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Arnold Witte, Eva van Kemenade, Niels Graaf and Joëlle Terburg

8 Codifying the Genre of Early Modern Guidebooks: Oskar Pollak, Ludwig Schudt and the Creation of *Le Guide di Roma* (1930)

Introduction

Ludwig Schudt's *Le Guide di Roma. Materialien zu einer Geschichte der römischen Topographie* (1930; Fig. 8.1) was and still is a pioneering bibliography within the field of research into early modern guidebooks to Rome. It was instantly recognised as a seminal work; the introduction to the *Choix de livres anciens rares et curieux en vente à la librairie ancienne Leo S. Olschki* (1936) which thematically focused on books about Rome, described it in the following manner: "It is the only extant bibliography that deals in a methodical and critical manner with this vast and complex subject of guidebooks to Rome . . . It is a precious tool for research and consultation of which one would wish there would appear a second, corrected and augmented edition."¹ Although various other bibliographies of guidebooks to Rome were published both before and since, *Le Guide di Roma* is still considered an indispensable tool for scholars; it has set the standard for the study of the development of early guidebooks up to the present day. For example, in 2014 Enrico Parlato stated that "In 1930 this phenomenon has been catalogued and masterfully reconstructed from its very beginnings until the modern period – from 1475 to 1899 – by Ludwig Schudt; a study that is rightfully famous and still today presents an indispensable tool for orientation in such a vast and varied material."² Schudt's major contribution is that his book not

1 *Choix de livres* (1936) VII: "C'est le seul ouvrage bibliographique existant qui traite méthodiquement et avec critique le sujet vaste et complexe des guides de Rome . . . C'est un précieux instrument de travail et de consultation dont on doit souhaiter une seconde édition corrigée et augmentée.

2 Parlato (2014) 54: "Tale fenomeno è stato catalogato e magistralmente ricostruito, dai suoi esordi fino all'età contemporanea – dal 1475 fino al 1899 -, da Ludwig Schudt nel 1930, studio meritatamente famoso e ancora oggi strumento insostituibile per orientarsi in una materia così vasta e variegata." See also Hendrix (2014) 5: "The classical study on Roman guidebooks is L. Schudt, *Le guide di Roma: Materialien zu einer Geschichte der römischen Topographie*, Wien, Filser, 1930 . . ."

Note: The research for this article was carried out by Eva van Kemenade, Niels Graaf and Joelle Terburg under the supervision of Arnold Witte, during a traineeship at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome. The authors wish to thank the many people that helped, assisted and advised them during this research, especially Alberto Caldana, Michael Schmitz and Lothar Sickel at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome, Friedrich Polleroß at the Art History Institute of the Universität Wien, Elisa Saltetto at the Österreichische Historische Institut in Rome, and Janet Mente at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome.

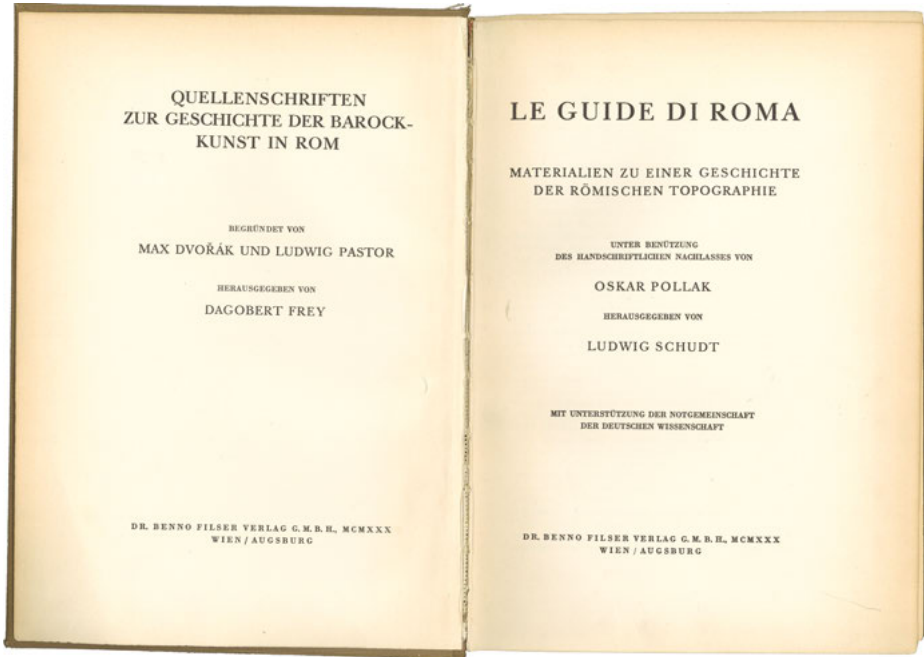


Fig. 8.1: Title page of Ludwig Schudt, *Le Guide di Roma*, Vienna/Augsburg 1930. Photo: KNIR.

only consisted of an extensive bibliography, but also offered the reader a long introductory text offering an interpretation of the phenomenon.³ At the same time, Schudt's book also circumscribed the traditional limits to the genre, determining what is, and what is not, considered to be a guidebook.

Traditions, however, are constructions in which historical events are moulded into a pattern and valued accordingly by the historian; this is also the case with Ludwig Schudt's bibliography. As a "site of knowledge", it is thus neither fully rational nor uncomplicated. This coincides with the issue of historical practice, meaning the analysis of what historians do when they "perform" their research.⁴ Recently, it has been suggested that historians should expand the frontiers of this performative analysis to the academic use of archives. Instead of positing that the

³ Early bibliographies were never considered as influential as Schudt's, for they either covered only part of the period or they were not as comprehensive and structured, and most importantly, lacked any interpretative discussion. Key publications among these early bibliographies are Martinelli (1653), Mandosio (1682), Ranghiasi (1792), Calvi (1908), and Calvi (1910). Most recent is Rossetti (2000), which extended the period to the end of the nineteenth century and also included guidebooks to particular collections and museums. For a more detailed discussion of early bibliographies on guidebooks to Rome, see Caldana (2003) 39.

⁴ See Becker/Clark (2001), and Risbjerg Eskildsen (2008) 425–453.

archive were a neutral repository of facts for historical scholarship, scholars should investigate what role archives ‘actually played’.⁵ In other words, scholarly activities should begin with an exploration of the practice of collecting and selecting, and only then move on to describing and analysing. So, in order to uncover the process that eventually led to the codification of the genre of guidebooks, this article analyses the personal dimension of one of its principal bibliographies: *Le Guide di Roma*. It will focus on the “doings” that took place in the creation of this publication, arguing that it is embedded in scholarly methods and the social world of the bibliographer. Public libraries played a crucial role in its creation, but so did booksellers and private book collections.

Finally, as Schudt’s work was heavily dependent on a manuscript bibliography of early modern guidebooks to Rome, compiled by Oskar Pollak, the latter holds a crucial but hitherto neglected position in the preparatory process, and thus also in the final product. In researching the genesis of Schudt’s classification of the printed guides to Rome, its antecedents should be traced in Pollak’s work, and its impact on the subsequent codification of the genre. What will become clear is that both selection and subsequent analysis of the genre are the result of concepts and values of judgement that pertained to the discipline of art history in the period around 1900. From this, it also follows that the *Guide di Roma* can no longer be considered an authoritative study of early modern guidebooks without taking into account how the historical codification of this genre around 1900 deviates from present-day criteria of what a guidebook is, and how its genre developed under the influence of early modern travel cultures and cultural exchange.

From Schudt back to Pollak

Within the conception of *Le Guide di Roma*, Oskar Pollak (1883–1915) holds a crucial position, as Schudt’s work was based on the former’s bibliography, compiled more than two decades before its publication.⁶ This was acknowledged on the title page of the publication (Fig. 8.1), but was largely ignored at the time of publication and has not, as yet, been the subject of further research.⁷ In modern-day historiography, little more is known about Pollak than his short-lived adolescent correspondence in the years around 1900 with his classmate Franz Kafka, in whom he seems to have incited an interest in the visual arts.⁸ Pollak himself graduated from the University of Prague

⁵ Friedrich/Müller/Riordan (2017) 5.

