

## Index of principal passages discussed

- AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS  
 16.10.2 222  
 16.10.9–10 223  
 16.10.13–15 196–8, 224  
 17.4.15 222
- ARISTIDES, AELIUS  
*Roman Oration*  
 6–8 104  
 80 67
- ARSILLI, Francesco  
*De poetis urbanis* 241.2 31, 37
- AUGUSTINE, SAINT  
*De civitate Dei* 1.33 108
- AULUS GELLIUS  
 3.10 61  
 13.14.4 23
- BALZAC de, Jean-Louis Guez  
*Les oeuvres de Monsieur de Balzac*, vol. II:  
 106–8 102
- BIONDO, Flavio  
*Biondi Flavii Forliuensis De Roma instaurata*  
*libri tres*, vol. I, lxxvi 37
- CALLIMACHUS  
*Aetia* 2 100  
*Hymn* 6.11–12 205
- CALPURNIUS SICULUS  
*Eclogues* 7.23–38 195
- CASSIODORUS  
*Variae* 3.30.2 116
- CICERO  
*De domo* 37.100 193
- De lege agraria* 2.96 67  
*De republica* 2.6.11 68  
*Epistulae ad Atticum*  
 6.5.11 68  
 13.35–6 82
- CLAUDIAN  
*De bello Gildonico* 17–212 14, 110–11  
*De bello Gothico* 51 114  
*De consulatu Stilichonis*  
 1.116–17 111  
 3.63–140 112–14  
*De sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*  
 35–55 215–19  
 76 218  
 363–5 219  
 374–5 216  
 523–64 114–16  
 543–644 219  
*Panegyricus dictus Probino et Olybrio consulibus*  
 87–176 109
- DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS  
 1.31.3 80  
 1.88.2 76  
 2.37.1 78  
 2.50.1.2 78  
 2.62.5 78  
 3.1.5 78  
 4.13.2–14.13.3 6, 21, 77  
 5.19.1 22
- FESTUS  
 459.1P 73  
 474.36F 72
- FONTANA, Domenico  
*Della trasportatione dell' Obelisco Vaticano et*  
*delle fabbriche di nostro Signore Papa Sisto*  
*V, fatto dal cav. Domenico Fontana,*  
*architetto di Sua Santità* 1 46

*Index of principal passages discussed*

271

- GIBBON, Edward  
*The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. VII, 301–2 211–13
- GILLES, Pierre de  
*De topographia Constantinopoleos* 24–6 27
- GREGORIUS, Magister  
*Narratio de mirabilibus urbis Romae* 1 188, 199
- GRENIER, Robert  
*Porcie* 3.1013–23 118
- HAWTHORNE, Nathaniel  
*The Marble Faun* (2002 edition)  
 79 142  
 127 15  
 130 50
- HESIOD  
*Theogony* 2 100
- HILLARD, George Stillman  
*Six Months in Italy*, vol. I  
 160–1 191  
 218 122
- HOBY, Thomas  
*The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, Kt. of Bisham Abbey, Written by Himself, 1547–1564* 24–5 39
- HOMER  
*Iliad* 8.51–2 220  
*Odyssey*  
 1.57–9 108  
 7.78–132 204
- HORACE  
*Carmen saeculare* 7–12 87  
*Satirae* 1.8.14–16 66
- JAMES, Henry  
*Italian Hours* (1995 edition) 126 49
- JEROME  
*Epistulae* 127.12 106
- JUVENAL  
 9.130–1 94
- LAZZARELLI, Ludovico  
*Fasti Christianae religionis* (Cod. Vat. Lat. 2853, fol. 255r) 43
- LIVY  
 1.8.4 78  
 1.11.8 155  
 1.43.13–45.1 77  
 3.59.3 122  
 5.41.4 65  
 5.54.3 69  
 5.54.4 31  
 5.54.7 4  
 40.21.2 192  
 45.27.11–28.5 82
- LUCAN  
 1.195–6 82, 191, 199, 216  
 3.88–98 198
- MARTIAL  
*Spectacula*  
 1.8 162  
 2.5–12 4, 99  
*Epigrams*  
 4.64 200–7  
 4.64.11–12 19, 113, 234  
 7.73 208  
 8.36.1–6 96–7  
 12.8.1–2 85, 133
- MASSON, Georgina  
*The Companion Guide to Rome* 19 211
- MONTAIGNE, Michel de  
*De la vanité* 3.9 49
- OVID  
*Ars amatoria* 3.115–20 90  
*Fasti*  
 1.515–18 88  
 1.550–3 162  
 4.219–21 84  
*Metamorphoses*  
 11.1–2 101  
 11.150–8 125  
*Tristia*  
 1.1.57 86  
 1.5.67–70 66, 86, 112  
 3.1 86  
 3.7.51–2 94

