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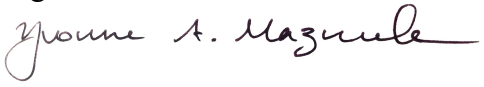
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NARRATING 'MINOR' ITALIAN HERITAGE. PREMISES FOR A CITY MUSEUM AT ORTE (VITERBO)

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ABSTRACT

Dissertation Supervisor: Prof. Maria Ida Catalano

NARRATING 'MINOR' ITALIAN HERITAGE. PREMISES FOR A CITY MUSEUM AT ORTE (VITERBO)

This research focuses on ways city museums can enhance 'minor' heritage by reinterpreting overlooked cultural assets to make local history more relevant to diverse audiences. At its outset, the study problematizes a narrative convention which type-casts Italian centers as vestiges of an indeterminate medieval past set against a bucolic backdrop. This *cliché* denies communities the possibility of forging plural identities and discourages their members from engaging with the recent past, let alone their present and future. Orte (Viterbo), located on the Tiber 80 km upstream of Rome, serves as a case study to demonstrate that this 'minor' town is more than an anonymous satellite of the nation's capital.

The dissertation is divided into five parts. It opens with an analysis of two short films that feature Orte, *Le mura di Sana* (1971) and *pasolini e… "la forma della città"* (1974). Herein, Pier Paolo Pasolini defends Italy's vernacular heritage and cultural landscapes from post-war economic development, raising this center in northern Lazio to the status of an archetype. The second chapter draws on local museum collections, archives, and artifacts to reveal Orte's historic role as a river port and transportation hub. New protagonists shed light on the city's relationship with its bridge – a structure that still dominates the municipal crest – and help reconstruct over nine centuries of local history. The third chapter explores the achievements, failures, and transformations of safeguarding strategies since 1900, beginning with the efforts of the local scholar Giocondo Pasquinangeli to found Orte's first museum. The combined efforts of an extraordinary team of Italian government officials, led by Luisa Mortari, finally led to the inauguration of the Diocesan Museum in 1967. This event attracted the attention of Max Hutzel, an understudied photographer who documented Italy's 'minor' heritage for decades, capturing exceptional photos of Orte's art, monuments, and landscape. Conservation and enhancement strategies from the mid-20th century have grown obsolete and local collections now struggle to engage visitors or to convey a sense of place. Hence, the fourth chapter explores Andrea Emiliani's ideal model of a city museum, a project that resonates with Pasolini's holistic vision of urban conservation. It then describes best practices from four museums surveyed during recent ICOM-CAMOC conferences. The concluding chapter expounds premises for a future city museum at Orte through a network of "rooms," located in both the center and periphery, exhibiting local heritage to link the city's past with its present. These proposals serve as a point of departure for future dialogue, new research, and an interdisciplinary approach to building a community-based museum. Overall, this study offers methods of inquiry and museum practice applicable to other small towns and cultural contexts.

Keywords: city museums, minor heritage, Orte (Viterbo), Pier Paolo Pasolini, urban conservation, bridge, Lando Leoncini, Giocondo Pasquinangeli, Luisa Mortari, Max Hutzel

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NARRARE UN CENTRO 'MINORE' ITALIANO. PRESUPPOSTI PER UN MUSEO DELLA CITTÀ DI ORTE

Questa ricerca prende in considerazione il modello dei musei della città per esplorare nuove strategie di valorizzazione del patrimonio 'minore,' per reinterpretare i beni culturali più trascurati e per trasmettere la storia locale in modo da includere un pubblico allargato. In apertura lo studio affronta il problema di una convenzione narrativa che dipinge i centri italiani unicamente come vestigia di un passato medievale, di un tempo indefinito, messo in scena su uno sfondo bucolico. Questo *cliché* nega alle comunità la possibilità di forgiare identità più complesse e scoraggia i loro membri dal prendere atto del proprio passato più recente, per non parlare del presente e del futuro. Orte (Viterbo), situata sul Tevere a 80 km a monte di Roma, serve come caso di studio per dimostrare che le città "minori" sono più di anonimi satelliti della capitale.

La tesi è divisa in cinque parti. Si apre con l'analisi di due cortometraggi che hanno come protagonista Orte, *Le mura di Sana* (1971) e *pasolini e... "la forma della città"* (1974). Qui Pier Paolo Pasolini difende il patrimonio vernacolare e i paesaggi culturali italiani dallo sviluppo economico del dopoguerra, elevando questa cittadina altolaziale ad archetipo. Il secondo capitolo utilizza collezioni museali, archivi e manufatti locali per rivelare il ruolo storico di Orte come porto fluviale e nodo di trasporto. Nuovi protagonisti fanno luce sul rapporto tra la città e il suo ponte - una struttura che ancora oggi domina lo stemma comunale – e aiutano a ricostruire gli oltre nove secoli di storia locale. Il terzo capitolo esplora i risultati, i fallimenti e le trasformazioni delle strategie di tutela del XX secolo, a partire dagli sforzi per fondare il primo museo di Orte dello studioso locale Giocondo Pasquinangeli. L'azione congiunta di uno straordinario gruppo di funzionari ministeriali, guidati da Luisa Mortari, ha portato infine all'inaugurazione del Museo Diocesano nel 1967. Questo evento ha attirato l'attenzione di Max Hutzel, un fotografo poco studiato che ha documentato il patrimonio "minore" dell'Italia per decenni, catturando rare foto dell'arte, dei monumenti e del paesaggio di Orte. Le strategie di conservazione e valorizzazione della metà del XX secolo sono ormai diventate obsolete e le collezioni locali oggi faticano a coinvolgere i visitatori o a trasmettere il senso del luogo. Il quarto capitolo esplora quindi il modello ideale di museo della città di Andrea Emiliani, un progetto che risuona della visione olistica della conservazione urbana di Pasolini. Descrive poi le buone pratiche di quattro musei visitati in occasione delle recenti conferenze ICOM-CAMOC. Il capitolo conclusivo espone le premesse per un futuro museo della città di Orte attraverso una rete di "stanze," situate sia nel centro che nella periferia. Si tratta di luoghi che espongono il patrimonio locale e collegano il passato di Orte con il presente. Queste proposte vogliono stimolare dialoghi, ricerche e approcci interdisciplinari che sappiano portare alla costruzione di un museo comunitario. Nel complesso, questo studio offre metodi di indagine e pratiche museali applicabili ad altre piccole città e contesti culturali.

Parole chiave: musei della città, patrimonio minore, Orte (Viterbo), Pier Paolo Pasolini, conservazione urbana, ponte, Lando Leoncini, Giocondo Pasquinangeli, Luisa Mortari, Max Hutzel

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In memory of Franco Adamo, restorer
(Lecce, 1955-Vetralla, 2022)

In the words of Amadou Hampâté Bâ... *c'est une bibliothèque qui brûle*.

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Table

Table IV 1. A selection of Italian museums dedicated to a given city

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A1	Autostrada del Sole
ACI	Automobile Club d'Italia
ACS-Rome	Archivio Centrale di Stato – Roma (Central State Archives – Rome)
ASCO	Archivio Storico Comunale di Orte (Municipal Historical Archives of Orte)
ASDO	Archivio Storico della Diocesi di Civita Castellana - Nepi (VT), Sede distaccata di Orte (Historical Archive of the Diocese of Civita Castellana - Nepi (VT), Orte Branch)
BHR	Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom
DAI	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom
GFN	Gabinetto Nazionale Fotografico
GRI	Getty Research Institute
ICCD	Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione (Central Institute for Cataloguing and Documentation)
MPI	Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione
MZD	Münchener Digitalisierungs Zentrum
TCI	Touring Club Italia

Introduction



Fig. Intro-1. Signage announcing Orte's railway station.[1]

For most Italians, as for international travelers, Orte is known primarily for being a railway station and a toll booth on the A1 national highway, the *Autostrada del Sole* (Fig. 1).[2] On the other hand, tourist materials – guide books, brochures, websites, the local tourist information point (known as the *pro loco*) – convey a stereotypical image of the town similar to that regarding any other town in northern Lazio: a medieval center grafted into a bucolic landscape dotted with Etruscan ruins.[3] Both dimensions deny the site's unique identity and disempower inhabitants from cultivating a true sense of belonging. Moreover, Orte's narrative and its promotion have long been delegated to ecclesiastical voices which, in turn, curb local interest in history and transmit a sense of history that is out of date and risks feeling irrelevant to today's audiences.

The following study grapples with stereotypes which type-cast this small town to reveal underlying questions about local identity while drawing from the 'highbrow' and 'lowbrow'

The citations in this study follow bibliographic standards established in the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 17th edition. For the annotation of dates, however, it applies recommendations of the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), which call for an entirely numerical style according to the year-month-day scheme, in which the year is given in full, while the month or day, if single-digit, is preceded by a zero: YYYY/MM/DD.

[1] Unless otherwise indicated, most photographs in this text were taken by the author Yvonne A. Mazurek.

[2] At the conclusion of this research project, the Italian motorway authority announced "Wonders. Scopri l'Italia delle meraviglie," a new initiative that corresponds with reflections developed in the following pages. Autostrade per l'Italia envisages the creation of a "*piattaforma multicanale che raccoglie i contributi di partner di primaria importanza come la Commissione nazionale italiana per l'Unesco, Touring Club Italiano, WWF e Slow Food Italia, gli Enti territoriali e gli stessi viaggiatori*." *Cf.* "Autostrade per l'Italia, al via 'Wonders. Scopri l'Italia delle meraviglie,'" *AgenziaCult* (blog), 2022/05/05, https://www.agenziacult.it/cultura/autostrade-per-litalia-al-via-wonders-scopri-litalia-delle-meraviglie/.

[3] Italian Touring Club. *Lazio*. Vol. 14. T.C.I. Guide to Italy (Milan: L'espresso - Divisione la Repubblica, 2005): 326-327; "Orte, cuore medievale," *Tuscia Turismo* (blog), April 23, 2020, https://www.tusciaturismo.com/comuni/orte/; "Comune di Orte - Vivere Orte - Manifestazioni - Revocazione Storica della Processione del Cristo Morto," consultato 2022/06/08, http://www.comune.orte.vt.it/Home/Guida-al-paese?IDPagina=19130.

cultures that have forged its history.[4] Afterall, Orte is not one of the "borghi più belli d'Italia" (*i.e.* one of Italy's most beautiful hamlets), [5] nor an *area interna*, or small and isolated municipality in need of revitalization,[6] but a multifaceted town which is conditioned by the advantages and disadvantages of its strategic position, dominating the Tiber 80 kilometers upstream from Rome. This research identifies old and new 'voices' – listening to those handed down by history and others which had been forgotten and ignored, but whose testimonies can be heard through art-historical, archival, literary, and archaeological evidence – to reconstruct the complex relationship between this *laziale* center and the capital, intent on understanding the transition from medieval town to post-rural society. This study seeks to establish a dialectical relationship with local institutions and attempts to update Orte's 'image' in light of new research. It also suggests new, critical, and experiential strategies in light of the social change Andrea Emiliani observed as early as 1979:

> *E non v'è dubbio che, nel quadro degli squilibri territoriali italiani e nella dolente narrazione che ne deve essere fatta, il metodo di lettura delle sopravvivenze (e dunque della storia dei luoghi) non possa se non transitare subito alla più concreta delle testimonianze superstiti, che è quella fornita dal lavoro dell'uomo e delle comunità, […] lo innerva nelle locali peculiarità e insomma lo definisce all'interno di quello spessore così di spazio che di tempo che ogni moderna conoscenza medita, necessariamente, di affrontare. È appena il caso di dire che i materiali della storia dell'arte rivestono il ruolo principale fra le emergenze superstiti, imponendo anzi una verisimile itinerarietà storica e artistica come metodo privilegiato del riconoscimento.*[7]
>
> And there is no doubt that, in the framework of the Italian territorial imbalances and in the painful narrative that must be construed, the method of reading evidence (and hence a place's history) cannot but immediately transit to the most concrete surviving witnesses of men, communities, and their work [; ...] it innervates local peculiarities and, in short, imbues both space and time with the depth that all modern research must, necessarily, meditate. Art historical materials, to say the

[4] *Cf.* Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988). https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvk12qt9; Jim Brown, "The Role of Folk Consciousness in the Modern State: Its Efficacy, Use and Abuse." *Storytelling, Self, Society* 6, no. 1 (2010): 39-57. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41949039.

[5] "Borghi," *I borghi più belli d'Italia* (blog), 2016/28/11, https://borghipiubelliditalia.it/borghi/. Cfr. Ludovica Galeazzo, "Museums of the City in Small Centres. The Case of Montepulciano," in *Built City, Designed City, Virtual City: The Museum of the City*, ed. Donatella Calabi, Roma Tre (Roma: Croma - Università degli studi Roma Tre, 2013): 79-92.

[6] Raffaella Calandra, "L'Italia dei paesi fantasma: dalla Sicilia al Piemonte i borghi restano senza abitanti," *Il Sole 24 ORE*, 2019/03/09, https://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/l-italia-paesi-fantasma-sicilia-piemonte-borghi-restano-senza-abitanti-AB9h3raB.

[7] Andrea Emiliani, "I materiali e le istituzioni," in *Storia dell'arte italiana. Questioni e metodi*, vol. I (Torino: Einaudi, 1979): 135.

> least, play a principal role when handling such findings and impose verisimilar historical and artistic itineraries as privileged modalities of reconnaissance.

First and foremost, this study attempts to emphasize this "painful narrative" and link themes, voices, and objects to new museum strategies capable of telling an alternative history of Orte.

This is not the first attempt to renew local museum collections. This small town is home to two important collections, namely that of the Museum of Sacred Art and the archaeological collection of the former Civic Museum: both object of four embryonic museum proposals in the last twenty years.[8] The first two proposals were conceived by early-career art historians in 2000-2001. During the *XII e XIII Giornate di Studio per la Storia della Tuscia*,[9] Palazzo Novelli, a building located near the cathedral, was identified as a potential site in which to host both the archaeological and diocesan collections in a single museum; these merged collections would thus form a city museum "capable of documenting the two thousand years of Orte's history with an incredible ideal path that from ancient archaeology is guaranteed up to neoclassicism."[10] In the same period, as part of a training for the *Scuola di Specializzazione*, another study underscored the importance of new research and documentation activities at Orte, through the creation of IT platforms (a website and a database) in which converge data and historical-artistic itineraries linking the Museum of Sacred Art with the outlying territory.[11] Ten years later, local archaeologists tried to reconfigure the former Civic Museum's storage system and collection; numerous artifacts were thus relocated to the ground floor of Palazzo Nuzzi without, however, defining an exhibition plan or museum mission.[12] Last year, an undergraduate thesis explored the town's touristic potential and suggested the creation of a

[8] The Museo Diffuso delle Confraternita Riunite di Orte constitutes the city's third museum, but due to its emphasis on intangible heritage (*i.e.* the Cristo Morto procession, suspended in 2020 and held in a slightly modified form in 2021), the present investigation focuses intentionally on tangible assets in collections of the Municipality of Orte and the Diocese of Civita Castellana. *Cf.* "Confraternite Riunite di Orte," consulted 2022/06/07, http://www.confraterniteorte.it/.

[9] Gian Tommaso Scarascia Mugnozza, preface of *Per una storia di Orte e del suo territorio* (Orte: Centro di studi per il Patrimonio di S. Pietro in Tuscia Comune Ente ottava medievale, 2006): 11.

[10] Stefano Petrocchi, "Orte: Il Museo della città," in *Per una storia di Orte e del suo territorio* (Orte: Centro di studi per il Patrimonio di S. Pietro in Tuscia Comune Ente ottava medievale, 2006): 247–54.

[11] Vera Anelli, "Il Museo Diocesano di Orte: Un Museo territoriale," Tesi della Scuola di Specializzazione in Tutela e Valorizzazione dei Beni Storico-artistici, a.a. 2000-2001, Relatore: Dott.ssa Maria Cecilia Mazzi, correlatore: Dott. Mario Micheli: 57-60.

[12] Nothing has been made public in this regard. In July 2021, Eng. Mauro Proietti and Arch. Raffaelle Ascenzi drafted "*Progettazione per la realizzazione di un Museo Civico a Palazzo Nuzzi*" on behalf of the Municipality of Orte to compete for Regional funding. The concluding chapter of this study makes use of some of the documentation produced for this project, but its display strategies are not based on an interplay between the objects and exhibition space: the project as a whole lacks a museological foundation.

local ecomuseum employing up-to-date communication strategies tying artifacts to local find sites, levering social media and digital archaeology.[13]

Another factor in choosing this city as a case study is the well-established relationship between Tuscia University and Orte's institutions. From the founding of the Faculty of Conservation of Cultural Heritage in 1990-1991 till today, professors and students have undertaken numerous historical, archival, historical-artistic and archaeological research projects dedicated to the town's local heritage.[14] These collaborations often declined into other activities, such as conferences, books, publications, degree and doctoral theses, cataloguing projects and restoration worksites: prime research initiatives aimed at producing new knowledge and safeguarding strategies in close collaboration with the Museum of Sacred Art and the adjoining historical archives. In 2018, the University and the Municipality sealed their relationship with a contractual agreement about their intent to collaborate.[15] This research project is, therefore, founded on a thirty-year foundation of research, institutional agreements, and published and unpublished studies.

This investigation further stems from a concrete problem encountered at Tuscia University's Laboratory of Conservation and Restoration, a highly qualified facility that allows local museums and institutions to conserve and enhance their collections. Upon completing their interventions, restorers are often faced with a classic dilemma: the risk of returning restored artworks back to the same environmental conditions which led to their initial degradation or back into spaces which employ inadequate exhibition strategies and services. These difficulties are endemic to small towns and, in general, to Italy's 'minor' heritage. Local museums are frequently unable to ensure suitable conservation conditions and access to the general public and schools; they struggle to comply to state-of-the-art standards and often employ outdated communication strategies that fail to engage non-specialists. This analysis confirms the need to reorganize and merge local collections, an idea suggested as early as 2000, but sustains that this change requires a different vision for local heritage, a vision in which the elements that

[13] Erica Lalli, "Orte specchio del passato e cantiere del futuro," in *Carte, pietre e paesaggi di una comunità. Scritti di archeologia e storia*, a cura di Giancarlo Pastura, (Roma: Quaderni del Museo Civico archeologico di Orte, 2021): 13-26.
[14] Despite the abolition of the Department of Cultural Heritage in 2015, subject research and teaching continued through redistribution in the degree programs of Cultural Heritage Science, Archaeology and Art History and the single-cycle degree program of Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Heritage.
[15] Comune di Orte and Università degli Studi della Tuscia (DIBAF), "Convenzione per Attività di collaborazione scientifica" (2018/10/03).

make up Orte's history are rigorously reinterpreted and retold as parts of a whole. In light of the growing role of digital technologies, this study affirms the need for a shared platform for cataloging, consultation and preservation of physical and digital materials.[16] Moreover, this thesis calls into question a paradigm that views museum collections through "a type of narrative centered on the collector/curator."[17] It embraces an alternative museum model: the city museum as a space to present objects and knowledge with a living, social purpose. Hence, this study also turned its attention to Orte's 20th-21st century history with the aspiration of placing the city and its citizens at the center of a new narrative. By embracing the heterogeneity of local heritage, it suggests conceptual premises for a new museum system that prefigures multiple doorways through which to access Orte and its territory, real and metaphorical itineraries through which this research unfolds.

At its outset, this study drew inspiration from the documentary *Le mura di Sana* (*The Walls of Sana*, 1971)[18] and the film-essay *pasolini e... "la forma della città"* (*pasolini and… "all of the city*,*"* 1974), cinematographic tributes to the small town in which Pier Paolo Pasolini denounced land speculation at the *limes* of Orte's historic center. He claims that his infringement defaced the urban "profile," a contour drawn by the town's contingent and constitutive relationship with its surrounding landscape.[19] While the enigmatic concept of "the form of the city" has predominantly been interpreted as an extension of the artist's journalistic contributions and his political writing, it has not been employed as a lens through which to reinterpret this specific territory.[20] The films can be read as an early manifesto for the preservation of Italy's small town heritage,[21] drafted at a time when national discourse focused

[16] *Cf*. Sistema museale nazionale – il progetto di informazione e formazione," Fondazione Scuola dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali. www.fondazionescuolapatrimonio.it/en/training/sistema-museale-nazionale.
[17] Raffaella Trocchianesi, "Oggetti transitivi: il potenziale narrativo dell'oggetto nel progetto espositivo," in *Design vive di oggetti-discorso : design e narrazioni.* Eterotopie 231 (Milano-Udine: Memesi Edizioni, 2014): 73, https://www.torrossa.com/it/resources/an/2968564.
[18] Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Le mura di Sana* (Rosima Anstalt, 1971), http://www.teche.rai.it/2015/01/le-mura-di-sanaa/ (no longer available at this address as of December 2021).
Le mura di Sana is often dated to 1974. The choice to date the film to 1971 is fully explained in section "1.2 Disentangling a chronology. *Le mura di Sana* and *La forma della città.*"
[19] Paolo Brunatto, *pasolini e… "la forma della città"* (RAI, 1974), http://www.teche.rai.it/2015/01/pasolini-e-la-forma-della-citta-1974/.
[20] *Cf*. Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Scritti Corsari* (Milano: Garzanti, 1975); Roberto Chiesi, "Lo Sguardo di Pasolini. *La forma della città,* Un film di Pier Paolo Pasolini e Paolo Brunatto," *Parol on Line*, 2003, http://www.parol.it/articles/pasolini.htm; Alessandro Viola, *Il fascismo secondo Pasolini (1942-1975)* (Milano-Udine: Mimesi, 2020): 56-67.
[21] In 1978 the historic center of Kraków (Poland) and the city of Quito (Ecuador) were among the first twelve sites recognized as World Heritage by UNESCO, while in 1979 other cities were added, all of great demographic, political and cultural importance, such as Dubrovnik and Split (Croatia), Bryggen (Norway), Damascus (Syria)

on large cities like Rome,[22] Venice, Florence,[23] and Bologna.[24] By consciously excluding places of obvious esthetic and historical importance, Pasolini elevated Orte, an almost anonymous town with just under 8,000 inhabitants, to the status of an archetype.[25] In these documentaries, he precociously addressed the issue of holistic preservation, placing the city and the landscape, 'minor' and 'major' heritage, and the vestiges of 'high' and 'low' culture on the same plane. His cinematic documentation raises themes that act as cornerstones of the ideal museum proposal at the study's conclusion. These short films, furthermore, represent a manifesto for safeguarding the small town's identity, an identity composed of urban forms and landscape, stone and sky, monuments and things. The question of Orte's identity – an idea that can be extended to any place – raises questions relating to both the artist's personal reflections, while giving space to grassroots voices like those of the young *Ortani* interviewed in the documentary *Le mura di Sana* (1971). These local residents are now older men who fondly remember their encounter with one of Italy's most notorious intellectuals and their voices, which are included in Orte's city museum, are emblematic of the importance of citizen participation in today's institutionns.[26] For this reason, this study distances itself from the Italian convention of referring to "Museums" with an uppercase 'M.' The lowercase 'm' marks a conscientious decision to step away from a concept that sees museums as elitist and exclusive spaces and to align with a growing tendency that views these institutions as dialogical spaces with social functions, open to a plurality of voices, narratives, and spheres of action.[27]

In listening to Orte (with all the limitations posed by the global pandemic), one of the first elements to emerge was the theme of the city's icon, *i.e.,* its heraldry and the metaphor of its bridge: an image that provided important clues for understanding the place's identity. The

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and Tunis (Tunis). UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "UNESCO World Heritage Centre - World Heritage List," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, consulted 2022/05/28, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/.

[22] "Una storia lunga oltre 65 anni," *Italia Nostra*, consulted 2022/06/08, https://www.italianostra.org/chi-siamo/una-storia-lunga-oltre-50-anni/.

[23] *The UNESCO Courier*, Special Issue: The international campaign for Florence and Venice, January 1967, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000108360.

[24] "Piano di salvaguardia del centro storico," Bologna Online, accessed 2022/05/08, https://www.bibliotecasalaborsa.it/bolognaonline/cronologia-di-bologna/1969/piano_di_salvaguardia_del_centro_storico.

[25] "Censimenti popolazione Orte (1871-2011) Grafici su dati ISTAT," Tuttitalia.it, accessed 2022/05/29, https://www.tuttitalia.it/lazio/88-orte/statistiche/censimenti-popolazione/.

[26] This investigation will delve into the interviews Pasolini made with local citizens from Orte in section "1.2.3. Reordering the documentaries' chronologies and production."

[27] See Duncan F. Cameron, "The Museum, a Temple or the Forum," *Curator: The Museum Journal* 14, no. 1 (1971): 11–24, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2151-6952.1971.tb00416.x; Stefania Zuliani, *Il museo all'opera. Trasformazioni e prospettive del museo d'arte contemporanea* (Milano: Mondadori, 2006); Stefania Zuliani and Silvia Lilli, "Museo," Enciclopedia Italiana, 2015, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/museo_res-7f8218a7-dd85-11e6-add6-00271042e8d9_(Enciclopedia-Italiana).

municipal crest has been employed since the 15th century and testifies to the city's vocation as a millennial crossroads, port and, later, railway hub. The "keys of the kingdom of heaven" which crown the coat of arms, recall the inexorable ties with Papal Rome,[28] a source of pride and a major factor in a gradual process of impoverishment which swept through Orte and its territory in the 17th through 19th centuries.

The last century witnessed a change in this trend through a promising season of safeguarding and restoration work,[29] first promoted by a group of local citizens. This groundwork eventually led to the restoration of a Romanesque complex in the city center after the Second World War when a team of government officials converted the former church of San Silvestro into the Diocesan Museum in 1967.[30] Despite the extraordinary quality of its collection, this small museum, like so many in Italy, now struggles to attract and engage new audiences. These materials deserve to be part of a narrative that can transmit a sense of place and draw a metaphorical portrait of the town. This sort of vision must be rooted in archaeological findings while keeping an eye on the present and the future.[31] By owning its historic and geographic specificity, Orte can begin to emancipate itself from the subjugation that characterizes its relationship with the capital and formulate an alternative narrative by ensuring that, in the words of the historian Carlo Ginzburg and the art historian Enrico Castelnuovo: : "*alla consueta immagine di un centro maggiore incontrastato—nel nostro caso, rappresentato da Roma—subentra questa volta un'immagine policentrica*."[32] Aware that Orte's historiography has been dictated by voices emerging from diocesan hierarchies, this study sought to establish new cultural coordinates and made use of polyphonic data from historical, art historical, archival, archaeological and cartographic evidence to integrate and overturn a historical narrative. Insofar archival and bibliographical research made it possible to elaborate premises for a city museum with multiple gateways representing 'major' and 'minor' sites located throughout the territory: Palazzo Nuzzi (the 17th-century cardinal's palace and former city hall), the former church of San Silvestro and the Palazzo Vescovile (the former bishop's palace and current seat of the Museum of Sacred Art), as well as the waiting room of the Railway Station

[28] "And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." (*Matt*. 16:19).
[29] *Cf*. "3.3.3 A nearly abandoned territory. The 19th century."
[30] Luisa Mortari, *Museo Diocesano di Orte* (Viterbo: Agnesotti, 1967); Salvatore Enrico Anselmi and Lorenzo Principi, *Il Museo d'Arte Sacra di Orte* (Orte: Centro Studi Patrimonio di San Pietro, 2013); *Cf*. The commitment of the Superintendencies in the creation of the Diocesan Museum. ".
[31] *Cf*. "Appendix C. A selection of the cultural properties used to narrate Orte."
[32] Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia nella storia dell'arte italiana* (Milano: Officina libraria, 2019): 25.

(a nonplace that sees more than a million passersby per year).[33] On the one hand, these hubs were identified to include new audiences in museum programming and, on the other, to enable monumental and anti-monumental readings of Orte's heritage.

The tools and methods used in this research were eclectic, ranging from canoes to OCR (*optical character recognition*). Paddling from Orte to Rome offered a clearer understanding of the Mid-Tiber Valley's topography,[34] in an attempt to retrace the paths boatmen traveled as couriers up and down the Tiber from Antiquity through the 19th century. Multiple visits were made in and around Orte helped identify the locations from which Pasolini and RAI's *troupe* filmed the city and those chosen by the photographer Max Hutzel.[35] There were countless visits to the Museo d'Arte Sacra, the Diocesan Historical Archives and Palazzo Nuzzi which allowed for a deeper understanding of the town's life and development. The train station and the highway tollbooth were mandatory stops while travelling between La Tuscia and Rome's libraries, photo libraries and archives and newspaper collections, in addition to the repeated visits to the Pasolini's archival funds at Bologna, Pordenone and Casarsa della Delizia. During the tightest *lockdowns*, the digitized photographic and bibliographic collections became indispensable, granting virtual access to Italian, U.S. and German research centers. Between 2019 and 2022, site visits were conducted at over fifty museums in seven European countries. In the guise of *Visiting Scholar*, there were opportunities to meet in-house curators at city museums in Krakow, Lisbon, and Barcelona. Likewise, ICOM (International Council of Museums) and ICOM-CAMOC (International Committee for the Collections and Activities of Museums of Cities) meetings proved fundamental: dynamic encounters during which museum professionals regularly meet to discuss issues affecting cities and museums – big and small – around the world.

[33] "2008 CLASSIFICATION(Dec.19, 2008) PREPARED X PRINT.xls," Rome Comparimento c/o *Wayback Machine* (Dec.19, 2008). https://web.archive.org/web/20160304111315/http:/www.rfi.it/cms-file/allegati/rfi/Roma.pdf

[34] I would like to thank the organizers of the 40th International Descent of the Tiber for their welcome and interest in this research.

[35] The photographer raised issues similar to those posed by Pasolini, although he focused on photography as an act of protection toward Italy's smaller towns. His photographic archive of more than 900,000 negatives is currently housed at the Getty Research Institute, while positive prints are scattered in other Italian, American and German collections. See "3.2. Art photography as a safeguarding strategy. An independent photographer documents Orte (1967-about 1988)."

I. "LA FORMA DELLA CITTÀ." PIER PAOLO PASOLINI IN ORTE

1.1. Discovering La Tuscia

Pier Paolo Pasolini (Bologna, 1911 - Rome, 1975) worked in La Tuscia continuously from 1964 to 1975, spurred by his aesthetic and even ideological relationship with the *viterbese* area; by understanding this intimate attachment, readers acquire a lens through which to understand core questions regarding the artist's identity and sense of place (fig. 1). In 1964 he filmed the Baptism of Christ from the award-winning *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo* on the tuffaceous banks of a stream at Chia. The scene depicts the humble waterway as the River Jordan with common people from the area populating the river's banks acting as biblical on-lookers, a casting solution frequently adopted by Pasolini.[1] He chose the province of Viterbo as a location for other scenes in three feature-length films and one short film, respectively:[2] *Uccellacci Uccellini* (1966) was filmed in Tuscania, *Medea* (1969) in Chia, *Decameron* (1970) near and around Viterbo and Nepi and *Le mura di Sana* (1971)[3] in Orte.[4] This last town also appeared in a televised documentary *pasolini e... "la forma della città"* (1974), a "film-essay" directed by RAI's Paolo Brunatto under the auspices of Italy's national television network; it was filmed at Orte and Sabaudia and included

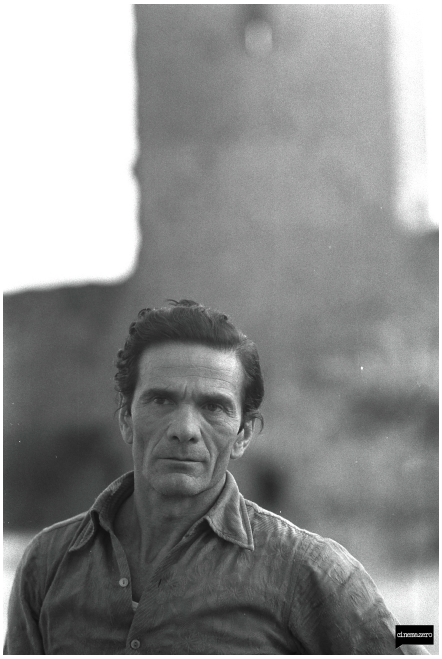


Fig. I-1. Pier Paolo Pasolini at La Torre di Chia (Viterbo) in 1974 (Photo: Deborah Beer, Cinemazero Images Archive - Pordenone)

[1] With regard to *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo*, the scenes in Chia were not the only ones shot in Lazio; a set was built in Rome, while some exteriors were shot in Monte Cavo and Tivoli. The film was also shot in Basilicata, Apulia, Calabria and Sicily. See Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Le regole di un'illusione: I film, il cinema*, ed. Laura Betti and Michele Gulinucci, Quaderni Pier Paolo Pasolini (Rome: Assoc. "Fondo Pier Paolo Pasolini," 1991): 111.
[2] Pasolini, *Le regole di un'illusione*: 133, 243, 259.
[3] Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Le mura di Sana* (Rosima Anstalt, 1971), http://www.teche.rai.it/2015/01/le-mura-di-sanaa/ (no longer available at this address as of December 2021). It aired 1974/02/07 as part of the program *Boomerang. Boomerang. Ricerca in due sere* on the second RAI channel.
The capital of North Yemen is spelled in Arabic thus: "صنعاء" and transliterated as *"Ṣan'ā'"* and "*Sana'a.*" In this study, "Sana" is used in reference to the film title *Le mura di Sana* to preserve the director's choice of spelling, while the spelling "Sana'a" will be used in reference to the city itself.
[4] Orte is rarely listed among the locations of *Le mura di Sana* mentioned in writings regarding the short film. Testimonies collected in the course of this research show that Pasolini filmed this small town shortly after having filmed Sana'a in 1970. This topic will be discussed in the pages below. *Cf.* Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Le regole di un'illusione*: 269; Rodrigo Amaro, "Le mura di Sana," IMDb, 2014/03/06, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0317933/?ref_=ttrel_rel_tt; "PPP, lo Yemen e il sogno di Sana'a. L'appello all'UNESCO del 1974," Centro Studi Pier Paolo Pasolini Casarsa della Delizia, 2015/09/30, http://www.centrostudipierpaolopasolinicasarsa.it/pagine-corsare/la-vita/altre-geografie/ppp-lo-yemen-e-il-sogno-di-sanaa-lappello-allunesco-del-1974/.

scenes spliced from *Le mura di Sana*. *La forma della città* is an unconventional interview in which Pasolini delivers a monologue illustrating a new paradigm for safeguarding 'minor' cultural heritage and the cultural landscapes that characterize Italy's smaller towns.[5] While today this documentary is the object of a *cult following*, it has not been subject to rigorous philological attention, nor have its critical implications been contextualized in the specific geographical context that inspired its production. Moreover, the chronologies of *Le mura di Sana* and *La forma della città*'s production need to be reordered in light of newly identified primary sources. This study therefore intends to untangle the documentaries' historiography to understand how Pasolini's reflections on the indissoluble relationship between city and territory evolved over the last five years of the artist's life. [6]

In the time that elapsed between the 1971 and 1974 documentaries, the artist reconsidered his earlier position about land speculation in Italy and began to define new criteria for safeguarding the country's small town heritage. He chose television as the medium through which to disseminate the core themes of a debate hitherto restricted to prominent intellectuals and cultural heritage professionals; Italia Nostra, for instance, addressed similar topics starting in 1955 by sponsored events that primarily drew intellectual and upper class audiences.[7] The following decade saw the publication of the Franceschini Commission's Acts in 1967,[8] as well as the results of the 1968-1971 "Campagne di rilevamento" under the direction of Andrea

[5] Paolo Brunatto, *pasolini e... "la forma della città,"* (RAI, 1974), http://www.teche.rai.it/2015/01/pasolini-e-la-forma-della-citta-1974/. It aired 1974/02/07 as part of the program *io e...* on the second RAI channel (http://www.teche.rai.it/2015/01/pasolini-e-la-forma-della-citta-1974/) .
The film critics Hervé Joubert-Laurencin and Roberto Chiesi were the first to define *La forma della città* as a "film-essay." Hervé Joubert-Laurencin, *Pasolini, portrait du poète en cineaste* (Paris: Cahiers du cinéma, 1995): 127; Roberto Chiesi, "Lo sguardo di Pasolini. *La forma della città*, un film di Pier Paolo Pasolini e Paolo Brunatto *Parol - quaderni d'arte e di epistemologia*, 2003 (http://www.parol.it/articles/pasolini.htm, accessed 2019/06/30; republished at http://www.centrostudipierpaolopasolinicasarsa.it/roma/il-caso-orte-nel-docu-rai-la-forma-della-citta-1973-di-ppp-di-roberto-chiesi/).

[6] This stage of research made use of materials preserved at multiple archives, including the Istituto Centrale per i Beni Sonori ed Audiovisivi (Rome), the Biblioteca centrale RAI "Paolo Giuntella," the Centro di documentazione giornalistica (the RAI newspaper and periodicals library at Saxa Rubra, Rome), the Archivi del Ministero per il Turismo e lo Spettacolo (Rome), the Archivi Pier Paolo Pasolini at the Cineteca di Bologna and the Fondo Bachman in the Archivi di Cinemazero (Pordenone).

[7] The link between Pasolini and Giorgio Bassini, president of the association Italia Nostra in 1966-80, is of particular interest. Their friendship and collaboration dates back at least to 1955, as documented by a photograph taken on the set of *II prigioniero della montagna* by Luis Trenker. *Cf.* Enzo Siciliano, *Vita di Pasolini* (Florence: Giunti, 1995). See Appendix A "Transcript of a conversation between Pier Paolo Pasolini and Gideon Bachman, Cinemazero Archives (Pordenone)."

[8] *Cf.* Silvia Cecchini, *Trasmettere al futuro: Tutela, manutenzione, conservazione programmata* (Roma: Gangemi, 2012).

Emiliani, an art historian discussed at some length in this study's fourth chapter.[9] Contemporarily to Pasolini's film work in La Tuscia, two contributors to the weekly *Il Mondo* and the daily *Corriere della Sera* were fomenting a new sensibility towards ecology, namely Antonio Cederna through his commitment to landscape protection and Alfredo Todisco and his widespread appeal for ecological awareness.[10] It is no coincidence that Pasolini viewed urban forms and landscape as two sides of the same coin, transposing this conjunction onto film. Today, his vision for systemic, urban conservation deserves greater attention. For this reason, the documentary *La forma della città* is an integral part, if not the fulcrum, of the premises for a city museum at Orte (*cf.* Chapter V). In exhibition space proposed at the local railway station, footage and film stills from this film can be used to be closely link to the town's recent history and development. The intent is to inspire viewers to closely read the town and its territory through the exhibition of historic examples of the town's coat of arms, cartography, prints, drawings, and photographs (visual evidence which will be analyzed in the following two chapters) in dialogue with the city as it appears today.

Already in the first article of the 1964 Venice Charter the notion of "historic monument" was articulated without hierarchical distinctions in respects to the city proper,[11] but in November 1966, catastrophes such as Florence's extraordinary flood and Venice's exceptionally high *acqua alta* shifted international attention to Italy's celebrated *città d'arte*. 'Minor' heritage thus fell increasingly into the background.[12] In those same years, UNESCO was working on the 1972 Convention concerning the *Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage* and focused specifically on 'major' centers. Pasolini, on the other hand, already in 1970, launched *an appeal to UNESCO*, as indicated by the subtitle of *Le mura di Sana*, to reconsider the importance of preserving "archaic" and "popular" heritage.[13] Herein he conceived his two

[9] In the below conversation with Gideon Bachman, Pasolini humbly says that he is not up to date on legal news: "*Ci sono delle leggi, ma secondo me…non le conosco direttamente. Non te lo so dire, non potrei dire…mi sembra che non siano leggi che proteggano la città nel paesaggio. Forse proteggono dei monumenti."* See Appendix A: 8.

[10] Pier Paolo Pasolini, "La scomparsa delle lucciole," *Scritti Corsari* (Milano: Garzanti, 1975); Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Alfredo Todisco, Breviario di ecologia (6 dicembre 1974)," *Descrizioni e descrizioni* (Milano: Garzanti, 2006): 552.

[11] The first article of the 1964 Venice Charter reads, "The concept of a historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time." ICOMOS, "International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964)" 1965, https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf.

[12] *The UNESCO Courier*, Special Issue: The international campaign for Florence and Venice, 1967/01.

[13] "Convenzione sulla Protezione del Patrimonio Mondiale culturale e naturale" (1972/11/16), "*Patrimonio Mondiale, Unesco Italia*, http://www.unesco.it/it/ItaliaNellUnesco/Detail/188, accessed 2020/12/02.

cinematographic manifestos for an alternative paradigm for safeguarding 'minor' heritage, premises applicable in Orte today.

It is interesting to note that Pasolini made a deliberate technical choice to disseminate his ideas through a televised documentary. This medium aligned well with his intention "to defend something […] that is not codified:"[14]

> *Voglio difendere qualcosa che non è sanzionato, che non è codificato, che nessuno difende e che è opera, diciamo così, del popolo, di un'intera storia, dell'intera storia del popolo di una città. Di una infinità di uomini senza nome, che però hanno lavorato all'interno di un'epoca che poi ha prodotto i frutti più estremi, più assoluti, nelle opere d'arte d'autore…nessuno si rende conto che quello che va difeso è proprio questo anonimo, questo passato anonimo, questo passato senza nome, questo passato popolare.*[15]
>
> I want to defend something that is not sanctioned, that is not codified, that nobody defends and that is the work, so to speak, of the people, of an entire history, of the entire history of a city's people. Of an infinity of nameless men, who, however, worked within a given epoch that likewise produced its most extreme, its most absolute fruits, that is to say its authored works of art...no one realizes that this anonymous, this nameless past, this popular past is what most urgently needs to be defended (author's trans).

The idea of the "form of the city" therefore challenged conventional preservation strategies which overwhelmingly focused on artistic masterpieces and 'major' forms of architecture. Pasolini, by contrast, put multiform expressions of 'minor' heritage on the same plane as 'major' ones, like the "*stradina da niente, così umile*,"[16] the road that the artist documented and immortalized. The *stradina* once led from Orte's countryside to Porta San Cesareo but was asphalted over in recent years. Orte's city museum will record its memory by projecting the digitized sequence of Pasolini walking along this informal road with the hopes of raising awareness about city planning and urban conservation.[17]

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[14] Francesco Augelli, "Le ragioni della necessità di conservare beni, luoghi e identità culturali nel pensiero di Pier Paolo Pasolini," *Progetto Restauro. Trimestrale per la tutela dei Beni Culturali*, anno 12, no. numero 41 (inverno 2007): 23, note 5.

[15] Brunatto, *pasolini e "la forma della città*:" 00:10:17-00:11:27.

[16] Unfortunately, the "stradina da niente" has been asphalted over and the province's redemption from its 'peripheral' position has a long way to go. The prefigured city museum is intends to cultivate new sensibilities towards town planning and historic testimonies.

[17] Pasolini's position can be read as a radical application of a well-defined trend in the studies of Italian architectural history. Already in the early 20th century, in fact, the architect Gustavo Giovannoni focused on the theme of 'major' and 'minor' architecture in relation to '*edilizia nuova'*, paying particular attention to the

Protecting the "form of the city" meant, for Pasolini, safeguarding "*i vari modi di essere uomini che l'Italia ha prodotto in modo storicamente molto differenziato*."[18] The form of the city was "*da leggersi […] come* idea *e quindi come idea della città che in Pasolini si sfuma divenendo natura antropizzata*."[19] The form of each city is traced, according to Pasolini, by "*il confine naturale tra la forma della città e la natura circostante*;" it manifests itself as a contour line that defines a city's *form*, *structure*, and *profile*.[20] If in a metaphorical sense one looks at this profile as a face, a city is made recognizable (and therefore narratable) by the encounter between the many voices still preserved in the city's historic architecture, urbanism, and landscape. This "pedagogic language of things" – symbolic, material, morphological and *real* – thus qualifies every local identity.[21] It is important to recognize that Pasolini does not put the ancient and modern in opposition: at Orte, the artist recognized a totality realized "on a human scale" and noted the same phenomenon at Sabaudia. He deemed that, despite its *ex-novo* foundation, this Fascist-era town remained an expression of the "reality of provincial, rustic, paleo-industrial Italy." The spatial relationship between the town and the Tiber Valley, in the first case, and that between the town and the coastline, in the second, preserve historical, social and symbolic memories which represent those specific communities. For Pasolini, they were both equally threatened by the incursion of "consumer civilization."[22]

As early as 1962, Andrea Zanzotto, a Veneto poet and friend of Pasolini, described this "brutal compulsion" in his article "*Architettura e urbanistica informali*:" "*[la] traduzione in termini*

historical centers of Viterbo and Vitorchiano (VT). *Cf.* Francesca Romana Stabile, "Gustavo Giovannoni e la cultura dell'ambientismo," *Bollettino del Centro di Studi per la Storia dell'Architettura,* n.s. I (2017): 135-146.

[17] Brunatto, *pasolini e "la forma della città:"* 00:14:00-00:14:48

[18] Brunatto, *pasolini e... "la forma della città,"* 00:14:00-00:14:48

[19] Augelli, "Le ragioni:" 18.

[20] Brunatto, *pasolini e... "la forma della città:"* 08:25 -00:08:35.

[21] Pasolini, "Paragrafo sesto: impotenza contro il linguaggio delle cose," *Lettere Luterane* (L'Unità/Einaudi, 1976/ 1991): 38-41.
The metaphor of the urban 'face' can also found in Andrea Emiliani's 1972 essay entitled "Città e museo: Un problema di metodo," a text in which we read: "Come 'rivedere', come 'ricostruire' la faccia di una faccia, anche nei suoi aspetti architettonici, e più ancora urbanistici, meglio che con l'aiuto della lingua parlata?" Parallels between the reflections of Pier Paolo Pasolini and Andrea Emiliani will be explored in the first half of the fourth chapter. Cfr. Andrea Emiliani, "Città e museo: Un problema di metodo" in *Dal museo al territorio*. Bologna: Edizioni ALFA, 1974: 98, originally from Introduction to the *Collezioni della Cassa di Risparmio di Bologna*. I. I Dipinti, a Cura di F. Varignana, Bologna, 1972.

[22] Pasolini's criticism of land speculation and the disappearance of traditional customs was certainly not an isolated case at the time. Parallels can be traced on an international level in the extreme case of the suicide-protest of the Japanese writer and playwright Yukio Mishima. Stefano Piantini, "Il suicidio come opera d'arte di un controverso scrittore giapponese," *Artribune* (blog), 24 novembre 2020, https://www.artribune.com/professioni-e-professionisti/who-is-who/2020/11/suicidio-yukio-mishima-anniversario/.

visibili di questo insieme dei fatti si ha nella proliferazione casuale e mostruosa della città, nella devastazione della campagna che sta coprendosi di un caotico e sfilacciato tessuto urbano, nello sfregio, infine del paesaggio, che si sta perpetrando in tutto il paese."[23] Pasolini chose to talk about the "city's casual and monstrous proliferation," to quote Zanzotto, using the "new language of cinema."[24] Hence Pasolini coined an archetype he called "the form of the city." In doing so, he stimulated strategies aimed at safeguarding both tangible and intangible heritage with a particular concern for anonymous contributions made to urban development.[25]

Orte became a *topos* for the artist due to his to-and-fro between Rome and the Torre di Colle Casale, a tower near the small town of Chia, located thirteen kilometers from the city.[26] In 1970, in fact, Pasolini saw one of his dreams come true by purchasing the ruins of this medieval castle and its 42-meter-high tower,[27] coincidentally a refuge for local heretics in the 13th century.[28] The *Torre di Chia* became "a house like me," designed by the artist together with his trusted set designer Dante Ferretti.[29] The project placed a light, glass structure at the heart of the medieval complex, situated between a double wall and the "*burrati ariosteschi*,"[30] the irregular tuffaceous banks, carved by watercourses and surrounded by holm oaks with the Cimini Mountains in the distance. The artist's particular relationship with the Tower and the surrounding landscape will be recounted in the future city museum through the 1974

[23] Andrea Zanzotto, "Architettura e urbanistica informali," originally published in *La provincia di Treviso*, 3, 1962, poi ripubblicata in Andrea Zanzotto, "In margine a un vecchio articolo," in *Il grigio oltre le siepi. geografie smarrite e racconti del disagio in Veneto*, ed. Francesco Vallerani and Mauro Varotto (Portogruaro (VE): Ediciclo editori, 2005): 151–86.

[24] Pier Paolo Pasolini, opening speech at the Prima mostra internazionale del nuovo cinema di Pesaro (1965) pubblicato in *Il cinema di poesia,* later published in Pasolini, "Appendice. Un articolo su *L'espresso* (1965/02/07)," *Empirismo eretico* (Milano: Garzanti, 1972), ePub: 95.

[25] Special thanks to Maria Ida Catalano for her reflections on safeguarding an image from within, a key concept in Cesare Brandi's thought. See Maria Andaloro and Maria Ida Catalano, eds. *Cesare Brandi 1947-1950* (Rome: De Luca, 2009).

[26] When you mention Chia around Viterbo, people laugh. The following saying comes to mind: "*Ma che sei, de Chia*?," (What are you, from Chia?), a joke intended to mock the other person for his or her simplemindedness. In fact, the small town is perceived as an isolated and even backwards place, set deep in the countryside. Perhaps it was for these very reasons, it represented an authentic example of archaic rural culture for Pasolini.

[27] Transcription of deed no. RP 8706 of 1970, viewed in Viterbo, request no. 74428/2 in 2019.

[28] Abbondio Zuppante, "L'eresia nella Tuscia del Duecento e il dossale di San Francesco di Orte," *Faleritanum* Anno III, no. n.3 (2018): 13–38.

[29] Maria Grazie Eccheli, "L'infinito abita a Chia. La Casa/Castello di Pier Paolo Pasolini," *Firenze Architettura* 1 (2015), https://doi.org/10.13128/FiA-10652: 15.
Dante Ferretti later participated in important museographic experiments. He explored the relationship between architecture and landscape in the project *'Riflessi di pietra*,' at Torino's Museo Egizio in 2006, during the Turin Olympics, where the avenues of the pharaonic necropolis were suggested through the interplay between sculptures, mirrors, and lighting. "Museo Egizio, riapre dopo tre mesi lo Statuario," la Repubblica, 16 aprile 2014, https://torino.repubblica.it/cronaca/2014/04/16/news/museo_egizio_riapre_dopo_tre_mesi_lo_statuario-83798140/, consultato 2020/11/15.

[30] Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Dopo il film sul Vangelo," *Cineforum: quaderno mensile della Federazione italiana dei cineforum*, 1964, vol. IV, no.40 (dic. 1964): 975.

photographs of Deborah Beer, a photographer who frequented Pasolini at Chia (*Cf.* fig. 1).[31] For the artist, this place functioned as a lay hermitage and provided him with a 'humble' and 'authentic' dimension, a world which the Italian 'economic miracle' risked to efface and eradicate.[32] Chia is where he was able to dedicate himself fully to his creative endeavors. He rediscovered drawing, an activity which he had abandoned after leaving Friuli in 1949 and which he took back up almost obsessively at his tower Chia, as testified by a series of insistent portraits of his master Roberto Longhi drawn time and again from the same profile.[33] He completed the cinematographic *Trilogy of Life* and devised *Salò or the 120 Days of Sodom*. He also became engrossed in his journalistic writing (later collected in the volumes *Scritti corsari* and *Lettere luterane*), in the re-edition of *La nuova gioventù* (a volume of Friulian poems in which Tuscia appears in certain verses) and, in particular, in the drafting of *Petrolio*, a novel that remained unfinished. [34]

Pasolini's mounting affection for the *viterbese* area clashed with an evident paradox: in those same years the territory underwent the most invasive urban transformation ever through the construction of the Autostrada del Sole highway.[35] Compared to his writings from the 1960's, the artist's initially lyrical tone of voice grew progressively furious in the 1970's. His 1964 article in *Cineforum* exhalts an important technical and stylistic change that took place while filming *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo* (fig. 2), a transformation he attributed to Chia's geomorphology:[36] "*ne ricevevo un'espressione di grande vitalità (da cui naturalmente non era estraneo tutto ciò che avevo scelto di riprendere, oltre al*



Fig. I-2. Film still of the scene of the Baptism from Il Vangelo secondo Matteo *(1964) on the Rio torrent at Chia (Viterbo) (source: Pasolini, Cineforum, 1964).*

[31] Roberto Costantini (ed.), *Inferrabile. Lo sguardo di Pier Paolo Pasolini* (Pordenone: Cinemazero, 2015).
[32] Gianfranco Contini recounted his first meeting with the young and very shy Pier Paolo, who opened up only when confronted with a "humble" and "authentic" landscape, like the Piedmontese landscape behind the philologist's home in Domodossola. Contini, "Testimonianza per Pier Paolo Pasolini," published in Zanoli, *"io e... Pasolini e "La forma della città:"* 14, 16-17.
[33] Simona Campus, "Sotto il segno della contaminazione. Disegni e dipinti di Pier Paolo Pasolini," *ArcheoArte*, no. 1 (2010): 241–62.
[34] Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Petrolio,* Einaudi (Turin: Einaudi, 1992).
[35] It would be appropriate to collect and display parts of the photographic documentation concerning the construction of the Autostrada del Sole in the territory of Viterbo. On the occasion of this research, however, it was not possible to locate the documentation concerning the Orte section in the folders kept at the Central State Archive in Rome, also because of the limited access during the 2020-2022 closures.
[36] The place, in fact, is not only characterized by natural forms, but also by paleo-industrial traces, such as a sunken pool presumably dug to macerate hemp and clearly legible remains of water mills located along the stream.

modo di riprenderlo!) ...."[37] He associated this great stylistic "vitality" with the landscape, visible in the scene's "magmatic" background (a term to which the author repeats seven times in the text). It was as if the igneous genesis of the stream's tuffaceous banks had informed the film with an effusive quality, making its very expression "more epic," "more modern," and "more impressionistic-expressionistic."[38] Pasolini was thunderstruck by this stretch of land, water, and woodland. Herein, he saw himself "recreated;" this artistic transformation corresponded with an obsessive desire to purchase this plot of land; a sentiment expressed in a poem the artist wrote in 1967:

> *…Ebbene, ti confiderò* […]
> *che io vorrei essere* […]
> *dentro la torre di Viterbo che non riesco a comprare,*
> *nel paesaggio più bello del mondo, dove l'Ariosto*
> *sarebbe impazzito di gioia nel vedersi ricreato con tanta*
> *innocenza di querce, colli, acque e botri* […][39]
>
> ...well, I'll confide in you […]
> that I would like to be […]
> inside the tower of Viterbo that I can't purchase,
> set in the most beautiful landscape of the world, where Ariosto
> would have grown mad with joy in seeing himself recreated amidst the
> ...innocence of these oaks, hills, waters, and gullies […] (author's trans.)

For Pasolini, the defacement wrought on the landscape – especially the land speculation in the late 1960's – was an affront to the site's primordial "innocence." Savage urban development unleashed a visceral rage in Pasolini, evoking Orlando's madness more than Ariosto's.[40] *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo* came out in 1964, two days before the inauguration of the Autostrada del Sole, an event which symbolically took place on the feast day of St. Francis, the patron saint and unifier of Italy.[41] From then on Orte – a river port from time immemorial, a crossroads of ancient paths and roads, a bridge-town, a railway station for the Patrimony of St. Peter –

[37] Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Dopo il film sul Vangelo," *Cineforum: quaderno mensile della Federazione italiana dei cineforum*, 1964, vol. IV, no.40 (dic. 1964): 975. Partially cited in Luciano De Giusti, "Il vangelo secondo Matteo. 1964," *Cinema a forma di poesia* (Pordenone: Cinemazero, 1979): 44.
[38] Pasolini, "Dopo il film sul Vangelo," *Cineforum*, vol. IV, 1964: 968, 972, 975.
[39] Written during the artist's vist trip to New York; it takes the form of an interview granted to an imaginary journalist and takes the form of a poem. Siciliano, *Vita di Pasolini*: 405-406.
[40] He speaks about urban development referring to the similar case of Sana'a: "*Si tratterà forse di una deformazione professionale, ma i problemi di Sana'a li sentivo come problemi miei. La deturpazione che come una lebbra la sta invadendo, mi feriva con un dolore, una rabbia, un senso di impotenza e nel tempo stesso un febbrile desiderio di far qualcosa, da cui sono stati perentoriamente costretto a filmare*" from Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Pasolini racconta con rabbia l'assurda rovina di una città," *Corriere della Sera*, 1974/06/20: 13.
[41] The entire section of the Autostrada del Sole was inaugurated on October 4, 1964. Tullia Iori, "Autostrada del Sole," *History of Engineering*, ed. Alfredo Buccaro, Giulio Fabricatore, and Lia Maria Papa, Proceedings of the First National Conference, Naples, March 8-9, 2006 (Naples: Cuzzolin, 2006): 1133-1142.

became, for most Italians, synonymous with a tollgate on the A1 in the gut of the Tiber River Valley. In his article "*Nuove questioni linguistiche*," also from 1964, the author laid out a sociolinguistic critique of this public work project: "*una programmazione dell'infrastruttura di trasporti, che tende a risolvere gli squilibri…tra i diversi mezzi di trasporto, a dare vita in somma ad un sistema integrato su scala nazionale*."[42] More than a condemnation of a cement-covered landscape, he insightfully critiques a distorted national project of "cultural homogenization," its improper use of a national transport network which Pasolini sees as part of a systemic effort to homogenize national communication at a linguistic and cultural level.[43] He ideologically interpreted this apparent progress as a "genocide without massacres and shootings."[44] The highway marked the annihilation of the peasant world and its micro-diversity, ancient systems rooted in the land and "real human relations" which were now supplanted by a new, neo-capitalist regime. [45]

Le mura di Sana and *La forma della città* documented Orte's alienation from its landscape symbolized by the erection of mediocre apartment building set against the town's bluff (figs. 3-4). The need to protect this *viterbese* town in nits totality thus became evident. Its urban and natural forms had been shaped over the centuries by layered social rituals that had given form to this ancient city. Pasolini addressed these themes in conversations with fellow artist and friend Gideon Bachman, excerpts of which will be explored in the following pages (based on a new transcription carried out in the course of this research).[46] During their encounters, the artist deepened ideas in the documentaries about Orte:

> *Uno che brucia una foresta, io, a questo punto, non avrei pietà. Uno che uccide un altro uomo si capisce perché c'è la passione, chi sa cosa ci può essere in mezzo, ci può essere una malattia, un trauma infantile. Non oserei giudicarlo. Ma uno che distrugge una foresta, si, lo giudicherei. Ecco. Ma per tornare al nostro discorso, occorrono delle leggi che proteggono in modo più totale, insomma, le cose antiche. Cioè, Orte deve essere difesa in quanto tutta la città di Orte, non sui singoli monumenti, eccetera eccetera. È poi c'è una gerarchia, cioè, a questo punto un grande palazzo, una grande chiesa, a questo punto vale un muretto, vale un capitello, vale un tabernacolo, no? Vale una loggia…insomma, vanno difesi anche questi; vale un casale di contadini, ci sono dei casali di contadini, a questo punto, stupendi.*

[42] Pasolini, *Empiricismo eretico* (Milano: Garzanti, 2000): 17.
[43] Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Sfida ai dirigenti della RAI," *Corriere Della Sera*, 1973/12/09, 3. Republished under the title "Acculturazione e acculturazione," in *Scritti Corsari* (Milan: Garzanti, 1975).
[44] Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Il genocidio," *Scritti Corsari* (Milan: Garzanti, 1975), republished with an introduction by Piero Ottone, in the weekly *Epoca,* Collana I Libri del punto esclamativo, no.1968 (1988): 187.
[45] Pasolini, "Sfida ai dirigenti della RAI." 3.
[46] Pasolini, "Sfida ai dirigenti della RAI:" 3.

> *Stupendi. Vanno difesi. Un casale di un contadino va difeso come una Chiesa*.[47]
>
> At this point I would have no pity on someone who burns a forest... we need laws that protect ancient things in their totality. Meaning, Orte must be defended as the whole city of Orte, and not as a series of individual monuments, etc. etc. This [way of looking at a city] represents a hierarchy, what I mean to say it that, at this point a great *palazzo*, a great church, at this point a little wall, a capital, a tabernacle, a loggia...in short, all these must also be defended; a peasant's farmhouse is equally worthwhile, there are some farmhouses, at this point, that are stupendous. Beautiful. They must be defended. A peasant's house and home must be defended in the same way as a church. (author's trans.)

Pasolini thus launched a challenge to reread and protect the historical, artistic, architectural and landscape heritage of Orte, from an ecosystemic and anti-monumental angle. A future city museum at Orte can recount this vision, collecting and exhibiting local materials and visual evidence of popular culture, as seen through the eyes of local artists like Annibale and Corina Ceccarelli (fig. V-20).

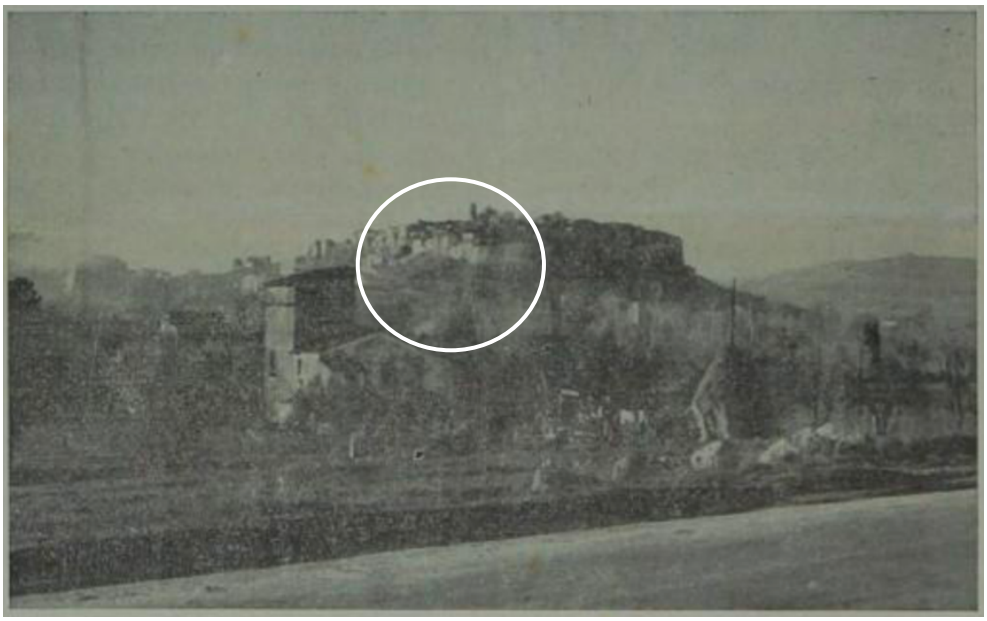


Fig. I-3. The Orte's skyline shot in the direction of Porta San Cesareo before 1962 (source: La Valle*, no. 8, 1962). The circle indicates the plot of cultivated land where an apartment building would soon be built, the same structure Pasolini later denounced in* Le mura *and in* La forma della città*.*

[47] Pier Paolo Pasolini, conversazione con Gideon Bachman, "pasolini 056 aa 26 PAS XXV I II 0026 AT CZ GB munich jazz + pasolini – viterbo 1 9-13-14.mp3," 1974/09/03-04, Fondo Bachman, Archivi di Cinemazero, Pordenone. Cfr. Appendice A: 8.



Fig. I-4. Film still of Orte's skyline in 1970, shot by Pier Paolo Pasolini (source: Le mura di Sana*, 1971). The circle indicates an apartment complex built at the end of the 1960s close to the city's bluff, in correspondence of the area highlighted in fig. 3.*

Pasolini's commitment to preserving La Tuscia extended, as the full transcripts show,[48] well beyond Orte and Chia, to include Tarquinia, Tuscania, Vetralla, Viterbo, San Martino, Soriano, Bomarzo, Attigliano and Mugnano.[49] For him, this decentralized vision of conservation and enhancement had to be adopted by the Ministry of Education with utmost urgency:

> *Quindi mi sembra che un decentramento per l'Alto Lazio, per il Basso Lazio serve. È assolutamente urgente* […] *e a questa localizzazione avevo intenzione di andare anche io insieme con questi di Viterbo, e porterò con me spero anche Moravia, Bruno Zevi, adesso chi glielo chiederò…Bassani, come…hai capito? E andrei insieme con loro proprio perché a noi sta a cuore che ci sia questo centro culturale qui…per fare quei salvataggi che possiamo fare.*[50]
>
> So it seems to me that there is a need to decentralize Alto Lazio, as for Basso Lazio. It's extremely urgent [...] and I was also planning to go to this localization together with these people from Viterbo, and I hope to take Moravia, Bruno Zevi, with me too, and other people I'm still need to ask...Bassani, ...ya know? And I will there with them precisely

[48] See Appendix A.
Two volumes containing transcripts of the same series of conversations came out in German in the spring of 2022. Unfortunately, it was not possible to consult these volumes during the course of this research. See Gideon Bachman and Fabien Vitali, *Pasolini Bachman | Gespräche 1963-1975* (Vol. I) and Bachman Pasolini | Kommentar | Fabien Vitali (Vol. II). Fabien Vitali and Gabriella Angheleddu, eds. (Maintal, Germany: Abnormal Arts Gallery, 2022) https://www.galerie-der-abseleitigen-kuenste.de/publikation/vol-1-pasolini-bachman-gespraesche-1963-1975-vol-2-bachmann-pasolini-kommentar-fabien.

[49] In the transcription published by De Giusti, however, Orte, Bomarzo, 'Artigliano' are reported, Cf. De Giusti, *Cinema in forma di poesia*: 152; in the transcription of Cinemazero di Pordenone (available *in situ* but not published) Chia and Vetralla appear in the conversation, but are not listed; the *Viterbese* centers reported are limited to: Viterbo, Bomarzo, Mugnano, Tuscania, Tarquinia, San Martino, Soriano and Attigliano, a small Umbrian town. See Appendix A: 4-5.

[50] Pier Paolo Pasolini, conversazione con Gideon Bachman, "pasolini 056 aa 26." Cfr. Appendice A: 15.

> because we care about this cultural center being here...to make those rescues missions happen. (author's trans.)

Pasolini was murdered in 1975 and he was unable to see this project's completion. This study is sponsored by the very university Pasolini wished to see founded. Hence this study intends to reread the territory through the lens of the "form of the city" and to outline premises for a local city museum. If applied, this paradigm can make a holistic contribution to the preservation and enhancement of Orte's heritage and set the foundations for museum strategies capable of including citizens in the remaking and retelling of the city's story.

1.2. Disentangling a chronology. *Le mura di Sana* and *La forma della città*

The historiography of the two documentaries is characterized by contradictory information regarding the production dates of *Le mura di Sana* and *La forma della città*. Since the 1980s it was believed that both short films took on their current forms in 1974, a dating that this research puts into question in light of documentary evidence and audiovisual material that emerged from archives in Bologna, Pordenone, and Rome.[51]

Pasolini travelled incessantly; he visited and worked on no less than four continents, not so much out of xenophilia as much as in search of a native equilibrium free of present-day 'contamination.' When, in 1970, while shooting the *Decameron* in Yemen, he had the opportunity to observe an ancient country emerge from a recently ended civil war. He observed the reconstruction of Sana'a and recognized similar dynamics to those which had already been 'inflicted' on Orte: land speculation promoted by a new regime in total disregard and even contempt for local culture.[52] In *Le mura di Sana*, the director's intent was to document everything that had made him accumulate disappointment, resentment, and anger in the past. Denouncing the destruction of the Yemeni wall circuit, a kind of umbilical cord between nature and man, he created a cinematic apology in defense of folk cultures around the world. The destruction of ancient, anthropized places provoked a visceral and existential malaise in him: "Sana'a's problems felt like my own."[53] Despite his usual reluctance for interviews, on his return to Rome in the autumn of 1970 he gave two interviews in which he explicitly talked

[51] See note 6 to this chapter.
[52] Pasolini was beset by the recurring difficulty of tracing ancient contexts that had remained 'untouched' or 'uncontaminated.' Although he did not tolerate any anachronism in his shots, when he read Boccaccio or Chaucer his interpretation was always innovative and iconoclastic.
[53] Pasolini, "Pasolini racconta con rabbia."

about shedding tears over the destruction of Sana'a's walls.[54] From then on Pasolini undertook, through his film work and through public initiatives organized *ad hoc*, a battle for the preservation of Sana'a and for safeguarding cultural landscapes. The presence of Orte in both projects, however, has caused more confusion than debate around the relationship between the Yemeni capital and the small *viterbese* town.

Three years later, while filming *Il fiore delle Mille e una notte*, having found the Yemeni city irreparably degraded, he re-evaluated the state of conservation of the *laziale* center and became actively involved in its preservation. He accepted RAI's invitation to take part in the television program *io e...*, which led to the making of the documentary *pasolini e... "la forma della città"* (1974), making use of clips from his earlier film *Le mura di Sana*. Herein he illustrated numerous examples of land speculation from so-called Third World, but the artist makes clear that "what upsets and hurts me most is that this is happening in Italy."[55] Through *La forma della città*, Pasolini returned to comment on Orte's plight for a second time to disrupt the Italian public, raising awareness of Italy's multifaceted 'minor heritage' and the looming threat to its survival.

According to the artist, the defilement of Orte's urban silhouette was emblematic of a universal problem, a theme that was also the subject of an illuminating conversation on 13-14 September 1974 between Pasolini and Gideon Bachman, a journalist and stateless artist who often recorded their friendly encounters while gathering material for a documentary he was making about the artist's life and work.[56] The audio reels of this recording are now kept at the Bachman Fund in the Cinemazero Archives (Pordenone); this recording allows us to understand better Orte's importance for Pasolini, as well as the evolution of his vision for the *viterbese* area. On the occasion of the first retrospective dedicated to Pasolini's film *corpus*, this recording was

[54] Dario Bellezza, "Io e Boccaccio," *Espresso*, 23-24; "Settevolante di Berenice: Sedici domande a Pier Paolo Pasolini," *Paese sera*, 1970.11.14.
[55] Pier Paolo Pasolini, "La forma della città," *Per il cinema*. Walter Siti and Franco Zabagli, eds. I Meridiani (Milan: Mondadori, 2001): 2126
[56] Bachman, a polyglot and stateless person of German-Jewish origin, moved to the United States to escape Nazi persecution, then returned to Europe at the end of the conflict. He is best known for his collaborations with Federico Fellini, but he knew Pasolini as early as 1962 in Venice at the Venice Film Festival. He later hung out with Pasolini both at Chia and on film sets, not as a journalist but as a colleague, specifying that their meetings were "conversations" and not "interviews."
Bachman's journalistic work was often complemented by photographs taken by his partner Deborah Beer (see fig. 1). Together the couple documented European artists and intellectuals from the 1970's to the 1990s. Almost the entirity of their archive is preserved at Cinemazero (Pordenone). *Cf.* Riccardo Costantini, *Pier Paolo Pasolini. Politica Polemica Potere* (Milan: Chiarelettere, 2015).

erroneously transcribed by Luciano De Giusti and later published in the 1979 volume *Cinema a forma di poesia.*[57] The current project produced a new and complete transcription which has facilitated a more precise analysis of the artist's documentary work and a reinterpretation of the concept of "the perfect form" at Orte and across all of La Tuscia.[58] It is useful to retrace the reception of both *Le mura* and *La forma* in order to disentangle a series of long-standing misunderstandings.

According to Luciano De Giusti and then to Nico Naldini (the artist's cousin, collaborator, press secretary and biographer), *Le mura di Sana* did not debut on the RAI Channel Two in 1971, but rather took place four years later during the Milanese debut of *Il fiore delle Mille e una notte* (*Arabian Nights*). The latter event took place on June 20, 1974 in the presence of Giorgio Bassani, Italia Nostra's president, and of the architect and urban planner Gae Aulenti.[59] In the article "*Pasolini racconta con rabbia l'assurda rovina di una città*," published in the *Corriere della Sera* newspaper to coincide with the screening of *Le mura di Sana*,[60] the director explains why he had made the short film and reiterates his desire to safeguard urban and natural landscapes. In short, the pain he felt upon seeing the destruction of Yemen's cultural heritage provided him with a creative impetus:

> *Ci tenevo troppo a girare questo documentario. Si tratterà forse di una deformazione professionale, ma i problemi di Sana'a li sentivo come i miei. La deturpazione che come una lebbra la sta invadendo, mi feriva con un dolore, una rabbia, un senso di impotenza e nel tempo stesso un febbrile desiderio di far qualcosa, da cui sono stato perentoriamente costretto a filmare.*[61]
>
> I wanted to make this documentary so badly. Maybe it's a professional deformation, but I felt Sana'a's problems to be my own. Its

[57] Luciano De Giusti, ed., "La perdita della realtà e il cinema inintegrabile," *Cinema a forma di poesia*: 152-161; *Cf.* Luciano De Giusti, ed., *I film di Pier Paolo Pasolini* (Roma: Gremese Editore, 1983): 152-161.
The transcript was made between 1978 and 1979, on the occasion of the first integral retrospective of Pier Paolo Pasolini's films organized by the two young critics and founders of Cinemazero, Piero Colussi and Luciano De Giusti. It was Graziella Chiarcossi, Pasolini's heir, who introduced De Giusti himself to Gideon Bachman, who lent the young film critics the original audio reels to use them for the 1979 publication. News about this film retrospective was communicated to the author by Luciano De Giusti in a telephone conversation in September 2019.
[58] Appendix A: 15.
[59] *Radiocorriere*, Year XLVIII, no.7, 1971/02/16:14. The archives report the program under the title *Boomerang* aired on the second channel at 21.15. Only twelve minutes and forty-eight seconds of Pier Paolo Pasolini's contribution have been digitized in the Teche RAI multimedia catalog and the rest of the 60-minute program remains undigitized. For more information on the multimedia catalogue: Pubblico Registro Cinematografico, 5305/1 of 1971/01/22, 1971/02/08, 1971/03/12 and 1971/06/18, Archivi del Ministero per il Turismo e lo Spettacolo, Roma.
[60] Pasolini, "Pasolini racconta con rabbia."
[61] Pasolini, "Pasolini racconta con rabbia."

> disfigurement is as invasive as leprosy, inflicting me with a pain, an anger, a sense of impotence and, at the same time, a feverish desire to do something about it, a desire which peremptorily compelled me to film. (author's trans.)[62]

He went along with this "peremptory compulsion" by making *Le mura di Sana* in record time, with the hope of protecting this ancient capital from further devastation. This documentary, *in the form of an appeal to UNESCO* (as indicated in the film's subtitle), was a cry for help for this "wild, dust-swept Venice." In contrast to the Yemeni capital, Orte was here presented as a city disfigured by land speculation through footage of a recently-built apartment building abutting the city's historic center and through the interviews with locals who, for the most part, expressed dissent over the recent construction project. In this film, Orte heeds as a warning for Sana'a's destiny.