⁶ This was briefly discussed by Caldana (2003) 34–36.

⁷ For a contemporary response mentioning only Schudt as author, see “Review” (1930).

⁸ Ladendorf (1961) 294; see also Koch (1999) 391 and 643. For a general biography of Pollak, see Blumesberg/Doppelhofer/Mauthe (2002) vol. 2, 1060.

in art history and archaeology in 1907.⁹ He wrote his PhD dissertation on the sculptors Johann and Ferdinand Maximilian Brokoff. This work was published in 1910 and, through its biographical lens, offers a history of the diffusion of the Austrian Baroque in Eastern Europe.¹⁰ In the autumn of 1907, he had already received his first scholarship from the Austrian Historical Institute in Rome (Österreichische Historische Institut or ÖHI) – an institution to which he returned regularly in subsequent years. In 1910, Pollak became assistant to Max Dvořák at the Art History Institute of Vienna University and, in January 1914, he was appointed secretary at the Austrian Historical Institute in Rome, under the supervision of its then director, the historian Ludwig von Pastor.¹¹

In 1915, just after the start of the First World War, his promising career came to an abrupt end when he died at the Isonzo Front, fighting as a volunteer against the Italians alongside the Austrians.¹² After his death, his manuscripts and notes were donated to the Art History Institute of Vienna University, where parts were edited by other scholars – such as his ample material on patronage under Pope Urban VIII, which was published in two volumes by Dagobert Frey in 1928 and 1931.¹³ Ludwig Schudt, who as fellow at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome in the 1920s was finishing his thesis on the seventeenth-century guide to Rome by Giulio Mancini, was suggested by Von Pastor as the right candidate to complete the bibliography. Pollak's material on the guidebooks was, therefore, handed over to him in 1922 by the Austrian art historian, and Head of the Viennese Art History Institute, Dagobert Frey.¹⁴

In his introduction to *Le Guide di Roma*, Schudt describes the Pollak papers as consisting of three card indexes, of which the first lists the guides in alphabetical order, the second in chronological order and the third contains a list of monographs on the subject.¹⁵ The manuscript also included a piece of paper on which Pollak had

9 Archiv der Universität Wien, Vienna: Rektoratsarchive – Akademischer Senat – Personalblätter (19.-20. Jh), 2908 Pollak Oskar, fol. 3r.

10 Pollak (1910).

11 Archiv der Universität Wien, Vienna: Rektoratsarchive – Akademischer Senat – Personalblätter (19.-20. Jh), 2908 Pollak Oskar, fol. 26r.

12 Tietze (1915) and Pastor (1917).

13 It can be assumed that either Franz Juraschek or Max Dvořák was responsible for the incorporation of his personal archive into that of the university's Art History department. See Archiv des Instituts für Kunstgeschichte, Universität Wien, Vienna: II – Nachlässe – Pollak, Oskar, 6.1: "Pollak Nachlass (altes Nachlassverzeichnis, tlw. Typoskript)". For the Frey publication, see Pollak (1928) and Pollak (1931).

14 Wolff Metternich (1961–1962) 8.

15 Schudt (1930) VII: "Das Manuskript Pollaks bestand aus drei Zettelkatalogen, von denen der erste ein alphabetisches und der zweite ein chronologisches Verzeichnis der Guiden enthielt. Der dritte Zettelkatalog enthielt die Monographien der einzelnen Bauwerke. Einige lose Blätter des Konvoluts enthielten Exzerpte vorwiegend aus den Werken von Richter und Jordan, auf einem weiteren Blatt waren einige ganz allgemeine Skizzen für die Disposition des Stoffs gegeben." (Pollak's manuscript consisted of three card catalogues. The first contained an alphabetic and the second a chronological

outlined how the material in his planned bibliography should be arranged. Schudt readily admits that Pollak's preparatory research was of enormous assistance in collecting the vast variety of different guidebooks, which the latter had traced in numerous public libraries, private collections and antiquarians' storage rooms. However, both he and Dagobert Frey emphasized that the content, consisting of the topographical description and classification of the books, was solely Schudt's work.¹⁶ Furthermore, they state that Pollak had researched the contents of Roman libraries only, leaving to Schudt the substantial task of consulting other important libraries outside of Rome and outside of Italy. Consequently, Pollak's contribution to the definition of the genre of early modern guidebooks, or how he came to study its development, has not entered the historiography of the genre.

Contents of *Le Guide di Roma*

Before we can analyse the precise relationship between Pollak's groundwork and Schudt's additions and editing, it is important to outline the structure of the book as published in 1930. First of all, *Le Guide di Roma* is much more than a bibliography: it structures and classifies the genealogy of these guidebooks, moulding the genre into a certain pattern. In order to do this, the first part of the *Guide di Roma* focuses on the development of the genre, and therefore offers the reader the main concepts governing what the characteristics of a guidebook were considered to be in the early modern period; this part is subdivided into three chapters. It deals with approximately fifty guides, considered to be key publications, and their various editions, dating from the fifteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, although there is a particular focus on guides published between 1640 and 1760.

The description of the development of the genre starts with a short introduction on medieval *Mirabilia*, which, according to Schudt, provide only limited information on the architecture and interior embellishment of the church buildings in Rome.¹⁷ They, therefore, derive their importance to the genre of guidebooks from the fact that the *Mirabilia* provided it with its basic quadripartite structure, in which a general history of the city is followed by a listing of all the churches, with a separate part on the seven main basilicas of the city, and a list of all the stations in

index of guidebooks. The third card catalogue contained monographs of individual buildings. Some loose pages contained excerpts, mainly from the publications by Richter and Jordan. Another sheet contained some very sketchy ideas on the structuring of the material.)

16 Schudt (1930) VI.

17 Schudt (1930) 24: "Der Wert der 'Indulgentiae' für die Kunstgeschichte ist nicht allzu groß. Das Verzeichnis der Kirchen ist noch weit davon entfernt, auch nur einigermaßen vollständig zu sein." (The value of these 'Indulgentiae' for the history of art is not that great. The list of churches is still far from being complete.) For a modern discussion of late medieval guidebooks, see Miedema (2003).

the ecclesiastical calendar. Andrea Palladio's *Descrizione de le Chiese, Stationi, Indulgenze & Reliquie de Corpi Sancti* . . . (1554) is then presented as a key publication that illustrates the transition towards 'real' guides, as it provided a new geographical order for the description of the churches, with more information on their architectural and artistic qualities, and a discussion of other monuments in the city. Girolamo Franzini's publications of 1587 and 1588 embodied a further evolution into an influential type of guide – in later decades usually known as *Roma antica e moderna* – as it was the first with illustrations, while also offering a wealth of information on artists and modern works of art in the city. Therefore, in Schudt's eyes, Franzini's book represented the first real art historical introduction to Rome.¹⁸ The next key publication, Pietro Martire Felini's *Trattato nuovo delle cose meravigliose* (1610), was designated by Schudt as a true landmark in the development of the genre.¹⁹ It provided an entirely new order of *sette chiese*, which would be imitated until the eighteenth century, and further showed an increased interest in the city's monuments.