- OXYRHYNCHUS PAPHLAGITAE  
 17.2088 77
- PALATINE ANTHOLOGY  
 9.58 64  
 14.121 69
- PANEGYRICI LATINI  
 2 (12) (Pacati Theodosio Augusto) 46.1  
 114  
 11 (Genethliacus of Maximian Augustus)  
 10.4–12 221
- PAULINUS OF PELLA  
 Eucharisticos 34–41 13, 106
- PAUSANIAS  
 1.18.6 103
- PETRARCH  
*Africa* 8.865–910 35  
*Epistulae familiares* 2.14 238
- PHILO  
*De mundi opificio* 111 63
- PLATO  
*Laws* 667b–c 59  
*Protagoras* 343a 64
- PLINY the ELDER  
*Naturalis historia*  
 3.66 76  
 3.67 6, 8
- PLINY the YOUNGER  
*Epistulae*  
 2.17.1–5 193  
 5.6.13 190
- PLUTARCH  
*Moralia*  
 335 D–E 92  
 559A 235  
*Quaestiones Romanae* 69 60
- PROPERTIUS  
 3.11 13, 88–91, 111, 234  
 4.1.1 83, 220  
 4.1.7 88  
 4.4 90, 153  
 4.9.11–13 162
- PRUDENTIUS  
*Contra Symmachum* 1.408–14 103, 116
- PSALMS 98.8 95
- REVELATION, BOOK OF 17.9 25
- ROGERS, Samuel  
*Italy: a Poem* 133 214
- RUTILIUS NAMATIUS  
*De reditu suo*  
 1.189–204 107  
 2.43–4 108
- SENECA the YOUNGER  
*Epistulae* 51.11 191
- SERVIUS  
 6.783 74
- SHARP, Samuel  
*Letters from Italy* 52 51
- SILIUS ITALICUS  
 12.712–52 95–6
- STAËL, de M.  
*Corinne* (1992 edition) 64 55
- STATIUS  
*Silvae*  
 1.1.64–5 98  
 1.2.191–3 97  
 1.5 99–100  
 2.7 100  
 4.1.3–8 97  
 4.1.37–8 99  
 4.2.18–22 217  
 4.3.24–6 98  
 5.2.168–71 221
- STENDHAL  
*Promenades dans Rome* 127 121
- STOLBERG Friedrich Leopold  
*Travels through Germany, Switzerland, Italy,  
 and Sicily* 337 214
- STRABO  
 5.3.2 57, 83

*Index of principal passages discussed* 273

5.3.7 79  
 5.3.8 9, 80

SUETONIUS  
*Divus Augustus* 72.1 193  
*Domitianus* 4.5 60  
*Gaius Caligula* 21–2 91, 93  
*Nero* 38.2 194

TACITUS  
*Annals*  
 4.64 91  
 4.65 128  
 12.24 76, 78

THEODULF OF ORLÉANS  
*Contra iudices* 131 30

TIBULLUS  
 2.5.55–6 88

VARRO  
*De lingua Latina*  
 5.41 24, 158

5.41–54 70–2  
 6.24 72

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS  
 2.22.1 89

VIRGIL  
*Aeneid*  
 1.145 114  
 6.773–4 83  
 6.781–7 75, 84, 111  
 6.788–94 86  
 8.305–7 109  
 8.306–12 211  
 8.337–46 75  
 8.347–59 212  
 8.366–7 216  
*Georgics* 2.534–5 76

VITALIS, Janus  
*Elogia* 1–2 208

VITRUVIUS  
 1.7.1 82

VORAGINE, Jacobus de 436 117

## General index

- Achaea 133  
 and the Achaeans 220  
 Aemilius Paullus, Lucius 82  
 Aemilius Scaurus, Marcus 32  
 Aeneas 19, 57, 75, 83, 220, 228  
 and the Palatine 32, 211  
 and the shield of the *Aeneid* 75, 220  
*aestimare* 199  
 Africa 110  
 Agrippa *see* Vipsanus Agrippa, Marcus  
 Alaric 109, 218  
 Alban hills 19, 32, 203, 221, 227  
 Albani, Alessandro 166  
 Alberti, Leon Battista 43  
 Alcinous 203–4  
 Alexander  
 the Great 91, 138, 151  
 VII 136, 151  
 Alexandria 64, 96, 109  
 Allia, battle of 65  
 Almo 111  
 Alps 109, 188, 221  
 alunite 136  
 Ammianus Marcellinus 196–8, 222–4,  
 237  
 Anchises 75, 83, 119  
 Anio 99  
 Anthemius 27  
 Antioch 129  
 Antipater 64  
 Antiquaries, Society of 176  
 Antoninus Pius 30, 104, 128  
 Antony, Mark 65, 90, 119, 129  
 Aonia 101  
 Apollo 32, 95  
 Aqua  
 Marcia 99  
 Virgo (Acqua Vergine) 99, 146, 163  
 aqueducts 8, 32, 46  
 Ara  
 Consi 76  
 Maxima 76, 211  
 Pacis 66  
 Arcadia 102, 121  
*arces* 30, 75, 84, 89, 96, 112, 116  
 archaeology 14, 76, 142, 165–7  
 Ardea 50  
 Argaeus, Mount 125  
 Argan, Giulio Carlo 141  
 Argei 71  
 Argiletum 212  
 Ariminum (modern Rimini) 29  
 Aristides, Aelius 67, 104  
 Aristotle 62  
 Arno 136  
 Arnold, Dana 188  
 Arsilli, Francesco 31, 37  
*arx* 22, 82; *see also* Capitoline  
 Athena 26  
 Athens 57, 103  
 acropolis of 82  
 Olympeion at 103  
 Athos, Mount 91, 136, 151, 229  
 Atticus 68, 82  
 Augustine 108  
 Augustus 32, 75, 90, 107, 227  
 and the changing cityscape 9–10, 13, 17, 80,  
 82, 228, 235  
 and the *Res gestae* 132  
 and the seven hills of Rome 10, 13  
 and the temple of Apollo 41  
 arch of 179, 229  
 as a new founder 66, 80, 87  
 as god 98  
 as model 55, 77, 138, 164, 194  
 as Octavian 65  
 house of 32, 86, 193  
 Mons 91  
 Primaporta statue of 105  
 Aurelian 5  
 Aurelius, Marcus 157  
 Aventine 22, 34, 43, 78, 119, 227  
 and its etymology 71  
 and its Temple of Diana 41, 95, 208  
 and the *plebs* 10, 32  
 as outside the *pomerium* 23  
 in the frescoes of the Villa Giulia 159  
 in the modern period 232