When did Pasolini film *Le mura di Sana*? Why has it been dated to 1971 *and* 1974?[63] A brief literature review can help reconstruct how this film's chronology became intertwined with that of *La forma della città.* Today most scholars believe that Pasolini shot the sequences at Orte – both those in *Le mura* and those in *La forma* – shortly after his return from the set of *Il fiore delle Mille e una notte* in 1973. In 1983, Luciano De Giusti hypothesized that Pasolini filmed Orte back in 1973-74, when he met Brunatto and the RAI troupe to shoot *La forma della città*. He, however, recognized that the Yemeni footage from *Le mura di Sana* must have been shot before the film aired on TV on 16 February 1971.[64]

The dating of *Le mura* and *La forma* came up again in 1987 when Nico Naldini published the first chronology of Pasolini's life and works. This chronology supposed that both films were shot entirely in 1973, the year of Pasolini's second trip to Sana'a.[65] Clearly, Naldini failed to notice that in one of the sequences in *Le mura di Sana* shows black flags of mourning at half-mast in commemoration of Egyptian President Nasser, who was buried on 1 October 1970.[66] When describing the genesis of *Le mura* in a 1974 article in the *Corriere della Sera,* Pasolini

[62] Pasolini, "Pasolini racconta con rabbia."
[63] Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Le mura di Sana* (Rosima Anstalt, 1971), http://www.teche.rai.it/2015/01/le-mura-di-sanaa/ (unavailable at this link since December 2021); Pier Paolo Pasolini, "La forma della città," *Per il cinema*. Walter Siti e Franco Zabagli, eds. I Meridiani (Milano: Mondadori, 2001): 2126.
[64] De Giusti, *I film di Pier Paolo Pasolini*: 141.
[65] Nico Naldini, "Cronologia," *Lettere 1955-1975*(Turin: Einaudi, 1987): CXLVIII; Nico Naldini, *Pasolini, una vita* (Turin: Einaudi, 1989): 376-378.
[66] "Nasser Funeral is Disrupted by Frenzy of Millions,:" New *York Times* 1970.10.02: 1, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1970/10/02/76785134.html?pageNumber=1, consulted 2019/10/01)

specified that on that 18 October 1970 he had used the 35 mm color film left over from the shooting the *Decameron*.[67] Naldini's chronology thus complicated the films' historiography by erroneously merging *Le mura* and *La forma* into a single project and a single batch of footage edited in 1974. Critics quickly realized Naldini's oversights in dating *Le mura* and *La forma* and gave preference to De Giusti's interpretation. The most widely sustained hypothesis argues, in fact, that the scenes in Sana'a were shot in 1970, while those in Orte were filmed in collaboration with RAI in December 1973 as part of *La forma della città* (which aired on 7 February 1974).[68]

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The subsequent discussion will proceed with a description of both *Le mura di Sana* and *La forma della città*. It will then propose new conclusions regarding the documentaries' chronology and production based on information that has emerged through newly identified primary sources. These new findings overturn a dating that critics have upheld for decades and shed new light on the significance of La Tuscia for Pasolini and his *oeuvre* and, likewise, on the critical importance of these films for the city of Orte and its inhabitants.

1.2.1. *Le mura di Sana* (Pasolini, 1971, prod. Rosima Anstalt, 00:12:48)

The short film *Le mura di Sana* (*The walls of Sana*) opens with a perplexing scene: a red truck crosses the screen, leaving the field of vision to an apparently undisturbed, human scarecrow immersed in farmland. In the next sequence, a commemorative stele recalls the construction of the paved road, visible in the background, that connected Sana'a with the Red Sea port of Hodeida thanks to a building project sponsored by the Chinese government.[69] A straight black line lacerates the plateau, interrupting centuries-old camel transport patterns and paving the way for new consumer goods to the *suq*. The same marketplace that once exhibited Arab, Eritrean, and Indian goods is now shown crammed with anonymous, industrial products like canned food and plastic shoes. The next scene documents roadworks in which the "ghostly bodies" of Chinese foremen supervise local workers (many of whom are child laborers) who

[67] Pasolini, "Pasolini racconta con rabbia."
[68] *Radiocorriere,* Year LI, No. 6, 1974/02/03-08: 50-51.
[69] The identification of the road was made possible thanks to the help of Marco Livadiotti, a guide and consultant for the tourist industry in Sana'a and Yemen, in a private conversation in Vetralla on September 11, 2020.

are busy sifting asphalt. Pasolini describes the "ghostly presence" of the Chinese as not so much for their physiognomy as for their deeply "unreal," alien relationship to that part of the world. The new and alienating application of bitumen interrupts local customs, techniques, and traditions: it ruptures the landscape, once marked only by the elegant contour of the city's mud-brick walls, part of a whole which included the mountain range and arid plains that surround Sana'a. The condemnation of this destruction is suddenly interrupted, with a warning that the whole world: seeing that Italy's small towns – here represented by Orte – were already living a similar "nightmare,"[70] similar 'minor' heritage needed to be protected from hegemonic economic and cultural models that were threatening to destroy local identities, regardless of their political orientations or their Chinese, Russian or American origins.[71]

As an aside, the proposed city museum at Orte would be an ideal setting to expound on Pasolini's precocious critique of globalization. Part of the exhibit can make use of film stills to evoke the film while QR Codes (or an equivalent tool) can refer visitors to RAI's digital archives (the Teche RAI) through which they could view the 1971 documentary on their own devices. Other parts of the exhibition could draw on local expressions of both land speculation and international immigration, urban phenomena that can be observed in the neighborhood surrounding the local railway station.

As per the documentary, subsequent images document the polychrome mud architecture typical of Sana'a, as Pasolini's voice-over equates the beauty of these structures with those of European *città d'arte*. The film suddenly leaps from Yemen to Italy revealing Orte's skyline, which, says the narrator, is a contiguous case in that "*la distruzione del mondo antico, ossia del mondo reale, è in atto dappertutto. L'irrealtà dilaga attraverso la speculazione edilizia del neocapitalismo; al posto dell'Italia bella e umana, anche se povera, c'è ormai qualcosa di indefinibile che chiamare brutto è poco*."[72] In a manner reminiscent of the interviews of *Comizi d'amore* (1964), Pasolini collects a series of grassroots interviews, giving voice to Orte's

[70] The term 'nightmare' was not used in *Le mura*, but in *La forma* at the conclusion of the speech on the Sabaudia dunes.
[71] The image of the spectral bodies anticipated the concept of 'nightmare' used by Pasolini at the conclusion of *La forma della città*: "*E allora questa acculturazione sta distruggendo, in realtà, l'Italia; allora posso dire senz'altro che il vero fascismo è proprio questo potere della civiltà dei consumi che sta distruggendo l'Italia. È questa cosa che è avvenuta talmente rapidamente che, in fondo, non ce ne siamo resi conto, che è avvenuto tutto in questi ultimi cinque, sei, sette, dieci anni. È stato una specie di incubo, in cui abbiamo visto l'Italia intorno a noi distruggersi e sparire. Adesso, risvegliandoci forse da questo incubo e guardandoci intorno, ci accorgiamo che non c'è più niente da fare*". Pasolini, "La forma della città," *Per il cinema*: 2129.
[72] Pasolini, "Le mura di Sana," *Per il cinema*: 2108.

citizens and thus to the "beautiful, human" and "poor Italy," voices that the city museum would like to welcome as narrators to convey a sense of place. A panoramic shot captures fields in the Tiber Valley and spans the distant woods and the lofty urban nucleus: an equilibrium altered by the recently constructed high-rise apartment. Pasolini calls attention to the "*panorama di Orte*," and to the "*disegno della città*," asking his interlocutors:[73] "*Lei trova niente da ridire, niente da criticare, su questo panorama?*". An interviewee answers "*Quello lì è il nuovo che fanno intorno a Orte, e quindi mi sta bene*,"[74] but most disapprove of what they see: "*Quella costruzione dà fastidio, perché innanzitutto è brutta per il paese; rovina il disegno paesaggistico, sì*." The Orte sequence in *Le mura* closes with a note of defeat: "*per l'Italia è finita*," a conclusion he will later call into question with *La forma della città*. The "*desiderio reale del popolo yemenita*" to protect the form of the city, however, finds no expression, as the local population puts their trust in 'progress' with the hope of improving their living conditions.[75] On an optimistic note, the film's last sequence documents a complex landscape: it frames "modern hovels" and goes on to span the walls with apparently timeless towers made of warm-colored mud-brick, this same color characterizes the building material seen in the houses enclosed by the ancient walls, as well as the plains and the mountains in the distance. As a finale, Pasolini orates off-screen a six-point manifesto for Yemen, calling for a greater awareness of its identity and of the fact that "*la [sua] sola ricchezza …è la sua bellezza*." Hence, he appeals to UNESCO to intervene and safeguard this 'minor' heritage from being destroyed by foreign, supranational powers.

1.2.2. *pasolini e... "la forma della città"* (Brunatto, 1974, prod. RAI, 00:15:30)

The documentary *pasolini e... "la forma della città"* (*pasolini and... "the form of the city"*) was made under the direction of Anna Zanoli, art historian, documentary filmmaker and creator

[73] In order of appearance, the interviewees are: Raimondo Bari (1926-2001), Franco Menichetti (born 1945), Erino Ciambella (1931-1999), Gianni, aka 'Vesparo,' Gioacchini (born 1947), Panfilo Api (1926-2001) and Ettore Zeno (born 1932).

[74] Also in the text edited by Laura Betti and Michele Gulinucci, Orte does not appear among the filming locations, while Sana'a is mentioned along with Ad Mukkallah. This information is incorrect: the Yemen footage was shot on location, but without providing any images of the second Yemeni city. Pasolini, *Le regole di un'illusione*: 269.

[75] This quote refers to the last of the six points delivered by Pasolini at the film's conclusion: "*Ci rivolgiamo all'UNESCO – in nome della vera seppure non ancora espressa volontà del popolo yemenita. In nome degli uomini semplici che la povertà ha mantenuto puri. In nome della grazia dei secoli oscuri. In nome della scandalosa forza rivoluzionaria del passato*."

of the RAI program *io e...* (fig. 5), directed by Paolo Brunatto.[76] Zanoli, a student of the ground-breaking art historian Roberto Longhi (like Pasolini), invited the artist to participate in the television series in 1973 and talk about his favorite work of art. This collaboration with RAI offered the artist an opportunity to address themes that emerged during the filming of *Il fiore delle Mille e una notte*, when he found Sana'a much far devastated than in 1970, when the city was just beginning the post-war reconstruction process seen in *Le mura*.[77]



Fig. I-5. Anna Zanoli on the worksite of Leonardo's Last Supper *in preparation for the documentary* Il restauro del Cenacolo di Leonardo *(1987) (source: https://www.finestresullarte.info/eventi/gallerie-italia-milano-pinin-brambilla-barcilon-anna-zanoli)*

Pasolini's role in *La forma* should have been limited to that of an interviewee, but he characteristically disobeyed pre-established schemes. The artist proposed himself both as the subject of the interview and as co-author of the visual, narrative, and stylistic content of the television program.[78] Similar dynamics were later repeated during his collaboration with the artist Fabio Mauri while creating the time-based media work *Intellettuale. Il Vangelo secondo Matteo di/su Pier Paolo Pasolini*. The performance, conceived by Mauri in 1975, involved projecting the 1964 film onto the artist's chest in the center of a room at Bologna's GNAM (Galleria d'Arte Moderna). Over time, in the popular imagination, the documentary photographs of this happening took on the quality of a self-portrait causing the figure of Mauri to disappear almost entirely from the interpretation of the work. [79] A similar process has taken place with *La formaa della città*, in which the film is perceived as Pasolini's, when it is in fact a RAI television production.

The aim here is to clarify the context in which *pasolini e… "la forma della città"* was made, and to outline the many figures involved in making the televised documentary. More than an

[76] "Anna Zanoli *Enciclopedia delle donne,* http://www.enciclopediadelledonne.it/biografie/anna-zanoli/, consultato 2020/12/01.
[77] Joubert-Laurencin, *Pasolini*; Roberto Chiesi, "*La forma della città.* A short film by Brunatto and Pasolini," *Cineclub*, no. 28, October-December 1995; Chiesi, "Lo sguardo di Pasolini."
[78] Chiesi, "*La forma della città."*
[79] These reflections arise in the context of the workshop "*Intellettuale,* 1975: Fabio Mauri's Projection Work "Il Vangelo secondo Matteo di/su Pier Paolo Pasolini" at Studio Mauri and Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome held on March 14, 2022. The event was organized by Benjamin Fellman and included contributions from Fabien Vitali (LMU München) and Ivan Barrlafante, Dora Aceto, and Sara Codutti (Studio Fabio Mauri).

authorial product, the documentary was a 'film-essay,' a cinematographic continuation of Pasolini's militant articles subsequently published in the anthology *Scritti corsari*.[80] Since his journalistic activity fiercely opposed the power of mass media, one may wonder what prompted him to accept the invitation to collaborate with Zanoli and RAI. Pasolini was critical of centralized media, but not of technology itself; in fact, he levered the communicative power of television to address a wider public on the dangers inherent to land speculation and the rapid consumption of agricultural land: practices becoming increasingly widespread in the 1960's and 1970's throughout the Italian peninsula. This critique of the mass media can be read as a two-part operation: one theoretical, the other practical. On Sunday, 9 December 1973, on the third page of the *Corriere della Sera*, he published the article "*Sfida ai dirigenti della RAI*," in which he described RAI as the technical medium of a "new fascist Power" which was responsible for the devitalization of urban outskirts, small towns, and their communities.[81] In the face of this "Fascist centralism," the author launched an unexpectedly disarming challenge: "*Io dunque sfido i dirigenti della televisione a dimostrare la loro buona fede e la loro buona volontà, attraverso il lancio della lettura dei libri*." In other words, he invited television producers to create programs that would encourage viewers to turn off their televisions in favor of reading books and stimulating people's imaginations.[82] Likewise, city museums embrace similar educational goals and would like to bring ideas like this to the wider public.

On 21 December 1973, only twelve days after the publication of the "*Sfida*," Pasolini met up with RAI's crew at Orte not to engage in "a mere exhibition," but to offer television audience "something useful," an intention he had made explicit while preparing for the occasion together with Anna Zanoli. [83] The short film *La forma della città* thus represented a singular counter-proposal to conventional television programming (like the popular program *Carosello*, which

[80] Zanoli, *"io e... Pasolini e "La forma della città:"* 8

[81] Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Sfida ai dirigenti della RAI," *Corriere della sera*, 1973/12/09: 3; republished, in part, as:"9 dicembre 1973. Acculturazione e acculturazione," in *Scritti Corsari* (Milano: Mondadori (Epoca!), 1988): 22-24.

[82] Pasolini, *"Sfida ai dirigenti della RAI."*

[83] These are the exact words used by Pier Paolo Pasolini in a private reply to Anna Zanoli's invitation to participate in the program. Reported by Zanoli in "Introduzione a Pasolini *e "la forma della città,"* in *Pasolini sconosciuto* (Alessandria: Edizioni Falsopiano, 2010): 157-170. In an interview with Roberto Chiesi in 1995, Brunatto slightly changed his account of these same facts.
Particularly illuminating is an unpublished piece of writing by Paolo Brunatto entitled "Un anima bella," three typewritten sheets preserved at the Cineteca di Bologna. The idea of "the form of the city" appears as the third proposal made by Pasolini, formulated after RAI's rejection of the previous two. The first idea was to talk about dry-stone walls and the second was to talk about a fountain in Rome's outskirts within the context of the area's nightlife which was strongly connotated by prostitution. *Cf.* Chiesi, "*La forma della città*," 14-15; Paolo Brunatto, "Un'anima bella. Testo per schede *io e*... Il profilo di due città: Orte e Sabaudia," 1984/08/00, unpublished typescript, fasc. *La forma della città*, Fondo Pasolini, Cineteca di Bologna.

aired an hour before the documentary); this was a new kind of program meant to confer tools with which to address "acculturation," "inhumanity," "aphasia," and the "brutal absence of critical skills."[84]

The film *pasolini e... "la forma della città"* is divided into four parts. In the first segment, Pasolini introduces Orte as an example of a city with a "perfect form" which has, however, been "defaced" by extraneous elements. Through sequences from *Le mura di Sana*, he shows that this problem is endemic across the world. In the following panorama shots of the *viterbese* countryside, the artist elevates to the status of an archetype: an 'uncontaminated' landscape suspended in an eternal equilibrium which gave rise to infinite urban forms. This is the context in which we can retrace the history of "nameless people," those responsible for paving the "*stradina da niente*". The film's last shots were taken in Sabaudia and highlight the fact that cultural landscapes are not restricted to cities with ancient foundations. What is key is maintaining a dynamic and vital relationship between mankind and the environment. This "reality" must be defended from the rampant threat posed by new systems of socio-economic exchanges and, hence, power.

At Pasolini's own request, the documentary begins in Orte where, three years earlier, the artist had filmed the town and interviewed locals in *Le Mura di Sana.*[85] The next panning shot frame the Tiber from the bridge that connects arterial roads and to the city's historic core. Although a road separates the camera from the hill town, the images disclose an inherent balance between the landscape and the area's built heritage. The following sequence shows the artist behind an Arriflex camera while talking with his friend and close collaborator Ninetto Davoli: the two look at each other, avoiding the "empty" gaze of RAI's television camera, a symbol of a new, vacuous, and "unreal" "civilization." As a counterpoint to that world, the *laziale* town acts as a "pure" place characterized by "rightful anthropomorphism."[86] The recently built, poorly designed and misplaced apartments, on the other hand, do not function as "real" houses in that

[84] *Radiocorriere*, Anno LI, n. 6, 3/8 February 1974, 50; Pasolini, Il genocidio *Scritti Corsari* (Milan: Garzanti, 1975/ed. Epoca, 1988): 191.
[85] Anna Zanoli, "*io e...* Pasolini e 'La forma della città': memoria e ricerca intorno a una trasmissione televisiva:" 23.
[86] Zanzotto, "Architettura e urbanistica informali" (1962/ 2005): 154.

they disturb the residents, the town and its "*pensilità rupestre*;" the shape and location of the high rise spins an ancient balance into chaos.[87]

Images of Sana'a from *Le Mura* introduce a new narrative in which Pasolini masterfully condemns globalized consumerism.[88] He cites parallels between multiple cities in the developing world, cities destroyed by governments of diverse political orientations: Persia (the chimneys of Yazd), South Yemen (Aden and the gate of Ad Mukkallah), North Yemen (the walls of Sana'a) and Nepal (the monuments of Kathmandu and the urban plan of Bhadgaon). In contrast to the 1971 documentary, *La forma della città* shifts attention from land speculation overseas and focuses on smaller Italian towns, arguing that their preservation is tantamount to a categorical imperative.

Singling out individual urban elements (like a road, a gate, or a rock-hewn cellar) the artist narrates the vicissitudes of Orte's as the story of an entire community, placing micro-history and macro-history on equal ground. Observing the town at many levels, he deconstructs the hierarchy that conventionally divides fine arts from material culture, monuments from anonymous urban architecture, artists from artisans and architects from bricklayers: "*una infinità di uomini senza nome, che però hanno lavorato all'interno di un'epoca che poi ha prodotto i frutti più estremi, più assoluti, nelle opere d'arte d'autore*."[89] In the visitor routes proposed as part of a local city museum, Pasolini's film-essay provides a lens through which to interpret Orte's historic documents and art historical assets, enhancing both their material qualities and elucidating the context of their production, but above all by heightening their role as secular testimonies of the town's and the townspeople's daily lives.

The film-essay ends in Sabaudia, a city founded on reclaimed land, a classic emblem of the Fascist *Ventennio*. He shockingly describes this second *laziale* town and its carefully planned neighborhoods as "enchanting," a quality that aligns with an aesthetic that goes back to classical and Renaissance canons: it is "a human-scaled city" characterized by anthropocentric

[87] Gianfranco Contini, "Testimonianza per Pier Paolo Pasolini," *Il Ponte*, n. 4 (1980/04/30): 16; republished in *Pier Paolo Pasolini. Testimonianze*, Anna Panicali and Sergio Sestini, eds. Firenze: Salani, 1982. Quoted in Anna Zanoli, "io e... Pasolini e "La forma della città:" memoria e ricerca intorno a una trasmissione televisiva," *Paragone*, n. 731, Anno LXII, gennaio, 2011, 12-19, Firenze: Sansone, 2011.
[88] Pasolini explicitly told Zanoli "*di procurare per il montaggio parti del suo documentario «Le Mura di Sana'a».*" *Cf.* Zanoli, *"io e... Pasolini e "La forma della città:"* 21. As he narrates via voice-over, Pasolini comments on Nepalese urban planning. The source of these images has not yet been identified, but they most likely come from the RAI archives.
[89] Brunatto, *pasolini e ... "la forma della città:"* 00:10:29-00:11:27.

architecture in harmonious dialogue with the surrounding territory. In Pasolini's eyes, early 20th century Fascism is unexpectedly deemed less violent than the void created by rampant consumerism encroaching on every corner of the world.[90]

1.2.3. Reordering the documentaries' chronologies and production

As mentioned above, the historiography of *Le mura di Sana* and *La forma della città* offers contradictory accounts about filming "*nella città di Sanaa' e, parzialmente, nella cittadina di Orte in provincia di Viterbo*."[91] In all probability, this situation can be attributed to public's, but especially critics' poor understanding and disacknowledgment of the two documentaries. Already at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York' RAI film festival (1972), *Le Mura* received little attention and the press release, only mentioned Sana'a, leaving Orte completely out of the film.[92] Pasolini himself complained that his *appeal to UNESCO* had fallen on deaf ears: hence the renewed attempt to draw attention to the preservation of Sana'a in two subsequent large-scale events.[93] In Milan, in June 1974, at the debut of *Il fiore delle Mille e una notte* (mentioned above), *Le mura* had already been screened, but even on this occasion the provocative contrast between the extraordinary Arabian city and the small Italian

[90] In the words of Pasolini "*Alloro io penso questo: che il fascismo, il regime fascista, non è stato altro, in conclusione, che un gruppo di criminali al potere. E questo gruppo di criminali al potere non ha potuto in realtà fare niente, non è riuscito a incidere, nemmeno scalfire lontanamente la realtà dell'Italia. Sicché Sabaudia, benché ordinata dal regime secondo certi criteri di carattere razionalistico, estetizzante, accademico, non trova le sue radici nel regime che l'ha ordinata, ma trova le sue radici in quella realtà che il fascismo ha dominato tirannicamente ma che non è riuscito a scalfire. Dunque, è la realtà dell'Italia provinciale, rustica, paleoindustriale eccetera, eccetera, che ha prodotto Sabaudia, e non il fascismo.*" Brunatto, *pasolini e ... "la forma della città:"* 00:13:10-00:13:57.

[91] A letter signed by Lina Pugni, addressed to Ministero per il Turismo e lo Spettacolo, nel dossier col riferimento al codice 5305/1 del 1971/01/22 (deposited 1971/01/23 with protocol no. 918), 1971/02/08, 1971/03/12 e 1971/06/18. The document will be commented in the following pages.

[92] "Italian Film Series Shown at Museum: Films for RAI Radiotelevione Italiana" features known and unknown directors Press Release no. 133, MoMA, New York: 3-4.
The screening of *Le mura di Sana* at MoMA does not seems to have been commented by New York critics in 1972. There is news of the screening in a blurb published in the *Radiocorriere*, October 29-November 4, 1972, year XLIV, no. 44, 29. The museum's press release can also be found in MoMA's digitized archives. The 12-minute documentary was shown in New York on November 30 and December 4, 1972. Since the version conserved at the Teche RAI is 12'48, the documentary screened at MoMA must have included the sequence on Orte, without which the film would have lasted about 10 minutes. The version screened in New York therefore contradicts Joubert-Laurencin's hypothesis that the images of Orte spliced into *Le mura* in a re-edited version in 1974. This hypothesis will also be discussed in detail below.

[93] "Conferenza stampa Lega Italo-Araba" (Rome, October 1974), text also published in Pasolini, *Per il cinema*: 2122. N.B. The association that hosted the event is erroneously cited: it was not the Lega Italo-Arab, but rather the Associazione Italo-Araba.

town escaped both the Milanese elite and the national press.[94] In October of the same year Pasolini, together with Senator Lelio Basso and the Yemeni ambassador Mohamed Al Wazir, held an international press conference in Rome with a screening of the same documentary. On that occasion, the artist compared the number of inhabitants of Yemen with those of the province of Viterbo (a reflection that will be commented on in the fourth chapter of this essay), arguing that these demographics favor the development of campaigns to sensitize inhabitants about the importance of safeguarding the territory. The attention paid to Sana'a contributed to the elevation of the Yemeni capital as a World Heritage Site in 1986, yet no attention was paid to Orte.[95] Evidently, Pasolini's proposal was premature for its times. Similar reflections, however, informed theoretical reflections like those in *Inchieste su centri minori*, a pivotal anthology featuring many leading scholars. These included Enrico Guidoni as editor this Einaudi volume, who was also an architect and university lecturer who made an important contribution to La Tuscia's urban history (and well beyond). His experiments in museography include the creation of the Museo della città e del territorio di Vetralla, together with archeologist Elisabetta De Minicis.[96]

It was only in the 1980s that the foundations were laid for a critical review of the two documentaries. It was Gianfranco Contini, a philologist, friend and mentor of Pasolini, who noted the importance of Orte in the artist's imagination in a commemorative lecture five years after his death:

> *Una chiave del suo ideale di paesaggio Pasolini la fornì in una trasmissione televisiva (...). La rubrica s'intitolava Io e..., era gestita con vera intelligenza da [Anna Zanoli] un'allieva di Longhi ...ed era dedicata a un monumento o a un'opera d'arte di cui un intellettuale denunciava la sopravvivenza minacciata. Pasolini scelse "La forma di Orte". E denunciò gli oltraggi edilizî inflitti a*

[94] Mario Pasi, "Pasolini padrino di una Milano più umana," *Corriere della sera,* 1974/06/14 and "Solo per una sera Pasolini svela a Milano l'Oriente," *Corriere della sera,* 1974.06.20. No article, either in newspapers or in periodicals, mentions Orte, suggesting that this village in Lazio was not considered the fulcrum on a national debate on the preservation and redevelopment of historic Italian cities. The architect Gae Aulenti brought attention to land development in Milan on this occasion, *i.e.* the Milanese debut *La fiore di Mille e una notte* which included a screening of *Le mura di Sana* in 1974. Franca Romé, "La Milano del duemila," *Il milanese*, June 30, 1974.

[95] Yvonne A. Mazurek, Pier Paolo Pasolini's Film *Le mura di Sana* (1971). A Preservationist's Vision and Its Legacy," in *Cities Identity Through Architecture and Arts* (2nd edition). In *Cities' Identity through Architecture and Art. Fourth Edition Conference Proceedings, University of Pisa, Italy/ online, December 14, 2020*, Advances in Science, Technology and Innovation Series, ed. Alessio Cardaci, Nicola Cavalagli, Nabil Mohareb and Sreetheran Maruthaveeran (Cham: Springer, 2022). DOI: 10.1007/978-3-030-99480-8. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-99480-8_20

[96] Enrico Guidoni, ed., *Storia dell'arte italiana. Inchieste su Centri Minori*, vol. 8 (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1980).
In the Museo della città e del territorio di Vetralla, conceived and realized by Guidoni together with the archaeologist Elisabetta De Minicis, Guidoni's philosophy hardly emerges. The display and visitor experience differ greatly from the experience of reading Guidoni's writing on cities and 'lowbrow' culture.

> *questo luogo della Teverina un tempo frugalmente ma nobilmente compatto nella sua pensilità rupestre: un campione dunque dell'ideale bellezza italiana secondo Pasolini, povero, genuino, assoluto, ai limiti del deserto e dell'arsione vulcanica*.[97]
>
> Pasolini provided a key to his ideal landscape in a television program (...). The program was entitled *io e...* , and it was produced with real intelligence by [Anna Zanoli], one of Longhi's pupils ... and it was dedicated to a monument or a work of art whose threatened survival was being denounced by an intellectual. Pasolini chose "La forma di Orte." And he denounced the built ignominy inflicted on this Tiberine place which was once frugally but nobly compact in its rocky pensility: a sample therefore of ideal Italian beauty according to Pasolini, poor, genuine, absolute, at the limits of the desert and of volcanic ardor. (trans. Author)

In this incisive synthesis, Contini managed to condense Pasolini's vision and fully grasped his commitment to the preservation of cultural landscapes in the face of land speculation. With his words, moreover, Contini provided important indications for understanding both the specific meaning of the place and the intellectual and creative climate in which the documentary project was born. For this reason, Contini's words, so evocative of "this Tiberine place," deserve to be exhibited at the center of one of the city's museums to seal the poetic transfiguration of this 'minor' town and its landscape while configuring possible itineraries for local visitors.

Contini's commemorative text remained a point of reference for *La forma della città*'s entire historiography, but in the 1990s critics misinterpreted the text as a commentary about *Le mura di Sana*. Despite the rapid evolution of the means of film distribution, *Le mura di Sana* and *La forma della città* remained untraceable in the 1990s. In 1995, French critic Hervé Joubert-Laurencin contextualized the Tuscia documentaries within the director's film *corpus* in *Pasolini, portrait du poète en cineaste*, providing an initial structure for the critical discourse dedicated to the two short films.[98] His interpretation of *Le mura* was masterful, yet the knowledge of *La forma* was fragmentary, since the critic had not had the opportunity to see the second documentary. Joubert-Laurencin based his conclusions on Contini's description of Orte

[97] Contini, "Testimonianza per Pier Paolo Pasolini riportato da Zanoli, *"io e... Pasolini e "La forma della città:"* 16.
The same text is cited in Naldini, "Cronologia CXLIX-X; Naldini, *Pasolini, una vita*, 378; Joubert-Laurencin, *Pasolini*, 169; Phillipe Duböy, "Pier Paolo Pasolini, *'La forme d'une ville'*," in *Chimeres,* n. 47, automne, (Paris: Association Chimeres, 2002): 53; Chiesi, "*La forma della città*:" 14-15; Chiesi, "Lo sguardo di Pasolini*"* (http://www.parol.it/articles/pasolini.htm, consultato 2019/06/30); Zanoli, "Introduzione a *Pasolini e la forma della città* 157, 161; Zanoli, *"*io e... *Pasolini e "La forma della città:"* 12-19.
[98] Joubert-Laurencin, *Pasolini*, 169: 321.

(that in fact referred to *La forma della città*) and seemed to correspond with scenes from both documentaries.[99] Joubert-Laurencin deduced that Pasolini must have shot all the footage of Orte's urban landscapes together with the interviews while making *La forma della città.* According to the critic, the artist later edited these sequences, suggesting that Orte was included as an afterthought in a 'second' version of *Le mura di Sana*, rearranged after *La forma* had aired in February 1974. If this were indeed the case, the version of *Le mura* that has been preserved and digitized by the Teche RAI would be the re-edited version while all traces of the 'first' version are to be considered definitively lost.[100]

Joubert-Laurencin's conviction would have remained a mere hypothesis if Roberto Chiesi, film critic and current head of the Pier Paolo Pasolini Archive in Bologna, had not put the French hypothesis in dialogue with De Giusti's aforementioned transcript from 1979. Herein, Pasolini seems to claim that he shot *La forma della città* and included a segment of that film in *Le mura*:

> *Io ho fatto un documentario su questo [problema della difesa del paesaggio] alla televisione: un pezzettino è inserito in Le Mura di Sana. Ho aperto una parentesi, parlando dello Yemen, e ho detto: «Per esempio, in Italia c'è una città che ancora come colpo d'occhio, come situazione nel mondo naturale circostante (la collina, il Tevere che passa sotto, i vigneti), insomma è uguale a Sana nel deserto. Però qui che cosa hanno fatto». E ho fatto un'inquadratura in cui, zumando leggermente indietro dalla perfetta forma di Orte, si è scoperto questo gruppo di immondi grattacieli popolari che hanno costruito lì vicino...* [101]
>
> I made a television documentary about this [problem of defending the landscape]: a small piece is spliced into *Le Mura di Sana*. While talking about Yemen, I opened a parenthesis and said: "For example, in Italy there is a city that at a glance – meaning its

[99] Joubert-Laurencin, *Pasolini*, 169; Chiesi, "*La forma della città:"* 15.
[100] There is no trace of a 'first version' of *Le mura di Sana* in the Teche RAI Multimedia Catalogue. According to data entered in 1984, the Anagrafico del Magazzino Centrale TV has four documents with titled "Boomerang. Mura di Sana (Le)" classified on January 2, 1984, all with the identifier Teca C12943 in 35 mm format. The description of the audio and video content is identical: "*Le problematiche sociali e politiche dello Yemen esemplificate dai cambiamenti strutturali in atto nella capitale Sana, all'indomani dell'avvento della repubblica di stampo socialista, che ne stanno minacciando la bellezza, confrontati con quelli avvenuti a Orte, su cui vengono intervistati i suoi abitanti*." There are five support numbers carried over from the Magazzino del Centro archiviazione: 0009297395; in the 'S' Warehouse we find the following support numbers: 0000631110 (film), 0000631120 (mag), 0000631130 (subtitle film), 0009172879 (cassette) where the three films all have a length of 359 metres, similar to the length (365m) filed for censorship required for *Le mura di Sana* in November 1971 (just before the exhibition at MoMA New York). Source: https://cinecensura.com/cortometraggi/le-mura-di-sana/, consultato 2019/09/04.
The length of the films is practically identical, so there is nothing to suggest that there is a distinction between a "first" version of *Le mura di Sana* and a "second" version that was later re-edited. Moreover, the length of the surviving films corresponds to the length of about 12 minutes reported by MoMA in 1972.
[101] De Giusti, *Cinema in forma di poesia*, 152. Passages have been here underlined for emphasis.

> relationship with the surrounding natural environment (the hill, the Tiber passing underneath, the vineyards) – in short, has the same relationship as Sana does with the desert surrounding it. But look at what have they've gone ahead and done here." And I took a shot in which, zooming out slightly from Orte's perfect form, you discover this group of immense apartment buildings that were built nearby... (trans. author)

The transcript's reconstruction is erred and wrongly suggests that Pasolini "spliced a small piece" of the television documentary *La forma della città* into *Le mura di Sana*. It falsely corroborates the idea that there was a first version of *Le mura* in 1971 and a second version in 1974.[102] Since no one questioned the accuracy of the 1979 transcript, most critics and journalists have supported this chronology from 1995 onwards.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Gideon Bachman, who was making a documentary on Pasolini, recorded a conversation with the filmmaker in September 1974 which makes it possible to resolve the discrepancies between the dates given in the documents deposited at the Ministero per il Turismo e lo Spettacolo (discussed in greater detail below).[103] In light of new documentary evidence, the following analysis will refute both the dates hitherto accepted by the majority of critics and the hypotheses sustained by Joubert-Laurencin and Chiesi since 1995. [104]

Orte's city museum would like to provide access to digitized recordings Bachman captured on audio reels to make them available to future museum visitors so they can know and partake in Pasolini's vision for La Tuscia. This friendly, though disjointed, dialogue records a vivacious exchange of ideas between Pasolini and Bachman. The two friends continuously interrupt each other, while the linguistic idiosyncrasies of the foreign, polyglot artist makes it necessary to

[102] Neither De Giusti, nor Joubert-Laurencin had access to the original recording, as the audio reels were still in Gideon Bachman's possession, making it very difficult to ascertain the transcript's veracity.
[103] Pubblico Registro Cinematografico, 5305/1.
[104] Joubert-Laurencin, *Pasolini*, 169, 321; Chiesi, "*La forma della città:"* 14-15; Pasolini, *Per il cinema*: 2110, 2123, 3171-3175; Duböy, "Pier Paolo Pasolini:" 53; Chiesi, *"*Lo sguardo di Pasolini*"* (http://www.parol.it/articles/pasolini.htm, consultato 2019/06/30); Claudio Franzoni, "Pasolini a Orte," *Doppiozero*, 12 Gennaio 2012 (https://www.doppiozero.com/materiali/fuori-busta/pasolini-orte (consultato 2019/09/07); Davide Turrini, "Yemem, Sanaa sotto le bombe. Quando Pier Paolo Pasolini la filmò e scrisse all'Unesco: 'Salviamo quelle mura'," *Il fatto quotidiano*, 8 aprile 2015 (https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2015/04/08/yemem-bombe-sanaa-quando-pasolini-scrisse-salviamo-quelle-mura/1571960/, consultato 2019/08/12); Piero Zanini, *"*La forma del tempo," *Altre narrazioni*, Novembre 2015, 106-110. http://storieinmovimento.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Zap35_10-AltreNarrazioni-1.pdf.

decode the dialogues so as to make them comprehensible.[105] Bachman wrote an article entitled "Cara Tuscia," in 1974 in which he reports the essence of his meeting with Pasolini; herein he provides a more reliable version of the conversation that took place in Chia (the same conversation De Giusti erroneously transcribed five years later). The following, edited passage cites Pasolini and was published in the *Messaggero* just over a week after the Bachman and the artist met:

> *Ciò che si fa in nome del progresso non dev'essere necessariamente brutto. Su questo tema ho fatto un documentario. Nel mio film* Le mura di Sana*, sullo Yemen, ho aperto una parentesi e ho fatto vedere quel gioiello che è la collina sulla quale sorge Orte, quindi ho fatto vedere l'immondo grattacielo che le hanno costruito proprio accanto. La gente di Orte era molto sensibile al problema, erano indignati mentre la costruzione andava avanti, ma nessuno poté fare nulla per impedire lo scempio. Accadde sette o otto anni fa, in epoca in cui la gente si lasciava coinvolgere meno da questo genere di problema. Fu uno di quei classici intrallazzi italiani* [...].[106]
>
> What is done in the name of progress does not necessarily have to be ugly. I made a documentary about this subject. In my film about Yemen, *Le mura di Sana*, I opened a parenthesis and showed that jewel of a hill from which Orte rises, then I showed the filthy apartment building they built right next to it. People at Orte were very sensitive to the problem, they were outraged as they watched the building go up, but nobody could do anything to prevent this massacre. This all happened seven or eight years ago, at a time when people were less engaged with this kind of problem. It was typical Italian monkey business [...].

Bachman's account clearly makes no reference to any hypothetical reworking of *Le mura di Sana*, in accordance with dates reported by RAI and production documents dating from 1971.

To dispel all doubts, Anna Zanoli provides important clues in two articles she published in 2010 and 2011, texts in which the art historian and creator of the TV program *io e...* thoroughly describes *La forma*'s production and provides facts that allow us to establish who filmed at

[105]Pier Paolo Pasolini, conversation with Gideon Bachman, "pasolini 056 aa 26." A sound gap intersperses at 10'09" of the 'nastrino' (a term used by Bachman), at the moment when Pasolini seems to repeat, and thus reiterate, the phrase "ho fatto un documentario." *Cf.* Gideon Bachman, "Cara Tuscia," *Messaggero*, 1974/09/22, 3. "Cara Tuscia" was transcribed in its entirety in Silvio Cappelli, *Pier Paolo Pasolini: dalla Torre di Chia all'Università di Viterbo* (Viterbo: Vecchiarelli, 2004). Cfr. Appendice A: 5.
[106] Bachman, "Cara Tuscia." Emphasis added by the author to highlight aspects mentioned in this study.

Orte and when.[107] One footnote alludes to similarities between some images from *Le mura* and *La forma*, but shyly states that the two films where shot independently of each other. Going against the grain, Zanoli is the first scholar to question the hypothesis that *Le mura* was re-edited using footage from *La forma* in 1974.[108]

Although she does not resolve the issue, Zanoli provides objective facts which help distinguish the contexts in which the two documentaries were produced. Most importantly, she reports that Pier Paolo Pasolini and Paolo Brunatto shot *La forma della città* in Orte on Friday, 21 December 1973, providing a fixed point from which to disentangle the two films' chronologies (figs. 7-8). [109] First*,* it is important to note that the two documentaries employ different technical equipment. In *Le mura*, Pasolini talks to locals while holding the camera on his shoulders and a portable metal microphone in his hand; in *La forma*, however, Pasolini films behind a camera mounted on a tripod while an audio-technician operates a brown microphone.[110] The weather conditions in the two *sets* are different: in the first film, the interviewees shelter under umbrellas; in *La forma,* Pasolini points out that "*la solita bruma azzurra bruna della grande pittura nordica rinascimentale"* provides an opaque background against which it is easy to make out the city's silhouette. Likewise, in her 2011 article, Zanoli recalled her own relief at the clement weather on the morning of the shoot: it did not rain at Orte. While the cityscape presents no changes from one film to the next, the fields in the foreground reveal that the shots were filmed at different times of the year. In addition, the informal architecture in the background reveals the passage of time: in *Le mura*, the space near Orte's sports field is empty; in *La forma*, on the contrary, that same space is occupied by an orange shack. Moreover, the same white structure visible that appears intact in the first film; reveals paint peeling in the

[107] Already in 2010 Anna Zanoli published an article in which she pointed out certain errors in the chronology regarding the two documentaries shot in Tuscia in Nico Naldini's reports. In footnote 16, she reports that the images of Orte in *Le mura* and in *La forma* were taken from footage shot at different times. Anna Zanoli. "Introduzione a *Pasolini e la forma della città*:" 157-170. She further emphasizes this fact in Zanoli, *"io e... Pasolini e "La forma della città:"* 32-33, footnote 15: "*Non è un taglio della* Forma della città*, è una mini-inchiesta autonoma, girata nello stesso punto d'inizio del documentario RAI. È stata notata la simmetria dei due inserti complementari incrociati, questo in* Le Mura di Sana'a *e lo spezzone delle* Mura di Sana'a *nella* Forma della città*.*"

[108] Brunatto, "Un'anima bella."

[109] Zanoli, *"io e... Pasolini e "La forma della città:"* 23.

[110] According to Anna Zanoli, the film shot by Pasolini with the camera, silent and on a tripod, was brought back to Rome after the lunch (most likely held in the trattoria Da Saverio where Pier Paolo Pasolini had struck up a friendship with Giorgio Giorgi, the owner's son) of 21 December 1973 and is part of the material developed by RAI. Zanoli, *"io e... Pasolini e "La forma della città:"* 23.
With the unpublished testimony "Un anima bella" (1984, mentioned above), Paolo Brunatto recalled his role in the making of this documentary and said that the last time he saw the Friulian author was at the end of the shooting in Sabaudia. After the scene shot on the dunes, the RAI director, as well as the person responsible for the editing of the materials, writes "fu l'ultima volta che lo vidi" ("that was the last time I saw him.").

second documentary, evidence of the three years later that passed between shooting one documentary and the next (cf. figs. 6-7).

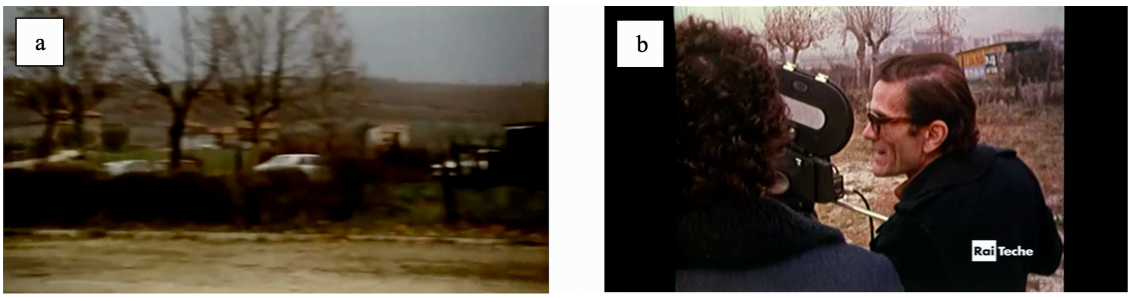


Fig. I-6a-b. On the left (a), trees and cars parked in an empty lot next to Orte's sports field in 1970 (source: Le mura*) and, on the right (b), the same trees without leaves shot in 1973 without cars in the middle ground and with a brightly colored structure in the background (source:* La forma*)*

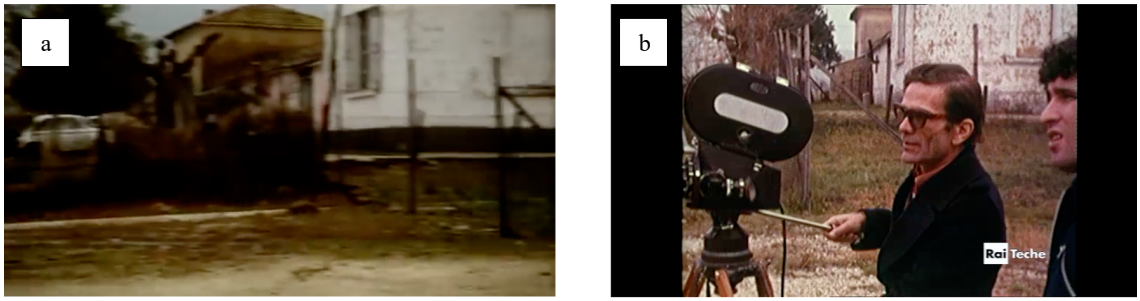


Fig. I-7a-b. On the left (a), film still with a white structure adjacent to the Orte's sports field in 1970 (source: Le mura di Sana*) and, on the right (b), the same, evidently deteriorated structure in footage shot in 1973 (source:* La forma*)*

The clues provided by Zanoli are corroborated by documents preserved at the former Ministero per il Turismo e lo Spettacolo in Rome.[111] The archives preserve an authorization request for filming filed *post factum* on 23 January 1971, along with a plot summary for *Le mura di Sana.* The procedure was an administrative formality that was executed in exceptionally short time, probably to allow RAI to broadcast *Le mura di Sana in* mid-February 1971, less than four months after filming on location and less than a month after filing necessary documents.[112] In a document entitled "*Inizio di Lavorazione del Documentario: Le mura di Sanaa*," dated 12 March 1971, Orte is mentioned alongside Sana'a: "…*il caso non è tipico dello Yemen anche in Italia succedono fatti di questo genere – e infatti nel documentario c'è una breve parentesi dedicata a un piccolo grattacielo che deturpa il profilo di Orte con le sue mura di cinta*…"[113] This report, signed by Lina Pugni, legal representative of Rosima Ansalt (*Le mura*'s production

[111] Similar material can be consulted at "*Le mura di Sana*," Cinecensura, https://cinecensura.com/wp-content/uploads/1972/05/Le-mura-di-Sana-Fascicolo.pdf.
[112] Pubblico Registro Cinematografico, 5305/1.
[113] Pubblico Registro Cinematografico, 5305/1.

company), clearly indicates that the sequences filmed in the province of Viterbo were filmed in the same period as part of the same project and date back to 1970-1971, definitively disproving the hypothesis that Orte's presence in *Le mura* is the result of a 'second' edition from 1974. While Zanoli correctly sustained that the two batches of footage from Orte are of different provenance, the moment in which Pasolini interviewed locals at the town's sports field remains an open question.

Franco Menichetti and Ettore Zeno,[114] locals who appear in *Le mura di Sana* who have a place reserved for them in Orte's future city museum (fig. 8), confirm that Pasolini filmed the sequence on Orte in the same period in which he settled in La Tuscia, namely in the autumn of 1970. The two protagonists recount that a small group had spontaneously gathered in the parking lot of the sports just before a local soccer game one Sunday afternoon and not on a Friday morning when Zanoli states that the RAI crew shot *La forma*.[115] One of the interviewees reports that Pasolini was alone, while the other recalls the presence of two other men. Both confirm that no woman was with the director, thus excluding the presence of Anna Zanoli. Neither of them remembers the exact date or the year of that chance meeting. Zeno, however, remembers having received a telephone call from a friend who congratulated him for having appeared on television next to Pier Paolo Pasolini. The documentary aired only once in the seventies, namely in 1971; the next time *Le mura di Sana* was seen on Italian television was 1989.[116]

[114] Unpublished interview with Franco Menichetti and Ettore Zeno, conducted by Yvonne Mazurek with the collaboration of Abbondio Zuppante, 2019/09/08, at Palazzo Roberteschi, Orte (VT).
[115] Shooting in Sana'a dates back to 1970/10/18, a Sunday. Later the director was interviewed by Emilio Fede in Mogadishu 1970/10/23. Cf. E. Salvati, "Pasolini e la RAI," *La TV di Pasolini.* Cineteca, December 2002, special (Bologna: Cineteca di Bologna, 2002): 6.
At the beginning of November, Pasolini held a press conference at Cinecittà from which articles appeared in local and national newspapers for the entire month of November 1973. Pasolini filmed Orte on a not-too-cold Sunday (see people's clothing), just before a football match when the *Ortana* was playing a home game, as indicated by the players in red and white uniforms entering the sports field moments before the interviews. 1971/02/16, the date on which *Le mura di Sana* was broadcast, constitutes an obvious *terminus ante quem* regarding the making of the documentary.
[116] The short film was aired on 1989/07/27 on Rai 2 at 22:50, in the fourth episode of *TV d'autore* after *Appunti su un film su India. Cf. Radio Corriere*, no. 30, 1989: 99.



Fig. I-8. Franco Menichetti (left) and Ettore Zeno (right) in September 2019 with film stills of themselves in Le mura di Sana

Further clues can be deduced from the type of clothing worn by the interviewees o the day they were filmed: the young men, in fact, wear light clothing and not heavy winter coats while, in the background, Ortana footballers jog onto the pitch in their red and white uniforms. The Umbrian amateur football calendar of 1970-1971 reports the date of that autumn match: Orte-Bastìa, 22 November 1970, the first Sunday after Pasolini bought his beloved Torre di Chia.[117] This is the most credible dating for the Orte footage in *Le mura* and provides more evidence to overturn the hypothesis that argues for the film's re-editing in 1974.

In conclusion, production documents from *Le mura di Sana* have demonstrated that this film was shot independently from *La forma della città* and disprove a long-standing hypothesis which claimed that Orte was grafted into *Le mura* as an afterthought in 1974 (fig. 9). In addition, oral testimonies have confirmed the earlier film's chronology: *Le mura* was filmed entirely in 1970 and released on public television in 1971. These new chronologies mark

[117]Other possible dates can be found in the "Calendario gare" of the first category amateur championship of Umbria: 1970/11/08 (Orte-Deruta) and 1970/12/06 (Orte-Assisi). This calendar was tracked down with the help of Dr. Abbondio Zuppante, responsible of the Museum of the Sacred Art and of the Diocesan Archive of Orte, who was also able to identify the interviewees and to arrange the meeting with Menichetti and Zeno. Many thanks!

different moments in a five-year span during which time Pasolini meditated deeply on La Tusia's humble landscape and its preservation.

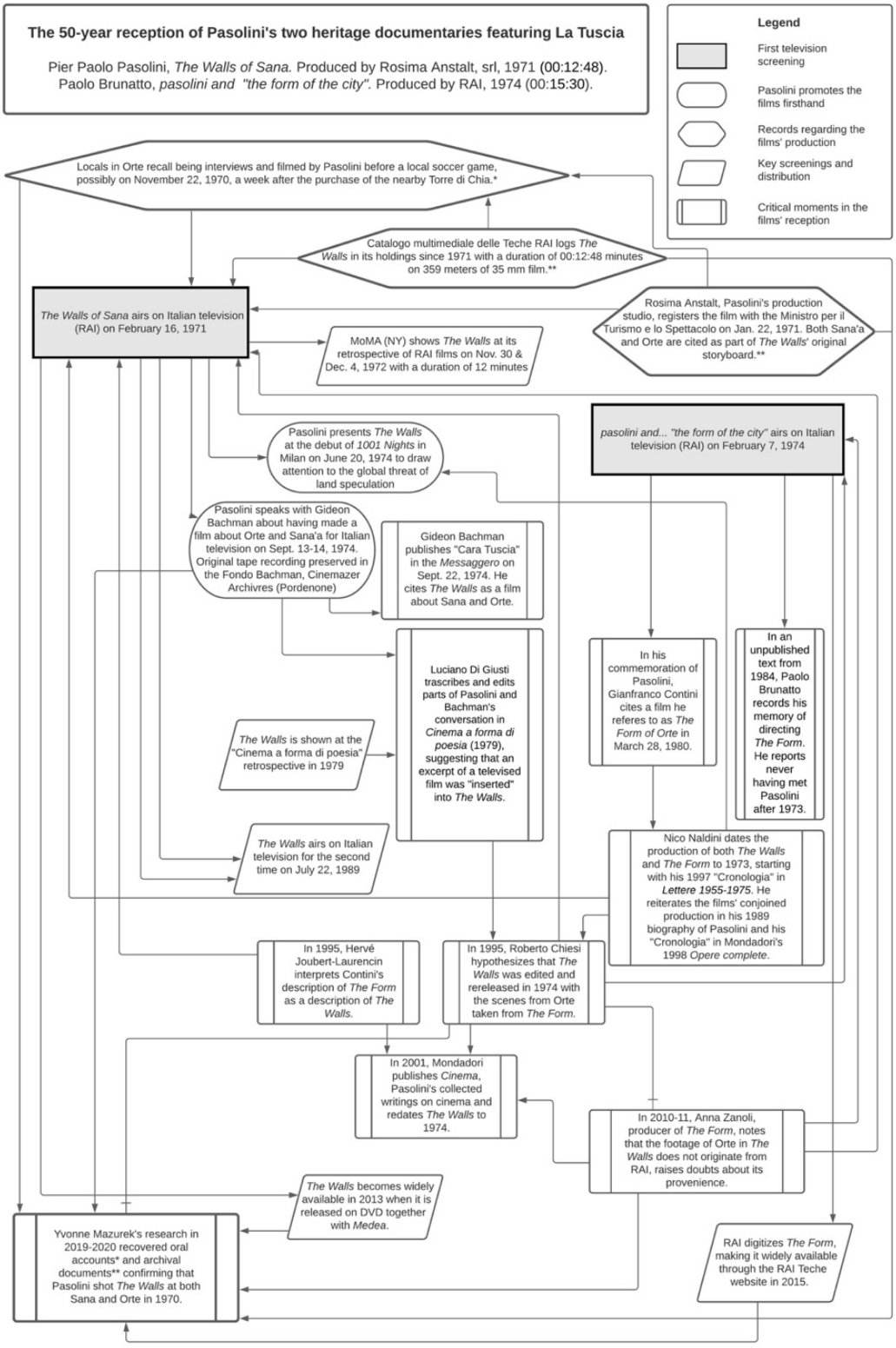


Fig. I-9. Flow chart illustrating fifty years of the reception of Le mura di Sana *(abbreviated* The Walls*) and* La forma della città *(abbreviated* The Form*)*

1.3. Orte's importance for Pier Paolo Pasolini

1.3.1. City and territory

In his critique of the short films, Joubert-Laurencin referred to the landscape with a poignant definition: "*cette entité complèxe à dèfinir, semi-abstracte et semi-concrète.*"[118] This theme had never appeared as the focus of one of Pasolini's documentaries and the artist chose La Tuscia as the place in which to do so.[119] He deemed that Orte preserves an exceptional balance between fullness and emptiness. The pleasant town crowns its monumental bluff and the Tiber River and soars above tributaries flowing through fields, hills, valleys, and mountains that surround city center from a distance. Contini synthesized the morphology of the village describing it as "*un luogo della Teverina un tempo frugalmente ma nobilmente compatto nella sua pensilità rupestre*."[120] *La forma della città* hence documents how the pebbles, the tuff and the travertine – the very material of the Tiber Valley – constitute both Orte's soul and its shell. Joubert-Laurencin firmly grasped the importance of this 'whole' that Pasolini conveyed in *Le mura*, as demonstrated by the critic's description of 'Orte' in its entirety: Joubert-Laurencin reads the frame's composition as an ensemble of fields, town, hills and sky, stretching from the shot's foreground to its background. For Pasolini, landscapes were inhabited spaces and constituted a theme worth returning to three years later.

In contrast to the devastation he saw at Sana'a's in 1970, Pasolini acknowledged that relatively speaking, in 1973, Orte still preserved its "absolute perfection," despite the presence of that "foreign thing" that was disfiguring the town's harmonious "profile."[121] This profile is revealed thanks to the contrast between the city's built heritage and the empty sky and open valley; the "*stradina da niente*" revealed ancient and uneven paving stones and still led to cellars extracted from the rupestrian plateau. The area once served as Orte's natural wall circuit and had historically provided construction materials for gates and buildings in the city's center (fig. 10). Herein lies the precious balance – between solids and voids – that Pasolini wanted to

[118] Joubert-Laurencin, *Pasolini*: 169.
[119] Joubert-Laurencin, *Pasolini*: 169.
[120] Contini, "Testimonianza per Pier Paolo Pasolini riportato da Zanoli, *"io e... Pasolini e "La forma della città:"* 16.
[121] In *La forma*, Pasolini emphasizes that the new construction is not a bad thing in and of itself; it must simply be planned and ordered: "Ora cos'è che mi dà tanto fastidio, anzi direi quasi una specie di dolore, di offesa, di rabbia, nella presenza di quelle povere case popolari, che comunque devono esserci? Il problema era semmai quello di costruirle da un'altra parte, insomma, di prevedere di poterle costruire da un'altra parte. Dunque, che cos'è che mi offende in loro? È il fatto che appartengono a un altro mondo, hanno caratteri stilistici completamente diversi da quelli dell'antica città di Orte e la mescolanza delle due cose infastidisce, è un'incrinatura, un turbamento della forma dello stile." Brunatto, *pasolini e… "la forma della città*," 00:04:00-00:04:33.

defend.[122] Orte's specific void is "vital" and therefore "real." The skillful extraction of tuff rock from the city's underbelly, over time, gave rise to new, functional spaces: wells, aqueducts, cellars, wash-houses, cold rooms and even a place of *otium*, the nymphaeum. These sites currently form part of the present-day itinerary lead by Orte sotterranea. This museum project developed later to further promote this visitor system through visitor services to be located at Palazzo Nuzzi / Palazzo del Comune, one of the museum venues prefigured in the concluding chapter that overlooks the underground fountain and wash-house at Piazza della Libertà.



Fig. I-10. The northern side of Orte seen from the Tiber, near the ruins of the so-called Pontaccio.

Pasolini's conversations with Gideon Bachman provide further suggestions for a holistic enhancement of Orte's art historical assets according to a novel strategy that seeks to put 'highbrow' and 'lowbrow' culture into dialogue. It is interesting to note that the first figure to interpret Pasolini's vision of cultural heritage was Paolo Brunatto, director of *La forma della città*, in the way he edited the RAI documentary. Namely, he superimposed the artist's audio commentary on "*questo passato anonimo, questo passato senza nome, questo passato popolare*" as an off-screen voice narrating a sequence depicting the Romanesque bell tower and



Fig. I-11. Film still of the former church of San Silvestro and its bell tower, main branch of the Diocesan Museum in December 1973 (source: La forma della città*)*

[122] Brunatto, *pasolini e… "la forma della città,"* 00:10:29.

the ex-church of San Silvestro, i.e. Orte's current Museum of Sacred Art (fig. 11).[123] These shots concretely allude to the artistic heritage that Luisa Mortari, art historian and superintendent, had converted into a museum six years earlier, during her collaboration with the Diocese of Orte and Civita Castellana. If art is to be considered "the most extreme fruit of an era," the complex identity of the city can only be told in an integrated fashion that conjoins community, built heritage, urban forms and landscape. Orte's city museum will necessarily explore the "*disegno della città*," and the area's urban and geo-morphology. For instance, the figurative language of Orte's coat of arms, the city's emblem, unites monumentality and local geography and condenses the historic relationship between urban forms and the river below. The heraldic representation of the ancient crossroad, that once stood at the edge of Orte's dismantled fortification system, is delimited by two towers flanking a triumphal arch surmounting the Tiber's persistent current that flowed between the structure's arched piers (fig. 12). The crest freely deconstructed and reassembled components of the urban countenance and coined a conceptual synthesis of the city's "profile."

La forma's screenplay is not, however, entirely successful. In fact, Pasolini's revolutionary conclusion about Sabaudia seems belittled despite the artist's highly controversial claim that the Fascist-era city should not be identified with Mussolin's ideology but should be seen as an



Fig. I-12. C[illegible] eastern side of Piazza della Libertà. (Photo: Francesca Mariani)

[123] Brunatto, *pasolini e "la forma della città*:" 00:10:17 – 00:11:27.

"enchanting" modern town which conveys the same archetypal qualities as Orte. From both Anna Zanoli's articles and Paolo Brunatto's unpublished notes, it is clear that the project was distorted by its post-production. Originally, Pasolini foresaw more time to film the town and its lagoon.[124] That Saturday morning, in fact, the crew's delay (caused by the rain), had made Pasolini nervous,[125] while the gusts of wind had made the photographic and sound recordings more difficult.[126] The images of Sabaudia are modest compared to those of Orte and show signs of the artist's absence from the set: his hasty return to Rome had forced the RAI to reduce the 'visit' to the city to a camera-car ride and fail to capture the city's intimate relationship with the coastline, seen behind the artist during his commanding monologue.[127] The climax of the film-essay unfortunately coincides with bland shots, while Pasolini's heretical eulogy to Fascist town planning, ends with a questionable soundtrack, a tangible sign of the artist's lack of authorship in regard to *La forma della città.*[128]

Despite the weakness of the screenplay at the film's conclusion, the elusive concept of "the form of the city" is perhaps expressed most clearly in Sabaudia; Pasolini states: "*questa architettura di carattere littorio assume un carattere… tra metafisico e realistico… a misura d'uomo. Si sente che dentro ci sono delle famiglie costituite in modo regolare, delle persone umane, degli esseri viventi completi, interi, pieni, nella loro umiltà*."[129] His description of the city highlights its anthropomorphic qualities. It is a place where the architecture appears modern but preserves profoundly ancient qualities and a traditional social order between individuals, families, and the *polis.* In Brunatto's notes, the unpublished typescript cited above, we can see how this way of reading a city's social aspects finds parallels in the ways that this television project evolved. Pasolini initially proposed "*una pietra e un muretto di confine. Un oggetto anonimo che racchiude […] l'anima popolare*." [130] The second idea that came to him was to present a piazza that, at its center, contained an old, anonymous fountain around which *borgatari* and prostitutes could gather at night. "*Ma alla fine, come in una progressione da una pietra, a un muro, a una architettura, fino a un'intera città, Pasolini sceglie di parlare della*

[124] Zanoli, *"io e... Pasolini e "La forma della città:"* 8-44, figs. 5-13; Brunatto, "Un'anima bella," emphasis added by writer.
[125] Zanoli, *"io e... Pasolini e "La forma della città:"* 26.
[126] Zanoli, *"io e... Pasolini e "La forma della città:"* 26-27.
[127] An unexpected delay by the RAI crew forced Pasolini to return to Rome before the end of filming. We know, in fact, that the director had scheduled a meeting in the capital with the Greek revolutionary Alexandros Panagulis. Brunatto, "Un'anima bella:" 2.
[128] Chiesi, *"La forma della città."*
[129] Brunatto, *pasolini e "la forma della città,"* 00:12:00.
[130] Brunatto, "Un'anima bella:" 1.

forma della città, anzi del profilo di due cittadine: Orte e Sabaudia…"[131] Ultimately, *La forma della città* incorporates all the elements previously he had imagined.

In *La forma*, the film-essay's rhythm is cadenced by forty-nine repetitions of the word *città*. The word is associated with "*forma*" and declined into a plethora of terms: *disegno, profilo, perfezione, completezza, interezza, purezza, assolutezza, realtà*. This lexical plurality resonates with the artist's classical tastes, having after all translated Aeschylus;[132] Pasolini thus portrayed Orte not as a mere acropolis, but as an ancient *polis* indivisible from its walls and its territory.[133] It remains "whole" and "full," as long as its parts remain such. When the city's outline is "*scalfita…lacerata, violata per sempre*," it is maimed forever; this travesty inevitably transfers from the *polis* to the *politikoi*, from the city to its citizens. Sabaudia's 1934 town-plan was neither fascist, nor homologating in that it respected profoundly Italian canons, of Albertian origin,[134] and allowed every member of the town to play his or her role in equilibrium with society and nature.[135] According to Pasolini, it was the boom of land speculation that was threatened to leave humankind homeless, that is without a city intended as a *polis*, leaving the community "deprived of fraternity, of laws, of hearth" as had happened in his hometown of Casarsa.[136]

1.3.2. Dreaming of home. A question of identity

The decision to reuse sequences from Sana'a in *La forma* in 1973-74 provides a typical example of Pasolini's working method: to seize a *magmatic* perception, to make it concrete, to let it lie, and then to give it new form. Herein, Joubert-Laurencin recognized a "*résurgence du*

[131] Brunatto, "Un'anima bella:" 1.
[132] Aeschylus, "Nota del traduttore," *L'Orestiade nella traduzione di Pier Paolo Pasolini* (Torino: Einaudi, 1960, 1985).
[133] Graziella Chiarcossi and Franco Zabagli, eds., *La biblioteca di Pier Paolo Pasolini*, Gabinetto Scientifico Letterario G.P. Vieusseux. Studies 29 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2017): 5, 277, 280.
Further clues as to the role of Greek thought in the artist's activity may be found in the initial paper of the typescript of *Petrolio*, the unfinished novel of 1972-1975 (coeval with *La forma della città*) in which, according to Chiarcossi and Zabagli: "si può riconoscere una sorta di autoritratto di Pasolini stesso attraverso le letture di tutta una vita" (Chiarcossi e Zabagli: 277). On a single sheet of paper runs a list with the names of 20 classical authors and, next to each one, there is a note about its meaning. The word 'city' appears twice: "Platone… (tutto: mondo idee…Città)" e "Aristotile… Città."
[134] Consider, in particular, Alberti's image of the individual as the center of a concentric vision of society, according to which the family occupies the second conceptual 'ring,' while the city constitutes the third 'ring.' Leon Battista Alberti, Books I-III, *Della famiglia* (1433-34).
[135] Together with Alberto Moravia and Dacia Maraini, Pasolini owned part of a villa built at Sabaudia's seaside, a geometric, ultra-modern house with five large windows overlooking the dunes and the sea. Gianni Borgna, Alain Bergala, and Jordi Balló, *Pasolini Roma,* Catalogo Della Mostra (Milan: Skira, 2013): 249.
[136] Passage from the *Iliad* quoted by Aristotle, *Politics* Book 1.2, 1253a6.

non-finito," that is an intention to leave works unfinished with the underlying intent to rework them in the future.[137] For this reason, when confronted with a defaced cityscape in La Tuscia, the homeland he adopted and frequented in the last years of his life, it was natural for Pasolini to repropose Sana'a as part of *La forma della città*. In parallel fashion, Sana'a and Orte acted as catalysts to revisit earlier memories from Friuli, the landscape of his youth. [138]

To understand the origins of the paradigm Pasolini called "the form of the city," our attention must necessarily turn to Pasolini's relationship with house and home, namely Casarsa della Delizia (PN), the birthplace of his beloved mother Susanna and the town where he spent most of his childhood. This is where his family took refuge during the Second World War and where his personal, artistic, and professional identity took shape.[139] In 1969 he returned to Friuli to film the scene of the Centaur's house in *Medea* on the Grado lagoon.[140] Here he took the opportunity to visit Casarsa together with his dear friend and collaborator Maria Callas (fig. 13). In spite of the bright smiles in the photograph that immortalized their visit, the artist was deeply struck by the appearance that his hometown had assumed during the recent economic boom: a ghostly town, obliterated by land speculation and whose small farms had been transformed by industrialized agricultural processes. By calling Casarsa spectral Pasolini was not saying that the town had disappeared in those years, rather that it had degenerated and simply grown ugly. In a local publication from January 1970, a text which has rarely been taken into scholarly consideration, Pasolini composed a sort of eulogy for Casarsa in which he elaborated his grief for a real and ideal image of Friuli. This interpretative key reveals the roots of Pasolini's



Fig. I-13. Maria Callas and Pier Paolo Pasolini at Casarsa della Delizia (PN) in 1969 (source: Tom Wolf, Maria by Callas - In Her Own Words *[2017])*

[137] Joubert-Laurencin, *Pasolini*: 128.
[138] Giorgio Agamben offers a fundamental cue with his suggestion to focus on the "*anni friulani*" of Pasolini's life and work. Giorgio Agamben, "Prefazione," *Pier Paolo Pasolini, I turcs tal Friul. I turchi in Friuli* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2019), 7. For a brief introduction to Pasolini's biographical events, see "Notizie Biografiche" in Pier Paolo Pasolini, *La lunga strade di sabbia* (Rome: Contrasto, 2015): 192-196.
[139] Cf. Naldini, *Pasolini, una vita.*
[140] Maria Andaloro, "Pasolini and *Medea* in Cappadocia," *Gükküdere and Kiliçukur: the Rose Valley and the Red Valley in Cappadocia*. International Carlo Scarpa Prize for Gardens 2020-2021(Treviso: Fondazione Benetton, 2020): 227.

"annoyance" and "anger" over the disruption of Orte's form, a form that was constituent to the "most beautiful landscape in the world."[141]



Fig. I-14. "Supercoop," 1969-1970 (source: Casarsa della Delizia. Cinquantenario della Società Cooperativa del Consumo [1919-1969]*)*

In 1970, the artist published his presentation of *Casarsa della Delizia. Cinquantenario della Società Cooperativa del Consumo (1919-1969)*, a short piece in which he explores the cultural landscape of his childhood in contrast to that of the present.[142] The short essay foreshadowed themes addressed later that same year at Sana'a and Orte. It opens with an understatement: "It is difficult for me to write an introduction to a book like this," a book that celebrated the antithesis of the poet-director's ideals.[143] The publication traced Friuli's technological development through the fifty-year history of the Società Cooperativa del Consumo, a food distribution cooperative that had morphed into a supermarket based on American-style merchandising guidelines (fig. 14).[144] The piece reads as a sorrowful but loving commemoration of the unpretentious town, whose decline went hand in hand with the evolution of the social cooperative into "Supercoop."[145]

In this presentation, Pasolini testifies to the death of popular Friulian culture, stating: "Casarsa has changed profoundly. It's an exemplary neo-capitalistic town." [146] In describing the now-

[141] Brunatto, *pasolini e… "la forma della città,"* 00:04:00-00:04:32; untitled poem in which Pasolini alludes to the Tower of Viterbo quoted above. Siciliano, *Vita di Pasolini*: 405-406.
[142] Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Presentation," *Casarsa della Delizia. Cinquantenario della Società Cooperativa di Consumo (1919-1969)* (San Vito di Tagliamento: Società Cooperativa di Consumo, 1970): 3-4. The text does not appear in the bibliography of "Pier Paolo Pasolini in Friuli" edited by Luciano de Giusti (Pordenone: Cinemazero, 1990): 19-23. Cf. Appendix B. "'Presentation' by Pier Paolo Pasolini. Transcription and Translation (IT-EN), Casarsa della Delizia."
This text has been pointed out to the author by Dr. Fabio Cristante, assessore delle Politiche Culturali e del territorio, Istruzione di Casarsa. I take this opportunity to thank Dr. Cristante for his warm welcome in Casarsa and for the exchanges of ideas held at the Pier Paolo Pasolini Study Center, but also for the visit of the territory by bicycle.
[143] Pasolini, "Presentation:" 3; the term "poet-director" is used by Hervé Joubert-Laurencin throughout the text *Pasolini, portrait du poète en cinéaste*.
[144] Index to the volume in Appendix B.
[145] The caption "SUPERCOOP" celebrates the local economic boom and describes the foreshortened photo from above of the three-lane supermarket with shelves overflowing with canned goods: "*Ampliato e completo di attrezzature d'avanguardia, dal Maggio 1968 soddisfa le esigenze della spettabile Clientela. Sistemazione merceologica dello Studio NEW FORM del dott. Mario Mascherin di Padova.*" Appendix B: 21.
[146]Pasolini, "Presentation:" 3.

lost Casarsa, the artist emphasizes the city's limits: the *rogge* (local irrigation canals) and a Friulian wall are boundaries which reveal the sublime power this humble landscape exercised over him as a child. The text highlights the antagonistic relationship between 'progress' and the 'survival' of ancient urban forms and landscapes.[147] His reflection, in fact, starts from the description of a Casarsa far away in time, a town without electric lighting or trains, "*quando in mezzo alla piazza passava la roggia*." The *roggia*, an artery of an system of canals dating back to ancient efforts to reclaim land in the Italian Northeast,[148] created an "artificial hydrography," which gave Casarsa its 'form,' now effaced by asphalt. [149]

Between 1969 and 1970, thanks to the experience of Casarsa, Pasolini intended the problem of "the form of the city" as the challenge to safeguard the urban-rural *limes* as fulcrums of identity: "*Il problema* – he would say a few years later for Orte – *della forma della città e il problema della salvezza della natura che circonda la città è un problema unico. Ma sempre si pone il problema di rispettare il confine naturale tra la forma della città e la natura circostante.*"[150] The *rogge*, and soon thereafter Sana'a's walls and Orte's bluff, act as synecdoche for their local realities and for their particular euphony with their surrounding landscapes. According to this model, a town's well-being can be summed up in its ability, or lack thereof, to maintain this specific, delicate equilibrium in check. Pasolini hence expanded Casarsa's local phenomenon as a paradigm for dynamics at play on a global scale. The progressive disappearance of the ancient network of canals was symptomatic of the death of the peasant era, supplanted by new systems of production, consumption, and power. Losing the irrigation ditches in Casarsa meant losing a constitutive element: a primordial whole had been altered forever, causing an irreparable alienation that lacerated the writer: "And these I will rue for the rest of my life," a phrase that recalls the tears he shed, one year later, over the destruction of Sana'a's walls.[151] It was this same *pathos* that gave him the strength to produce the documentaries dedicated to the preservation of La Tuscia.

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[147] Gian Luca Picconi, "La 'sopravvivenza' di Pasolini: modernità delle tradizioni popolari," in *Le tradizioni popolari nelle opere di Pier Paolo Pasolini e Dario Fo*, ed. Lisa El Ghaoui e Federica Tummillo (Université Stendhal, Grenoble 3, 1-2 dicembre 2011, Pisa-Roma: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2014): 69–78.
[148] Franco Cazzola, "Le bonifiche nella Valle Padana: un profilo," *Rivista di storia dell'agricoltura*, anno XXVII, no. n. 2 (dicembre 1987): 37–66.
[149] Francesco Vallerani, "Tra i borghi, i gelsi e gli argini. Pier Paolo Pasolini e il paesaggio friulano," *Scritti per Alberto di Blasi*, G. Campione, F. Farinelli, e C. Santoro Lezzi, eds. (Bologna: Patron, 2006), https://core.ac.uk/display/41129230: 1755.
[150] Brunatto, *pasolini e "la forma della città*," 00:08:19.
[151] Pasolini, "Presentazione:" 4.

Casarsa reveals other boundaries to Pasolini's reader, as well: those between childhood and maturity, between the external world and the interior one, between life and death. The text is structured around the parallel co-existence of reality and dreams: "*a causa delle esperienze infantili rimaste inalterate nella memoria – esistono due Casarse nettamente distinte: quella della realtà e quella dei sogni*."[152] The 'real' Casarsa stands as an antinomy to the "unreality" of the "Supercoop" and is witnessed by images of the town's human geography: the streets with the children playing in front of the old Cooperative, the Dairy, Sor Lorenzo with his *salumeria* and the rural smells that fill the small town. Next to the Casarsa of "reality" appears the Casarsa of "dreams;" here too the author stacks paratactic images of the architectural, artistic, and naturalistic elements of the territory. Through dreams, the author steps into an interior dimension, symbolized by the act of looking over a wall: "*c'era un muretto, con dietro dei tigli: da bambino non riuscivo a cosa ci fosse dietro quel muretto (ricordo perfettamente invece l'acuto odore 'storico' dei tigli)*."[153] The landscape elements of this dream belonged to an indefinite and therefore eternal time, that transcended the past, present and even death.

It was through the Casarsa of dreams that Pasolini described how architecture can fit ideally into its natural surroundings, a balance he had known in the Friuli of his childhood and rediscovered in La Tuscia as an adult. Through his dual memory of Casarsa – real experiences and those in dreams – the *viterbese* area became for Pasolini a "dreamlike arena,' thanks to its ancient structures immersed in the valleys carved out by watercourses.[154] He described the town's mother-church and its collapsed roof, cracks through which he could see polychrome frescoes.[155] Beyond the parish church, in his dreams, he could see "*una profonda e verde vallata, in fondo a cui scorre un ruscello, e qui l'aria è stranamente più toscana o laziale che friulana*."[156] Finding his native land mutilated in 1969, the writer transferred his memory of

[152] *Cf*. Appendix B: 16-17; Pasolini, "Presentazione:" 4.
[153] The scent of the linden tree in this passage recalls the famous scene of the madeleine in *In Search of Lost Time*. Biting into the sweet offered to him by his aunt, Marcel taps into the entire microcosm that Combray, his home village, holds within him. Marcel Proust, *Du Côté de Chez Swann* (éditions eBooksFrance, 1913), https://www.ebooksgratuits.com/ebooksfrance/proust_du_cote_de_chez_swann.pdf: 15-17. Proust appears as a source of inspiration in various works by Pasolini such as, for example, *Le notte calde (The Warm Nights), a* work of 1951-1953, dedicated to Proust's shadow. Cf. Silvia De Laude, "*Un romanzo aperto verso l'avvenire*? Una vita violenta e il naufragio della 'trilogia romana' aperta da Ragazzi di vita 6 dicembre 2020, lezione di Scuola Pier Paolo Pasolini 2020, Centro Studi Pier Paolo Pasolini, Casarsa della Delizia (PN)/ online meeting.
[154] Pasolini used the same word to describe Yazd during the screening of *Le mura di Sana* at the press conference of the Italo-Arab Association in October 1974. See "Conferenza stampa Lega Italo-Araba" (Rome, October 1974), text also published in Pasolini, *Per il cinema*: 2122.
[155] According to Dr. Fabio Cristante, assessore alla cultura di Casarsa delle Delizia, Pasolini, together with other young people, enjoyed 'restoring' Versutta's frescoes, wiping the surfaces with halved onions to enliven the wall paintings' colors.
[156] Pasolini, "Presentazione:" 4.