Schudt proceeds into the seventeenth century by stating that the genealogy of that era is less linear than in the *Cinquecento*; authors give a more particular stamp and direction to their guides. An element of increasing importance in his analysis is the originality of the text – whether an author is able to offer first-hand observations or is just repeating information taken from other guides. Therefore, Schudt divides the Baroque production into "scientific" guides and "non-scientific" guides, the latter generally defined as popular or minor publications that pay less attention to the latest developments in the city. Within the first group, Schudt singles out three key publications. Firstly, Pompilio Totti's *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (1636) instigated a new disposition: Rome was now described in terms of *giornate*, or days a visitor could spend in the city, that were organized around various *rioni*, or neighbourhoods.²⁰ The significance of Filippo Titi's *Studio di pittura, scultura ed architettura* (1674) lies in the fact that it mentioned many sculptures and paintings for the first time, which, according to Schudt, makes it a primary source for the study of Baroque art.²¹ The third key publication, according to Schudt, is *Roma antica e moderna* (ed. 1745 and 1750) by Gregorio and Nicola Roisecco, in which the description of ancient Rome is for the first time interlaced with a description of modern Rome.²²

In Chapter Two, Schudt discussed guides that, according to him, fall under the subcategory of scientific topography. The books in this subgenre give a thorough art

18 Schudt (1930) 31–32.

19 Schudt (1930) 34–37.

20 Schudt (1930) 43–47.

21 Schudt (1930) 48–54.

22 Schudt (1930) 56–60.

historical description of the Roman monuments from antiquity to the modern era.²³ Within this subcategory, he identified three key publications: *Sette Chiese* (1570) by Onofrio Panvinio, *Historia delle stazioni di Roma* (1588) by Pompeo Ugonio and Ottavio Panciroli's *Tesori nascosti* (1600). Schudt is entirely silent on what might differentiate these guides from the "scientific" guidebooks of the first subcategory, but it can be assumed, on the basis of his discussion of their contents, that topographical works were intended, not for travellers, but for antiquarians and humanists. This is also suggested by the fact that these texts were no longer subdivided into *giornate*, or days in which the city could be visited. On the other hand, the inclusion of Panciroli's *Tesori nascosti* is not consistent with such a demarcation; what it does offer is, again, an accurate description of all the art historical monuments from antiquity to the moment of publication. Here, we already see an indication of other criteria that have left their (implicit) mark on the codification of what a guidebook is.

The third chapter discusses the subcategory of pilgrim manuals, characterized according to their intention to provide the reader with an extensive description of sacred sites in Rome. These guides are also measured according to the criteria of whether or not they provide useful information on contemporary art in churches – the enumeration of relics and feast days of saints in particular churches is considered uninteresting. For that reason, rare texts, such as the *Sacro Pellegrinaggio* by Francesco Maria Torrigio (1625) and the equally precious *Tesori dell'anno Santo* by Marsilio Honorato (1649), are singled out by Schudt as being of particular value. These publications were not highlighted because they set a standard or were widely read, copied or imitated, in other words, meeting the criteria underlying this particular subgenre of book production, but because they offered valuable contemporary information on Baroque art. This anachronistic criterion is even more pertinently applied in the discussion of the subgenre of poetic descriptions – Schudt literally states that these poems very seldom contain interesting factual information on the works of art discussed. Finally, translations into other languages offer next to nothing in original information; Schudt states that they are mostly "worthless" – as they copy information from Italian guidebooks and are not based on the personal observations of their authors.

23 Schudt (1930) 95: "Unter wissenschaftlicher Topographie des modernen Rom verstehe ich eine möglichst vollständige Beschreibung der Stadt, die jedes einzelne künstlerisch oder entwicklungs-geschichtlich bedeutsame Monument, seien es Kirchen, Paläste, Villen, Brunnen oder die Obeliskten, die heute das Stadtbild bestimmen, nach der geschichtlichen und künstlerischen Seite hin gleichmäßig behandelt." (By the scientific topography of modern Rome, I mean the most detailed description of the city that uniformly discusses every single monument of artistic or historical significance, from palaces, villas and fountains to obelisks, which today determine the cityscape, with respect to their historical and artistic value).

Two appendices, on antiquarians and on volumes that deal with singular monuments, finally offer a brief description of books that, according to Schudt, fall outside of the strict boundaries of the genre of guidebooks. Antiquarian publications are, according to him, of little interest – because of the lack of references to contemporary artists and architects – while works on individual buildings, on the other hand, gain special relevance from the fact that these texts often contain a wealth of information on the artists involved at various moments in their construction and embellishment. This notwithstanding the fact that, as Schudt admits, books on single churches, palaces and villas can scarcely be considered as falling within the genre of guidebooks.²⁴

Selecting sources

What is indicative of Schudt's approach is the remark at the beginning of the third chapter: "With the last editions of Titi, Roisecco and Ridolfino Venuti. . . , the high tide of guidebooks comes to a halt. The reason is easy to see: the period of intensive building activities during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which represented the true creative period of Roman art, had ended."²⁵ This illustrates most clearly how, for Schudt, the genre of guidebooks was not a source about the culture of tourism and what visitors to Rome longed to see; instead, his interpretation was guided by questions of modern art and architecture. What is more, it undervalued what happened after 1800 in art and architecture – not because nothing was created, but because nothing he considered to be of importance was produced. Here, we see a depreciative evaluation of Classicist and nineteenth-century art poking through.

Even though Schudt does reflect in his conclusion on the question whether early modern travellers to Rome made use of, i.e. referred to, these guidebooks – and he concludes here that the ancient ruins were often of far greater interest to them than the latest alterations and embellishments of more modern monuments – this perspective had little impact on how he defined the genre of guidebooks and which

24 Schudt (1930) 161: "Monographien und Guiden haben wenig Berührungspunkte miteinander. Zu Beginn dieses Abschnittes wurde auf die Verschiedenheit der Gesichtspunkte, von der beide Schriftengattungen ausgehen, hingewiesen. Im Verlauf der Darstellung sahen wir, daß sich eigentlich nur um den Vatikan eine ausgesprochene periegetische Literatur gebildet hat." (Monographs and guidebooks have little to do with each other. At the beginning of this section, the different perspectives from which both genres originate has been pointed out. During our discussion, we saw that a distinctly periegetic literature was actually only written about the Vatican.)

25 Schudt (1930) 77: "Mit den letzten Auflagen Titis und Roiseccos sowie der noch zu besprechenden Topographie des Ridolfino Venuti ist die große Zeit der Guiden zu Ende. Der Grund ist leicht anzugeben: die umfangreiche Bautätigkeit, die sich im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, der eigentlich schöpferischen Epoche der römischen Kunst, entfaltet hatte, war abgeschlossen."

guides he considered key publications. What he does not even explain at all is the *reason* why publishers were urged to publish ever new and updated, and “modern” guides, and for what kind of a public, so the dynamics of the culture of early modern tourism to Rome are ignored completely. An analysis of the genealogy of guides as presented in *Le Guide di Roma* leads to the conclusion that original observations by the authors versus plagiarism constitute the two main poles of his value system. Schudt reserves his praise primarily for guides that provide an accurate inventory of works of art and their creators, not for those that were important to the culture of travelling.

Although his classification of the genre is today used by scholars from all kinds of disciplines, such as literary studies and book studies, *Le Guide di Roma* was principally conceived as a tool for art historians. In fact, Schudt explicitly refers to the function of his bibliography for art history; in his introduction he explains his emphasis on guides published between 1640 and 1760, in that this was the time “... when the guidebooks gained their main importance for the history of early modern art in Rome.”²⁶ In other words, the *Guide di Roma* does not offer an internal genealogy of the genre based on historical development of the contents of these guides and their contemporary use, but instead it singles out and evaluates guides from the perspective of the early twentieth-century art historian, introducing into its genealogy a pre-existing evaluation of certain periods of art history.

Pollak’s “groundwork”

The particular purpose of *Le Guide di Roma* as an inventory of art historical sources was not conceived by Schudt, but by its initiator: Oskar Pollak. This was alluded to on the title page of the book and in the preface to Schudt’s publication by Frey, who stated, however, that he had handed over a mere unfinished card catalogue with many titles still to be checked, thereby diminishing Pollak’s contribution.²⁷ In fact, the card system that Schudt received to prepare the *Guide*

²⁶ Schudt (1930) 6: “. . . wo die Guiden ihre Hauptbedeutung für die Geschichte der neueren Kunst in Rom gewinnen.”