- Aventinus 159  
 Avignon 35, 36
- Babylon 1, 12, 25, 62, 64  
 Baetica 193  
 Baiae 93, 191  
 Balzac de, Jean-Louis Guez 102  
 Basoli, Antonio 167  
 Bath 2  
 Bede, the Venerable 64  
 Benedict XII 35  
 Bentham, Jeremy 189  
 Bianchini, Francesco 179  
 Biondo, Flavio 34, 36, 37, 51, 230  
 Bond, Harold 226  
 Bordeaux 107  
 Borgia, Lucrezia 21  
 Boswell, James 211  
 Bracciolini, Poggio 48, 211–13  
 Bristol 2  
 Brocchi, Giovanni Battista 47  
 Brundisium 87  
 Brutus *see* Junius Brutus  
 Bufalini, Leonardo 43, 122, 179  
 Burkert, Walter 57  
 Buxton, Richard 23, 59  
 Byres, James 211  
 Byron 18
- Cacus 36, 162  
 Caelian 4, 22, 59, 71, 78, 91  
   and housing 31, 33  
   and the Genius Caelimontis 127  
   in Renaissance art 141, 162  
   in the modern period 136  
 Caelimontium 128  
 Cales 29  
 Caligula 91  
 Callimachus 100, 204  
 Calliope 100  
 Calpurnius Siculus 195  
 Calvo, Fabio 39  
 Cambridge 3  
 Campus  
   Esquilinus 23  
   Martius 9–10, 36, 66, 80, 95, 195, 231;  
   personified 8, 128  
 canon-formation 4, 230; *see also* seven  
 Canova, Antonio 142, 167  
 Capitoline 4, 22, 65, 78, 83, 89, 91, 96, 121,  
   196  
   and its *arx* 22, 32, 40, 68, 80, 153  
   and its etymology 4, 70, 157  
   and membership of Rome's 'seven hills'  
     canon 24  
   and the *asylum* 22, 212  
   and the *Capitolium* 22, 64  
   and the crowning of Petrarch as Poet  
     Laureate 35  
   and the Tabularium 172  
   and the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus  
     4, 15, 32, 36, 96, 155, 176, 197, 215–17  
   as metonymy of Rome 81, 183  
   as Monte Caprino 33, 158  
   as nucleus of Rome 10, 81  
   as restorative 102  
   as viewing platform 15, 31, 48–51, 55, 191,  
     207, 208  
   in sculpture 132  
   in the engravings of Luigi Rossini 172, 176,  
     182  
   in the frescoes of the Villa Giulia 153  
   in the modern period 167, 232
- Cappadocia 125  
 Capua 67  
 Caracalla, baths of 172  
 Carandini, Andrea 12, 59, 76  
 Carinae 71, 212  
 Carmental Gate 75, 88, 212  
 Carmentis 75, 88  
 carnival 209  
 Carthage 95, 228  
 Cassiodorus 116  
 Castel  
   Gandolfo 221  
   Sant' Angelo 205  
 Castiglione, Baldassare 39  
 Castor and Pollux 36, 91  
   statues of 159, 184  
 Catholicism 119  
 Catiline *see* Sergius Catilina  
 Catullus, Gaius Valerius 96  
 Censorinus 61  
 Ceres 130  
 Cermalus 24, 59, 72  
 Certeau, de Michel 81, 190, 205  
 Charles  
   III 204  
   V 39  
 Chigi 136, 151; *see also* Alexander VII  
 Cicero 13, 32, 35, 58, 61, 67, 82  
   and 'code-switching' 69  
   and his house 193  
   and Rome's seven hills 68  
 Cilicia 68  
 Circus Maximus 67, 76, 176, 181, 222

- Cispian spur 3, 22, 59, 71  
 Cithaeron, Mount 125  
 cities  
   and 'citiness' 3, 17  
   and city-limits 19, 25, 65  
   and fragmentation 5, 16, 86, 89, 197, 208, 214  
   and inter-urban visibility 193  
   and the concept of the 'collage city' 190  
   and the problems of definition 113, 231  
   artistic representations of conquered 122  
   replicas, or simulacra, of 122, 132  
   *see also* Rome, the city of  
 Clark, Eleanor 218  
 Claude Lorrain 133, 175  
 Claudian 14, 22, 98, 109–16, 126, 151, 214–22, 229  
 Claudius 23  
   Etruscus 99, 136, 146  
   Marcellus, Marcus 75  
 Cleopatra 65, 89, 119  
 Clodius Pulcher, Publius 32  
 Coarelli, Filippo 29  
 Cock, Hieronymus 155  
 Colchis 90  
 Collatia 83  
*colles* 22, 68, 71, 87, 115, 138  
 Collis Latiaris 24, 71  
 Collis Mucialis 24, 71  
 Collis Salutaris 24, 71  
 Colocci, Angelo 149  
 Colonna, Galeria 52  
 Colosseum  
   in Regent's Park, London 188, 195  
   in Rome 4–5, 64, 121, 141, 162, 169, 207, 227, 239  
 Commodus 103  
 Concordia 130  
 Constantine 14, 26, 27, 105, 196  
   arch of 162  
   colossal marble head of 155, 230  
 Constantinople 14, 25–7, 29, 105, 121, 134  
   seven hills of 233  
   tyche of 85  
 Constantius II 196–8, 222–4, 237  
 Corinna 125, 217  
 Corinth 82, 101, 131–3, 142  
 Cornelius Scipio Africanus, Publius 35, 49  
 Cornelius Scipio Asiagenes, Lucius 122  
 Corsi 155  
 Cortona da, Pietro 138  
 Corydon 195  
 Cosgrove, Denis 225  
 Cozens, John Robert 200  
*culmina* 96, 100, 108, 116  
 Curtius, Marcus 35  
 Cuthbert, Saint 1  
 Cybele 84, 111  
 Cynthia 90  
 Dacia 103  
 Daedalus 190  
 Deinocrates 138  
 Delphi 215  
 Demeter 205  
 Dey, Hendrik 6  
 Diana 87, 95  
 Dido 228  
 Diocletian 105  
   baths of 159  
 Diodorus Siculus 65  
 Dione 101  
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus 22, 58, 77, 237  
 Domitian 60, 74, 96–9, 103, 107, 111, 138  
   and his equestrian statue 98  
   and the Flavian palace on the Palatine 96, 136, 217  
   *as dominus et deus* 97, 98, 221  
 Donovan, Jeremiah 18–19  
 Dulichium 66  
 Durham 1–2, 3, 9, 12, 68, 119, 121, 233  
 Edinburgh 2, 136  
 Edwards, Catharine 16  
 Egypt 63, 64, 65, 227  
   and the Nile 89, 96, 235  
   and the pyramids 96  
 Einsiedeln Itinerary 33  
 ekphrasis 136, 166, 181, 218, 219  
 elegiac puella 98  
 Ennius 35, 58  
 Ephesus 62, 64, 117  
   Diana of 200  
 epic 100, 194, 205  
 Erციyes, Mount *see* Argaeus, Mount  
 Erechtheus 57  
 Esquiline 4, 22, 36, 66, 68, 71, 77  
   and housing 33, 208  
   and the antique fresco of *la città dipinta* 122, 190  
   and the frescoes of the Villa Giulia 146, 163  
   in the modern period 166, 232  
 Etna, Mount 35  
 Etruria 126, 228  
 Euboea 98  
 Eudoxia 184