Casarsa to Chia's still preserved landscape. This way he could make his "abstract image" manifest, unleashing it from the realm of dreams. The void left by the loss of the Friuli of his youth was somewhat tempered to by the project for a new, but eternally ancient, home in Tuscia in the last years of his life.[157]

1.3.3. Today's context. Enhancing Pasolini's legacy *in situ*

> "In their dramatic diversity, my home territories shaped me for multiple attachments, and I, and millions with me, migrate happily, lightheartedly, on the wings of globalization, with multiple places having become home." [158]
>
> - Jette Sandahl

This first chapter has shown how Pier Paolo Pasolini – well ahead of his time – viewed cultural and natural heritage as parts of a whole; a vision which, by extension, calls for a holistic model for preserving assets, build heritage, landscape, and social ties. The artist conveyed this message through two forms of media: through a television documentary of his own making and a second program produced by RAI in which his role disrupted the classical boundaries between author and subject. The two short films, *Le mura di Sana* and *pasolini e... "la forma della città*," drew on deeply human themes like one's sense of home, of belonging and of community. Above all, the documentaries underscore the close relationships between citizen, city and territory, dynamics enlivened by the artist's informal and regular frequentation of Orte. This footage still provides important impetus for rereading of Orte's artistic, archaeological, urban, historical, ethno-anthropological, rural, and natural heritage. Until now, Pasolini's work has never been interpreted considering the physical and intimate bonds that the artist cultivated with La Tuscia and local people. [159]

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[157] In the re-edition of his verses in Friulian composed in his youth, Pasolini added a poem describing the landscape of Chia and the Viterbo area as a paradise, as seen through the eyes of a child. Cf. Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Ciants di un muàrt," *La nuova gioventù* (Milan: Garzanti, 1975): 219-223. Quoted also in Cappelli, *Pier Paolo Pasolini: dalla Torre di Chia*: 23.
It is interesting to consider a parallel case in Yemen dating from the same period. Naldini, in fact, reported the artist's desire to buy a house at a Yemeni town on the Persian Gulf (Naldini, "Chronology:" CXLIX). In 1988 funds were allocated for the restoration of a hotel in which the artist would have liked to settle. "A Sana'a risanata," *Epoca*, 1988/03/27: 27.

[158] Jette Sandahl, "Home-Town and Other Ambiguous Constructs," lecture given at Museums & Cultural Landscapes 2016/07/03-09, Milan, Italy, http://camoc.mini.icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2018/12/Milan_sandahl.pdf.

[159] Regarding the dissemination of Pasolini's presence in Tuscia is concerned, Dr. Antonello Ricci has played a fundamental role. Anthropologist by training, teacher by trade and *storyteller* by vocation, he must be acknowledged for his creative endeavours. It was thanks to the theatrical events he organized in 2002 that the author came to know about Viterbo's importance in the 20th century, a heritage that remains to be studied,

While local writers and journalists evoke the filmmaker today, this is often done in an aestheticizing or nostalgic manner; while the anachronisms, polemics, practical advice, and utopian proposals that Pasolini puts forward are rarely made explicit. The short films raise social questions that are never addressed La Tuscia's public fora, except for rare occasions in university lecture halls. In fact, the challenge of integrating *Le mura* and *La forma* within enhancement systems for Orte reveals a problem common to many Italian city contexts, whether small or large. The short 20th Century – with its World Wars, the *Ventennio*, the Cold War, the economic boom, the *anni di piombo*, globalization and intensified migration patterns – together with its art, is cut out from the narration of local histories. These accounts generally address rural prehistory and reach the 19th century, notwithstanding the many, rarely documented memories that still circulate among members of the local population.

Moreover, the Orte of today is far removed from the Orte of the 1970's.[160] In spite of Pasolini's undeniable farsightedness, the images of field workers in *La forma* cannot be heralded as a promise for the survival of a lost peasant civilization. This social class was brought to the brink of extinction in the years following the artist's death.[161] A little more than a decade after the footage was filmed, only 5% of Orte's active population earned their living working in agriculture, while 30% worked in industry (cement and brick production brick; asphalt processing; aggregate and travertine quarrying; and work at chemical plants in Nera-Montoro and Terni's steel plants) and 30.5% worked in transport.[162] While agriculture and industry in

explored, and integrated into the narration of the territory. Moreover, during this research, the exchanges with Ricci were facilitated by his role as coordinator of the Master in Community Narrators, hosted by Tuscia University and the University's Restoration and Conservation Laboratory. His suggestions regarding *Le mura di Sana* and *Lettere luterane* were particularly useful, especially his invitation to review thw passage dedicated to the pedagogical language of things, treated in the final chapter.
Cf. Antonello Ricci, *Tuscia un viaggio in leggìo. Itinerari e viaggiatori dell'immaginario nel nostro secolo*, Sette Città, Viterbo 1998; Antonello Ricci, *Il libro dei debiti. Waters men stones. Sonatine per Viterbo*. (Viterbo: Malavoglia, 2004); Antonello Ricci, ' in provincia. La provincia in Bianciardi' in Mario Terrosi, *Bianciardi com'era*, Stampa Alternativa, (Viterbo: Stampa alternativa/Nuovi equilibri: 2006): 63-73; Cappelli, *Pier Paolo Pasolini: Dalla Torre di Chia*; Antonello Ricci, *Viterbo città del mare. Tuscia land of Orson Welles, Pasolini, Fellini*, (Vetralla, Viterbo: Davide Ghaleb Editore, 2016); and Simone Chiani, *Tuscia in Pasolini. Studio onnicomprensivo di un rapporto articolato* (Viterbo: Sette città, 2022).

[160] Nadia Barrella, "Aree deindustrializzate, musei e valorizzazione dell'eredità culturale: possibili strategie per terra di lavoro," *Napoli Nobilissima*, no. III (settembre-dicembre 2017): 138–41.

[161] Eric Hobsbawm, *The Short Twentieth Century. The Age of Extremes: 1914-1991* (London: Abacus, 1994): 289. Special thanks to Prof. Simone Duranti for having indicated this passage.

[162] Abbondio Zuppante, *Orte* (Viterbo: CARIVIT, 1987): 13-14.

Viterbo have seen a rapid decline over the last forty years,[163] Orte's importance as a transport hub has remained constant, if not in continuous growth, as suggested by Orte's recent inclusion in the national high-speed rail network (fig. 15).[164] Today the city is no longer populated with farmers, but by railway workers, road operators, and commuters. The time has come to stop judging this fact with nostalgic resignation, but to understand its importance. The town's vocation for transportation can be a cultural asset and finds roots in local geography and history, topics addressed in the following chapter.



Fig. I-15. Orte railway station, March 2022

It is important to note that Pasolini's sudden death, however, did not interrupt the growing debate on the radical socio-economic and cultural transformation underway on a national scale. Other figures were also engaged in similar reflections, like the art historian Andrea Emiliani who, like the artist, paid particular attention to building materials and working methods. Both recognized tufa, travertine, bricks, and stones as the most ancient evidence of the city's plan and structure, materials extracted and shaped by the community itself. Unlike the artist, however, the Bolognese art historian promoted a vision that recognized the value of both the surviving evidence of the past and the economic and social changes emblematized by glass,

[163] For example, in the province of Viterbo, manufacturing activity declined from 12% to 9.85% and the total value of the industrial sector from 18.2% to 15% between 2008 and 2017. See CCIAA, , "Sintesi Rapporto economico della provincia di Viterbo 2018," http://cciaaviterbo.it/files/sintesirapportoeconomiapdf-_4519.pdf/ .
[164] "Presentata la nuova fermata di Orte nel circuito dell'Alta Velocità," Ferrovia dello Stato Italiane, accessed 2022/04/25, https://www.fsitaliane.it/content/fsitaliane/it/media/comunicati-stampa/2021/5/27/presentata-la-nuova-fermata-di-orte-nel-circuito-dell-alta-veloc.html.

steel, concrete, and more modern materials. In his landmark essay "*I materiali e le istituzioni*," he described the significance of mutating building materials and techniques:

> *Un mondo così costruito e così lentamente sedimentato è ovviamente destinato a incrinarsi di fronte all'apparizione e all'uso di nuovi materiali; poiché questi ultimi, a loro volta, nutrono internamente e dunque promuovono, sollecitano, una loro vocazione formale. Così come del pari, lavoro diverso, diversi mestieri, altre lingue di lavoro, altre parole. Tutto è proseguito entro l'alveo naturale dell'omogeneità tradizionale fino a quando è durata l'affinità compatibile dei materiali. Ma allorché queste interiori vocazioni non vennero più "estratte" dall'inerzia della materia attraverso la forza e il trattamento manuale, bensì grazie a tecniche meccaniche e di apprestamento seriale, il risultato fu immediatamente diverso. L'incontro infatti tra le forme invocate e le forme procurate non è più completo, sensibile e coincidente come il passato*.[165]
>
> The appearance and use of new materials is destined to crack a slowly constructed and sedimented world; since these, in turn, internally nourish, and therefore promote and solicit their own formal vocation. Likewise, different work methods, different professions, different professional languages, and different words emerge. Everything used to happen within the natural course of a traditional homogeneity, so long as there was an affinity for compatible materials. But when these inner vocations were no longer "extracted" from the very material's inertia using force and manual labor, but through mechanical techniques and serial processes, the results were immediately different. In fact, the encounter between invoked forms and procured forms was no longer as complete, sensitive and coincidental as it had been in the past. (Trans. Author)

In his description of the decline of "traditional homogeneity," Emiliani represents contemporary material culture as something intrinsically alien to the ancient languages of architecture, without, however, excluding the possibility of a dialogue between the past and the present. Pasolini and Emiliani pose fruitful parallels that will be explored in the fourth chapter dedicated to the museum of the city, a museum category that promotes heterogeneous and polyphonic narratives, in tune with the urban palimpsests of today.

[165] Andrea Emiliani, "I materiali e le istituzioni," *Storia dell'arte italiana. Questioni e metodi* (Torino: Einaudi, 1979): 131.



Fig. I-16. Photograph of the weekly market at Orte scalo in April 2022

Considering the intention to enhance and disseminate *Le mura* and *La forma* to a wider public, it is necessary to mediate between the crystalized image of Orte seen in the documentaries and the reality of this small town today. These two short films have recounted Orte's *genius loci* in a way that risks reinforcing the town's reputation as yet another "Etruscan and medieval city," a *cliché* promoted since the 1964 edition of the authoritative *Guida Rossa* issued by Touring Club Italia, not to mention the main channels of tour promotions.[166] Pasolini's reflections therefore need to be historicized and communicated as the artist's personal albeit long-sighted vision of the town, to which, however, other narrative voices must be added, such as those of Ortani (Orte's residents) from different generations, genders and belief systems, from local and multi-ethnic backgrounds and from various social strata: the same spirit of the interviews Pasolini conducted back in 1970, when he wanted to hear what locals thought about land speculation (fig. 16). This sort of project is the only viable way to formulate a composite narration of this city that, like other 'minor' centers, has yet to revise its self-knowledge and develop an up-dated narration about its everyday life. Suffice it to think that, in 2021, almost 20% of the city's residents were born outside of Italy (fig. 17), with a high percentage coming from the African continent (Nigeria in particular) and from Europe (mostly Romania), followed by a notable presence of Asians (with Bangladesh in the lead) and a Latin American minority (especially Honduras):[167] a multiethnicity that exceeds that of the provincial capital by

[166] Touring Club Italiano, *Lazio (Non compresa Roma s e dintorni)*. 3rd ed. Vol. 15. Guida d'Italia del T.C.I. (Milano: Garzanti, 1964): 230-231.
[167] "Cittadini Stranieri 2021 - Orte (VT)," Tuttitalia.it, consultato 2022/04/25, https://www.tuttitalia.it/lazio/88-orte/statistiche/cittadini-stranieri-2021/.

210%.[168] This small town is an emblem of a world in migration and deep flux. The fifty years that separate Pasolini's documentaries from us have been marked by a watershed. All citizens – citizens meant as members of a common society and not as people of the same, sanctioned nationality – need to bridge their stories and cultural lives and connect the town's historic center and with its outskirts.[169] Cultural workers have an imperative to create spaces for telling the city's story, places where a new local identity can be shaped to reflect the composition and values of today's society.[170]

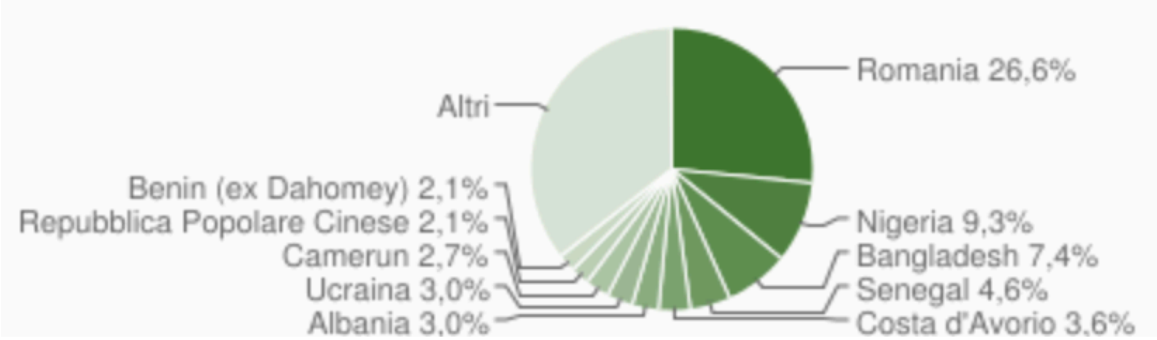


Fig. I-17. Graph indicating countries of origin of Orte's residents of non-Italian origin, taken from "Cittadini Stranieri 2021 - Orte (VT)," based on ISTAT data (Source: www.tuttitalia.it)

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Thanks to the reordered chronology of *Le mura di Sana*, this chapter has attempted to show that Pier Paolo Pasolini devoted at least the last five years of his life to a particularly precocious battle for the preservation of human and cultural landscapes, made all the more interesting by the centrality he places on 'minor' heritage. The artist found himself literally at home in both Friuli and La Tuscia, perhaps because of their marginal positions with respect to hegemonic norms. For him Orte was an archetypal place which he chose to document by putting on an equal footing monumental heritage and modest testimonies of anonymous origin, giving importance to the signs peasants carved into their fields and the urban forms molded by the city's masons and builders. This research has tried to clarify, at least in part, the significance

[168] In 2021, the total number of residents of foreign origin in Orte was 19.2%, in Viterbo 9.8%. See "Foreign Citizens 2021 - Viterbo," Tuttitalia.it, consulted 2022/04/25, https://www.tuttitalia.it/lazio/71-viterbo/statistiche/cittadini-stranieri-2021/.

[169] Marlen Mouliou, "Cities and Museums of Cities. Hybrid Discourse and Social Ecosystems," *Athens University Review of Archaeology* 1 (2018): 165-86, http://dx.doi.org/10.26247/aura1.9 .

[170] In addition to the theme of interculture, space should be given to a reflection on climate change and possible impacts on Orte's territory. The hydrogeological threats, due to the proximity of the Tiber, together with the mutations of the landscape and of the agricultural economy, constitute non-negligible elements in local land management. In addition to the cultural display described in the last chapter, Orte's future city museum could play an important role in mapping, forecasting, and mitigating these instabilities.

of the small town for the artist, while at the same time raising new questions: what is the dominant narrative of Orte? How can its history be reread in the light of the paradigm outlined by Pasolini? Which testimonies have been preserved, catalogued, studied, musealized and disseminated so far? By whom, how and according to which criteria? What aspects of the local heritage remain to be known and to be communicated? What is the relationship between these films and the whole of this city's heritage?

Aware of the impossibility of answering these questions exhaustively, this thesis seeks to assume Pasolini's gaze and lay the foundations for an alternative narrative of Orte's history. This approach aims at defining a research method through which one can read any minor Italian town in its specificity. It aims to stimulate a polyphonic interpretation of those parts of the country that have long remained subordinate, neglected, or silenced. To reach this ambitious goal, the study embraced interdisciplinary methods informed by art history, social history, archaeology, cartography, literature, and especially museology, as demonstrated in the coming pages.

II. ALL ROADS LEAD TO ORTE. THE HISTORY OF A TRANSPORT HUB IN THE SHADOWS OF ROME

2. Introduction

> *Ogni strumento intellettuale è un ricordo. Di conseguenza anche la assoluta novità del conoscere la vita 'come passato', non ha altri strumenti per esprimersi che questi vecchi ricordi*.[1]
>
> Every intellectual tool is a memory. Consequently, even the absolute novelty of knowing life 'in terms of the past' has no other means of expressing itself except through these old memories. (trans. Author)

In his review of Italo Calvino's *Le città invisibili* (1972), Pasolini establishes that memory and history are essential tools for "knowing life 'as past'." It is no coincidence that the filmmaker read this novel – dedicated to cities of memory, signs, exchanges, etc. – between the debut of *Le mura di Sana* and the making of *pasolini e… "la forma della città"*, the same years in which Orte became a *topos* in his thinking.[2] The documentary work on the town, therefore, represented an mnemonic 'instrument' capable of making the stratified past and the present resonate.

In fact, his account of the small town questioned the paradigm that relegated provincial realities to mere peripheries with respected to larger urban centers.[3] By becoming "his ideal landscape" (to cite Contini),[4] Orte was able to emerge from the shadow of Rome and to become recognized

[1] Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Italo Calvino, *Le città invisibili*" (uscita nel 1973-1974), ripubblicato in *Saggi sulla letteratura e sull'arte,* a cura di Walter Siti e Silvia De Laude, I Meridiani (Milano: Mondadori, 1999) and later repiblished as "Postfazione," *Città invisibili* (Milano: Mondadori, 2006): 163.
[2] Pasolini, "Postfazione:" 165.
[3] Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia nella storia dell'arte italiana*, (Milan: Officina libraria, 2019). This essay originally appeared within the volume *Storia dell'arte Italiana: Parte 1. Materiali e Problemi, Volume 1. Questioni e metodi* edited by Giovanni Previtali, Giulio Bollati, and Paolo Fossati (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1978).
[4] Gianfranco Contini, "Testimonianza per Pier Paolo Pasolini," *Il Ponte*, n. 4, 30 aprile 1980; ripubblicato in Pier Paolo Pasolini. Testimonianze, Ed. Anna Panicali and Sergio Sestini, (Firenze: Salani, 1982), republished in Anna Zanoli, "io e... Pasolini e "La forma della città:" memoria e ricerca intorno a una trasmissione televisiva," Paragone, n. 731, Anno LXII, gennaio, 2011 (Firenze: Sansone, 2011): 16.
One should also recall the article "Pasolini in Persia" by Gideon Bachman written on the set of *Il fiore delle Mille e una notte*, which dates from the same period as the above-mentioned review of Calvino's book. Bachman speaks of a sort of catharsis in front of the image internalized by Pasolini – his mind's eye – while filming on the set: He works fast, with great precision, and sure of himself. If a set-up is too complicated, he will choose another; if a crew member is clumsy, he will patiently replace him, doing the job, more often than not, himself. Where other directors will manage 10 important shots a day, Pasolini will manage 40. Because the shots seem to be there, ready, in his head, and putting them on celluloid is just a necessary, technical obstacle between his imagination

as an object with its own identity and value systems.[5] If the first chapter explored the meaning of the "form of the city," this one aims to go beyond Pasolini's "detached gaze," entering Orte in order to understand the town, its specific histories and the materials which constitute its form.[6] Artworks *d'auteur* and things dismissed as '*da niente*' will be read as parts of an entire heritage, *i.e.* the "work...of the people, of an entire history, of the entire history of the city's people."[7]

The pages that follow tell the history of this urban settlement from within. The prelate Lando Leoncini will act as narrator, guiding us from Orte's foundation up until 1630 thanks to his colossal work entitled *La Fabrica Ortana*: a four-volume manuscript dedicated to local history, now preserved at Orte's Historical Municipal Archive (ASCO). Leoncini will introduce central issues regarding the city's identity, his theories which will, in turn, be compared with archaeological and cartographic evidence. This philological inquiry reveals Orte's role as a transport hub, in addition to the instability that resulted from the interruption of this role. The last, most substantial section of this chapter will traverse nine hundred years of urban and cultural history. Artworks and examples of material culture will guide readers through each century characterized by pomp and penitence, precarious stability, clashes and promises of a never-reached *concordia*, "turbulent waters" or the flood that destroyed the city's vital bridge, an event that ultimately led to Orte's complete subordination to Rome. This historical reflection concludes with the end of the *Patrimonium Sancti Petri*, a development that left the small town largely to its own demise.

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and the viewer. He seems to want to get it over with, free himself of *his mind's image* of his obsession; spew it out as fast as possible. Two cameras 35mm Arriflexes without sound and without blimps, one loading while he shoots with the other. Sound is too cumbersome and time-consuming; he will create it later, in the studio, with the help of a few fragments recorded on location. The director of photography only measures the light, the camera operator hands Pasolini the lenses. The shots are set up by the director himself, decor details are decided or adjusted by him directly, the actors placed, with minimal instructions, in the scene at the last moment, eye at the camera's viewer. One feels strongly that if he could make the film entirely alone, Pasolini would do it." Italics added by the writer. Gideon Bachmann, "Pasolini in Persia: The Shooting of 1001 Nights." *Film Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (1973): 25-26. doi: 10.2307/1211558.

[5] This approach is promoted by ICOM-CAMOC (International Committee for the Collections and Activities of Museums of Cities, The International Council of Museums), an issue that will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV. *Cf.* Donatella Calibi, "Il museo della città. Un'esplorazione," *Nuova Informazione Bibliografica*, Anno XVI, no. n. 4 (Ottobre-Dicembre 2019): 771–85, https://doi.org/doi: 10.1448/95130; CAMOC, "The City Museums Global Mapping Project," consultato 2021/12/03, https://city-museums-global-mapping.formstack.com/forms/the_city_museums_global_mapping_project_copy_13.

[6] Avinoam Shalem, "The City Objectified: Visual Histories of Withdrawals," Inaugural address 2020-2021 at the American Academy in Rome (AAR Zoom), 2021/10/14. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sh7YcaaxLV0, accessed 2021/05/21).

[7] Brunatto, *pasolini e ... "la forma della città,"* 1974. 00:10:29-00:11:27.

For the most part, the following analysis is based on monumental sources yet makes an effort to listen to the marginal realities of Orte where possible. The history of 'minor' elements of the local culture have often been forgotten and sometimes even silenced and erased, consequences of selective record-keeping and a latent unwillingness to safeguard certain memories and histories. It has not been possible to determine if the absence of records results from active erasures, but the lack of material testimonies, or knowledge thereof, makes it very difficult to tell Orte's history from the 'grassroots' at this stage of the research.[8] One poignant example can be found in the toponym "Via del Ghetto," a street now known as Via Poerio in Contrada San Sebastiano,[9] which preserves the memory of Jews at Orte (אורטה in Hebrew).[10] There are very few surviving testimonies of the Jewish community active in Orte from the 12th to the 14th centuries. In addition, the place Pasolini generically referred to as a "natural backdrop" in *La forma della città* can now be identified as Cima Colle in the *località* Misciano, thanks to research undertaken during this project (fig. 1).[11] Not far from the bridge of Orte (a powerful symbol of the city discussed in detail below), two written sources mention *sepulchra hebreorum* on this same hill, meaning that the site hosted a Jewish cemetery, abandoned in the in the 15th century, of which no material evidence survives. [12]



Fig. II-1. Cima Colle in the locality called Misciano (site of Orte's former Jewish cemetery) in La forma della città *(00:07:39-00:08:05)*

[8] Later in this dissertation, the section "4.2.1. Listening to the city. Kraków's many voices" offers an important counterexample to Orte's situation. The Muzeum Krakowa successfully recounts the city's history through a plurality of narratives because the museum's narrative strategies are based on rigorous philological, historical, archeological, and anthropological research. This breadth of research has yet to be undertaken in Orte and in Alto Lazio. This study should thus be read as an invitation to begin a new season of research that can shed new light on Orte's past and give space to issues that are relevant to its residents – in their diversity – today.
[9] Aldo Luzzato, *Note sulla presenza ebraica a Orte tra i secoli XIII e XV*, Quaderni dell'Accademia Dei Signori Disuniti della Città di Orte 7 (Orte: Accademia dei Signori Disuniti, 1993): 20.
[10] "Orte," *Italia judaica*, accessed 2021/03/02, https://www7.tau.ac.il/omeka/italjuda/items/show/357.
[11] Special thanks to Abbondio Zuppante for having viewed the frames of the film and for having identified the location during a visit to the diocesan archives.
[12] Luzzato, *Note sulla presenza ebraica a Orte*: 13
Another 'marginal' story of Orte's history is hidden in the remarkable season of female patronage that took place in the 16th century. The most striking example is represented by the will of Elettra Roberteschi dated to 1530, which reports her patronage of the marble dossal from the collection of the Museo di Arte Sacra. The topic was

In addition to the writing of Lando Leoncini, this study takes into consideration other written evidence of epigraphic, cartographic, and literary nature, written a variety of languages, namely Italian (in the arc of its evolution), Etruscan, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Hebrew, German, French, and English. Visual evidence will be drawn from public works, inscriptions, manuscripts, printed texts, panel paintings and canvases, bells, liturgical furnishings, engravings, sculptures, and maps preserved on wooden panels, ceramic objects, stonework, metallurgy, and paper. These artefacts' patrons range from Popes to the local patronage of bishops, confraternities, and parishes, including anonymous commissions of rural church-goers.

These heterogeneous objects lay the foundation for a new and alternative narrative of Orte's history as a multimodal transport hub strongly conditioned by Rome's needs and political agendas. For centuries, the Eternal City related to this and other small towns through dynamics that amount to deep-seeded disempowerment, meaning a systematic dismantling of self-awareness and of one's own potential.[13] It is therefore important to reconstruct how a town on the Tiber evolved from a river crossing to a river port and crossroads with an exceptionally important bridge: functions taken over, in contemporary times, by the railway station and the highway exit.

In addition, this town's peculiar geographical position favored the dispersion of local heritage, which this study has metaphorically 'brought back' to Orte. It is worth mentioning the inscriptions from Imperial Roman and Early Medieval Lambaesis (Algeria), a sarcophagus from the Nuzzi collection that now forms part of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (USA) and the engraving printed by Cassell and Company, a publishing house based in Melbourne

presented, together with an unpublished transcript of the will, at the conference entitled "Il testamento di Elettra Roberteschi, la Cattedrale di Orte e Giulia Farnese," held by Nadia Proietti and Abbondio Zuppante, 2019/03/8, Palazzo Roberteschi (Orte).
The work is currently the subject of an exhaustive restoration campaign conducted at the Istituto Superiore Centrale di Restauro. It was not possible to view the work between 2018 and 2022. *Cf.* Simona Pannuzi, David Fodaro, Giorgia Galanti, Daria Montemaggiori, Nicola Pagani, et al. "Il dossale d'altare dell'antica Cattedrale di Orte (Viterbo): restauro e ricostruzione virtuale delle successive fasi della decorazione policroma e dorata," ed. Maud Mulliez e Caroline Delevoie, Atti del convegno *Virtual Retrospect,* Nov-Dec 2017 (Pessac, France: Archeovision CNRS, 2021): 173-182. hal-03154645.

[13] See "Empowerment," *Ricerca | Garzanti Linguistica,* accessed April 28, 2021, https://www.garzantilinguistica.it/ricerca/?q=empowerment. According to Garzanti, *empowerment*, then the reverse process, is defined as follows: "Etymology: ← Engl. voice; propr. 'empowerment'; in pedagogy and social psychology, process of regaining self-awareness, one's potential, and one's actions."

(Australia).[14] These are only some clues that point to Orte's privileged position; while this city has seen the whole world pass at the base of its historic center, it has gained very few benefits from this high volume of traffic.

2.1. The city's identity. Its name and its bridge

2.1.1 Lando Leoncini (1548-1634) as narrator and his *La Fabrica Ortana* (c.1582-1631)

Parts of Orte's future city museum will be narrated by Don Lando Leoncini (Orte, 1548-Orte, 1634),[15] who dedicated half a century to composing, or rather 'building,' a multi-volume history of his hometown entitled *La Fabbrica di Orta, ovvero memorie storiche, sacre e profane di Orte, suoi borghi, territorio, paesi e città limitrofe.*[16] His quest sought to identify the town's 'Golden Age.' Speaking from a "panoramic position," Leoncini looked upon his *Orta* and recounted the world, and even of the cosmos, putting his native town as its epicenter:[17] an omphalic perspective assumed in a parallel manner by 16th century cartographers in the age of trans-oceanic exploration.[18]

[14] Lambean inscriptions will be discussed in subsection 2.2, the Nuzzian sarcophagus in the Boston MFA in subsection 2.3.3.2, and the Davies engraving, printed in London, Paris, New York and Melbourne in subsection 2.3.3.3.

[15] Abbondio Zuppante, "Leoncini, Lando," *Dizionario storico biografico della Tuscia* (blog), November 13, 2018, http://www.gentedituscia.it/leoncini-lando/; (accessed February 2, 2019); Abbondio Zuppante, "Il Leoncini e la storiografia medievale," *Per una storia di Orte e del suo territorio* (Orte: Centro di studi per il Patrimonio di S. Pietro in Tuscia Comune / Ente ottava medievale, 2006): 168.

[16] The original manuscript was not consulted for conservation reasons. This research made regular use of Giocondo Pasquinangeli's meticulous transcription, work executed with the utmost rigor (though not without minor errors) and in compliance with the paleographic norms in force at the beginning of the 20th century. *Cf. Fabrica Ortana di Leone Leoncini*. Voll. I-IV, c. 1582-1631 (manoscritto, donato dal conte A. Fratini al Municipio di Orte). Archivio Storico Comunale di Orte; *Fabrica Ortana di Leone Leoncini*. Voll. I-IV. Manuscript transcription by Giocondo Pasquinangeli from 1898-1902. Diocesan Historical Archive of Orte. Again, the head of the ASDO and director of the Museo di Arte Sacra of Orte, Abbondio Zuppante provided priceless support during the course of this research.

[17] Irene J. F. de Jong, *I classici e la narratologia: Guida alla letteratura degli autori greci e latini*, Prima edizione italiana, Studi Superiori. Civiltà Classiche (Roma: Carocci, 2017): 77-78.

[18] Similar approaches can be found in both European and Asian cartographic traditions. In the cartography of the conquest of Mexico, for example, the city of Tenotchtitlàn was depicted concentrically by the explorer Hernán Cortés, as also in the Chinese cartography of the second half of the 16th century observed by the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci.
Cf. Walter D. Mignolo, "The Movable Center: Ethnicity, Geometric Projections, and Coexisting Territorialities," *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literary, Territoriality, & Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995): 219-258.

Compared to more common narratives about 15th and 16th century Italy, the Renaissance was not a period of rebirth for the city of Orte; in this period, the *Viterbese* area had definitively lost the privileged position it once occupied at the 13th century Papal court. In Leoncini's times, La Tuscia no longer played a central role in Petrine politics but remained a place of leisure and reclusion for high-ranking clergy (quite often family members of the reigning pontiff), as was the case for the Orsini Castle at Vasanello, Bomarzo's Bosco sacro, Caprarola's Palazzo Farnese and Bagnaia's Villa Lante – gems of architecture and landscape design from which the local inhabitants were deliberately excluded according to the neo-feudal logic at play. [19]

To understand Leoncini's nostalgia, we should recall that *La Fabrica Ortana* was written through the eyes of a parish priest who was witnessed the decline of his hometown. He had lived in Rome in his youth, where he studied law and, starting in 1572, worked as consistory lawyer and as secretary to Orazio Borghese (brother of the future Pope Paul V).[20] The year 1590 marked the death of Orazio, jurisconsult and Rector of the Sapienza, as well as the prelate's return to Orte (which he had been regularly visiting) where he devoted himself to writing *La Fabrica* with methodological rigor and remarkable skills in archival perusal.[21] He paid particular attention to local Roman epigraphy, documenting find sites and transcribing the *titulus* of at least fourteen inscriptions.[22] Leoncini's intent was to document and transmit the city's history, which since 1514[23] had seen its bridge fall into ruin. In parallel, the town's history changed course: without the bridge, in fact, Orte had no future.

It is important to note that Leoncini acted as a historian and not as a chronicler,[24] a more common practice at the time, reporting history within an 'Ortocentric' cosmography. His narrative was idealized, but also included rigorous transcriptions of largely lost oral and

[19] Enrico Guidoni, "Introduzione," *Storia dell'arte italiana. Inchieste su centri minori*, vol. 8 (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1980): 22.
[20] Angelo Barlozzetti, *La Fabrica ortana di Lando Leoncini. The sources.* Thesis, Faculty of Cultural Heritage, University of Tuscia, a.a. 1999-2000, Supervisor Prof. Massimo Miglio: 99-105. The thesis reports many biographical news about Leoncini. In Orte, he was Prior of Orte's Church of San Pietro, Canon of the Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta and member of the Confraternity of the Santissimo Rosario. At the end of the 1580's, he was elected Rector of the Company of Jesus in Orte and Chamberlain. *Cf.* Zuppante (2006): 167-170.
[21] Barlozzetti, *La Fabrica ortana*: [missing pages]. Barlozzetti has identified many aspects of the method and sources that Leoncini drew on: documents from the archives of the confraternity of the Madonna dei Raccomandati (for notarial acts) or from the private archives of the Roberteschi, Sordolini and Salomoni; texts from the Apostolic Library and the Sapienza; Acts of the City Councils for papal administrative correspondence. In addition, it cites 63 classical authors, seven Christian and medieval authors, 40 authors from the 14th to the 16th century and 66 notaries.
[22] Leoncini, IV, 84v-87v.
[23] Leoncini, III, 53v.
[24] Zuppante, "Il Leoncini e la storiografia medievale:" 172-176.

documentary sources, like the poetry of Simon Feo (discussed below). For this reason he distinguished himself from other local figures such as the famous Dominican chronicler Annio da Viterbo (1432-1502), whose work he reluctantly drew on during his research on the origins of the town of Tiber; his resistance can be deduced from comments like: "*In questo loco bisogna servirsi di Annio Viterbese et del suo finto Beroso; però tanto quanto se ne cava il vero et non altrimenti et per autorità degli altri scrittori*."[25] Availing himself of the "authority of other writers," Leoncini transcribed countless written testimonies, including, when possible, the name of the author, the chronology of the document and, often, news about the origin of the sources: a method applied also to the question of the toponym. In the paragraphs "Orta d'onde detta" ("Why 'Orta' is called 'Orta') and "Orte e la sua etimologia" (Orte and its etimology), Leoncini refers to Pliny,[26] Varro,[27] Cicero,[28] Virgil,[29] Annio, Francesco La Mazola (chronicler and Augustinian monk who lived in Orte at the end of the 15th century),[30] Giovanni Matteo (author of an operetta of which little is known), and Simon Feo (local author treated below) along with other lesser known authors.[31]

The first 'stone' of *La Fabrica* was laid in preparation for the pastoral visit of 1584, ordered by Bishop Andrea Longo, in which it was necessary to provide "*qual più aver si potesse meliore informatione dell'eretioni, entrate, privilegi, oblighi e fondationi*" of churches and other ecclesiastical properties.[32] His worked on the gargantuan enterprise from 1582/1584 to 1630/1631 and suffered setbacks perhaps due to the author's health. [33]

[25] Leoncini, IV, 47r., ACVO.
[26] "*Si dice Hortus, secondo Plinio de Naturali historia lib. 9 cap. 4," Leoncini, IV, 45r. L'episodio più famoso tratta la battaglia di Lago Vladimone con una descrizione del laghetto, testo riportato anche sotto il disegno a china del Lago Vadimone presente nel manoscritto del Catasto rustico, XIV secolo, conservato presso l'Archivio Storico Comunale di Orte. Il codice rimane poco studiato e andrebbero approfonditi i legami con l'opera di Leoncini. Cfr. Gian Carlo Pastura, "Cartografia e territorio: il Catasto rustico dei terreni di Orte tra XV e XVI secoli*," *I catasti e la storia dei luoghi*, M. Cadinu, ed. Storia dell'Urbanistica. Annuario Nazionale di Storia della Città e del Territorio, a. XXXI, Serie Terza, 4/2012, edizioni Kappa; Cfr. Plinio, *Natural History*, III, 52: "…*intus coloniae ... De cetero oppidorum veterum nomina custodiunt ager Crustuminus, Caletranus*". (citato in Giuliana Nardi, *Le antichità di Orte. Esame del territorio e dei materiali archeologici* (Testo). Ricognizioni Archeologici in Etruria 4 (Roma: CNR, 1980): 307).
[27] "*Varrone nel primo de lingua latina dice delli nomi della città inoltre queste parole*…," Leoncini, IV, 46v.
[28] It should be noted that Leoncini is referring to a text of Hesiod reported, in turn, in Cicero: "*come vuole Esiodo appresso Cicerone nelle Epistole familiari, lib. 6° epist 18*," Leoncini, IV, 46r.
[29] Aeneas' name is reported in Leoncini, IV, 46v. Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII, 716 (quoted in Nardi: 307).
[30] Luigi Fraticelli, *Ad amicum elegia di Simon Feo (Poeta Ortano Secolo XVI)*, vol. 6, Quaderni (Orte: Quaderni dell'Accademia dei Signori Disuniti della Città di Orte, 1991):15.
[31] *Cf.* Appendix F.
[32] Lando Leoncini, *La Fabrica Ortana,* manuscript preserved at the Archivio Storico Comunale di Orte, II, c. 1r cited in Zuppante (2006): 167; Leoncini (in Pasquinangeli's transcription), *Fabrica Ortana*, I, 6-8.
[33] Barlozzetti, *La Fabrica ortana*: [missing page].

The four-volume manuscript consists of a total of 1575 leaves and is currently preserved at the Archivio Storico Comunale di Orte (ASCO). Its state of preservation has recently been stabilized thanks to a recent restoration, but the codices continue to suffer from corrosion caused by the material properties of the ink used. In the two centuries that followed the author's death, there is very little news about the manuscripts transmission; it was consulted and cited in texts by the Roman author Fioravante Martinelli in 1694 and by the Soriano ecclesiastic Splendiano Andrea Pennazzi in 1721.[34] The erudite archbishop Justi Fontanini does not seem to have used it as a source for his *De antiquitatibus Hortae coloniae Etruscorum* (1708, reissued in 1923), a detailed and classical narration of the history of Orte, written in honor of Cardinal Ferdinando Nuzzi.[35] In the first half of the 19th century the manuscript became the property of Count Mariano Alberti[36] and his descendant Augusto Fratini donated the manuscripts to the Municipality of Orte in 1886.[37] On this occasion the donor pronounced his wish to see the manuscript published, all the while acknowledging the challenging nature of the operation: *La Orte Fabrica* "*non offre uno studio limitato e finito, ma quasi una selva o zibaldone*."[38] Perhaps in preparation for its publication, Giocondo Pasquinangeli, a Roman magistrate who was born at Orte, dedicated himself to the integral transcription of the four volumes from 1900 to 1902 with utmost paleographic and codicological rigor. His transcription includes a series of detailed summaries of each folio written by Leoncini, but Pasquinangeli's work remains consultable only through his hand-written copies conserved in four, paper codices and his personal card catalogue of notes.[39] Thanks to Pasquinangeli's faithful copies, Leoncini's "*selva-zibaldone*" (a jungle-like hotchpotch) became much easier to consult, but it is also worth noting the care with which the papers are now preserved in Orte's branch of the Historical Archive of the Diocese of Civita Castellana (ASDO).

Scholars consulting *La Fabbrica ortana* find themselves in front of a compendium of observations that poses noteworthy challenges, not only because of its chaotic and unfinished

[34] Zuppante, "Il Leoncini e la storiografia medievale:" 168.
[35] Zuppante, "Il Leoncini e la storiografia medievale:" 168.
[36] Distant relative of Leon Battista Alberti.
[37] Zuppante, "Il Leoncini e la storiografia medievale:" 168-170.
[38] Alberto Fratini, "Lettera di donazione di *La Fabrica Ortana* al Municipio di Orte," Terni, 1886/12/10. Preserved at the Orte Municipal Historical Archives and reported in Barlozzetti, *La Fabrica Ortana:* 2; Zuppante, "Il Leoncini e la storiografia medievale:" 169.
[39] Cf. Appendix E. In order to find one's way through Leoncini's writings, Abbondio Zuppante is nearly almost indispensable. The original and Pasquinangeli's version deserve to be transcribed and digitized to guarantee their proper conservation, but to make the work more legible by virtue of its 19th century calligraphy and current text mining technology.

structure, but also because it lacks a paratext. The main difficulty resides in the lack of a veritable index that could facilitate the work's thematic consultation made more difficult seeing as topics often repeat themselves and their interpretation is remodeled throughout the text.[40] Overall, *La Fabrica ortana* deserves more specialized attention due to its value as an extraordinary testimony of Orte's history, as well as an extraordinary and relatively ignored piece of 16th and 17th Italian literature.[41]

[40] In 2000 Valentina Sciarrini deepened the author's biography in her degree thesis, enclosing what she presented as an index of *La Fabrica Ortana.* Based on a comparison with the original text, this 'index' does not correspond with the original text. It is approximate both in terms of the subdivisions and the nomenclatures cited. To consult the text, one would need as a starting point an exact index of the titles scrupulously proposed by Leoncini, flanked by the themes identified by Pasquinangeli in his very detailed summaries of *La Fabbrica.* An important opportunity has evidently been missed. Cfr. Valentina Sciarrini and Università degli studi della Tuscia Dipartimento per la conoscenza e la valorizzazione dei Beni Storici e Artistici, *La Fabrica Ortana di Lando Leoncini tra mito e storia*: Tesi di Laurea: a.a.. 1999/2000, supervisors: L. Osbat and G. Lombardi (University of Tuscia, 2000).
The index to vol. IV has been transcribed in Appendix E. "Transcription of titles and subtitles listed in *La Fabrica Ortana* di Lando Leoncini, Vol. IV, ASDO."

[41] Leoncini's work is part of a long tradition of geographical and historical compilations in Italy. In fact, one can observe parallels with the Orvieto writings of Manetti and Monaldeschi, hitherto little explored in studies about Orvieto. It is interesting to note the use of the terms *fabbrica* and *cosmography* in some pre-existing and coeval texts: "Ortas" in Geografo Ravennate, *Cosmografia*, IV, 33 (originale del VIII sec, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 961, XIV sec, ed. J. Schnetz, Lipsia 1940, p. 71); Apiano, Pietro. *Cosmographia*. Edition 1533, Edition 1540, Spanish edition 1548, Edition 1550, Edition 1564, Edition 1575, Edition 1584, consultabile online nell'edizione spagnola: Apiano, Pietro. *La cosmographia de Pedro Apiano*. En Anuers: impresso por Iuan Vithagio. Apianus, P., Girava, J., López de Gómara, F., Gemma Frisius, R., Gemma Frisius, R., Verwithagen, J. (1575) (http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10164517-2, edizione Spagnola del 1548, consultato il 2019.02.27); Anania, Gian Lorenzo, *L'universale Fabrica del Mondo ovvero Cosmografia, di M. Gio. Lorenzo d'Anania, divisa in quattro trattati, ne i quali distintamente si misura il cielo e la terra e si discrivono particolarmente le provincie, città, castella, monti, mari, laghi, fiumi e fonti. Et si tratta delle leggi e costume di molti popoli, degli alberi e dell'Herbe et d'altre cose pretiose, medicinali e de gl'inventari di tutte le cose, di Nuovo poste in luce con privilegio ad istantia di Aniello S. Vito di Napoli*, Venezia 1586. (stampato nel Appresso Gioseppe Cacchis dell'Aquila a Napoli, 1573 e 1576, 1582, and 1596) copia conservata presso la Bavarian State Library Munich, 2015, 13170923, "urn: nbn: de: bvb: 12-bsb11211068-8," downloaded 2019.02.22); Manetti, *Historie di Cipriano Manente da Orvieto. Nelle quali partitamente si raccontano I fatti successi dal DCCCCLXX quando cominciò l'impero in Germania, insino al MCCCC, nuovamente data in Luce*, Venezia, Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1561; Bacci, Andrea, *Del Tevere do M. Andrea Bacci medico et filosofo libri tre né quli si tratta della natura et bontà dell'acque e aspecialmente del Tevere, dell'acque antiche di Roma, del Nilo, del Po, dell'Arno, e altri fonti e fiumi del mondo. Dell'uso delle acque e del Tevere in fresco, con nevi, con ghiaccio e salnitro. Delle inondationi e de rimedi che gli antichi Romani fecero e che hoggidi si possan fare in questa e in ogni altra inonatione*. Venezia, Aldo Manuzio, 1576; Carlo Borromeo, *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae,* 1577 (http://www.memofonte.it/home/files/pdf/scritti_borromeo.pdf, consultato il 2019.02.27); Monaldeschi, Monaldo. *Commentari Historici di Monaldo Monaldeschi della Cervara. Ne Quali oltre à particolari successi della Città d'Orvieto, e di tutta l'antichissima e nobilissima Provincia della Toscana, anticamente descritti. I contengono anco in modo di Annali, le cose più notabili che sono successe per tutto il Mondo, dall'edificatione di detta Città di Orvieto.* Venezia, Francesco Ziletti, 1584; Gallucci Giovanni Paolo (1538-c.1621). *Della fabrica, et uso di un novo stromento fatto in quattro maniere per fare gli horologi solari ad ogni latitudine. unito a: della fabrica et uso del novo horologio universale ad ogni latitudine.* Venezia: Gratioso Perchacino, 1590; Leandro Alberti Bolognese, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia, et Isole pertinenti ad essa. Di Fra Leandro Alberti Bolognese. Nella quale si contiene il sito di essa, l'origine, e le Signorie delle Città, e dé Castelli; cò nomi antichi, e moderni i costumi de popoli, e le conditioni de Paesi. Con le sue tavole copiosissime.* Venezia, Paolo Ugolino, 1594.

The intention of this study is not to provide an exhaustive synthesis of Leoncini's collection, inasmuch as to consider certain selections while taking into account interpretive oscillations that characterize the fifty-year 'construction' of the four-volume work. Special attention will be given to ways in which the city is represented in the fourth volume where the author summarized themes already addressed in the first three volumes while reordering them under the title *Alcune Pietre scelte dalla Fabrica Ortana, Città dei Falischi posta nel Patrimonio di S. Pietro della Toscana, su la Riva Tiberina, come si legge in detta Fabrica descritta da Lando Leoncini Canonico Ortano.* These *pietre scelte* (meaning "selected stones") were most likely compiled in the last phase of writing, that is the second or third decade of the 17th century. At an advanced age, the author was still waiting for the opportunity to print his *magnum opus*,[42] a proposal that had come from the Vatican librarian Costantino Gaetano shortly before 1631 but was never actualized.[43] In this last volume Leoncini suggests two *foci* of Orte's identity, revisiting themes that recur repeatedly throughout the work, namely the origin of the city's name and the symbolic value of its bridge.

2.1.2 Leoncini on the city's name and the metaphor of its bridge

The author of *La Fabrica Ortana* raises questions about local identity drawing from oral accounts, ancient texts, and a literary source dating back to the early 1500s: the poem "Ad amicum" (1506-1525), composed in Latin by Simone Feo (Orte, d. 1525), a doctor, physicist and man of letters whose family traced its roots to Florence, but had lived in Orte for generations.[44] His 214 verses include a "tale within a tale" that mirrors Leoncini's intent;[45] the opening few stanzas are dedicated to the origin of the *Fea* house, the narrator then recounts his city, the territory, the landscape and describes outstanding men in politics, arms, the Church and letters.[46] While Feo was part of the Renaissance tradition, as his training required, Leoncini's reading seems to be linked to a foregone, even obsolete cultural climate. He apparently, in fact, ignored post-Tridentine reforms with which he most likely came into contact while living and working in Rome in the fourth quarter of the 16th century.

[42] This research would like to bring attention to the importance of this source and hope that Orte's future city museum, in collaboration with other local partners, can change this destiny, identifying both funds and researchers capable of producing a critical edition of Leoncini's work with a view to its publication in the years to come.
[43] Zuppante, "Il Leoncini e la storiografia medievale:" 173-174.
[44] Leoncini, IV, 45v, 46r-v; Fraticelli: 9, 16-17.
[45] Jong, *I classici e la narratologia*: 34-35.
[46] The poem is transcribed in full in the *Fabrica ortana* and quoted on numerous occasions throughout the four volumes.

Leoncini bestowed Greek-Roman roots upon his native land, so as to ensure and preserve the memory of a classicized 'Golden Age.'[47] He cites Feo to propose three etymological sources for the name of "my homeland:" the first of Greek matrix, the others of Latin derivation. The Achaean origin would trace the foundation of *Orte-Orta-Hortus* back to "*l'argivo Aleso esiliato dai Fati; confinante con la mia patria, infatti, è la terra dei Falisci*." [48] According to Leoncini, who again relied on the verses of Feo, *Orta* would thus have been founded by the patricidal son of Agamemnon, whom he would have called "*detto colle et sasso detta dal Verbo greco θις orthis, che significa colle et elevato*."[49] This fanciful syllogism fails to provide valid clues about the origin of the toponym but reveals an intrinsic orographic sensitivity in the identity of Orte, with the tufa plateau grafted into the surrounding valleys. Feo described the hills and the Tiber valley through a pathetic fallacy: "*l'albero di Pallade rende sempre verdi e lo stesso Bacco le coltiva/ Esse danno frutti precoci e di ogni specie, né di esse/ la bionda Cerere nega mai le sue messi./ Circonda le mura natie anche la verde cultura/ degli orti: anche da questi può derivare il suo nome*." This pagan blessing suggests a second origin for the place name: the word *hortus* (i.e. "orchard" or "garden" in Latin) would recall an etymological link between the name of the city and its cultivated countryside. This link, though evocative, remains hypothetical,[50] even though numerous medieval sources confirm that the local economy was based olive, wine, cereals and produce production in the late Middle Ages and beyond.[51] Leoncini emphasized the importance of the cult of Horta, an Etruscan harvest deity, again quoting Feo: "*Orte derivò pertanto il nome dal verbo "hortor" / per il fatto che attrae, stimola ed affascina gli uomini./ Venerarono persino la Dea che ha nome Horta / per il fatto che essa incoraggia ciascuno nelle sue iniziative*."[52] Blessed by gods of the Greek, Italic and Latin tradition, the fertile fields, the fish-filled river and luxuriant woods rich in game were the result of the devotion of its inhabitants.

[47] Feo, lines 13-59 in Fraticelli, *Ad amicum*: 20-24.
[48] Feo, lines 17-18 in Fraticelli, *Ad amicum*: 22. News of the Argivian foundation of Falerii Veteres can be found in Solinus, Latin writer of geography (c. III-IV century AD), (II, 1, 4-7): *quis ignorat vel dicta vel condita... ab Haleso Argivo Faliscam*, *cf*. Ivan Di Stefano Manzella, "Lo stato giuridico di Falerii Novi dalla fondazione al III secolo d.C.," *La Civiltà dei Falisci : atti del 15. Convegno di studi etruschi ed italici* : Civita Castellana-Forte Sangallo, 28-31 maggio 1987, a cura di Guglielmo Maetzke (Firenze : L. S. Olschki, 1990), trascrizione di Sergio Carloni, accessed 2021/02/17, https://docs.google.com/document/d/1So45BnJgcLGREAgEmKWp1YN30kKJSxGHjnS7WV3iPgg/edit#.
[49] Leoncini, vol. IV: 46r.
[50] Nardi, *Le antichità di Orte*: 299, note 18.
[51] Barbara Frale, *La città sul fiume* (Viterbo: Vecchiarelli, 1995): 97.
[52] Feo, righe 49-53 in Fraticelli, *Ad amicum*: 24.

Tautologically, Leoncini used "Ad amicum" as a source to justify the city's classical foundation, a city that chose its "*Ponte del Tevere*" crowned by the papal keys as its coat of arms: an image that legitimized and sanctioned the town's privileged relationship with Rome, *i.e.* the center of divine and temporal power.[53] Leoncini reported about the structure and its symbolic value in an etymological *excursus* in which he relyies on the above-mentioned poem, "Parla di questo Ponte Simone Feo predetto in quelli Suoi verbi:"

> *Considerati questi confini, volendo passare il Tevere* (105)
> *vedrai che c'è un ponte dalle ampie arcate.*
> *Lo si vede essere munito di due torri con*
> *mura merlate e porte capaci.*
> *Una strada selciata decora il ponte che comprime le piene*
> *invernali del Tevere, affinché questo non vada impetuoso.* (110)
> *Non è a me noto il nome dell'autore che lo costruì,*
> *potrebbero essere tuttavia i resti del ponte di Augusto.*
> *I nostri padri posero il ponte come pubblica insegna*
> *con l'aggiunta delle chiavi, stando ad essi a cuore il vanto della città.*
> *Tuttavia una parte del ponte crollò al tempo di Leone X,*
> *Quando l'Albula crebbe con acque vorticose*.[54]

> Considering these boundaries, wishing to cross the Tiber (105)
> you'll see there's a bridge with wide arches.
> It is seen to be equipped with two towers with
> crenellated walls and capable gates.
> A paved road decorates the bridge that compresses the floods
> winter of the Tiber, so that it may not go impetuous. (110)
> The name of the author who built it is not known to me,
> could still be the remains of Augustus' bridge.
> Our fathers set up the bridge as a public banner
> with the addition of the keys, cherishing the pride of the city.
> However, part of the bridge collapsed at the time of Leo X,
> When the Albula grew with swirling waters (trad. DeepL).[55]

Feo offers to today's reader – as well as to tomorrow's museum visitor – the only written, eyewitness account of Orte's iconic bridge, damaged by the flooding Tiber in 1514 (under Leo X, as indicated in the verses above) and was completely destroyed by another flood in 1525,

[53] On the rhetoric of the private coats of arms of Viterbo families in Simon Feo's time, see Massimo Miglio, "Coats of Arms as Social Images. Johannes Jacob Fugger and Viterbo in the Early Sixteenth Century," *Families in Late Medieval Tuscia. For a History*. Edited by Alessandro Pontecorvi and Abbondio Zuppante. Proceedings of the Study Days for the History of Tuscia: XV, *For a history of families in late medieval Tuscia*, Orte 14 December 2008 and XVI, *For a history of families in late medieval Tuscia* (second meeting), Viterbo - Orte 18 and 19 December 2009 (Orte: Ente Ottava Medievale di Orte, 2011).
[54] Leoncini, vol. IV, 54v; for the Italian translation, *cf*. Feo, lines 105-116, Fraticelli: 30.
[55] Leoncini, vol. IV, 54v; for the Italian translation, *cf*. Feo, lines 105-116, Fraticelli: 30.

during the pontificate of Clement VII. [56] The bridge became *insignia publica*, i.e. Orte's town crest, starting from the middle of the 15th century and – despite its disappearance over five hundred years ago – remains so until today.[57] The bridge which Feo saw was characterized by "wide arches," "two towers," crenulated walls, strong gates, "a paved road," and "the addition of the keys" of the *Patrimonium Sancti Petri*. In addition to the elaborate form described by Feo, other contemporary works and documents provide further evidence about the structure (figs. 2, 61), and lend themselves easily to a central exhibition space at Orte's city museum highlighted in the concluding chapter.

Feo's description shows that the bridge was an integral part of the urban defensive system, corroborating conclusions reached through recent historical and archaeological studies.[58] On the other hand, the poetic attribution of the bridge's construction to Augustus is definitively disproved by archival and archaeological sources that establish the medieval foundation of the structure, even though the name "Ponte di Augusto" remains alive in local imagination.[59] The bridge, in three consecutive verses, acts as a theocratic symbol: Feo closely associates Augustus, the coat of arms and the papal keys, thus sealing the link between the first emperor (and first *Pontifex Maximus*) and the modern pontiffs (who had returned to Rome from Avignon just over a century ago). The keys of St. Peter's, "*stando* […] *a cuore il vanto della città*," were placed at the center of both the city's actual bridge and the municipal coat of arms, to demonstrate Orte's loyalty to the principal center of 16th century religious, political, cultural, and economic power. Leoncini reiterated this loyalty through his in depth description of the crest and specifies that the epigram read "*Munus fidelatitas S.R.E.* ,"[60] or "The Loyal Gift of

[56] Leoncini, vol. IV, 53v. While Fraticelli believes that the poem was written between 1506 and 1525, the chronology of lines 105-116 can be reduced to a more restricted time span, corresponding to the years 1514-1516. While there is in fact mention of the damaged bridge under Leo X, there is no mention of its collapse, according to Leoncini in the above-mentioned sheet, under Clement VII in 1525.
[57] Frale, *La città sul fiume*; Abbondio, "Stemma."
[58] Nardi, 1980: 29-30; 41-42; Del Lungo (2006): 25-55; Giancarlo Pastura, "Indagini preliminari sull'edilizia medievale ad Orte," *Ricerche su Orte e il suo territorio*, a cura di Giancarlo Pastura. Quaderni del Museo Civico Archeologico di Orte, no. 2 (Aquapendente, VT: 2017): 55-62; Giancarlo Pastura, *Tra Monti Cimini e Tevere. Forem dell'insediamento tra VI e XII secolo* (Viterbo: Università degli Studi della Tuscia: 2017): 73-74; Zuppante 2020).
[59] Even today local tourist literature reports the words "Ponte di Augusto," a theory that has been widely disseminated thanks to the elegant engraving published in Giusto Fontantini, 1708. cf. Feo, "Ad amicum," line 110 in Fraticelli, *Ad amicum*: 29-30.
[60] Leoncini, vol. IV, 55v. The only coat of arms that has come down to us that includes this inscription ("M~.F.S.R.E.") is contemporary to the *Fabrica ortana*. It was partially cut during the frame replacement which took place at an uncertain date and is currently preserved in the collection of the Museo di Arte Sacra of Orte at the Episcopal Palace, in the lower right corner of the canvas Sant'Andrea made by the Orvietano painter Cesare Nebbia, post 1575. Thanks to Abbondio Zuppante for this personal communication. See Fig. 2 of this chapter.

the Holy Roman Church."[61] The image can be read, on the one hand, as a declaration of ostentatious devotion – and subordination – and, on the other, as the wish to preserve an ancient economic pact between Orte and Rome, which sees in this small town a plurimillenary transport hub.

2.2. Orte as crossroads. Archaeological and cartographic evidence

Epigraphic evidence refutes the etymology proposed by Leoncini but confirms the transportational function that the city played historically in the Italian peninsula and the Mediterranean world, an interpretation further corroborated by Medieval cartographic sources. The city's toponym does not take root from the Greek or Latin languages, but rather from the Etruscan place name ***hurta*.[62] No funerary inscription in Orte's territory reports the city's name.[63] The most pertinent testimonies consist of personal female and male names found in epigraphs from Tarquinia, Perugia and Chiusi.[64] This Tyrrhenian, Umbrian and Tuscan origin has allowed us to reconstruct the mobility of Orte's Etruscan inhabitants to and from neighboring regions. Situated between mountains, hills, valleys and rivers, the town was not located along a main road axis, but in a border area: a multiethnic region characterized by the coexistence of Umbrians, Faliscans, Sabines and Latins.[65] There are also traces of minor road networks that led to nearby centers which often coincide with Etruscan and Faliscan rock-hewn roads called *tagliate*.[66] Already in the pre-Roman past, Orte acted as the hub of a dense network of paths, roads, and small berths for boats and ferries. Likewise, the town connected three consular roads of the third century BCE, built to connect Rome with Umbria and the Adriatic, facilitating the Romanization of Italy and gradually the known world. While the Tiber remained the smoothest way down to Rome, the overland movements were made smoother by the development of the consular road network, among which it is necessary to mention the Via Flaminia (today's SS3) leading to Fano then Ravenna, passing through Perugia; the Via Cassia

[61] Translation suggested by Abbondio Zuppante in a personal communication dated 2021/02/17.
[62] Nardi, *Le antichità di Orte*: 299, note 18.
[63] Nardi, *Le antichità di Orte*: 297-298.
[64] Following her authoritative survey of the territory of Orte, Giuliana Nardi specified: "*si conoscono tuttavia anche nomi personali nelle seguenti forme: hurtinial, su un coperchio di urna da Perugia, gentilizio femminile neo etrusco in funzione di matronimico, che presuppone la forma maschile arcaica *hurtie-na da un prenome maschile *hurtie; hurtual, in un'iscrizione parietale da Tarquinia, anch'esso matronimico dal gentilizio femminile *hurtui, maschile *hurtu; hurtu su una ghianda missile da Chiusi*." Nardi: 298; cf. Del Lungo (2006): 118.
[65] Frederiksen, M. W., and J. B. Ward Perkins. "The Ancient Road Systems of the Central and Northern Ager Faliscus (Notes on Southern Etruria, 2)." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 25 (1957): 67-203. Consulted 2021/03/29. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40310568.
[66] Nardi, *Le antichità di Orte*: 313

(today's SS2) leading to Fiesole via Clusium (Chiusi); and the Via Amerina connecting Veio to Ameria (today's Amelia), passing through Hortae (Orte).[67] In addition to the consular roads, there was a secondary network of roads that served the towns around the Tiber, such as Volsinii, Otriculum, Ferentium, Falerii Nova, Sutrium.[68] In the Middle Ages, this road network became changeable in its routes and connected parish churches, towers, castles – "as many as the number of days in a year" according to Lando Leoncini[69] – and the inland centres of La Tuscia like Gallese, Vasanello, Soriano, Vignanello, Fabrica, Bassano, Chia, Mugnano and Bomarzo.[70] Notwithstanding the evolution of local routes and roles, Orte's vocation as a place of passage and exchange remained constant. This datum is confirmed by the presence of *Castellum Amerinum* (fig. 4), in correspondence with the present stretch of the Tiber between the Orte's bluff and Bassano in Teverina,[71] reported in the fourth segment of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the 7th-8th century map by the *Ravenna Cosmography*, in its turn copy of one dating back to Late Antiquity.[72]

Clearly, the elements that influenced the development of the settlement, intending both its fortunes and its misfortunes over the centuries, were many. The erosion of the tuffaceous bluff, the travertine quarries,[73] the deposits of gravel,[74] the fertile soils, the slowing down of the Tiber just upstream of the point where it flows into the Nera, the thermal baths with their curative qualities – what Leoncini calls the "*bagni*" and the "*solforata presso il Ponte*"[75] predisposed this place to host an easily passable, exploitable and defensible settlement, without interruption from the Paleolithic to the present day. Orte, because of its geography, played a strategic role for neighboring populations. This made it with the time, however, a place of conquest and subordination on the part of more powerful political, economic, and cultural centers.

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[67] AA. VV. *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World,* Princeton University Press: 2000.
[68] The connection between the centers of Viterbo, created by the Amerina, is reflected on the current conformation of the Diocese of Orte-Civita Castellana. This took its present form on October 5, 1437 with the bull of Pope Eugene IV, commissioner of the oldest coat of arms currently traceable and that will be discussed in the following pages.
[69] Leoncini, I,12 cited in Noemi di Francesco, *Carta archeologica del territorio di Orte (IGM F. 137 II NE),* vol. I: 65.
[70] Nardi, *Le antichità di Orte*: 304.
[71] Bassano in Teverina has been historically part of Orte's territory. For example, the Vadimone Lake (today called the Laghetto: 42°29'02.6 "N 12°19'23.4 "E) described by Plinio, is included in the Castasto Rustico of the '500 (quoted above).
[72] Richard J.A. Talbert, *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered* (Cambridge University Press, 2010). http://peutinger.atlantides.org/map-a/. Accessed 2019/02/13. Cf. Nardi, *The Antiquities of Orte*: 17.
[73] Leoncini refers to travertine as "*marmo ortano*." *Cf.* Leoncini, IV, 55r.
[74] A fact remembered in the toponym La Breccia, a locality characterized by the presence of a *brecciolino* quarry. *Cf.* Leoncini, IV, 55r.
[75] Leoncini, vol. IV, 54v.

The town's identity is to be found in its topography and geomorphology which corresponds to the tectonic-sedimentary basin of the Tuscan-Umbrian-Lazio region.[76] This area is located on the edge of a tectonic transition from the Plio-Calabrian period, characterized by sedimentary and volcanic stratifications.[77] Here we find one of the few thinnings of the Apennine hill masses, a condition that fostered the creation of the middle Tiber valley basin.[78] Surrounded by river networks, located 80 kilometers from the Tyrrhenian coast and at the center of the Italian peninsula, this settlement's geographical position made it both a natural (and later cultural) border and a pass for the Apennines. Therefore, this territory served and still serves as a place of passage between North and South, East and West, also linking the Tyrrhenian Sea and the Adriatic. Water, fauna, flora from Orte – *sacra, melodiosa*, and *rigogliosa*, according to Feo[79] – crept through the Roman countryside together with infinite travelers and their goods, arriving at the bend of the Tiber where the Tiber Island stood (the founding nucleus of Rome), and then finally reaching the coast, the commercial city of ancient Ostia, opening up to Mediterranean trade. This is the same network on which Pasolini relied in his comings and goings between Rome and Orte (fig. 3), which he later chose to highlight in his short films. In fact, he portrayed the junction visible from Porta San Cesareo, linking in a single shot of Orte's bluff with the landscape below, the bridge, the local streets, some recent structures, the fields, the pre-Apennine hills of Umbria and, the *raison d'être* of Orte, the Tiber.

In addition to its loyalty and subordination to the capital, this small town's peculiar relationship with Rome and with the *mare nostrum* explains why some of Orte's exponents in military corps were stationed in the Roman province of Numidia (today's Algeria). The archaeologist Giuliana Nardi has established that Orte's Roman name can be identified with "*Hortanum*" and that the city enjoyed the juridical status of *municipium*. She based these conclusions on two epigraphs, no. 4194 and no. 4249 of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum* found in the

[76] Marco Mancini, Odoardo Girotti e Gian Paolo Cavinato, "Il pliocene e il quaternario della Media Valle del Tevere (Appenino centrale)," *Geologica Romana*, no. 37 (2003-2004): 176.
[77]Marina Marcelli e Angela Napoletano, "L'abitato di Orte: il sistema idraulico ipogeo," *Orte (Viterbo) e il suo terriorio: Scavi e Ricerche in Etruria Meridionale fra Antichità e Medioevo* a cura di Patrizia Aureli, Maria Anna De Lucia Brolli, Stefano Del Lungo, BAR International Series 1545 (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges Ltd., 2006): 75.
[78] It is the pyroclastic, sandy and sandy deposits – an awareness preserved in the toponym Renaro on the northern side of Orte's bluff – of the Chiani-Tevere geological area that give this soil its heterotopic quality, giving rise to outcrops of travertine as well as hydrothermal springs. Cf. Marco Mancini, Odoardo Girotti, and Gian Paolo Cavinato: 182, 195.
[79] Cf. Feo, lines 62, 29, 44 in Fraticelli, *Ad amicum*: 22-28.

military colony of Lambaesis (present-day Tazoult), located twenty km from Timgad and about 150 km from the southern coast of the Mediterranean as the crow flies.[80] The same Berber center preserves evidence of Orte's Christianization, another epigraphy reports news about the 4th century *martu[r]/orum hortensium*,[81] the martyrdom of Saints Marianus and James (Saints Mariano and Giacomo) who were associated with the *ecclesia Hortensis* in the 646 synodal letter, evidence of Orte's contact with the overseas centers in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.[82] The town's presence in proconsular Africa is further confirmed through the presence of Italic cult of *Bona Dea*, as well as by the 6th century translation of the above-mentioned martyrs' relics from Numidia to Gubbio (PG) which presumably passed through Orte when passing through the Mid-Tiber river valley and the Via Amerina.[83] These religious testimonies also indicate the trade routes that connected the fluvial city with the Latium's coasts. These economic, commercial, and cultural exchanges favored transport networks that remained active from Antiquity throughout the Middle Ages; they highlight the expansion of Islamic cultures throughout the Mediterranean world, calling into question an age-old narrative

[80] Cf. Nardi, *Le antichità di Orte*: 307 in text in note 44. Neither the chronology nor the function of the writings is indicated. The no. 4194 has monumental dimensions, 1.17 m. high and 0.61 m. wide, and was displayed in the forum of Marcouna. The no. 4249 measures m. 0.50 in height, m. 0.76 on the side with a base of m. 1.36 and was found in a garden, also in Marcouna.
CIL, VIII, 4194 (= DESSAU, ILS, 6852); GEN . VICI / AVG / CN.BAEBIVS / CN.FIL . STELLAT. / CAEREALIS ORT. / FL. PP . ADIECTIS / AT . LEGITIMAM / FL . HS . II . M. N / HS . I. DCC. N/ EX HS . III DCC . N / ET AMPLIVS / INLATIS . REI . P/ HS . I. N. POSVÍT / IDEMQ. / DEDICAVIT
CIL, VIII, 4249 (= DESSAU, ILS, 6852 a): D M S/ CN. BAEBIO. CN. F. [STELL . CAEREALI MVNICIPI . ORTANORVM . ATQVE FALERI[ENSIVM V]ERECVNDEN- SIVM INCOLAE / ET FLAMINI PER[PETVO] ET PRINCIPI INGE[NVI SEJVERI FILIAE . EIVS PARE[NTIBVS] FILI. VIXIT [PATER ANNIJS hedera LXXX. MATER ANNI[S- - -] Consulted at Wilmanns, Gustav, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum. Inscriptiones Africae latinae. consilio et auctoritate*. vol. VIII (Berlin: Academiae litterarum regiae Borussicae, 1881): 424, 429, accessed 2021/02/16, https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/Tei-Viewer/cgi-bin/teiviewer.php?manifest=BOOK-ZID1314679.
[81] CIL, VIII, I, no. 7924: *[+] IIII Non(as) Sept(embres) passion martu[r]/orum Hortensium Mariani et/Iacobi Dati lapinti) Rustici Crispi / Tatti Mettuni Bictoris Silbani Egip/tii +]. S(an)c(t)i D(e)i memora- mini in conspectu D(omi)ni / quarum (sic) nomina scit is qui fecit. Ind(ictione) XV +*
Cfr. Eugenio Susi, "Memorie agiografiche e culturali africane nella Tuscia dell'Alto medievo," *Per una storia di Orte e del suo Territorio.* A Cura di Abbondio Zuppante, Atti delle Giornate di Studio per la Storia della Tuscia: XII, Riflessioni storiografiche sulla storia di Orte, Orte 12 February 2000 XIII, Riflessioni storiografiche sulla storia del territorio di Orte, Orte 25 June 2001 XIV, Presenze africane e bizantine nella Tuscia tra Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo, Orte 5 March 2006 (Orte: Ente Ottava medievale, 2006): 158, note 81.
[82] Susi, "Memorie agiografiche e culturali africane nella Tuscia:" 158-159, cf. 159, note 89.
[83] Susi, "Memorie agiografiche e culturali africane nella Tuscia:" 157-159.
The adoration of numerous African saints in the territory of Orte and Tuscia provides much information, but little certainty. These attestations include the cults of St. Eusebius (Sutri, Ronciglione), St. Eutius (Ferento, Soriano nel Cimino), St. Felix (Sutri), St. Juvenal (Barbarano Romano, Orte) and St. Senzias (Blera). Cf. C. Tedeschi, "S. Eusebio," *Inscriptiones Medii Aevi Italie (saec. VI-XII), Latium, Viterbo, 1*, edited by L. Cimarra, E. Condello, M. Signorini, P. Supino, C. Tedeschi, (Spoleto: CSAM, 2002); Eugenio Susi, "La cristianizzazione dell'Umbria e della Tuscia," *la Chiesa di Perugia nel primo millennio*. Proceedings of the Conference of Studies, Perugia, April 1-3, 2004, edited by A. Bartoli, Langelli and E. Menesto, (Spoleto: CSAM, 2005); V. Fiocchi Nicolai, *I cimiteri paleocristiani del Lazio, I. Etruria meridionale*, Monumenti di Antichità Cristiana, II serie, X (Città del Vaticano: 1988).

that reduces contact between the southern and northern Mediterranean as waves of 'Saracen incursions.'[84]

No material traces have been identified which can testify to Orte's direct contact with the Islamic world in this period, but the Arab-Norman geographer ḥammūdide al-Idrīsī (1099-1166), active in King Roger's court at Palermo speaks to some length about this *Viterbese* city and places it on his map of the known world (fig. 5).[85] In his *Kitāb Rugiār* (also known as the *Book of Roger*),[86] al-Idrīsī highlights the 12th century dynamics between Rome and Orte, describing the town as one of the capital's many satellites and as a clear subject of its sovereign the Pope:

> *Nella città di Roma v'ha il palazzo del sovrano chiamato il Papa. Nessuno è superiore a lui in possanza; i Re sono a lui soggetti e lo considerano eguale al Creatore. Ei governa con equità, ripara le ingiustizie, ajuta i deboli ed i poveri e protegge l'oppresso contro l'oppressore. Le sue decisioni hanno forza sopra tutti i re dei Rûm [Roma] e nessuno di loro può opporvisi.*
> *La città di Roma non si può sufficientemente descrivere; le sue bellezze sono tali e tante che è impossibile lo enumerarle.*
> *Da Roma dipendono molte città o metropoli celebri fra le quali 'ûrt (Orte), mâlm.lyâr (Magliano), wûstu (Ostia), m.ntyânî (Mentana) e q.śtâl (Castello, Civita Castellana?).*
> *La strada da Roma alla città di 'ankûnah (Ancona) posta sul mare veneziano [è la seguente]:*
> *Da Roma ad''ûrt (Orte) due giornate.*
> *Orte giace a ponento del fiume di Roma (Tevere), è città di mezzana grandezza, ha mercati e mura di terra.*
> *Presso Orte e [precisamente] al di sopra, il nahr tûd.r («fiume di Tuder, Todi»; leg. di Terni, fiume Nera) si unisce a quello di Roma (Tevere) il quale passa vicino alla città di tûd.r. Questa (leg. Terni) giace a ponente del suo fiume e sulla sponda a levante (leg. ponente) le sta di fronte la bella città di '.mâqah (Amelia). Da Orte, seguendo il fiume [Nera] si va alla città di nârâwm (Narnium, Narni) sulla sponda di levante del fiume di Todi (leg. di Terni, fiume Nera). Presso Narni,*

[84] E. Cambi, C. Citter, S. Guideri, M. Valeni. "Etruria, Tuscia, Toscana: la formazione dei paesaggi altomedievali," *La storia dell'Alto Medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia*, Riccardo Francovich and Ghislaine Noyé, eds. Florence 1994: 185-186, 196; Abbondio Zuppante, *Orte* (Viterbo: Agnesotti, 1987): 17.

[85] Allaoua Amara and Annliese Nef, "Al-Idrīsī et les Ḥammūdides de Sicile: Nouvelles Données biographiques sur l'auteur du 'Livre de Roger'." *Arabica* 48, no. 1 (2001): 121-27. Accessed 2021/02/19. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4057594.

[86] The text is quoted at the opening by the historian Massimo Miglio, one of the most important promoters of the studies devoted to Orte in the last 30 years. *Cf.* Massimo Miglio, "Premessa:" in Barbara Frale, *Orte, 1303-1367: La città sul fiume.* (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 1995): 7.