²⁷ Frey in Schudt (1930) VI: “Sein alleiniges Werk ist die Ordnung und Gruppierung des umfangreichen Materiales und vor allem die wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung hinsichtlich der Einstellung und Anordnung der topographischen Beschreibung, ihrer quellenmäßigen Grundlagen und des Filiationsverhältnisses der Ausgaben. In dieser Hinsicht muß das vorliegende Buch als seine durchaus selbständige Arbeit gelten.” (His [Schudt’s] personal contribution consisted in ordering and structuring the extensive material and, more particularly, in the scientific discussion of the goals and structures of topographical descriptions, their fundamental sources and the relationships between the works. From this point of view, the present book must be understood as his original contribution.) In his own introduction on page VII, Schudt states that “(. . .) mir die Notizen Pollaks

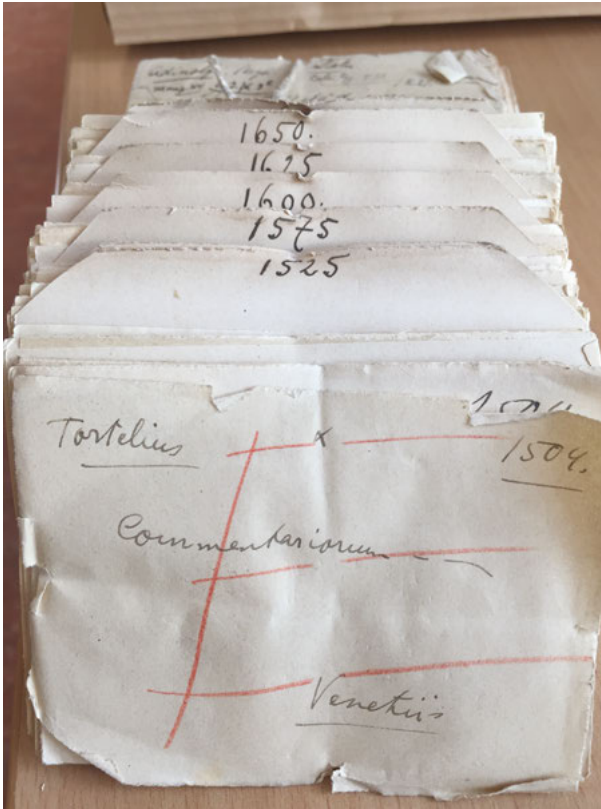


Fig. 8.2: Part of the chronological card index; Oskar Pollak Archive 6.6 Kartei B, AIK. Photo: Authors.

di Roma is still preserved in the archive of the Art History Institute in Vienna (Fig. 8.2). It shows that a large part of the preparatory work had already been carried out and that Pollak's contribution was actually more important than it was made to seem. Indeed, were it not for Pollak's initial interest in the subject of guidebooks, none of the book would ever have been written. His attention was originally attracted to these kinds of sources because he deemed them valuable for his research on Roman Baroque art. From his bimonthly reports on the research he conducted during his scholarship at the Austrian Historical

vor allem für die Sammlung des Materials und die Bibliographie von sehr großem Nutzen gewesen; für den Text meines Buches dagegen habe ich nur einige ganz allgemeine Anregungen aus den übernommenen Aufzeichnungen ziehen können." (. . . Pollak's notes, in particular on the collection and bibliography, have been extremely useful to me; however, for the text of my book I have only been able to use some more general suggestions from his notes.)

Institute, it can be deduced that his bibliography was initially a side product of his main research, which centred on Francesco Borromini and Pietro da Cortona and the arts during the papacies of Urban VIII, Innocent X and Alexander VII. This is confirmed by Frey's preface in *Le Guide di Roma*, as well as the preface to Pollak's *Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*, which was published by Frey.²⁸

Gradually, however, the bibliography developed into a project in its own right. Pollak's annotations grew into an extensive and detailed system of cards, on which were recorded meticulously the exact title and the libraries where he had consulted these books or references to certain editions he had found in the catalogues of booksellers (Fig. 8.3). In fact, as well as carrying out research in libraries, Pollak also started to buy copies of certain guidebooks for his own collection. In his bibliographical system, he indicated which copy he owned by means of an omega on the respective card (Fig. 8.4), and in these books themselves he either wrote his name (Fig. 8.5) and/or pasted his ex-libris (Fig. 8.6). A large part of his rare books is still preserved in two Roman collections: the majority lies at the Royal Netherlands Institute (acquired in 1925)²⁹ and an additional group has been traced in the collection of the Bibliotheca Hertziana (acquired in the same year).³⁰ The combination of the original card catalogue, with annotations and remarks, and the books of his own collection extant in these two institutions allows for a thorough re-evaluation of Pollak's contribution to Schudt's publication.

28 Frey in Schudt (1930) V: "Die erste Materialsammlung auf diesem Gebiete hatte Pollak wohl nur als Hilfsapparat für die von ihm vorbereiteten Monographien über Borromini und Pietro da Cortona angelegt. Es ist für seine streng historische Arbeitsweise sehr bezeichnend, daß diese Vorarbeit ihm unter den Händen über ihre besondere Zweckbestimmung hinauswuchs und aus ihren eigenen Problemstellungen heraus für ihn selbständige Bedeutung gewann." (The first collection of material in this area was probably started only by Pollak as a practical tool for his planned monographs on Borromini and Pietro da Cortona. It is characteristic for his strictly historical working method that this preparatory work outgrew this particular purpose and gained independent significance.)

29 "Jaarverslag" (1925) xvi: "De afdeeling 'Topographie van Rome en van Italië' werd vooral uitgebreid en in meer dan een opzicht afgerond door den aankoop uit ons geschonken gelden, van een aanmerkelijk aantal, deels zeldzame, oude boekwerken uit de nalatenschap van Dr. Oskar Pollak, vóór den oorlog verbonden aan het Oostenrijksche Historische Instituut." (The section "Topography of Rome and Italy" was mainly expanded and completed in more than one respect through a substantial amount of, partly rare, old books from the estate of Dr. Oskar Pollak, who was affiliated with the Austrian Historical Institute before the war. This purchase was made with the help of a financial donation.)

30 Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, Institutsarchiv, Schachtel 18,5: *Jahresbericht der Bibliotheca Hertziana 1924/1925* (mit 2 Anlagen und 8 photographischen Aufnahmen), 5: "Einen besonders glücklichen Kauf machte die Bibliothek aus dem Nachlass des im Weltkrieg gefallenen römischen Forschers Dr. Oskar Pollak. Es wurden hier einige Bücher über Rom erworben, die heute im Buchhandel fast unauffindbar sind." (A felicitous acquisition was made by the library from the estate of the Roman academic Dr. Oskar Pollak, who died during the Great War. A number of books on Rome were bought, which are, in today's book market, hard to find.) These acquisitions were recorded in two batches, in the *Zugangsbuch* of the Hertziana Library, under the year 1925.