- Eugenius, Flavius 110  
 EUR 232  
 Evander 8, 19, 31, 75, 80, 95, 125, 211, 216, 228
- Fagutal 24, 59  
 Fantham, Elaine 90  
 Farnese  
   Alessandro 177  
   gardens on the Palatine 194, 231  
   Palazzo 176  
 Fauno, Lucio 39  
 Faustina the Elder 128  
 Favro, Diane 13, 123, 236  
 Fea, Carlo 167  
 Fehling, Detlev 64  
 Ferri, Ciro 138, 163  
 Festus, Sextus Pompeius 72, 129, 179  
 Fidenae 83, 203  
 Fischer von Erlach, Johann Bernhard 93  
 Flaccus, Marcus Verrius 72  
 Fontana  
   Domenico 46  
   Prospero 144  
*Forma urbis Romae* 7–8, 43, 168, 179, 231  
 Forum 19, 22, 27, 33, 35, 71, 80, 98, 231  
   as Campo Vaccino 33, 173  
   as object of the gaze 191, 209  
   Boarium 71, 162, 211  
   in art 170  
   Pacis 197  
 fountains  
   in the frescoes of the Villa Giulia 163  
   of the sleeping nymph type 149  
   on the Via Flaminia 145  
   see also Peirene  
 France 119  
 Fulvio, Andrea 34, 36, 37, 48, 51, 70, 144, 165  
   *Illustrium imagines* 61  
 Furius, Camillus, Marcus 31, 69
- Gabii 83  
 Gamucci, Bernardo 39  
 Ganymede 151  
 gardens 66  
 Garnier, Robert 118, 139  
 Gaul 107  
   and the Gauls 65, 68, 188  
 Gaurus, mount 98  
 gaze  
   colonial 114, 204  
   dissecting 230  
   faltering 113, 172, 186, 218, 220  
   godlike 113, 190, 220–2, 231  
   imperial 214–19  
   miniaturizing 205  
   nostalgic 163  
   teichoscopic 194  
   tourist 19, 112  
   see also Jupiter  
 Gelsomino, Remo 12–13, 61, 69  
*genii loci* 18, 128  
 Genseric 184  
 geography see landscape  
 Germanicus see Julius Caesar Germanicus  
 Getae 115  
 Ghetto 18  
 giants 36, 218  
 Gibbon, Edward 48, 102, 103, 211–13  
 Giedion, Sigfried 46  
 Gildo 110, 113  
 Gilles, Pierre 27  
 Giovanni, di, Bartolomeo 52, 122  
 Goths 106  
 Gowers, Emily 116  
 Grand Tour 165, 214  
 Gregorius, Magister 188, 198  
 Gregory of Tours 110
- Hadrian 103–4, 132  
   villa of 165  
 Halicarnassus 64  
 Hamilton, Gavin 166  
 Hammer, Dean 220  
 Hannibal 95  
 Hare, Augustus 48  
 Harryhausen, Ray 94  
 Haselberger, Lothar 13, 66  
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel 50, 117, 142  
 Heemskerck van Maarten 155  
 Heiken, Grant 4, 16, 47  
 Helicon, Mount 100, 125, 217  
 Hellespont 93  
 Hephaestus 220  
 Hercules 36, 109, 128, 130, 162  
 Hertzfeld, Michael 236  
 Hesiod 100  
 Hesperides 203, 205  
 Hillard, George Stillman 122  
 hills  
   and foundation myths 81  
   and gardens 190, 231  
   and human intervention 91–4  
   as a-temporal 10, 17, 91, 164, 238  
   of ancient localities other than Rome 10



