aloft by putti both bear the Chigi mounds and star, along with the papal keys and other symbols.

Just to the right of the putti, the new title banner confirms that Mario Chigi is little more than a stand-in for Alexander VII (fig. 13). Tempesta’s Latin title, which had survived in one form or another for more than fifty years, is gone: in its place there is a proclamation in Italian so as to address a larger audience. De Rossi does begin it with a nod to Tempesta, echoing the specific wording of his title and singling him out by name: “Disegno et prospetto dell alma citta di Roma già delineato d’Antonio Tempesta” (Drawing and Prospect of the bountiful City of Rome previously delineated by Antonio Tempesta). Quickly, however, he shifts attention to his own modifications, adding, “di nuovo rintagliato, accresciuto et abbellito di strade, piazza, palazzo, tempii et edifici” (newly recut, enlarged, and adorned, by streets, squares, palaces, churches, and buildings). He continues, deftly shifting the focus once again, this time to the pope: “conforme si truova al presente, nel pontificato di N.S. Alessandro VII” ([the map] conforms with the present pontificate of His Holiness Alexander VII). He then concludes with a final nod to himself: “con la cura di Gio. Giacomo de Rossi” (edited by Gio. Giacomo de Rossi). In this way, De Rossi lays claim to a new chapter in the history of the view and of the city of Rome, spotlighting Alexander’s name in conjunction with the urban changes specific to his papacy, as well as his own name in conjunction with the corresponding changes to the copperplates—his language implicitly drawing a parallel between their respective contributions. Similarly, the text within the authorial cartouche, which had never ceased to highlight Tempesta’s name and contribution, now does exactly that, removing his presence and substituting a new index to the “fabbriche et abbellimenti della città di Roma fatti con ordine... di Nostro Sig.<sup>re</sup> Alessandro VII” (buildings and embellishments of the city of Rome made by the order of... His Holiness Alexander VII) (fig. 14).

De Rossi is pandering more openly than Tempesta by explicitly connecting the printed view to one very powerful figure. If Sixtus V had been an unspoken protagonist in Tempesta’s view, Alexander VII is front and center for Giovanni Giacomo. Not surprisingly, the pope’s urban works are spotlighted within the city as well as listed in the title and index: they too are key targets of De Rossi’s recutting. St. Peter’s, to name just the most prominent example, is now shown fronted by Bernini’s great keyhole-shaped piazza. That project that was still incomplete in 1662/4, and would not materialize quite as pictured: specifically, the freestanding colonnade at the eastern end never made it off the drawing board (fig. 15). However, given that this space was Alexander’s signature project and Bernini’s plans were well known and underway, its appearance was non-negotiable.

One could argue that Giovanni Giacomo’s changes to the marginalia, entourage, texts, and selected features of Tempesta’s cityscape differ in degree, not in kind, from the previous restrikes. However, close examination of the 1645 and 1662/4 states suggests that the plates were not just recut selectively: rather, they were fully *reworked*, meaning lines were re-incised and reinforced throughout, down to the most delicate hatching and the most minute touches to suggest texture or shading (fig. 16). Reworking was fairly common in intaglio printmaking, often with the aim of refreshing worn plates to prolong their working life, but such interventions tended to be piecemeal. The task of thoroughly revamping twelve copperplates as large and detailed as Tempesta’s was huge and tedious, and Giovanni Giacomo’s recutting left almost no corner untouched. Even if the labor was almost certainly delegated to shop assistants, his pride in declaring the view “di nuovo rintagliato” was more than justified.

And yet, for all of the novelties, embellishments, and intense investment of new energy into these old plates, it is impossible to escape the fact that Tempesta's view was increasingly outdated in a way that no amount of recutting could fix. Techniques of urban representation had advanced significantly since the 1590s, and newer paradigms had long since gained traction. In particular, the large view that Greuter had published decades earlier in 1618 had set a trend by depicting the city's built fabric in perspective upon a highly accurate, undistorted cartographic foundation. By the 1660s, that type had come to dominate imagery of Rome and of cities in general.<sup>35</sup> Giovanni Giacomo was well aware of this trend, for he was personally involved in the production of new images. In 1667 he published a map designed by his protégé, Giambattista Falda, that was the prequel for a second, larger one issued in 1676, which in turn is usually seen as the grandest expression of the type (fig. 17).<sup>36</sup> When Tempesta's view resurfaced in the 1660s amid such cutting-edge archetypes, it must have appeared eccentric at best, obsolete at worst. That it was held to be of lesser value is not in doubt: in subsequent decades, the *Indice delle stampe* (Index of prints, or sales catalog) of the De Rossi shop consistently listed Falda's map of 1676 at nearly twice the price of Tempesta's comparably grand, but antiquated, view.<sup>37</sup> Even so, Giovanni Giacomo issued Tempesta's recut plates not once but twice in the early 1660s.