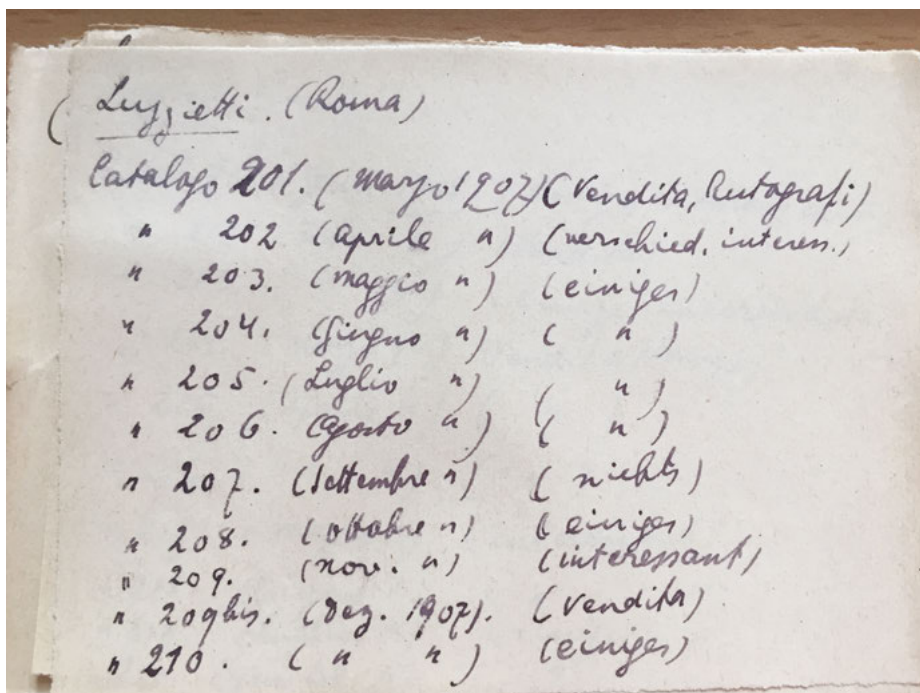


Fig. 8.3: Index card with references to the Luzzietti catalogues of antiquarian books. Oskar Pollak Archive 6.6 Kartei Literatur, AIK. Photo: Authors.

On method and (personal) inspiration

The project of the *Guide di Roma* was slow in the making and came about as a result of the various possibilities offered by the Roman context. Pollak had already embarked upon the enormous task of gathering material on guidebooks during his first stay at the Austrian Historical Institute in 1907, as that year's list of ÖHI fellows and their research themes indicates.³¹ Pollak's bimonthly reports from 1909 onwards mention his continuous quest for material. In February of that year, for example, he noted that "the gathering of material for the bibliography of guidebooks was greatly extended, by exploring the bibliographies and library catalogues of Coletti (1779), Haze (1821), Lichtental (1844), Borghese (1892–93), Mangoni (1893), and the sales catalogues of Loescher, Lang, Luzzietti and Benedetti."³² Two months later, he had obviously

³¹ Archiv des Österreichischen Historischen Instituts, Rome, I.5, *Mitgliederverzeichnis 1890/1–1908/9 (Mit Arbeitsthemen)*: "1907/08: Pollak dr. Oskar (5 Monate – 1. November 1907 – Ende März 1908. Danach bis Ende Juni als a.o. Mitgl. Borromini / Kunst-Bibliographie Roms / Rom (Umbrien)."

³² Archiv des Österreichischen Historischen Instituts, Rome, I.5, *Berichte 1909/10–13/14*: Bericht über den Monat Februar 1909: "Die Materialsammlung zur Guidenbibliographie wurde stark

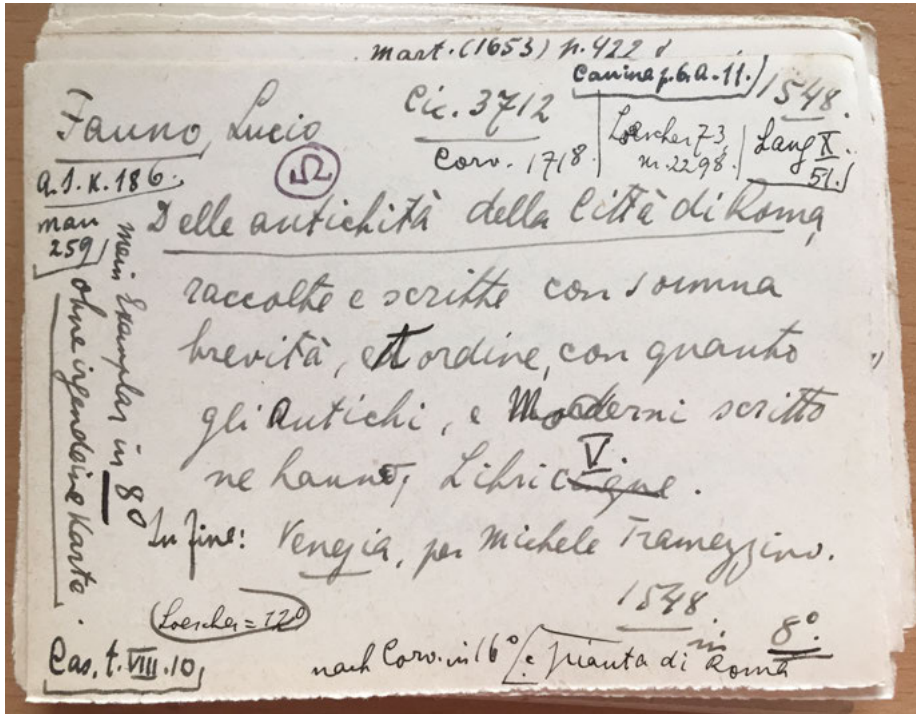


Fig. 8.4: Index card with title description of Lucio Fauno, *Delle Antichità della Città di Roma* with ownership mark. Oskar Pollak Archive 6.6 Kartei A, AIK. Photo: Authors.

progressed to studying particular publications, such as Martinelli, Platner-Bunsen and Jordan, which also referred to earlier guidebooks – so he continued collecting bibliographical references.³³ In subsequent months, he sifted through the catalogues of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, the Biblioteca Casanatense, the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, as well as other sources.

vermehrt, indem die Bibliographien, resp. Bibliotheks-Kataloge von Coletti (1779), Haze (1821), Lichtental (1844), Borghese (1892–93), Mangoni (1893), ferner die Lagerkataloge von Loescher, Lang, Luzzietti und Benedetti exzerziert wurden”

33 Archiv des Österreichischen Historischen Instituts, Rome, I.5, *Berichte 1909/10–13/14*, Bericht über die Arbeiten im Monate März. 1909: “Die Bibliographie der römischen Stadtführer und Topographien wurde weitergeführt, indem die Werke: Martinelli (*Roma ex ethnica sacra*, 1653), Platner-Bunsen (*Beschreibung Roms*, 1829), Jordan (*Topogr. d. St. Rom* 1901), welche kritische Besprechungen der topographischen Hauptwerke und der wichtigen Guiden enthalten, durchgesehen wurden.” (The bibliography of guidebooks to Rome and topographical descriptions was supplemented by checking the works of Martinelli (*Roma ex ethnica sacra*, 1653), Platner-Bunsen (*Description of Rome*, 1829), Jordan (*Topogr. of the city of Rome* 1901), which contain critical reviews of the main topographical works and the important guides.)



Fig. 8.5: Title page of Pompilio Totti's *Ritratto di Roma Moderna*, Rome 1652. KNIR DR 37. Photo: KNIR.

What is interesting in Pollak's approach is that he combined various strategies: firstly, he consulted the card catalogues of Roman libraries both large and small as well as the printed catalogues of other private libraries, such as that of Paolo Borghese, Prince of Sulmona³⁴; secondly, he consulted earlier publications that referred to this genre of books; and thirdly, he also consulted sales catalogues of booksellers, both in Italy and in other countries. The citation given above already mentioned Loescher, Luzzietti (Fig. 8.3) and Benedetti, who all had shops selling

³⁴ *Catalogue* (1892–1893).