- hills (*cont.*)  
 of Rome: and geology 8, 16, 19, 227; and  
 problems of definition 22–3; competition  
 between 10, 151, 208, 227; identity of 230;  
 number of 3, 22, 121; viewing from 15,  
 31, 55, 66, 86, 190; *see also* seven hills and  
 landscape and tyranny
- Hobsbawm, Eric 58  
 Hoby, Thomas 39, 139  
 Holland, Louise Adams 60  
 Holy Trinity 84  
 Homer 104, 106, 107, 204  
 apotheosis of 133  
 Honorius 36, 98, 106, 108, 214–21  
 Horace 22, 35, 87, 96, 118  
 Hornor, Thomas 195  
 Horti Luculliani 195  
 Hostilius, Tullus 75, 78  
 hydra 22
- Icarus 190  
 Ida, Mount 111, 220  
 Incontri Internazionali d'Arte, Rome 135  
 Innocent VIII 149  
 Isis 97  
 Ithaca 66  
*iuga* 89, 96, 203, 217  
 Ivan III 27
- James, Henry 49, 117, 232  
 Janiculum 3, 36, 39, 95  
 and membership of the 'seven hills' canon  
 11, 24, 34, 229  
 and the Capitoline 212  
 in Renaissance and post-Renaissance  
 engravings 41  
 views from 15, 98, 191, 199–205, 225, 234
- Janus 95, 99, 212  
 Jerome 106  
 Jerusalem 1, 12, 25, 224  
 Judaism 63  
 Julius  
 II 46  
 III 142–64, 175, 231, 238  
 Julius Caesar 65, 89, 100, 119, 188, 198, 218  
 and his forum 86  
 and his villa 191  
 and urban Rome 97  
 Julius Caesar Germanicus 122  
 Junius Brutus, Marcus 119  
 Juno 95  
 Jupiter 90, 95, 110  
 images of 32, 82, 127, 152, 158  
 the gaze of 15, 82, 113, 126, 191  
 Viminius 71, 159
- Juvenal 94
- Kampala 3, 12, 28  
 kings of Rome 57, 62  
 Kostof, Spiro 25  
 Krautheimer, Richard 33
- Labeo, Marcus Antistius 72  
 Laelius, Gaius 35  
 landscape 17, 24, 75, 81, 119, 225, 237  
 and tyranny 91–4, 123, 138
- Laniciani, Rodolfo 48, 55  
 Lanza, Mario 19  
 Laocoon 149, 167, 230  
 Larmour, David 186  
 Latium 83, 99, 136  
 Lazio, the football club 21  
 Lego miniland 132  
 Libya 103  
 Ligorio, Pirro 6  
 Livineius Regulus, Lucius 129  
 Livy 35, 47, 58, 65, 68, 78, 155, 237  
 London 188, 195  
 Loschi, Antonio 49, 122  
 Lucan 100, 113, 118, 126, 191, 198, 216  
 Lucullus, Lucius Licinius 49, 195  
 Lumsden, Andrew 47  
 Lupa Romana 26, 57, 109, 200  
 as enduring icon of Rome 136, 227  
 in Etruscan and Roman art 125, 126, 130  
 in the frescoes of the Villa Giulia 159
- luxuria* 195  
 Lydia 125  
 Lynch, Kevin 49
- Macrinus *see* Opellius Macrinus, Marcus  
 Maecenas 87  
 tower of 194  
 malaria 31, 133  
 Mantegna, Andrea 51, 168  
 maps  
 and mapping the city of Rome 4, 204, 232  
 geological 47  
 ichnographic 43  
*see also Forma urbis Romae*
- Marble Plan *see* Forma urbis Romae  
 Marcellus *see* Claudius Marcellus, Marcus  
 theatre of 86  
 Marcius, Ancus 24, 75, 78, 111  
 Marius, Gaius 65, 89, 191  
 trophies of 175

- Marliani, Giovanni Bartolomeo 39, 43  
 Mars 95, 97, 109, 125  
   images of 152  
 Martial 22, 66, 96, 108, 208  
   and Rome's seven hills 19, 48, 113, 136  
   and the Janiculum 199–205, 234  
   and the seven wonders of the ancient world  
     64, 162  
   and the Temple of Minerva 179  
 Martialis, Lucius Julius 205  
 masculinity, performance of 228  
 Mausoleum  
   of Augustus 66  
   of Honorius 116  
 Maxentius 105  
   basilica of 155  
 Maximian 221  
 McGowan, Margaret 236  
 Medea 90  
 Mellor, Ronald 86  
 Mengs, Raphael 166  
 Mercury 152  
 Messalina 195  
 Metellus, Lucius Caecilius 49  
 Michelangelo, di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni  
   49, 50, 153, 165  
 Milan 111, 221  
 Minerva 109  
   Temple of 179  
*Mirabilia urbis Romae* 33  
 Mirri, Ludovico 166  
 missionaries, Jesuit 28  
 Molorchus 203  
 Mommsen, Theodor 24  
 Montaigne, Michel de 49, 165  
 Monte  
   Mario 3, 195, 198  
   Savello 3  
   Testaccio 3  
 Montecitorio 3, 39  
 Monte de  
   Giovanni Maria *see* Julius III  
   Innocenzo 151  
*montes* 68, 88, 108, 112, 138, 228  
   and *montani* 60, 72, 73  
   and obelisks 222  
   and *pagi* 73  
   and Rome's sewers 116  
   and the *dei montenses* 129  
   as distinct from other words for Rome's hills  
     22, 96  
   as the subject of scholarly inquiry 123  
   *saepiti* 60  
 Monti 236  
 Morison, Colin 211  
 Morley, West Yorkshire 17  
 Moscow 27, 119, 134  
 mountains 23  
 Mulcahy, Vincent 136, 142  
 Murray, John 207  
 Muses 100, 125  
 Mussolini, Benito 22, 32, 167  
   and Rome's seven hills 52, 98, 232  
   and the Mostra Augustea della Romanità  
     55  
 mustard 234  
 Mycenae 57  
 Myron 166  
 Naldini, Giovanni Battista 141, 170, 181  
 Naples 34, 191  
 Napoleon 142, 167, 232  
 Nardini, Famiano 47  
 Nemausus 30  
 Neptune 152  
 Nero 5, 98, 100, 191, 196  
   and Christian persecution 51  
   and the cityscape of Rome 97, 229  
   and the Domus Aurea 91, 146, 166, 213  
   and the fire of Rome 22, 194  
 Nerva 103  
 New York 190  
 Nicholas V 43  
 Nicolás de Azara, Don José 166  
 Nile *see* Egypt  
 Nîmes 3, 30, 233  
 Noah 34  
 Nolli, Giambattista 47, 135, 175  
 Nomentum 83  
 nostalgia 107  
 Numa 75, 78, 164, 216  
 nymphs 99  
 obelisks 67, 97, 222  
 Odysseus 86, 108, 204  
 Olybrius 109, 151  
 Olympia 64, 82  
   and the cult status of Zeus 61  
 Olympus 75, 86, 97, 113, 220  
 Opellius Macrinus, Marcus 105  
 Oppian spur 3, 22, 59, 71  
   and its etymology 72  
 ὄρος 22  
 Orpheus 100  
 Ossa, Mount 97  
 Ostia 41, 107, 193