> *sulla sponda occidentale del fiume, [è posta] rât (Rieti) città popolata e bella*.[87]
>
> In the city of Rome is the palace of the ruler called the Pope. No man is superior to him in power: kings are subject to him, and regard him as equal with the Creator. And he ruleth justly, and repaireth wrong, and helpeth the weak and the poor, and protecteth the oppressed against the oppressor. His decisions have force over all the kings of *Rûm* [Rome] and none of them can oppose them.
> The city of Rome cannot be sufficiently described; its beauties are so many that it is impossible to enumerate them.
> From Rome depended many famous cities or metropolis among which *'ûrt* (Orte), *mâlm.lyâr* (Magliano), *wûstu* (Ostia), *m.ntyânî* (Mentana) and *q.śtâl* (Castello, Civita Castellana?).
> The road from Rome to the city of *'ankûnah* (Ancona) located on the Venetian sea [is as follows]:
>
> From Rome to *'ûrt* (Orte) two days.
>
> Orte lies west of the river of Rome (Tiber), is a city of medium size, has markets and walls of land.
>
> Near Orte, and [precisely] above it, the *nahr tûd.r* ('river of Tuder, Todi'; leg. of Terni, river Nera) joins the river of Rome (Tiber), which passes close to the city of *tûd.r.* This (leg. Terni) lies to the west of its river, and on its eastern bank (leg. ponente) the beautiful city of *'.mâqah* (Amelia) faces it. From Orte, following the river [Nera] one goes to the city of *nârâwm* (Narnium, Narni) on the east bank of the river of Todi (leg. of Terni, river Nera). Near Narni, on the west bank of the river, [is placed] *rât* (Rieti) a populous and beautiful city. (trans. DeepL)

Al-Idrīsī confers the image of Rome and the popes' hegemony in the 12th century and lists Orte (*'ûrt*, transcribed as *arṭ* by Konrad Miller in 1928, cf. figs. 6-7) first among many "famous" cities "on which they depended." The text, with its attached map, was commissioned by Roger in 1139 and completed in 1154.[88] It reports on five bridges in southern Italy, but includes no news about the one in Orte, despite the fact that was under construction while the *Kitāb Rugiār* was being drafted.[89] We can assume that the Arab-Norman geographer had not actually visited Orte during his reconnaissance voyages,[90] but based his report on news of the Tiber's emporia

[87] Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Idrīsī, *Libro del re Ruggero (*ovvero *La delizia di chi desidera attraversare la terra)*, in "L'Italia Descritta nel *Libro del re Ruggero* compilato da Edrisi," trans. Michele Amari and Celestino Schiaparelli (Roma: Reale Accademia dei Lincei, 1876): 87-89. The text was commissioned by Roger II around 1138 and completed in 1154, along with a collection of maps.
[88] David Jacoby, "Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 200, https://doi.org/10.2307/3591386.
[89] Stone and wooden bridges located in Messina, Trapani, Castellamare, Taranto and Benevento are mentioned. Cf. Al-Idrisi, *Book of King Roger* (1876): 31, 38, 45, 75, 129 (respectfully).
[90] Pamela Armstrong, "Merchants of Venice at Sparta in the 12th Century." *British School at Athens Studies* 16 (2009): 317. Consulted 2021/02/19. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40960649.

gathered from earlier maps.[91] He also may have based his knowledge on the accounts passed on to merchants, workers and travelers who moved, for example, along the silk trade routes seeing that the high quality material was in great demand in raw form[92] in the Tyrrhenian cities[93] of Genoa and Lucca.[94] This activity experienced a boom starting in the 13th century, thanks to the gradual integration of new workers and novel techniques that laid the foundations for the nascent Italian silk textile industry.[95] In Orte's 14th century notarial protocols, the term *mercantia* is often appears, indicating imported fabrics, that is, fabrics not obtained from local materials like wool, linen or hemp.[96] These products grew particularly popular in the first half of the 14th century, as witnessed by the presence of *unum fresum de seta*, *una riticella di seta*, *legamina sete pro muliere* and *unum taboglolum sete et bamacis* in an inventory of 1348 (written on the occasion of the death of two parents who left two orphan girls):[97] a clue that helps us understand the oscillations of local demographics and economic developments.

Leoncini would have never imagined that the Late Middle Ages, rather than the Italic past, marked Orte's 'Golden Age,' a period devasted by five waves of the Black Plague, of which the most virulent episodes were recorded in 1348-1349 and 1364-1365.[98] This pandemic interrupted a period of economic well-being and cultural and political autonomy which Orte would never again experience. This period, in fact, testifies to a privileged relationship with Rome, but more interestingly demonstrates how Orte cultivated fecund ties with various settlements of Umbria, Marche and Sabina, ties that al-Idrīsī had already recorded two centuries earlier, underscoring the importance of two nearby roads, namely the Via Cassia and the via Francigena.

[91] It is interesting to note that the description accompanying Roger's map shows that Orte connected Rome with Todi, as indicated by the Tabula peutingeriana: a straight line drawn from Rome to Tuder, passing through Castello Amerino. We point out this observation, questioning the correction of al-Idrīsī's text, by Amari who replaced the name of the city of Todi with that of Terni.
[92] Jacoby, "Silk Economics:" 200.
[93] Jacoby, "Silk Economics:" 218.
[94] The economic contacts with Lucca were mediated by many Tuscan and Umbrian centres, but it was in Lucca that the Ortani went for the conferment of the notarial investiture. Cf. Frale: 85-86.
[95] Jacoby, "Silk Economics:" 228.
[96] Frale, *The City on the River*: 89-90, 97-103.
[97] Frale, *The City on the River*: 43. Frale translates the terms from Latin to Italian as follows: silk borders to be put as an ornament at the hem of the robe, silk hair net, women's silk ribbons, and mixed garment of silk and cotton. For the complete inventory, see Frale, *The City on the River*: 39-44.
[98] Leoncini provides additional dates of the plague: 1348, 1363, 1374, 1399, 1410, and 1522. Leoncini, III, 78v.







*(above left) Fig. II-2. Orte's coat of arms 1575 (*post quem*), depicted in Cesare Nebbia's painting of St Andrew, Palazzo Vescovile, Orte;*

(above right) Fig. II-3. Film Still of La forma della città *at 00:08:50. View from Porta San Cesareo overlooking the border between Lazio and Umbria. N.B. the Tiber, the Bridge, SP59 in the direction of Amelia, the local roads, and the locality Pitignano on the left (now almost entirely built up);*

(below)Fig. II-4. Castellum amerinum *highlighted in red in segment IV of the* Tabula itineraria Peutingeriana*, copy by Franza Christoph von Scheyb (Vindobona, 1753), source "Plate 7-4 von Scheyb," http://www.cambridge.org/us/talbert/plates.html*



Fig. II-5. Al-Idrīsī, Tabula rogeriana, [Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi'khtirāq al-āfāq -The book of pleasant journeys into faraway lands]. *1154, copy sold at an auction in 2017, Sotheby's, London. N.B. The map is oriented with the south facing upwards. The white rectangle indicates Orte.*

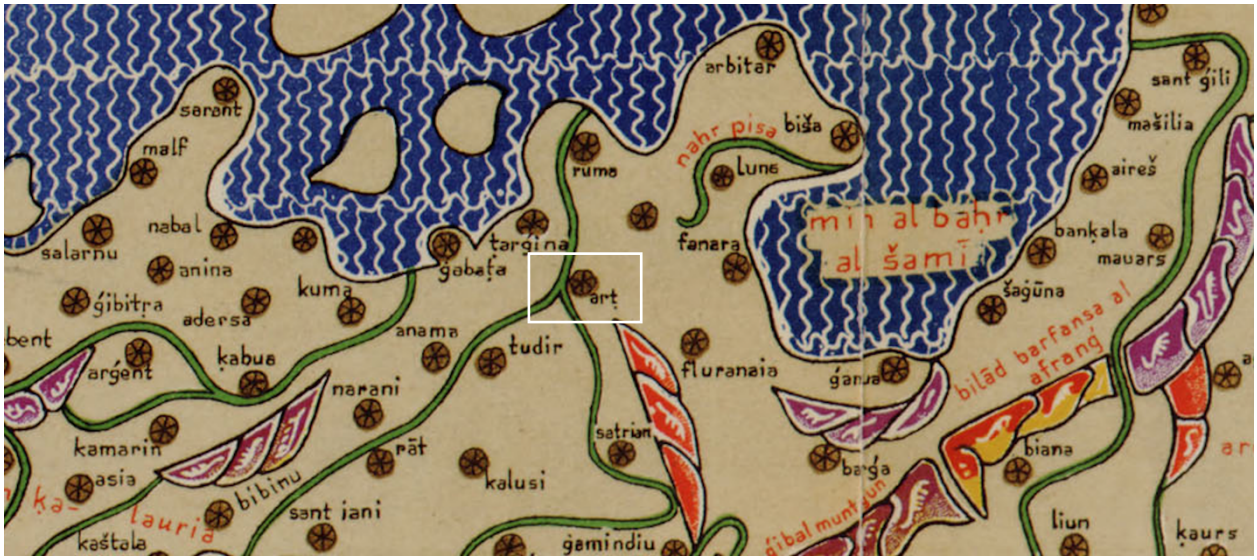


Fig. II-6. Konrad Miller, copy and transliteration of Al-Idrīsī's Tabula rogeriana*; collage of Bodleian MS. Pococke 375 and/or the BNF MS. Arabe 2221. N.B.* ruma *= Rome;* art *= Orte is highlighted by the white rectangle (Source: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabula_Rogeriana)*



Fig. II-7. Rogerian tabula of Al-Idrīsī, Tabula rogeriana *"Sud de la France et Italie du Nord," c5s2 in BNF MS. Arabe 2221. Orte is highlighted with the white rectangle. (Source: http://classes.bnf.fr/idrisi/grand/c5s2.htm)*

2.3. The city on the river recounts its art and history

Guided by the metaphor of the city's bridge, the collection of Orte's Museo di Arte Sacra also reveals material traces of Orte's vocation as a multimodal transport hub.[99] The bustle of merchants, clerics, pilgrims, and travelers left a composite heritage, preserved both in the

[99] See Appendix D.

museum's collection and the town's focal points. "It is precisely the combination of different elements from different time-scales – the totality in all its messiness – that is the object of conservation."[100] In the spirit of preserving and enhancing the 'messy totality' of this urban landscape, this section proposes a chronological journey based on the examination of works located in or originating from various points in the city. By recontextualizing a selection of artefacts, an attempt will be made to mend the relationship between art and provenience, links broken by obsolete museum strategies and resulting inaccessibility. The hope is to reveal the vital and synchronic roles art, architecture and material culture played in local society at given moments in history. Discussing one century at a time, this alternative narrative of Orte's history seeks to reflect a plurality of exemplary events that, though not exhaustive indicate core qualities of Orte's *genius loci*. The hope is to offer something meaningful to today's audiences and tomorrow's, adding new lymph to a place too often dismissed as an anonymous provincial town.

The first subsection will reflect on the importance of bridge construction in 12th century Orte and on the cultural impact produced by the new connections generated by the structure over the course of the next century. The Black Plague arrived in 1348, destabilizing the town to its very core, permanently damaging its economy, and stirring new forms of religiosity. The second part traces a precarious 'stability' regained in the 15th century and the breakdown of this equilibrium in the following century, resulting from a devastating flood that destroyed the town's infrastructure. The last subsection is dedicated to the 17th and 19th centuries and focuses on life in the city without its vital bridge, bringing to light the skewed dynamics between local powers and hegemonic Rome.

2.3.1. From bridge building to crisis. The 12th-14th centuries

2.3.1.1. The city takes shape. The 12th century

Orte's prominence among centers in the outlying territory is linked to the construction of the city's bridge from 1127 and 1143 (date *ante quem*): the first bridge over the Tiber north of

[100] John Pendlebury, Michael Short and Aidan While, "Urban World Heritage Sites and the Problem of Authenticity (2009)," in *Managing Change: Sustainable Approaches to the Conservation of the Built Environment*, ed. Jeff Cody and Francesco Siravo (Getty Conservation Institute, 2019): 423.

Rome. A document of 1127, preserved at the Abbey of Santa Croce di Sassovivo (Perugia),[101] testifies the agreements between the ecclesiastical authority and the citizen of Orte Cencio, son of Crescenzio di Leone Cavalleris, which conceded a plot of land "to make a bridge over the Tiber River." This document, accompanied by the *nulla osta* on behalf of the consuls and rectors of the Commune of Orte, in addition to Bishop Rodolfo's consent, specified that such a structure was to be built:[102]

> *... dove tu vorrai, con un suo ingresso ed una sua uscita, e con ogni utilità che possa essere sufficiente al ponte, in modo che nessuna tassa di attraversamento del ponte possa essere ottenuta da qualunque ambasciatore o pellegrino o itinerante per amore di Dio. Ed inoltre noi soprascritti cittadini promettiamo a te soprascritto Cencio che tu d'ora in avanti otterrai dai mercanti o da chiunque altro attraversi il ponte che tu possa avere in tua potestà ed utilità la chiesa e l'ospedale che edificherai lì, in modo che tu abbia il ponte, la chiesa e l'ospedale sempre liberi, senza alcuna dazione e senza molestia e senza pontanatico [ovvero, un'imposta per l'uso del ponte] nei confronti delle soprascritte persone, ovvero i predicatori e i pellegrini. Inoltre, promettiamo che non faremo nessuna tassa o imposizione e se tu edificherai un molino ad acqua o altra opera, questa rimanga sempre libera e senza comando, e che né il re, né alcun'altra autorità, né il papa possano imporre alcun pedaggio*.[103]
>
> ... wherever thou wilt, with an entrance and an exit thereof, and with every utility that may be sufficient to the bridge, so that no tax of crossing the bridge may be obtained by any ambassador or pilgrim or itinerant for God's sake. And furthermore, we the above-named citizens promise to thee above-named Cencio that thou shalt henceforth obtain from the merchants or anyone else crossing the bridge that thou mayest have in thy power and utility the church and the hospital which thou shalt build there, so that thou mayest have the bridge, the church and the hospital always free, without any giving and without molestation and without pontanatico [i.e., a tax for the use of the bridge] against the above-named persons, namely, preachers and pilgrims. Furthermore, we promise that we will not make any tax or imposition, and if you build a water-mill or other work, this shall always remain free and without command, and that neither the king, nor any other authority, nor the pope may impose any toll. (trans. DeepL)

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[101] The Municipality of Orte appears, with the statute of consular magistracy, already in the above-mentioned document of 1127.
The church of San Giacomo was donated to the Abbey of Sassovivo in 1158. Cf. Delfo Gioccachini, *Orte, le contrade e i borghi attraverso la 'Fabrica Ortana'* (Orte: 2001): 235.

[102] V. De Donato, ed. *Le carte dell'abbazia di Santa Croce di Sassovivo*, Florence 1975, II, pp. 65-66, 71-73. We thank Dr. Abbondio Zuppante for the indication of these documents.

[103] "1127 maggio," *Le carte dell'Abbazia di Sassovivo*, (1116-1165). Pubblicate dalla Scuola speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari dell'Università di Roma. vol. II. A cura di A. De Luca (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1975): 85-86. Special thanks to Prof. Carlo Tedeschi for providing this unpublished translation from the Latin text. See Appendix D.

From the indication "bridge over the river Tiber wherever thou wilt," it is clear that the structure was built *ex novo*, as confirmed by the medieval remains identified in the *località* now-called Pontaccio, meaning "the no-good bridge."[104] This chronology annuls Simone Feo's 16th century attribution of the bridge to the emperor Augustus, a claim reiterated by Leoncini and Giusto Fontanini in the following centuries.[105] This finding does not, however, contradict news of an earlier, Roman bridge located on the via Amerina, as indicated in the *Tabula itineraria Peutingeriana*.[106] This work was, after all, financed by private investments and founded on the promise of future income from the *pontanatico*, or the toll paid for crossing of the bridge and collected by Cencio. The 12th century document also foresees the construction of a church (later consecrated to St. James), a hospice and a paleo-industrial complex (that included, among other things, a particularly profitable mill). This evidence points to new urbanization and the economic development of the town's northern sector, an operation in which the bridge took on the role of a bridge and a city gate, thus creating a monumental entrance to Orte's hilltop, urban core.[107]

Further documents, now preserved in the Umbrian monastery of Sassovivo, show that from the 12th to the 14th century there was an intense network of economic and political relations between Orte and the other centers of La Tuscia, a network which was subsequently devitalized by Rome's increasing supremacy, an expression of the papal agenda after the court's return from Avignon. In 1158, just thirty years after Cencio's concession, the church of San Giacomo was donated to the Abbey of Sassovivo (along the Via Flaminia) by the Ortano Pietro di Roberta da Mugnano,[108] by his mother Bellanda and his wife Sofina, who also assumed the annual obligation of "*due misure di grano e tre di spelto, da consegnarsi il giorno dell'Assunta, di due salmi di vino in tempo di vendemmia, di quattro zampette di porco a Natale, di un agnello vivo a Pasqua e della quarta parte di tutte le offerte che per testamento venissero*

[104] Abbondio Zuppante, "Lo Stemma di Orte" (2020): 2. Thanks again to Abbondio Zuppante for sharing his article in progress (currently a Word document) was made available for this study.
[105] cf. Feo, line 112, Fraticelli: 30; Fontanini, engraving shown in Fig. 62 of this chapter.
[106] Nardi, *Le antichità di Orte*: 306, 312; Del Lungo (2006): 136.
[107] Other bridge-gates of the 12th and 13th centuries were at Prague (erected under Imp. Charles IV) and at Capua (erected under Imp. Frederick II). *Cf.* W. Sauerlander, "Two glances from the North. The presence and absence of Frederick II in the art of the empire; the court art of Frederick II and the 'opus francigenum'," *Romanesque Art*, 2. London; 2004: 195-198.
[108] Mugnano, at the time, was part of the territory of Orte.
Pasolini counted Mugnano among the most beautiful villages of Tuscia: "*Ma poi c'è un paesino dopo Bomarzo, verso Attigliano, e si chiama Mugnano. Beh, sarebbe da prendere tutta la collina su cui sorge il paesetto intero, così, e farne una specie di parco nazionale...perché è di una bellezza...per non parlare di San Martino, vicino Viterbo. Per esempio, potrei farti un elenco di dodici, quindici città*." See Appendix I: 5.

lasciate alla Chiesa."[109] Over time, the weight of this obligation towards Sassovivo's monks, on top of other dues owed to the city of Orte, put the community of San Giacomo in debt. We learn that in 1219 they turned to Rinaldo da Viterbo, who later became the proprietor of the church and the annexed mill until 1222.[110] In 1224, the bridge and the church of San Giacomo came back under Orte's control:

> *Dato che nella città di Orte noi Guido, per grazia di Dio vescovo ortano, non abbiamo trovato parrocchie limitate da precisi confini, con l'autorità del signor papa Onorio terzo e nostra, sentito il consiglio del Capitolo ortano, nonché di atri svariati uomini illustri tanto chierici, quanto laici, diamo e concediamo in perpetuo alla chiesa di S. Giacomo del ponte di Orte l'intero borgo come parrocchia limitata e distinta da confini certi, ovvero dalla ripa della città ortana fino al fiume e dal muro merlato delle carbonare fino all'altra carbonara volgarmente chiamata di San Iorio, stabilendo per censura ecclesiastica che nessuno d'ora in avanti osi molestare la detta chiesa di S. Giacomo in detta parrocchia*.[111]
>
> Given that in the city of Orte we, Guido, by the grace of God the bishop of Orte, have not found parishes limited by precise boundaries, by the authority of our Lord Pope Honorius the third and ours, having heard the advice of the Chapter of Orte, as well as of various other illustrious men, both clerical and lay, we give and grant in perpetuity to the church of S. Giacomo of the bridge of Orte the whole village as a parish limited and distinguished by certain boundaries, that is, from the bank of the city of Orte as far as the river and from the embattled wall of the carbonara as far as the other carbonara vulgarly called of San Iorio, establishing by ecclesiastical censure that no one from now on shall dare to molest the said church of S. Giacomo in the said parish. (trad. DeepL)

This urban expansion necessitated the extension of town's defense system in order to include also the bridge starting from the first quarter of the 13th century. Increasing foot traffic and the facilitated access it provided to the city, on one side, guaranteed Orte greater comforts, on the other, it made the town more vulnerable.[112] Overall, the city was well protected from outside aggressors, but threats to its security and stability came from within the walls, a fact made particularly evident in the 15th century.

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[109] Gioccachini, *Orte, le contrade e i borghi*: 235.
[110] Gioccachini, *Orte, le contrade e i borghi*: 235-236.
[111] "45. 1224, marzo 2, Orte," *Le carte dell'Abbazia di Sassovivo*, (1223-1227), pubblicate dalla Scuola speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari dell'Università di Roma. Vol. VI, A. De Luca, ed. (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1973-1977): 71-72.
[112] The inclusion of the bridge in the town wall can also be deduced from the obligation, on the part of the church of San Giacomo, to "*costruire un muro nel fossato e nella* carbonaria *del borgo*," Cf. *Le Carte dell'Abbazia di Sassovivo*, vol. V, 234 note 205 reported in Gioacchino (2001): 235-236.

The construction of the bridge makes evident certain ways in which the Church contributed to the spatial and temporal organization of the *civitas.* For example, the church of San Giacomo's obligation towards the Abbey of Sassovivo, since the mid-12th century, presented an important juxtaposition between the rural economy (wheat, spelt, wine, pork, lamb) and the liturgical calendar (the Assumption, Christmas, Easter). In his reflections on measuring time, Le Goff points out how the Church's measured time through liturgies and festivals, subordinating the natural sense of time driven by the sun and seasonal crops traditionally followed by the peasantry.[113] With the application of the first *renovatio* of the Gregorian Reforms (begun in the late 11th century),[114] Orte we witnessed the domestication of its agrarian society and, by extension, of its landscape which now bowed to the rules of the Church and its *domus*, the cathedral dedicated to the Virgin Assumption.[115] The liturgical cadence, in contractual terms, defined a specific power relationship:

> *Nei diversi sistemi socioeconomici e politici il controllo del calendario rende più facile la manipolazione di due strumenti essenziali del potere: l'imposta, nel caso del potere statale, e i censi, in quello del potere feudale... Il nome stesso di 'calendario' deriva dal latino calendarium che voleva dire 'libro dei conti', poiché gli interessi dei prestiti si pagavano alle calendae, il primo giorno dei mesi romani*.[116]
>
> In many socio-economic and political systems, controlling the calendar made it easier to manipulate two essential instruments of power: taxes, in the case of state power, and the census, in that of feudal power... The very name 'calendar' derives from the Latin *calendarium*, which meant 'account book,' since interest on loans was paid at the *calendae*, or the first day of the Roman month. (trans. Author)

Taxes and censuses, therefore, can be treated as a *fil rouge* in Orte's history, starting from the above-mentioned medieval testimonies up to the last census undertaken by the Papal States,

[113] Jacques Le Goff, "Calendario," *Storia e memoria* (Torino: Einaudi, 1977): 409-412, 423-426, 431-434.
[114] Dale Kinney, "Romanità a Roma: le basiliche del XII secolo fra tradizioni e innovazioni," in Luca Creti, ed, *La cattedrale cosmatesca di Civita Castellana: atti del convegno internazionale di studi: Civita Castellana, 18-19 settembre 2010* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2012): 59.
[115] The dedication to the Virgin, according to Le Goff's logic, should help to sanction the complete submission of the forces of nature, which in ancient times took the form of the Italic deity Horta. The Assumption, in particular, made the idea even clearer, since the deity is represented as an asexual woman, her body uncorrupted by death and immune to the laws of gravity. See discussion in subchapter 2.2.2 regarding the cult of Horta in Orte and Algeria, Le Goff, "Calendario:" 418.
[116] Le Goff, "Calendario:" 408.

i.e. 1820 Gregorian Cadastre of 1820 which took place in a period characterized by the local population and territory's general impoverishment.[117]

The annual tribute owed by the church of San Giacomo to Sassovivo offers a clear example of the convergence between the times of the peasants and those of the Lord, cycles sealed by the presence of the papal keys crowning the city's bridge.[118] Leoncini cites a memory of the structure's visual rhetoric: "*sulla torre del ponte di Orte era scolpito un leone che sosteneva con le zampe un gonfalone dove comparivano le chiavi di San Pietro e la parola fede/ fides…accompagnata con l'arme della Comunità d'Orta.*"[119] Faith and fidelity acted as the bridge's seal, the highest expression of Orte's *raison d'être*, at the service of the pontiff's spiritual and temporal power, and a stabilizing sign of the theocratic relationship between ecclesiastic figures and laity.

In a less compulsory, but still pervasive way, the time was scanned and modulated by the city's soundscape as suggested by its 12th century bell (fig. 8), a rare inscribed specimen which was once part of the San Silvestro complex and is now exhibited in the Museo di Arte Sacra.[120] Cast in bronze, it preserves its original clapper together with the coeval beam and part of the wooden belfry and iron mechanism that anchored the bell, allowing it to swing and ring it from the bell tower's fourth story.[121] The object takes the form of "an 'inverted chalice' with a concave profile and rounded shoulders;"[122] it is adorned with two epigraphs in relief which decorate the bell's circumference: just above the bell's lip, runs the inscription "+ *Ad honore(m) D(omi)n(i) n(ost)ri Ie(s)u Chr(ist)i et beati Silvestri confessoris et preposito Leo*" in which the *signum crucis* is represented as a rosette with eight spiral lobes (fig. 9a); the second inscription, placed along the bell's shoulders, concludes the sentence begun below, "*qui*

[117] On the 19th century in the small towns, Guidoni writes, "*Nelle città, si crea un nuovo modo di vivere borghese, mentre nei piccoli centri lo stile di vita non viene sostituito con un nuovo modello, ma semplicemente depauperato*" in Guidoni, *Inchiestiate su centri minori* (1980): 26-27.
[118] The structure also reaffirmed the dominion over nature and the local population: a dry viaduct, raised from the riverbed, a metaphor for the supremacy of the Church.
[119] Citazione di L. Leoncini, *La Fabrica Ortana*, II, 457r-458v. riportato in Zuppante (2020): 3.
[120] The bell was part of the first nucleus of the Diocesan Museum's collection. Cf. Luisa Mortari, *Museo Diocesano di Orte* (Viterbo: Agnesotti, 1967): 43-44/ 50; Salvatore Enrico Anselmi and Lorenzo Principi, *Il Museo di Arte Sacra di Orte* (Orte, 2013): 65.
[121] Future dendrochronological investigations on the 12th century wooden fragment are hoped for.
[122] The phrase '*boccale rovesciato'* is a quotation from Lera and Lera, *Sulle vie del primo Giubileo*: 41 reported in Elisa Pallottini, "La campana medievale iscritta dell'ex chiesa di San Silvestro a Orte: analisi e proposta di datazione," *Opera · Nomina · Historiae*, Numero 7. Pisa, 2012 (http://onh.giornale.sns.it/numero_7_2012.php, consultato 2019/02/28): 13.
For comparisons with other specimens, such as the one from Canino (VT) now in the Pio Cristiano Museum, cf. Pallottini, "La campana medievale iscritta:" 10-13.

hoc opus pro rede(m)tione sue" accompanied by a luxuriant tendril that supports and underlines the letter's rhythmic course (fig. 9b).[123] The inscription testifies to Leo's role as patron and the object's role in function his redemption and, as *prepositus*, of the eternal salvation of his parish. There is no information about the specific role that the bell played in Orte but bells often marked the liturgy of the hours for cloistered and ecclesiastical life;[124] from the end of the 12th century, they were also linked to the political, military, and legal activities of Italy's *comuni,* or free municipalities. [125]

The bell of San Silvestro – invisible to the public, but acoustically omnipresent through its regular toll – served both as a symbol of the growing ecclesiastical presence in the city, and as well as an instrument of a new regimented, collective life.[126] This rhetoric would find a confirmation in the supposed commercial origin of the San Silvestro complex, as suggested by the two ogival arches uncovered on the southern side of the former church during the restoration works in 1956-1961 (fig. 10).[127] These elements may indicate the structure's initial economic vocation and not a cultic one: "*Si può suppore che, in origine, essi [trovati murati] fossero aperti e in questo caso, essendo esagerata fonte di luce, si potrebbe arguire che il vano non fosse destinato in origine a chiesa ma a sede di loggia commerciale o confraternita di*

[123] The transcriptions given in the 1967, 1994 and 2013 versions of the museum catalogue have recently been refined in the authoritative study, dedicated to the bell, conducted by paleographer Elisa Pallottini. Cf. Elisa Pallottini, "La campana medievale iscritta:" 4.

[124] With regard to the cloistered life, Delfi reports news of the presence of a cloister until 1399, as can be deduced from a notarial protocol transcribed by Pasquinangeli but does not specify other bibliographical indications in this regard. Delfo, *Orte, le contrade e i borghi*: 204. On the role of bells in liturgical life, cf. Éric Palazzo, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Age* (Paris, 2000): 105-111.

[125] P.F. Pistili, "'Campana' in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Art* (1993)," consulted 2021/03/08, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/campana_(Encyclopedia-of-Medieval-Art).

[126] The bell of San Silvestro has been preserved along with its bell tower, while those of the Cathedral, San Giovanni in Fonte, and San Lorenzo al Vescovado – along with their bell towers – but would have marked the territory and its soundscape in the 12th century, but are now lost.

[127] The present appearance of the church and bell tower of San Silvestro is the result of restoration work carried out in the 1950s and 1960s, a process begun by the Ministero per i Monumenti del Lazio as early as 1953 "*per studiare l'opportunità di salvare l'interessane edificio medioevale ed il suo splendido campanile romanico*," with the declared intention of creating a museum in Protocollo no. 5728 of February 3, 1953, Ministry of Monuments of Lazio, now preserved in the ACS-Rome file. The declaration reveals a detrimental preservation of an alleged "medievality" of the architectural palimpsest, modified at the end of the 17th century at the behest of Cardinal Nuzzi in 1697, as indicated by the inscription still present on the portal. The dates of the campaign refer to the file MPI-Direzione Generale AABBAA, Ufficio Conservazione dei Monumenti, 16/10/2/8, 1963-1959 c.ID 2628: BN 381 VT Prov o-TA 310, 382, now preserved at the ACS-Roma, consulted 2020/08/26. The restoration of the complex was carried out under the direction of the architect Francesco Sanguinetti, a subject discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

artigiani."[128] The bell sealed the transition of this urban space from its secular function to a new, religious one.

Shortly before the middle of the 12th century, the complex was consecrated and dedicated to St. Sylvester, an event testified by an inscription commemorating the translation of the relics of the canonized Popes Sylvester and Stephen and the martyrs Iacopo, Nonnoso and Sophia *cum filiis suis.*[129] Leoncini reported the text of the lost lead sheet, originally embedded in the high altar of the church: "*Anni D(omi)ni MCXLI t(em)p(o)r(e) <d>(omini) Innocentii / <I>I p(a) p(e), reliq(ui)e s(anc)ti silvestri / p(a)p(e) et Stefani p(a)p(e) et Ia(co)bi / et No<nno>so et Sofie cum filiis suis. / Leo presbiter.*" [130] The date, 1141, and the name Leo, likely the same person as the homonymous patron of the bronze bell, allows us to date both the bronze artifact and the bell tower, along with the new liturgical order of San Silvestro in the fourth to early fifth decade of the 12th century.[131] In 1159, Hadrian IV issued a bull addressed to Leo (again identifiable with the figure cited in the epigraphs above) as prior of the cathedral of St. Mary of Orte, the document confirms the church's absolute authority and concludes by confirming that: "*Il papa, infine, conferma tutte le consuetudini della chiesa ortana.*"[132]

The translation of the relics of Saint Sylvester to the aforementioned church is an act that assumes sacramental value;[133] the architectural complex of San Silvestro was thus transformed into an *axis mundi*, a sacred place where time and space perfectly aligned.[134] By guarding the remains of the saint, the church acted as a *locus* where temporal power met superhuman power, as explained by the American historian Peter Brown, while quoting the words of Gregory the Great:

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[128] Sanguinetti proposed two more hypotheses: that the structure could have served as a church only to be transformed over time into a loggia and then converted back into a church, or that the arches had a structural role for the structure from its inception. *Cf.* Francesco Sanguinetti, "La ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro a Orte e il suo campanile," *Bolletino d'arte.* IV Serie, no. Fascicolo I-II (gennaio-giugno) (1961): 161, nota 2.

[129] Delfo Gioacchini suggests a link between the cult of St. Stephen, pope in 254-257, and the Christianization of Orte. Cf. Gioacchini, *Orte, le contrade e i borghi*: 203-204; Pallottini, "La campana medievale iscritta:" 15 note 56.

[130] Leoncini, *Fabrica Ortana,* II, cc. 181v and 460v, III, c. 117r. cited in Pallottini, "La campana medievale iscritta:" 14, note 54. Concerning the contents of the transcription, see Pallottini, "La campana medievale iscritta:" 15-17.

[131] The linguistic, palaeographical, technical, and morphological data of the bell are in accordance with the date given on the plumb plate. Cf. Pallottini, "La campana medievale iscritta:" 1-11.

[132] "1159 February 17, Rome (Lateran)," loose parchment, perg. 2, preserved at ACVO, published in *Le Pergamene medievali di Orte (secoli X-XV*). Edited by Giuseppe Giontella, Delfo Gioacchni and Abbondio Zuppante (Orte: Ente Ottava Medievale di Orte, 1984): 20-21.

[133] Kinney, "Romanità a Roma:" 61.

[134] Walter D. Mignolo. *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1998): 230-231.

> Basically this is what a tomb and its relic – its reliquiae, its human remains – was: a locus where earth and heaven met in the person of the dead, made plain by some manifestation of supernatural power – some *virtus* – of some *miraculum*, some wonderful happening: "What sort of reward he has in heaven is shown at his grave; the power coming out of his tomb declares him to be living in paradise."[135] .

Hence divine power, mediated by presbyters like Leo, could exceptionally take the form of an act of healing or a miracle, but daily it manifested itself through the new order of urban morphology (with the construction of the church and the bell tower), the development of the territory (as seen in the urban expansion around the bridge) and the codification of a local visual language, as witnessed from the 13th century onwards.



Fig. II-8. Bell from San Silvestro's bell tower, 1140. Bronze. Preserved at the Museo di Arte Sacra, Orte

[135] Peter Brown, "Relics and Social Status," *Society and the Holy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982): 225. The quote within the quotation goes back to sixth-century Gregory of Tours, as cited by Brown in the text, in *Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis Historiarum Francorum*. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, eds. Scriptorum rerum Merovingicarum tomi 1 pars 2; Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Hannover: Hahn, 1951: 52, 539.



Fig. II-9a-b. On the right (Fig. 6a), detail of the phytomorph cross in the lower register of the bell of the ex-church of San Silvestro (XII century), now now preserved at Orte's Museo di Arte Sacra. On the left (Fig. 6b), detail of the epigraph and the scroll on the upper register of the same bell. (Source: Pallottini: 22, 24)



Fig. II-12. Unpublished photograph of the recently completed worksite after F. Sanguinetti's restoration, circa 1961, Photo preserved at ICCD. Source: digitized file "MPI 6062696," ICCD.

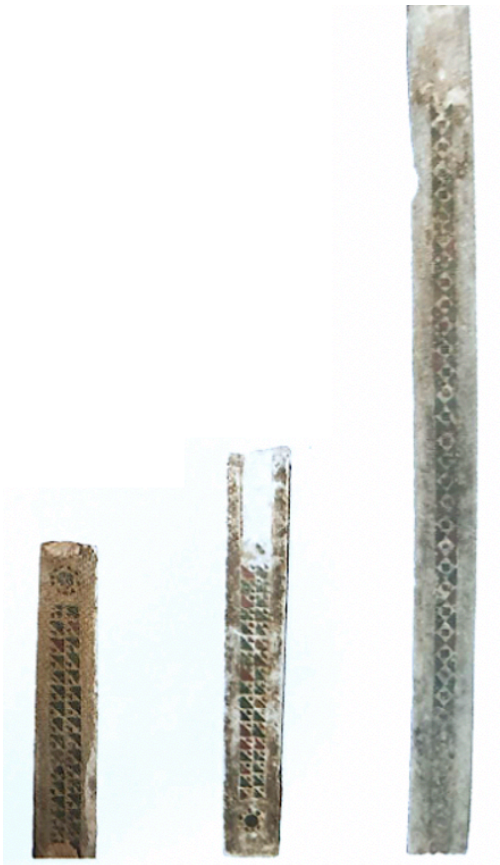


Fig. II-10. Cosmatesque marbles, 13th century. Museum of Sacra Art, Orte (Source: Anselmi e Principi, Il Museo d'Arte Sacra di Orte, *50)*



Fig. II-11. Dossal of San Francesco with scenes from the life of the saint, second half 13th century. Museum of Sacra Art, Orte (Source: Principi, 2015)

2.3.1.2. Pageantry and penance. The 13th -14th centuries

In 13th century, La Tuscia saw one of the most important marble building sites of its time emerge near the banks of the Tiber: the making of the cathedral of Civita Castellana's portico, a classicizing structure studded with friezes in *opus sectile* and completed in 1210 by "Maestro Jacopo *civis romanus*" together with his son Cosma.[136] The art historian Pietro Toesca provides a masterful description: "*Pilastri, capitelli, trabeazioni, la proporzione d'ogni parte, le cornici intagliate, ritraggono le forme antiche ma liberamente, mentre fanno più nuova l'opera bella le decorazioni di mosaico*."[137] Three marble mosaic fragments (fig. 11) preserved at the Orte's Museo di Arte Sacra, coming from an unknown location within the complex of San Silvestro, are connected to this spirit of *renovatio*. Dating back to the first half of the 13th century and attributed to the Cosmatesque workshop, the artefacts employ white marble, decorated with geometrically inlaid green marble and porphyry, *i.e.* re-used ancient colored marbles.[138] The erratic artifacts suggest that the town was "*mossa dai fantasmi della sua grandezza antica*,"[139] to adopt a new monumental language analogous to that seen in the architecture of Rome's (turreted) basilicas like San Crisogono and Santa Maria in Trastevere.[140] "*Chiese a Roma e nei dintorni furono dotate di arredi e pavimenti marmorei nel corso del XII-XIII secolo. Come i porticati con trabeazione, questi elementi 'tradizionali' erano componenti isolate che potevano essere aggiunte o applicate a edifici preesistenti per farli sembrare allo stesso tempo più moderni e storici. Esse conferivano romanità*."[141] On a far smaller scale, Orte also participated in an artistic reorganization in lie with a new, centralized program, making use of fragments of

[136] Pietro Toesca, "Il medioevo," *Storia dell'arte italiana,* III (Torino: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese,1927): 588 e fig. 368 on p. 586.
[137] Toesca "Il medioevo:" 588.
[138] Luisa Mortari proposed an earlier date for the fragments, a dating that has been challenged by Claussen's studies. See Peter Cornelius Claussen, *Magistri doctissimi romani: die römischen Marmorkünstler des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1987), cited in Anselmi and Principi, *Museo di Arte Sacra* (Orte, 2013): 50. It is not clear, however, whether the artefacts date back to the Cosmatesque workshop or to the workshops of other Roman marble workers. They would deserve a comparison with the mosaic friezes of the frames of the cloister of the Abbey of Sassovivo di Foligno, a monastery to which the Orte Bridge belonged at the time. These decorations were carried out in Rome by Pietro da Maria between 1229 and about 1233. It has not been possible to investigate this comparison because of the restrictions imposed by the health emergency of March 2021, the period in which this part of the study was being conducted. Cf. Toesca (1927): 590.
[139] Toesca, "Il medioevo:" 582.
[140] Peter Cornelius Claussen e Darko Senekovic, *Die kirchen der stadt rom im mittelalter 1050-1300: band 2: s. Giovanni in laterano : Mit einem beitrag von Darko Senekovic über S. Giovanni in fonte (corpus cosmatorum ii, 2)*, forschungen zur kunstgeschichte und christlichen archäologie (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2008): 300, cited in Dale Kinney, "Romanità a Roma:" 56, 62.
[141] Kinney, "Romanità a Roma:" 53.

ancient riches to legitimize papal and clerical hegemony which, in the aftermath of *Concilium Lateranense IV* (1215), deemed the laity "*tenuti a obbedire e non a comandare*."[142]

According to Jean-Claude Schmitt, a medievalist from the school of the Annales, the 13th century marked the moment when a radical process of acculturation began. According to his analysis, the Church embarked on a gradually discredited popular culture in smaller urban centers like Orte, casting a sinful reading onto local customs. While in the 20th century, Pasolini attributed the phenomenon of acculturation to the geopolitical forces that we today identify with globalization, it would be more accurate to recognize that the Ortani were well tamed, having had to adapt to the Church's subjugation which had prescribed collective penitentiary practices for lay people to atone for their pagan behavior already for seven centuries:

> *Pour prendre un exemple, peut-on penser développement si important à partir du XIII siècle du sentiment collectif du péché, et l'essor d'une spiritualité de la pénitence, furent en partie au moins les résultats d'une veritable "acculturation"? Certes l'Église d'alors, et les historiens de la vie religieuse à sa suite, ont interprèté ces phénomènes dans un sens "positif". Mais il faut se demander si la suspicion croissante qui pesa sur les pratiques folkloriques du corps (la danse par exemple), la personnalisation toujours plus poussée de la pastorale grâce à la généralisation du sacrement de pénitence (de l'obligation de la confession annuelle en 1215 aux premiers confessionnaux à la fin du Moyen Age), l'institution au XV siècle d'une éducation religieuse dès l'enfance* […]*, n'ont pas conjointement contribué à intérioriser le sens du péché et à "culpabiliser" tous ces hommes, à masquer à leurs yeux l'"acculturation" qu'ils subissaient les convainquant l'immoralité de leur culture*.[143]
>
> To take one example, can one think of such a significant development from the thirteenth century onward of the collective feeling of sin, and the rise of a spirituality of penitence, were in part at least the results of a veritable "acculturation"? Certainly the Church of the time, and the historians of religious life in its wake, interpretedèté these phenomena in a "positive" sense. But one must ask whether the growing suspicion that weighed on folk practices of the body (dancing, for example), the ever-increasing personalization of pastoral care thanks to the generalization of the sacrament of penance (from the obligation of annual confession in 1215 to the first confessionals at the end of the Middle Ages), the institution in the fifteenth century of a religious education from childhood [...],

[142] Canone XLIV, "Quarto Concilio Lateranense," accesed 2021/03/11, http://www.totustuustools.net/concili/lateran4.htm=.
[143] Jean-Claude Schmitt, "'Religion populaire' et culture folklorique (note critique)," *Annales* 31, no. 5 (1976): 949–950, https://doi.org/10.3406/ahess.1976.293760.

> did not jointly contribute to internalize the sense of sin and "guilt" all these men, to mask in their eyes the "acculturation" they were undergoing convincing them the immorality of their culture. (trad. DeepL)

In fact, there are no historic traces of Orte's folklore divorced from Catholic religious practices; Orte's folk culture is often represented by occasional liturgical commissions. Lay person's participation in processions or feasts was prescribed by the ecclesiastical calendar, with an occasional exception seen through the local declinations of the city's patron's feasts. Intangible expressions of folklore like dance, the example cited above by Schmitt, disappeared altogether because of the centuries-long effort to instill guilt in those who perpetuated a divergent culture from the dogma of the Roman Catholic Church.

One can recognize once again Orte's singularity, as an ancient crossroads, at a time when central Italy was intensely influenced by the rise of the Franciscan Order. The local visual culture of the 13th century testifies to Orte's participation in important global trends, while nonetheless remaining on its geographical margins. The iconography and the executive technique of the *Dossal of San Francesco and the stories of his life* (fig. 12), offers an exceptional glimpse on the global and local dynamics that characterized the city in this period.[144]

Having spent some time in the Borgo di San Giacomo, at the base of Orte's bridge in 1259, the Frati Minori obtained a concession from the bishop Pietro di Popleto to use the church of Sant'Angelo, against the will of local clerics.[145] Chased away by "*malorum hominum*," they returned to the area only in the early 1400s.[146] The altarpiece was most likely designed for the church of Sant'Angelo as the church of San Francesco was built in later centuries.[147] For the Ortano community, this cusped panel with its gold-ground must have played an important didactic function against local heresies and heretics: "Not long after the deaths of their ascetic

[144]Lorenzo Principi, "Scheda 8. Maestro del Dossale di San Giovanni Battista (Gilio di Pietro?):" 182. *The Art of Francis. Masterpieces of Italian Art and Asian Lands from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century.* Exhibition at the Accademia Gallery 31 March - 11 October 2015 (Florence). Florence: Giunti, 2015: 182-183.
[145] Principi, "Scheda 8. Maestro del Dossale di San Giovanni Battista (Gilio di Pietro?):" 182.
[146] Abbondio Zuppante, Il Dossale di *San Francesco* di Orte e l'eresia nella Tuscia del Duecento." *Frate Francesco, Rivista di cultura francescana*, anno 88, Nuova Serie, Aprile 2022, 1, 113-141.
[147] The construction of the Rocca Albornoz prompted the order to found the present church of San Francesco in its most central location. *Cf.* Abbondio Zuppante, "L'eresia nella Tuscia del Duecento e il dossale di San Francesco di Orte," *Faleritanum* Anno III, no. n.3 (2018): 30-31; Abbondio Zuppante, "Il Dossale di San Francesco di Orte e l'eresia nella Tuscia del Duecento," *Frate Francesco. Rivista Di Cultura Francescana*, 1, Anno 88 (April 2022): 113–41.

founders, Franciscans and Dominicans used works of art to adorn their churches and to promote religious renewal, seeking both to convert non-Christians and to inspire nominal Christians to the friars' own fervent piety."[148] The dossal can be read as a concrete example of the way in which the church in Orte tried to comply with the Lateran canons against heresies,[149] as well as the tendency of the mendicant orders to use images as educational and political tools.

Painted in tempera on wood in the seventh decade of the 13th century, the altarpiece depicts Saint Francis in a hieratic, frontal pose against a gold background. The saint seems to hail viewers with his raised right hand, placing his stigmata at the panel's center, while he holds a gem-studded codex in his left hand.[150] The composition develops vertically along the axis of the elongated central figure which is placed between four slender twisted columns made of pastille. The same material was employed to form the halo's relief, the two concentric bands at the panel's cusp, and the double molded frame punctuated by rosettes, also in relief. Four colorful hagiographic scenes are inserted symmetrically beside the saint. Two scenes are painted at shoulder height and set in nature, the *Impression of the Stigmata* and the *Preaching to the Birds*. At the saint's feet, resting on a groundline that unites the lower register, are two episodes are set in urban contexts, the contents of which are very rare in Franciscan iconography: *The Miracle of the sermon at Alexandria*[151] and a *post-mortem* miracle that involved the intercession of the saint's painted image. In the Alexandrian scene, on the lower left, there is a Cathar who, thanks to a miraculous transfiguration, holds a fish in his hand instead of the capon drumstick that – in his opinion – would have incriminated Francis for not having respected the precept of fasting on Fridays. In the second scene, on the lower right, two groups gather at the sides and below a cuspidate panel depicting the saint's bust: a painting

[148] Anne Derbes and Amy Neff, "Italy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Byzantine Sphere," Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.), and Helen C. Evans. *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004: 494.
[149] *Cf.* "Quarto Concilio Lateranense," consultato 2021/03/10, http://www.totustuustools.net/concili/lateran4.htm; Zuppante, "L'eresia nella Tuscia del Duecento:" 13–38; Rebecca Anne Hertling Ruppar, "Early Franciscan Painted Panels as a Response to the Italian Cathars" (in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy, University of Missouri-Columbia, 2020), https://mospace.umsystem.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10355/79490/RupparRebecca.pdf?sequence=1; Abbondio Zuppante, "Il Dossale di *San Francesco* di Orte e l'eresia nella Tuscia del Duecento," *Frate Francesco, Rivista di cultura francescana*, anno 88, Nuova Serie, Aprile 2022, 1: 113-141.
[150] W. R. Cook, *Images of St. Francis of Assisi: Stone and Glass from the Earliest Images to ca. 1320 in Italy. A Catalogue*, Florence-Perth: Olschki - The University of W. Australia, Florence-Perth 1999: 141-142, cat. 115.
[151] Hagiographic episode reported in *Vita secunda of* Thomas of Celano, but omitted from the *Legenda maior* of St. Bonaventure of 1263. The official introduction of Bonaventure's biography and the subsequent destruction of the earlier biographies provide a *data ante quem* for the creation of the panel, corroborating the conclusions on stylistic grounds reached in the mid twentieth century. For hagiographic information on Saint Francis, cf. Zuppante, "L'eresia nella Tuscia del Duecento:" 16, 29;

within a painting that indicates the dossal's function for the ortani. In the foreground, on the left, a figure in light blue places her hand on her chest, suggesting penitence; she looks into the eyes of the figure in front of her, wrapped in a darker blue cloak, who stretches out her arms, suggesting forgiveness. The group on the left exchange puzzled glances, while the group on the right look up at the altarpiece, their hands joined in prayer. The historian W. R. Cook read in the scene the conversion of some Orte's Cathars by the *inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis*, conducted locally by the Franciscan order. [152]

The Cathar presence in the *Viterbese* area is documented since 1199,[153] and, between 1242 and 1253, had become the focus of the Patrimonium of San Pietro in Tuscia. This may be motivated by the Cathars' collaboration with Frederick II during Viterbo's Ghibelline governments, which included figures like Pietro il 'Maledetto' and Giovanni di Orte.[154] For example, the pope issued a crusade against Capello di Chia, condemned in 1260 (not long before the dossal of St. Francis was made) as a heretic and protector of heretics whom he had granted refuge within the walls of his castle at Chia,[155] the same castle that became Pasolini's home seven hundred years later.[156]

The Franciscan dossal also offers a glimpse onto Orte's contact with the Eastern Mediterranean. The artifact conveys, yet again, Orte's role as a point of passage that has always characterized this city and its territory, as well as its role in facilitating the "phenomenon of figurative circulation," commonly associated with the artistic milieu that developed in the Near East in concomitance with the Crusades.[157] Like Francis, who passed through Orte on his way

[152] Cook, *Images of St. Francis of Assisi*: 111-112; Zuppante, "L'eresia nella Tuscia del Duecento:" 23.
[153] Zuppante, "L'eresia nella Tuscia del Duecento:" 22-26.
[154] C. Pinzi, *Storia della città di Viterbo* (Rome: Tip. della Camera dei deputati, 1887): 355-496 cited in Zuppante "L'eresia nella Tuscia del Duecento:" 23.
[155] Zuppante, "L'eresia nella Tuscia del Duecento:" 26-28.
[156] Abbondio Zuppante, director of the Museo di Arte Sacra and the ACVO, notes that the sons of Capello would normally have been disinherited from their father's property, but it was they who turned out to be the sellers of the castle in 1262 after a series of vicissitudes between Rome, Chia, and Viterbo. Zuppante suggests that the dossal of Orte's fourth scene may represent Cappello's atonement. The hypothesis remains attractive, but not demonstrable (a condition acknowledged by the scholar himself).
[157] The relationship between the Dossal of St. Francis in Orte and the Eastern Mediterranean was the subject of a speech by Raffaella Menna within the cycle of lectures entitled "*La Tuscia prima del corona virus*" held online on May 14, 2020. The phrase "*fenomeno della circolazione figurativa*" has been coined by Maria Andaloro and has been pointed out to the author by Raffaella Menna in a communication with the writer occurred on 2021/03/11. We would like to thank Prof. Menna for her permission to publish this reflection, which originated from her speech in 2020.

to Rome and beyond,[158] Tosco-Umbrian artists also travelled that same route while on their way to the Holy Land, seeing that the Franciscan order had already settled in the area in 1217.[159] Tosco-Umbrian painters were thus involved in the creation of mobile artistic assets like paintings and illuminated books and worked beside artists who belonged to International Gothic, Venetian, Greek-Orthodox and Islamic cultures, coming from territories that stretched from France to Egypt to Syria, from Ethiopia to Armenia, and also referring to the Persian and Mongolian world.[160] As an important fluvial port on the Tiber and as a Franciscan center, Orte's extensive network of passersby included artists – passing over its bridge and on its roads and boats – active in creating a new artistic language: "Clearly some artisans traveled extensively, working in urban and rural settings with collaborators who might be fluent in quite different artistic traditions. Patrons in cities, towns, and monasteries communicated with one another about their commissions."[161] The artist who painted Orte's dossal was most likely trained in Siena or Spoleto,[162] and exchanged technical and iconographic trends compatible with artists engaged in the cultural spheres of the crusaders. This artistic culture can be detected from the punched plant-shaped motifs characteristic of the Umbrian-Tuscan area, through the chromatic choice of bold reds and blues typical of French Gothic painters, as well as from the use of golden pastille. This technique, in fact, is specific to Near Eastern bookshops which sought to imitate relief decoration typical of precious, sacred books, like the one held by Francesco in the dossal.[163] Orte, through this wooden panel painting, takes part in a deeply

[158] The presence of Saint Francis at Orte is recorded by Thomas of Celano on at least three occasions. In the *Secunda vita*: "*Dopo essersi ristorati con quel cibo, proseguirono fino ad un luogo vicino a Orte, e qui si fermarono per circa quindici giorni. Alcuni di loro si recavano in città a cercare il vitto necessario e riportavano agli altri quanto erano riusciti a racimolare chiedendo l'elemosina di porta in porta, e lo mangiavano insieme lieti e ringraziando il Signore. Se avanzava qualcosa, quando non potevano donarla ai poveri, la riponevano in una fossa, che un tempo era servita da sepolcro, per cibarsene il giorno seguente. Quel luogo era deserto e non vi passava quasi nessuno*". Tommaso da Celano, "*Ritorno del Santo da Roma nella valle spoletana e Sua sosta nel viaggio*," *Vita Prima di san Francesco d'Assisi,* ed. Abele Calufetti e Feliciani Olgiati, Edizioni Messaggero Padova - Movimento francescano Assisi, 1228-1229 (date of publication unknown): II.14.379, accessed 2021/03/11 http://www.ofsliguria.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Vita-Prima-di-san-Francesco-TdC.pdf.

[159] Cf. Thelma K. Thomas, "The Arts of Christian Communities in the Medieval Middle East," Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.), and Helen C. Evans. *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004: 450.

[160] Thomas, "The Arts of Christian Communities:" 415.

[161] Thomas, "The Arts of Christian Communities:" 422-423.

[162] The link with Spoleto is further confirmed by the presence of Fra' Andrea of Todi, already inquisitor in Spoleto, appointed as inquisitor of Viterbo in 1260. *Cf.* Zuppante, "L'eresia nella Tuscia del Duecento:" 26.

[163] In the lecture of May 2020 Raffaella Menna underscored the similarities between the dossal of Orte and one of the triptychs, realized by an Umbrian painter and conserved in the Monastery of Saint Caterina in Sinai, Egypt. For an example of the mixed techniques of the Acre workshops, see J. Paul Getty Museum, Robert S. Nelson, and Kristen M. Collins. "Virgin Hodegretria," *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006: 145.

syncretic phenomenon typical of the Mediterranean world, even though no local workshop seems to have responded to this artistic stimulus.

The incessant contact with Rome and with its intercontinental traffics exposed the small town to more than material benefits; Orte's traffic flows also brought adverse consequences. From the end of the 13th century to the first half of the following one, Orte acted as an economic mediator between numerous regions and experienced progressive religious stability, unprecedented economic welfare, and remarkable rise in the local population:[164] all conditions that the Black Plague abruptly interrupted.

The growing wealth of this flourishing transport hub is attested by sumptuous dowries and inventories listing house furnishings: the first half of the 14th century was for Orte "the happiest period during the whole arc of the Middle Ages," according to the historian Barbara Frale.[165] This same happiness would later be interpreted as avarice and sinful pageantry with the arrival of the plague in 1348-1349 and then again in 1363.[166] In the short time of a single generation, Orte saw two-thirds of its population disappear. These mass deaths had economic consequences like steep inflation and labor shortages, which in turn provoked socio-cultural repercussions from which the town would never recover: [167]

> *La presenza di un sistema di approvvigionamento idrico efficiente e le misure d'igiene pubblica garantita dal Comune…avrebbe dovuto attenuare l'impatto dell'epidemia: ma il traffico continuo di gente che toccava la zona del borgo moltiplicò a dismisura le occasioni di contagio… L'epidemia veniva dall'Oriente, e da Costantinopoli aveva raggiunto verso le diverse regioni d'Europa raggiungendo dapprima le principali città marittime, quali Marsiglia, Venezia, Genova e Roma: Orte legata a quest'ultima da continui contatti di uomini e cose, ricevette il morbo insieme ai guadagni che quel fitto commercio fruttava; a metà del XIV secolo, in sostanza, ciò che per decenni avevo fatto la fortuna della città divenne primo strumento della sua rovina*.[168]
>
> The presence of an efficient water supply system and the measures of public hygiene guaranteed by the Commune...should have attenuated

[164] Frale, *La città sul fiume*: 21.
[165] Frale, *La città sul fiume*: 40-44.
[166] Frale, *La città sul fiume*: 61, 54-57; Frale's research uses as a terminus the death of Cardinal Egidio Albornoz, which occurred in Viterbo in 1366.
[167] Barbara Frale estimates a population decline of 67% from the first half of the fourteenth century to 1367: from a population of about 5400 inhabitants to only 1850 after the second wave of the plague. cf. Frale (1995): 53, 55. For the latest studies on the development of the fourteenth-century pestilence see the research of Monica Green. Cf. Monica Green and H. Herausgeber. *Pandemic Disease in the Medieval World: Rethinking the Black Death* (Kalamazoo; Bradford: ARC Medieval Press, 2015).
[168] Frale, *La città sul fiume*: 58.

> the impact of the epidemic: but the continuous traffic of people that touched the zone of the suburb multiplied to excess the occasions of contagion... The epidemic came from the East, and from Constantinople it had reached towards the different regions of Europe reaching at first the principal maritime cities, which Marseilles, Venice, Genoa and Rome: Orte, linked to the latter by continuous contacts of men and things, received the disease together with the earnings that that dense commerce yielded; in the middle of the 14th century, in substance, what had made the fortune of the city for decades became the first instrument of its ruin. (trad. DeepL)

Paying a high price, the small center experienced the dark side of actively trading with other centers across Italy, the Mediterranean and beyond the Alps during a pandemic. The plague's unknown origin and the absence of medicines capable of healing the sick led to Church to interpret the phenomenon as a divine punishment inflicted on sinners.[169] Finding its social fabric weakened, Orte fully surrendered to the Popes' temporal and spiritual powers, adopting new symbols and rituals to face this unprecedented time in history.

Thus the Black Death lingered in background when, in 1352, the Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta of Orte[170] – the city's religious, political and economic core – commissioned the Sienese goldsmith Vannuccio di Viva to make a processional cross as an instrument of penance and protection against the plague (fig. 14).[171] The artist's father, Viva di Lando, together with Ugolino di Vieri, had already co-authored Orvieto's *Reliquary of the Corporal*, an excellent example of Sienese goldsmithing along the Via Francigena. In his father's wake, Vannuccio continued the tradition and, in the mid-14th century, created Orte's reliquary as an apparent response to an urgent and vital need for healing, redemption, and exorcising the nightmarish

[169] Concept explicated in *Notae Veronenses, 1328-1409* cited (and erroneously attributed to a *Viterbese* author) in Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. "The Black Death: End of a Paradigm." *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 705 note 12. Consulted 2021/03/18. doi:10.1086/532493.

[170] *La pittura viterbese dal XIV al XVI secolo*, catalogue of the September-October 1954 exhibition at the Museo civico di Viterbo (Agnesotti: Viterbo, 1954): 76-77; Mortari, *Museo Diocesano* (1964): 39-40 cat. 29; Maria Monica Donato, *Siena e artisti senesi: Maestri orafi*, Opera Nomina Historiae, 5/6. 2011-2012 (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2012): 127-135; Anselmo e Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 56-59.

[171] The link between illness, punishment and penance is not exclusive to the plague of the 14th century. For example, it was already part of the Rule of the Third Order from as early as 1221, as made explicit in "*Dei Frati infermi*" (35.X): "*E prego il frate infermo di rendere grazie di tutto al Creatore; e che quale lo vuole il Signore, tale desideri di essere, sano o malato, poiché tutti coloro che Dio ha preordinato alla vita eterna, li educa con i richiami stimolanti dei flagelli e delle infermità e con lo spirito di compunzione, così come dice il Signore: "lo quelli che amo, li correggo e li castigo." Se invece si turberà e si adirerà contro Dio e contro i frati, ovvero chiederà con insistenza medicine, desiderando troppo di liberare la carne che presto dovrà morire, e che è nemica dell'anima, questo gli viene dal maligno ed egli è uomo carnale, e non sembra essere un frate, poiché ama più il corpo che l'anima*" (http://www.ofsassisi.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/La-Regola-non-bollata.pdf, accessed 2021/03/15).

disease that had just swept through the town.[172] The studies dedicated to the work, conserved in the Museo di Arte Sacra, have so far concentrated on aspects linked to the artist's style and technical choices, linking the artefact back to the Tuscan artistic *milieu*.[173] It has never been contextualized, however, in the cultural climate that emerged during the same plague that had also decimated Siena in 1348 and 1349.[174]

Orte's cruciform reliquary is made from embossed, chiseled, engraved, and partially gilded silver foil which entirely covers a wooden core. The cross' four arms each hold two of the eight translucent enamel medallions, placed back-to-back, with their remarkable gamma of colors, namely red, blue, purple, emerald, orange, brown, gray, black, and gold. A ninth enameled tondo depicts the *Agnus Dei* (visible from the back) and corresponds with the silver figure of Christ in the round in the center of the cross. [175] The crucifix contains relics of the True Cross and of Saints Julian, Cyprian, Nicholas, Lawrence, and others and served as a processional cross, with the double function of indicating, on a visual level, the head of the processions officiated by the clergy and of embodying, on a symbolic level and on a material level, Jesus's *via crucis* enacted along the streets of Orte in so far as the piece contained a fragment of the True Cross (fig. 18).[176] Leoncini made explicit the link between the processional cross and its performative function, relating it to Rome's penitentiary processions:

> *Croce anticha di S. Maria*
> *Oltre li molti calici et ornamenti di detto tempio vi era una croce molto devota e nobile et bella, grande di palmi […] alta di argento ove dentro vi sonno molte hereliqui et trali altri del legno della S.ma Croce di N.S. i carboni di S. Lorenzo martire. Vi sonno molti pietre et bottoni d'argento et con li 4 Evangelisti. Questa S.ma Croce non è punto*

[172] Frale, *La città sul fiume*: 29.
Sienese goldsmithing in 4th-century Tuscia is witnessed not only by the Reliquary of the Corporal of Orvieto by Ugolino di Vieri and Viva di Lando, but also by the reliquary of Saint Felicità and the reliquary of Saint Flaviano in the Cathedral of Saint Catherine of Montefiascone, both signed by Giacomo di Guerrino. Recent studies by the art historian Elisabetta Cioni have highlighted the relationship between these works and the reliquary of Santa Lucia in the Cathedral of Toledo, commissioned Cardinal Egidio Albornoz from the Sienese goldsmiths Andrea di Petruccio and Giacomo di Tondino in 1357 (evidenced by the inclusion of the cardinal's enameled coat of arms). Currently, the relationship between Albornoz's patronage and the plague remains to be analyzed. See Elisabetta Cioni, "Per Giacomo di Guerrino, orafo e smaltista senese," *Prospettiva*, no. 83/84 (1996): 56-79.
[173] Anselmi and Principi, *Museo di Arte Sacra*: 56-59 cat. 28; Donato, *Siena and Sienese artists*: 127-135.
[174] William M. Bowsky, "The Impact of the Black Death upon Sienese Government and Society," *Speculum* 39, no. 1 (1964): 18, https://doi.org/10.2307/2850126.
[175] Anselmi and Principi, *Museo di Arte Sacra*: 56.
[176] During an inspection carried out at the Museo di Arte Sacra in February 2021 it was found that many of the chests were empty of both relics and labels. Some writings date back to the 14th century, others appear to be of later date. The total number of boxes is 17, many more than the number reported in the literature from Leoncini onwards.

> *dissimile da quelle, che hanno le chiese Patriarcali di Roma che sogliono portare nelle letanie magiori et Rogationi.*[177]
>
> The ancient cross of Santa Maria [Assunta]
> In addition to this temple's many chalices and ornaments there was a much worshipped and noble and beautiful cross, measuring [...] palms in height; it is made of silver and inside it there are many relics among them the wood of Our Lord's Holy Cross and the carbons of the Martyr and Saint Lawrence. There are many gemstones and silver buttons and with the 4 Evangelists. This most Holy Cross is not dissimilar from the ones in Rome's Patriarchal churches which are customarily used during Major Litanies and Rogations. (trans. Author)

Two and a half centuries after its creation, the historian described the reliquary's devotional value for the ortani, while attributing its relics and describing their penitential function. Leoncini compared and even equated local customs to Roman ones, offering information on the iconography and the work's state of conservation.[178] It was probably the enamel's degraded state of conservation determined it's relatively limited fame in the 20th century.[179] Thanks to the recent restoration carried out by the Opificio delle Pietre Dure, it is now possible to propose a new interpretation of the medallions' engravings,[180] and above all to place these images in the context of a city that had just overcome the first of five waves of the Black Death.

The iconographic program of the central axis reiterates themes of punishment, penance, and salvation and its explicit allusions to the Apocalypse reveal belief systems that emerged around the 14th century pandemic. In the museum catalogue of 1967, Luisa Mortari interpreted the uppermost figure as the "Eternal One,"[181] while the art historian Lorenzo Principi interpreted this same figure as Christ the Judge (fig. 15), [182] important distinction as it recognizes in Jesus the role of sovereign at the moment of the Final Judgement.[183] The reference to the *Book of Revelations* is underscored by the representation of John the Evangelist, author of this New

[177] Leoncini, II, c. 86v, partially cited in Anselmi and Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 58.
[178] Seven 'silver buttons,' meaning the small spheres placed on the four-lobed frames, are still present; the 'many stones,' however, are lost, but there are marks suggesting where the now empty, fallen or removed settings were once located. Leoncini often gave very general descriptions of artworks and left no detailed description of the artifacts, except for the Roman inscriptions. The presence of these 'precious stones' could be explained by the widespread practice among the faithful of placing jewelry on crosses. It could also be an allusion to the colorful enameled medallions.
[179] The piece deserves to be recontextualized as a masterpiece of Sienese goldwork.
[180] Anna Mieli e Elena Nazzari, "Attività di conservazione dal 1 gennaio al 31 dicembre 2016," *OPD Restauro* 28 (Firenze: OPD, 2016): 364 (codice 13402). consultato 2021/03/15. doi:10.2307/44627736.
[181] Mortari, *Diocesan Museum* (1967): 46.
[182] Anselmi and Principi, *Museo di Arte Sacra of Orte*: 56.
[183] A similar example, dating back to the 5th century, is found in the figure of Christ placed in the apsidal basin of San Vitale in Ravenna.

Testament book, on the reverse of this same medallion (fig. 16). The precious colors, moreover, recall the jeweled and colored sky that is described in the *Revelations* 4:2-3: "and, behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne. And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone: and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald."[184] The seated regent, who also towered over the participants of liturgies and processions, is depicted bare-breasted with a golden and purple robe while being lifted by an angel, confirming that his throne is celestial. Christ the Judge dominates the entire composition, with Mary and John in mourning at his sides. His figure is in axis with the receptacles containing the relics of the saints and the True Cross forms a cruciform nimbus behind Jesus, a figure in the round placed at the center of the processional cross (fig. 17). On the cross' lower arm, there is a martyred deacon, in other words, a citizen who represents Christ on earth, seated on a rectangular structure recalling a bench, a chest or a sarcophagus (fig. 18).[185] The reverse side of each medallions shows one of the four evangelists with a corresponding tetramorph; these figures respect the same order in which they are revealed in the *Revelations*:[186] counterclockwise, Mark (the lion) is placed in correspondence to John, Luke (the ox) to the martyred deacon, Matthew (the man) to the Virgin and John (the eagle) to Christ the Judge. The processional cross was thus used to present the Apocalypse as a metaphor for the scourges of the plague, whose cause was to be sought in the sins of the world: "And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, 'Come out of [Babylon], my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her *plagues*. For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled fill to her double.'"[187] To emerge from the Black Death, signified repenting for one's moral shortcomings and

[184] "Revelation," accessed 2022/07/19, https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Revelation-Chapter-4/.
[185] It has been useful to make a formal comparison with the scene of the resurrection of Christ, executed in translucent enamel on the paten belonging to a 14th century chalice signed by Tondino di Guerrino and Andrea Riguardi. See Elisabetta Cioni, "Per Giacomo di Guerrino, orafo e smaltista senese:" 66, fig. 23.
Cf. Michael Camille, "The Body of Death," *The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet Illuminator*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996): 179-192.
[186] Rev 4:6-7: "And before the throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal: and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind. And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had a face as a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle."
[187] Rev 18:4-6, author's emphasis. It is interesting to note that in the Book of Revelation (Rev 17:4) the same word is translated in Italian as '*castigo'* (New Revised Version) and '*flagelli'* (CIE/Jerusalem), while in English the word 'plague' is used twelve times in the Book of Revelation, both in the King James Bible and in the New Revised Version. It has not been possible to consult the Hebrew etymology of the passage, coming from the book of Isaiah, but the theme of plagues is not alien to the Hebrew Bible (the Old Testament). Cf. Rev 17:1-6 (Is 13; 47; Gr 50; 51). (Source: (CIE/Jerusalem version as reported at http://www.laparola.net/testo.php)

remunerating the Church (through taxes, donations, and indulgences) in exchange for Her protection.

None of Orte's medieval parchments report explicit news about the 14th century pandemic, most likely due to the passing of time and to frequent custom destroying 'contaminated' objects to sanitize infected spaces. Yet certain intangible cultural manifestations, like the processions still celebrated by the town's confraternities as an expression of faith and penitence, preserve the memory of the plague and flourished during the half-century in which the Bubonic Plague swept through the city.[188] The Compagnia di Santa Croce is documented in Orte since 1274,[189] making it one of the most ancient of Orte's twelve brotherhoods,[190] dedicated its activities to charitable activities and to civic welfare in the years ravaged by the plague.[191] The *Cronica of Pisa* testifies to an analogous Good Friday *requiem* for the dead Christ (fig. 19) and describes the funeral rite of the city's podestà of the town, who died during the wave of 1382. The document highlights the processions' propitiatory function during the plague, as occasions in which the "*corpo politico cittadino, delle* élite *laiche e religiose, della loro composizione e del loro grado di subordinazione*."[192] Notwithstanding the evident asymmetries between this Tuscan context and the *viterbese* town, evokes the symbolic and temporal power enclosed in Orte's processional cross, aspects that the medievalist Cecilia Ianella summarizes as follows:

> *Durante i periodi di peste, nelle fasi di più grave mortalità, i rituali religiosi assumono pieno significato apotropaico attraverso l'organizzazione di innumerevoli processioni. Le pratiche di pubblica protezione dal male sono insieme 'antidoto e difesa', richiedono la* pietas *di tutti i* cives*, prevedono la delega di difesa salvifica ai santi*

[188] Links between the plague and matriculation in confraternities is widely attested in Orvieto. Cf. Alexandra R. A. Lee, 'Confraternities and the Plague in Orvieto: 1340-1410," *Confraternitas* 28, no. 2 (2017): 3-16.
[189] Abbondio Zuppante, "Compagnia dei Raccomandati di Santa Maria," 2021 (work in progress, kindly shared by the author).
[190]Abbondio Zuppante, "Le Confraternite di Orte e la Processione del Cristo Morto," *La Ricerca Folklorica*, no. 52 (2005): 33. Consulted 2019/04/24. doi: 10.2307/30033291.
[191] Pergamene n. 60, loose parchments (ex-Fondo S. Croce), Orte, ACVO, reported in "79. 1362 April 8, Orte," Giuseppe Giontella, Delfo Gioacchini and Abbondio Zuppante, eds., *Le pergamene medievali di Orte (X- XV Secoli)*, II (Orte: Ente Ottava Medievale di Orte, 1984): 54; Abbondio Zuppante, "Le Confraternite di Orte e la processione del Cristo Morto," *La Ricerca Folklorica*, no. 52 (2005): 33, https://doi.org/10.2307/30033291.
The Compagnia della Santa Croce is mentioned with the ancient name of the brotherhood "i fratelli Disciplinati," because they were members of the Confraternity of the Disciplinati di Sant'Agostino, a name that recalls the Church of Sant'Agostino which still hosts the confraternity today. There remains the temptation to suggest a possible link between the confraternity and the commission of the processional cross, but no historical data allows to formulate such a hypothesis.
[192] Cecilia Iannella, "Culti civici ed epidemie a Pisa nei secoli XIV-XV. Guglielmo di Malavalle e Nicola da Tolentino," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge*, no. 129–1 (May 5, 2017): §8. https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.3434.

> *cittadini ed alle loro reliquie, implicano pratiche penitenziali attraverso la presenza di flagellanti*.[193]
>
> During episodes of the plague, in periods with most severe mortality, religious rituals assume complete apotropaic significance through the organization of innumerable processions. The practices of public protection from evil are both rantidotes and defense', requiring the *pietas* of all *cives*, involving the delegation of salvific defense to citizen saints and their relics, and involving penitential practices through the presence of flagellants. (trans. Author)[194]

The chains and hoods worn by today's confraternities are expressions, albeit incomparable to ancient practices, of anonymous acts of penance. The members of these groups acted as equal and anonymous agents of the community's benefit, all the while remaining in service of local political and ecclesiastical hierarchies.[195] For example, the confraternity of the Raccomandati completed its church in 1380,[196] years still haunted by the pandemic, and renewed the decorative program of the adjacent hospital complex. The one surviving fresco is composed in three registers and depicts the stories of Job, the prophet chastised by God through many misfortunes, including ulcerous sores (Job 2:7-8), not unlike the boils caused by *yersinia pestis*, the bacterium commonly believed to be responsible for the Black Death (fig. 20). [197]

The following decades and centuries witnessed more waves of pestilence, but none were as violent or took as high a human toll as that of the mid-14th century.[198] The devastation of the pandemic did not diminish the role of Orte as a crossroads, although this was framed in a new geopolitical axis in favor of the "*riordino di un antico ordine*," in reference to the end of Avignon's 'Babylonian captivity' and the subsequent reconquest of the Urbe and its holy lands.[199] Although the *laziale* town experienced a slow recovery in the second half of the 14th

[193] Iannella, "Culti civici ed epidemie a Pisa:" §9.
[194] Iannella, "Civic cults and epidemics in Pisa:" §9.
[195] Ellen Schiferl, "Corporate Identity and Equality: Confraternity Member in Italian Paintings, c. 1340-1510," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 8, no. 2 (1989): 12–18.
[196] The iconography of the fresco remains little studied, partly because its location: it is tall and set between walls of later construction, making the painting difficult to access. For the dating of the complex of S. Maria dei Raccomandati and the fresco, cf. Francesca Giuseppini, "Analisi del complesso di S. Maria dei Raccomandati di Orte: la chiesa e l'ospedale," *Spolia. Annual Journal of Medieval Studies*. Essays 2020, year XVI, no. 6.
[197] Maria Evangelatou. "From Word into Image: The Visualization of Ulcer in Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts of the Book of Job." *Gesta* 48, no. 1 (2009): 19. Consultato 2021/03/16. doi:10.2307/29764894.
[198] The cautious recovery after the 'Black Plague' would begin in Orte only in the second decade of the 15th century, more than sixty years after the beginning of the pandemic, with no certainty that a new wave was not around the corner.
[199] Amedeo De Vincentiis, "Nepotismo inefficace. Papi, nipoti e il *Patrimonium* nel Quattrocento," *Le Famiglie Nella Tuscia Tardomedievale: Per Una Storia*. Orte: Centro di Studi per il Patrimonio di S. Pietro in Tuscia [u.a.], 2011: 33-34.

and early 15th centuries, Rome remained and, in Pasolini's opinion, remains "*un centro che non lascia spazio alla diversità*."[200] In this period, Orte was further destabilized by internal conflicts which reflected the changing moods and tensions of the Holy See. The restoration of the *Patrimonium beati Petri* left a strong impact on Orte through the activities of Cardinal Egidio Albornoz, papal delegate, author of the *Liber constitutionum* and, later, Apostolic Penitentiary under Innocent VI.[201] Albornoz contributed in transforming Orte's urban layout through the construction of a new fortification system (and namesake) in 1366 in function of the Pope's return to Rome in 1377.[202] Orte's Rocca Albornoz became the epicenter of disputes between local Guelphs and Ghibellines and later clashes between those loyal to the Orsini or the Colonna families; the structure was subsequently perceived as a symbol of tyranny and demolished in 1431 at the hands of the Ortani.[203]

[200] Castelnuovo e Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*: 118.
[201] Paul Lecacheux, "Un formulaire de la Pénitencerie Apostolique au temps du Cardinal Albornoz (1357-1358)," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 18, no. 1 (1898): 37–38, https://doi.org/10.3406/mefr.1898.8160; Amedeo De Vincentiis (2011): 35.
[202] Stefano Del Lungo, *L'abitato di Orte nell'antichità e nell'alto medioevo.* (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges Ltd., 2006): 15.
[203] Del Lungo, *L'abitato di Orte*: 12.