Giovanni Giacomo was a highly successful businessman and entrepreneur, not prone to uninformed decisions or unsound investments. Did he believe that all this trouble to refashion the view would pay off—that the eventual revenue from sales and dedications would offset its high production costs? Alas, it probably did not earn him much. There exists little evidence about the sale of exceptionally large and ambitious prints like Tempesta's, but scholars tend to assume that they rarely netted a profit. The original 1593 issue of Tempesta's view is a case in point. While its later fame is attested to by numerous copies and imitations in addition to the states that still trumpeted his name decades after his death, there is no indication that it was a commercial success in Tempesta's lifetime. At the same time, there is no reason to assume that commercial success had been his main goal. Elsewhere, I have speculated that Tempesta produced the view with an eye to raising his public profile and advertising his talents to potential patrons and partners—again, a perfectly sound business strategy, one that relates more to use value than to exchange value.<sup>38</sup> Enormous, dazzling prints like Tempesta's seem to have occupied a special category: whether old-fashioned or cutting-edge, they rarely paid off in direct financial gain. Rather, their worth seems to have been measured in something that is harder to quantify—such as publicity, prestige, or enhanced reputation.

Giovanni Giacomo clearly believed there was some benefit to be derived from renewing Tempesta's seventy-year-old plates: the question is, what was it? To get a sense of his endgame, it is helpful to consider his larger professional ambitions. In the early 1660s, as Consagra has shown, Giovanni Giacomo was several years into a steadfast campaign to court the favor of Alexander VII

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<sup>35</sup> On the origins of this form in the sixteenth century, see Lucia Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language," *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994): 105–28. On its continued development in the seventeenth century, see Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined*, 190–209.

<sup>36</sup> On Falda's map, see Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined*, 195–209, and esp. Sarah McPhee, "Falda's Map as a Work of Art," *The Art Bulletin* 101, no. 2 (June 2019): 7–28.

<sup>37</sup> The *Indice* only began to include prices in 1696, but all De Rossi sales catalogs of the early 1700s price Tempesta at 1 *scudo*, 20 *baiocchi* (1 *scudo* being the equivalent of 100 *baiocchi*), and Falda at 2 *scudi*, 20 *baiocchi*. See for example Domenico de' Rossi, *Indice delle stampe, intagliate in rame a bulino, e in acqua forte esistenti nella stamperia di Domenico de' Rossi erede di Gio. Giacomo appresso Santa Maria della Pace in Roma* (Rome, 1713), 24.

<sup>38</sup> Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined*, 176–79.

by fashioning himself the pope's unofficial publicist.<sup>39</sup> At the time, Giovanni Giacomo was preparing several ambitious works for publication, including *Il Nuovo teatro delle fabbriche et edificii in prospettiva di Roma moderna sotto il felice pontificato di N.S. Papa Alessandro VII* (New theater of the constructions and buildings, in perspective, of modern Rome under the happy pontificate of His Holiness Pope Alexander VII, 1665–69). Illustrated by Falda, this lavish, five-volume set would become his most famous and profitable work. His gaze fixed on the horizon, Giovanni Giacomo hoped to corner the market before it even opened by securing a vital business advantage: a blanket monopoly over his own print production. Likely unaware that he was following in Tempesta's footsteps, Giovanni Giacomo was weaponizing Tempesta's very copperplates in pursuit of the same advantage their author had sought three-quarters of a century before.