- Ostrogoths 32  
 Ovid 22, 66, 86, 88, 94, 112, 125, 162  
 Oxyrhynchus 77
- Pacatus 114  
 Paganalia 72  
 Palatine 22, 31, 35, 72, 88, 95, 105, 112, 121, 211  
   and Augustus 193  
   and competition with the Capitoline 81  
   and Cybele 84  
   and pride 119  
   and Romulean Rome 76  
   and the Temple of Apollo Palatinus 41, 90, 169  
   as restorative 102  
   as viewing platform 19, 215–19, 227  
   Caligula's plans for the 91  
   etymology of the 72, 102  
   in nineteenth-century engraving 168, 176, 181  
   in Renaissance art 51, 141, 159  
   in Roman painting 124  
   in the modern period 136, 166  
   personified 126
- Palatium 59  
 Palazzo  
   degli Uffici 232  
   dei Conservatori 157  
   Senatorio 35, 155, 172
- Palermo 209  
 Palladion 26, 99  
 Palmer, Samuel 49, 102, 205, 209–11  
 Panopticon 189  
 panoramic or bird's-eye perspective 15, 40, 172, 173, 188–224, 231
- Pantheon 66, 188, 197  
 Panvinio, Onofrio 176  
 Parioli, Monti 3, 142, 195  
 Paris 167  
   Musée du Louvre 49, 51  
   Seine 49
- Parthia 103, 122, 172, 227  
 Paul, the Deacon 73  
 Paulinus of Pella 13, 106  
 Pausanias 103, 179  
 Peirene, fountain of 101  
 Peleus 52  
 Pelion 97  
 Pella 106  
 Pergamum 133  
 personifications  
   of hills 125–8, 138  
   of the provinces 112  
   *see also* Campus, Martius; Palatine; Tiber
- Petrarch 34, 58, 70, 102, 159, 165, 227, 231, 235, 238  
   *Africa* 35
- Pheidias 36  
 Philo 62–3  
 Philotheus 28  
 Phocas, column of 170  
 Phrygia 84, 111  
 Piazza  
   del Campidoglio 153  
   del Popolo 185, 195, 209  
   Venezia 211
- Pierre, DBC 1  
 Pincian hill 21, 135, 142  
   as viewing platform 15, 191, 209  
   in engravings 185  
   or 'hill of gardens' 37, 149, 195
- Pindar 217  
 Pinelli, Bartolomeo 167, 231  
 Pio da Carpi, Cardinal 149  
 Piranesi, Giovanni Battista 51, 122, 167, 170  
 Pisidian Antioch 29
- Pius  
   IV 144  
   VII 172
- Plaidy, Jean 21  
 Plato 59, 64, 70  
*plebs*, of Rome 10, 24
- Pliny  
   the Elder 8, 19, 30, 40, 61, 76, 179  
   the Younger 190, 193, 199
- Plutarch 74, 92  
*pomerium* 6, 23, 77
- Pompeii 65  
   and the House of Marcus Fabius Secundus 125
- Pompey 65, 100, 191  
   theatre of 197
- Pons Sublicius 24  
 Ponte Milvio 203, 219  
 Pontifex Maximus 163  
 Porcia 118  
 Porta della, Giacomo 155  
 Portico of Livia 80  
 Poussin 121, 124, 133  
 Praeneste 203  
 Pratt, Mary Louise 214  
 Praxiteles 36, 223  
 prisons, design of 189  
 Probinus 109, 151  
 Propertius 81, 98, 153