Fig. II-13. Vannuccio di Viva, Processional Cross with relics, 1352. From the Cathedral S. Maria Assunta, Orte; now preserved in the Museo di Arte Sacra. (Photo: Max Hutzel from 1967-1988, GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program).



Fig. II-14. Processional cross and liturgical procession, detail of the Stuttgart Psalter, 9th century (Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart, Bibl. Fol. 23 (source: https://lastoriaviva.it/il-salterio-di-stoccarda-lepoca-carolingia-per-immagini/attachment/229/)



Fig. II-15. Vannuccio di Viva, Processional cross with relics, 1352. Detail of the upper roundel (front) with Christ the Judge. Photo: Max Hutzel, 1967-1988. (Source: GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program).



Fig. II-16. Vannuccio di Viva, Processional cross with reliquary, 1352. Detail of the upper roundel from the back with St. John the Evangelist. Photo: Max Hutzel, 1967-1988. (Source: GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.)



Fig. II-18. Vannuccio di Viva, Processional cross with relics (front), 1352. Detail of the crucified Christ and the relic of the True Cross. Photo: Max Hutzel of 1967-1988. (Source: GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.)



Fig. II-17. Vannuccio di Viva, Processional cross with reliquary, 1352. Detail of the lower roundel (front) with anonymous martyred deacon saint. Photo: Max Hutzel of 1967-1988. (Source: GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program).



Fig. II-19. Good Friday procession employing baroque elements choreographed according to a (neo-?) medieval matrix, 2019/19/04. N.B. Christ's coffin and Our Lady of Sorrows are presented at the center of the procession. Participants include clergy, confreres, penitent women, and vigilantes with lay participants at the ceremony's perimeters.



Fig. II-20. Painting cycle of the stories of Job, located in the ex-Hospital of the Raccomandati, c. 1380 (Photo: A. Zuppante)

2.3.2. A precarious stability. The 15th-16th centuries

The macro-history of the 15th century in Italy recounts a triumphant crescendo of cultural rebirth, but the patronage, research and artistic production that characterized the great Italian courts had little influence on peripheral centers like Orte. Finding itself in the middle of a significant economic depression and in a state of peremptory submission to the Papal State, the new interest in humanistic knowledge and modern inquiry were here met with resistance. Orte, on the contrary, preferred to protract archaic aesthetics to accommodate the tastes of devotional patronage which conveyed the unreciprocated promise of Orte's lasting fidelity to the *Patrimonium Sancti Petri*.

In their ground-breaking essay *Centro e periferia nella storia dell'arte italiana*, the historian Carlo Ginzburg and the art historian Enrico Castelnuovo issued a warning: "*identificare senz'altro la periferia col ritardo significa, in definitiva, rassegnarci a scrivere eternamente la storio dal punto di vista del vincitore di turno*."[204] In this light, the following subsection, intends to offer a linear description of Orte's artistic developments during the Renaissance, while identifying coexisting artistic phenomena and outlining the cultural milieu of the time. Selections of 15th century art will examine papal patronage together with that of local brotherhoods to elucidate artistic dynamics between this *Viterbese* town, Rome and neighboring regions (fig. 21). Orte's 16th history, on the other hand, is characterized by the town's anomalous isolation resulting from the destruction and collapse of its iconic bridge. With the loss of its *de facto* identity, as well as its economic catalyst, the city lost its status as a geographical reference point for the Patrimonium, which resulted in a gradual process of abandonment and Orte's transformation into one of many, anonymous provincial centers. Yet this isolation seems to have stimulated eclectic cultural activities resulting in relative freedom of local expression and in nostalgic tendency that pined for a lost 'Golden Age.'

2.3.2.1. Clashes and promises of concord. The 15th century

Pasolini's "*piccola strada da niente*" offers a privileged view of the 15th century at Orte, hence this discussion will begin at the dismantled gate of San Cesareo (fig. 22), so as to become familiar with Orte's "face" and autobiography. It becomes necessary to go beyond the

[204] Castelnuovo e Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*: 114.

"*contradittorie nostalgie nei confronti di un mondo spesso idealizzato*"[205] and to identify muted, hidden and sometimes cancelled memories. The narrative voice of Leoncini is especially useful in this pursuit and problematizes the city's idyllic 15th century past as depicted in the poetry of Simone Feo. What emerges is a depiction of a historic period characterized by a political instability and bitter civil struggles:[206]

> […] *Stella Capitano di genti d'arme, et questo lo tentorno per esser di già scaricata la Rocca al tempo di Martino V° Papa, anno 1430, come ne apare processo in Cancelleria Ortana, quale Roccha fu scaricata per la morte del Sig. Antonio Colonna padrone di Orte, come nel trattato delli padroni di Orta se dirà et anco nel trattato del sito et contrade di Orta più a pieno di essa Rocca: questo solo sia detto qui. Nel'anno 1448 sendo la città di Orta tutta rovinata per le continue discordie fu necessario che il Papa Eugenio IV° ne donasse il subsidio di un anno per reparare la città, il Ponte con la sua Torre, le Porte, le Mura che erano tutte ruinate, et questo per la fedeltà et devotione di essi Ortani verso la S. Romana Chiesa*. […] [207]
>
> […] Stella Captain of Arms who had already attempted to dismantle the Rocca [fortress] during the reign of Pope Martin V, in the year 1430, as reported during the trial at the Cancelleria Ortana, for which the Rocca was dismantled due to the death of Signor Antonio Colonna, patron of Orte, as reported in the treaty on Orte's patrons and this treaty also speaks of Orte's layout and *contrade* more fully than it does of the essa Rocca: this is all that is said here. In the year 1448, since the city of Orta was completely ruined because of the continuous clashes, it became necessary for Pope Eugenio IV to subsidize the town for one year and repair it, the Bridge with its Tower, the Gates, the Walls that were in ruin, and this was thanks to Ortani's fidelity and devotion to the Holy Roman Church. […] (trans. Author)

Leoncini's overview of a 15th century document offers a glimpse into the cyclical fallout between factions aligned with the Colonna family and or with the Orsini family who, according to the pontifex in power, considered themselves and not the other as legitimate representatives of the Church. Porta Cesareo materially preserves the memory of the damage inflicted on civic structures which led to the subsidized renovations under Eugene IV (Pontiff from 1431 to 1447)

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[205] Ivan Crico, "La voce dipinta dei luoghi," *De pictura* 3, 30 novembre 2020 (Roma: Quodlibet, 2021): 299-300. https://www.quodlibet.it/riviste/testata/80m, consultato il 31 marzo 2021. Special thanks to Monica Fernando for pointing out this text by Ivan Crico, a Friulian poet and restorer, as well as for having read an early draft on the first chapter of this study.

[206] Angelo Barlozzetti, "Guelfi e ghibellini contra pacificum statum civitatis Hortanae," *Il Lazio e Alessandro VI : Civita Castellana, Cori, Nepi, Orte, Sermoneta*, *Nuovi studi storici,* Giovanni Pesiri, ed. (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2003).

[207] Leoncini, I, 429r (trascrizione informale di Vladimiro Marcocci dal file inedito "Leoncini HORTAE_volume generale Leonicini.pdf:" 357, file condiviso con l'autrice dalla Dott.ssa Francesca Giuseppini).

and Niccolò V (Pontiff from 1447 to 1455), a propagandistic opportunity that did not escape the new Pope in 1447-1448, the year of his election.

Randomly placed in the atrium of Palazzo Nuzzi, we find an important testimony of the 'humanist popes' of the Roman Renaissance which have been the object of scholarly attention (fig. 23): the two marble friezes carved in relief once placed above the first of San Cesareo's two gates, structures that were partially dismantled sometime between the 19th and the 20th centuries (fig. 24). The carvings depict the coats of arms of Eugene IV (on the lower frieze on the left) and Niccolò V (on the lower frieze at the center); the new Pope's crest flanks that of the city, the most ancient municipal coat of arms found in Orte thus far.[208] This frieze served as a simple and effective confirmation of the harmonious transition between two sovereigns; their straightforward content ensured that the content was accessible to Orte's overwhelmingly illiterate population. This approach contrasted sharply with the multiple riots that broke out after the death of Martin V Colonna in 1431, events that led to the deposition of his nephew Antonio Colonna, *podestà* and governor of Orte. Upon the election of Eugene IV, the Ortani destroyed Rocca Albornoz (as mentioned above) in the hopes of a sea change.[209]

The emblems at San Cesareo sanctioned the political and cultural continuity between a mid-15th century pontiff and his successor,[210] a message confirmed by a coeval papal bull, preserved at the Diocesan Archive of Orte, in which Niccolò V declared his alignment with the positions taken by his predecessor.[211] In order to communicate the complementary power of images and text, Orte's future city museums could exhibit the two stone lintels in dialogue with the archival material to allow visitors to note various forms of political rhetoric. The stone artifact, for example, contains a subtle declaration of the superiority of the new pontiff over his predecessor. The central tiara placed above the coat of arms of Niccolò V employs a hierarchy of scale in that it is slightly taller than that of Eugene IV; it also depicts a more elaborate triregnum than the represented on his predecessor's coat of arms. For this same reason, Niccolò's coat of arms occupies the heart of the lower register, a centrality underlined by the intersection of the decussate Papal keys and their underlying chord. The dominant crest is also

[208] Zuppante, "Lo Stemma di Orte" (2020): 1.
[209] Barlozzetti, "Guelfi e ghibellini:" 116-117.
[210] Eamon Duffy, "Protest and Division," *Saints and Sinners*, A History of the Popes; Second Edition (Yale University Press, 2006): 178-180 (http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vkscs.9).
[211] "1447 May 20, Roma (S. Pietro)" Orte, ACVO, Scolte parchments, perg. no. 128, 402 (400) mm x 552 (548) mm. Transcribed in Giuseppe Giontella, *Le pergamene medievali di Orte: secoli X-XV*. (Orte: Ente Ottava Medievale di Orte, 1984): 99.

wider than both the coat of arms of Eugene IV and that of the city. In sharp contrast to the generous patronage of the Niccolò in Rome, as exemplified through his inauguration of the Vatican Library,[212] the humanists and artists of the court of Niccolò V who passed through Orte during their travels between the major centers, had no impact on local artistic culture, especially due to the political instability that devastated this *viterbese* town in the second half of the 15th century.

The peaceful transition between the two pontiffs did not, however, foment a reconciliation between the supporters of the Orsini and the Colonna and a full-blown civil war broke out in the third quarter of the 15th century. From 1454 to 1463 Orte fell under the attacks of Count Everso dell'Anguillara on multiple occasions.[213] In 1474, Sisto IV ascertained "*la grave rovina delle mura cittadine*," disastrous effect of decades of civil struggles. [214] After eight years of relative stability, in 1489, the violence between the city factions reached an unexpected apex, which even saw the Duomo's nave transform into a battleground.[215] In 1492, the plague was further complicated the general disorder, but by 1496, the social and political crisis seemed to subside also thanks to the intervention of Pope Alexander VI.[216] Despite new sense of peace *intra moenia*, contrasts with Amelia, neighboring city with Orte, intensified in 1498. [217]

This is the historic context within which the Compagnia di Santa Croce commissioned the artist Cola di Orte, sometime between1475-1480, to make four panels to form a massive case in which to preserve and protect the statue of Saint Egidio (fig. 25), Orte's patron saint. The patrons' role can be confirmed by the presence of hooded figures in the last scene on the lower right and through the nearby inscription clarifying: "*Questi sunno la Compagnia di S. Egidio*."[218] The text's Gothic lettering offers paleographic clues about the patrons' archaic tastes, as does the vernacular quality of the hagiographic scenes which recall stylistic choices made more frequently in *ex-votos* than in the artistic production of more influential centers (fig. 26).[219] According to Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzberg, this situation can be described

[212] Flavia Cantatore, "La Biblioteca Vaticana nel Palazzo di Niccolò V." *Le origini della Biblioteca Vaticana tra umanesimo e rinascimento (1447 - 1534)* (Città del Vaticano: Manfredi, 2010): 383-412.
[213] Barlozzetti, "Guelfi e ghibellini:" 117-122.
[214] Barlozzetti, "Guelfi e ghibellini:" 124-125. Nel 1476, Sisto IV riconfermò l'indulgenza plenaria al culto di Sant'Egidio, status che rimase in vigore fino al 1563. Cfr. Cavallaro (1994): 116.
[215] Barlozzetti, "Guelfi e ghibellini:" 125-128.
[216] Barlozzetti, "Guelfi e ghibellini:" 141.
[217] Barlozzetti, "Guelfi e ghibellini:" 151.
[218] Mortari, *Museo diocesano* (1967): 19 catalogue 4-7 and Table 21.
[219] Castelnuovo and Ginzberg, *Centro e periferia*: 59-60.

as "*autoconsumo artistico*," a phrase which alludes to a local artist's deliberate choice to employ a vernacular visual language capable of speaking to a self-contained community of viewers.[220] The easily legible figures and simple composition could have reassured devotees who were caught in the middle of a civil war, far more effectively than innovations of foreign provenance.

The *Polyptych of Sant'Egidio*, painted on the case used to host the effigy of the patron saint, comes from the church of Santa Croce, a structure incorporated into that of Sant'Agostino. By 1902, it was abandoned, having lost its votive connotations already in the 18th century.[221] In 1907, during a period of renewed interest in safeguarding local heritage led by Giocondo Pasquinangeli, a figure discussed in depth in the subsequent chapter, the piece was relocated to the town's cathedral[222] and placed next to the sacristy doors.[223] In 1967, under the supervision of Luisa Mortari, it formed part of the first nucleus of the Diocesan Museum's collections.[224]

On the outward-facing panels, there are depictions of Saint Augustine and the patron saint of Orte, while on the inward-facing panels form a polyptych made up of sixteen historiated segmented, arranged across four rows and columns. Together, these panels form the four 'wings' of a case (or *custodia*) used to contain a polychrome wooden statue depicting St. Giles,

[220] Castelnuovo and Ginzberg, *Centro e periferia*: 44

[221] In *Curiosità ortane (Curiosities of Orvieto)*, a compendium of oral memories and historical news, the parish priest and scholar Delfo Gioacchini reports the news on the rediscovery of the case, offering insight into the local dynamics through which many testimonies of material culture may have been lost: "*Sicchè le quattro tavole dipinte che facevano da sportello alla nicchia del vecchio altare, non più intonate alla nuova costruzione, furono messe da parte. Rimasero dimenticate e impolverate fra i rottami per quasi due secoli. Ai primi anni del 1900 furono ritirate fuori, piuttosto malconce, ma questa volta non già per essere di nuovo usate a fine di culto, bensì per usi.. pratici: venivano prestate alle donne del popolo della contrada di S. Agostino per esporvi al sole i pomodori spaccati da conserva. Fu per caso che un fratello della Compagnia, Giuseppe Ornorio, e Don Zefferino Ralli che era allora segretario, ebbero il sospetto che si trattasse di cosa di una certa importanza. La maggior parte delle opere artistiche in possesso della chiesa ortana provengono dalle compagnie di S. Croce e dei Raccomandati, fra tutte le confraternite, indubbiamente le più antiche, le più ricche e le più nobili. … Non c'è perciò da meravigliarsi se ai primi anni del 1900, quando si risveglio la moda per i pezzi antichi, la sacrestia di S. Croce in maniera particolare, fosse meta di continue visite da parte di antiquari, che per pochi soldi si portavano via pezzi di grande valore*." Cfr. Delfo Gioacchini, *Curiosità ortane* (Orte: 2001): 69-70.

[222] Anna Cavallaro, "La custodia quattrocentesca con le storie di Sant'Egidio," *Tesori di Orte* (Orte: Ente Ottava Medievale, 1994): 4.
The work was preserved in the said church at least until 1912 and, according to the pastoral visit of 1916, it was already in the Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta in 1916. It was brought to the Diocesan Museum by Luisa Mortari in 1967. Cf. Mortari (1967): 19.

[223] Mortari, *Museo diocesano* (1967): 19 catalogo 4-7; Lorenzo Principi, "Il Sant'Egidio di Orte: Aperture per Saturnino Gatti Scultore," *Nuovi Studi*, no. XVII (2012): 105.

[224] The following chapter will deal with the history of cultural heritage protection in Orte in the twentieth century, paying attention to the figures mentioned above.

made by Saturnino Gatti around the ninth decade of the 15th century (Fig. 30). This sculpture was carved after the historiated doors and, in all probability, was executed on the model of an earlier simulacrum. This choice would explain the work's archaizing, severe and hieratic character, despite the erudite background of the artist who acted as the main mediator between the culture of Verrochio's bottega and that of the Valnerina, northern Lazio and Abruzzo. [225]

Each panel is divided into four scenes executed in tempera: each column is surmounted by a cusped insert. The column's uppermost elements include half-length figures against red backgrounds, in which the Archangel Gabriel appears on the left, two monochrome seraphim at the center and the *Annunciata* on the right. This part of the decorative program is separated from the hagiographic scenes below by way of an arcuated frieze painted against a blue background, studded with eight stars, that runs across the piece's entire width. The life of Saint Giles is symmetrically depicted on the panels in eleven scenes organized in two groups. Six scenes are paired on either side of the cabinet, so that they can be read from left to right along the first and second panels. These depict stories from the saint's birth to the scene of an exorcism. The same compositional logic repeats itself in the third and fourth panels that continue the iconographic cycle: they begin with the saint's postulate and conclude with his death flanked by the 12th scene that depicts the patrons kneeling beside the saint's mortal remains. The iconography draws primarily on the narrative cycle as told in the *Golden Legend* but presents two anomalous episodes: the saint's abduction as an infant and the swaddled child suckling a doe, scenes that may be inspired by the lives of Saint Stephen, Saint Lawrence or Saint Bartholomew.[226]

According to the current state of knowledge, the artist's career remains enigmatic. The painter Cola di Orte (Rome, 15th century - Orte, 1501/1502)[227] was active in the Mazzatosta Chapel of

[225] Principi, "Il Sant'Egidio di Orte:" 106.
[226] Cavallaro, "La custodia quattrocentesca:" 111.
[227] *Bernardino* from the Collegiate Church of Santa Maria Assunta in Otricoli (TR); the *Assunta* in Porchiano (from the Church of San Simeone in Porchiano del Monte, near Amelia, Terni); Triptych with the *Salvatore benedicente* and the *Annunciazione* (retro), *San Giovenale* and *Santa Caterina (*fronte) of c. 1470-1475 (from the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Orte, now in the MdAS); the *Crucifixion* from the former Orte hospital of 1480-1490; the *Madonna dei Raccomandati of* 1500 (formerly altarpiece of the high altar of the church of Santa Maria dei Raccomandati, now in the MdAS). Two works by Cola da Orte have been lost, namely the decoration of a chapel in the church of Santa Maria a Penne in Teverina and two panels with Saints Fabiano and Rocco in Narni's church of the Agostiniani. The paternity of the frescoes of Santa Monica in the church of Sant'Agostino in Bagnoregio, of the Redeemer in the lunette of the main portal of the church of San Famiano in Gallese and of the *Altarpiece of the Assumption* in the Collegiate Church of Vignanello remains open. Cf. Fabiano Fagliari Zeni Buchicchio, "La Madonna dei Raccomandati di Orte e i pittori Cola e Giovanni Antonio da Roma," *Biblioteca e*

Lorenzo da Viterbo (figs. 27-29).[228] Luisa Mortari saw references to the workshops of Benozzo Gozzoli (active in the convent of Santa Rosa in Viterbo in the 15th century) and Antoniazzo Romano in his work.[229] Scholarly discourse associates Cola di Orte with the figure of the Master of Chia,[230] but the stylistic inconsistencies between the archaic images and the modern tendencies evident in the works attributed to the Master of Chia remain unresolved. In the years that the *custodia* was made, the artist "*divenne protagonista del rinnovamento culturale della città laziale intrattenendo rapporti con i principali artisti attivi a Roma come Pinturicchio*[231] *e Piermatteo d'Amelia*."[232] The nature of their exchanges, however, remains unclear, and their interactions may have taken place at a level that was neither artistic nor technical in nature.

Cola di Orte's career remains difficult to trace. He may have executed the frescoed Crucifixion at the adjoining the former Hospital of the Raccomandati which is signed 'N.P,' a possible abbreviation for *Nicolaus [Cola] pinxit.* Documents preserved at Orte report the following news about Cola: he was resident in Orte since 1474 and,[233] as a member of the Confraternity of the "Raccomandati di Santa Maria," he acted as rector of the "Ospedale dei Disciplinati" in 1492.[234] His name also appears in the payment contract for the panel painting of *La Madonna dei Raccomandati* of 1500-1503 (fig. 31), but the document specifies that the sum was paid to Cola's son as the older artist died before the painting was completed.[235] Stylistic differences

Società, 10.1991, 3/4, (Viterbo: 1991: 17-22; Stefano Petrocchi, "La Madonna dei Raccomandati di Orte: Cola da Orte e Giovanni Francesco D'Avanzarano," Massimo Miglio and Silvia Maddalo, *Tesori di Orte* (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 1998): 147-166; Anselmi and Principi (2013): 27-32, 39-41; Abbondio Zuppante, "Cola da Orte," in *Gente di Tuscia*, http://www.gentedituscia.it/cola-da-orte/ (consulted on February 13, 2021).

[228] Faldi (1965): 138; Stefano Petrocchi, "Da Lorenzo da Viterbo a Piermatteo d'Amelia: Ipotesi intorno a Nicolaus Pictor alias il Maestro del Trittico di Chia," III series, XXVIII, 60, *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, (Pisa/ Rome: Fabrizio Serra editore, 2005): 176, 179-180; Anselmi e Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 28.

[229] Mortari, *Diocesan Museum* (1967): 20.

[230] Stefano Petrocchi, "La Madonna dei Raccomandati di Orte: Cola da Orte e Giovanni Francesco D'Avanzarano," *Tesori di Orte* (Orte: Centro di Studi per il Patrimonio di S. Pietro in Tuscia, 1998): 147-166; Petrocchi, "Da Lorenzo da Viterbo a Piermatteo d'Amelia:" 175-192; Anselmi e Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 28.

[231] Particolare del sottarco con Sant'Andrea di Viterbo e profeti, collocato all'ingresso della Cappella Mazzatosta (opera di Lorenzo da Viterbo) a Santa Maria della Verità di Viterbo, (Fotografia: Di Sailko 2017/07/10, CC BY 3.0, Fonte: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lorenzo_da_viterbo,_santi_e_profeti_del_sottarco_della_cappella_mazzatosta,_1469,_01.jpg?uselang=it, accessed 20 March 2021)

[232] Lorenzo Principi, "Il Sant'Egidio di Orte: Aperture per Saturnino Gatti scultore," *Nuovi Studi*, no. XVII (2012): 105; Saverio Ricci, "Il Redentore di Orte restituito a Piermatteo d'Amelia," *Su Lorenzo da Viterbo e Piermatteo d'Amelia. Richerche in Abruzzo, Lazio, Marche e Umbria* a cura di G. de Simone, F. Marcelli. *Predella*, 4, 2011 (Pisa: Felici Ed, 2011).

[233] Fagliari Zeni Buchicchio (1991): 17.

[234] Abbondio Zuppante, "Compagnia dei Raccomandati di Santa Maria," 2021 (work in progress, kindly shared with author); Abbondio Zuppante, "Cola da Orte," in *Gente di Tuscia*, http://www.gentedituscia.it/cola-da-orte/ (consulted February 13, 2021).

[235] Fagliari Zeni Buchicchio (1991):18; Anselmi and Principi, *Museo di Arte Sacra*: 40.

between the *Custodia di Sant'Egidio* and this luxurious panel, at the moment, do not allow us to trace Cola's hand in the early 16th century painting; furthermore, it is impossible to identify the transmission of a family workshop usually characterized by shared repertoires.

Even though the stylistic characteristics do not allow a certain attribution of the altarpiece, it is possible to analyze the work's socio-cultural value, both in relation to the commission and to the coincidence of the commission with the Jubilee of 1500.[236] The image provides a second example of 'grassroots' patronage, from the ranks of a local brotherhood, and it is worth mentioning that this reflects a growing trend in the 15th century. The work was in fact commissioned by the Confraternita dei Raccomandati for their mother church and the hospital.[237] The Madonna's mantle hosts a number of Orte's eminent citizens, together with clerics, nuns, and dozens of unknown figures. The scene represents the metaphorical union of the entire city, reunited thanks to the intercession of Alexander IV Borgia, genuflecting on the Virgin's righthand side.

The pontiff had just issued a "*breve absolutionis...post factam reconciliationem inter cives et exititios Ortanos.*"[238] The town on a river was placed in such a way as to play a strategic role for pilgrims on their way to Rome, a factor that prompted the pontiff to contain the clashes that had characterized the 15th century, thus opening a new chapter in Orte's history

[236] On the occasion of the Jubilee, Alexander IV ordered the opening of the Holy Door which, according to Paola Pogliani's reading of T. Alfarano's plan: "*comportò, assai probabilmente, la distruzione del mosaico la Vergine, S. Pietro e S. Paolo che decorava la lunetta fra le colonne tortili*." This information enables us to understand the reasons that led to the complete destruction of John VII's Oratory in 1609: advancing work on Maderno's façade. On this occasion, some mosaics were detached and subsequently dispersed, such as the mosaic fragment in the Museo di Arte Sacra which will be discussed later. Cf. Paola Pogliani, "Le Storie di Pietro nell'Oratorio di Giovanni II," *La figura di San Pietro nelle fonti del medioevo: Atti del convegno tenutosi in occasione del "Studiorum universitatum docentium congressus" (Viterbo e Roma, 5-8 September 2000)* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2001): 505, 509, 520.
[237] Stefano Petrocchi, "La Madonna dei Raccomandati di Orte: Cola di Orte e Giovanni Francesco d'Avanzarano," in *Tesori di Orte*, Massimo Miglio and Silvia Maddalo, eds. (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 1998): 147.
[238] Barlozzetti (2003): 159, 163.



Fig. II-23. ((left) Anonymous, map of central Italy with much of Alto Lazio, late 15th century/early 16th. Wood carving. (Source: Frutaz). N.B. The importance of Orte in the 15th century, the town's greater importance is suggested by its larger proportions of the stylized images of other, smaller towns.

Fig. II-24. (left, middle of page) Porta San Cesareo, Orte. A still from La forma della città *(1974), 00:09:59 (Source: http://www.teche.rai.it/2015/01/pasolini-e-la-forma-della-citta-1974/)*



Fig. II-21. (bottom left) The coats of arms of Popes Sixtus and Niccolò V with Orte's municipal coat of arms placed under a banner. Provenance: Porta San Cesareo, current location: Atrium of Palazzo Nuzzi.

Fig. II-22. (bottom right) Gisella Klumm Pasquinangeli, 1909 copy of Filoteo Alberini's painting of Porta San Cesareo beforethe gate's demolition, 1886. Orte, collezione Primavera (Photo: A. Zuppante, published in B&W in Pe una storia di Orte e del suo territorio*, edited by A. Zuppante Orte 2006: 131).*









Captions of figs. 25-29: from top left proceeding clockwise. Photos are by Max Hutzel, GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program, unless otherwise noted,

Fig. II-28. Cola di Orte, Polyptych of Sant'Egidio, c. 1480.

Fig. II-29. Cola di Orte, detail of scene with exorcism, recalling the formulaic compositions often found in ex-votos.







Fig. II-25. Cola di Orte, Recto of the left door, detail of St. Augustine.

Fig. II-26. Cola di Orte, Recto of the right door, detail of Sant'Egidio

Fig. II-27. Cola di Orte, Detail of the sub-arch with Saint Andrew of Viterbo and prophets, placed at the entrance of the Mazzatosta Chapel (work of Lorenzo da Viterbo) in Santa Maria della Verità in Viterbo, (Photo: Di Sailko, CC)



Fig. II-30. Saturnino Gatti, Effigy of Sant'Egidio, about 1480, preserved at the Cathedral of S. Maria Assunta (source: Anselmi and Principi: 104)



Fig. II-31. Workshop of Cola di Orte and his son and Egidio, 1500-1503. Tempera on panel with gold background. Provenance: Santa Maria dei Raccomandati, Orte, now at the Museo di Arte Sacra. (Photo: source unknown)

2.3.2.2. Turbulent waters. The 16th century

In a map attributed to Leonardo da Vinci (fig. 32), the viewer is confronted with a peninsula cross-hatched by massive hills and flowing waterways, studded with cities like Orte, reduced to mere black dots in contrast to the complexity of the natural background (fig. 33). The anonymous draughtsman bore witness to "*un processo di ristrutturazione geografica […] che all'inizio del Cinquecento avevo provocato una duplice censura, politica e artistica, riducendo drasticamente il policentrismo precedente a vantaggio di pochi centri in grado di conservare una certa autonomia.*"[239] In fact, the territory's topography became the protagonist of Orte's history in the 16th century. This study has already delved into the 16th century in the light of the philological activity of Lando Leoncini and Simone Feo's poem "Ad amicum," based on the local historian's *La Fabrica ortana.*[240] The following sub-section will outline a cultural history of Orte before and after the collapse of the bridge, the crux connecting this peripheral reality and Rome *caput mundi.*

In contrast to the formal image of the city's residents conveyed in the *Madonna dei Raccomandati* (fig. 31), Leoncini provides a literary testimony of the everyday life on the Tiber's banks (particularly valuable evidence due to the lack of any such iconographic references) and of the flourishing commercial activity derived from river transport and the local navigation industry: [241]

> *Quante barche navigano per il nostro Tebro sino a Roma in condurre le grascie infinite sonno de' vari i cittadini (che alle volte sonno insieme) entro nel Tevere. Et quanti danari per questo entrano ogni anno nella città lo sanno li padroni di esse et li loro barcaroli et altri manuali che vivono grassamente essi con le loro famiglie et fanno buone facoltà*.[242]
>
> So many boats sail along our Tiber reaching Rome towing the infinite virtues bestowed on many citizens (who sometimes gather together) by way of the Tiber. For this, so much money enters the city every year ,

[239] Castelnuovo e Ginzburg (1979/2019): 57-58.
[240] Consistent with the desire to explore the expressions of 'lowbrow' culture, it would have been interesting to explore the figure of the poet-poet Orfeo Marchese, author of *Le amorose fiamme* (Florence: Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1571). Dr. Rita Ruffini has published a volume dedicated to the author's biography, *Orfeo Marchese. Un calzolaio poeta nella Orte del Cinquecento* (Orte: Accademia dei Signori Disuniti, 2012), but not her critical editing of the literary work, making this research currently impossible.
Another 16th century rarity in Orte is the news of Leoncini about the presence of a stuffed crocodile, "*quel mostruoso animale*," bought in Rome in 1527, hung in the Chapel of the Santissimo Salvatore of Orte's Cathedral. This subject has not been treated in this study, but deserves to be compared to similar cases and would make for interesting material at the future city museum. Leoncini, II, c. 82.
[241] This activity remains well documented even in the fourteenth century. Cf. Frale (1995): 78-79.
[242] Leoncini, I, cc. 216-217 citato in Abbondio Zuppante e Giulio Nasetti, "Orte-Roma, dal Tevere alla strada ferrata," *Le strade del Lazio* (Roma: Lunario Romano, 1994): 372.

> a fact well known by the boatmen's overseers and the boatmen and the other manual laborers who live heartily with their families and make good livings.

This description dates to *circa* 1580-1600 and confirms the Tiber's importance as the focal point of the local economy and transport. It also suggests the bridge's role in a system of exchanges between the city's inhabitants, merchants, and passersby, making it possible to understand the disastrous consequences of the structure's loss due two natural calamities that ravaged Orte in the first quarter of the 16th century. Leoncini tells the events as follows:

> *Per questo Borgo et appresso detta Chiesa passava la via Amerina fra il Ponte che stava sopra il Tevere che al tempo di Leone X cade' per il Diluvio di quei tempi che fu la trigesima prima Inodatione di Roma, come si legge in una Pietra in casa de Signori Illmi- Gastoni con queste parole = Bis denos menses [lettura incerta…] decimo peragente Leone Idibus huc Tiberis vada Novembris adert MDXIIII Die XIII Novembris*
> […]
> *Et ciò fu in un giorno di martedì tra le nove et XII hore di notte et fu questa caduta per li Travi del Ponte di Orvieto che si traversorno sotto li archi di detto Ponte et fecerlo cadere in mezo con due archi che risarcitolo poi con un Pilastro ivi di legno rifatto, che similmente cade' poi al tempo di Clemente 7° li 2 di Dicembre, anno 1524 nonostante la grandissima diligenza usatasi dalla Comunita', ed cosi mai più s'è ristaurato, lassando rupi et balze verso la città contigue a detta Chiesa di S. Giacomo, che cagionò anco la rovina d'essa et che il Borgo anco si riducesse a Cultura il resto delle Case che ivi furono lassate l'anno 1405 per le guerre civili di Guelfi et Gibelini, come in detta fabrica nella 4 parte; et cosi detto Ponte fu reso inutile non solo alli Cittadini ma anco a' Passeggieri, che fu bisognato porvi il Passo con le Barche come fin'hora si costuma*.[243]
>
> The via Amerina passed through this town and the Church propped above the Bridge that spanned the Tiber that collapsed during the time of Leo X due to the Flood of those times on the thirtieth day before Rome's Flood, as read on a Stone in the house of the Illustrious Lords Gastoni with these words = *Bis denos menses* [uncertain reading...] *decimo peragente Leone Idibus huc Tiberis vada Novembris adert MDXIIII Die XIII Novembris* […]
>
> And this was on a Tuesday between the ninnth and the twelfth hour et it happened that because of the beams from Orvieto's bridge that got lodges beneath the piers of this bridge and it collapse in the middle of two arches which were later compensated with a refashioned wooden pier, which similarly fell at the time of Clement the 7th on the 2nd of December, in the year 1524 despite the Community's great diligence, and thus it was never restored, leaving the city with boulders and crags next to the aforesaid Church of S. Giacomo, which caused its ruin and

[243] Leoncini, Leoncini, IV, 53v. Cfr. Appendice F .

> reverted its adjacent settlement and houses to pasture due to the civil wars between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, as told in the said *Fabrica* in its 4th part; and so the said Bridge was rendered useless not only to the Citizens but also to the Passers-by, that it was necessary to put the Pass with the Boats as is still done now. (trans. Author)

The events of 1514 and 1524 wrought irreparable damage on the civic structure and catastrophic consequences to Orte's economy and society. This loss was so influential on local history that the events coincided with the mystification of the bridge. Just as the bridge had assumed an Augustan attribution in Feo, the Tiber acquired an increasing importance in the coats of arms. In the municipal coats of arms dating back to the 15th century (fig. 23, figs. 34-35), the bridge was represented with its characteristic five pillars, two towers, fenestrated gallery and the triumphal arch which supporting the papal keys at its center: simple elements conveyed through compact and slightly stylized forms. After its collapse, certain interpretations of the bridge's iconography did not undergo substantial iconographic changes (fig. 36), while others were slightly modified with the insertion of the tumultuous river with deep carvings suggesting its terrible destructive force (fig. 37).

The literary texts of the 16th century reveal the Ortani's expectation that the structure would obviously be restored by the Papal State. The 15th century popes had, in fact, invested in the renovation of the city's infrastructure: like Innocent VII who, in 1484, gave "*50 ducati per rifare et reparare il Ponte, strade et condurre l'acqua alla fonte, et questo per la fedeltà et devozione di Orta versa la S. R. C. confermò tutte riforme ordinazioni et Statuti*."[244]
The reconstruction of the bridge would have represented a reciprocal exchange between the sovereign and his faithful subjects, inhabitants of a city that, at least in the times of Leoncini, had embraced the motto *Munus Fidelitatis S(anctae) R(omanae) E(cclesiae)* (figs. 2, 57). The historian of Orte "*ci informa che sulla torre del ponte di Orte era scolpito un leone che sosteneva con le zampe un gonfalone dove comparivano le chiavi di San Pietro e la scritta* fede, *o più probabilmente* fides. *Tale insegna, scrive Leoncini,* era accompagnata con l'arme della Comunità d'Orta."[245] The municipal coat of arms can be read as a synthesis of a communication strategy put into place through the bridge in which a monumental apparatus,

[244] Leoncini, II, 478v. Citato tra le trascrizioni in appendice di Barlozzetti (2000).
[245] Citazione di Abbondio Zuppante, "Lo stemma di Orte," text still in progress. *Cf.* Leoncini, *La Fabrica Ortana*, cit., II, cc. 457r-458v.

upheld by popular opinion designed to exalt, again in the words of Castelnuovo and Ginzberg, "*le entrate trionfali che sancissero il potere e la magnanimità del signore*."[246]

The erudite theologian Giulio Roscio (Orte, 1550 *circa* - Milan, 159), who was born in Orte but educated in Rome, took an active interest in advocating for the reconstruction of the bridge and reportedly accompanied the papal architect Matteo da Castello to assess the site's conditions.[247] As a man of letters, he chose to bring the cause to the attention of the newly elected Pope Sixtus V in the form of an epigram:

> *I. Per il ponte che si dovrà costruire sul Tevere nel territorio di Orte:*
> *Questo ponte Cesare fece costruire di candido marmo, nel tempo in cui chiamava uomini bellicosi alle armi crudeli./ Le schiere compatte dei romani che l'onore militare costringeva ad andar fuori dei confini della patria erano solite attraversarlo a piedi./ Di qui, spesso, ritornando vittoriosi, condussero nel Lazio i comandanti nemici con le braccia legate dietro la schiena./ Alle tue opere, si aggiunga, o Sisto, anche questo vanto, di aver ridato al Tevere una via che era stata sbarrata.*[248]
>
> *A Sisto V per il ponte da costruire sul Tevere per una sua generosa iniziativa:*
> *In un'epoca in cui tutti gli stati erano sconvolti da disordini, tempi felici e pace ridonò Sisto all'Italia./ Mise le briglie al mare e quindi, allestita una veloce flotta, impose ai corsari barbari che incutevano paura di andarsene lontano./ Ora egli getta un ponte sul Tevere, sul quale, per diritta via, possa accorrere rapidamente il soldato di fanteria e il veloce cavaliere./ D'ora in poi, il viandante frettoloso che cosa avrebbe più da temere, andando da una sponda all'altra?/ Non sussistono più pericoli insidiosi di far naufragio. Né dovrà pagare un pesante pedaggio per l'attraversamento né prolungare spesso le attese sotto la pioggia./ Ma passando subito oltre, innalzerà alle stelle Sisto, e Sisto riecheggerà la riva con tutte le acque*.[249]

[246] Castelnuovo e Ginzberg, *Centro e periferia*: 133.
[247] Delfo Gioacchini, "Sisto V nelle memorie di Lando Leoncini e negli epigrammi di Giulio Roscio" in Giulio Roscio, *Epigrammi in lode di Sisto V* (Orte: Accademia dei Signori Disunti della Città di Orte, 1989): 18. Gioacchini recounts that, the day after the inspection with Roscio, the technician died of natural causes, an event that probably did not help the Ortan cause.
It would be important to deepen certain technical aspects of bridge construction in the Patrimony of St Peter's in the 16th century, but it was not possible because of the lack of access to the libraries, either because they were closed or because it was impossible to book places in the specialized libraries. However, the following volume has been identified, with the hope of being able to consult it in the future: Pamela O. Long, *Engineering the Eternal City: Infrastructure, Topography, and the Culture of Knowledge in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2018).
[248] Roscio, "Epigramma I. Per il ponte che si dovrà costruire sul Tevere nel territorio di Orte" in Gioacchini (1989): 39.
[249] Roscio, "A Sisto V per il ponte da costruire per Tevere per una sua generosa iniziativa" in Gioacchini (1989): 65.

> I. For the bridge to be built over the Tiber in the Orte area:
> This bridge Caesar had built of white marble, at the time when he called warlike men to cruel arms./ The compact ranks of the Romans that military honor forced to go outside the borders of the homeland used to cross it on foot./ From here, often, returning victorious, they led into Latium the enemy commanders with their arms tied behind their backs./ To your works, O Sixtus, let this boast also be added, that you have given back to the Tiber a way that had been barred.[250]
>
> To Sixtus V for the bridge to be built over the Tiber for his generous initiative:
> At a time when all the states were shaken by turmoil, happy times and peace gave Sixtus back to Italy./ He put the reins on the sea and then, having set up a swift fleet, he ordered the barbarian corsairs who struck fear to go far away./ Now he builds a bridge across the Tiber, over which the infantry soldier and the swift horseman can speedily run./ From now on, the hurried traveller, what more should he fear, going from one shore to the other?/ There are no more insidious dangers of shipwreck. Nor will he have to pay a heavy toll for crossing, nor often prolong his waiting in the rain./ But passing straight on, he will raise to the stars Sixtus, and Sixtus will echo the shore with all waters. (trans. DeepL with slight modifications by the author)

Sixtus V was evidently unpersuaded by the military advantages that would supposedly arise from a new bridge over the Tiber at Orte, nor by the financial savings or his glory which would consequently "shine beyond the stars."[251] Nonetheless, the need for a bridge over the Tiber remained evident and a series of long cartographic and hydrographic surveys ensued. Sixtus V's 'generous initiative' was ultimately manifested downstream from Orte at "*le Ripe delli Piani di Magliano*;"[252] after numerous interventions to rectify the course of the river, in 1589 work began on a bridge in Sabina. Ponte Felice was completed in 1600 and Orte lost the control of a monopoly that had lasted for almost 400 years, provoking both an economic and an identity crisis.

At the end of the 16th century the small center remained rather isolated and, as such, saw "*il rifluire in periferia di artisti già celebri messi in crisi dai mutamenti stilistici in atto, configurando un processo di periferizzazione che relega molte regioni italiane in una*

[250] Roscio, "Epigramma I. Per il ponte che si dovrà costruire sul Tevere nel territorio di Orte" in Gioacchini (1989): 39.
[251] Roscio, "Epigramma XII. Roma città nuova sotto Sisto V Papa," in Gioacchini (1989): 61.
[252] A. Costantini et al., "Il Tevere e il suo antico corso," *Archeologia e Calcolatori*, no. 10 (1999): 249, 252.

condizione di subalternità culturale destinata a prolungarsi nel corso dei secoli successivi."[253] This generalization is confirmed through the striking case of Orte's Flemish painting, the oldest oil on canvas in the Museo di Arte Sacra, entitled *Madonna in Glory with Child and Saints Clare, Michael the Archangel, Francis and Catherine* of 1595 (fig. 38).[254] The painting was made by Frans van de Kasteele, also known as Francesco da Castello, a painter trained as a miniaturist in Flanders, who worked in Rome since the mid-1570's. There, the painter attended the Accademia di San Luca together with his fellow countrymen Hans Speckaert and Joos van Winghe,[255] all members of a workshop with high standard that had, however, fallen out of fashion with respects to other artistic currents present in the capital at the close of the century. The Franciscan patronage is made obvious through the presence of St. Francis and St. Clare as well as by the altarpiece's provenance, the convent church of the Capuchins, a complex depicted above the city of Orte (at the heart of the painting), on the top of the hills and nesteled in the green landscape (fig. 39). In the eyes of the Flemish artist the Orte did not emerge as a city on the river, but as a town integrated in the network of inhabited centers around the Cimini Mountains typical of the *Viterbese* area where he was already active.[256] In Castello's work we can find elements of the humanistic culture which, at the time, was being challenged by the Counter-Reformation's rhetoric against the moral and social crisis of the time.[257] For example, the figures' luxurious clothes worn and the archangel's finely sculpted armor are linked to a world of pageantry and penance,[258] parallel to the Ortani represented under the mantle of the *Madonna dei Raccomandati* from the beginning of the same century. As Orte largely remained aloof to post-Tridentine discourse, the foreign artist's 'late' style did not present any difficulty for local audiences, be they lay people or residents of the Franciscan convent, for whom the work was intended.

[253] Castelnuovo e Ginzburg (1979/2019): 61.
[254] Anselmi e Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 47-49
[255] Nicole Dacos, "L'Archange Saint Michel terrassant le démon entre Sainte Claire, Saint Françoi et Sainte Catherine et en présence de la Vierge à l'Enfant par Francesco da Castello," Massimo Miglio and Silvia Maddalo, *Tesori di Orte* (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 1998): 171-172.
[256] Vera Anelli, "Un caso: la Madonna in gloria di Francesco da Castello," *Informazioni. Periodico del Centro di Catalogazione dei Beni Culturali*, anno X. n. 18, 2002: 47-50.
[257] Strinati, Claudio. "A Fragment of a Fresco by Francesco Da Castello. " *Prospettiva*, no. 15 (1978): 63 (http://www.jstor.org/stable/24413209, accessed 30 March 2021).
[258] Strinati (1978): 64.

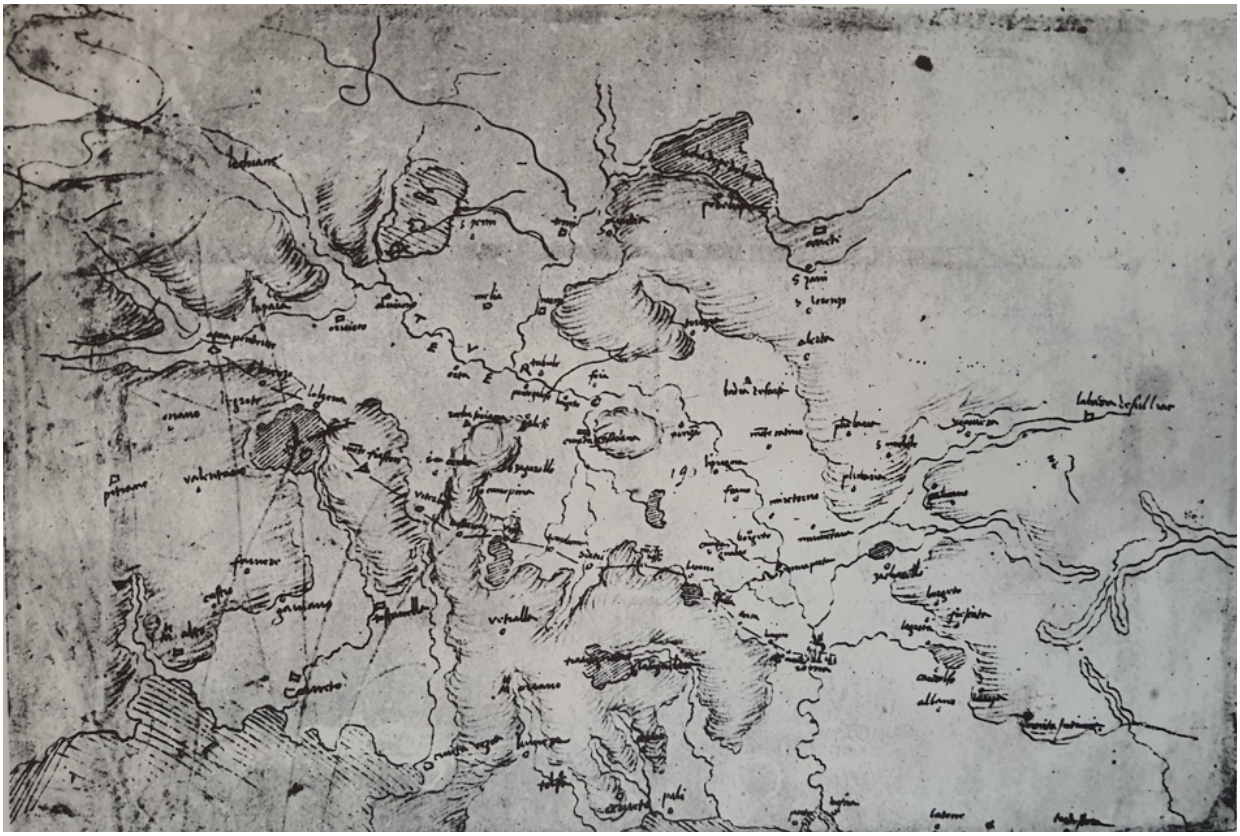


Fig. II-32. (Above) Leonardo da Vinci (attribution), map of central Italy (Source: Frutaz). 1972)

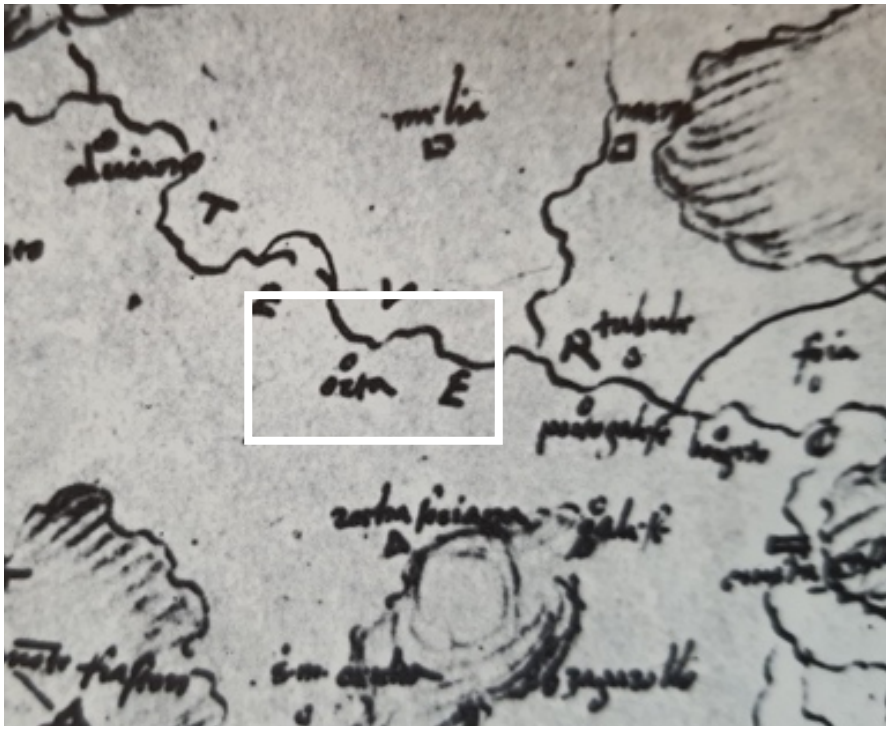


Fig. II-33. (left) Detail with the city of Orte framed by a white rectangle



Fig. II-34. Municipal coat of arms, 1497. 'Frottage' of a relief dating back to the 1980s, the source is currently untraceable (Photo and relief: A. Zuppante)



Fig. II-35. Municipal coat of arms walled above the fountain of Orte's underground fountain in Piazza della Libertà, inscription datable to the 15th century





(left) Fig. II-36. Orte's coat of arms from the Catasto Rustico, second half of the 16th century, ASCO

(right) Fig. II-37. Coat of arms datable to the 16th century for stylistic reasons. Provenance: Palazzo del Comune, on the façade of Piazza della Libertà (Photo: Francesca Mariani)



Fig. II-38. Frans van de Kasteele (Francesco da Castello), Madonna in Glory with Child and Saints Clare, Michael the Archangel, Francis, and Catherine, 1595. Oil on canvas, Museo di Arte Sacra, Orte (Photo: Anselmi and Principi, 2013)



Fig. II-39. Francesco da Castello, Madonna in Glory with Saints Clare, Archangel Michael, Francis, and Catherine,1595. Oil on canvas. Original location in the convent church of the Capuchins, now preserved at Orte's Museo di Arte Sacra. (Source: MPI; photograph now preserved among the historic records of the Diocesan Museum, ASDO)

2.3.3. Becoming a satellite city. The 17th-19th centuries

2.3.3.1 Inattention and Subordination. The 17th century

> *Nel Seicento* [...] *con della ristrutturazione politica ed economica la situazione tende a stabilizzarsi, ribadendo lo iato che si è aperto nel secolo precedente tra centro e periferia. Ridotti grandemente il numero e degli antichi centri municipali, si vengono a imporre codici differenziati, validi gli uni per la metropoli, gli altri per la provincia. Così in una periferia sottomessa e rassegnata le possibilità dello scarto diminuiscono di molto*.[259]
>
> In the 17th century... the situation tended to grow more stable due to political and economic restructuring and reaffirmed the hiatus which had been created between center and periphery over the course of the previous century. Having considerably reduced the number of the old municipal centers, double standards were imposed making some codes valid for the metropolis and others for the province. Thus, in subjugated and resigned outposts, the possibilities of deviating from local norms greatly diminished.

As suggested in Mauro Giubilio's map of 1617 (fig. 40), the history of 17th century Orte was characterized by the city's anomalous isolation one hundred years after the collapse of its bridge, so much so that the "Porto di Orte," in the first quarter of the century, remained anchored to the pre-Tridentine world. This situation slowly evolved through the growing ecclesiastical control over the town's daily and religious life, a transition that remains difficult to understand because it is one of the least studied periods of Orte's history.[260] The following sub-section seeks to reorder some aspects of the current historical narrative and better understand how the small urban center related to – or ignored – directions from the Council of Trent.

A 1603 decree reveals how the local parish priests did not follow the expectations voiced by Carlo Borromeo: in fact, the text reminds them wear the surplice and stole in processions; to transcribe the names of the baptized and the married with greater precision; to withhold from mercantile work or work in the countryside; to avoid games and dances; and, surprisingly, not to bear prohibited weapons.[261] The vernacular version of the Council of Trent's Catechism was

[259] Castelnuovo e Ginzburg (1979/ 2019): 130.
[260] *Cf*. Delfo Gioacchini, *La riforma post-tridentina nella diocesi di Orte* (Orte: 1969).
[261] Gioacchini (1969): 41-42. The exact source was not cited by the author.

published in 1567,[262] but Leoncini let it be understood that, in Orte, clerical reforms and the instruction of the laity began only in 1613, during the bishopric of Monsignor Ippolito Fabrani (1607-1621), a figure of Ortano origin who made attendance at sacraments and catechism obligatory.[263] Despite the prelate's efforts, the reception of post-Tridentine reforms, in the first quarter of the 17th century, was merely symbolic.[264] It was during the mandate of Bishop Angelo Gozzadini (1621-1653), a descendant of an aristocratic family in Bologna, that a new episcopal hierarchy was set up to reorder every aspect of local people's lives. The commitment took shape on administrative, religious, artistic, and logistic levels, but did little to alter the city's destiny due to its minor importance to the Church compared to opportunities offered elsewhere.[265]

Fabrani, a member of the order of Saint Augustine, is attributed with bringing an exceptional artwork from Rome to Orte which now forms part of the Diocesan's collections: a mosaic fragment (fig. 41), coming from the Oratory of John VII (705-707) of the Constantinian Basilica of Saint Peter in Rome.[266] The work was detached sometime between 1607 and 1609[267] during the structure's demolition to make way for Carlo Maderno's modern façade.[268]

[262] *Catechismo, cioe istruttione, secondo il decreto del Concilio di Trento, a parochi, pubato per comandamento del santiss. s.n. papa Pio 5. et tradotto poi per ordine di s.santità in lingua volgare dal reuerendo padre frate Alesso Figliucci, de l'Ordine de predicatori* (Roma : Paolo Manuzio, 1567).
[263] Leoncini, II, 142r-143. Quoted in Giacchino, *La riforma post-tridentina*: 65-74.
[264] There is news of the construction of the church of San Lorenzo trans Tiberum (discussed below), consecrated in 1615. The same donation of the mosaic fragment, now in the Museo d'Arte Sacra, can be linked to the refounding of the Augustinian convent on the basis of a 'truer' form of Christianity. *Cf.* Discussion below.
[265] Gozzadini became Bishop of Civita Castellana and Orte on 25 October 1621.
[266] See Antonella Ballardini and Paola Pogliani, "A Reconstruction of the Oratory of John VII (705-7)," in *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*, ed. Carol M. Richardson et al., British School at Rome Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 190-213, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107300453.012.
The decorative cycle to which the fragment belonged is mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis*: "*Iohannes, natione Grecus, de patro Platone, sedit ann. II mens. VII dies XVII. Vir eruditissimus et facundus eloquentia. Hic fecit oratorium sanctae Dei genetricis intro ecclesiam beati Petri apostoli, cuius parietes musibo depinxit, illicque auri et argenti quantitatem multam expendit et venerabilium Patrum dextra levaque vultus erexit*." Cf. *Liber Pontificalis* in the Duchesne edition, unspecified version (https://fontistoriche.org/papa-giovanni-vii/, consulted 19 March 2021).
[267] The date 1609 is inscribed on the side of the medieval fragment, together with the provenance of the image: IMAGO-DEIPARAE/-VIRG[INIS]-EX-SACELLO/-IOANNIS VII-SUPRA-PORTAM-SANCTAM/-VETERIS-BASIL- [ICAE]/ -S-[ANCTI]-PETRI-ACCEPTA/A- [NNO] -M-DC-IX. Transcription by Anselmi and Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 12, cat. 1.
The other fragments are currently preserved in the Vatican Grottoes, the Mosaic Studio in the Vatican, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, the convent of San Marco in Florence and the State Museum of Fine Arts Pushkin in Moscow. See Pogliani (2003), notes 22-29.
[268] Pogliani (2001): 505.

Segments of this decorative cycle were dispersed in those years, which explains how the Augustinians in Rome received two fragments of the 8th century mosaic. [269]

The original composition is documented in the drawings and writings of Giacomo Grimaldi (fig. 44) and Francesco Maria Torrigio, the pieces were collected in Rome, but Orte's role in these events remains conjecture.[270] According to Alfonzo Bartoli, archaeologist, and inspector active in the early 20th century, Roman Eremitani gifted the mosaic fragment to the newly elected bishop of Orte, who, in turn, gave the piece to local Augustinian nuns. The latter hypothesis is based on the fact that, at the end of the 19th century, the medieval mosaic was located in the convent of Sant'Antonio (figs. 42-43), a convent of Benedictine nuns with which the Augustinian nuns merged sometime after 1815,[271] the year in which the Augustinian convent of Santa Maria di Loreto was suppressed. Bartoli's analysis sounds coherent and evocative but lacks evidence capable of proving its veracity. There is no certainty as to when, how, where or by whom the artifact arrived in Orte, a question also posed in 1933 during the sacred visitation of the Duomo: "*Quando e da chi il celebre musaico venne trasportato da Roma ad Orte?*"[272]

We cannot answer that question. Bartoli's merit lies in having attributed the bust of the Virgin Mary to the Nativity scene in the mosaic cycle of the Oratory of John VII.[273] Taking his cue from the concise indication of Adolfo Venturi,[274] the inspector documented the mosaic at the Orte's Cathedral in 1907,[275] the place where it was 'rediscovered' by Luisa Mortari, creator of the Diocesan Museum, and placed at the center of the museum in 1967.[276] At the present state of studies, it is impossible to reconstruct the events that brought the mosaic from Rome to the Benedictine convent of Sant'Antonio in the 19th century. The structure was largely abandoned

[269] Alfonso Bartoli, "Un frammento inedito dei musaici vaticani di Giovanni VII," *Bolletino d'arte*, I, 6, 1907: 22, note 2.
[270] Ballardini and Pogliani, 2013: 507-508.
[271] Anselmi e Principi (2013): 14.
[272] Periclo Novelli, "Relazione della Sacra Visita compiuto nell'anno 1933 nella Basilica Cattedrale da Sua Eccellenza Rvmo Monsignor Santino Margaria, 1933," 1933/02/15-17, Fascicolo I delle carte di Giocondo Pasquinangeli, ASDO.
[273] Mortari, *Museo Diocesano* (1967): 12.
[274] Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*. *Dall'arte barbarica alla romanica*. II (Milano: Casa Editrice Libraria Ulrico Hoepli, 1902): 275.
[275] Bartoli, "Un frammento inedito dei musaici vaticani di Giovanni VII:" 22. http://www.bollettinodarte.beniculturali.it/opencms/multimedia/BollettinoArteIt/documents/1347282485906_5_-_Alfonso_Bartoli_p._22.pdf
[276] Mortari, *Diocesan Museum* (1967): 11-13.

by the 1930's and was demolished to make way for a public park and the now-closed Cinema Alberini, a structure which is currently under excavation and restoration. The hypothetical link with the Augustinian convent of Sant'Antonio cannot explain a possible donation by Bishop Fabrani, as the structure was built between 1628 and 1642, during the bishopric of his successor, Monsignor Angelo Gozzadini.[277] In the above-mentioned document of 1933, Bartoli's hypothesis was already put in doubt in favor of a second hypothesis, which also lacks definitive evidence; the mosaic may have been brought from the church of Sant'Onofrio on the Janiculum by the subdeacon Alberto Magno Romano, an Ortano, and given as a donation to his sister, a Benedictine nun who lived in or near Orte.[278]

Faced with this sort of decontextualization, it is difficult to understand the significance of this artwork for the city of Orte. It is not clear what role such an artefact, a *contact relic* of the Petrine cult,[279] could have occupied in local devotion to saints and relics as a concrete testimony of Christian Rome at a time when the Roman Church was trying to reestablish its exclusive authority. [280]

In the thirty-two years of his episcopate, Gozzadini succeeded in carrying out a much more decisive and incisive policy, testified both in his writings and in his commissions preserved in the Cathedral, the Museo di Arte Sacra, the Diocesan's archives (ASDO) and other, minor churches in Orte. Active in the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide,[281] the bishop was

[277] Cfr. Gioacchini, *Orte, le contrade e i borghi*: 219-221; Francesca Giuseppini, "Le chiese di Orte dal tardo Medioevo all'Età Moderna," Thesis, Università degli Studi della Tuscia, a.a. 2020-2021, Supervisor: Enrico Parlato, co-rapporteur: Abbondio Zuppante: 84-86.

[278] Periclo Novelli, "Relazione della Sacra Visita compiuto nell'anno 1933 nella Basilica Cattedrale da Sua Eccellenza Rvmo Monsignor Santino Margaria, 1933," February 15-17, 1933, preserved in Fascicolo I of the papers of Giocondo Pasquinangeli at the ASVCC-O: 17.

[279] Scott Montgomery, "Contact Relics," in: *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage* (http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139_emp_SIM_00235, accessed 4 May 2021).

[280] An important point of reference for these questions can be found in Enrico Parlato, "Erudition, Christian Archaeology, and Barberine Apologetics in Francesco Maria Torrigio's The Sacred Roman Trophies," *Francesco Maria Torrigio (1580-1649). Saint Peter's and the Sacred Memories*, edited by Daniela Gallavotti Cavallero (Rome: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 2015): 67-77.

[281] On his tomb in the cathedral of Civita Castellana, Bishop Gozzadini was remembered with the following plaque:
D. O. M. ANGELUS HIC IACET PRAENOBILI ORIENTALI GOZZADINA FAMILIA BONONIA TAMEN ORIUNDA NATUS MARCI ANTONII GOZZADINI CARDINALIS AFFINISQUI - SAPIENTIA ET PROBITATE SPECTATUS - ARCHIEP. NIXIENSIS ATQUE PARIENSIS SCOPATUS AEQUE BONONIENSIS - PRO CARD. LODOVICO SUFFRAGANEUS - CIVIT. CAST. DEINDE ET HORTANAE EPISCOPUS FULSIT - IN UTRAQUE CATHEDRALI CANONICATUM MUNIFICE CONSTITUIT- DE IURE PATRONATUS SACRAE CONGREG. DE PROP. FIDE QUAM HEREDEM TESTAMENTO INSTITUIT SYNODICAS PLURIES SALUBERRIMAS LEGES CONSTUIT - STUDIOSE DILIGENTERQUE

aware of the symbolic value of his patronage and for this reason he could not fail to revisit both the bridge over the Tiber and its appearance in the city's crest, topics addressed later in the second part of the following discussion.

Firstly, there is little documentary evidence about the production of the altarpiece of Sant'Isodoro (fig. 47), but it offers insight into Gozzadini's relationship with the common people of Orte. The work is exhibited at the Palazzo Vescovile, the secondary seat of Orte's Museo di Arte Sacra; it is currently being restored at Tuscia University's Conservation and Restoration Laboratory (fig. 45).[282] The art historian Salvatore Enrico Anselmi dates the work to the years following the canonization of the Iberian peasant, which took place on March 12, 1622 – only five months after the beginning of Gozzadini's bishopric – on the same occasion as the canonization of the great mystics and founders of the new Baroque Orders, namely Teresa d'Ávila, Ignatius, Francis Xavier, and Filippo Neri (figs. 46, 48).[283]

This altarpiece marks an exquisite cross-pollination between 'highbrow' culture of the highest ranks declined into a vernacular visual language accessible to common rural folk. Both the papal court and the Spanish royal court spread the cult of Isidore, a farmer-mystic, by circulating treatises that described the canonization ceremony in several languages (Fig. 49), as well as the processions in which banners with the iconography of the saints paraded (Fig. 50). [284] It was also thanks to prints depicted the ephemeral theater, designed by the architect

PROMULGAVIT- OPTIMI PASTORIS NOMEN ADEPTUS - EXIMIIS TANDEM VIRTUTIBUS - ET EGREGIIS OPERIBUS CLARUS -DIEM CLAUSIT EXTREMUM IV KAL. APRILIS A. 1653 - ULIXES GOZZADINI BONONIENSIS ARCHIEPI- SCOPUS THEODOSIENSIS - POSUIT A.D. 1705. (Transcript copied from Gioacchini, *The Post-Tridentine Reformation*: 75-76.

[282] Special thanks to Professor Lorenza d'Alessandro for allowing this lab visit on April 15, 2021 (and many others), as well as student Ilaria Mannarelli, who is training on the aforementioned painting, for sharing photographs of the work in progress.

[283] Pietro Tacchi Venturi, "La canonizzazione e la processione dei cinque Santi negli scritti e nei disegni di due contemporanei*," La canonizzazione dei Santi Ignazio di Loiola, fondatore della Compagnia di Gesè e Francesco Saverio, apostolo dell'Oriente*. In Care of the Roman Hispanic Committee for the Centennial Honors (1922: Table included between pp. 56 and 57) (http://www.fondazioneintorcetta.info/pdf/biblioteca-virtuale/documento322/Canonizzazione1.pdf, consulted May 3, 2021); Anselmi e Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 80, cat. 46.

[284] Saint Isidore, a 12th-century figure, is the patron saint of Madrid and the Spanish crown.

Paolo Guidotti Borghese (Fig. 48),[285] that the iconography of this and other saints rapidly spread from center to periphery (Figs. 47, 51), so as to ensure a rapid updating of popular devotion: 'vulgar' artistic production realized by peasant artists for peasant audiences.[286]
The altarpiece of Sant'Isodoro comes from the church of San Lorenzo dei Favicchi (fig. 52), an ecclesiastic structure immersed in the agrarian landscape.[287] Its bell (fig. 53), cast during Gozzadini's episcopate, testifies the will to scan the peasants' days according to liturgical timetables. In the 17th century, the will to adapt daily life to the times and places of the Lord was extended beyond the city's urban boundaries, in a way that recalls the new social order that accompanied Orte's 12th century urban expansion. The local climate was not dissimilar to the political agenda of the *pontifex maximus*, a sovereign with ambitions of reigning well beyond the *Urbs*, exercising his power on an unprecedented, global scale.

The centrality of this farmer-saint may have offered an idyllic vision for church-goers who tirelessly worked the fields; Isidore's hagiography describes how the mystic spent his days in prayer while some angels substituted him in ploughing the fields. This episode of the saint's life is depicted both in the Roman engraving, where he can be seen in the background on the right, and in the painting from Orte. It is interesting to note how faithfully the artist translated the saint's line of sight, his gesture and the position of his legs compared to the engraved effigy of the saint in Guidotti Borghese's *theatrum.* The local interpretation included the figure of the landlord, kneeling in front of Isidore, in the act of thanking Isidore for having quenched his thirst through the sharecropper-saint's supernatural ability to dowse. One can imagine the painting's positive reception on behalf of parishioners of San Lorenzo. It provided a rare opportunity to identify with the protagonist of a religious painting, namely a man of their own

[285] The frontispiece of the engraving reads: "*Theatrum in ecclesia S. Petri in Vaticano sumptuosissimum hoc theatrum factum ad instantia Ciuitatis Matiti Architecto Paulo Guidotti Burghesio Equite Doctore et pictore egregio variis pulcherrimis inventionibus et picturis vita e et miraculorum S. Isidori ornatum et summo decore erectum ad solemnitatem Canonizationis dicti Sancti in quo una eadem die alii quatuor in Sanctorum album relati fuere. 12 Martii 1622.*" Transcription from António Celso Hunyady Mangucci, "História da azulejaria portuguesa, iconografia e retórica." Évora, Brazil: Tese de doutoramento apresentada à Universidade de Évora, 2020 (https://www.academia.edu/44874606/Hist%C3%B3ria_da_azulejaria_portuguesa_iconografia_e_ret%C3%B3rica_%C3%89vora_Tese_de_doutoramento_apresentada_%C3%A0_Universidade_de_%C3%89vora_2020, accessed 3 May 2021)
[286] Castelnuovo and Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*: 43-44.
[287] See footnote 243, to continue a project begun by Fabrani, Gozzadini's predecessor.
Francesca Giuseppini's thesis was particularly helpful in understanding the location of the painting, both within the extra-urban church and in the Orte area. Giuseppini, "Le chiese di Orte dal Tardo Medioevo all'Èra Moderna:" 62-64, 187-188, cat. 22. Here research first associated the church of San Lorenzo dei Favicchi with Fontanini's engraving.

social extraction, and depicted a landowner kneeling at his worker's feet. An experience that, perhaps, they would have never experienced on Earth, but for which they could hope in the afterlife.

At Civita Castellana in 1626, a few years after the canonization of Saint Isidore, a Synod was called by Gozzadini and celebrated– in which the elder Leoncini participated in the role of dean of the chapter[288] – in which the material and spiritual obligation to restore the Church was made explicit. This act marked the renewed dedication to care for the community and it's members' souls by reforming customs and places of worship.[289] First and foremost, the clergy who rebelled against the new reforms, as suggested by their response to the edict: "*il quale dichiarava proibita la caccia, sotto ogni forma e pretesto, ai chierici e ai preti, e li puniva, per l'assenza dal coro e dalla Messa…con una multa che arrivava alla terza parte delle entrate del canonicato, da assegnare alla cattedrale*."[290] In his rocambolic narration of Orte in the 17th century, the 20th century parish priest Delfo Gioacchini described a city fragmented by class struggles; the *Bolognese* bishop attempted to coerce the local clergy – a social group accustomed to the privileges offered to the ruling class of an agricultural center – which, in turn, exercised a series of misdemeanors and abuse of power towards Orte's citizens and peasants. Take, for instance, the hunting party organized to celebrate Carnival in 1631, a scandalized Gozzadini forwarded the matter to his superiors in the congregation of bishops, complaining that the canons "*vestiti da cacciatori vivendo con loro costumi e abiti non clericali, non ricordandosi d'havere la chierica in testa, né cura de' popoli*."[291] The reply from Antonio Senior Capuchin, cardinal of St. Onofrio and brother of Pope Urban VIII, was surprising: "*mentre il fatto stia come si suppone, haveranno per bene ch'ella faccio loro* [i diversi canonici] *grazia di ogni pena*."[292] We have no further elements to understand why, faced with a bishop who discredited the behavior of the local clergy, the Roman authority gave reason to the canons. This is, in fact, an emblematic case of the double standards in which codes were "*validi gli uni per la metropoli, gli altri per la provincia*," in the words of Castelnuovo and Ginzberg cited above. Through local clergy's 'victory,' one sees the

[288] Information reported in Gioacchini, *La riforma post-tridentina*: 101-102 with an ambiguous bibliographical note: *Miscellanea et Visitationes,* 1584-1639, ASDO: 302-303.
[289] Gioacchini, *La riforma post-tridentina*: 90, 94; cf. *Costitutiones et decreta edita in prima diocesana Synodo civitatis Hortane ad Angelo Gozzadino - Roncilioni apud Franciscum Mercurum*, 1627, ASDO.
[290] Gioacchini, *La riforma post-Tridentina*: 129. Cfr. *Miscellanae, Memoriale Gozzadini*, IV, ASDO: *circa* 65.
[291] Citazione di *Miscellanae, Memoriale Gozzadini*, 27 marzo, ASDO: 64, pubblicata in Gioacchini (1969): 158.
[292] Citazione di *Miscellanae, Memoriale Gozzadini*, ASDO: 95, pubblicata in Gioacchini (1969): 160.

consolidation of a disempowered periphery resigned to its role as a mere satellite city at the service of Rome.

From 1635 onwards Gozzadini continued to devote himself to one a theme of fundamental importance for his diocese: the propagation of the cult of relics (a votive practice actively encouraged in Orte up to the mid-20th century).[293] In a document devoted to the *invenzione* of Saint Mark and Timothy's mortal remains, the cardinal referred to the words of Pope Gregory XV about the function of the cult of saints and relics in the Counter-Reformation:

> […] *a propagare, e stabilire l'ortodossa fede in tutto il mondo, e specialmente in Germania* […] *ad effetto di collocarle, e riporle a suo talento decentemente, e onoratamente nelle Chiese, monasteri, ed altri luoghi pii, e donarle, distribuirle, e concederle liberamente ai fedeli cui meglio crederà, e piacerà colle medesime facoltà, e privilegi, a questo fine specialmente che Dio, più che si può sia glorificato nei Santi suoi, che l'onore e la gloria de' Santi sia propagato, e che la divozione de' pii fedeli verso di essi maggiormente si accresca e si acceda*. […][294]
>
> [...] to propagate and establish the Orthodox faith throughout the world, and especially in Germany [...] to the effect of placing [relics], and placing them decently and honorably in Churches, monasteries, and other pious places, and to donate them, distribute them, and to freely grant them to the faithful whom he sees best, and to please with the same faculties and privileges. To this end, especially that God may be glorified in his Saints as much as possible, that the honor and glory of the Saints may be propagated, and that the devotion of the faithful and pious may be increased and acceded ever more [...]. (trans. Author)

From 1635 to 1651, Gozzadini organized three expeditions of the relics of eight martyred saints and virgins, all future patrons of Orte, whose translations were celebrated with processions throughout the whole town.[295]

The bishop, in his will to renew Orte's identity, also decided to renovate the high altar, decorating its façade in *opus sectile* (fig. 55). The altar, renovated in 1648 so as to host the new

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[293] "*Possa la nuova generazione Ortana, leggendo queste pagine, possa conccepire nell'anima una più sentita devozione verso questi Campioni della Fede di Cristo [gli otto S.S. Martiri], cchce, giustamente, furono chiamati: Il Tesoro della nostra Cattedrale*" in "*Prefazione alla seconda edizione*," *I Santi Martiri comprottettori di Orte. Cenni storici*, edited by Augustinus Bausa and Julius Lenti (Orte: Tipografia Moretti, 1925): 5.
[294] *I Santi Martiri* (1925): 21.
[295] The Holy Martyrs are identified as: Mark, Timothy, Dionysius, Apollonius, Aurelianus, Dorothea and Faustina. One can find parallels between these manifestations of faith and the processions that took place on the occasion of the canonization of St. Isidore, etc. *I Santi Martiri* (1925): 20-32, 56-60; 74-76, 107.

relics, was consecrated by the bishop, together with the newly restored cathedral, on Sunday 25 October 1648. The consecration is testified both in archive documents and on Gozzadini crest placed on the righthand side of the same altar, *à pendant* with Orte's coat of arms (figs. 56-57).[296] The altar is composed of nine vertical panels, employs with ten different varieties of (thus far unidentified) polychrome marble, and follows a tripartite decorative scheme. Each coat of arms is applied on the ends of the altar, which are emphasized by two side structures placed in recess. The two crests at the sides of the altar theatrically framed the priest celebrated Mass in the cathedral's apse, in accordance with Tridentine norms. At the center of the altar, below an angel and a Christogram, there are two crossed palms framed by a golden crown, symbol of the city's martyr-like sacrifice recalled in its engraved motto *Munus Fidelitatis S*(anctae) *R*(omanae) *E*(cclesiae).[297] The inscription – identified for the first time in the course of this research – can be read in the porphyry background of the city's coat of arms; the decussate papal keys divide the word *fidelitatis* in two, forming two words, *fide* and *litatis* meaning 'faith' and 'sacrifice,' a metaphor for the discipline required to respect Tridentine reforms.