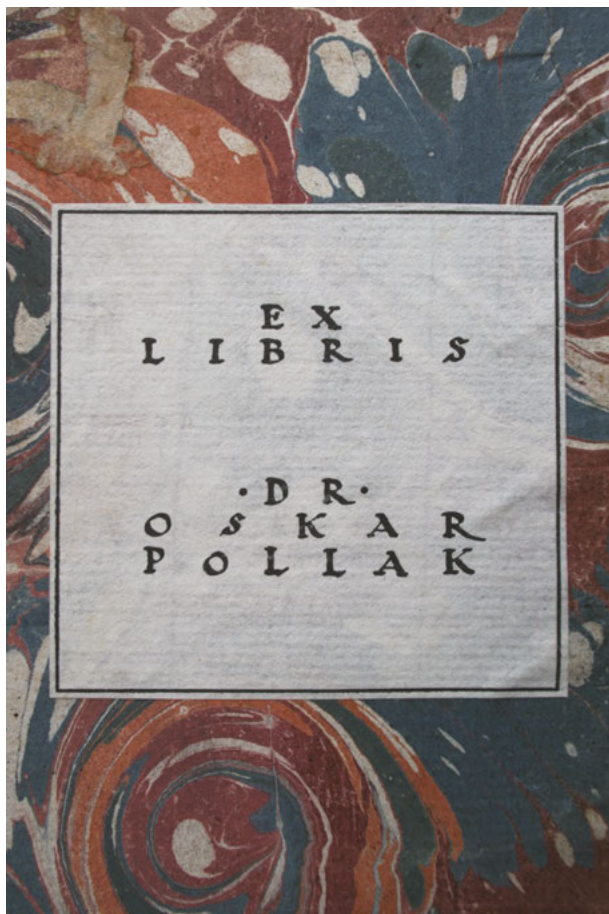


Fig. 8.6: Ex-libris of Oskar Pollak, in Gregorio Roisecco, *Roma antica e moderna*, Rome 1765. KNIR DR 21. Photo: KNIR.

both new and old books in Rome, and Lang, an antiquarian bookseller in Vienna.³⁵ In Pollak's archival material in Vienna, pages that were taken from the catalogues of various other antiquarian bookshops have been reused as flyleaves. Amongst those can be found pages from the catalogues of the Libreria Lubrano and the Libreria Economica of Salvatore Iorio in Naples, the Libreria Antiquaria Internazionale Libero Merlino in Rome, the Libreria Dante in Viterbo, Romagnoli dall'Acqua in Bologna (Fig. 8.7), and even the British bookseller Mayhew in Walthamstow.³⁶

³⁵ Clegg (1906) 252 for Roman booksellers.

³⁶ This material can be found in various folders of the Pollak papers in the archive of the Department of Art History of the Universität Wien (AIK).

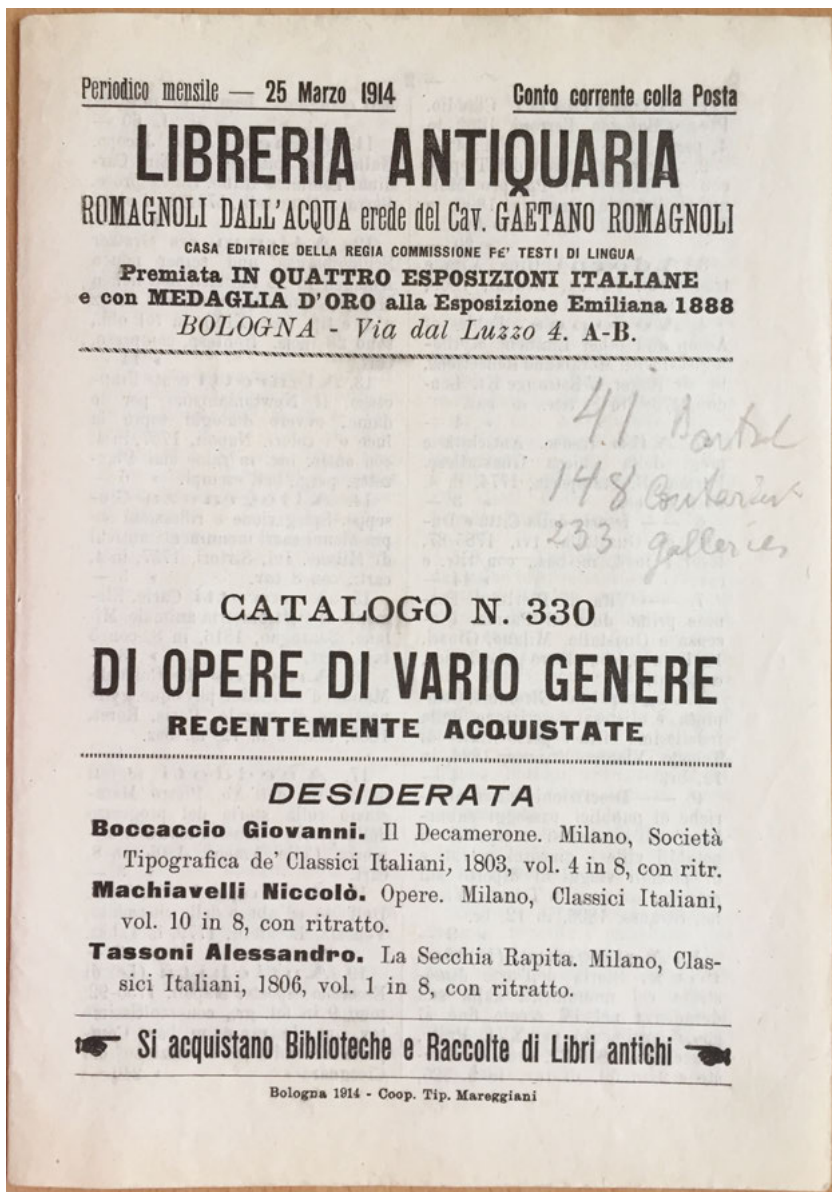


Fig. 8.7: Catalogue of the Libreria Antiquaria Romagnoli dall'Acqua. Oskar Pollak Archive 1.1-7, AIK. Photo: Authors.

Moreover, he started to collect rare books himself, especially guidebooks to Rome. It is impossible to establish when he started doing so, but it is plausible that he was buying copies of certain guides as early as 1908. He did not buy these books

because he was unable to read them elsewhere – Pollak had access to many, if not most, rare book collections in Rome. He bought them, unsurprisingly, because he deemed these books to be valuable sources for his own academic research. It was within the framework of these academic interests that he gathered his collection and constructed his manuscript, whose time scope, purpose, method and focus of content is directly reflected in *Le Guide di Roma*. It is important to note that the genealogy of Schudt's classification is in fact a rather accurate reflection of Pollak's personal collection. It is certainly no coincidence that the majority of books present in his collection have ended up as "key publications" in *Le Guide di Roma*. For example, of the various editions of the Rossini guides he possessed two, of the Martinelli ones he owned no fewer than six, and furthermore he had copies of the Ugonio, Panciroli, Totti, Roiseco and Franzini guides.³⁷

Even more relevant is the fact that, as with the selection of "key publications", the evaluations that Pollak had already started to formulate also had a clear impact on Schudt's introductory text. Apart from the many underscores and marginalia in the copies he owned, which hint at his specific research interests, Pollak was also in the habit of writing small evaluations on their flyleaves. These both assessed the usefulness of the book at hand for art historical research, and in many cases also made comparisons between various editions of the same guide.

Such is the case with Pompeo Ugonio's *Historia Delle Stationi di Roma* (1588), evaluated as a key publication in *Le Guide di Roma* and present in Pollak's collection at the Hertziana library (Fig. 8.8).³⁸ In his discussion of this topographical description, Schudt cites verbatim the note Pollak wrote on its flyleaf: "Splendid academic work; very independent. It draws on the entire earlier literature but evaluates it critically. It is particularly valuable for its very clear descriptions of the state of individual churches and the changes they underwent during this period."³⁹ Another example is Pompilio Totti's *Ritratto di Roma moderna*

³⁷ Rossini, *Il Mercurio Errante* (Schudt 289 and 296) is KNIR DR36 and DR35; Martinelli, *Roma ricercata* (Schudt 229, 231, 233, 238, 239, and 245) are the copies at BHR Dg 450-2440 (this is the 1644 edition Pollak had not yet indicated as his own in his card system), Dg 450-2502, probably Dg 450-2601 and Dg 450-3771, and KNIR DR14 and DR47; Martinelli Vasi, *Itinerario Istruttivo di Roma* (Schudt 310) is either BHR Dg 450-3770 or Dg 450-4181/a1; Ugonius, *Historia delle Stationi* (Schudt 438) is BHR Dg 450-1880; Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti* (Schudt 439) is KNIR DR18; Totti, *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (Schudt 184 and 211) are BHR Dg 450-2380 and Dg 450-2621; Roiseco, *Roma antica e moderna* (Schudt 214) is KNIR DR 21-23; Franzini, *Roma antica e moderna* (Schudt 220) is KNIR DR7 (missing).