- and Rome's seven hills 22, 88–91, 111  
 influence of 165, 209  
 Prudentius, Aurelius Clemens 116  
 Psalms 138  
 Pskov 28  
 Puteoli 93  
*putti* 152  
 Pythagoras 62
- Quinquimontium 60, 76  
 Quirinal 22, 29, 36, 68, 71, 78, 95, 138, 149  
 and membership of the 'seven hills' canon  
 11, 34, 77  
 as Monte Cavallo 159  
 in the engravings of Luigi Rossini 173, 182  
 in the frescoes of the Villa Giulia 159  
 Quirinus 95
- Raphael 41  
 Ravenna 36, 106, 111, 215  
 Rea, Jennifer 81  
 Réboul, Jean 30  
 Regia 216  
 Remus *see also* Lupa Romana 23, 58, 227  
 Revelation, Book of 25  
 Rhea Silvia 97, 125  
 Rhodes 64, 104  
 roads, construction of 8, 98  
 Roberts, John Maddox 21  
 Rogers, Samuel 214  
 Roma, A. S., the football club 21  
*Roma Interrotta* 135, 141  
 Roma Quadrata 76  
 Roma, the goddess 84, 109, 129, 219  
 and *militia amoris* 115  
 and the seven hills 111, 129–33, 221  
 in art 99, 193  
 in bad health 14, 110  
 Romanis de, Antonio 167  
 Romano, Giulio 199  
 Rome, Georgia 233  
 Rome, pre and proto-urban 10  
 Rome, the city of  
 and Christianity 17, 33, 51, 105, 116, 163,  
 235  
 and civil war 65, 99, 100, 119, 227  
 and decay 121, 141, 184, 191  
 and its gates 33, 36  
 and raised ground levels 10, 50, 51  
 and Roman identity 228  
 and Roman settlements 8, 28–31  
 and the papacy 18, 35, 36  
 and the provinces 112  
 and topography 17  
 as a commodity 57  
 as capital of Empire 66  
 as *caput mundi* 97, 108, 132  
 as *città aperta* 67  
 as cosmopolis 96, 229  
 as distinct from Rome as Empire 67, 86, 104  
 as eternal city 6, 14, 17, 18, 94, 116, 123, 235  
 as Hellenistic city 66, 80  
 as imaginary city 14, 17, 18, 21, 106, 134,  
 141, 227  
 as model city 25, 119  
 as museum 18  
 as notional capital 105  
 as palimpsest 12, 163, 186  
 as tourist attraction 15, 17, 18, 55, 112, 132,  
 231  
 as *urbs* 66, 77  
 fall of 17  
 fetishized 115  
 foundation of 68, 227  
 personified 8, 10  
 regionary catalogues of 10, 33, 118, 198  
 regions of 9, 13, 41, 66, 81, 197, 225, 229  
 sack of 39, 68, 106, 116  
 size of 6, 81  
 written 16, 48, 119, 230
- Romulus 4, 19, 31, 40, 66, 218  
 and his hut 79, 81  
 and Rome's hills 37, 75–8, 227  
 in competition with Aeneas 57  
*see also* Lupa Romana
- Rossini, Luigi 165, 167–85, 208, 231  
 Rowe, Colin 136, 142  
 Rubicon 199, 219  
 ruins 19, 37, 39, 89, 121, 195, 231  
 Rullus, Servilius Publius 67  
 Rutilius Namatianus, Claudius 107, 181
- Sabines 52, 57, 70, 78, 111, 135, 153, 228  
 Sachs, Jon 236  
 Saint Paul's Cathedral, London 188  
 Saint Peter's 37, 195, 205  
 Old 10, 33, 116  
 Samnites 32  
 Samos 66  
 San  
 Saba 231  
 Teodoro 162  
 Santa  
 Francesca 173  
 Maria dei Miracoli 211  
 Maria della Pace 138

- Santa (*cont.*)  
 Maria del Popolo 211  
 Maria in Aracoeli 155, 169  
 Maria in Montesanto 211  
 Maria Maggiore 48  
 Maria Nuova 173  
 Sabina 162
- Santi Luca e Martina
- Santo Stefano Rotondo 51, 162
- Sarapis 97
- Sardis 125
- Saturn 71  
 and Saturnia 212  
 Temple of 170, 213
- Saxa Rubra 105
- Scipio Africanus *see* Cornelius Scipio Africanus, Publius
- Seattle 3, 234
- Sebastian, Saint 51
- Second Sophistic 106
- Secular Games 87, 98
- senatorial competition 106
- Selene, the moon goddess 91
- Seneca 118, 191
- Senio and Aschio 28
- septemgeminus* 96
- septemviri* 62
- septicollis* 21
- Septimius Severus 104  
 arch of (in the Roman Forum) 122, 170, 179, 209
- Septimontium 12, 24, 29, 47, 59–74, 228  
 the festival of the 60, 72–3, 98
- Septizodium 162
- Sergius Catilina, Lucius 65
- Sertorius, Quintus 65
- Servius, the grammarian 74
- Servius Tullius 10, 21, 40, 76, 77, 107, 150  
 and the four regions 71, 77  
 and Rome's seven hills 9, 57, 66, 77, 79, 228
- Setia 203
- seven  
 and modern psychology 63  
 and the *septem iugera* 62  
 and the *septem pagi* 62  
 Cyclopes 62  
 deadly sins 62  
 gates of Thebes *see* Thebes  
 hills *see* seven hills  
 muses 62  
 number, the 57, 61–3, 87; and  
 Pythagoreanism 62  
 pilgrim churches 46, 62
- Pleiads 62
- sages 62, 64
- sleepers of Ephesus 62, 117
- Titans 62
- wonders of the ancient world 64, 164, 229
- seven hills  
 and modern colonialism 28  
 and Rome's colonies 28, 59, 133  
 of Rome 3–4, 9, 24, 27; abandoned 32, 46;  
 and abstraction 136; and health 31, 46, 68,  
 102; and imperial power 91, 97, 113–14,  
 230; and poetic inspiration 99–102, 230;  
 and the early kings 57, 78–9; and the  
 evidence for an earlier canon 24, 60, 74;  
 and the paradox of divisible indivisibility  
 84; and urban integrity 89, 175, 228; as  
 abodes of the gods 31, 59, 102; as a means  
 of urban definition 4, 17, 25–8, 45, 66, 80,  
 82, 88; as a way of seeing 15, 39, 185, 226,  
 231; as baubles 115; as concept and cliché  
 8, 12, 19, 24, 96, 97, 187, 234; as defence  
 230; as underwhelming 49–51; expressed  
 as a mnemonic 21; in art 8, 14, 99, 120,  
 122–86, 230; invention of 58, 70; on  
 coinage 129, 142  
 other cities with 2–3, 25, 27, 28, 30, 233–4
- Sèvres 167
- sewers 116
- Sharp, Samuel 51
- Sheffield 2, 28
- Sibyl 88, 110  
 and the Sibylline books 98  
 of Cumae 98
- Siena 3, 28, 138, 233
- Silius Italicus 95
- Sixtus  
 IV 43, 138  
 V 46, 48, 98, 138, 232
- Social War 65
- Sol 87
- Solinus, Gaius Iulius 43
- souvenirs 123, 132
- Spain 65; *see also* Baetica
- Spencer, Diana 186
- SPQR 136
- Staël de, Madame 55, 117, 232
- Statius 107, 118, 146, 217, 237  
 and Rome's seven hills 13, 96, 99–101, 129  
 and the *Thebaid* 100
- Stendhal 121
- Stilicho, Flavius S. 108–16, 126, 218
- Stolberg, Friedrich Leopold 214
- Strabo 30, 58, 66, 80, 237