By reframing Tempesta's view as a paean to Alexander VII and his building program, Giovanni Giacomo offered the pope a taste of the highly favorable publicity he could expect from the De Rossi presses. As its full title suggests, the forthcoming *Nuovo teatro* was to celebrate the pope and his works even more explicitly. To be sure, Tempesta's map was but one facet of Giovanni Giacomo's larger strategy, but it was an effective one. That Giovanni Giacomo issued two restrikes so close together suggests an escalating campaign as he and Falda neared completion of the *Nuovo teatro*. We know the pope appreciated the recut view: in 1665, he is recorded as having purchased a copy.<sup>40</sup> Just prior to that, in December 1664, Alexander VII had granted Giovanni Giacomo's request for a papal privilege unprecedented in scope, protecting all of his future publications for a period of ten years. Poised to seize the opportunity, over the next decade Giovanni Giacomo enlisted a string of illustrious collaborators to produce a steady stream of prestigious books, rolling off the presses in his shop at a rate never before seen in the Roman print industry. Foremost among them was the *Nuovo teatro*, the quintessential collection of *vedute* of baroque Rome, which explicitly equated an extraordinary cultural moment with one papacy.

Many factors surely contributed to Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi's success at gaining the privilege that had eluded Tempesta, but perhaps the most important was simply that the two men were operating at different moments in the history of Rome and of its print industry. By the 1660s, the international circulation of prints was a more routine part of the business, the consumer base greatly expanded, the balance shifting from a patronage model toward a more modern market pattern. Had Tempesta's request been granted in full, he surely would have benefited from the more expansive rights it conferred, but not to the same extent as Giovanni Giacomo, who was primed to seize the opportunity to expand his international reach dramatically. What is also remarkable is how adeptly Giovanni Giacomo navigated the two systems, as a threshold figure poised between the impersonal market forces that ran along international circuits and the more local, personal networks of patronage relationships.

## Conclusion

The story of Tempesta's copperplates—their shifting fortunes and guardians, as well as their physical transformations—shines a light on the making and marketing of Rome's public image in the early modern era. These twelve sheets bear witness to shifting patterns of production and

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<sup>39</sup> See Francesca Consagra, "De Rossi and Falda: A Successful Collaboration in the Print Industry of Seventeenth-Century Rome," in *The Craft of Art: Originality and Industry in the Italian Renaissance and Baroque Workshop*, ed. Andrew Ladis and Carolyn Wood (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 187–203.

<sup>40</sup> Leuschner, "Prolegomena," 163.

consumption, to the increasing professionalization of Rome's print industry, to the political and symbolic messages of urban representation, and to developing claims for authorial prerogative. At the same time, their evolution correlates with changing tastes in imagery and expectations for city maps, as well as a shift toward an international market for prints that would continue to intensify in lockstep with the growth of the Grand Tour.

Caught up in Giovanni Giacomo's scheme to dominate the industry in 1662, as we have seen, Tempesta's copperplates withstood their greatest transformation since they were first etched by Tempesta himself. No change of that magnitude would be visited on the image again during the lifetime of the plates. However, the recutting of 1662 was neither their final chapter, nor even their final restrike. Exactly a century after Tempesta, in 1693, Domenico Freddiani de Rossi, Giovanni Giacomo's adopted son and heir, issued the last known state of the plates. Although his father had died two years earlier, Freddiani did not alter Giovanni Giacomo's name in the title at upper left, or in the imprint at lower right. The cityscape, too, shows few changes, although Bernini's unexecuted third colonnade at Piazza San Pietro has been removed (see fig. 18).

Two alterations stand out in the marginalia, however. First, the name of Alexander VII in the title banner at upper left has been changed to that of the current pope, Innocent XII Pignatelli (r. 1691–1700). Second, and more striking, the view no longer bears a separate dedication. The coat of arms held aloft by twin putti at upper left now contains the insignia of the pope, not a separate individual. Similarly, the cartouche below—which in every previous state contained a dedicatory text—now displays Rome's motto, "SPQR," atop a pile of Roman armor (fig. 18, top). Freddiani surely had his own reasons for reissuing Tempesta at this late date, and the year "1693" adjoining the privilege at lower right even hints that he took the trouble of renewing the privilege.