Although Don Delfo believed that "*il seicento ha massacrato Orte. [Con] La ventata di rinnovamento e di modernità*,"[298] this first glimpse of post-Tridentine patronage reveals that Gozzadini was rigorous, sophisticated, and far-sighted in his desire for religious reform and socio-cultural development.[299] The cardinal drew dutiful attention to the absence of a bridge at Orte. A project dating to 1647 and signed by the Architect Giovanni Angelo Biancucci, testifies to interest in building a new structure under the auspices of the *Presidenza delle strade* (fig.

[296] "*Die 23 octubris 1648. Perche doppo molte fatiche coll'aiuto Divino habbiamo ampliato questa nostra Catedrale coperta e ridotta a perfettione, com'ognuno vede e di [...] anco rendergli dovute gratie. Di qui è c'habbiamo noi destinato per il giorno prossimo di Domenica consagrarla coll'Altare Maggiore con le diverse cerimonie ...*". Archivio Capitolare, *Libro dei decreti*, 1624-1702, ASDO, c. 73v. Reported by Abbondio Zuppante in a personal communication by email with the author on February 28, 2021.
[297] Leoncini, vol. IV, (19r) 55r. Abbondio Zuppante reports that the initials M.F.S.R.E. are present in the painting of St. Andrea Nebbia, commissioned by the Confraternita dei Raccomandati after 1575.
[298] Gioacchini (1969): 62.
[299] Gozzadini's patronage coincided with a period of urban renewal, as witnessed by some seventeenth-century facades of the old town center, a phenomenon that has remained to be investigated, particularly in the light of a piece of news reported by the Municipality of Orte: "*l'aumento del latifondo e della pastorizia e l'incremento dell'arte della lana, con l'ascesa sociale di alcune famiglie.*" Cfr. "Comune di Orte - Vivere Orte - Storia e Cultura - La Storia del Comune," consultato 2022/05/20, http://www.comune.orte.vt.it/Home/Guida-al-paese?IDDettaglio=18997. It was not possible to deepen this theme because the brief report is devoid of bibliographical references.

54).[300] The drawing is difficult to contextualize historically and merits further research and attention.

This overview of 17th century Orte concludes with a note about the renovation of Piazza Colonna and adjacent the church of San Silvestro, recalled in the inscription located above the entrance to the ex-church in which the architrave reports the works carried out in 1697 (fig. 58). A the current state of research, it is very difficult to reconstruct this chapter of Orte's urban history.[301] All architectural traces of this operation were definitively canceled in 1961 during the restoration – or rather *ripristino*, a process discussed in the third chapter of this dissertation – of the complex which isolated the Romanesque bell tower from the architectural palimpsest.[302] The lintel confers that this modernization effort was commissioned by cardinal Ferdinando Nuzzi, born in Orte, but Roman by adoption: the self-declared protagonist of the 18th century.

[300] 'Entry: 'Orte' in Collections drawings and maps: Collection I/ Signature: 50," Imago Cartografica, ACS-Roma, http://www.imago.archiviodistatoroma.beniculturali.it/Cartografica/cartografica.html, consulted 2021/02/22.
[301] This renovation remains to be contextualized within a wider wave of urban renewal testified by stylistic evidence from a number of palazzi throughout Orte's historical center. These monumental façades attest to the city's economic prosperity and beg for a rereading of the narrative presented by the clerical and artistic sources reviewed above. It remains beyond the scope of this study to rewrite this chapter of Orte's urban history and development, but the creation of a local city museum (an idea explored in chapters IV and V) would require collaboration with a variety of figures which would ideally include architectural historians, urban planners and geographers.
[302] Sanguinetti, "La ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro a Orte e il suo campanile:" 159–161. The text reveals a notable bias toward the preservation of a perceived "medievality" that erased San Silvestro's architectural palimpsest after World War II, a theme that will be discussed in the following chapter devoted to safeguarding strategies in Orte in the 20th century.



Fig. II-40. Mauro Giubilio. Map of Sabina (source: Frutaz, 1972. On the left, a detail of Terni and the development along the Nera river of 1617, in contrast with the detail of the same area in the earlier version of the same map printed in 1592. N.B. The attention given to the bridges over the Nera and the Tiber. After the collapse of the bridge in 1514, the 'Porto di Orte' (bottom right) was reduced to a mere berth like Gallese and Fabrica, while a 'dry bridge' was built at Otricoli and the 'Ponte Felice' near Magliana Sabina.



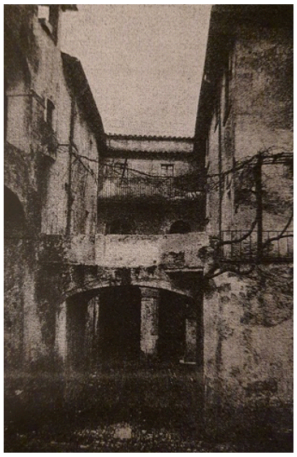




Fig. II-41. Mosaic fragment of the Virgin, detail of the Nativity scene in the Oratory of John VII, 705-707. Museo di Arte Sacra in Orte (Photo: source unknown).
Fig. II-42. Convent of Sant'Antonio (Source: Gioacchini, 1961)
Fig. II-43. Convent of Sant'Antonio (Photo: Municipal Offices of Orte)



Fig. II-44. Drawing of the west wall of the Oratory of John VII with the surviving mosaic fragments superimposed on Giacomo Grimaldi's drawing from Barb. lat. 2733 (1609-1612) (Source: Ballardini and Pogliani, 2013: 208). Position of the Ortano fragment highlighted in red.



Fig. II-45. Lessons by Lorenza D'Alessandro in which students discuss the state of conservation of the altarpiece of Sant'Isidoro



Fig. II-46. Detail of Saint Isidore (Sant'Isidoro), engraving of 1622, made on the occasion of the canonization of the Iberian farmer-saint (Source: Tacchi Venturi, 1922)



Fig. II-47. Altarpiece of Sant'Isidoro, from the extra-urban church of San Lorenzo dei Favicchi, now preserved at the Palazzo Vescovile, Orte (Photo: G. Alfano)

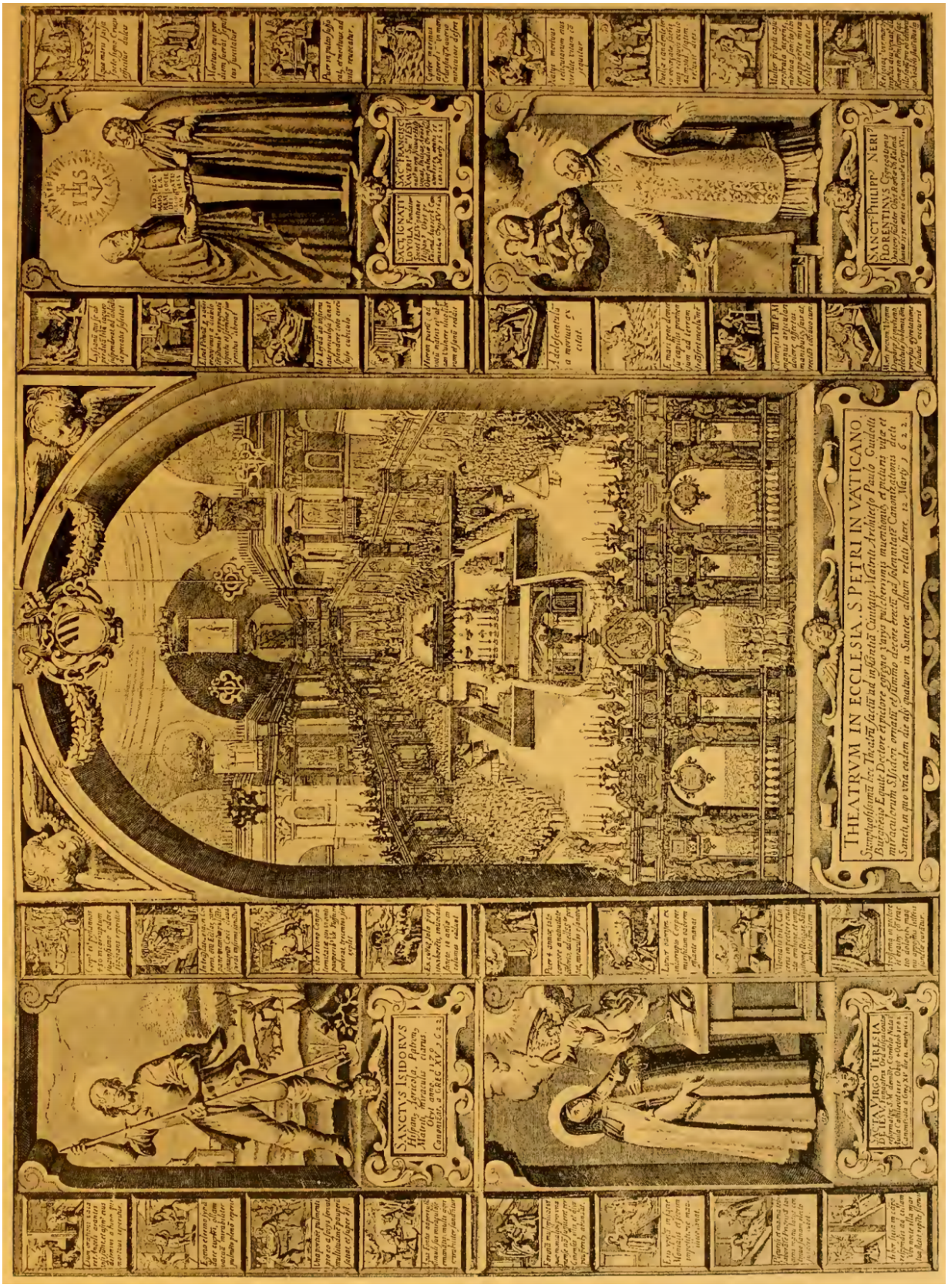


Fig. II-48. "Theatrum in ecclesia S. Petri in Vaticano sumptuosissimum hoc theatrum factum ad instantia Ciuitatis Matris Matriti Architecto Paulo Guidotti Burghesio," Engraving of the 1622 Theatrum made for the canonization of Saint Isidore, Saint Theresa of Avila, Saint Ignatius, and Saint Filippo Neri (Source: Tacchi Venturi, 1922)

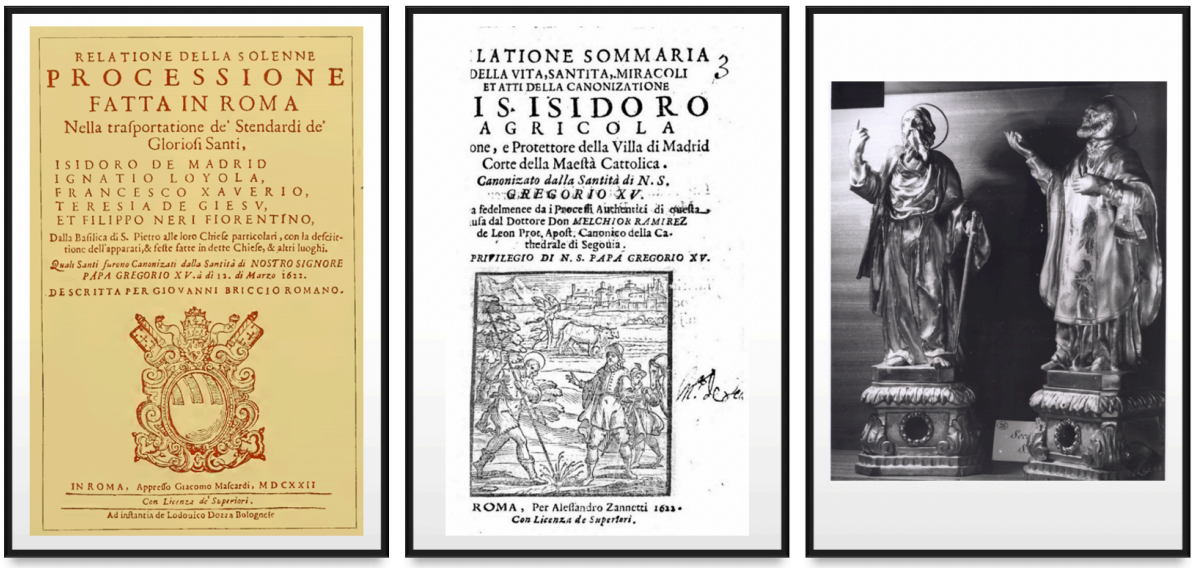


Fig. II-49. Published chronicle of the ceremony of the canonization of St. Isidore with other saints, 1622.
Fig. II-50. Chronicle of the procession which followed the cannoning of St. Isidore and other saints, 1622.
Fig. II-51. Statuettes of Saint Paul and Saint Philip Neri, the latter canonized together with Saint Isidore (Photo; Max Hutzel, GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.)

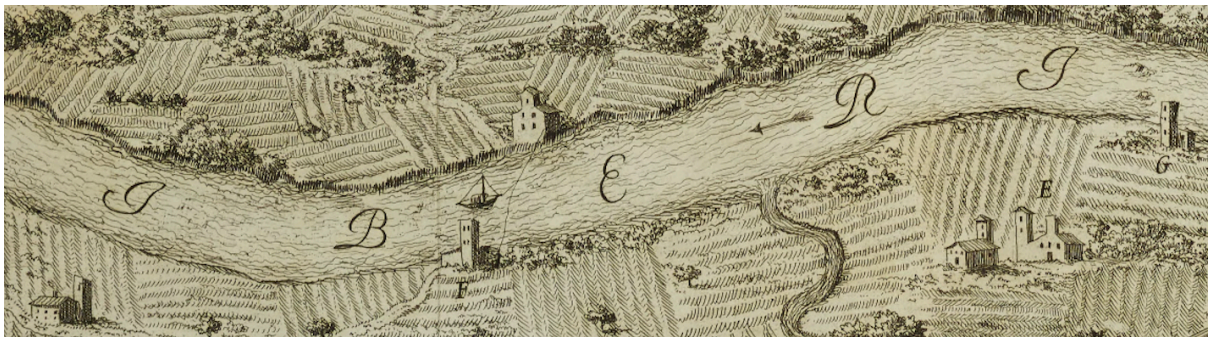


Fig. II-52. Detail of the view of Orte by Giusti Fontanini (1709-1723) N.B. the extra-urban church of San Lorenzo dei Favicchi on the lower left and the ruins of the bridge marked 'G (Source: MDZ, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb11347999?page=28)



Fig. II-53. Bell of the extra-urban church of San Lorenzo (Photo: F. Giuseppini)



Fig. II-54. Project from 1647 for a new bridge over the Tiber at Orte, produced by the Presidenza delle Strade and signed by the architect Giovanni Angelo Biancucci. (Source: ACS-Rome, Imago Cartography)



Fig. II-55. High altar of the Cathedral of S. Maria Assunta of Orte, inaugurated 1648/10/23 (photo: A. Zuppante)





.(Right), Fig. II-57. Orte's municiap coat of in opus sectile of 1648, detail of the high altar of the Cathedral

(Above) Fig. II-56. Municipal coat of arms of 1649 (source: manuscript document of unknown provenance, Photo: A. Zuppante)



(Below) Fig. II-58. Architrave of the former church of San Silvestro with dedicatory inscription dated 1697, intalled on the occasion of renovations carried out by Cardinal Nuzzi)

2.3.3.2. Self-celebration and sublimation. The 18th century

All studies of 18th century Orte feature the patronage of Cardinal Ferdinando Nuzzi (Orte, 1645- Orvieto, 1717)[303] (fig. 59), a member of a noble family from Todi that occupied a prominent position in Orte starting from the second half of the 17th century. The Nuzzi family crest and the monumental inscriptions left in the Duomo and on Via Matteotti –commissioned by Ferdinand in the role of Orvieto's, and not Orte's, Cardinal – lead us to assume that the Nuzzi family managed to take deep roots in the town in a short time despite their relatively recent arrival in the *Viterbese* town. Their public actively, *de facto*, lasted little more than a century, as underlined by the emphyteutic cession of Palazzo Nuzzi to the local Municipality in the 1830's.[304] Moreover, the young Ferdinando, an Ortano by birth, moved to Rome at the age of nine to begin pursue his education with the Jesuit order. He was first trained at the Collegium Romanum and then at the Sapienza, where he studied civil and canon law before embarking on a career in papal temporal administration.[305] Based on his "*Discorso intorno alla coltivazione, e popolazione della campagna di Roma*," dedicated to the economic development of the Roman countryside, Clement XI established the Congregazione del Sollievo in 1701 to promote the *Patrimonium*'s agriculture and the economy.[306] Nuzzi subsequently held the position of cleric of the Apostolic Camera in 1702 and was appointed prefect of the Annona until 1706. In this latter role, he commissioned the construction of the new granaries at the Baths of Diocletian, designed by Carlo Fontana.[307] After ten years as secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, he was finally elevated to the cardinalate in 1715, just two years before his death.[308]

As an authoritative prelate of the Roman Curia, Nuzzi was well inserted in the culture and politics of the capital, while his relationship with Orte, therefore, should be considered

[303] Tabacchi, "Ferdinando Nuzzi," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani,* Volume 79 (2013) (https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ferdinando-nuzzi_(Dictionary-Biographical), accessed 2021/03/01).
[304] Busta 50, tit. 11.6, 1777-1873, ASCO; Titolo 11, artt. 6-7, 1777-1834, fascicolo di carte non numerate, ASCO; Busta 11, titolo 1, artt. 10-11, 1818-1877, ASCO. Cfr. Transcrizioni in Anselmi, Salvatore Enrico. *Committenze a Orte in età barocca : cultura gesuita e influenza pozziana : gli Alberti e i Nuzzi* (Roma : Argos, 2006): 199-200.
[305] Tabacchi, "Ferdinando Nuzzi."
[306] Andretta di Stefano, "Clemente XI," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani,* Volume 26 (1982) (https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/papa-clemente-xi_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ , consultato 2021/03/01); *Discorso di monsignore Ferdinando Nuzzi chierico di camera, e prefetto dell 'annona, intorno alla coltivazione, e popolazione della campagna di Roma* (Roma: Stamperia della Reverenda Camera Apostolica, 1702).
[307] Tabacchi, "Ferdinando Nuzzi;" Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte in the Baroque Age*: 54-55.
[308] Tabacchi, "Ferdinando Nuzzi;" Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte in the baroque age*: 55.

symbolic and affective nature. The traces he left in his hometown were meant to give prestige to his origins, ennobling the background of his cultural biography.[309] His patronage in Orte acted as an instrument of self-celebration, to emphasize his high social status and a clerical title acquired very late in his career.

Nuzzi frequented the cultural *milieu* of Alexander VIII Ottoboni (Venice, 1620-Rome, 1691) and Clement XI Albani (Urbino, 1649-Rome, 1721)[310] , where he was able to encounter Roman intelligentsia. This is would explain why Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsili (Bologna, 1658-Bologna, 1731), general and collector of scientific materials and instruments,[311] that, brought back with him to Bologna, according to the inventory of 1712, a "*Testa d'Iside di marmo basalto con un piedistallo piccolo di alabastro; ed un grande di giallo brecciato, donato al Sig.re Generale da Mosig.re Ill.mo Nuzzi Segretario della Congregazione de Vescovi, e Regolari*."[312] What turns out to be the head of Thutmose III provides clues to Nuzzi's interest in Egyptian antiquities (fig. 71); it testifies to an unknown aspect of his collecting habits that came to the fore during this research and were confirmed by a site visit to Bologna's Museo Civico Archeologico of Bologna. Moreover, the acquaintance between Nuzzi and Marsili suggests the prelate's curiosity about the world of science and technology – fields in which Marsili distinguished himself – in the period between 1710 and 1712.[313]

One can imagine that it was during one of his visits to the Arcadia that Ferdinando Nuzzi met Giusto (Justi) Fontanini, the Friulian scholar who held the chair of Eloquence at the Università

[309] Castelnuovo and Ginzberg, *Centro e periferia*: 141.
[310] Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte in età barocca*: 54.
[311] Giuseppe Gullino e Cesare Preti, "Luigi Ferdinando Marsili," Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani - Volume 70 (2008) (https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-ferdinando-marsili_(Dizionario-Biografico), accessed 2021/04/26).
[312] *Donativi fatti alla stanza dell'erudizione antica dell'Instituto delle Scienze da S.E. il Sig.r Gen.le Co. Luigi Marsilij alla Stanza delle Antichità*, gennaio 1712, citato in Daniela Picchi, "Il Generale Luigi Ferdinando Marsili e Le Prime Antichità Egizie Dell'Istituto Delle Sccienze Di Bologna," Emanuele M. Ciampini and Paolo Zanovello, eds. Antichistica. Studi Orientali, 6.2 (Antichità egizie e Italia Prospettive di ricerca e indagini sul campo, Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2014): 60.
[313] While Nuzzi's interest in the agro-economy of the Agro Pontino is evident, his link with the world of science and mathematics remains to be investigated, especially considering Pozzi's influence in the decorative cycles of Palazzo Nuzzi and in the transept of Orte Cathedral (discussed below). *Cf.* Ferdinando Nuzzi, "Discorso sull'Agro romano" in Giusto Fontanini, Julius Ruscius e Ferdinando Nuzzi, *Justi Fontanini Forojuliensis De Antiquitatibus Hortae: Coloniae Etruscorum, Libri Tres: Ubi Praeter Historiam Hortanam Alia Non Pauca Res Romanas, Italicasque Illustrantia Proferuntur. Cum. Figuris. Aeri. Incisis : Et Gemina Appendice Monumentorum Ex Codicibus Potissimum Vaticanis : In Quibus Eminet Genuinum Decretum Sancti. Gelasii. I. Pont. Max.*. Editio tertia aucta & recognita (Romae: Ex typographia Rocchi Bernabò ... Prostat apud Pagliarinos Bibliopolas., 1723); Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte in età barocca*: 86-88.

della Sapienza since 1704 and was passionate about history, literature and archaeology. Fontanini dedicated to Nuzzi his treatise *De antiquitatibus Hortae coloniae Etruscorum libri tres ubi praeter historiam Hortanam alia non pauca res Romanas, Italicasque illustrantia proferuntur, cum figuris aeri incisis et gemina appendice monumentorum ex codicibus potissimum Vaticanis.*[314] The first edition of the treatise, published in 1708, was divided into two books, while a third book was added to the second edition in 1723. The latter contained texts by two authors from Orte, namely Ferdinando Nuzzi and Giulio Roscio, together with prints dedicated to Cardinal Nuzzi (who had died six years earlier) and those depicting his collection of antiquities to be discussed below.

De antiquitatibus Hortae coloniae Etruscorum allows us to make an *excursus* in the iconography of Orte in the 18th century to get a sense of Orte's urban and political realities at the time. The frontispiece of the first (1709) edition presents the map of the *Ager hortanus in Tuscia* (fig. 60) in which the *Tiberis* occupies the center of the composition highlighting its confluence with the *Nar* just downstream from Orte. This concept is confirmed by the work's cartographic addition where the personifications of the two rivers flank a map, taking the form of two reclining figures forming a decorative motif at the bottom of the page. *Horta*'s plateau rises above a crossroads from which seven roads trace their way through an undulating landscape marked by the Tiber's four nearby confluents. Watchtowers stud the territory in which the only monument identified is the *Pons Augustus* (shown in elevation and plan in a second engraving, fig. 61), a classical attribution to the ruins dating back to the Middle Ages, so as to give noble roots to a place that had little to offer to travelers in search of the classical world.

Another incision represents Orte's cityscape (fig. 62), *Hortae conspectus septentrionalis*, shows the relationship between the urban center and the territory. The natural environment around the city is characterized by the rhythmically cultivated fields, the roads that follow the contours of the valley, the hills, the Cimini woods and the Tiber where a ferryboat and a boat descend the river towards Rome. The image poetically represents a city in which culture and nature coexist in perfect balance.[315]

[314] Cf. Fontanini, *De antiquitatibus Hortae* (1723).
[315] In Guidoni's words, "*i centri piccoli e intermedi si trasformano in mere supporti per l'agricoltura locale, mentre l'attività politico-amministrativa si concentra nelle città*." Cf. Guidoni, *Inchieste su centri minori*: 26.

In 1722, the geographer Claudio Martigny made a entirely different map of the joint diocese of Civita Castellana and Orte (fig. 63). The map, currently preserved at the ASDO, proposes a not a bucolic, but an administrative image of the diocesan territory.[316] The natural elements are reduced to the blue of the Tiber and the confluence of the Nera, while "*Gli alberi denotano li Confini de Luoghi*." The cartographer specifies the scale of measurement and inserted a yellow dot from which to measure the distance between one town and another. Orte appears fragmented, cut off by the river whose course isolates the *località* of San Liberato, part of Orte's territory on the Tiber's left bank. This part of the diocese seems to occupy a position of minor importance with respect to the half that belongs to of Civita Castellana; the stylistic choices may indicate a latent rivalry between the *concattedrali* while the position of cardinal Tenderini's coat of arms might indicate a commission that leaned in favor of Civita Castellana. Two other documents tell us about the reconnaissance campaigns carried out in Orte's outskirts in the 18th century. The unpublished prospectus of the "*chiesa diruta di San Matteo d'Orte*" from 1743 (fig. 66), preserved in the Central State Archive (ACS-Roma), shows a structure with a collapsed roof, unsteady ashlar masonry and a tree emerging from the abandoned, single-nave structure.[317] This representation seems entirely unrelated to the *Vedutisti*'s fascination with ruins, an esthetic that Fontanini cites by way of the broken column in the bottom righthand corner of the published cityscape (fig. 62, bottom right). On the contrary, this local production reveals a different kind of attention to ecclesiastical properties and takes into account the building's state of conservation ad abandon, attested visually by the artist and in writing by two witnesses.

Then there is the 1781 cadastre of the parish of San Michele (fig. 64), preserved at the ASDO, but has never been taken into scholarly consideration. It was made two years after the territorial division of the parish of San Marco.[318] Once the parish's boundaries were redefined, construction began on the church of San Michele not far from the settlement that had sprung up the plain of Lucignano, the area in which the new parish was founded. The territory is represented from a bird's eye view, is identifies fifty distinct and clearly numbered properties,

[316] No information has been found regarding the figure of Claudio Martigny. The only other work found is the "Pianta del nucleo Urbano di Rieti" of 1725, just a few years after the map of the Civitella and Ortana dioceses, now preserved in the Civic Collection of the municipality of Rieti (https://museo.comune.rieti.it/sala-5-2/, consulted 2021/04/30).
[317] Giuseppini, in his parallel studies, identifies the structure as the church of San Masseo, near the present municipal abattoir. Giuseppini, "Le chiese di Orte:" 88.
[318] Gioacchini, *Orte, le contrade e i borghi*: 274-275.

along with the major landmarks in the area: the ruins of the bridge of San Giacomo, namely five pillars in the Tiber, and a detailed rendition of the city's aqueduct. The map correctly fulfills its function of a building cadastre and gives a rare autochthonous view of an agricultural community. It is interesting to note that the document was produced only a few decades before the Catasto Gregoriano of 1835 (fig. 65), marking the end of locally produced images of the territory creating a "*una prima, rigida e standardizzata immagine di tutti centri abitati*."[319]

Two Roman fonds preserve four other images of Orte dating back to the mid-18th century; two of which are published here for the first time and shed light on problems related to the town's urban fabric. The ACS-Rome preserves two drawings documenting the subsidence of the cliff extending below Via Maiotta, today this slope leads to Porta della Rocca in the city's southwest portion (fig. 67).[320] The document dates back to a controversy between the countess Carolina Guarnieri and the community of Orte, a dispute that ended with the road's consolidation in the area now known as Via della Rocca (fig. 68).[321] Two currently undated and unpublished drawings, preserved at the Fondazione Marco Besso in Rome, may date to the same period. The two anonymous documents depict the present Via della Passeggiata Pubblica (figs. 69-70).[322] One can hypothesize that the Besso Foundation's drawing could have been part of a single project aimed at consolidating the town's foundations to address the town' inherently fragile western flank from eroding and to prevent incidents like the one reported at the nearby Via Maiotta.[323] Orte's urban history clearly shows how much the city's reality differs from the idyllic image of *Horta* promoted by Fontanini.

[319] Guidoni, *Inchieste su centri minori* (1980): 25.
[320] "AC Cincio inter Illustrissimam Communitatem Civitatis Hortae ex una et Illustrissimam Comitissam Carolinam Guarnieri. Die 2 Junii 1752. Erasmi" sul verso di Collezioni disegni e mappe, Collezione I, 50 - 12/1, Pianta del 2 giugno 1752, proveniente dal Tribunale dell'AC, firmato da Vincenzo Erasmo, notaio AC. (http://www.imago.archiviodistatoroma.beniculturali.it/Cartografica/cartografica.html, consulted on 30 January 2021)
[321] "Disegno del nuovo muro con suoi pilastri et arconi da farsi per sostenere la nuova strada fuori della Porta detta Maiotta nella città di Orte," Collezioni disegni e mappe, Collezione I, 50 - 12/1, Pianta del 2 giugno 1752, proveniente dal Tribunale dell'AC, firmato da Vincenzo Erasmo, notaio AC. (http://www.imago.archiviodistatoroma.beniculturali.it/Cartografica/cartografica.html, consulted on 30 January 2021)
[322] "Disegno della Porta di S. Agostino a Orte," no. inv. 473 e 474, 18th century, now preserved at the Fondazione Marco Besso, Rome (http://www.fondazionemarcobesso.it/cataloghi/fs_photosprints/view/1965, consulted January 29, 2021)
[323] The present appearance of the ramparts, which create the widening/parking area under the Via Pubblica Passeggiata, bears similarities with the drawings that remain to be understood. The history of the modern development of the village of Orte is little known. It is hoped that Orte too can become the object of an accurate urbanistic study, as many centers of La Tuscia were before the precocious passing of Enrico Guidoni.

The engravings in *De antiquitatibus Hortae* shed light on another aspect of Orte's contemporary culture of the time: the antiquarian activity of Cardinal Ferdinando Nuzzi. The collection was rapidly dismembered and was believed to have been lost until now. In addition to the Egyptian bust mentioned above, this collection included an archaizing relief which was already illustrated in the 1709 edition, and two sarcophagi from the Nuzzi family's suburban villa[324] which were added the text's 1723 edition.[325] Innocenzo Nuzzi, nephew and heir of the cardinal, and Giuseppe, his son,[326] dispensed of the collection soon after Ferdinando's death to deal with the economic difficulties in which the Nuzzi family had found itself. The project for Orte's city museum would like to regroup this collection with the aid of digital tools while giving greater attention to a new narrative about an often heralded local family.

The archaizing relief from the 1st century BCE depicts Pan with three nymphs and was already described by Locatelli in his 1750 guide to the Capitoline Museums (fig. 72).[327] In his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* of 1763, Johannes Wincklemann considered the work as evidence of ancient contact between Greek and Etruscan artists due to its Ortano provenance.[328]

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[324] News reported in the engraving's captions published in Fontanini's 1709 volume.

[325] *De antiquitatibus Hortae* had two editions: the first in 1709 and the second in 1723 with the addition of the texts: Julius Ruscius, "*Narratio de instaurando Hortino Ponte vetustissimo*" and Ferdinando Nuzzi, "*Discorso intorno alla coltivazione e popolazione della Campagna di Roma*."

[326] Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte in età barocca*: 103.

[327] Musei Capitolini, inv. S614; Eloisa Dodero, "Wincklemann e le sculture di Palazzo Nuovo: una selezione," *Il tesoro di anticchità. Wincklemnann e il Museo capitolino nella Roma del Settecento* (Roma: Gangemi, 2018): 347-350, Cat. W 20. Dodero points to Locatelli's 1750 but reports the presence of the relief five years later in the Albani collection between 1755 and 1768.
Cfr. Giampietro Locatelli. fl. 1750: Museo Capitolino o sia Descrizione delle statue, busti, bassirilievi, urn sepolcrali, iscrizioni, ed altre ammirabili, ed erudite antichità, che si custodiscono nel Palazzo alla destra del Senatorio vicino alla chiesa d'Araceli in Campidoglio (Roma: Giampietro Locatelli, 1750): 36. Accessed 2021/05/06, http://dfg-viewer.de/show?tx_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=http%3A%2F%2Farachne.uni-koeln.de%2FMetsDocuments%2Foai_arachne.uni-koeln.de_buch-2141.xml&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=41&cHash=549b2c4f9d9d6916a3a81c13600f49b1.

[328] Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Storia delle arti del disegno presso gli antichi,* Tomo secondo, Libro ottavo, capitolo I, paragrafo 12. Translation by Carlo Fea (Rome: Stamperia Pagliarini, 1783). Accessed 2021/02/13, https://it.m.wikisource.org/wiki/Storia_delle_arti_del_disegno_presso_gli_antichi_(vol._II)/Libro_ottavo_-_Cap_I)
"§. 12. *Gli amatori delle antichità giudicano lavoro di quello primo stile un basso-rilievo dei museo Capitolino da me pubblicato rappresentante tre Baccanti ed un Fauno coll'epigrafe ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ (Callimaco fece). Plinio fa menzione d'un artefice di questo nome detto Κακιζότεχνος (biasimatore delle proprie opere), perchè non n'era mai soddisfatto abbastanza; e siccome ha rappresentata in marmo una danza di Spartane, credono alcuni di ravvisarla in questo basso-rilievo. Ma non combinano i tempi, e n'è altresì dubbia l'iscrizione. Questo lavoro è del più antico stile, almeno secondo l'idea che ne abbiamo, e CALLIMACO non vivea certamente prima di FIDIA, benché Felibien, senz'addurne alcuna prova, lo fissi all'olimpiade LX.. Pausania non lo mette al paro de' gran maestri, onde avrebbe a dirsi che in un vissuto al tempo de' più grandi artifti, e prima anche di SCOPA, il quale prima fiorì dell'autore del Laocoonte: la qual epoca non si accorda poi coll'ordine, in cui Plinio novera gli artisti. Questo nome altronde se fosse stato scritto ai tempi in cui fu fatto il basso-rilievo, in quella*

The second piece, a sarcophagus with Dionysian scenes (180 -190 CE), was found during the cathedral's renovation, between 1708 and 1723, and was later transferred to the Villa Nuzzi.[329] The sarcophagus was added to the Pio-Clementino Museum by 1792 and occupies a place of honor in the north portico of the Belvedere's Octagonal Courtyard (fig. 73).[330] The third piece which De Giusti illustrates is a Sarcophagus of the Seasons (270-280 CE) of more humble production than the other works; it was found during the renovation works of the bell tower adjacent to the cathedral and also transported to Villa Nuzzi.[331] Between the 18th and 19th centuries it was put on the Roman antiquities market and purchased by J. Addison Child, an American businessman and traveller, who shipped the piece to Boston.[332] In 1892, Child bequeathed the late imperial sarcophagus to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 74).[333]

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*maniera leggerebbesi, ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΚΗΟΣ, o come leggesi su un'iscrizione delle ruine d'Amicla, e non già ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ; poichè la X fu immaginata da Simonide non prima dell'olimpiade LXXII, e introdotta in uso pubblico soltanto nell'olimpiade XCIV.. E' quindi probabile che l'iscrizione siavi stata fatta molto tempo dopo il lavoro del basso-rilievo da qualche antico impostore, come il nome di LISIPPO su una statua d'Ercole a Firenze, che sebbene sia antico, è però posteriore ai tempi in cui fu quella scolpita, come vedremo nel Libro X. Capo I. Aggiunga si che questo baffo-rilievo è stato trovato ad Orta, luogo abitato già dagli Etruschi, il che porge un nuovo argomento per farlo creder opera d'etrusco scarpello, giacché ne ha altronde tutt'i caratteri35; sebbene tanta sia la somiglianza fra l'antichissimo stile de' Greci e quel degli Etruschi, che il basso-rilievo posta tenersi per greco, come terremmo per opere etrusche alcuni dei mentovati vali dipinti, se non vi si leggessero scritte greche parole*tempo abbia vivuto da poterli uguagliare. Egli fu, al dire dello stesso Pausania, quello che introdusse nella scultura l'uso del trapano, e immaginò il capitello corintio come dice Vitruvio: altronde veggiamo che il trapano doveva esser già noto all'autore del Laocoonte, che fiorì ne' più bei tempi dell'arte, come appresso vedremo, e l'ha adoperato ne' capelli, nella testa, e nelle profonde pieghe del panneggiamento; e SCOPA, che è probabilmente l'autore della Niobe, come si dirà parimente a suo luogo, edificò nell'olimpiade XCVI. un tempio con colonne d'ordin corintio29. Dovrebbe per tanto questo CALLIMACO aver."

[329] According to the Vatican Museums file, the sarcophagus was "*rinvenuto durante la ricostruzione della cattedrale di Orte, poco prima del 1723. Conservato nella Villa Nuzzi a Orte*." So, the sarcophagus would have been found between 1708 and 1723, that is between the two editions of Fontanini.
The work was later included in Visconti's 1796 guide to the Museo Pio-Clementino, with an engraving by Alesssandro Mochetti: "Bacco in Nasso, Sarcophago già in Orte nella Villa Nuzzi" in *Il Museo Pio-Clementino descritto da Ennio Quirino Visconti Direttore del Museo Capitolino - Tomo quinto - Dedicato alla Santita di Nostro Signore PIO SESTO Pontefice Massimo. Published by Luigi Mirri / Merchant of paintings meeting the Palazzo Bernini. In Rome MDCCXCVI with Papal Privilege*. Accessed 2021/02/21, (https://www.abebooks.com/BACCO-NASSO-Sarcofago-gia-Orta-Villa/30353832996/bd.

[330] "Sarcofago con scene dionisiache: incontro di Dioniso e Arianna e sc... [MV.951.0.0]," *Musei Vaticani Catalogo Online: Inventario*, accessed 2021/02/13, https://catalogo.museivaticani.va/index.php/Detail/objects/MV.951.0.0.

[331] P. Kranz, Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage, ASR 5, 4 (Berlin 1984), 214, Kat.Nr. 117, Taf. 53,3. Thanks to Stefano De Angelis for his help in procuring this text during the spring 2021 lockdown, as well as his help in reordering news about the Nuzzi antiquities.

[332] Paul F. Jamieson, "Coming Down the Raquette – Setting Pole Rapids to Sunday Rock," *The Quarterly.* Vol. XXXIII, 1978/10/04 (Canton, NY: *St. Lawrence County Historical Association*, 1978): 8. Accessed 2021/04/21, https://www.slcha.org/quarterly/issues/v023no4.pdf.

[333] Edward Robinson, "Report of the Curator of Classical Antiquities," *Annual Report for the Year ...* Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 17 (1892): 12-21; "Museum_135809.jpg," *Arachne*, DAI Rome https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1130339?fq=facet_kategorie:%22Einzelobjekte%22&fl=20&label=Mit%20245213%20verkn%C3%BCpfte%20Objekte&q=connectedEntities:245213&resultIndex=1, consulted 2021/02/21.

Both Villa Nuzzi and Palazzo Nuzzi (fig. 75) were the subject, in the early 2000's, of in-depth archival research carried out by the art historian Salvatore Enrico Anselmi. In the last years Palazzo Nuzzi has hosted worksites run by Tuscia University's Conservation and Restoration Laboratory. Preliminary research was carried out before starting restoration work on the decorative program of the *piano nobile* (figs. 76-77), young restorers in training cleaned, restored, and consolidated the surfaces of the *apartamento cardinalizio*. Drawing on decades of collaboration between the university and this territory, this season of the university's focus on Palazzo Nuzzi aims at preserving and enhancing Orte's heritage, through the proposed city museum for example, while stimulating knowledge exchange between art historians, restorers, local administrators, cultural managers, and eventually the wider public.[334]

Much has yet to be learned about Palazzo Nuzzi. We know it was designed by Carlo Francesco Bizzacheri (Rome, 1656-Rome, 1721), a pupil of Carlo Fontana, a member of the *entourage of* Clement XI, and a leading figure in the Roman Roccocò. The tripartite façade of Palazzo Nuzzi – with its "*fianchi delicatamente richiusi su sé stessi*"[335] – can be read both as a response to the convex façade of Palazzo di Montecitorio in Carlo Fontana's 1696 project, but also as a solution which drew from Borromini's repertoire.[336] The three floors of the palazzo's façade are underscored by continuous bands and the windows of the *piano nobile* have tympanums decorated with garlands and ribbon motifs. This decorative pattern recalls the ornaments of the *piano nobile* of the convent of Rome's San Luigi de' Francesi, a complex designed by Bizzacheri between 1709 and 1712, in the same years in which the Ortano palace was designed.[337] The monumental portal, which aligns on the central same axis below the balcony, faces the trapezoidal square which creates an ample atrium for the complex. The city museum project hopes to accompany the city in reinstating Palazzo Nuzzi as the seat of the city council and as a public space.

[334] In 2018, work was completed on the funeral monument of Cardinal Ferdinando Nuzzi. Since the work was commissioned for the Chapel of San Brizio in Orvieto Cathedral, it does not tell the history of the city of Orte, but its present. For this reason, the monument will be treated in the fourth chapter of this thesis. See *fascicolo Nuzzi*, typewritten text signed and dated "Alessandro Camilli, 1930," ACVO.
[335] Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte in età barocca*: 82, nota 85.
[336] Nina A. Mallory and John L. Varriano, "Carlo Francesco Bizzacheri (1655-1721)," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 33, no. 1 (1974): 44, https://doi.org/10.2307/988837.
[337] Mallory (1974): 41-42.

The pictorial decorations of Palazzo Nuzzi's reception areas simulate a peristyle, inspired by Andrea Pozzo's *trompe l'oeuils* and the Jesuit taste for triumphalist iconography and scientific empiricism.[338] The decorative program flaunts the prelate's power and wealth through a profusion of gold, illusionistic reliefs, twisted columns, composite capitals, polychrome marbles and *mascheroni*. The architectural illusionism clearly refers to Pozzi's production: an erudite reference to the artist-mathematician's treatises on perspective, but also to the iconography and composition of the frescoes of Palazzo Contucci in Montepulciano (1701-1702).[339] In the Tuscan building site, in fact, hosted Bizzacheri at the same time as the painter Antonio Colli, an artist present at the worksite of Il Gesù in Frascati at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. This pupil of Pozzo was also active in Viterbo in 1712,[340] during the construction of the convent of Santa Caterina. [341]

Above the fireplace in the *salone* and that of the *apartmento cardinalizio*, there are roundels with *grisaille* representations of two Roman patricians, respectively Marcus Curtius and Mucius Scaevola (fig. 77), symbols of courage and sacrifice made in the name of their people.[342] While these are appropriate symbols for a setting commissioned by a figure who saw himself as a patrician of an important *gens*, they do not exactly correspond with the biographical data we have about the patron.

Parallel to the tortile colonnade in the *sala conciliare*, the space once used as a reception area, in the cardinal's apartment becomes a space rhythmically cadenced by monochrome caryatids bearing gilded baskets full of fruit. The decorative cycle does not seem to follow an out-right iconographic program, but rather reveals a taste for Rococo decoration popular in a now provincialized Roman school of painters.[343] An imposing, Nuzzi family crest dominates the center of the arch that divides the bedroom in two (fig. 78), but no coat of arms of the city can

[338] Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte in età barocca*: 68-69.
[339] Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte in età barocca*: 87-88.
[340] Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte in età barocca*: 88.
[341] As an English teacher at the Istituto Superiore d'Industria e dell'artigianato in 2001-2002, the author was able to observe the note the precarious state of conservation of the former chapel firsthand. The environment was initially used as a classroom for physical education, with serious damage to the stucco decoration, and later as a lecture hall.
From 2004 to 2010 the author was also able to conduct two cycles of educational activities dedicated to the school of Andrea Pozzo in the former chapel as an art history teacher for the School Year Abroad in Viterbo. It was not possible to obtain other information regarding the current state of the stuccoes and frescoes.
[342] Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte in età barocca*: 88-90.
[343] Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte in età barocca*: 96.

be traced to any of the Nuzzi family's commissions. All in all, the cardinal's palace was conceived as a private space and as a place of *rapresentanza* intended to celebrate Ferdinand and the Nuzzi family, not Orte and the Ortani.

Since the mid-17th century, the Nuzzi family has been systematically interested in the reconstruction of the cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta, but the work was only carried out between 1709-1721, ultimately redefining the overall appearance of the church and granting it its current *facies*.[344] Ferdinando Nuzzi was the most ardent supporter of the project, as well as mediator between Bizzaccheri (the architect of his *palazzo*) and Gregorio Castrichini, rector of the Jesuit college of Terni.[345]

The interior of the mother church is now dominated by the monochromy defined by the travertine and stucco decorations that trace severe shapes that trace the structure's sub-arches, pendentives and dome (fig. 79). The nave's whiteness is interrupted at the height of the transept where we find *trompe l'oeil* frescoes made by a follower of Andrea Pozzo; these two monumental altars recall the rooms of Palazzo Nuzzi's *piano nobile* and were fitted with wall-mounted canvases representing the Virgin and Saints Lawrence and Cassian (commissioned by the Nuzzi) (fig. 80) and Saint Nicholas of Bari (commissioned by the Paglia family). Despite the fact that the cathedral's worksite was completed only at the beginning of the 20th century, the state of the work's advancement allowed the Cathedral to be inaugurated in 1721 (fig. 81), with the Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Maria Tenderini (Carrara, 1690-Civita Castellana, 1739) (fig. 82) acting as the celebrant.

Despite its indirect contact with Arcadian circles and Jesuit scientific, Orte's psyche remained anchored to an agrarian worldview that did not integrate ideas circulating during the Age of Enlightenment. The 18th-century phase of the church of Santa Maria della Purità offers a glimpse into the monumental patronage from a 'lowbrow' cultural context and helps counterbalance a narrative dominated by the Nuzzi family. The humble single-nave church was built in the third quarter of the 17th century by the Compagnia dei Muratori (the local guild of brick-layers and stone-masons) and then dedicated to San Rocco (Saint Roch), the

[344] Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte in età barocca*: 53.
[345] Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte in età barocca*: 63-64.

Compagnia's patron saint.[346] Sixty years after its foundation, through a series of events that remain to be clarified, the church was rededicated to the Madonna della Purità.

The Diocese collection preserves a painting of the Madonna della Purità which was declared miraculous in 1733 by Cardinal Tenderini, the same cleric who inaugurated the cathedral about ten years earlier.[347] The painting consists of a small fresco fragment of modest quality removed from a private house in Orte, while its frame is a monumental canvas painting by Pietro Nelli commissioned by Tenderini and completed in 1736.[348] The painting was used to close the niche where the statue of San Rocco was once kept, but now replaced by the fragment of the miraculous wall painting. In the refurbished altarpiece a painted figure of San Rocco appears next to the Archangel Michael in veneration of the Madonna della Purità (fig. 83). The foundation of the new, popular cult acted as a "*strumento d'identificazione e di aggregazione*"[349] in a diocese that could now flaunt three miraculous images of the Virgin during, all identified under Bishop Tenderini.[350] The confraternity of masons, now deprived of their own symbol, was forced to comply with a centralized program in which their objects of worship were subject to curial approval, in line with the indications Pope Benedict XIII issued in the Synod of 1725.[351]

Tenderini's choices were apparently rewarded even after his death, considering that the prelate was beatified in 1974. In his biographical description, the authoritative historian Claudio Canonici write: the cardinal "*ripristinò la disciplina ecclesiastica, favorì l'istruzione religiosa dei fedeli, si adoperò per istituire il seminario …, visitò a più riprese la diocesi con*

[346] Giuseppini, "Le chiese di Orte:" 75.
[347] Confraternità S. Rocco, 1733, ccc. 1r-4v e fasciolo cucito tra le carte 13 e 14, 1v-2v, ASDO. Ripartato in Anselmo e Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 90.
[348] *Esito delli denari dell'elemosine fatte alla Madonna SS.ma della Purità: "*Adi 30 xbre lo Ant.o Can.co Rosci hò ricevuto dall'Ill.ma Sig ra Contessa Cleria [Clelia] Alberti scudi diciassette e mezzo p. una soma d'olio p. la Madonna SS.ma della Purità…. Adi 3 Agosto [1736] Pagati al Sig.r Pietro Nelli scudi venticinque quali sono p. fattura del Quadro, come p. sua ricevuta 1.. Ad seg.nata lettera A – s. 25…" From the file Chiesa della Madonna della Purità, Chiese e parrocchie Amminnistrazione, 1, ACVO. Quoted in Anselmi (2006): 220.
[349] Castelnuovo e Ginzburg, *Centro e periferia*: 46.
[350] The Madonna del Rosario in the cathedral of Civita Castellana is a fourteenth-century fresco found in 1736 and framed by a rich gilded frame, *Cf.* Diocesi di Civita Castellana, accessed 2021/03/14, http://www.diocesicivitacastellana.it/cattedrale. Abbondio Zuppante reports news of a now-lost Madonna either a painted tile or a clay relief sculpture, which was the object of a similar devotion in Canepina in this same period, but testimonies are nowhere to be found.
[351] Claudio Canonici, "Il Settecento religioso a Roma e nel territorio," *La Cattedrale Cosmatesca Di Civita Castellana*, a cura di Luca Creti. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Civita Castellana, 2010/09/18-19) (Roma: L'Erma di Bretchneider, 2012): 267-274.

un'attenzione particolare alla cura pastorale."[352] This kind of pastoral care did not stimulate cultural or economic well-being in the diocese, perhaps due to Tenderini's less talented successors. The Ortani in the 18th century, like a large number of provincial inhabitants of the *Patrimonium Sancti Petri*, lived in misery and destitution.

On 27 October 1786 Goethe was on the first leg of his successful journey to Rome. After his stop in Terni he set off for Civita Castellana, but did not pass through Orte.[353] Without a bridge the ancient river port became one of many ferry points on the Tiber. The traveller, as well as the intellectuals of the *Grand Tour* in his retinue, preferred to follow the Via Flaminia crossing the Tiber at Magliana Sabina's Ponte Felice: a route promoted by the road network and by the cartography since centuries (fig. 84).



Fig. II-59. Portrait of Cardinal Ferdinando Nuzzi, printed in Fontanini, 1709, 1723 (Source: MDZ, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb11347999?page=584,585)

[352] Claudio Canonici, "Storia Della Diocesi," Storia della Diocesi di Civita Castellana, consultato 2021/05/07, http://www.diocesicivitacastellana.com/index.php/storia.
[353] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Italian journey: 1786-1788*. Ed. W. H. Auden and Elizabeth Mayer (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1982): 111-115.



Fig. II-60. Map of Orte and its territory, printed in Fontanini, 1709, 1723 (Source: MDZ, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb11347999?page=22,23)

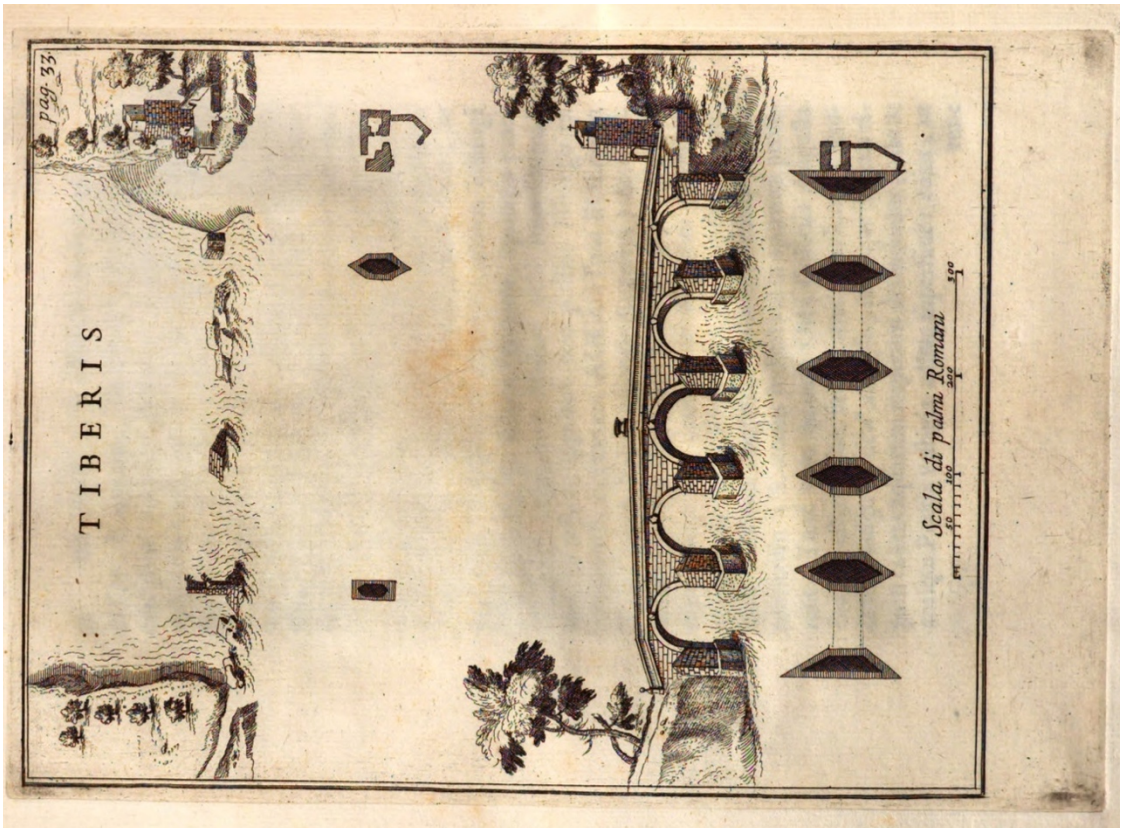


Fig. II-61. Orte's so-called "Ponte d'Augusto," printed in Fontanini, 1709, 1723 (Source: MDZ, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb11347999?page=60,61)



Fig. II-62. View of the town and the territory of Orte, printed in Fontanini, 1709, 1723 (Source: MDZ, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb11347999?page=28)



Fig. II-63. Claudio Martigny, Map of the Diocese of Civita Castellana and Orte with the coat of arms of Card. Tenderini, 1722. Ink and watercolour. (Source: http://www.julianellum.it/territorio-e-urbanistica/vignanello-nel-1821-mappa-del-catasto-gregoriano/)

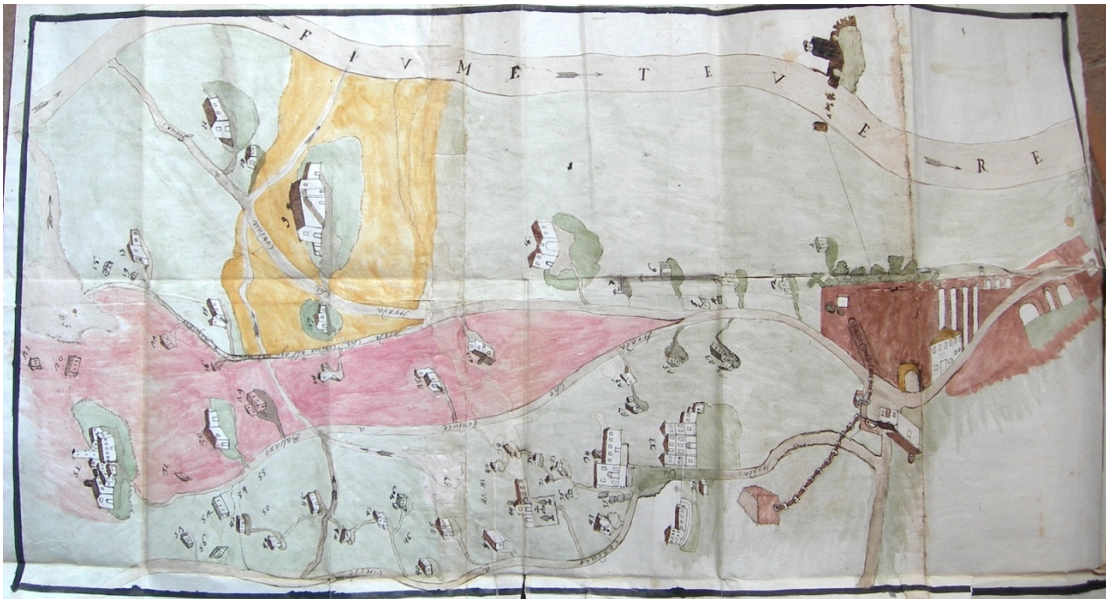


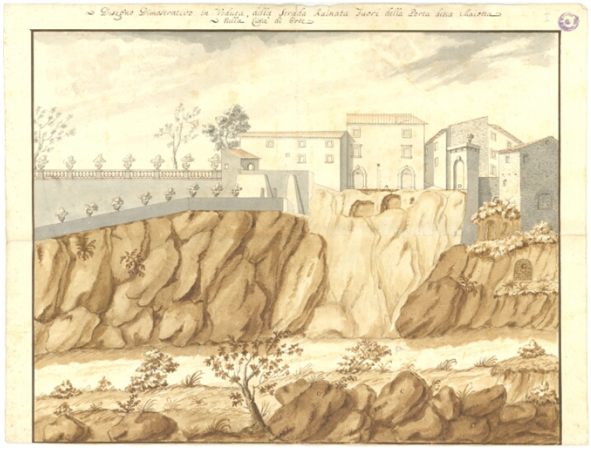
Fig. II-64. (left) Anonymous, Cadastre of the Parrochia di San Michele, Orte. 1781. (Source: ASDO)



Fig. II-66. Gregorian Cadastre, 1835 (Source: ACS-Rome, Imago)



(Right) Fig. II-65. Elevation of Orte's church of San Matteo in ruins, 1743. Ink and watercolour, Rotilio di Marco, worker (author); Carlo Felice Cianchella, witness; Francesco Orlandi, witness. (Source: ACS-Roma Imago).



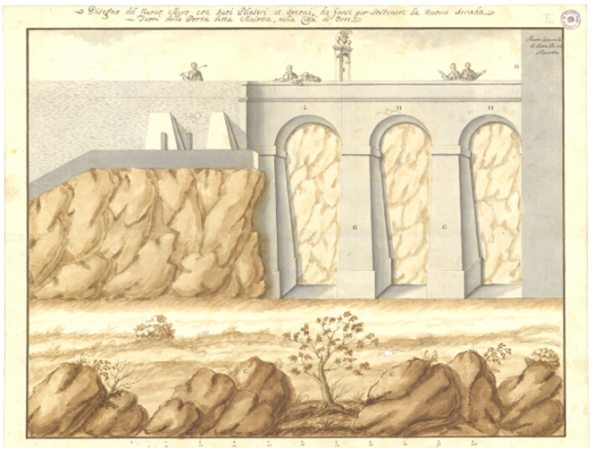


Fig. II-67. Unpublished drawing with a view of the collapsed road outside Orte's Maiotta gate (a road now called Via della Rocca), 1752. produced by the Tribunal of the AC, Undersigned by Vincenzo Erasmo, notary AC (Source: ACS-Roma Imago); Fig. II-68. Unpublished drawing of the new wall with its pillars and arches to be built to support the new road outside Orte's Maiotta gate, 1752 (Source: ACS-Roma Imago) . N.B. The two drawings of 1752 were executed during the dispute between Countess Carolina Guarnieri and the Municipality of Orte.



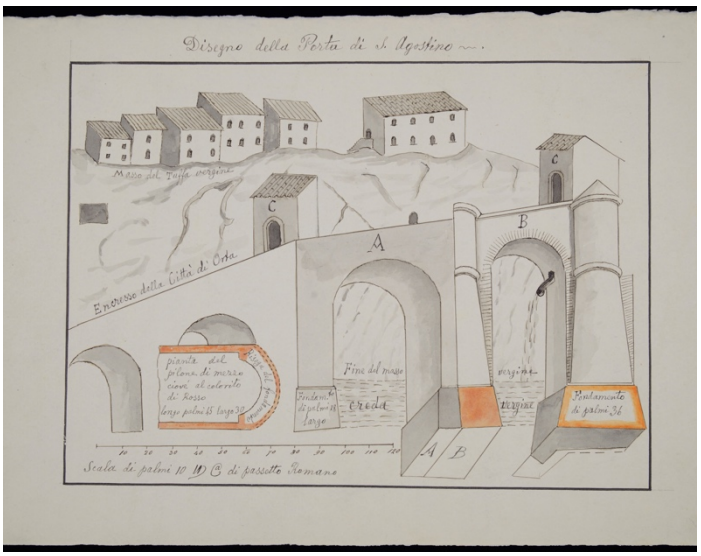


Fig. II-69. Unpublished drawing of the Porta Sant'Agostino (Orte), undated. Provenance unknown (Source: Fondazione Marco Besso, Roma); Fig. II-70. Possible second draft of the same drawing of the Porta di Sant'Agostino (Orte), also unpublished and undated. Provenance unknown (Source: Fondazione Marco Besso, Roma).



Fig. II-71. Head of Thutmosi III. New Kingdom, provenance: Rome. Now preserved in the Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna (EG 1800). Donated to Count Marsigli by Card. Nuzzi before 1712. (Source: Picchi, 60)



Fig. II-72. Archaizing relief from the Nuzzi collection, later in the Albani collection, now in the Capitoline Museums, printed in Fontanini, 1709, 1723 (Source: MZD, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb11347999?page=152,153)



Fig. II-73. Sarcophagus with Bacchus and Ariadne from the Nuzzi collection, now in the Museo Pio-Clementino, printed in Fontanini, 1723 (Source: MZD, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb11347999?page=568,569)



Fig. II-74. Sarcophagus of the Seasons from the Nuzzi collection, now in the Museo Pio-Clementino, printed in Fontanini, 1723 (Source: MZD, https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb11347999?page=564,565)



Fig. II-75. Carlo Bizzaccheri, Palazzo Nuzzi, circa 1710 (Photo: Francesca Groppi)



Fig. II-76. Tuscia University students conducted at the start of restoration work on the Cardinal's apartment in 2020-2021.

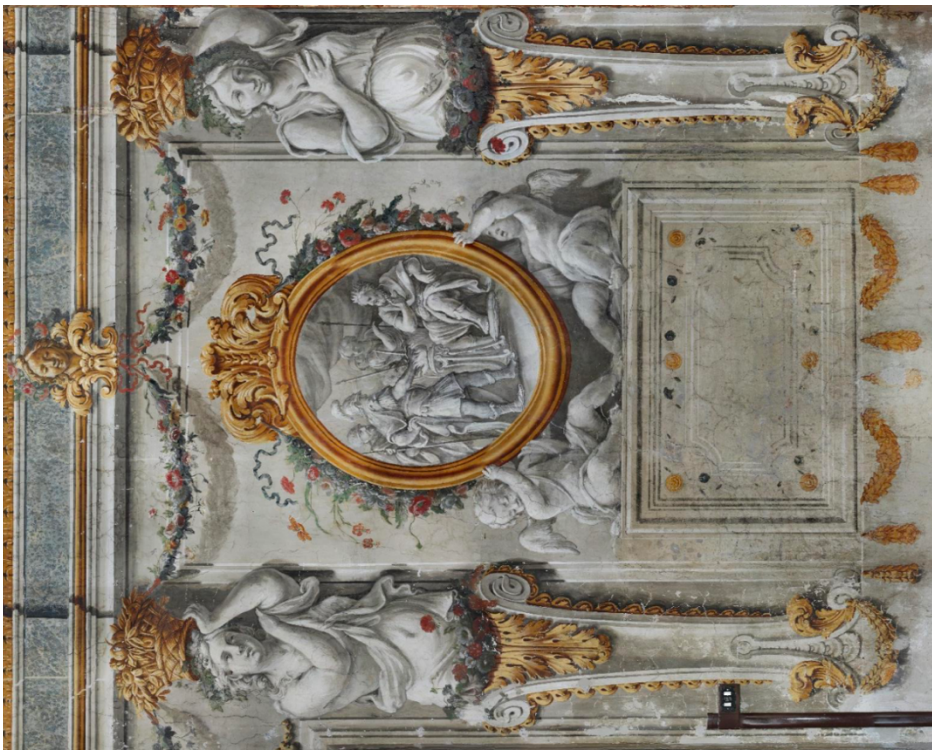


Fig. II-77. North wall of the cardinal's apartment while restoration was in progress (Photo: Francesca Groppi)



Fig. II-78. Coat of arms of the Nuzzi family placed in the cardinal's apartment, Palazzo Nuzzi. 1715, during the restoration work carried out in 2020-2021 (Photo: Davide Vigliotti)

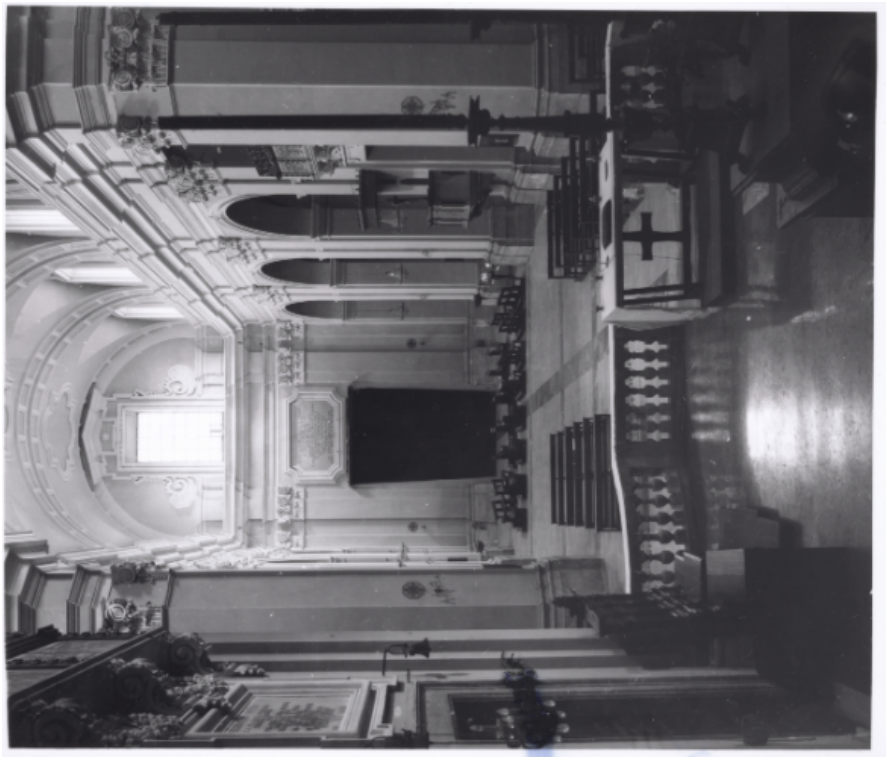


Fig. II-79. Interior of the cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta, designed by Bizzaccheri and Castrichini (inaugurated in 1721) (Photo: Max Hutzel, GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program)



Fig. II-80. A follower of Andrea Pozzo, altar of the Virgin and Saints Lawrence and Cassian, pre-1724, Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta, Orte (Photo: Max Hutzel. GRI. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program)

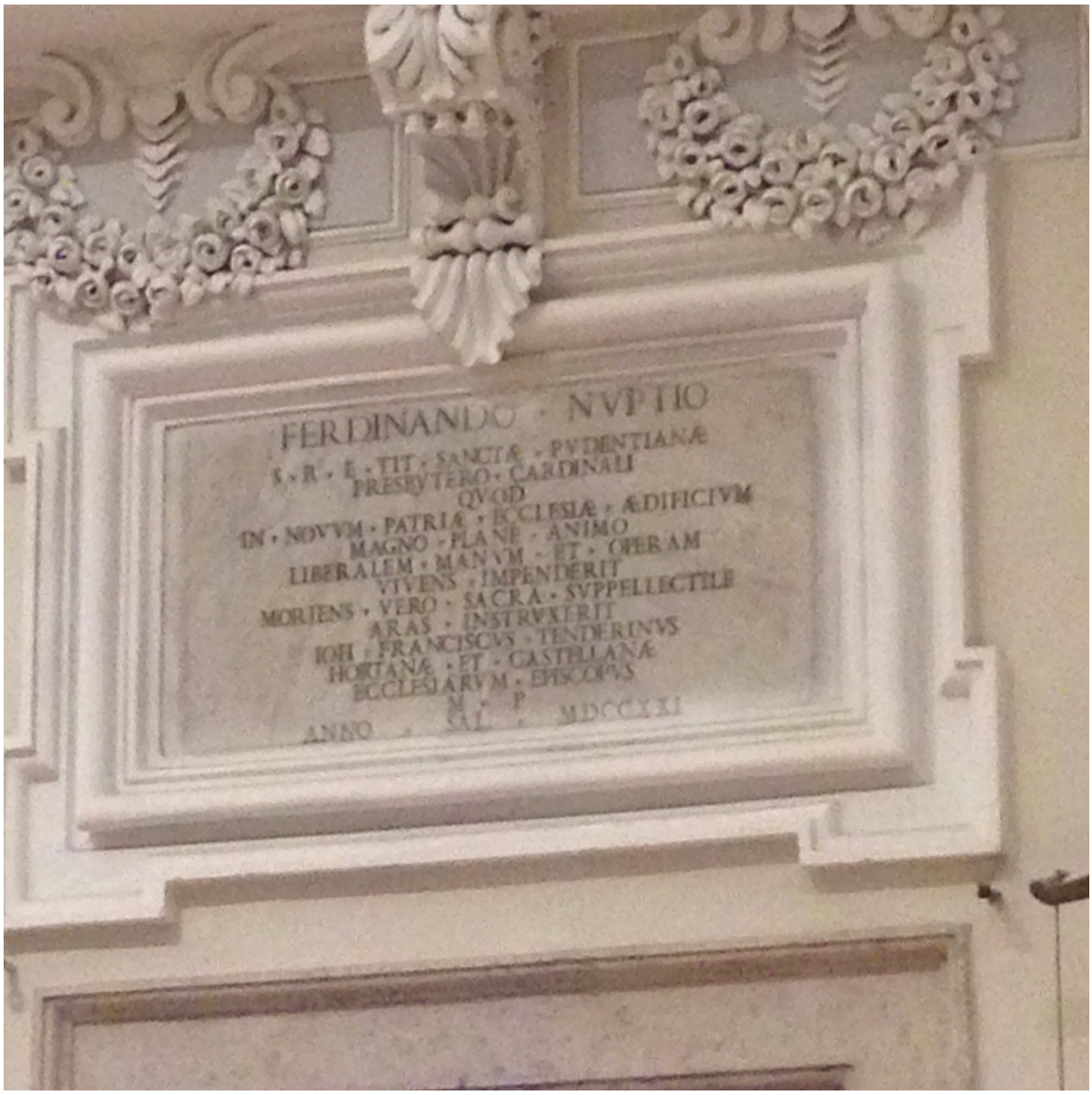


Fig. II-81. Dedicatory inscription of 1721 in honor of Cardinal Nuzzi, placed in the choir of the cathedral after the death of Ferdinando Nuzzi, during Tenderini's tenure as bishop of Orte and Civita Castellana.



Fig. II-82. Portrait of Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Tenderini. Engraving, c. 1739. Entitled: "Il V. Servo di Dio Gio. Francesco Tenderini Vesc. di Civita Castel" (Collection: Angelica Library, source: http://www.bibliotecaangelica.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/427/catalogo-ritratti-e-stampe/ritrattizz/1972)



Fig. II-83. Pietro Nelli (1672-1740), Altarpiece of Saints Michael Archangel and Rocco (1736), from Orte's church of San Rocco. The canvas serves as a frame for a fragment of fresco deemed miraculous that depicts the Madonna della Purità (Source: Anselmi and Principi, Museo di Arte Sacra di Orte, *2013: 90)*



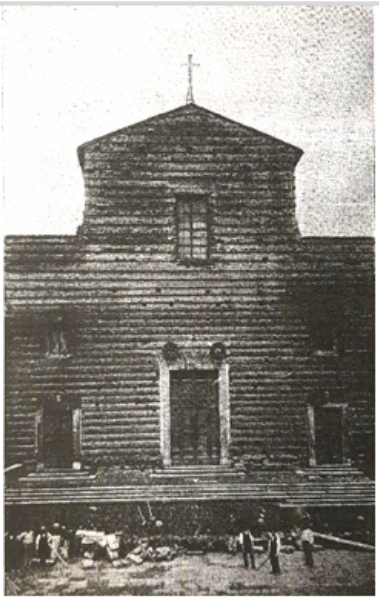






Fig. II-84. Giovanni Domenico Campiglia, "Tavola generale della provincia di Sabina,"1742, Map published by the Calcografia Camerale. N.B. The road traced from Narni to Civita Castellana, passes through Otricoli (not Orte) and the bridge of Magliano. (Source: Frutaz, XXXVIII, tav. 90., Le Carte del Lazio*, Rome, 1972).*

Fig. II-85. Façade of the Cathedral, remained unfinished until 1900 (Source: Gioacchini, 1961)

Fig. II-86. Detail of the wall painting in the edicule in Piazza Fratini (Source: A. Zuppante)

Fig. II-87. Edicule in Piazza Fratini including the detail of the wall painting in fig. 86. Source: ICCD)



Fig. II-88. A fanciful view of the ascent to Orte's Rocca (Source: Davies, 'Fig. V,' The Bulletin of Art, *1886)*



Fig. II-89. Unpublished drawing by an anonymous artist, Rina Rinaldoni of Senegallia, dated 1895/02/21. Now preserved at the Fondazione Marco Besso, Rome

2.3.3 A territory left to its own demise. The 19th century

In his account of late-18th to early 19th-century Orte, Delfo Gioacchini, parish priest and former director of Orte's Diocesan Museum, reports that "*le truppe* [napoleoniche]…*passarono per Vignanello, Corchiano, nei paesi del Cimino ed in altri luoghi, e poi 'presero la via di ponte Felice, senza venire in Orte…Orte viveva sotto l'occupazione francese, non certo tenera né riguardosa, ma per la vita interna della Chiesa era come non succedesse nulla*."[354] While the church continued life as usual, heavy taxes were imposed on local citizens, leading to a famine by 1800.[355] The quality of the Church's presence at Orte – at times a driver of economic prosperity and development, at others an oppressive and single-sided tax collector – had reached an all-time low in the 19th century after centuries of misgovernment since the city's bridge collapsed in 1514. During the last century of its existence the Papal States had left this shrinking town in a state of deep isolation and abandonment. Investments in infrastructure and transportation took place slowly and lacked a long-term vision. For instance, the first train to Orte and Foligno left Rome on 4 January 1866, twenty-seven years after the first Italian railway connected Naples to Portici.[356] With the Unification of Italy, this trainline line finally reached its terminus at Ancona in 1871, while an iron bridge allowing foot and carriage traffic to cross the Tiber was finally completed in 1888 (Fig. III-1): three hundred and sixty-four years after the collapse of the city's symbolic bridge.[357]

As a consequence of the area's widespread poverty, very few monumental works survive from this period. It is telling that the cathedral's façade remained unfinished until 1900 (fig. 85). The Museo di Arte Sacra preserves of portraits of only two bishops from the pre-Unification period, representing the Bishops De Dominicis and Ercolani. There is also a white silk mitre with silver embroidery and a canvas depicting Christ and the Samaritan Woman, a copy of the first quarter of the 19th century of Lavinia Fontana's 1607 painting, now in the National Museum of Capodimonte's collections.[358]

[354] Gioacchini, *Curiosità ortane*: 128-129.
[355] Gioacchini, *Curiosità ortane*: 129, 131.
[356] Zuppante and Nasetti, "Orte-Roma, dal Tevere alla strada ferrata," *Le strade del Lazio* (Roma: Lunario Romano, 1994): 367-384.
[357] Gioacchini, *Curiosità ortane*: 47-48.
[358] Anselmi and Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 96, 100.