- Subura 59, 71  
 Suetonius 60, 91, 151  
 Sulla 23, 65, 89  
 Syphax 35
- Tacitus 110  
 Tarpeia 70, 89, 90, 218  
   in the frescoes of the Villa Giulia 153, 161  
 Tarpeian Rock 23, 35, 51, 70, 89, 95, 110, 155,  
   191, 212–15  
 Tarpin, Michel 73  
 Tarquinius Priscus 98, 155  
   and the Tarquins 75  
 Tattius, Titus 78, 155  
 Temple  
   of Antoninus Pius and Faustina 216  
   of Castor and Pollux 91  
   of Venus and Rome 132, 197  
   of Vesta 86  
 tetrarchs 10  
   and the tetrarchy 105  
 Thebes 62, 64, 229  
 Theoderic 32, 116  
 Theodosius  
   I 108, 114, 214  
   II 27  
 Theodulf of Orléans 30  
 Theophrastus 62  
 Themis 80  
 Thetis 52  
 Thomas, Richard 87  
 Tiber 13, 18, 33, 35, 49, 62, 69, 71, 80, 183, 203,  
   219, 235  
   and flooding 31, 110  
   personification of 8, 130  
   visual representations of 8, 41, 185  
 Tiberius 91, 98  
 Tibullus 22, 81, 88  
 Titus (Titus Flavius Vespasianus) 99, 224  
   arch of 224  
 Tmolus, Mount 125, 129  
 toga 28  
 Tolentino  
   treaty of 167  
 Tolfa Mountains 136  
 topography, as simulacrum 43  
 Torquay 2  
 Townley, Charles 166  
 tradition 64  
   invention of 58  
 tragedy, Greek 227  
 Trajan 103  
   and Trajan's column 190, 219  
   and Trajan's forum 197, 222  
   and Trajan's markets 135  
 Trastevere 33  
 Trimontium 60, 76, 146  
 triumphal processions 2, 122, 224  
 Troy 26, 96, 213  
   and the Trojans 84, 220  
   sack of 194, 228  
 tufa 19  
 Turner, J. M. William 124, 175  
 tyche  
   of Antioch 129  
   of Constantinople 85  
 Tyrrhenian sea 233
- Uganda 28  
 Uppsala 164  
 urbanism 76  
 Urbino 143  
 Ustinov, Peter 94, 138
- Valadier, Giuseppe 185, 209  
 Valenciennes de, Pierre-Henri 93  
 Valens 105  
 Valentinian  
   I 105  
   III 184  
 Vance, William 205  
 Vandals 184  
 Varro 12–13, 22, 24, 29, 129, 158  
   and the seven hills 58–75, 228  
   *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et*  
   *divinarum* 61  
   *Hebdomades* 61  
   influence of 14, 123, 165, 179, 230  
   *Tubero de origine humana* 61  
 Vasari, Giorgio 144  
 Vasi, Giuseppe 204  
 Vatican 211, 231  
   Belvedere courtyard of 144  
   hill 11, 39, 41, 118, 150, 185, 229  
   Museo Clementino 165  
   see also Saint Peter's  
 Veii 50, 62, 91, 111  
 Velabrum 71  
 Velia 22, 24, 59, 72, 78, 238  
 Velleius Paterculus 89  
 Venice 10, 183, 231, 235  
   and the Veneto 134  
 Venus 228  
 Vespasian 76, 224  
   and coinage 129, 142  
   and the re-foundation of Rome 99

- Vesta 130  
 Vestal virgins 71; *see also* Tarpeia  
   house of 216  
 Via  
   Appia 105  
   dei Fori Imperiali 22  
   Flaminia 144, 203  
   Salaria 203  
*vici* 28  
 Victoria, Queen 21  
 Victoria, Roman goddess 32, 99, 130, 211,  
   224  
 Vicus Tuscus 71  
 Vigenère de, Blaise 141  
 Villa  
   Borghese 195  
   Giulia 142–64, 195, 231; representations of  
     152, 163  
   Lante 199, 231  
   Madama 195  
   Medici 135, 195  
   Palombara 166  
   Peretti 166  
 villas 193  
 Viminal 22, 29, 34, 77, 208  
   and etymology 36, 71  
   and membership of Rome's 'seven hills'  
     canon 11, 41, 79  
   in the engravings of Luigi Rossini 182  
   in the frescoes of the Villa Giulia 158  
 Vipsanius Agrippa, Marcus 99  
 Virgil 14, 34, 58, 81, 96, 162, 216, 237  
   and Rome's seven hills 22, 74, 75, 83–7, 109,  
     229  
   influence of 49, 107, 111, 122, 165, 211  
 Vitalis, Janus 208  
 Vitruvius 40, 82  
 Voragine de, Jacobus 117  
 walls of Rome 35, 38, 47, 65, 67, 70, 88, 95,  
   111, 199  
   Aurelianic 6–7, 21, 33, 105, 115, 144  
   'Servian' 6, 21–2, 66  
 Ward-Perkins, Bryan 33  
 water, control of 8  
 Wells, H. G. 211  
 Winckelmann, Johann Joachim 166, 175  
 Wittel van, Gaspar 133  
 World  
   Exhibition 232  
   Trade Centre 190  
 Xenophon 106  
 Xerxes 93, 219  
 Zanker, Paul 13  
 Zeus 220  
 Zola, Émile 195  
 Zosimus 27  
 Zuccaro, Taddeo 143