Whatever his motivations, it is clear that the essential validity of the copperplates, and the view imprinted upon them, transcended any one moment and author. As we have seen, those plates were restruck at least six times over a century by a series of printers motivated by their own agendas, catering to a rotating cast of stakeholders, and promoting a rapidly changing city for a radically shifting audience. Given their trajectory, it seems ludicrous to reduce such plurality to *one* view tied to *one* author or patron—as ludicrous as it would be to speak of one unchanging Rome.

What became of Tempesta's copperplates? To this point, we have followed the *dodici pezzi della Roma* as they became a palimpsest—like the city, harboring traces of the past. In the 1700s, however, the copperplates neared the end of their journey. If we lack testimony from additional states, other records help to fill in a rough timeline. In 1735, Tempesta's plates appeared in the final *Indice* of the De Rossi shop, which was issued by Domenico Freddiani's son and heir, Lorenzo Filippo de Rossi. Three years later, they were among the approximately 9,000 copperplates that he sold to the Vatican for the princely sum of 45,000 *scudi*.<sup>41</sup> This immense, extraordinary corpus, spanning two centuries and amassed over generations, constituted nothing less than the summa of a Roman printing dynasty and a Roman industry. Transferred to the Vatican, the De Rossi plates formed the core collection of the Calcografia Camerale: the newly formed papal printing office established by Pope Clement XII.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Anna Grelle Iusco, *Indice delle stampe intagliate in rame a bulino, e in acqua forte esistenti nella stamperia di Lorenzo Filippo de' Rossi appresso Santa Maria della Pace in Roma, MDCCXXXV: contributo alla storia di una stamperia romana* (Rome: Artemide Edizioni, 1996), 24.

<sup>42</sup> On the institution and development of the Calcografia, and for the timeline sketched out here, see Consagra, "The De Rossi Family," 29–30; Grelle Iusco, *Indice delle stampe*; Anna Grelle Iusco, "Orientamenti editoriali della Calcografia a Romana: produzione e acquisizione delle matrici cartografiche," in *Eventi e documenti diacronici delle principali attività geotopocartografiche in Roma*, ed. Andrea Cantile (Florence: Istituto geografico militare, 2000),

A commercial enterprise as well as a repository, the Calcografia issued a version of the De Rossi *Indice* in 1741 that was largely unchanged other than the printer's name on the frontispiece. As before, Tempesta's view appears about one-fifth of the way into the catalog, just after Falda's map under the heading of "Roma Moderna" (Modern Rome), still at half the price of that work (fig. 19). Tempesta remained in that same general position as updated versions of the *Indice* appeared over the next half century. In 1797, however, a new reorganized catalog appeared, in which maps like Tempesta's were demoted in importance and displaced toward the back. Then, in 1806, Tempesta's plates, together with other older works, disappeared from the *Indice* entirely. The fate of all these items is clear, however: in 1804, 3,700 copperplates are recorded as having been melted down for the raw material with which to create new modern works. Why, and why at that moment? In a general sense, Tempesta's *Dodici pezzi* fell victim to a textbook case of Enlightenment rationalism, which prioritized new scientific works over supposedly imperfect, obsolete ones. More specifically, but to the same point, the Calcografia at the time was reorienting its role away from an archival emphasis toward modern production. In that context, and in one great levelling stroke, Tempesta's copperplates were lumped in with nearly 4,000 others that were all deemed to have outlived their utility, their value recalibrated to align with the exchange value of copper as measured in weight and material purity. All other factors—historical, artistic, or cultural—fell by the wayside, sacrificed to the steady march of progress.

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78–101; Ginevra Mariani, "Calcografia Camerale (Copperplate Printing Administration; Rome)," in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 4, *Cartography in the European Enlightenment*, ed. Matthew H. Edney and Mary Sponberg Pedley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 235–37.



**Fig. 1.** Antonio Tempesta, *Recens prout hodie iacet almae urbis Romae cum omnibus viis aedificiisque prospectus accuratissime delineatus*, etching: 40 ¾ x 96 in. (103.5 x 244 cm), Rome, 1593 (Newberry Library, Chicago).



**Fig. 2.** Giovanni Domenico de' Rossi after Antonio Tempesta, *Disegno et prospetto dell alma citta di Roma*, Rome, 1662/4 state\* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

\*Other than being dated 1664, this example is identical to the 1662 state. It is illustrated here in lieu of that one due to image availability.