In the city's historic center, at Piazza Fratini, there is a 19th century shrine that testifies to popular devotion that developed around an earlier work of art, now in a precarious state of conservation (figs. 86-87).[359] The altar contains a 16th-17th century fragment of a wall-painting, executed on stone, depicting the Madonna and Child.[360] This image may originate from Orte's ancient cathedral that was demolished in the 18th century (most likely during the Nuzzi family's modernization campaigns). It demonstrates how locals reused an object of worship of 'major' origin in a 'minor' context through its dislocation from a place of power and relegation to a small, secondary piazza. [361] It allowed inhabitants to continue their devotional practices in an informal, collective, and anonymous way: "*nei piccoli centri lo stile di vita non viene sostituito con un nuovo modello, ma semplicemente depauperato*."[362]

This context may have appeared quaint to international tourists familiar with Orte thanks to the writings of George Dennis who published the first version of his *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* as early as 1848.[363] The English travel guide offers a generalized account of "Horta" and its surroundings. In the book's second edition, Dennis' report remains unchanged except for a reflection about the ways modes have transportation have changed over the past 30 years, while he considered his first entry into the city by boat "one of the most delightful excursions I ever made in Italy," his entry by train seemed trivial by the 1870's. [364]

That same train brought another British traveller, an anonymous man perhaps of Welsh origin, to retrace Dennis' footsteps. Yet William Davies offered a picturesque account of the town in both writing and through an engraving (fig. 88), concluding that Orte in 1886 was a town whose ruins' "name and history [had been] forgotten:"

> Passing the village of Otricoli, the ancient Ocriculum, and the junction of the Nar with the Tiber, we arrive at Orte (fig. v.). The traveller by rail through Central Italy will remember to have seen this picturesquely-situated town in the distance occupying the crest of a

[359] P. Scafetta and A.M. Pedrocchi, "Numero catalogo generale 00250862," Scheda ICCD, 1991.
[360] Special thanks to Dr. Angela Cerasuola of the National Museum of Capodimonte for this chronological suggestion, provided by digital correspondence 2021/02/13.
[361] Information dating back to Don Delfo Gioacchini and reported to the author by Abbondio Zuppante in a private conversation.
[362] Guidoni, *Inchieste su centri minori*: 26-27.
[363] George Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. I (London: John Murray, 1848): 163-172, accessed 2021/03/06, http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/Europe/Italy/_Periods/Roman/Archaic/Etruscan/_Texts/DENETR*/9.html.
[364] George Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (London: John Murray, 1878): 136-137, accessed 2021/05/05. https://archive.org/details/citiescemeteries02denn.

> lofty elevation. He would not be disappointed were he to visit it. The approach to it is striking. As the road winds upwards the houses are seen rising from the rocks, as though they formed a part of them--old, weather-stained, frowning gloomily from their elevation on the world beneath. One must go back to the old Etruscan time for its origin. Even yet it retains some of the Etruscan character in its architecture. Its life is its own. One wonders what it has to do with the outside world, for no modern use or invention appears to have touched it. Nor is this its only charm. The river as seen from the town is marvellously beautiful. It goes winding through the plain beneath like a silver serpent.
>
> The morning hour is the hour for travel in an Italian summer. As we wind down the hill the night mists still linger in the hollow. Following the course of the river, broken mediæval towers stand up here and there on the rocks from the old belligerent days, their name and history forgotten.[365]

A similar sense of timelessness is found in an 1895 drawing by a self-taught artist named Rina Rinaldoni (fig. 89). The image was recently identified in the holdings of Rome's Fondazione Marco Besso and captures the same side of the city as Davies' engraving, but seen from the southern flank, offering a view of the city's ancient aqueduct all the way to the Contrada of Sant'Agostino. The drawing, made by an anonymous woman from Senigallia in Le Marche, frames the "*perfetta forma della città*," rising from the bluff and fading into the fields of the Tiber Valley, just as had been seen by the eyes of millions of nameless passersby over the centuries.

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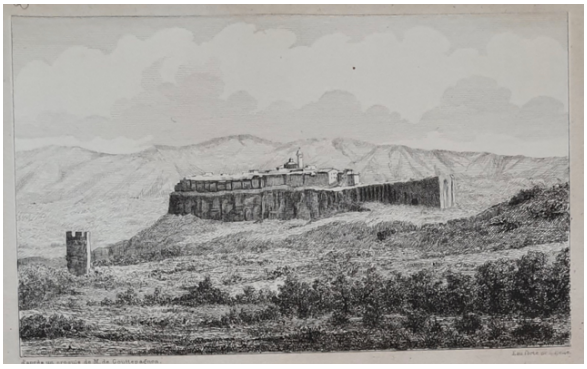
As mentioned earlier, the final chapter will elaborate premises for a local city museum which aims, in part, to address the collective, socio-cultural 'wounds' that result from centuries of neglect and the abuse of power. This sort of museum would like to offer a city-wide network of spaces and activities through which to re-empower the local community. Through updated knowledge about Orte's history and place in the world, the Ortani can begin to elaborate a new narrative about their hometown, transcending romantic notions of 'authenticity,' usually confined to a sense of local history up through the 19th century. By grappling with more complex questions regarding local identity, Orte's citizens can start to play with the vague

[365] William Davies, "The Tiber: Ostia to Bagnorea," *The Magazine of Art* (London, Paris, New York, Melbourne: Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1886): 137-138, preserved at the Hathi Trust Digital Library, accessed 2021/02/09, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015014676863&view=1up&seq=219.

notion of an Etruscan-medieval city and co-create a new narrative that includes the present and recent past, while embracing the utmost relevance of being an intermodal transport hub linking Orte to other cities, regions, and continents.[366]

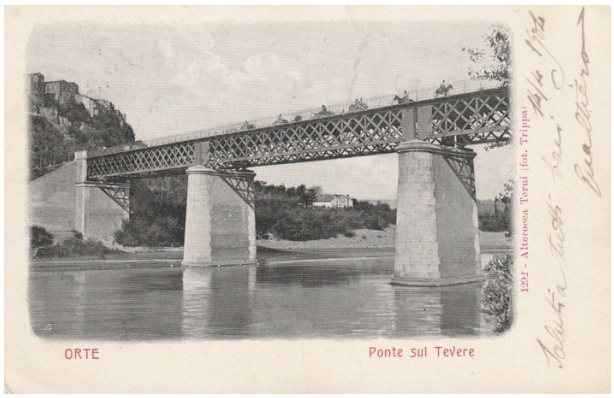
[366] See Stefano Petrocchi, "Orte: Il Museo della città," *Per una storia di Orte e del suo territorio* (Orte: Centro di studi per il Patrimonio di S. Pietro in Tuscia Comune Ente ottava medievale, 2006): 250.

III. ACHIEVEMENTS, FAILURES, AND TRANSFORMATIONS. SAFEGUARDING ORTE'S CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY (1900-1988)





(left) Fig. III-1. An 1867 engraving depicting the town of Orte immersed in the Tiber Valley, made by De Gouttepagnon for the volume Souvenirs du Régiment des Zouaves pontificaux by Baron de Charrette (1870); (right) Fig. III-2. Film still of Orte in 1970 from Le mura di Sana by Pier Paolo Pasolini (00:08:22)





(left) Fig. III-3. Postcard of the foot and traffic bridge over the Tiber, sent in 1904 (Source: Abbondio Zuppante private collection); (right) Fig. III-4. Orte in the 1972 ACI Cartography (drawing made under the direction of V. Morana)

3. Introduction

This chapter reconstructs the history of safeguarding at Orte over the course of the 20th century through a philological reconstruction of three distinct campaigns. The town's first safeguarding efforts can be traced to a remarkable local magistrate who, at the beginning of the century, laid the foundations for what later became the Diocesan Museum. This structure was renovated and inaugurated by an extraordinary team of Italian government officials, led by Luisa Mortari, whose efforts spanned the 1950's and 1960's. In parallel, the independent photographer Max Hutzel was motivated by the desire to use documentation as a means of heritage preservation and shot pictures of the area, along with hundreds of other '*centri minori*,' from 1967 to the mid-1980's. Finding itself in the midst of rapid historic change, Orte was living in sharp contrast to the provincial isolation which had characterized the city for nearly four centuries. These mutations were imposed by the

processes ranging from nation-building in the first years of the 20th century up through the fast-paced, globalized world which characterizes our world today.

From an urbanistic point of view, this vertiginous evolution led a sparsely populated and impoverished town, seen in the print engraved by French troops in 1867 (fig. 1), to its drastically changed appearance during Italy's economic boom, with all the relevant contradictions highlighted by Pier Paolo Pasolini (fig. 2). After 400 years of waiting, residents of this age-old crossroads could finally cross the Tiber River thanks to the iron bridge built under the auspices of the newborn Italian State (fig. 3). This structure was, however, destroyed during the bombings of WWII, the same ones that damaged the 1866 railway station (pict.18). Yet it is important to note that, after only a century, rail seemed an outdated mode of transportation; by the 1960's, travelers preferred to travel by car and Orte, by virtue of its central geographic location, formed part of the national A1 motorway linking Naples to Milan, the Autostrada del Sole (fig. 4). If, on one hand, this represented a promise for the city and the territory's development, the highway system introduced a stereotyped promotion of Orte as an ancient "Etruscan-medieval" village on the other. This stigma has held this urban center back, preventing it from embracing the many facets of its composite (and sometimes difficult) history and, above all, it has discouraged a narrative that includes the city's more recent past and possible futures.

The following discussion begins with the work of Giocondo Pasquinangeli, a local scholar introduced in the previous chapter through his meticulous transcription of Lando Leoncini's colossal manuscript. In one of his many notes, Pasquinangeli brings up an often romanticized, but slightly awkward issue that often arises when promoting culture in small towns; he wonders if his fellow citizens can wake up from a sort of sleepiness that looms over the town. He began writing his reflections in the year 1900, when the Duomo still had no façade, even though construction had begun on the building in first half of the 17th century (figs. 5-6).[1] With the dawn of a new year and a new century, Pasquinangeli extended his commitment from the archives to heritage preservation by instituting the *Comitato Archeologico*, an Archaeological Committee: laying the corner stone of what he saw as a single "*museo cittadino*" and what later became the (now closed) Civic Museum and the Diocese's Museum of Sacred Art.

[1] To complete the portrait of the town of Orte at the beginning of the twentieth century we should acknowledge the episodic presence of Filoteo Alberini (Orte 1865 - Rome 1937), inventor and pioneer of Italian cinema. He invented the "Alberini kinetograph," an apparatus for filming and projection patented in 1895. In 1905 he founded in Rome what would become, over the years, Cinécittà (the "Stabilimento italiano di manifattura cinematografica Alberini e Santoni" (known as "Cines" since 1906) and made the first Italian film, *La presa di Roma*. Due to time constraints, it was not possible to delve into this chapter of Orte's surprisingly rich history. See "Alberini, Filoteo," Enciclopedia Treccani, accessed 2021/10/21, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/filoteo-alberini.

The events illustrated in this micro-history, with their achievements, failures and transformations, provide a cross-section through which to view a young nation striving to include provincial areas, their architecture, their "Fine Arts," and their minor, "Decorative Arts" as integral parts of a pan-Italian vision of Art History.[2] Orte's Diocesan Archive (ASDO) preserves documents that have made it possible to reconstruct previously unknown chapters of local and national history, or rather a plurality of histories over the course of the whole century. What emerges is an image of Orte as a laboratory for some of Italy's most eminent scholars engaged in the creation of a small town museum: a remarkable project that was never grafted into the local political agenda and, unfortunately, remained distant from the life and vision of most Ortani.



Fig. III-5. Photograph of the construction site to build the façade of the Cathedral of Orte at the end of the 19th century (left) (source: Gioacchini 1961, 26); Fig. III-6.Postcard with the inauguration of the same façade, celebrated on 1901/09/01, the feast day of Sant'Egidio, the city's patron saint (right) (source: Abbondio Zuppante).

This phase of the research was based almost exclusively on archival documents and photographs. It drew from documents preserved at the Archivio Storico della Diocesi di Civita Castellana - Nepi (VT), Sede distaccata di Orte (ASDO), as well as from correspondence preserved at the Central State Archives in Rome (ACS-Rome) to reconstruct the activity of the Superintendence Offices. The study of these fonds unveiled the unexpected participation of leading national figures in the fields of art

[2] Adolfo Venturi, "Indice," *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. 1 (Milano: Hoepli, 1901): V-VI, https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.14090; Pietro Toesca, "Indice generale," *Storia dell'arte italiana. Il Medioevo*. Vol. II (Torino: Unione Tipografico-editrice torinese, 1927): no page number.

history and heritage preservation who collaborated in the creation of a museum at Orte; Adolfo Venturini surveyed the city early in the 1900's and students of Pietro Toesca were especially active in Orte and in the *Viterbese* area in the Forties, Fifties, and Sixties.[3] The latter group oversaw two fronts of a fifteen-year operation: the restoration of architectural complex of San Silvestro and the creation of the Diocesan Museum. The perusals were carried out in 2020-2021 – often under unfavorable conditions due to the ongoing sanitary emergency – and revealed efforts that were generally characterized by an exemplary *esprit de corps*, despite the many challenges faced and overcome. This documentary evidence was put in dialogue with exceptionally rich photographic documentation, attested by prints preserved at the Bibliotheca Hertziana's Photographic Collection and at the Central Institute for Catalogue and Documentation (ICCD), as well as the digitized images consulted online via the Getty Research Institute (USA), the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom (DAI, Italy), the Zeri Foundation (Italy), the National Gallery of Art in Washington (USA), and the Bildarchiv Foto Marburg (Germany).

These photographic materials brough to light a neglected figure in the history of Italian art photography, namely Max Hutzel, an independent photographer of German origin who, over the course of thirty years (1956-1988), documented Orte together with thousands of Italian sites considered as 'minor heritage.' He called his project *Foto Arte Minore* and conceived of it as a *corpus* of images of works and monuments destined to disappear, partly due to the State's inability to understand and commit to the conservation needs of a heritage often considered as second class (figs. 24, 44-53, 55-64, 66). His exceptional work forms the second focus of this chapter: photographic documentation as a means of conservation individual artworks and monuments, but also a tool for safeguarding the city of Orte and its territory. In this case it has been possible to reconstruct a series

[3] The Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione's Fund (Fondo MPI, ACS-Roma) preserves many documents that, in addition to the correspondence collected at ASDO, the Diocesan Historical Archive of Orte, reveal that the protagonists of Venturi's school were actively engaged in safeguarding Orte. This group was represented by figures such as Emilio Lavagnino (1898-1963), Carlo Ceschi (1904-1973), Bruno Molajoli (1905-1985), Guglielmo Matthiae (1909-1977) and Luisa Mortari (1909-2000). These are the figures who would bring Orte's museum to light fifty years later. The hope is to see a future study that will contextualize their work at Orte alongside congruous initiatives carried out in Lazio, from Gaeta to Rieti, in the same period.
Cf. Riccardi, Lorenzo. "Esposizioni e Restauri del Medioevo Laziale: Le icone e la pittura su Tavola," *Tavole Miracolose. Le icone medievali di Roma e del Lazio del Fondo Edifici di Culto*, (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2012): 11-16; Luisa Mortari, Ente Provinciale per il Turismo di Rieti, and Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio, *Mostra delle opere restaurate in Sabina dalle Soprintendenze ai monumenti ed alle Gallerie e il Lazio* (Rieti, 1966); Eliana Billi, "Luisa Mortari in Sabina: l'esperienza del funzionario sul Territorio," in *Luisa Mortari e la tutela in Molise: Atti delle giornate di Studio, Campobasso, Università degli Studi del Molise, 2018/05/24-25*, Elena Carrara and Alessio Monciatti, eds. (Roma: Edizioni Quasar, 2019): 71–83; Fiorenza Rangoni, "Orte. Museo Diocesano," *Bolletino d'arte. I Musei locali del Lazio.* Supplemento N. 30 (1985): 216.

of previously unknown events, as well as to understand how this small town has been the object of extraordinary and farsighted attention. [4]

3.1. Venturi's novel vision and its mutations (1900-1985)

In 1896, Vannuccio di Viva's 14th-century processional cross was transported from Orte to Orvieto as part of the *Congresso eucaristico ed esposizione di arte sacra antica in Orvieto* (held from 5-8 September of the same year). There is no news about local activity in support of this initiative, but a photograph (fig. 7a-b) taken by Giovanni Gargiolli, director of the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale,[5] still survives, as do news about expenses the State incurred to organize the exhibition and to insure and transport artworks.[6] In one of the document conserved at ASDO,[7] we read that Adolfo Venturi (1856-1941) deemed the liturgical object "*una delle migliori cose esposte*."[8] At the time, Venturi was an inspector at the *direzione generale dei Musei e delle Gallerie* who worked for decades on writing the famous, multi-volume work *Storia dell'arte italiana*, the first narrative dedicated creating a unified and national vision of Italian Art History (fig. 8).[9] The 1896 exhibition at Orvieto juxtaposed two apparently irreconcilable views: one dominated by a philological commitment and the other by devotional sentiments. The secular institutions' lack of attention to the religious aspect increased the distance between the intellectuals involved in the operation and the people who often lived in small

[4] During this research, it was possible to correspond with the three authors, and Max Hutzel's heirs, to deepen some aspects of his cultural biography and try to understand the genesis of *Foto Arte Minore.* This way is was possible to understand how the hundreds of photographs on Orte fit into his documentary operation in which photography was seen as a means to safeguard what is often deemed Italy's 'minor' heritage.

[5] Clemente Marsicola, ed., *Il Viaggio in Italia di Giovanni Gargiolli: Le origini del Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, 1895-1913* (Roma: ICCD, 2014); "Gargiolli, Giovanni," n.d., http://www.fotografia.iccd.beniculturali.it/inventari/scheda-fotografo/3; Benedetta Cestelli Guidi, "Adolfo Venturi e il Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale," in Università degli studi di Roma "La Sapienza," Museo laboratorio di arte contemporanea, e Ilaria Schiaffini, eds. *La Fototeca di Adolfo Venturi alla Sapienza*. Roma: Campisano Editore, 2018: 64-74.

[6] Elisa Camporeale, "The Birth of Sacred Art Exhibitions in Italy / La Nascita Delle Esposizioni Di Arte Sacra in Italia," in *Sacred Art and the Museum Exhibition / L'arte Sacra e La Mostra Museale*, ed. Maya Wellington Gahtan and Donatella Peggazzano, vol. III, Forum Sui Musei e La Religione (Florence: Lorenza de' Medici Press, 2018): 66.

[7] Giocondo Pasquinangeli, Appunti sulla visita del Prof. Adolfo Venturi ad Orte (1902/01/12), "Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

[8] In 1900, Adolfo Venturi left his role as an official for the MPI to dedicate himself to teaching History of Italian Art, a chair he had invented, as well as the role of official at the University of Rome. In the same years he began the colossal work, entitled *Storia dell'arte italiana,* like the newly created university chair, developed over forty years in collaboration with Hoepli Editore. The more than 20 tomes were in fact a search for identity roots through which to unite different cultures: a national history based on early Christian art (vol. I, 1901) with *terminus to* sixteenth-century architecture (vol. XI, 1941). See Giacomo Agosti, *La nascita della storia dell'arte in Italia: Adolfo Venturi, dal museo all'università, 1880-1940*, Biblioteca della rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa (Marsilio, 1996): 16-21.

[9] Venturi would later take up his first chair in art history. See Marco Cavenago, "Venturi, Adolfo," Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Volume 98 (2020), *Treccani.it*, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/adolfo-venturi_(Dizionario-Biografico), consulted 2021/11/11; Giacomo Agosti, *La nascita della storia dell'arte in Italia: Adolfo Venturi, dal museo all'università, 1880-1940*, Library of the Journal of History and Religious Literature (Marsilio, 1996): 16; Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*.

towns, an audience who tendentially perceived preservation and enhancement as a profanation of their traditions.[10] These generalized dynamics also emerged at Orte in the following decade, when activities promoted by the Ministry of Public Education were met by the firm opposition of local confraternities and the population (fig. 11a-b).

The events linked to Orte's history of safeguarding – surveys, cataloguing campaigns, restoration work, the drafting of a catalogue and the creation of a museum – were symptomatic of a young nation lacerated by problems that have, in part, remain unresolved till today. Discrepancies between protection and devotion characterized the project for a museum in Orte in the first quarter of the 20th century. This emerged in the plan, promoted by a prominent local citizen who foresaw the joint custody of archaeological artefacts and sacred art objects,[11] while the local museum was not actually founded until half a century later thanks to the fruitful cooperation between State and Ecclesiastical authorities.[12] While this moment of Italian conservation history often assumes heroic connotations, this local operation reflects contemporary political dynamics at a national level, met by local groups with both stubborn dissonances and remarkable cordiality. Overall, this story is sadly reminiscent of the one already told by Maria Ida Catalano in her research on similar ordeals faced at the island of Capri's Certosa: "*un quadro di possibilità apparentemente illimitato, ma in realtà sistematicamente destinato al fallimento.*"[13]

[10] Elisa Camporeale, "The Birth of Sacred Art Exhibitions in Italy / La Nascita delle Esposizioni di Arte Sacra in Italia," in *Sacred Art and the Museum Exhibition / L'arte Sacra e la mostra museale*, ed. Maya Wellington Gahtan and Donatella Peggazzano, vol. III, Forum on Museums and Religion (Florence: Lorenza de' Medici Press, 2018): 67.
[11] Not surprisingly, in 1912, in Viterbo was inaugurated the Civic Museum, medieval and modern collection consisting of objects from religious buildings closed to worship during the suppressions. In 1869 the museum was enriched by a catalog compiled by Cesare Pinzi, expanded by subsequent contributions of Corrado Ricci and Antonio Muñoz. *Cf.* Simona Rinaldi, "Restauro e tutela a Viterbo tra Ottocento e Novecento," *Biblioteca e società,* 2001, 1-2 (2001): 16. https://www.bibliotecaviterbo.it/biblioteca-e-societa/2001_1-2/Rinaldi.pdf.
[12] Giocondo Pasquinangeli, Letter to Didaco Garau, Commissario Prefettizio per il Comune di Orte (1923/01/06). "Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO. See Appendix G for this letter and other papers concerning the activities of Giocondo Pasquinangeli and the Archaeological Committee of Orte (1900-1925).
[13] Maria Ida Catalano, "'Le graminacee della burocrazia' sul terreno delle idee museali per la Certosa di Capri (1921-1936) / 'Le graminacee della burrocrazia' (The graminaceous plants of bureaucracy) on the ground of museum ideas for Certosa of Capri (1921-1936)," *Il Capitale Culturale. Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*, no. 14 (December 12, 2016): 132, https://doi.org/10.13138/2039-2362/1529.

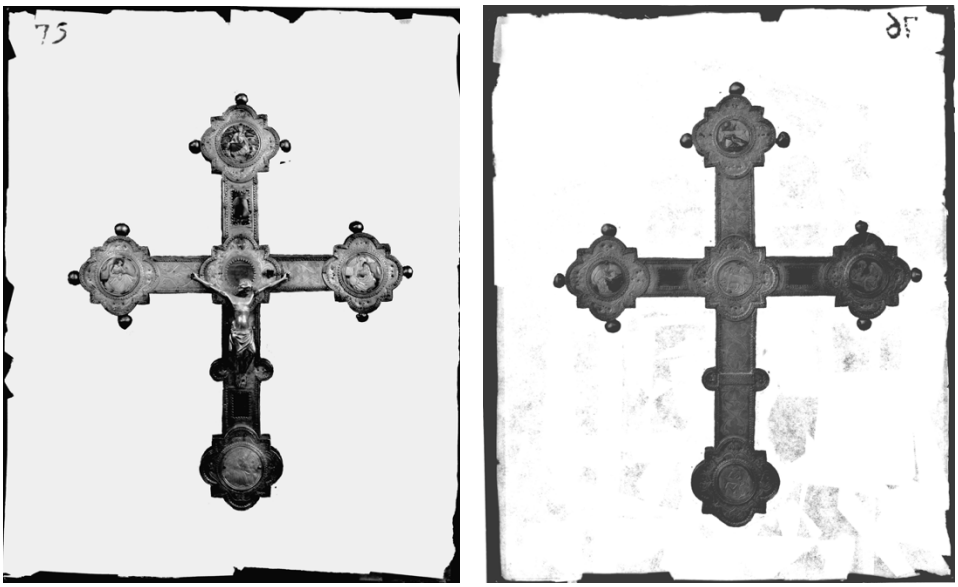


Fig. III-7a-b. Vannuccio di Viva, "Croce astile in lamina d'argento, verso e recto (Arti applicate)," 1352. Orte's Cathedral. Photo taken between 1876-1900 by Giovanni Gargiolli and preserved at the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Archivio MPI, n. MPI6062688 (Source: GFN)



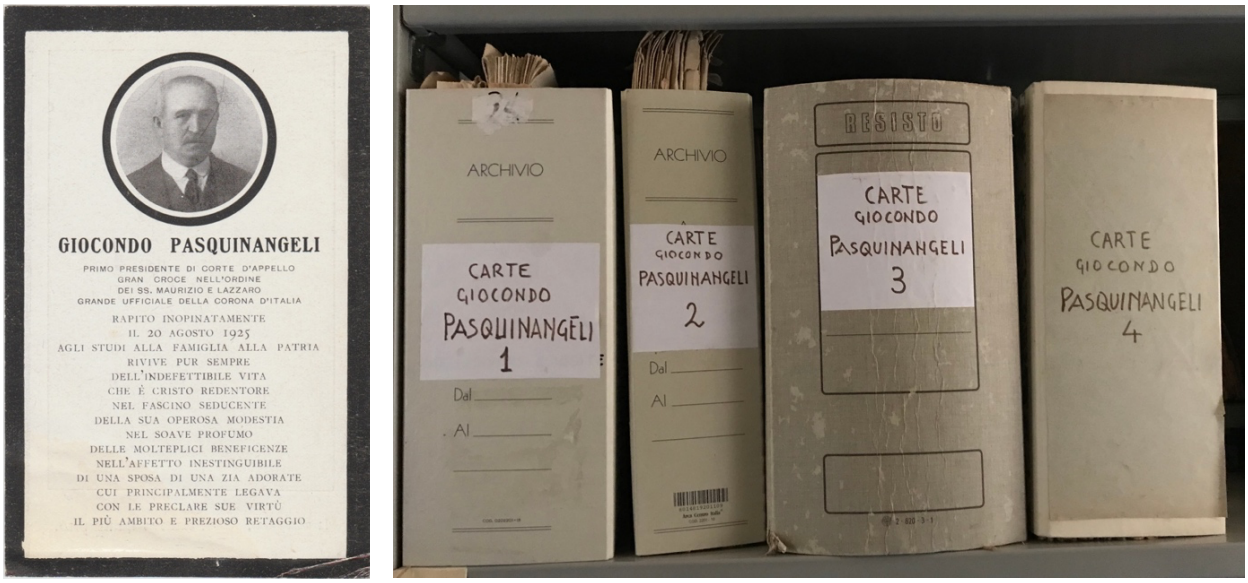
Fig. III-8. Cover of Storia dell'arte italiana, vol. I, by Adolfo Venturi.

3.1.1 Giocondo Pasquinangeli. A pioneer who championed the cause of a "real city museum"

Giocondo Pasquinangeli (Orte, 24 April 1855 - Rome, 20 August 1925) is a pillar of the history of safeguarding at Orte. As mentioned above, he took it upon himself to transcribe Leoncini's *La Fabrica ortana*, an essential text for anyone studying Orte's history (fig. 9). In addition to his paleographic activity, which conducted with the utmost philological rigor since 1898,[14] Pasquinangeli founded Orte's Archaeological Committee, leading to the creation of the *Deposito Archeologico*, the

[14] His remarkable productivity was dictated by his forced retirement, motivated by a serious kidney disease, which occurred at the height of his intellectual maturity. *Cf.* Novelli Viro, "Nel Trigesima della Morte di Giocondo Pasquinangeli," (1925/09/19): 5. Faldone "Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.
He then devoted himself to transcribing medieval and early modern documents, preserving archival evidence of material otherwise destined to disappear.

archeological storage area, in 1901 (nucleus of the former Civic Museum of Orte).[15] The small committee created the civic collection of antiquities as a result of territorial reconnaissance surveys which secured numerous findings. It also inventoried artistic assets preserved in local churches and those of adjacent municipalities, thus preventing further dispersion of an abandoned patrimony, which risked becoming prey to thieves and art dealers alike. Pasquinangeli, a bibliophile with limited artistic knowledge, but also dedicated himself primarily to the preservation of archaeological evidence and works of art with admirable legal astuteness. He drew on his legal training and his role in public office as a magistrate at the Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia and at the Gabinetto delle Finanze e dell'Istruzione e la Corte di Cassazione di Roma (of which he was eventually appointed president).[16] The small town could not have hoped for a better honorary Superintendent of Antiquities and Monuments, but Pasquinangeli remained perennially cautious about the outcome of his work.[17] Reflecting on the nation's *zeitgeist* and the future of his native city, he spent New Year's Eve between 1900 and 1901 writing, as he was custom to do: "*La rinnovata vitalità nazionale ha profuso intorno a noi e profonde tanti elementi e tanti germi di attività, che altrove sono desiderati ed inverati invano. Non vorranno, non sapranno gli ortani cooperare per la elevazione della loro sorte*?"[18]



(left) Fig. III-9. Funeral note with photograph of Giocondo Pasquinangeli, undated (Source: Abbondio Zuppante's private collection); (right) Fig. III-10. ASDO folders containing the papers of Giocondo Pasquinangeli.

[15] Giocondo Pasquinangeli, Letter to Didaco Garau, Prefectural Commissioner for the Municipality of Orte (1923/01/06), folder "Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.
[16] Abbondio Zuppante, "Pasquinangeli Giocondo," *Dizionario storico biografico della Tuscia* (blog), accessed 2021/05/20, http://www.gentedituscia.it/pasquinangeli-giacomo/.
[17] Zuppante, "Pasquinangeli Giocondo."
[18] It is useful to consider the educational purpose that the museum took on at the time "*Nella presenza del museo le comunità vedevano un aumento del decoro civico, un'eredità del proprio passato, un modo per partecipare alla costruzione di un 'identità nazionale', la capacità di attrarre altri lasciti o donazioni, una attrattiva maggiore net confronti dei viaggiatori. Il museo e la biblioteca, derivata anch'essa dalle librerie d conventi e, a volte, l'archivio, diventavano così tasselli di una visione più ampia de stinata ad accrescere e qualificare lo sviluppo cittadino*." Cfr. Cecilia Mazzi, *In viaggio con le muse. Spazi e modelli del museo*, Le Voci del Museo 10 (Firenze: Edifir, 2005): 168.

The discussion below will highlight the extraordinary, but hitherto unknown, initiative of Giocondo Pasquinangeli to create "*un vero e proprio museo cittadino*" at Orte, in line with criteria established by the leading experts of the time.[19] This reconstruction emerged from the perusal of Pasquinangeli's papers preserved at the ASDO (fig. 10). Archival research shows that safeguarding at this town took a rather different course from that of nearby cities who received attention from local notables like self-taught archaeologist Luigi Rossi Danielli who founded the archaeological nucleus of Viterbo's Civic Museum.[20] Orte, on the other hand, found itself involved in a discourse that intersected with the definition of a young nation and the newly born Italian kingdom's identity, a pursuit which was taking the form of a univocal and increasingly centralized narrative.[21] This aspect of Orte's micro-history fits into a historical framework typical of the late nineteenth century, a context the museologist Cecilia Mazzi describes as follows:

> *In linea di massima furono accolte le richieste provenienti dai municipi a difesa dell'integrità del proprio patrimonio senza che fosse possibile, da parte ministeriale, fare valutazioni di merito valide per dirimere le contese in base a ragioni di appartenenza a zone culturalmente omogenee. L'unico requisito chiesto era uno stanziamento minimo a favore del museo, ma senza far cenno ad altri elementi quali la scelta dei locali o del personale impiegato, né ad altri fattori concreti come la quantità e qualità delle opere, le esigenze di restauro, ordinamento e custodia. Le pesanti difficoltà finanziarie dei municipi, soprattutto di quelli minori, causarono ritardi all'istituzione dei musei che spesso rimase generosa e appassionata, ma astratta dichiarazione d'intenti*.[22]
>
> Generally speaking, the requests coming from the municipalities active in defending the integrity of their heritage were accepted. It was not, however, possible for the Ministry to evaluate disputes based the principle of belonging to common, culturally homogeneous areas. The only requirement requested was a minimum allocation for a museum, but without mentioning any other elements like the choice of the premises or personnel, nor concrete factors like the quantity and quality of the works, nor the conditions needed for their restoration, exposition, and storage. Municipalities, especially the smaller ones, faced serious financial difficulties which caused delays in the establishment of local museums, projects that were often imbued with generosity and passion, but commonly remained abstract declarations of intent. (trans. Author)

[19] For the origin of the term "Museo cittadino;" see note 12.
[20] Paolo Giannini, "Luigi Rossi Danielli: l'uomo e l'archeologo," *Biblioteca e società*, 2010: 1-2, 7-13. Accessed 2020/12/01, http://www.bibliotecaviterbo.it/biblioteca-e-societa/2010_1-2/cap4_giannini.pdf.
[21] *Cf.* Introduction to the politics of centralization in Mazzi, *In viaggio con le muse*: 168.
[22] Mazzi, *In viaggio con le muse*: 167.

Pasquinangeli's work in public administration, a key position to occupy when nation-building, led him to forge relationships with the leading figures of the time. As mentioned in the introductory note of this chapter, his meeting with the art historian Adolfo Venturi was of particular importance. On the 12 January 1902, travelling on the "*treno direttissimo*" from Rome to Orte, Pasquinangeli accompanied Venturi on one of the many reconnaissance missions undertaken in the earlier years of the art historian's endeavor to construct a national narrative about the peninsula's art history.[23] This episode demonstrates Venturi's willingness to include the small urban centers in his colossal project.[24] These surveys often aimed at sanctioning the inalienability of certain artworks, to prevent their sale on the national and international art market and to lay solid foundations for the cataloguing, conservation, and musealization of local artistic heritage:[25]

> […] *per mandato del Ministero dell'Interno, allo scopo di riferire intorno ad una domanda della Compagnia di S. Croce, si portò in Orte, ed io lo accompagnai.* […alla] *visita in treno direttissimo. Egli doveva riferire sulla domanda fatta dalla predetta compagnia di essere autorizzata a vendere un piccolo quadro della Madonna ed a consegnare al municipio a scopo di custodia le quattro tavole di S. Egidio*.[26]
>
> […] by mandate of the Ministry of the Interior, in order to report on a question of the *Compagnia di S. Croce*, he went to Orte, and I accompanied him [...on the] visit via the express train. He intended to report on the authorization request made by the aforesaid brotherhood to sell a small painting of the Madonna and to deliver the four panels of Sant'Egidio for safekeeping with the local municipality. (trans. Author)

Their visit was short, but they saw 25 works and met four priests and the Mayor of Orte during those four and a half hours. The accelerated pace is confirmed by the hasty quality of Pasquinangeli's handwriting; the expert calligrapher, on that occasion, could barely keep up with the great Venturi's comments and scribbled the last pages in a sprawling and hasty cursive. These notes make it possible to identify which works the art historian evaluated on his visit to Orte. These are listed below with the title as it appears in the document and with the place of origin added in parentheses:

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[23] Pasquinangeli was an ideal guide for this area, as both he and Venturi, in line with a generational conviction, believed that: "the identity of the works [...] presupposes a series of historical knowledge, which only the frequentation of ancient documents is able to guarantee." *Cf*. Giacomo Agosti, La *nascita della storia dell'arte in Italia: Adolfo Venturi, dal museo all'università, 1880-1940*, Biblioteca della rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa (Marsilio, 1996): 43.

[24] Venturi had the opportunity to know the provinces of Lazio as an official engaged in the cataloging of sacred furnishings in rural churches, as part of an attempt to create a national catalog in which to inventory the archival and artistic heritage, an initiative that saw the participation of Cavalcaselle since 1871. See Giacomo Agosti, *La nascita della storia dell'arte in Italia: Adolfo Venturi, dal museo all'università,* 1880-1940, Biblioteca della rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa (Venezia: Marsilio, 1996): 81-88.

[25] Mazzi, *In viaggio con le muse*: 166.

[26] Giocondo Pasquinangeli sulla visita del Prof. Adolfo Venturi ad Orte, 1902/01/12. Carte sciolte conservata presso fasc. "Carte Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

1. *la Madonna* (Chiesa di Sant'Agostino)[27]
2. *le quattro tavole di S. Egidio* (Chiesa di Sant'Agostino)[28]
3. *Crocifisso di legno* (Chiesa di Sant'Agostino)[29]
4. *Madonna del Rosario* (Chiesa di Sant'Agostino)[30]
5. *Madonna Addolorata* (Chiesa di Sant'Agostino)[31]
6. *Madonna col Salvatore* (Chiesa dei Raccomandati)[32]
7. *Salvatore* (Chiesa dei Raccomandati)[33]
8. *il campanile di San Silvestro*[34]
9. *i residui di pittura nella camera del curato* (next to the former church of San Silvestro)[35]
10. *le strisce marmoree* (inside San Silvestro)[36]
11. *la Madonna della Pietà* (inside San Silvestro)[37]
12. *i due prospetti ad arco con fiori d'acanto* (Magazzino archeologico)[38]
13. *il quadro di S. Francesco* (Chiesa di S. Francesco)[39]
14. *la Madonna delle Misericordia* (nessuna provenienza indicata)[40]

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[27] Each item listed will be accompanied by Adolfo Venturi's comments as recorded by Giocondo Pasquinangeli. In this case, Venturi reviews: "*La Madonna, nel cui quadro, lo sfondo dorato, raffigurante stoffa del tempo (broccato) gli parve lavoro del 400, eseguito forse de un artista viterbese. […];" "e che la Madonna è della Scuola del Perugino splendente di colori col fondo a broccato di oro (*) – che conservazione ora è difficile e che è sconsigliabile l'alienazione di questi lavori*."
The object of this inspection is most likely to be identified with The Madonna and Child by Antonio del Massaro, known as Pastura, an artist active at Orvieto's cathedral building site and in the Borgia apartment alongside Pinturicchio (Mortari, *Museo Diocesano*: 22-23). The provenance of the panel goes back to the Archconfraternity of Santa Croce, and the text dates the painting to the 15th century, while the panel dates to about 1490. The gold background ("broccato") and Umbrian attribution support this hypothesis.
[28] "*Le tavole gli parvero il lavoro di un discepolo di Benozzo Gozzoli. Forse le dipinse Matteo di Gualdo, che lavorò anche ad Orvieto. La scuola di Benozzo rivelassi anche dai cherubini rossi.;" "hanno il pregio di non essere state mai ritoccate. Furono dipinte ad Orte? Lo crede possibile, ove si concede che in esse tavole vi sono confratri vestiti col sacco come costumano portare i fratelli di S. Croce.;" "– Venturi dopo la visita a Orte ha risposto brevemente al Ministero che le 4 tavole sono della Scuola di Benozzo Gozzoli assai pregevoli*."
[29]The object in question could be the Crucifix from the Spoleto school of Bernardino Campilio, late 15th or early 16th centuries.
[30] "*Io gli disse che il Leoncini lo attribuisce ad un giovane pittore ortano. Gli parve lavoro di uno scuolare di Sebastiano del Piombo. Così si […] ebbe col Leoncini che dice vissuto quel Pittore nella prima metà del Secolo 16°; io gli parlai anche degli altri quadri attribuiti al detto pittore e gli promisi che gli avrei poi portato gli estratti del Leoncini*.;" "*Egli poi mi disse che anche di questo pittore la storia poteva occuparsi; occupandosi d'artisti anche di minor pregio*.;" the work in question can be identified as Giorgio da Orte's *La Madonna del Rosario* (ante 1571).
[31] "*e gli parve una buona copia del Dolce* [Dolci]"
[32] "*parvero di scuola umbra del 400 (460?). Il quadro dovette essere ivi trasportato da altro posto. La pittura che sta alla parte inferiore nulla a che vedere colla pittura del quadro. Fra questa pittura inferiore ed il quadro vi sta un pezzo di tavola dipinta che rappresenta un candelabro, il quale evidentemente era ai fianchi del quadro […]. Stimò trattarsi di pittura notevole*."
[33] "*e gli piacque molto, e molto. Trovò aver esso un pregio superiore ai quadri precedentemente veduti. La Pittura è Scuola Umbra, porta l'anno (1497?) ed è notevole il globo che porta in mano il Salvatore (vi sono notate le parte del mondo – pure l'America?);"* the painting in question is Piermatteo d'Amelia, *Redentore*, 1491.
Answering his question, no. The painted globe only depicts Asia, Europe e Africa.
[34] "*gli parve opera bella da attribuire agli anni fra il 1100 e 1150. Così l'opera della* chiesa…"
[35]The room was destroyed during the restoration work carried out by Arch. Francesco Sanguinetti (discussed in the following subchapter); "[…] *ma nulla da essi si ricavò*."
[36] "*che sono al suolo con mosaici, ed il mosaico sotto l'altare maggiore*."
[37] "*gli sembrò un lavoro ex-voto non fine, ma non disprezzabile*"
[38] "*gli parvero lavoro del 1100. Forse furono due pezzi di amboni*"
[39] "*probabilmente fece parte di un trittico o di altro lavoro campato*.;" the work in question is the *Dossale di San Francesco*, seventh decade of the 13th century.
[40] "*disse non potrebbe essere dello stesso autore della Madonna del Rosario Certi volti sono della scuola di Sebastiano del Piombo. E' pittura ritoccata e di non grande pregio*."

15. *il sarcofaco di Sant'Anajo* (nessuna provenienza indicata)[41]
16. *i due bassorilievi e le due statuette con nicchia* (nessuna provenienza indicata)[42]
17. *il volto Santo* (nessuna provenienza indicata)[43]
18. *la Madonna di Piazza di Trojo* (L'Episcopio)[44]
19. *la Madonna della Pietà* (nell'interno dell'appartamento dell'Episcopio)[45]
20. *la Madonna dell'Assunta* (Cattedrale)[46]
21. *la Madonna dell'Annunciata* (non specificato, presumibilmente la Cattedrale)[47]
22. *la grande croce d'argento* (non specificato, presumibilmente la Cattedrale)[48]
23. "*le tavolette a mostra del soffitto*" (Casa dell'ospedale)[49]
24. *la casa del Poggio* (*in situ*)[50]
25. *la Madonna in mosaico alle Monache* (presumably the Monastero di Sant'Antonio)[51]

In 1903 the Archaeological Committee declared its intention to create "*un vero e proprio Museo cittadino.*" This initiative involved lay people, as well as state, municipal and religious authorities, a variety of actors implicitly involved in the first request to transport and keep some artworks at the Cathedral, pending more suitable accommodation. It reads as follows:

> *In seguito ad iniziativa del Comitato archeologico ed artistico ortano S. E. Mons. Vescovo Giacomo Alessandro Ghezzi riconobbe la convenienza che vari quadri ed oggetti di pregio, esistenti senza sufficiente custodia in varie Chiese e luoghi dipendenti, siano possibilmente riuniti e collocati a titolo di deposito e per una migliore conservazione nella Chiesa Cattedrale di Orte, rimanendo inalterata la proprietà presso i rispettivi aventi diritto e salvo a provvedere poi per una definitiva sistemazione nei modi dovuti*. [52]

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[41] "*è probabilmente del III Secolo forse fu una urna preparata per […] e poi adibiti per lo scopo sacro, cambiandovi il coperchio che reca palme emblema del martirio. Mentre l'urna non lo disse ecc. – simbolo di Bacco – ma ciò disse parlando accademicamente, senza interesse*."
According to Abbondio Zuppante, the sarcophagus is located in the last right bay of the Church of San Francesco.
[42] "*gli parve lavoro contemporaneo, dal 1480 al 1500. (Ciò fu supponendo effettivamente appartener al vecchio altare dell'Assunta fatto fare nella vecchia cattedrale del Roberteschi) – Li stimò lavori di pregio ma non di raro pregio*."
[43] "*non potrebbe esser lavoro del Pittore Ortano*?"
[44] "*Per l'episcopio passando la mattina vide la Madonna di Piazza di Trojo – gli parve lavoro di qualche di pregio che dice* […]."
[45] "*Nell'interno dell'appartamento vide la Madonna della Pietà – è una copia ma di pregio*"
[46] "*Si scese poi alla Cattedrale – la Madonna dell'Assunta è ritoccata. Il lavoro originale deve esser del 300. Forse il nome del pittore e l'anno 1420 che vi è scritto sotto vi fu apposto da un ritoccatore –;"* reference to Taddeo di Bartolo, *Madonna advocata* detta *Madonna assunta*, 1420.
[47] "*La piacevole Madonna dell'Annunciata – che reca la data 1500 li piacque molto e molto – Disse che il prezzo offerto da qualcuno di lire 10 milla è molto inferiore del valore reale – È Scuola Umbra, più fine, delicata, bella, di vero pregio. Il quadro non è ritoccato e dice si può dire come quando uscì dalle mani del pittore. Ecco perché ha elevato prezzo. Avere un lavoro così originale e conservato non è cosa facile*."
[48] "*Il prof. Venturi volle poi rivedere la grande croce d'argento che aveva già veduto ad Orvieto dove apparve una delle migliori cose esposte*"
[49] "*Andò poi a vedere le tavolette a mostra del soffitto alla casa dell'ospedale – Non è cosa comune. Il lavoro dovrebbe essere veduto bene (si guardò alla sfuggita – che sono una camera nuziale?*;" "*Probabilmente quelli ornamenti ripetuti e […] sono uno stemma*"
[50] "*gli piacque e gli parve notevole – Non sembra poter trattarsi di opera romana*"
[51] "*– Quando lo prevenni mi disse:* […] *che forse trattasi d'un pezzo della cappella dell'oratorio di Giovanni 7° al Vaticano. Ed infatti tale era – Così con tale* […] *di tanto pregio fu* […]. *I residui di quest'oratorio fu sparso in molti luoghi. Il De Rossi ne scrisse ma ignorava che un pezzo importante ne fosse pure in Orte –* "
[52] *Cf.* Copia estratta dal *Libro delle Adunanze Capitolari,* Adunanza (1903/12/07), "Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4" ASDO.

> Following the initiative of Orte's *Comitato archeologico ed artistico*, His Excellency Bishop Giacomo Alessandro Ghezzi recognized the convenience that various valuable paintings and objects, do not have sufficient protection in various churches and their adjacent spaces and may possibly be reunited and placed in storage for better preservation in the Cathedral Church of Orte, their ownership would remain unaltered for the respective and rightful claimants and await a definitive and proper accommodation in the due. (trans. Author)

In fact, the 3 November 1906 decree of the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione sanctioned[53] the transport of "*quattro tavole attribuite alla scuola giottesca raffiguranti la vita e miracoli del nostro Protettore S. Egidio Abate, nonché una Imagine di Maria SSma*" from the church of St. Augustine to the Cathedral Chapter.[54] It was decided to carry out the transport on 30 August 1907, the eve of the feast of St. Egidio, the city's patron saint: a day of symbolic importance for the brotherhood that had commissioned the four panels that make up the *Custodia di Sant'Egidio* in the 15th century. While the Archaeological Committee aspired to offer the work a dignified and safe location, the request to hand over the artifact was unfortunately interpreted as an affront on behalf of both lay citizens and clerics, who blatantly refused to respect the order (fig. 11a-b). Don Pericle Novelli, Canon of the Cathedral and member of the Archaeological Committee, wrote a sorrowful note to Pasquinangeli recounting the unfortunate event:

> *Il 30 Agosto era tutto pronto per porre al Duomo le tavole del Protettore e alle dieci del mattino eravamo nella Cattedrale insieme al Com.re Manni, D. Zeffirino per la regolare consegna. Veturio non venne rifiutandosi di trasportare i dipinti, perché non fu intesa la Congregazione Generale opponendosi agli ordini del Ministero.*
> *Io penso che la miglior cosa sarebbe di far venire qui persona del Ministero con mandato assoluto.*
> *Aggiungo che il Sig. Manni è del parere del Ralli Veturio.*
>
> On August 30 everything was ready to place the panels of the Patron Saint in the Cathedral and at ten o'clock in the morning we were in the Cathedral together with Com.re Manni, D. Zeffirino for the regular delivery. Veturio did not come, refusing to transport the paintings, because the General Congregation did not agree with the Ministry and opposed its orders.
> I think it would be best to have someone from the Ministry come in person bearing an absolute mandate.
> I would add that Mr. Manni is of the opinion of Ralli Veturio.

[53] *Cf*. Pagina 6, (1906/12/20) "Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.
[54] *Cf.* Copia Estratta dal "Libro delle Adunanze Capitolari" (1907/01/03) "Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

Despite the initial misunderstanding, four months after the clash, the paintings were eventually transferred to the Cathedral, leading to a series of restorations over the course of the next twenty years: preparations for the anticipated local museum.

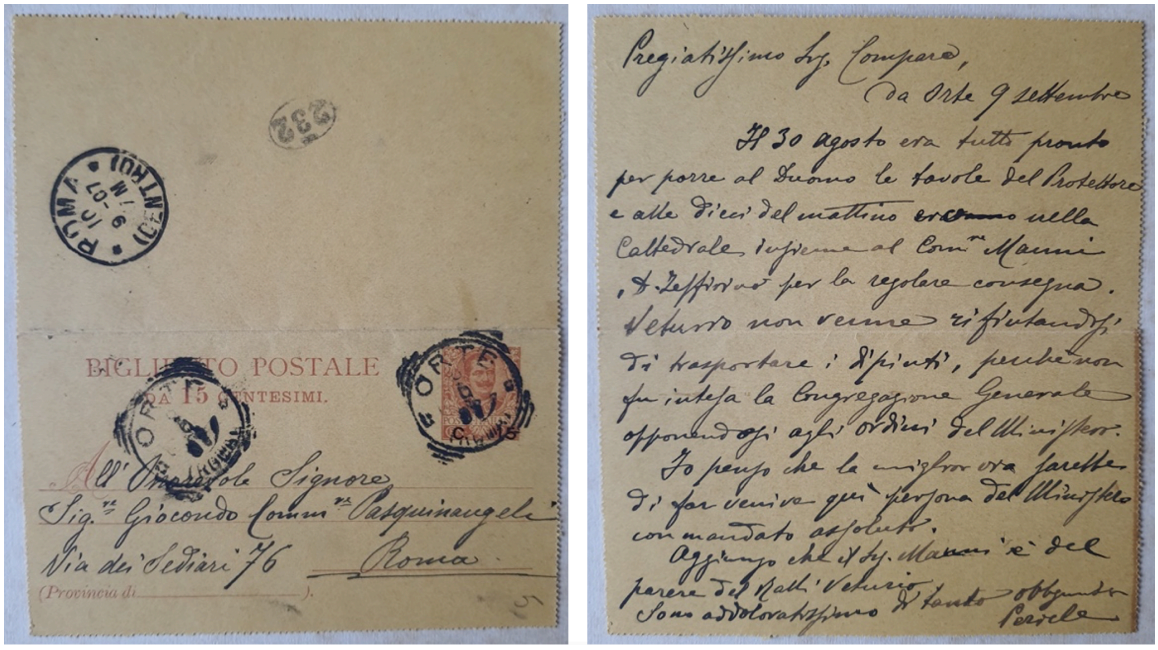


Fig. III-11a-b. Post card from Pericle [Novelli Canonico?] to Giocondo Pasquinangeli reporting news about the General Congregation's opposition to orders from the Ministry of Education, 1907/09/09, front and retro (Source: Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4, ASDO).

First attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli,[55] and then to the Giotto school,[56] the four panels of the *Sant'Egidio Polyptych* immediately attracted the attention of Tito Venturini Papari. The well-known restorer, who had worked on pieces by Raphael and Caravaggio,[57] was a collaborator of Federico Hermanin (a pupil of Adolfo Venturi and a government inspector for Orte)[58] and ultimately conducted

[55] Giocondo Pasquinangeli, Appunti sulla visita del Prof. Adolfo Venturi ad Orte (1902/01/12), "Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.
[56] Copia estratta dal "Libro delle Adunanze Capitolari" (1907/01/03), "Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.
[57] *Cf.* Tito Venturini Papari, "Per l'arte della conservazione delle antiche pitture" (Roma: Stab. tipo-litografico del Genio Civile 1905); —, "Relazione sui restauri agli affreschi del Correggio nel Duomo di Parma," *Bollettino d'arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* 11.1917/ *Cronaca delle belle arti* (1917): 9-10; —, *Sulla questione della dipintura della testa di Theodotus primicerio di S. Maria Antiqua* (Roma: Stab. Tipo-litografico del Genio Civile, 1907); Miriam Merlonghi, "Tito Venturini Papari," Archivio Storico Nazionale dei Restauratori Italiani - Banca Dati, Data ultima modifica: 2006/09, https://www.archiviostoricorestauratori.it/restauratori/detail?url=https://www.archiviostoricorestauratori.it/api/restauratori/78.json; Gabriella Prisco, "Tecnica esecutiva e conservazione delle pitture murali di epoca romana: il dibattito tra fine '800 e prima metà del '900," Bollettino ICR / Istituto Superiore per la Conservazione ed il Restauro, NS 27 (2013): 50-69, 76; Stefania Ventra, "Tito Venturini Papari," in *Restauri di Dipinti nel Novecento. Le Posizioni nell'Accademia di San Luca (1931-1958)* (Roma: Sapienza Università, 2014): 114–15, https://www.editricesapienza.it/sites/default/files/5116_Ventra_Restauri_Dipinti_900.pdf.
[58] Adunanza Capitolare (1917/04/21) "Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

four restorations on precious works from Orte. This marks another instance in which the town was the object of attention of some of greatest exponents of Italian art history. With the aim of creating a local museum, starting with the accurate restoration of works such as:

1. *Custodia di Sant'Egidio* con *Storie della vita di Sant'Egidio e membri della confraternita dei disciplinati oranti (retro), Sant'Agostino e Sant'Egidio (verso)* (Orte, Chiesa di Sant'Agostino), in 1907,[59] executed by Tito Venturini Papari[60]
2. *Madonna con il Bambino* detta *Madonna delle Grazie*, (Orte, Sacresty of the Ospedale di Santa Croce) in 1909, executed by F. Cochetti
3. *Sant'Andrea apostolo* e *San Vittore* (Vallerano, Chiesa di Sant'Andrea Apostolo), di Gabriele di Francesco da Viterbo, in 1917, executed by P. De Prai[61]
4. *Madonna con il Bambino in trono incoronato da due angeli* (Vallerano, Chiesa di Sant'Andrea Apostolo), in 1917, executed by P. De Prai[62]
5. Redentore benedicente (Civita Castellana, Cattedrale di Santa Maria Maggiore) in 1918, eseguito da un restauratore rimasto finora non identificato[63]
6. *Madonna dei Raccomandati* (Orte, chiesa di Santa Maria dei Raccomandati), in 1926, executed by Tito Venturini Papari [64]
7. *Dossale di San Francesco* (Orte, chiesa di San Francesco)*, ante* 1927, executed by Tito Venturini Papari [65]
8. *Madonna advocata* (*Madonna assunta*) di Taddeo di Bartoli (Orte, Cattedrale di Santa Maria Assunta) *ante* 1927, executed by Tito Venturini Papari.[66]

In May 1910, under the supervision of the Archaeological Committee, restoration work began on certain paintings in the Cathedral. In the same period, however, the local artistic patrimony faced new challenges and threats: the closure of the Chiesa dei Raccomandati, a structure that shared its premises with one of Orte's oldest hospitals.[67] Pasquinangeli, in dialogue with the bishop, transcribed the decree of 12 May 1916, in which the Cathedral's painting collection was enriched with four other "*quadri di pregio*" while formally recognizing the value of Vannuccio da Viva's cross.[68] It is the last safeguarding operation reported in the Archives, efforts that, in all probability, were interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War.

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[59] Salvatore Enrico Anselmi e Lorenzo Principi, *Il Museo d'Arte Sacra di Orte* (Orte, 2013): 29.
[60] Venturini Papari later restored numerous paintings in the Viterbo picture gallery between 1929 and1931. *Cf.* Simona Rinaldi, "Restauro e tutela a Viterbo tra Ottocento e Novecento," *Biblioteca e società,* 2001, 1-2 (2001): 22-23. https://www.bibliotecaviterbo.it/biblioteca-e-societa/2001_1-2/Rinaldi.pdf.
[61] Anselmi e Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 23.
[62] Anselmi e Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 24.
[63] Anselmi e Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 18.
[64] Anselmi e Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 39.
[65] Anselmi e Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 14.
[66] Anselmi e Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 20.
[67] Comitato Archeologico Ortano, Delibera inviata al Vescovo, al Capitolo della Cattedrale, al Municipio (1910/05/09), "Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.
[68] "*1° che il quadro del SSmo Salvatore* […], *2° che il quadro di S. Sebastiano* […], *3° che i due quadri artistici, di scuola umbra, rappresentanti l'Annunciazione e la Maternità* […]." Cfr. Copia estratta dal "Libro delle Adunanze Capitolari," Adunanze (1916/09/21), "Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

The final chapter in the activity of Giocondo Pasquinangeli's Committee began on the feast of the Epiphany in 1923. The scholar, increasingly weakened by chronic health problems, saw a glimmer of hope for the creation of "*un vero e proprio museo cittadino*" at the premises of the former Monastery of Sant'Antonio (figs. 12-13). The building was located near Palazzo Nuzzi and had fallen into disuse since the Benedictine nuns who once lived there moved into a building owned by Signora Ninetta Ralli in 1922.[69] Pasquinangeli approached the municipal authority with the following request:

> *V.S. Illma conosce altresì che tale Magazzino Archeologico – che è Municipale – fu istituito ad iniziativa, che risale al 1901, del Comitato Archeologico Ortano, per depositarci, ma soltanto in via provvisoria, il detto materiale, col finale intento di giungere alla formazione di un vero e proprio Museo cittadino in sede più comunale e degna, ciò che è pure nei voti della parte più eletta dalla cittadinanza ortana, caldeggiati a più riprese da distinti cultori dell'Archeologia e delle Belle Arti, che venuti in Orte, per conto della Direzione Generale delle Antichità e delle Belle Arti, il nostro Magazzino ebbero occasione di visitare e di apprezzare.*
>
> *Il Comitato Archeologico Ortano – che curò sempre, ed a proprie spese, la conservazione e l'incremento del Magazzino Archeologico – mai cessò dal ventilare progetti e lanciare proposte al fine di trovare e di preparare una sede per l'erigendo Museo. Ma se pel passato, purtroppo ogni tentativo rimase sterile; parve ad esso Comitato esser finalmente giunto il momento, propizio al vagheggiato scopo, or anche V.S. Illma sta occupandosi delle destinazioni da darsi ai vari locali dell'ex-Monastero di S. Antonio. Si pensò che fra questi locali non sarebbe difficile trovare una sede adatta per il desiderato Museo.* [70]
>
> Your Excellency also knows that this Archaeological Storehouse - which belongs to the Municipality - was established on the initiative dating back to 1901 of Orte's Archaeological Committee, to deposit, only provisionally, the said material, with the ultimate aim of creating a real city/ citizen museum in a more public and worthy location. This requests the will of the majority of the Orte's cultured citizens, advocated on several occasions by distinguished scholars of Archaeology and Fine Arts, who came to Orte, on behalf of the Direzione Generale delle Antichità e delle Belle Arti, had the opportunity to visit and appreciate our storehouse.
>
> Orte's Archaeological Committee - which has always taken care, and at its own expense, of the preservation and growth of the Archaeological Storehouse - never ceased to recommend projects and launch proposals in order to find and prepare a proper place in which to build the Museum. But if in the past, every attempt has unfortunately remained sterile; the Committee believes that this moment has finally arrived, favourably disposed to the long-dreamt goal, now as Your Excellency is sorting the intended uses of the various premises at the ex-Monastery of Sant'Antonio. It has come to

[69] Delfo Gioacchini, *Curiosità Ortane* (Orte, 1961): 5; Giuseppini, Master's thesis 2020-2021: 24-27.
[70] "Orte 6 Gennaio 1923 Illmo Sig. Cav. Uff. Didaco Garau," Commissario Prefettizio per il Comune di Orte (1923/01/06), ASDO.

> mind it would not be difficult to find a suitable location for the desired Museum in part of these premises.

The scholar even attached a floorplan (fig. 14), specifying the extent of the renovation work and the number of workers needed to complete the operation.



Fig. III-12. Photographs of the courtyard of the former Monastery of Sant'Anthony, a site foreseen for Orte's museum. The complex was heavily damaged in the Second World War. The ex-Cinema Alberini was erected in its place (Source: Gioacchini, 1961: 5-6); Fig. III-13. Photograph of the cloister of Sant'Antonio (Municipality of Orte, former site of Palazzo Nuzzi) (left)

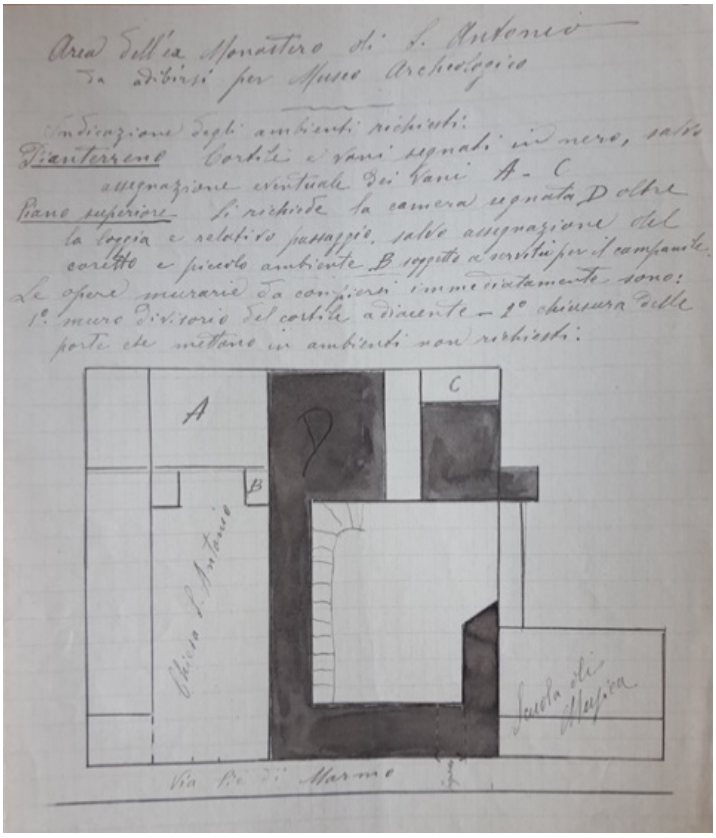


Fig. III-14. Giocondo Pasquinangeli, Floorplan of the spaces of the former Monastery of Sant'Antonio to be converted into the Orte's "Archaeological Museum," 1923. (Source: Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4, ASDO).

Good news arrived on 12 February in a message signed by the municipal secretary G. Argentati, communicating a resolution sanctioned by the town council:

> *a) di concedere al Comitato archeologico Ortano e per esso al suo Presidente Avv. Comm. Giocondo Pasquinangeli i locali dell'ex Monastero di S. Antonio Abate sopra descritti, per istituirvi la sede del Museo Civico, salvo per la parte adiacente alla relativa Chiesa, per la quale è necessario il consenso del Vescovo sino a quando non sia si ottenuta la sconsacrazione della medesima;*
> *b) di accordare l'aiuto morale e materiale del Comune mercé la cessione dei materiali disponibili per la mutatura, la cooperazione dei propri operai nei lavori di sistemazione e la concessione di un concorso pecuniario, che finna in Lire cinquecento per una sola volta da prelevarsi dall'art. 114 del Preventivo 1923, destinate alle ricerche archeologiche, facendo obbligo all'Amministrazione Comunale di rifonderle nel venturo esercizio riproducendo lo stanziamento quale sussidio accordato, per lo scopo, dal Ministero*.[71]
>
> a) to concede to the *Comitato archeologico Ortano* and on its behalf to its President Avv. Comm. Giocondo Pasquinangeli the premises of the ex-Monastery of Sant'Antonio Abate described above, in order to establish there the headquarters of the Civic Museum, except for the part adjacent to the relative Church, for which the Bishop's consent is necessary until this space is deconsecrates;
> b) to grant the Municipality's moral and material aid through the cession of the materials available for this transformation, the cooperation of its own workers in the renovation and the concession of a pecuniary contribution, for the one-time sum of five hundred lire to be taken from art. 114 of the Estimate 1923, destined for archaeological research, obliging the Municipal Administration to reimburse them in the coming financial year by reproducing the allocation as a subsidy granted by the Ministry for this very purpose.

Due to circumstances that remain unclear, however, none of the plans for the archaeological museum were realized.[72] Four weeks before his death in 1925, Pasquinangeli wrote to "My dear Gisella," his wife Gisella Klumm (Pratovecchio, 1873 - Orte, 1964), to share his last wishes, specifying the means by which he would like her to return various borrowed books and manuscripts, but above all expressing his untiring desire to create the *Museo di Antichità* (a concept repeated three times in the text).[73] He foresaw the sale of 40 hectares of land in order to fund the three initiatives: the creation of the Museum, the construction of a new "*chiesa nella Borgata della stazione di Orte*" and "*alla sistemazione dei quadri di pregio nella Chiesa Cattedrale di Orte*".[74]

[71] G. Argentati, Segretario comunale, "N. 11 0 Museo Archeologico" (1923/02/12), "Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.
[72] Il commissario Prefettizio, "Assegnazione al Comitato Archeologico Ortano i locali del Comune" (1923/02/21), "Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.
[73] Giocondo Pasquinangeli, Letter to Gisella Klumm (1925/07/10), "Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.
[74] Pasquinangeli, Lettera a Gisella.

During his eulogy, in the autumn of 1925,[75] the Ortani remembered Pasquinangeli as an "upright citizen"[76] and that "equal to his love of religion, was his love of country." [77] But his commitment to safeguarding local heritage was only partially understood, so much so that he was generically remembered as an "intelligent numismatist, collector and connoisseur of antiquities, he had the admiration of many illustrious men."[78]

Despite Pasquinangeli's unsuccessful attempt to create a museum in Orte during his lifetime, his "generous and passionate [...] declaration of intent," recalling Cecilia Mazzi's comments cited above, had a concrete impact on preserving Orte's heritage. Half a century later, in fact, many of the works that were the object of his curatorship flowed into the Diocesan Museum, created under the direction of the art historian Luisa Mortari (discussed in the following paragraph).[79] The *Magazzino Archeologico* and artworks preserved in Orte's Cathedral successfully avoided further dispersion and in June 1928 a cataloguing campaign was begun and Orte was officially inserted into Italy's National Catalogue. This documentation is currently preserved at the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione and, in part, at the ASDO (fig. 15). This enterprise deserves further study to understand its relationship with an unpublished series of documentary photographs preserved at the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut and made accessible in digital format on their *Arachne* platform (figs. 16-17). The sixteen photographs could provide an idea of the content of the much-desired archaeological museum (which remains housed in precarious conditions). The nucleus of sacred art identified by Pasquinangeli and the Archaeological Committee, however, remained housed in the cathedral for half a century, providing the basis for a second season of protection that led to the creation of the present Museum of Sacred Art of Orte, a structure planned that the the Cathedral Chapter had already to create at the former Church of San Silvestro in 1933.[80]

[75] Novelli Viro, "Nel Trigesima della Morte di Giocondo Pasquinangeli," (1925/09/19), 6. Folder "Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.
[76] Viro, "Nel Trigesima della Morte di Giocondo Pasquinangeli."
[77] Viro, "Nel Trigesima della Morte di Giocondo Pasquinangeli."
[78] Goffredo Zaccherini, "Elogio funebre del Commendatore Giocondo Pasquinangeli," Basilica Cattedrale di Orte, 1925/09/25, 5. Conservato nel faldone "Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.
[79] Mazzi, *In viaggio con le muse*: 167.
[80] This news is reported by Vera Anelli who cites a document found in the 1946 file "Chiesa di S. Silveestro di Orte" preserved at the Archives Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali e Architettonici del Lazio. It was not possible to find it during the course of this research. *Cf*. Vera Anelli, "Il Museo Diocesano di Orte: Un Museo territoriale," Tesi della Scuola di Specializzazione in Tutela e Valorizzazione dei Beni Storico-artistici, a.a. 2000-2001, Relatore: Dott.ssa Maria Cecilia Mazzi, correlatore: Dott. Mario Micheli: 6, nota 7.

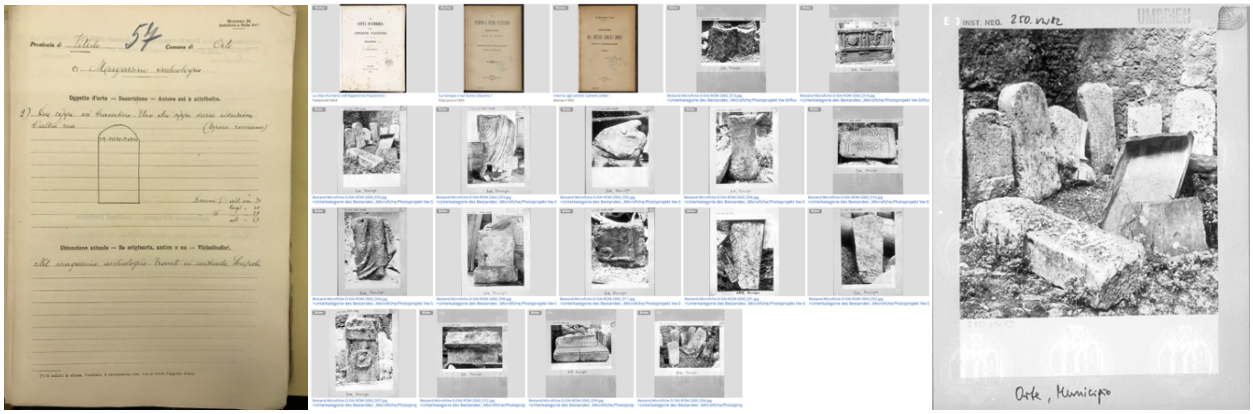


Fig. III-15. A card dated 1928/06/08 describing "Due cippi di travertino" found at Seripola, signed "S. Melograni" (ICCD and ASDO); Fig. III-16. Photographic documentation (undated) that could correspond to some contents of the Archeological Storehouse, curated by the Archeological Committee chaired by Pasquinangeli (Source: ASDO and "Arachne," https://arachne.dainst.org/search?q=), Fig. III-17. Photographic documentation (undated) that may correspond to some of the contents of the Deposito Archeologico, curated by the Committee chaired by Pasquinangeli (Source: "Arachne." Detail of a photo from the DAI collection).

3.1.2. The Superintendencies' commitment to creating Orte's Diocesan Museum

Following the 1933 concession to create a local museum in 1933, there is a gap in the documentary evidence regarding the protection of Orte's historical, artistic, and archaeological heritage, that stretches until 1952. This gap is only partially filled, at least for the 1930's and 1940's, by an online portal entitled *O R T E,* founded by a local amateur named Vladimiro Marcocci.[81] It is a miscellany of noteworthy sources whose credibility is undermined by nostalgic rhetoric and the labile criteria according to which the material is organized: the unfortunate fate of many testimonies 20th-century history in this area.

Marcocci collection does, however, allow us to find useful information regarding the Second World War. Because of the city's strategic position, a theme explored in the previous chapter, Orte was the

[81] Mr. Marcocci recently passed away. The site https://digilander.libero.it/pariscarla/ is currently managed by "pariscarla," an anonymous figure who claims to be from Orte.
The webpage also cites a collection of postcards dating back to at least the beginning of the 20th century. Fortunately, in October 2021, the Ente Ottava Medievale acquired a collection of unpublished postcards that would deserve a closer examination as regards both the iconographic content and the evolution of the image of Orte.
Considering the dispersion of this material, antique postcards would be particularly suitable for crowd sourcing activities such as the one carried out in the context of the European project Digital Research Infrastructure for the Arts and Humanities in Cyprus. Under the local direction of Marinos Ioannides, Professor of Geoinformatics at the Cyprus University of Technology, DARIAH has overseen the digitization of a digital archive dedicated to the documentation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage in twelve European countries. At the EuroMed 2020 conference, which was attended during the course of this research, researchers described scan-a-thons held in public squares in which cultural heritage experts interfaced with citizens to digitize family photographs and other material following state-of-the-art criteria. In this way, an iconographic fund dedicated to an autochthonous narrative of Cypriot history was co-created, forming a concrete alternative to the one handed down by British colonial sources.

object of 60 allied bombings, including the well-documented bombings of the 320th Brigade of the US Army Air Corps in 1943-44 (fig. 18). Ironically, the war devastation allowed Orte to access considerable funding and to become part of an exemplary museological operation. [82]

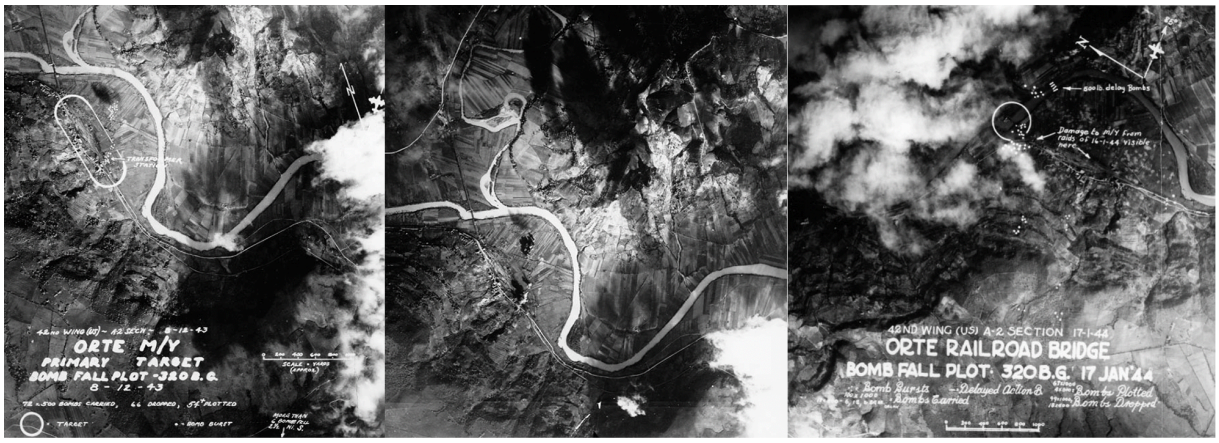


Fig. III-18. "Marshalling yard" and "Orte Railroad Bridge," selection of aerial photographs, taken by the US Army Air Corps on 1943/12/08 and 1944/12/17. (Source: http://320thbg.org/strike_photo_pages/strike_108.htm)

After the Second World War, the town quickly drew on the funds allocated for war damage.[83] In less than five months from its deposition, a request for £ 3.500.000 was allocated for "*i lavori di restauro e di adattamento a Museo Diocesano, dell'ex Chiesa di San Silvestro di Orte*". The idea of establishing a Museum in Orte re-emerged after nearly twenty years in the writings of Emilio Lavagnino (1898-1963),[84] a pupil of Adolfo Venturi and Pietro Toesca. Lavagnino was a key figure in art rescue operations during the Second World War who assumed the role of Superintendent of the Gallerie e alle Opere d'Arte Medioevali e Moderne in 1952.[85] His commitment to preserving Orte

[82] Abbondio Zuppante and Giulio Nasetti, in "Orte-Roma, dal Tevere alla strada ferrata," *Le strade del Lazio*, Armando Ravagliol, ed. (Rome: Newton Compton Editore, 1994): 383-384.
[83] *Cf.* MPI documents dating back to 1954-56 such as, for example, Prot. 7147 (1945/10/11) and Prot. 112 (1955/01/10), preserved in the MPI-Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti (Viterbo), Div. II. 1945-1955, file 88 coll. 5-7, id. 2620 and 16/10/2/8 1953-1959, C.ID. 2628 BN 381 and BN 382, ACS-Rome.
See Appendix H for a selection of papers devoted to the preservation of Orte's cultural heritage and its musealization (1952-1967), ACS-Roma and ASDO.
[84] *Cf.* De Angelis, Direzione Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti al Soprintendente alle Gallerie e al Soprintendente ai Monumenti, Prot. N. 5225 Div. III^ (1953/07/06). Faldone "Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione, Provincia di Viterbo," conservato presso l'ASC-Roma.
The first document in which Lavagnino proposed the idea of the Museum in Orte dates back to 1952/12/05, but the initiative was accepted only the following year. For a transcription of this letter, *cf.* Francesco Sanguinetti, Planimetrie e prospetti dell'ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro, Orte (1953/05/30), Faldone "Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione, Provincia di Viterbo", preserved at ACS-Roma.
[85] Lavagnino Emilio, "Quanto salveremo del patrimonio artistico?," *La Nuova Europa*, II, 3 (1945/01/21): 10; Emilio Lavagnino, "Restauro. Il restauro dei monumenti danneggiati dalla guerra," *Enciclopedia italiana 1938-1948. Appendice II,* vol. II, Roma Istituto dell'enciclopedia italiana, 1949; Lavagnino Emilio, "Il Tempio malatestiano e il suo restauro," *La Piè*, XIX, 1950; Emilio Lavagnino, *Diario di un salvataggio artistico*, in *Nuova Antologia*, CIX (1974), 521:509-547; Raffaella Morselli, *Fuori della guerra: Emilio Lavagnina e la salvaguardia delle opere d'arte nel Lazio,* Milano 2010;

most likely took root in the spring of 1944 during inspections he carried out as second class central inspector,[86] surveys during which he was able to observe and describe war-time devastation in the territory.[87] Celebrated for his "adventurous courage" – in the words of Andrea Emiliani – he demonstrated during the numerous, even heroic operations to save Italian art during WWII, Lavagnino continued to investigate the historical and artistic events in the *Viterbese* area, demonstrating an extraordinary commitment to places traditionally deemed as marginal.[88] On 17 February 1953, therefore, he wrote to the Ministry of Public Instruction (MPI) to initiate the creation of the Diocesan Museum in Orte in order to put the local collections on the map:

> *si richiama l'attenzione di codesto Ministero sull'importanza artistica della ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro in Orte, pregevolissimo edificio romanico, oggi sconsacrato, abbandonato e pertanto soggetto a eventuali, già prospettate, manomissioni o demolizioni.*
>
> *D'altro canto da parte di questa Soprintendenza è particolarmente sentita la necessità di istituire in Orte un piccolo Museo Diocesano, dove raccogliere e valorizzare alcuni pregevoli dipinti e oggetti d'arte, provenienti da varie sedi delle Diocesi, oggi provvisoriamente custoditi parte nella Cattedrale e parte in Vescovado, onde evitarne continui spostamenti di sede e, alla fine, probabili dispersioni.*
>
> *A tale scopo, con l'appoggio del Vescovo di Orte molto favorevole all'iniziativa, sì è pensato a raccogliere tale materiale artistico nella ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro, la quale, opportunamente restaurata, si presterebbe molto bene a divenire sede di un piccolo ma interessantissimo Museo Diocesano, dove potrebbe venir disposto anche il cospicuo materiale archeologico attualmente abbandonato nella sede del Comune.*
>
> *Si verrebbe in tal modo a raggiungere il duplice scopo di salvare da preoccupante decadimento un importante monumento medievale e di costituire una interessante raccolta di opere d'arte locali in una cittadina che per ricchezza di monumenti e bellezze di natura merita di essere convenientemente valorizzata*.[89]

Emilio Lavagnino, Amadeo Bellini, e Enzo Bentivoglio, *Offese di Guerra e Restauri al Patrimonio Artistico dell'Italia*, Collana di Edizioni Anastatica 10 (Ginevra Bentivoglio Editoria, 2019).