³⁸ BHR Dg 450-1880.

³⁹ Schudt (1930) 99 and Pompeo Ugonio, *Historia delle Stationi di Roma*, Rome 1588 (BHR: Dg 450-1880 Coll. rom), flyleaf: "Ausgezeichnete wissenschaftliche Arbeit; ganz selbständig, verwendet die gesamte [In Pollak's handwritten note it says "ganze"] ältere Literatur, aber prüft sie kritisch. Besonders wertvoll wegen der sehr klaren Beschreibungen des Zustandes der einzelnen Kirchen und der Veränderungen, die sie in seiner Zeit erlitten."

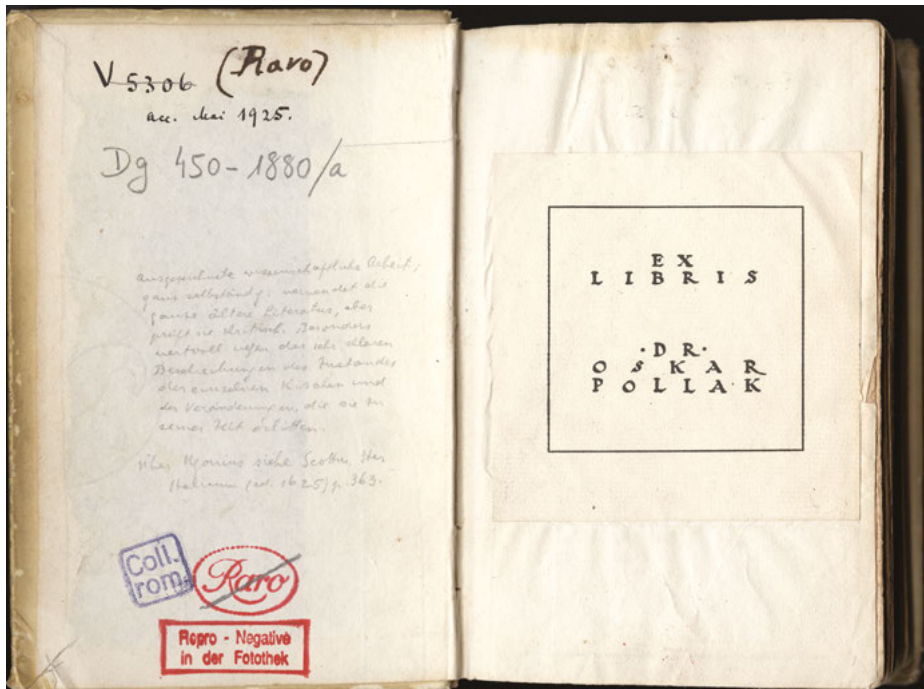


Fig. 8.8: Flyleaf and title page of Pompeo Ugonio's *Historia Delle Stationi di Roma*, Rome 1588. BHR 450–1880/1. Photo: Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome.

(1638),⁴⁰ about which Pollak wrote on the flyleaf of his personal copy that it was closely modelled on Panciroli's *Tesori nascosti* (1625),⁴¹ and he noted on p. 96 that entire sections had even been copied verbatim from it. He further remarked in the 1652 Totti copy he also owned that the author had made ample use of Felini's *Trattato Nuovo*.⁴² All of this was adapted by Schudt, who deemed Totti a “compiler” and not an author; he discussed all the passages where Totti “plagiarised” other guidebooks.⁴³

In 1925, ten years after Pollak's death, part of his rare book collection was sold to the Hertziana library in Rome. Schudt, who was librarian of the Hertziana at that time and who had been in possession of Pollak's manuscript since 1922, was probably responsible for the acquisition of these books for this institution. It is highly probable that Schudt also saw Pollak's books at the Netherlands Institute, either before or after they were sold – even though he only refers to one single copy present at the latter

⁴⁰ BHR Dg 450-2380.

⁴¹ KNIR: DR18

⁴² Totti, *Ritratto di Roma Moderna*, Rome 1652 (Schudt 187), copy KNIR DR37, flyleaf and p. 96.

⁴³ Schudt (1930) 44.

institution.⁴⁴ In any case, between 1925 and 1930 he had plenty of time to research Pollak's collection and to study his predecessor's methods and approach towards the genre, as is apparent from both Pollak's manuscript and the notes in his books. In doing so, Schudt also followed Pollak's implicit and explicit criteria in valuing these books, sometimes even explicitly incorporating the latter's evaluations. In any case, the *Guida di Roma* reflects, on various levels, the decisive impact of Pollak's research.

Collecting early modern books around 1900

Now that we have been introduced to the way Pollak used his books, we must ask ourselves how he collected them. Was he able to buy whichever book he wanted, or were his acquisitions restricted by what was on offer or other factors, such as price? To answer these questions, it is necessary to reconstruct the antiquarian book market as it existed at the beginning of the twentieth century, both in Rome and elsewhere.

In last decades of the nineteenth and the first twenty years of the twentieth century, the antiquarian book market in Italy expanded and developed.⁴⁵ This had a lot to do with the many bibliophiles from the end of the nineteenth century on: in 1899, the periodical *La Bibliofilia*, which still exists today, was founded by Leo Olschki, himself an antiquarian bookseller and publisher of books. The book trade in Rome itself also flourished in the last decades of the nineteenth century, after the city had become the capital of a united Italy. Its growing number of national cultural and educational institutions fed the need for books.⁴⁶ Booksellers also became increasingly specialised from the beginning of the twentieth century.⁴⁷ While up until then, many of them had sold antique and modern books side by side, from that time some of them started to specialise solely in selling old and rare books: *librai antiquari* or *librerie antiquarie*. And their book sales were promoted through catalogues: booksellers frequently published inventories of their old and rare books on sale, sometimes as often as once a month.

Unfortunately, these catalogues listing old and rare books have now become rare books themselves.⁴⁸ Some of them have been preserved, however, and these catalogues provide an idea of the way they were organized according to particular materials, and how these also directed Pollak's attention. In 1914,

⁴⁴ Schudt (1930) 280, nr. 328: "Nibby-Porena. *Itinerario di Roma e suoi dintorni di A. N. corretto ed ampliato secondo le ultime scoperte e gli studi più recenti dal Prof. Filippo Porena*. Nona edizione. Roma, Ermanno Loescher & Co. 1879, XXX, 494 S. 8° (Bibliothek des holländischen historischen Instituts in Rom.)"

⁴⁵ Cristiano (1986) 67.

⁴⁶ Cristiano (1995) 7, Vian (1993) and Windholz (2008) 239.

⁴⁷ Dorini (1938) 143 and Cristiano (2002) 86–87.

⁴⁸ Balsamo (1987) 67. See Cristiano (2002) 86 for a description of the exceptional Bonamici collection in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence that contains 1300 booksellers' catalogues from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century.

for example, the antiquarian bookseller Ermanno Loescher published a catalogue on the theme “Arte Italiana”, of which 65 of 171 pages were dedicated to “monografie di città e regioni”. Of those 65 pages, no fewer than 18, numbering 306 items, are filled with city guides to Rome, mostly early modern.⁴⁹ Six out of 39 titles in Pollak’s collection are listed in this catalogue; however, the description of the bindings and state of the books show that he did not buy these six particular copies. This shows that he was able to obtain those books he was interested in without too much effort.