**Fig. 3.** Jacopo de' Barbari, *Venetie MD*, woodcut, 52 ¼ x 109 ¼ in. (132.7 x 277.5 cm), Venice, 1500 (Cleveland Museum of Art).



**Fig. 4.** Tempesta, 1593 state, details: Piazza del Popolo and Vatican.



Fig. 5. Tempesta, 1593 state, detail: Pantheon at lower left, Campidoglio in the center, and Lateran at upper right.



Fig. 6. Tempesta, 1593 state, detail: author cartouche.

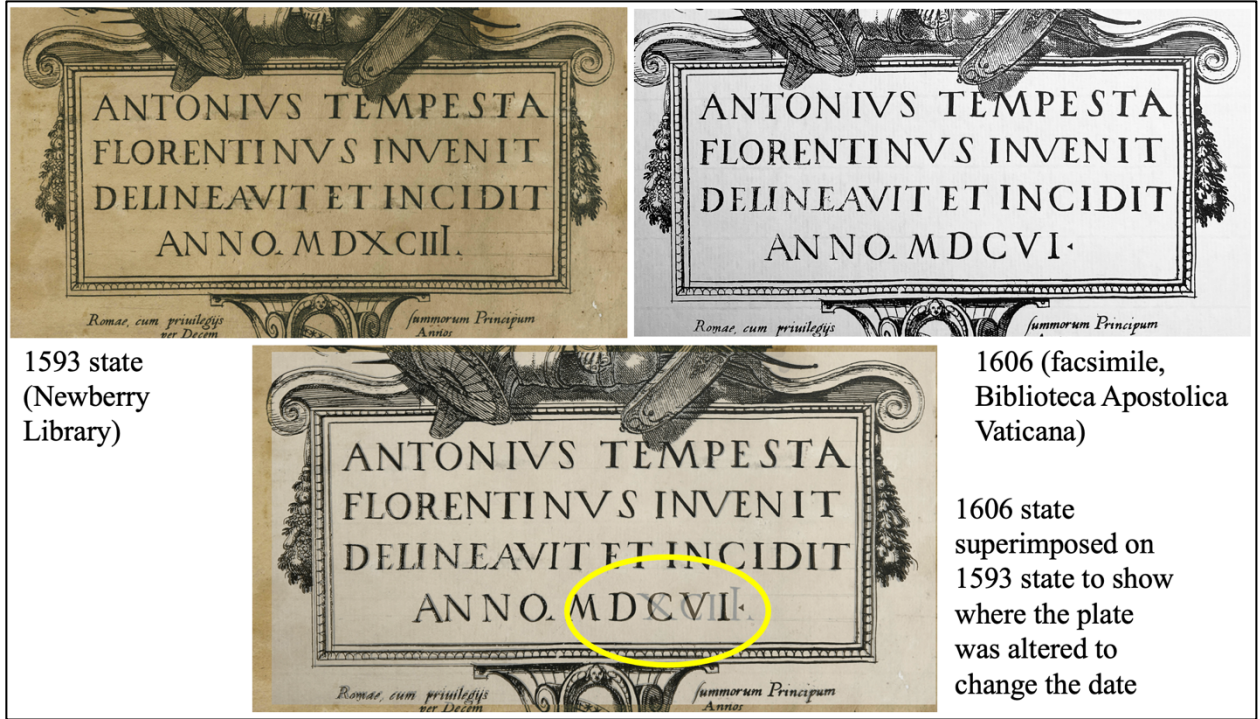


Fig. 7. Tempesta, 1593/1606 states: details and comparison of author cartouche.



Fig. 8. Giovanni Domenico de Rossi after Tempesta, *Recens prout hodie iacet almae urbis Romae cum omnibus viis aedificiisque prospectus*, Rome, 1645 state (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward Pearce Casey Fund, 1983).



Fig. 9. Coats of arms in Tempesta, 1593 state (left) and 1645 state (right).

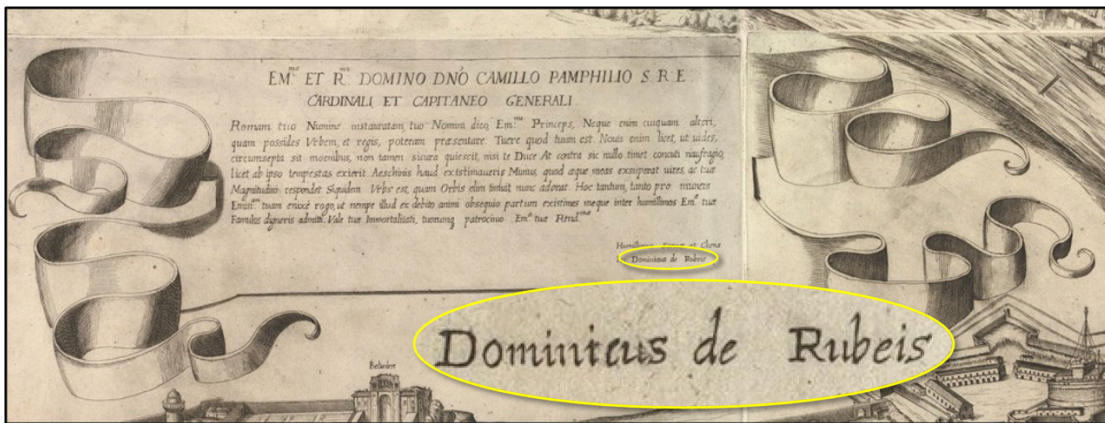


Fig. 10. Signature of Giovanni Domenico de Rossi in the dedication cartouche, 1645 state.

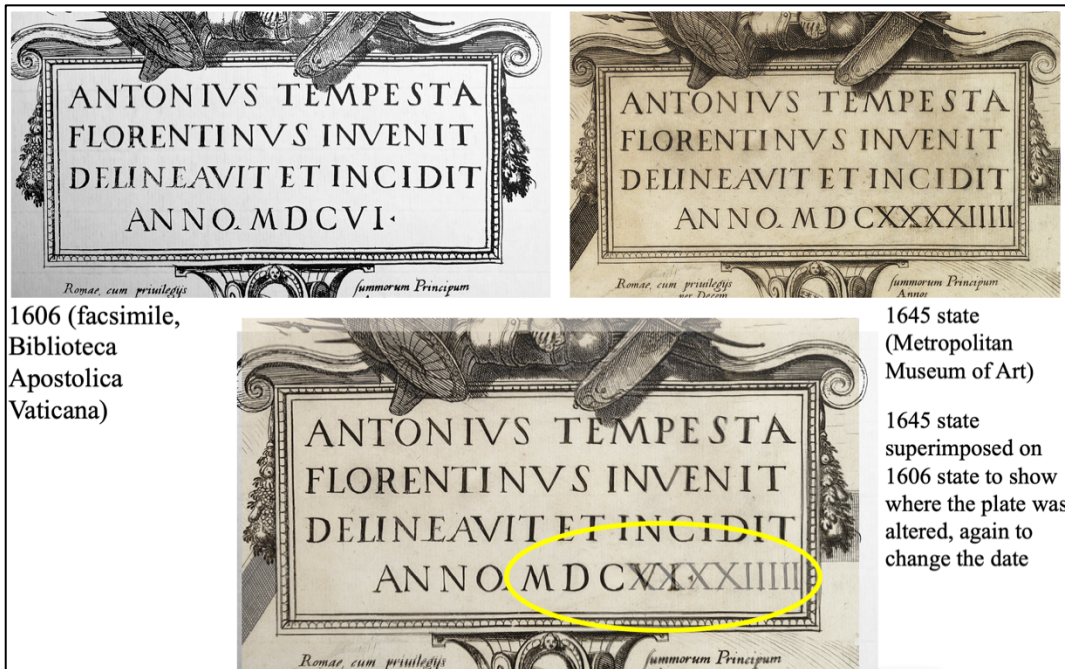


Fig. 11. Comparison of author/date cartouche in Tempesta, 1606 state (upper left) and 1645 state (upper right).



Fig. 12. Tempesta, 1662/4 state, details: putti with coat of arms and dedication cartouche.



Fig. 13. Tempesta, 1662/4 state, detail: title.



Fig. 14. Author cartouche in the 1645 state (left) and 1662/64 state (right).