Finally, we have to ask where he used to buy his copies. Given the international market for rare books, and the presence of material from booksellers from all over Italy, Vienna, and even the United Kingdom in his archive at the Institute of Art History at Vienna University, he might have obtained them anywhere. We do know he used such catalogues, as his monthly reports, cited above, mentioned the use of these sources to compile his bibliography.⁵⁰ It is significant that the four antiquarian booksellers he named in his reports were all located in Rome. Also, in his *Schlussbericht* or final report on the months spent at the Institute in 1909, written on the first of July 1909, Pollak stated that he had studied the most important antiquarian and auction catalogues of the last twenty years “mostly from Rome.”⁵¹ As Pollak was in Rome almost uninterruptedly from 1908 until his death in 1915, it seems very probable that he tried to find these books in Rome itself, rather than in Vienna or elsewhere.

The copies in his own collection preserved at the Hertziana Library and the Royal Netherlands Institute give a few more concrete indications. In four of his books, Pollak actually provided information, written in pencil on the end flyleaf, on how and when he acquired these books.⁵² Three out of the four were purchased in Rome, and he also gave the date and the price he paid in Italian lire. The books were bought within a period of four years. The dates on which the books were purchased are all days when Pollak was present in Rome, as evidenced by the reports he wrote for the Austrian Institute. Another three-volume work supports the hypothesis that Pollak bought his books in Rome: they are pasted with a bookseller’s sticker (Fig. 8.9).⁵³ The

⁴⁹ See Cristiano (1995) on Loescher.

⁵⁰ Archiv des Österreichischen Historischen Instituts, Rome, I.5, 1908–1909: Report Oskar Pollak, 3-1-1909.

⁵¹ Archiv des Österreichischen Historischen Instituts, Rome, I.5, 1908–1909: Report Oskar Pollak, 7-1-1909: “meist aus Rom” (Mostly from Rome).

⁵² Bürger, *Musées de la Hollande*, 1860 (TM 440 4580-2): “11.III.1910, L. 1,10”

Martinelli, *Roma ricercata nel suo sito*, 1644 (Dg 450-2440): “Rom 24.III.11, L. 10,-”

Ugoni, *Historia delle stationi* 1588 (Dg 450 1880 a coll.rom.): “Rom 11.V.1914, L. 14,-”

Martinelli, *Roma ricercata nel suo sito*, 1658 (Dg 450-2580): “Rom 13.V.1914L. 9,-”

⁵³ Chattard, *Nuovo Descrizione del Vaticano*, Rome, 1762, 3 vols. (KNIR Signature: DR Rjd cha I-III)

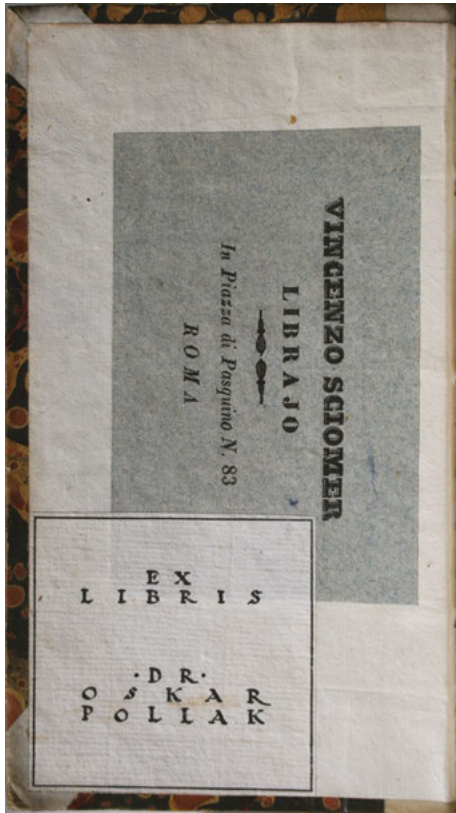


Fig. 8.9: Flyleaf of Chattard, *Nuova Descrizione del Vaticano*, Rome, 1762, vol. 1. KNIR DR Rjd cha I. Photo: KNIR.

bookseller is Vincenzo Sciommer, who had his store (and publishing house) on Piazza di Pasquino, 83, in Rome.

It is thus not hard to imagine that, while working with these catalogues as a source, he found a book of particular interest to him, now and then; and, also, that he was able to buy the exact copies he was interested in. It is even likely that he went to these booksellers in person to have a look at the actual copy before he decided to buy it. In any case, given the relatively low prices for these rare books, Pollak will not have had financial restrictions to acquire them. And those books were already the key publications that constituted his genealogy of the genre, or became so as a result of his particular attention to these copies. Schudt adopted this framework in his 1930 publication of the material, together with the evaluations Pollak had written in a number of his personal copies that had ended up in the library of the Hertziana – so these were easily available to him.

Conclusion

Le Guide di Roma, which is generally identified as the blueprint for studies of the genre of (early) modern guidebooks to Rome, at first sight seems to be a reasonably neutral bibliographical study of the evolution and production of a particular genre. However, the question of access to, and selection of, sources lies at the centre of the history of the shaping of this academic bibliography. Taking a closer look at how the project evolved makes clear that it is actually a construction determined by the very specific art historical interests of both Oskar Pollak and Ludwig Schudt. And, contrary to what has been assumed thus far, it was not Schudt who selected and organised the material into a certain structure, but it very much derived from Pollak's research practices in Rome, between 1907 and 1915. Criteria such as the originality of the text – meaning whether its author had actually looked at the contemporary state of monuments in the city and the works of art present there – and plagiarism had already been formulated by Pollak, and Schudt adopted these unquestioningly. The only aspect that seems to be attributable to the latter is the division of guidebooks into several subgenres. In Pollak's archival material, there is no trace of such a demarcation – although we do find terms such as 'scientific guides' on the flyleaves of his copies. Finally, *Le Guide di Roma* can be seen as an academic response to the developments in the antiquarian book market; in quite a few booksellers' catalogues, guidebooks had already been recognized as a particularly interesting genre for book collectors.

What can also be deduced from the analysis of *Le Guide di Roma* is that tracing and evaluating archival material and especially early modern publications had become Pollak's main method to art historical research; the object and its formalistic or aesthetic qualities were no longer the main issue. We might call this a 'historical turn in art history'. In his request for admittance to *Habilitation* proceedings in 1913, he wrote in his *Vorlesungsprogramm*, or proposal for lectures to be given upon obtaining this title, that, in a seminar for an advanced level course, he would deal with "a critical exegesis of newer, published sources, especially of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that until now have never been the subject of lectures."⁵⁴

He never gave these lectures, however – when he arrived in Vienna in 1915, the First World War intervened and he volunteered to be sent to the Italian Front. Thanks to Von Pastor, Frey and Schudt, the manuscript was finally published and, as a result, this kind of historical source material became more and more *de rigueur* for art historians. As our analysis of the practices through which *Le Guide di Roma* came into being has also made clear, however, the entire project was guided by implicit and explicit art historical criteria; and it

⁵⁴ Archiv der Universität Wien, Vienna: Rektoratsarchive – Akademischer Senat – Personalblätter (19.-20. Jh), Pollak 2908, fol.5r (Beilage 6): "kritische Exegese jüngerer Quellenschriften, besonderes des XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhunderts, die bisher noch nie Gegenstand von Vorlesungen gebildet haben."

was heavily influenced by the marketing of antiquarian booksellers. Pollak's practice of consulting these catalogues, and of acquiring his own copies of certain guides, were fundamental for the structure the book as published in 1930. Thus, the application of both its framework and its catalogue to other disciplines, without taking into account its prehistory of "doings", should be undertaken with caution.

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