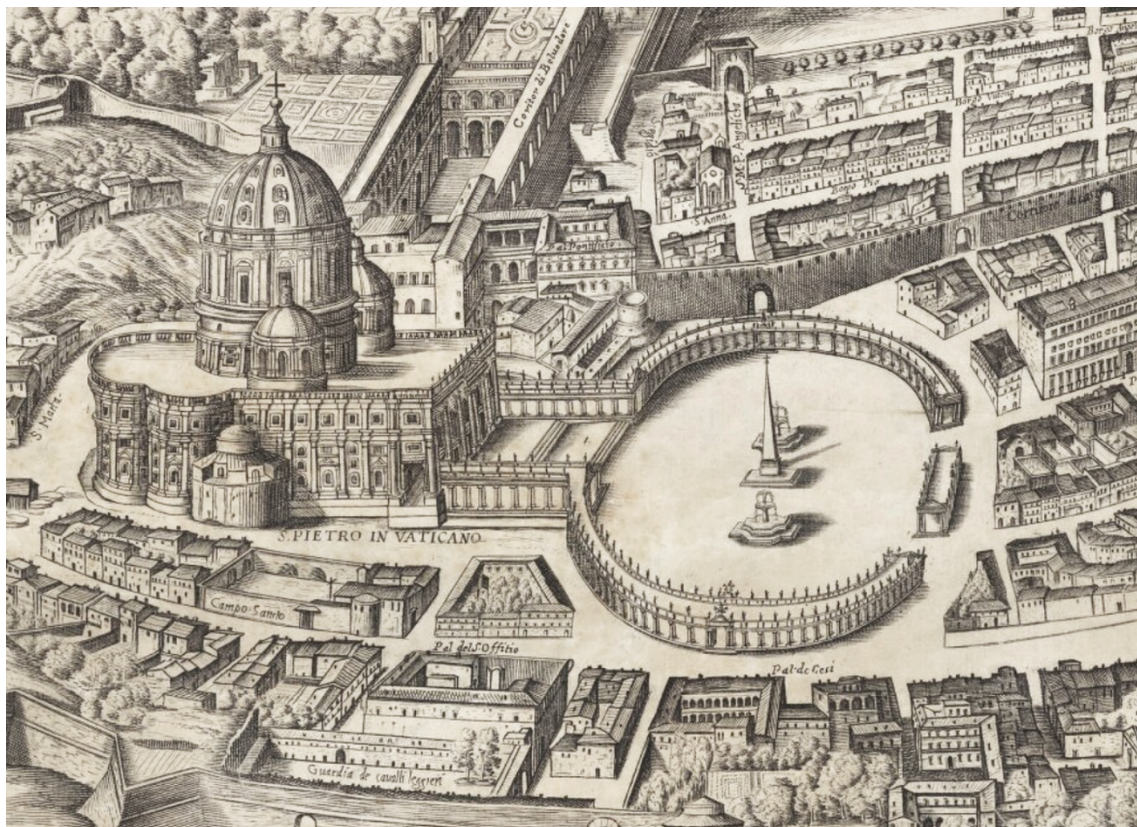


Fig. 15. Tempesta, 1662/64 state, detail: St. Peter's Basilica.

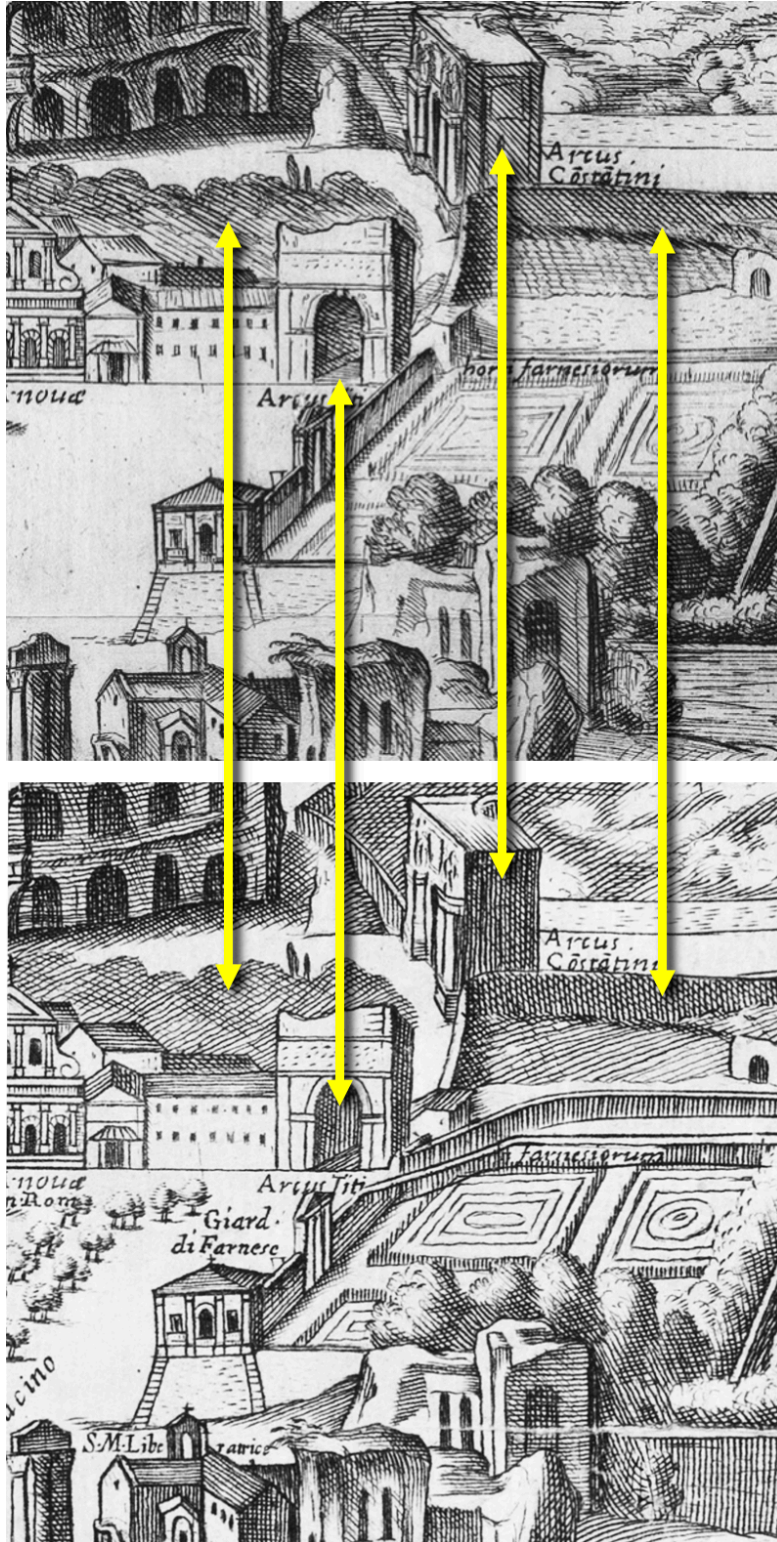


Fig. 16. Example of recut lines, details, and renewed crosshatching in the 1662/4 state, below, relative to the 1645 state, above (note that contrast is enhanced for clarity).



Fig. 17. Giovanni Battista Falda, *Nuova pianta et alzata della città di Roma*, etching and engraving, 1676 (Vincent J. Buonanno Collection).



Fig. 18. Tempesta, 1693 state, detail: Piazza San Pietro and former dedication cartouche (Biblioteca Romana Sarti).

R O M A  
M O D E R N A

*In piante, e vedute diverse, e colle cose  
più principali della medesima  
divise in libri.*

**R**oma Moderna in pianta, e alzata stampata l'anno  
1676. con aggiunta delle fabbriche più moderne fino  
al presente d'itegnata, e intagliata in acqua forte da  
Gio. Battista Falda in 12. fogli reali grandi *sc. 2. b. 20.*  
Roma moderna in prospetto intagliata in acqua forte da  
Antonio Tempesta in 12. fogli reali grandi *sc. 1. b. 20.*

Fig. 19. Indice delle stampe intagliate in rame a bulino, e in acqua forte: esistente nella già stamperia de i de Rossi: ora nella calcografia (Rome, 1741), 25 (Getty Research Institute).