[86] Paola Nicita Misiani, "Lavagnino, Emilio," Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, consulted 2021/05/09, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/emilio-lavagnino_(Dictionary-Biographical).

[87] About the inspection he made in Orte on 03/19/25, Lavagnino writes: "Siamo quindi andati a Orte. È impossibile immaginare per chi non l'abbia vista cosa sia la zona della stazione di Orte e tutta la parte bassa del paese. I bombardamenti alleati hanno sconvolto e scardinato ogni cosa. I binari che affiorano dal terreno, che sembra abbia ribollito come lava, s'intrecciano come serpi. Non c'è un palo, non un muro, non un pezzo di staccionata ancora a posto. Inutile dire degli edifici. La strada è rappezzata alla meglio, tra un buco di granata e l'altro c'è una specie di tratturo che segue ad un dipresso il tracciato dell'antica strada. A Orte è stato messo al sicuro in certi ambienti sottostanti il Palazzo Vescovile. Ma Orte paese credo si salverà dalla distruzione perché è fuori dalle strade maestre e perfettamente isolato. Non avendo trovato nulla da mangiare ad Orte siamo costretti a ripartire a Magliano proprio verso mezzogiorno, nell'ora classica dei bombardamenti, per fortuna il cielo è nuvolo…" Cfr. "Relazione di Emilio Lavagnino al soprintendente alle Gallerie del Lazio," *Offese di Guerra*, 2019: 178.

[88] Andrea Emiliani, "Pasquale Rotondi ed Emilio Lavagnino. La difesa del patrimonio artistico italiano tra il 1940 e il 1945," in Raffaella Morselli, ed. *Fuori della guerra: Emilio Lavagnina e la salvaguardia delle opere d'arte nel Lazio,* (Milano: Mondadori, 2010): 31-33.

[89] *Cf.* Appendice H.

> [With this letter, I would like] to call the Ministry of Culture's attention to the artistic importance of the former church of San Silvestro in Orte, a valuable Romanesque building which is now deconsecrated, abandoned and therefore subject to possible tampering or demolition.
>
> On the other hand, on t this Superintendence feels a particular need to establish a small Diocesan Museum at Orte, a place to collect and enhance valuable paintings and artworks coming from various locations in the Diocese, and now temporarily preserved at the Cathedral and partly in the Bishopric, in order to avoid continuous relocations and, in the end, likely dispersions.
>
> To this reason, with the support of Orte's Bishop who is very favorable to the initiative, there is an intent to gather this artistic material in the ex-Church of San Silvestro, which, opportunely restored, it would lend itself well as a small but interesting Diocesan Museum, where it could also provide access to the conspicuous archaeological material currently abandoned at the Municipality building.
>
> This would make it possible to achieve the double objection of saving an important medieval monument from troublesome decay and of creating an interesting collection of local art in a town that deserves to be suitably enhanced in light of the wealth of its monuments and natural beauty. (trans. Author)

The text sets out a series of premises for the creation of a museum in Orte, in the same period during which the Ministry of Public Education was actively promoting courses in museography and training those who would carry out such operations.[90] The project was motivated by an awareness of the high risk of tampering, demolition, displacement, dispersion and abandonment that threatened ecclesiastical heritage in the post-war period. The Superintendent acknowledged the considerable value concealed in the "valuable paintings and art objects" and "the conspicuous archaeological material:" the fruits of Pasquinangeli and the Archeological Committee's territorial reconnaissance at the beginning of the century. In general, the letters exchanged over the next 15 years demonstrated the intent to find a common solution for both the artistic and archaeological heritage.[91] For this reason, since its very conception, the project involved a plurality of institutions – Soprintendenza alle Gallerie ed alle Opere d'Arte Medioevali e Moderne per il Lazio; Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione; Diocesi di Civita Castellana, Orte, e Gallese; Comune di Orte; and even the Soprintendenza dell'Etruria Meridionale – working in unison to realize a state-of-the-art museum at Orte.

[90] Mazzi, *In viaggio con le muse*: 168.

[91] See Appendix H: letters of 1953/02/04, 1953/03/06, 1953/06/22, 1956/01/31, and 1961 from Giorgio Maria Fanti (no date), Cap. VII, Regolamento del 1967, as well as other documents preserved at the ACS-Rome which are not transcribed here.
In 1985, as reported in the "Indagine sui musei locali del Lazio e sulla loro utilizzazione," there is news of an archaeological exhibition housed in the Diocesan Museum. It included finds from contemporary excavations in the locality known as the Piane and was inaugurated in 1981 to remain open at least until 1983 (the end of the project mentioned above).

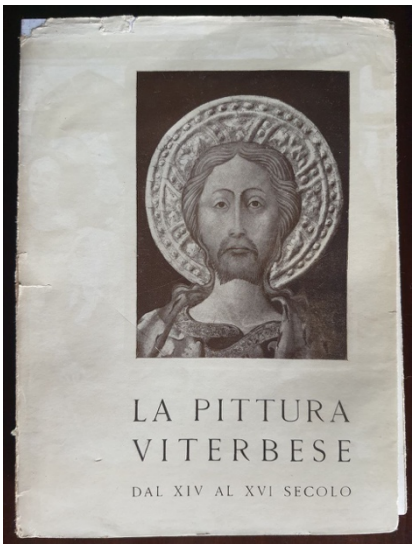


Fig. III-19. Catalogue of the 1954 exhibition La pittura viterbese.

Lavagnino's interest in Orte's artistic heritage was specifically tied to research carried out in preparation for the exhibition *La pittura viterbese dal XIV al XVI secolo*, held in September-October 1954 at Viterbo's Museo Civico (fig. 19). In the early 1950's, the Viterbo area was synonymous with innovation in the field of art conservation, principally by virtue of the pivotal restoration conducted by Cesare Brandi – member of the exhibition's Committee of Honor – on Lorenzo da Viterbo's fresco cycle at the Mazzatosta Chapel.[92] The work, begun only a few months after the city was bombed in March 1944, Brandi's team pieced 20,000, "miraculously recovered" fragments back together, citing Lavagnino own words,[93] combining philological rigor and archaeological method while perfecting the *tratteggio* technique.[94] At the time the monumental complex of Santa Maria della Verità was closed to worship and entirely dedicated to the Civic Museum of Viterbo, now reduced in size to occupy the former convent of the structure.[95] It was immediately clear that the desire to extend the restoration work to other works belonging to the museum collection, such as, for example, *La Pietà* by Sebastiano del Piombo.[96] Lavagnino opened the exhibition catalogue by declaring his intention:

> [La Soprintendenza] *infatti, proseguendo nella sistematica revisione e restauro del ricco materiale artistico del territorio, un lavoro già iniziato dopo i disastri della guerra sotto la direzione dapprima del compianto Soprintendente Aldo de Rinaldis e quindi del professore Achille Bertini Calosso, ha, negli ultimi due anni, quando la direzione dell'ufficio veniva assunta da chi scrive queste note in vista appunto della imminente riapertura del Museo Civico Viterbese - intensificato il proprio lavoro. Ed i risultati sono apparsi tali che si è ritenuto giusto ed utile portarli a diretta conoscenza del più vasto pubblico degli studiosi e di quanti hanno interesse per le cose dell'arte.* [97]
>
> [The Superintendence] in fact, continuing the systematic review and restoration of the territory's rich artistic material, work already begun after

[92] *La pittura viterbese dal XIV al XVI secolo*. Catalogo della mostra Museo Civico di Viterbo, settembre-ottobre 1954 (Viterbo: Agnesotti, 1954): 4.
[93] Emilio Lavagnino, nota introduttiva, *La Pittura Viterbese Dal XIV al XVI secolo*. Catalogo della mostra Museo Civico di Viterbo, settembre-ottobre 1954 (Viterbo: Agnesotti, 1954): 8.; Cesare Brandi, "Mostra dei frammenti ricostituiti di Lorenzo da Viterbo," in *In Situ. La Tuscia 1946-1979: Restauri, Interventi, Ricordi*, Paolo Antinucci, ed. (Viterbo: Sette città, 1996): 57.
[94] Cesare Brandi, "Mostra dei frammenti ricostituiti di Lorenzo Da Viterbo," in *In Situ. La Tuscia 1946-1979*: 56.
N.B. The frescoes were included in the second volume of *Storia dell'Arte italiana* (1913) by Adolfo Venturi.
[95] Personal communication between Pastor Don Elio and the author in April 2019.
[96] Cesare Brandi, "Il restauro della *Pietà* di Sebastiano del Piombo," in *In Situ. La Tuscia 1946-1979*: 67-86.
[97] Emilio Lavagnino, nota introduttiva, *La Pittura Viterbese Dal XIV al XVI secolo*.

> the calamities of war, initially under the direction of the late Superintendent Aldo de Rinaldis and later that of Professor Achille Bertini Calosso, who intensified its work over the last two years, when the direction of the office was taken over by the writer of these notes in the prospect of the imminent reopening of Viterbo's Civic Museum. The results have appeared such that it was considered right and useful to bring this knowledge to the wider public of scholars and to those interested in art and related matters. (trans. Author)

The idea of a museum dedicated to Orte's patrimony, therefore, was part of a refined and broader vision which saw exhibitions and museums as the fruit of the "the systematic review and restoration of the territory's rich artistic material" for the benefit of "to those interested in art and related matters" both in the major cities and 'minor' towns in outlying provinces.

Despite its title, the exhibition *La pittura viterbese dal XIV al XVI secolo* also dedicated ample space to medieval painting and goldsmithing in the Viterbo area, aspects overseen by the art historian and government official Luisa Mortari who, like Lavignino, was a pioneer who stood out for her vision of a preserving art in its original context. She was flanked by Italo Faldi, a colleague and future professor of History of Modern Art at Tuscia University, who focused on 14th century painting for this exhibition.[98] Amongst the 84 works illustrated in the catalogue's plates, we find five of Orte's 12th-16th century panel paintings, as well as the processional cross exhibited at Orvieto in 1896: all works coming from Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta and attributable to Giocondo Pasquinangeli's safeguarding efforts. [99]

In order to realize Orte's "museo cittadino," the first obstacle to overcome was the transformation of the ex-church San Silvestro into a museum. The operation was complicated by the need to consolidate the Romanesque structure and to restore basic decor to a building that had been abandoned since the 19th century.[100] Carlo Ceschi (1904-1973), a pupil of Venturi and Toesca, Superintendent of Lazio Monuments from 1952 to 1964 and holder of the chair of Restoration of Monuments at Rome's Faculty of Architecture, emerges as the dominant figure from the operations' dense correspondence and detailed reports.[101] Some of the requests, related to the preparation of the restoration site, are signed by Guglielmo Matthiae, medieval art historian (who was trained by Pietro Toesca, but was

[98] Benedetta Montevecchi, "Luisa Mortari e Le 'Arti Minori,'" in *Luisa Mortari e la tutela in Molise*: 35, 37-38; Riccardi, Lorenzo. "Esposizioni e restauri del medioevo laziale: Le icone e la pittura su tavola," *Tavole Miracolose. Le icone medievali di Roma e del Lazio del Fondo Edifici di Culto* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2012): 32, https://www.academia.edu/2146076/Esposizioni_e_restauri_del_Medioevo_laziale_le_icone_e_la_pittura_su_tavola.
[99] *La pittura viterbese dal XIV al XVI secolo*. Catalogo della mostra Museo Civico di Viterbo, settembre-ottobre 1954 (Viterbo: Agnesotti, 1954): 97-99.
[100] Delfo Gioccachino, *Curiosità ortane* (Orte: 1961): 62-64.
[101] Giorgio Rosi, "Necrologio: Carlo Ceschi," *Bolletino d'Art*, V Serie, fascicolo IV (October-December 1973): 254.

strongly influenced by archaeological methods) and future Superintendent in L'Aquila and Rome, a key figure in the following sub-section of the present chapter. [102]

It is also worth noting the direct interest of the Honorable Giulio Andreotti, a politician of *Laziale* origin, then Minister of Finance, who demonstrated great interest in restoring ecclesiastical property in the *Viterbese* area. In fact, in 1957, Andreotti further allocated £5,600,000 for "the restoration work on the Diocesan Museum of Sacred Art in Orte" which began in April of that same year.[103] The language used by the architect who oversaw this restoration work is very clear in the project's intent to rediscover the "authentic" *facies of* Orte as a "*vecchia città di origine etrusca*," suggesting a desire to "unmask" a pre-Roman past, free from the heroic and classical grandeur promoted by the pre-war regime.[104]

Since 1953, the direction of the works on the San Silvestro site was delegated to the official Francesco Sanguinetti (cited above), an architect active in the Viterbo area in the 1950s and 1960s, as testified by the MPI's archived correspondence (fig. 20).[105] A preliminary perusal of the fond leaves the impression of an architect who enjoyed a monopoly on the restoration of the area's Romanesque bell towers, having worked at Orte, Civita Castellana, Ronciglione, Tarquinia and other *Viterbese* centers. Disinterested in the intrinsic value of architectural palimpsests, he applied the principle of *restitutio in pristinum* in an exemplary manner with his intervention on the complex of San Silvestro,[106] intervening on the monument with the irreversible ardor of a pseudo-archaeological excavation.[107] The event recalled the dynamics highlighted by so much research, effectively summarized on a methodological level by the Catalan art historian Xavier Barral i Altet in his authoritative volume *Contro l'arte romanica?: Saggio su un passato reinventato*:

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[102] Guglielmo Matthiae, Lettera indirizzata al Sindaco di Orte e e.p.c. al Vescovo di Orte, Prot. N. 4639, Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio, 1955/01/23. Conservato nel fasc. "Museo Diocesano 1," ASDO.

[103] Giulio Andreotti, Lettera al Roberto Massimiliani, Vescovo di Civita Castellana, Orte e Gallese, Ministero delle Finanze, 1957/04/15. Conservato nel fasc. "Museo Diocesano 1," presso l'ASDO; Giulio Andreotti, Lettera al Guglielmo De Angelis d'Ossat, Direttore Generale delle Antichità e delle Belle Arti, MPI, 23 aprile 1959, Conservata presso faldone MPI-Viterbo, 16/10/2/8 1953-1959, C.ID. 2628 BN 381 e BN 382, ACS-Roma.

[104] Francesco Sanguinetti, "La ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro a Orte e il suo Campanile," *Bollettino d'arte* IV Serie, no. Fascicolo I-II (gennaio-giugno) (1961): 159.

[105] "Planimetrie e prospetti. Restauro: Adattamento in Museo dell'ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro." Perizia n. 595, Comune di Orte, Provincia di Viterbo, 1953/05/30. Direttore dei lavori: Dr. Arch. F. Sanguinetti, Disegnatore: C. Berardi (dal rilievo del 1953/04/30). Cfr. Francesco Sanguinetti, lettera al Vescovo di Orte, 1957/04/16, Conservato nel fasc. "Museo Diocesano 1," ASDO.

[106] This stance was rooted in the thinking of Viollet-Le-Duc and Gustavo Giovannoni, an avid reader of Venturi and friend of Carlo Ceschi. In the MPI correspondence, dedicated to the restorations in the province of Viterbo, we find the signature of Enrico Gui, another figure to be considered in this reflection. At the present stage of research, it has not been possible to investigate these connections, but *cf.* Alessandro Curuni, "Gustavo Giovannoni" in Stella Casiello (ed.), *La cultura del restauro. Teorie e fondatori* (Venice: Marsilio, 1996): 272.

[107] Sanguinetti, "La Ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro a Orte:" 159.

> *Entrando in un edificio romanico è opportuno oggi chiedersi cosa vi resti di originale, in modo da distinguerlo da quel che è l'opera degli architetti dell'età moderna, in particolare dal momento in cui il gusto per il Medioevo—e soprattutto l'idea dell'arte romanica—si è imposto, nel corso del XIX secolo, come elemento costitutivo di una nazione, di un passato collettivo*.[108]
>
> When entering a Romanesque building today, it is appropriate to ask oneself what remains of the original structure, so as to distinguish it from the work of modern architects, especially since the taste for the Middle Ages – and above all the idea of Romanesque art – has imposed itself, in the course of the 19th century, as a constitutive element of a nation, of a collective past. (trans. Author)

Appealing to a fictional sense of philology, architects like Sanguinetti stripped the buildings, isolating privileged architectural elements to reveal "the elegant and original layout,"[109] presenting bare and completely modern volumes in their new naked essence.[110] In spite of the irrecoverable damage caused by the restoration work, graphic documentation produced in 1956 (figs. 21-26), which has so far remained unpublished, visual evidence of the pre-existing structures has been preserved. These images could help deepen questions about the original function of the complex raised in the last chapter regarding the 12th century bronze bell as evidence of a religious refoundation of an 11th century secular meeting space.

In addition to the drawings, numerous photographs of various phases of the restoration have emerged thanks to archival research carried out on funds at the ACS-Rome, ICCD and Getty Research Institute photographic collections (figs. 21-26, 57-58). Currently, this documentation opens up new possibilities to investigate ideological biases justified in the name of philology, revealing discrepancies between sources on which the anastylosis of the medieval complex was based. To what historical period do the sloping traces visible above the late 17th-century doorway (exceptionally left *in situ*) date back? Had the façade been deliberately placed in dialogue with the medieval portico of the Cathedral of Civita Castellana? Who decided to replace a pre-existing rectangular window with a neo-Romanesque rose window in 1956 plan? On what basis was this choice abandoned in favor of 'inventing' three lancet windows (also called *polifore*) in the façade? In light of his 1957 article entitled "Basiliche paleocristiane con ingresso a polifora," what influence would Matthiae have had

[108] Xavier Barral i Altet, *Contro l'arte Romanica?: Saggio su un Passato Reinventato*. Roberto Cassanelli, ed. (Milano: Jaca Book, 2009): 10.
[109] Sanguinetti, "La Ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro a Orte:" 159.
[110] Barral i Altet, *Contro l'arte Romanica?*: 9.

on this choice?[111] Was it a historical fake or a rare, provincial example of a phenomenon more often seen in ancient churches in Rome? These questions, like many others, still await answers.

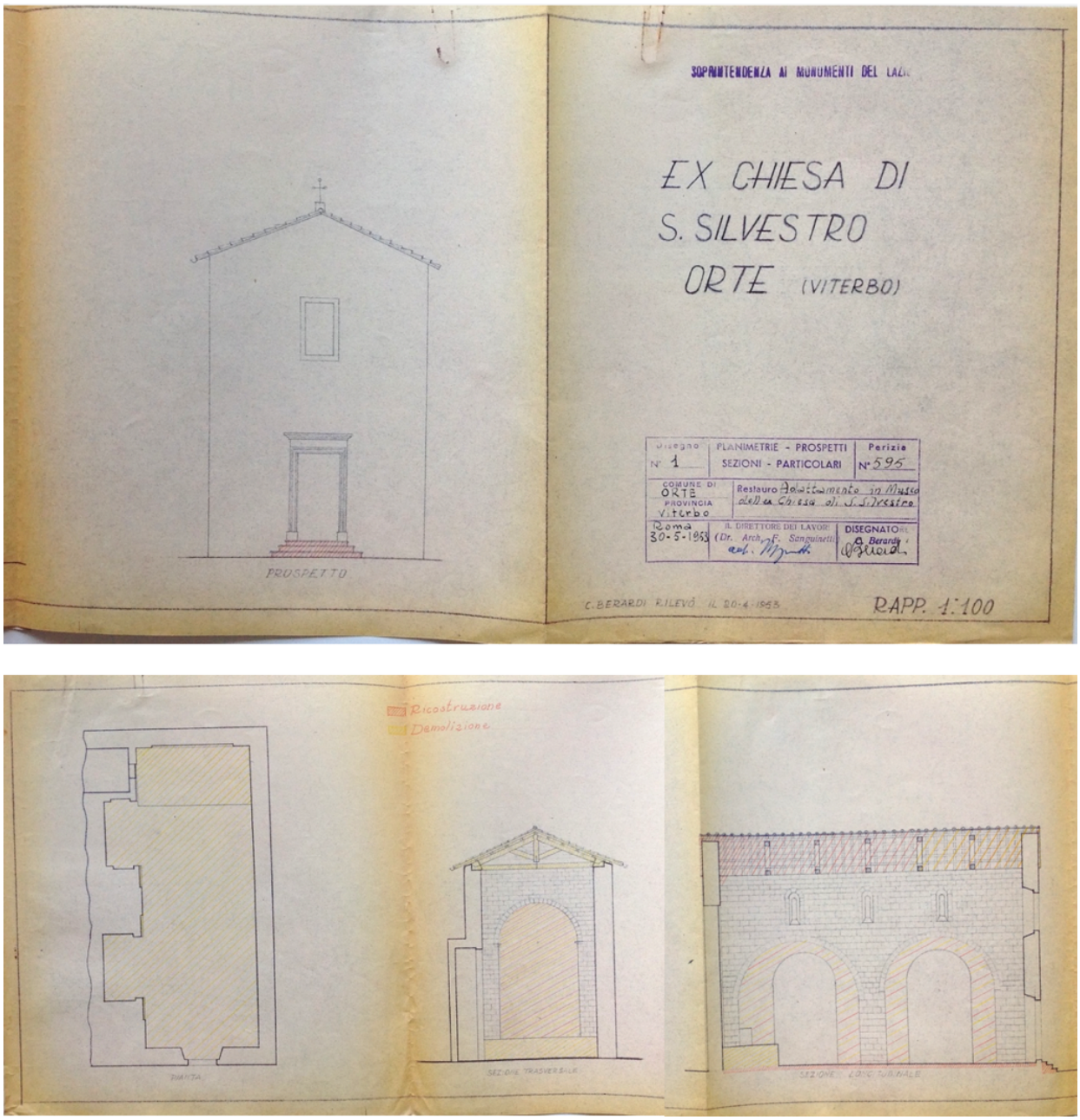


Fig. III-20. Initial survey of 1953 with no reference to the adjacent bell tower. Preserved in the file "MPI, Province of Viterbo," at ACS-Rome. See Appendix H.

[111] Guglielmo Matthiae, "Basiliche paleocristiane con ingresso a polifora," *Bolletino d'arte*, Fasc. II (aprile-giugno - XLII) 1957: 107-121.

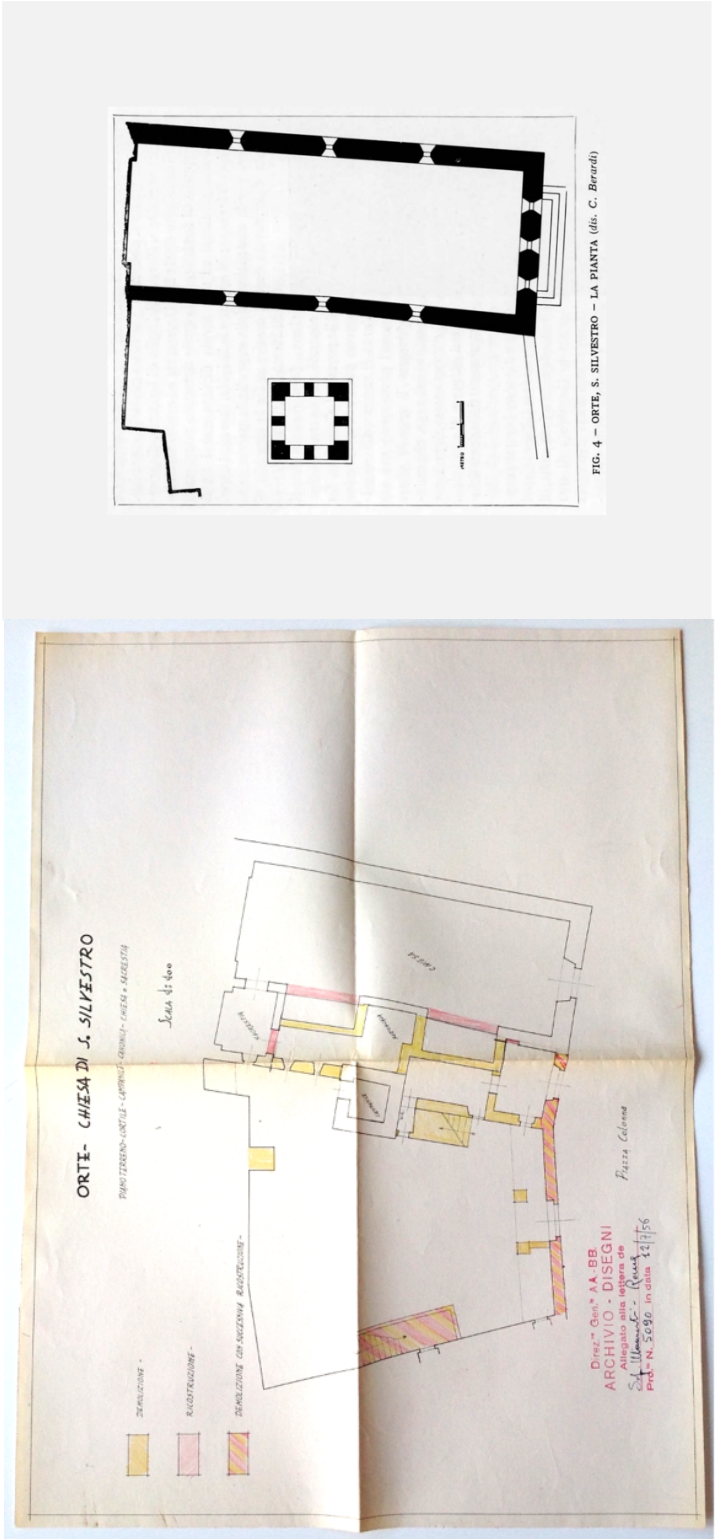


Fig. III-21. Planimetry of 1956 with reference to the adjacent bell tower. Preserved in the file "MPI, Province of Viterbo," at the ACS-Rome. Cf. Appendix H; Figures III-22. Plan of the complex after restoration, drawn by C. Berardi (Source: Sanguinetti, Bollettino d'arte, 1961.

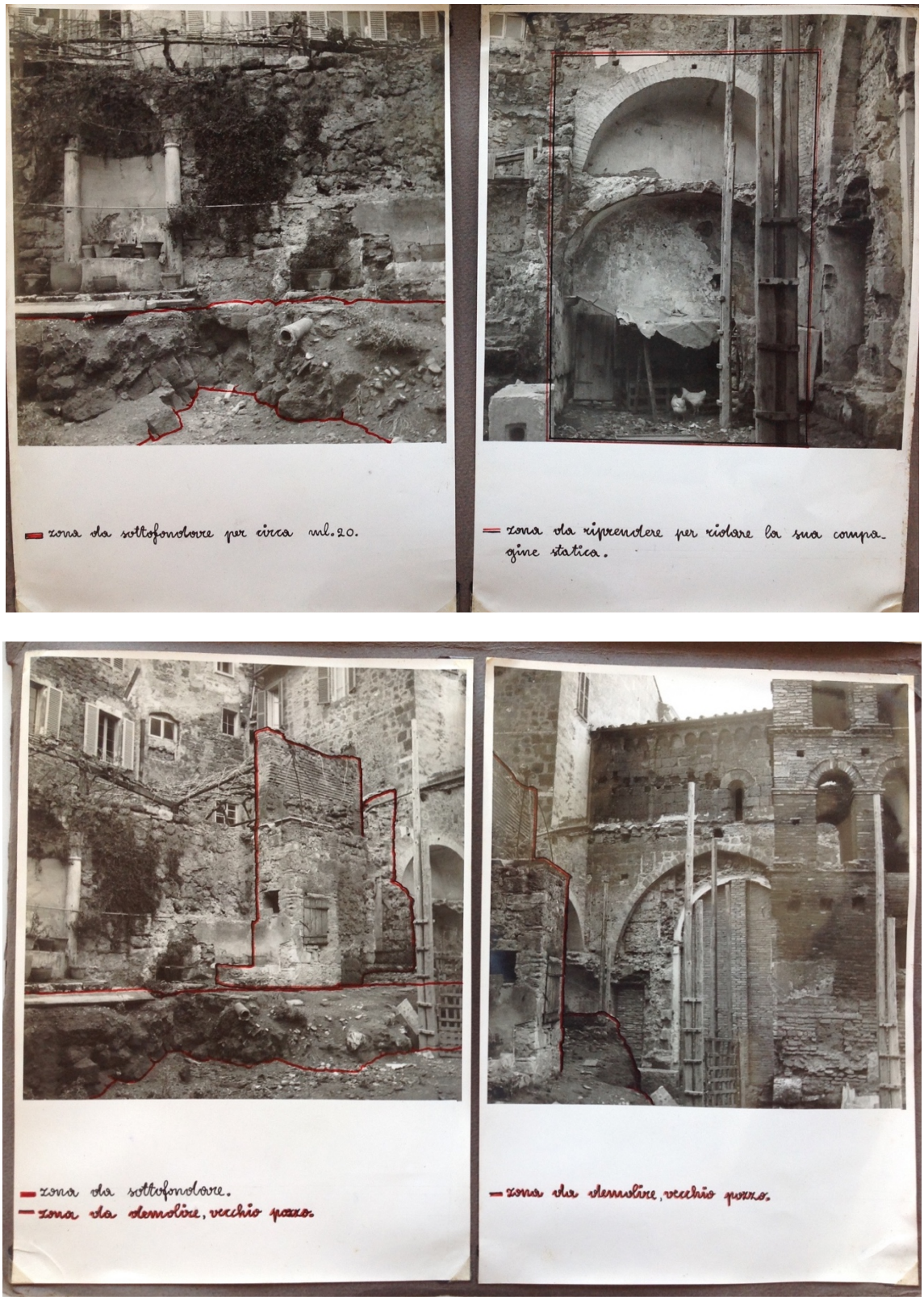


Fig. III-23. Unpublished photographs of the worksite in which San Silvestro's bell tower was isolated from the rest of the complex in 1957-1961, showing a chicken coop under the arch of the northern wall in the courtyard adjacent to the bell tower. Photographs preserved in the file "MPI, Province of Viterbo," at the ACS-Rome.



Fig. III-24. Unpublished photograph of the realization of the three single-lancet windows on the façade of San Silvestro (1957-1960). This modification was presented in 1956, replacing the initial project proposal that foresaw the creation of a central rose window. Photograph No. MPI6062703, preserved in the file "MPI: Orte," ICCD.



Fig. III-25 (left). Unpublished photograph of the façade of the former Church of San Silvestro. Undated photograph (presumably 1953-57) prior to restoration works conducted by Sanguinetti (left). Preserved in the file "MPI, Province of Viterbo," ACS-Rome; Fig. III-26. (right) Unpublished photograph of the restored façade, taken by Max Hutzel in 1967-1988 (right). (Source: GRI Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program)

In addition to the exchanges of institutional correspondence, the archives offer glimpses of ways daily life continued during the four-years it took to restore San Silvestro: stories that would lend themselves well to a new narrative in Orte's future city museum. In one photo, we see two white chickens near the northern wall of the courtyard next to Romanesque bell tower (fig. 23). It lets us suppose that in the Fifties, Orte's historical center still hosted rural practices, habits that have since abandoned in Alto Lazio, mostly due to actively-enforced government policies.[112] This photographic documentation also helps us imagine the discomfort of the parish priest who continued to live within the apparently interminable building site. In a letter to the bishop in February 1958, Don Giorgio Fanti recounts:

> *E invece accaduto che ultimati i lavori di isolamento, tutto è rimasto sospeso. A parte il fatto che la torre è rimasta scalzata nelle fondazioni e che la facciata della chiesa sia distaccata dal muro di sinistra con una crepa notevole, il Parroco è costretto a salire nella propria abitazione a mezzo di una passerella ed [il] pianerottolo della casa parrocchiale è sostenuto unicamente da puntelli, con pericolo che da un giorno all'altro potrebbe franare.*
> *Più volte tanto io che il mio Eccellentissimo Vescovo siamo stati al Ministero per sollecitare la ripresa dei lavori, che per essere ormai iniziati sin dalla scorsa estate, sarebbe opportuno fossero ultimati per il decoro della Cittadina e per valorizzazione di una pregevole opera romanica*.[113]
>
> Instead, once the isolation works were completed, everything remained suspended. Apart from the fact that the tower's foundations have been undermined and that the left wall of the church's façade is detached and has a big crack, the parish priest is forced to climb into his home by means of a gangway while [the] landing of the parish house is supported by props, with the risk that it could collapse from one day to the next.
> Several times both I and my Most Excellent Bishop have been to the Ministry to urge the work to be resumed. Seeing that is began last summer, it should be completed for the sake of the town's decor and to enhance a valuable Romanesque monument. (trans. Author)

These vicissitudes reveal the human side of these decades-long operations that, in spite of everything, are characterized by cordial sentiments. Although the project was much desired by the local diocese, it was conceived and handled 'from the top down.' The relevant correspondence testifies to a less than ideal, but courteous dialogue between the parties involved. It is this courtesy that distinguishes the writings of Mortari, the official who was ultimately responsible for the museum's realization.

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[112] These habits have been experiencing a fair amount of revival thanks to Brooklyn *hipsters* for a decade or so now, and could prompt new relevance in a future museum in the city. Julia Moskin. "Straight from the Home Coop," *New York Times,* 2012/04/03, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/04/dining/hatching-your-own-batch-of-eggs.html, consultato 2021/11/06.
[113] Don Giorgio Maria Fanti, Lettera alla Curia Vescovile di Orte (1958/02/03). Conservato presso Faldone "Museo Diocesano 1," ASDO.

The figure of Luisa Mortari (1909-2000), art historian and University lecturer, and later Superintendent of Molise, emerges quite late in the documents dedicated to the creation of Orte's Museum. The humble contexts in which she persued her research and the essentiality of her writing run the risk of underestimating this scholar's contribution. This makes it even more useful to dwell on the methodological portrait drawn by Maria Andaloro, at the time a colleague of Mortari's at the University of Rome:

> *Nell'esercizio del suo lavoro di storica dell'arte era consapevole di essere sorretta, fra le altre, da due linee guida: dalla necessità di conoscere capillarmente il tessuto del patrimonio artistico di un territorio onde averne cura e salvaguardarlo e fare un'intelligente opera di tutela e, dall'altra, dall'idea in base alla quale conoscenza e tutela non siano da considerare campi paralleli, ma articolazioni essenziali in grado di interagire reciprocamente si che una buona conoscenza storico-artistica diventa la premessa indispensabile al servizio della tutela e gli esiti della tutela, della conservazione e restauro, diventano da parte loro fonte per una più nitida e puntuale conoscenza delle opere d'arte*.[114]
>
> In her professional practice as an art historian, she was aware of being supported, among others, by two guidelines: on the one hand, by the need to know the fabric of the territory's artistic heritage in a capillary fashion so as to care for it, to safeguard it and to design intelligent operations and, on the other, by the idea that knowledge and protection should not be considered parallel fields, but essential articulations capable of interacting reciprocally so that a good art-historical knowledge becomes the indispensable premise on which to base safeguarding services as well as the results of protection, conservation and restoration. Hence, knowledge and protection become a source for a sharper and more accurate knowledge of the works of art. (trans. Author)

In 1964,[115] in view of the creation of Orte's Museum, she supervised the restoration of four panel paintings, namely the *Madonna dei Raccomandati* (1500), the *Padre Eterno benedicente* (1490-1500), the *Cristo Risorto* (second quarter of the 16th century) and the *Arcangelo Michele* (1595) by Francesco da Castello, as well as the creation of the museum's display cases and its seventeen display easels.[116] Thanks to a handwritten note by her collaborator, Architect Orseolo Torossi, there is news

[114] Maria Andaloro, "Il rigore e l'ardore" in *Per la storia dell'arte in Italia e in Europa*, Mimma Pasculli Ferrara, ed. (Roma: De Luca Editori, 2004): 53.

[115] According to Cecilia Mazzi, Law number 1080 of 1960/09/22 defined "*la situazione dei musei non statali, classificandoli in base alla ricchezza delle loro collezioni e prescrivendo l'adozione di un regolamento allo scopo di attuare una profonda revisione della loro organizzazione. Tale legge riconosceva un valore 'nazionale' a quegli istituti (art. 1). Seguirà a quella legge una vasta produzione normativa*…" *Cf*. Mazzi, *In viaggio con le muse*: 168.

[116] *Cf.* Three appraisals signed by Luisa Mortari 1964/07/12, 1964/07/12, and 1964/09/19 (the latter by Arch. Orseolo Torossi with references to drawings absent from the file), documents preserved in the file "Museo Diocesano," ASDO. The scholar declares to have restored the *Cristo Risorto* in the Museum catalogue. *Cf.* Mortari, *Museo Diocesano*: 6. No other news about it has been found among the papers preserved in the ASDO.

of a "receipt from Vitali for the restoration of the two silver crosses," as well as another series of previously unknown operations undertaken by Mortari. [117]

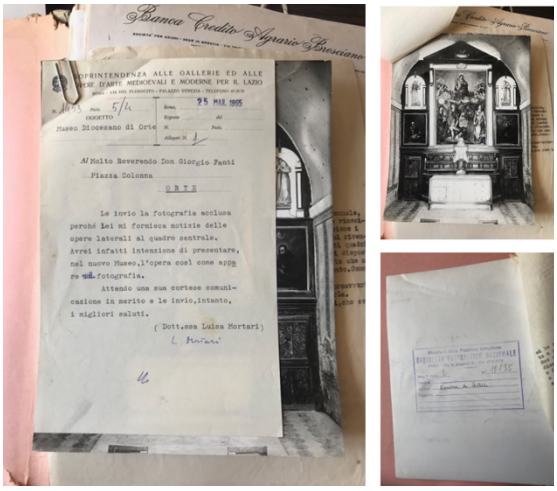


Fig. III-27. Letter written by Luisa Mortari to Don Giorgio Fanti, with front and retro of attached photograph, in which she investigates what happened to the Francesco di Castello paintings from Orte's Capuchin Church.

Starting from reconnaissance surveys carried out in 1965, Mortari dedicated her time to expanding the nucleus of artworks collected by Pasquinangeli, including panel paintings from neighboring towns like Chia, Vasanello, Gallese, together with a wedding casket (first half of the 16th century) also from Gallese. She also deepened the investigation of Orte's territory, as indicated by her exchange of letters with Don Giorgio Fanti in which she shows interest in the fate of two paintings removed from the Capuchin monastery church: "*Le invio la fotografia acclusa perché Lei mi fornisca notizie delle opere laterali al quadro centrale. Avrei infatti intenzione di presentare, nel nuovo Museo, l'opera così come appare nella fotografia*" (fig. 27).[118] The intention to exhibit the "central painting" by Francesco da Castello between the two other 'minor' works testifies to her desire not only to conserve the material of the work, but also to evoke the work's provenance, in terms of its spatial and votive contexts.[119] The archives also show how her research relied heavily on photographic documentation, a habit she shared with her teacher Pietro Toesca.[120]

In her introductory note to the catalogue *Museo Diocesano di Orte* (1967), Mortari extolls the museum's location and explains the significance of San Silvestro's new function:

> *Il Museo Diocesano di Orte vede oggi la luce. La sede è la più suggestiva che il luogo potesse offrire: la romanica chiesa di S. Silvestro, situata in una piccola piazza ove sorge una colonna che è uno dei pochi resti della primitiva Cattedrale. Dell'edificio, il più antico che si conservi a Orte, curò il restauro or è qualche anno la Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio, (cfr*. Bollettino d'Arte, *1961, p. 159), quando esso era da tempo chiuso al culto e versava in condizioni assai precarie.* […] *La scelta di questa sede è apparsa la più opportuna e la più degna non solo per la bellezza dell'ambiente, ma anche per l'ubicazione dell'edificio, situato nel centro dell'abitato*.[121]

[117] News emerged for the first time during the course of this research. Orseolo Torossi, Letter to Don Giorgio (1965/04/28). File "Museo Diocesano," ASDO.
[118] *Cf.* Appendix H.
[119] *Cf.* Mortari, *Museo Diocesano*: 28; Anselmi and Principi, *Museo d'Arte Sacra*: 46-49.
[120] Monica Aldi, "Istituzione di una cattedra di Storia dell'arte. Pietro Toesca docente a Torino," in *Quaderni storici, Nuova Serie*, Vol. 28, No. 82 (1), Storie di storia: Erudizione e specialismi in Italia (aprile 1993): 107.
[121] Mortari, *Museo Diocesano*: 5-6.

> The Diocesan Museum of Orte now sees the light of day. The location is the most evocative that the place could offer: the Romanesque church of San Silvestro, situated in a small square where rises a column, one of the few remains of the primitive Cathedral. Some years ago the *Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio* took it upon itself to restore this building, the most ancient Orte preserves (*cf. Bollettino d'Arte*, 1961, p. 159); it had been closed to worship for some time and found itself in rather precarious conditions. [...] The choice of this site seemed most appropriate and most worthwhile not only because of the site's beauty, but also because of building's location, situated in the very center of town.

By mentioning the small square and its centrality, the scholar reconstructed the relationship between the architectural complex and its urban context, applying a habit cultivated during her training with the "great and – by Luisa – venerated Toesca."[122] One could interpret the structure of this museum catalogue as a perfect application of Toesca's deontological principles, as outlined in his *Storia dell'arte italiana. Il Medioevo*. [123]

When people speak of Luisa Mortari, they inevitably remember the grace with which she carried out her work.[124] Pietro Petraroia recalls:

> *L'esplorazione attenta del territorio (senza preconcetti metodologici, così come non ne aveva nella vita quotidiana) l'aiutarono a compiere scoperte, restauri e recuperi fondamentali* […]*, pur muovendosi come in punta dei piedi, senza far troppo sentire il potere che sembra incarnato dai funzionari di soprintendenza, ma procedendo piuttosto con la conquista della fiducia e della simpatia dei suoi interlocutori*.[125]
>
> The careful way in which she explored the territory (without methodological preconceptions, much like she did in daily life) helped her compute fundamental discoveries, restorations, and recoveries [...], she moved as if on tiptoes, without swinging her power around like many superintendence officials, but rather proceeded by winning the trust and sympathy of her interlocutors. (trad. Author)

[122] Andaloro, "Il rigore e l'ardore:" 50.
[123] Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana. Il Medioevo*. The first book begins by contextualizing early Christian art through archaeological evidence, so it does not provide an appropriate comparison. *Book II. From the End of the Eighth Century to the Eleventh Century*, on the other hand, shows the same methodological approach that Mortari faithfully applied: both the teacher's text and that of his student continue with a chronological reading of architecture, painting, sculpture, and the minor arts. The introductory note to the *Museo Diocesano* can be interpreted as the architectural framework, followed by the reading of panels (in which she exceptionally places the mosaic fragment of John VII), sculptures and "*oreficerie e varie*," or 12 objects belonging to minor categories that Toesca divides, in turn, between "*Stoffe e ricami*" and "Arti del *metallo. Smalti*," under paragraphs in which both Toesca and Mortari resume the overarching chronology.
Luisa Mortari, in 1959, drew up the catalogue *Il Museo capitolare della cattedrale di Velletri*, a Diocesan museum created by Pietro Toesca at the end of the 1920's. It was not possible to consult the volume during the course of this research, but it could provide a precedent for the present work. *Cf.* Toesca, "Indice generale," *Storia dell'arte italiana. Il Medioevo*: senza numero pagina; Luisa Mortari, *Il Museo capitolare della cattedrale di Velletri* (Roma: De Luca, 1959).
[124] Elena Carrara, "La formazione della studiosa," in *Luisa Mortari e la tutela in Molise*: 9.
[125] Pietro Petraroia, "Luisa Mortari, Pietro Toesca e il restauro," in *Per la storia dell'arte in Italia e in Europa*: 81.

Orte and its museum constituted a nodal point in both the scholar's professional development and life. Vannucci da Viva's 1532 processional cross (fig. 7a-b) represented a particular milestone for Mortari, who directed its restoration in 1954, together with that of other works selected for the exhibition held in Viterbo that same year.[126] As noted by Benedetta Montevecchi, from then on "*l'allora giovane ispettrice avrebbe in seguito sempre incluso* [le 'arti minori'] *nella propria prassi di lavoro e di studio, come indispensabile operazione di salvaguardia, ma anche come mezzo insostituibile di indagine filologica*."[127] Her research on goldwork in Lazio remains to this day a cornerstone of studies dedicated to the so-called 'minor' or decorative arts, although it still needs to emerge more fully in the narrative of the Museum of Sacred Art.[128] In the last years of her life she chose Orte as the burial place for her beloved husband and for herself; in 2000, the year of her death, she left unfinished a monograph dedicated to the town.[129] The manuscript is waiting to be integrated in the collections of the ASDO, so that it can be edited and updated in the light of research on Orte that have followed in her footsteps over that last quarter century.[130]

As far as the safeguarding and knowledge of Orte's artistic heritage are concerned, Luisa Mortari's work is essential. Her studies and her methodological approach can also provide the foundation from which to explore mostly anonymous and forgotten popular artistic culture. Only by establishing a dialogue between 'highbrow' culture and objects tied to popular devotion can we transcend a sense of history that focuses on local 'treasures' and become a means of narrating a more accurate account of local identity (fig. 28).

[126] Benedetta Montevecchi, "Luisa Mortari e le 'Arti Minori'," in *Luisa Mortari e la tutela in Molise*: 37; Salvatore Enrico Anselmi and Lorenzo Principi, *Il Museo d'Arte Sacra Di Orte* (Orte, 2013): 56.
[127] Montevecchi, "Luisa Mortari e le 'Arti Minori':" 37.
[128] Francesca Pomarici, "La croce astile con figure a sbalzo," In *Tesori di Orte*, Massimo Miglio and Silvia Maddalo, eds. (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 1998): 51-72; Montevecchi (2019): 50.
[129] Andaloro, "Rigore e ardore:" 54.
[130] In 2020-2021 an agreement was sealed whereby the Archives accepted the request to consolidate the papers of Luisa Mortari, while Tuscia University has agreed to receive the scholar's personal library. An adequate cataloguing of the assets is awaited in order to review the scholar's legacy in Orte and the Viterbo territory.





Fig. III-28. Young visitors to the Diocesan Museum viewing a monstrance in November 2021. (Photo: Abbondio Zuppante); Fig. III-29. The inauguration of the Diocesan Museum of Orte on 1967/04/09. (Photographs: Scalfa, fasc. Diocesan Museum, ASDO)

The Diocesan Museum was inaugurated on 9 April 1967, fifteen years after its conception. On this occasion Monsignor Bishop Roberto Massimiliani attributed the museum project to Mortari: "*Il Museo è stato allestito nell'ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro a cura della Soprintendenza alle Gallerie e alle Opere d'Arte del Lazio, sotto la direzione della Dott. Luisa Mortari,*[131] *che ha anche provveduto alla redazione del catalogo delle opere esposte*."[132] The ceremony was captured in photos by Studio Scalfa, a local firm that participated in the documentation published in Mortari's museum catalogue (fig. 29). In the photos, in the foreground, one can recognize the bishop, an avid supporter of the creation of the museum since the first letters exchanged with the late Lavagnino. In addition to the ecclesiastical authorities of the Diocese of Civita Castellana, Orte and Gallese, members of Azione Cattolica and various stakeholders were invited:

> *Con un manifesto, la cittadinanza è stata invitata a partecipare alla cerimonia e a visitare il Museo, che "nelle mirabili opere d'Arte in esso raccolte, è una perenne e nobile testimonianza della Fede dei Padri."*
>
> *L'avvenimento ha avuto particolare risonanza attraverso la stampa Italiana ed Estera, ne ha diffusamente parlato la Radio nella rubrica del* Corriere del Lazio. *La Televisione ha effettuato alcune riprese per "La Cronache Italiana" [*Cronaca italiana].
>
> *Tra gli interventi erano: Il Direttore Generale alle Belle Arti Prof. Molajoli, il Vice Direttore alle Belle Arti Dott. Agresti, il Vice Prefetto di Viterbo dott. Pascarella, il Senatore Angelilli, il Soprintendente alle Gallerie e Opere d'Arte del Lazio Prof. Matthiae, l'Ispettore Generale alle Belle Arti*

[131] *Errata corrige*: Guglielmo Matthiae was head of the Soprintendenza at the time. *Cf.* Valentino Pace, "Luisa Mortari nel ricordo di chi la conobbe da giovane studioso," in *Luisa Mortari e la tutela in Molise*: 143.
[132] "Inaugurazione del Museo Diocesano di Arte Sacra, Orte," 1967/09/04, Fasc. "Museo Diocesano," ASDO.

Prof. Ceschi, il Soprintendente ai Musei di Roma Prof. Pacini, il Comandante dell'XIo Deposito Aereonautico di Orte, il Comandante del Gruppo Carabinieri di Viterbo Ten. Col. Fio(r?)letta, il Maestro Mortari dell'Accademia Di S. Cecilia, il Dott. Gigliozzi della Radio Televisione Italiana e Consigliere Comunale di Roma, la Dott. Mortari Direttrice della Soprintendenza alle Gallerie del Lazio, il Prof. Orlando della Segreteria dell'On. Rumor, il Sindaco di Orte Cav. Baldasserini, l'Avv. Pasquinangeli Vice Pretore, il Comm. Camilli, il Dott. Salvandori Assessore al Turismo, Mons; Fanti Vicario Generale; Mons. Gioacchini Priore del Capitolo, Don Riccardo Cancelliere Vescovile, Don Vincenzo Cappetta, nonché i rappresentanti delle stampa romana, esponenti della cultura e dell'Arte di Roma e del Viterbese.

Nel corso della cerimonia hanno parlato successivamente il Soprintendente alle Gallerie e Opere d'Arte Prof. Matthiae, il Vescovo Massimiliani, l'Assessore al Turismo Dott. Salvatori e il Direttore alle Belle Arti Prof. Molajoli.

Citizens were invited to attend the ceremony and visit the Museum through a billboard, "in which admirable works of Art have been collected, the Museum is a perennial and noble testimony to the Faith of the Fathers."

The event had a particular resonance in the Italian and foreign press, it was widely reported on via Radio in the program the *Corriere del Lazio*. Television filmed shots for "La Cronache Italiana" [*Cronaca italiana*].

Among the speakers, there were: the Direttore Generale alle Belle Arti Prof. Molajoli, the Vice Direttore alle Belle Arti Dott. Agresti, the Vice Prefetto di Viterbo dott. Pascarella, Senator Angelilli, the Superintendent of the Gallerie e Opere d'Arte del Lazio Prof. Matthiae, the Ispettore Generale alle Belle Arti Prof. Ceschi, the Superintendent of the Musei di Roma Prof. Pacini, the Commander of Orte's 11th Air Force Depot, the Commander of the Carabinieri Group of Viterbo Lt. Col. Fio(r?)letta, Maestro Mortari of the Accademia di Santa Cecilia, Dott. Gigliozzi of Radio Televisione Italiana and Consigliere Comunale di Roma, Dott. Mortari Direttrice della Soprintendenza alle Gallerie del Lazio, Prof. Orlando of the Secretary of Honorable Rumor, the Mayor of Orte Cav. Baldasserini, Lawyer Pasquinangeli Vice Pretore, Comm. Camilli, Dr. Salvandori Assessore al Turismo, Monsignor Fanti Vicario Generale, Monsignor Gioacchini Priore del Capitolo, Don Riccardo Cancelliere Vescovile, Don Vincenzo Cappetta, as well as representatives of the Roman press, exponents of art and culture from Rome and the *Viterbese* area.

Later in the ceremony, there were speeches by the Soprintendente alle Gallerie e Opere d'Arte Prof. Matthiae, Bishop Massimiliani, the Assessore al Turismo Dott. Salvatori and the Direttore alle Belle Arti Prof. Molajoli.

The inauguration of the Diocesan Museum was an extraordinary success, involving ministerial leaders and journalists of national importance alongside the 'notables' of local politics and economics. The presence of Gigliozzi, Matthiae and Molajoli also indicated an interest on the part of the 'Gruppo dei Romanisti.' The academic association, founded with the intention of contributing to the

knowledge, protection, and enhancement of the capital, was here interested in the study and protection of a small provincial town. The same club was joined by other protagonists of the correspondence dedicated to the creation of the Museum: Andreotti, Faldi, Gigliozzi, Hermanin, and Lavagnino**.** It was precisely a "Romanista" that drew attention to the important role played by the citizenship in protecting the local heritage:

> *il Direttore Generale Prof. Molajoli si è vivamente compiaciuto con gli ideatori e con i realizzatori del nuovo Museo, esaltando l'alta testimonianza storica e spirituale in esso contenute, nonché l'illuminato civismo degli ortani, i quali in oggi tempo [hanno] gelosamente conservato tanti tesori artistici che altrimenti sarebbero andati irreparabilmente perduti*.[133]
>
> The Director General, Prof. Molajoli, warmly congratulated the creators of the new Museum, extolling the high historical and spiritual testimony it contains, as well as the Ortani's enlightened civic-mindedness, who have jealously preserved so many artistic treasures that would have otherwise been irreparably lost. (trans. Author)

The popular, if not propagandistic, aim was also expressed by the date of the inauguration, that is the last day of the 10th *Settimana dei Musei* in 1967,[134] an event with "*chiari intenti educativi, volta ad avvicinare i cittadini alle strutture museali*."[135] The initiative, still alive today, was conceived by Lionello Venturi in an effort to update the activities of education and cultural promotion on a national level. The program of the tenth *Settimana dei Musei* saw Orte's collection alongside art collections of global importance, like those of Palazzo Venezia in Rome, Urbino's Ducal Palace and various Civic Museums of major Italian cities.[136] The concomitance between Orte's inauguration and the events at other museums can, without a shadow of a doubt, be traced back to Luisa Mortari. In fact, the scholar was contemporarily involved in *Mostra di opere d'arte restaurate nel 1967; IX[a] settimana dei musei* installed Palazzo Venezia's Sala Barbo: a clear example of the art historian's ability to take action on both 'major' and 'minor' scales.

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[133] (Giorgio Maria Fanti?), Appunti sull'Inaugurazione del Museo Diocesano di Arte Sacra (senza data), Faldone "Museo Diocesano 1," ASDO.

[134] Soprintendenza alle Gallerie e Opere d'arte delle Marche e Settimana dei Musei Italiani. *Mostra di opere d'arte restaurate. X Settimana dei Musei, 1967/04/02-09, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino* (Urbino: S.T.E.U., 1967).

[135] Elena Gremigni, "Breve storia degli orientamenti teorici e legislativi intorno alla didattica museale in Italia." *Bollettino Telematico Dell'Arte*, no. n. 268 (maggio 2001). https://www.bta.it/txt/a0/02/bta00268.html.

[136] *Mostra di opere d'arte restaurate nel 1967; XI Settimana dei musei, Roma, Palazzo Venezia-Sala Barbo, aprile 1968.* 1968; Soprintendenza alle Gallerie e Opere d'arte delle Marche, e Settimana dei musei italiani. *Mostra di opere d'arte Restaurate. X Settimana*; Soprintendenza alle gallerie e alle opere d'arte medioevali e moderne del Lazio, Maria Vittoria Brugnoli, Luisa Mortari. 1968. *Mostra di opere d'arte restaurate nel 1967; XIa settimana dei musei, Roma, Palazzo Venezia-Sala Barbo, aprile 1968*. Roma: De Luca Editore.

3.1.3 Intentions, achievements, and failures of a prototype

Although the intention was to correct local 'backwardness' and the "*inefficienza delle strutture museali italiane*," the museum model chosen for Orte remained firmly anchored to the models of Toeschi.[137] In the "*Regolamento del Museo Diocesano di Orte*," the aim of the museum is declared as: "*la conservazione e valorizzazione del patrimonio artistico appartenente alle Comunità Cattoliche di Orte e della Diocesi*," a premise that is still considered valid according to ICOM criteria (see discussion of the definition of "museum" in the following chapter).[138] The same document explains the tasks of the director "[…] *provvederà alla disciplina delle visite nonché alla consultazione del materiale da parte di studiosi* […]".[139] The document reveals that the museum functioned primarily as a place of conservation and research, while it provided for the participation of children and the general public only exceptionally, their presence being associated with 'damage' and other 'disturbances:'

> *Il Museo è aperto e visitabile tutti i giorni della settimana e resta chiuso nei giorni delle maggiori festività religiose.*
> *Nei giorni feriali le visite potranno essere effettuate dalle ore 9 alle ore 12,30 e dalle ore 15 alle 17,30.*
> *Per le visite è fissato il prezzo del biglietto per L.100 (cento). È consentito l'ingresso libero agli Alunni delle Scuole Medie accompagnati dai loro Insegnanti, durante la Settimana dei Musei: l'ingresso è libero a tutti i visitatori il 1 Settembre di ogni anno, festa del Santo Protettore di Orte: S. Egidio.*
> *I visitatori dovranno tenere nel Museo un contegno conforme alle regole della civile educazione e non potranno toccare le opere, non potranno fumare o compiere qualsiasi atto che posa portare danno alle opere o recare disturbo agli altri visitatori*.[140]
>
> The Museum is open and can be visited every day of the week and is closed on major religious holidays.
> On weekdays visits can be made from 9 am to 12.30 pm and from 3 pm to 5.30 pm.
> For the visits the ticket price is fixed for 100 (one hundred) lire. The entrance is free for middle school students accompanied by their teachers, during the *Settimana dei Musei*: the entrance is free to all visitors on September 1 of each year, the feast of Orte's patron saint: Sant'Egidio.
> Visitors must behave in the Museum in a manner consistent with the rules of good manners and may not touch the works, smoke or perform any act that could damage the works or disturb other visitors.

[137] Gremigni, "Breve storia degli orientamenti teorici e legislativi."
[138] "Regolamento del Museo Diocesano di Orte," senza data. Conservata presso fasc. "Museo Diocesano 1," Fasc. "Museo Diocesano," ASDO.
[139] "Regolamento del Museo Diocesano di Orte."
[140] "Regolamento del Museo Diocesano di Orte."

Assuming their conduct complied with the Regulations, young visitors could enjoy free admission to the Museum for a total of eight days a year. In his short essay "L'arte a pagamento" from 1969, Andrea Emiliani interpreted this type of management choice emblematically:

> […] *concedendo l'ingresso gratuito* [solo] *la domenica e le festività, si incrementa sempre di più l'idea che il museo sia qualcosa come il salotto buono, nel quale ci si reca non certo per vivere, pensare o parlare a proprio agio: ma per annoiarsi, tenuti per la mano dal nonno, col vestitino della festa, a salutare una insopportabile zia Carlotta*.[141]
>
> By granting free admission [only] on Sundays and holidays, there is a growing impression that a museum is like a buttoned-up salon, where you go not to live, think, or talk with ease, but to get bored, holding your grandfather's hand, wearing your Sunday best, to greet an unbearable Auntie Carlotta. (trans. Author)

Despite the admirable effort to preserve works in their native context, the rigid and formal climate that was created around this 'elitist salon,' over time, has alienated the local population from its artistic heritage. Ultimately, this operation suffered from the absence of a bond between the 'highbrow' culture and Orte's social fabric: an echo of the 1907 incident when the brotherhood's General Congregation refused to obey a government decree to hand over 'their' panel paintings of the *Sant'Egidio Polyptych* to the central authorities (fig. 11a-b).

As for the value that the Municipality of Orte attributed to the Museum, the presence of the *Assessore del Turismo* at the inauguration confirmed that local authorities saw the operation as an opportunity for economic development. After all, the opening of the Museum coincided with the years in which Tuscia seemed to be enjoying renewed attention on a national and international level. In the 1956 television program *Viaggio in Italia*, the *Viterbese* area was described by Guido Piovene, an international journalist and writer, as "*un piccolo regno isolato, separato dal mondo sebbene alle soglie di Roma*."[142] La Tuscia, however, thanks to the infrastructural renewal of which Orte was a protagonist in the early 1960s, finally had the opportunity to break free from the isolation that Piovene and many others romanticized.

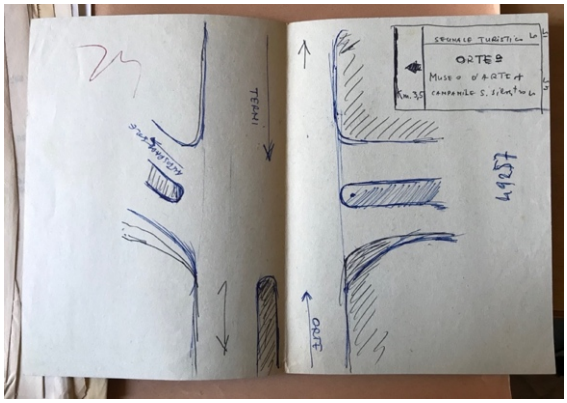
In addition, Touring Club Italiano (TCI) published the third edition of the *Guida d'Italia: Lazio* in 1964. This new version of the '*guida rossa*,' as it is commonly called today, offered readers an updated interpretation to the one proposed in the previous edition of 1935, issued under the Fascist

[141] Andrea Emiliani, "L'arte a Pagamento," in *Dal Museo al territorio* (Bologna: Alfa, 1974): 40.
[142] Rai Teche. "Viaggio in Italia: ingresso nel Lazio e Viterbo," 1956/11/05, accessed 2021/11/04. https://www.teche.rai.it/1956/11/viaggio-in-italia-ingresso-nel-lazio-e-viterbo/.

regime.[143] Driving along State Road N. 204 (the 'Ortana,' i.e. the road that connects the "Torre di Pasolini" to Orte), the narrative of the TCI *guida rossa* describes Orte as located "*su un poggio tufaceo emergente dal fondovalle e dominante un'ansa del Tevere; ha pianta ellittica e aspetto medievale*" with "*i resti di un* [*presunto*] *ponte romano*" in the background.[144] The text calls the bell tower "recently restored" and speaks of the existence of the local Diocesan Museum, in spite of the fact that the inauguration was still three years away.[145] It lists ten prestigious works in the museum collection, emphasizing the 8th century mosaic fragment, and listing the processional cross of 1352 and eight panel paintings, five of which dating back to the 15th century, all of which were restored under the supervision of the Archaeological Committee and/or that of Mortari. Sadly, even here the history of "the ancient *Horta*, city of the Etruscans" was limited to a list of political upheavals that occurred during the Middle Ages up through 1437, when the city was aggregated to the diocese of Civita Castellana. Time had seemingly stopped at Orte 500 years earlier. [146] In the 2005 re-edition of the TCI guidebook, the description remained unchanged with respect to the one written forty years earlier and is attributed to the now ninety-year-old Italo Faldi (with the participation of the late Luisa Mortari): a further example of Orte's difficulty in updating the dominant narrative.[147]

In the same year the TCI Guide was published, the central government inaugurated the Autostrada del Sole (A1) on 4 October 1964, the feast of Italy's patron saint and unifier of the peninsula.[148] The motorway undoubtedly facilitated the arrival of local, national, and international visitors to Orte. In 1967, a few months after the inauguration, road signs were designed to be placed at the highway exit and nearby junction, thus inserting news of the small museum in the traffic flow between Lazio and Umbria and between Naples and Milan (figs. 30-31). In 1968-69 alone, the museum was visited by people coming from Orte and Rome, as well as from Japan, Belgium, Denmark, Libya, and the United States (fig. 32): visitors from a total of four continents.

[143] During the course of this research, it was not possible to locate or to consult this volume.
[144] Touring Club Italiano. *Lazio (Non Compresa Rome e Dintorni)*. 3rd ed. Vol. 15. Guida d'Italia del T.C.I. (Milano: Garzanti, 1964): 230-231.
[145] Italian Touring Club. *Lazio* (1964): 231.
[146] Italian Touring Club. *Lazio* (1964): 230.
[147] Italian Touring Club. *Lazio.* Vol. 14. L'Italia del T.C.I. Milan: L'espresso - La Repubblica Division, 2005: 4, 326-327.
[148] Tullia Iori, "Autostrada del Sole," in *Storia dell'Ingegneria*, Alfredo Buccaro, Giulio Fabricatore e Lia Maria Papa, Atti del primo convegno nazionale, Napoli, 8-9 marzo 2006 (Napoli: Cuzzolin, 2006): 1131.





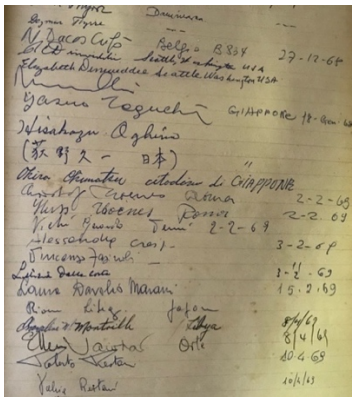


Fig. III-30. Drawing of the road signs for the "Museo d'Arte" and the "Campanile di San Silvestro" at the exit of the Autostrada del Sole (Source: ASDO); Fig. III-31. Payment receipt for the road signs mentioning the Museum (1967); Fig. III-32. A selection of visitor signatories from the 1968-69 Visitor Register, held at ASDO.

The highway's construction, however, also represented a 'dark' moment in the history of local urban development, landscape protection, and archaeological heritage (fig. 33-4).[149] Remains of the ancient Roman port of Seripola were discovered during the A1's construction: a rare opportunity to promote the knowledge and prestige of the area. Orte's marked the last stretch of the motorway, the haste to open the new road most likely prevented an adequate intervention by the Superintendence let alone the necessary safeguarding measures needed for an emergency excavation, etc. Sixty years after the discovery little seems to have changed. The archaeological site is, in fact, still waiting for a monographic study and an effective enhancement project, despite the fact that the site englobes the identity of Orte as transport hub better than anywhere else in the territory.[150] The finds discovered during the excavation, among other things, are barely inventoried and also lack a musealization plan (figs. 35-6). At the current state of the matter, it is not possible to create a dialogue between Orte's archaeological collections and those of the Diocese, as already Pasquinangeli had already suggested in 1923 and as had Emilio Lavagnino in 1953. The cataloguing efforts currently being undertaken by local archaeologists will hopefully allow this material to gain due importance in the near future.

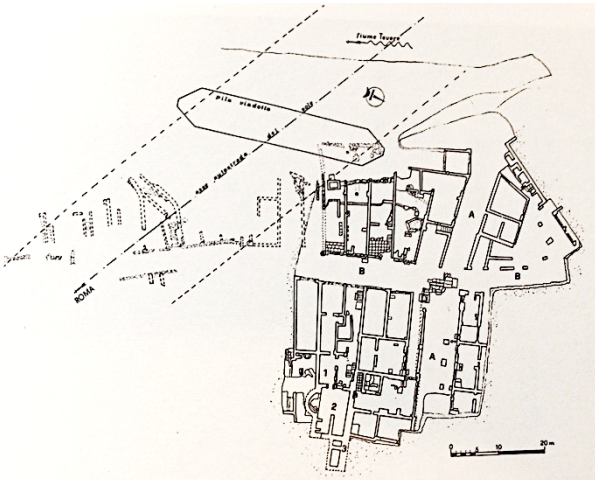
[149] The SOGENE file dedicated to the Ortano section of the motorway could not be found at ACS-Roma.
Stefano Lungo, archaeologist and researcher at the CNR, has kindly offered to share some sources related to the discovery of the site in 1963-1964, material that is still being processed. Due to the sanitary emergency it was not possible to accept his invitation. It is hoped that future scholars will have the opportunity to investigate this crucial moment for the development of the territory and the identity of Orte.
A cursory investigation of the subject suggests that the local section was built according to a design by Riccardo Morandi, author of the project for the bridge over the Tiber at Attigliano (about ten kilometers from Orte) "*composto da travi precompresse, con il suo brevetto [di Morandi], di luce pare a 36 m, semplicemente appoggiate su mensole a sbalzo dai piloni*." *Cf.* Tullia Iori, "Autostrada del Sole:" 1139.

[150] The archaeological site remains poorly maintained and, for the most part, preserved open by volunteers. We would like to thank Sergio Barbadoro of the Discesa del Tevere International Sports Association for his commitment to making the banks of the river known by paddle (canoe, kayak, SUP). The association chose Seripola as a destination during the 40th edition of the Descent of the Tiber (25 April-1 May 2019), an occasion when it was possible to visit the archaeological site together with Stefano Del Lungo.





(left) Fig. III-33. Photograph (no. 15791) of the A1, Autostrada del Sole - Lot 29 construction site of a bridge over the Tiber at Sipicciano (VT), 20 km from Orte. (Source: SOGENE Fund (1926-1977), Series H/35, 0004846, ACS-Rome. Documentation produced by Industrialfoto of Rome.); (right) Fig. III-34. Bridge over the Tiber River near Attigliano, project by R. Morandi, 1964 (Source: Iori, 2006, 1140).





(left) Fig. III-35. Plan of the archaeological site at Seripola near Orte (Source: Nardi); (right) Fig. III-36. The A1 left bank pylon intersecting the ancient port of Seripola (photo from April 2019).

In the documents dedicated to the Diocesan Museum from the early Seventies, there is a clear change in the Diocese's commitment to the cultural project. In those years Luisa Mortari, with whom Don Giorgio Maria Fanti had an active and even affectionate correspondence, was involved in the dissemination of the "Orte model" in Rieti through the realization of a local Civic Museum, later inaugurated in 1974. Moreover, she accepted the assignment to become the first Superintendent of Monumenti, alle Antichità e alle Belle Arti of Molise, a 'newborn' Region.[151] Without Mortari, Orte's museum found itself with no guide just as funding became increasingly difficult to find. Conservation

[151] Eliana Billi, "Luisa Mortari in Sabina: l'esperienza del funzionario sul territorio," in *Luisa Mortari e la tutela in Molise*: 71; Adriano La Regina, "Luisa Mortari soprintendente: la difesa del patrimonio artistico del Molise," in *Luisa Mortari e la tutela in Molise*: 85.

problems grew apparent. Capillary humidity – an endemic problem in areas with tuff bedrock – was already evident and has remained unresolved until today. [152]

In those same years the signature of Monsignor Fanti, Vicar General, disappeared from the papers and was replaced by that of Monsignor Delfo Gioacchini (Orte, 1918 - Orte, 1999), Prior of the Chapter. The latter's numerous publications give the image of an "*amante di cose ortane*," dedicated to the popularization of local culture, but little inclined to philological rigor or to dialogue with the world outside his parish.[153] Some Ortani remember him for his activity in local schools, for his interest in the Confraternities, and for his commitment to keeping alive civic participation in processions, like that of the *Cristo Morto* mentioned in the previous chapter. Interesting enough, Orte is now more renowned in Lazio for its folkloristic manifestations than for its museum.



Fig. III-37. Orte railway station in 2020

As far as the Diocesan Museum is concerned, Don Gioacchino was not able to preserve the link between local and national, nor the vital connection between Orte and developments in Italian museography, a prerogative that characterized the project from its inception. In the ASDO there are, for example, questionnaires, news of conferences and other papers from museum experts that were never opened or, at least, never consulted.[154] The lack of attention towards raging museological debates in the Seventies and Eighties meant that Orte's museum, whose "artists of lesser value" had been given space in the History of Italian art,[155] began to suffer "a total regression."[156] This decline is especially unfortunate considering that in 1977, the new high-speed train connected Rome with Florence began to stop at Orte (fig. 37): a missed opportunity to take advantage of a potentially renewed flow of visitors. [157]

[152] Data shared with the author by Dr. Abbondio Zuppante, the current director of the Museum of Sacred Art, during an inspection in June 2020 carried out together with Dr. Francesca Mariani, restorer and teacher of the Unique Cycle of Restoration at UNITUS, with the intention of developing a project to monitor the humidity of the San Silvestro complex.
[153] Delfo Gioacchini, *Curiosità ortane* (Orte, 1961): 5.
[154] *Cf.* Four papers of the project of the Regione Lazio "1ª Conferenza regionale sulla politica dei beni culturale ed ambientali" con una lettera di presentazione firmata da Luigi Cancrini; Libretto dell'Associazione nazionale dei Musei di enti locali e istituzionali del 26-29 settembre 1974.
[155] Notes on Adolfo Venturi's visit to Orte by Giocondo Pasquinangeli, 1902/01/12, "Scritti Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," preserved at ASDO.
[156] Rangoni, "Orte. Museo Diocesano:" 216.
[157] "Ferrovia Firenze-Roma (direttissima)," in *Wikipedia*, accessed 2021/12/31, https://it.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ferrovia_Firenze-Roma_(direttissima)&oldid=123800642

Neither the small town nor its museum, therefore, participated in a museological renewal that promoted a new vision of the protection of cultural heritage, nor espoused a paradigm introduced by Pasolini. In his post-production of the film, Paolo Brunatto, director of *La forma della città*, cleverly introduced the Museo Diocesano, using a pan shot of Piazza Colonna – fixing the camera on the bell tower and on the entrance to the museum – as the backdrop to the famous passage in which Pasolini declared he wanted to defend:

> *qualcosa che non è sanzionato, che non è codificato, che nessuno difende e che è opera, diciamo così, del popolo, di un'intera storia, dell'intera storia del popolo di una città. Di una infinità di uomini senza nome, che però hanno lavorato all'interno di un'epoca che poi ha prodotto i frutti più estremi, più assoluti, nelle opere d'arte d'autore…nessuno si rende conto che quello che va difeso è proprio questo anonimo, questo passato anonimo, questo passato senza nome, questo passato popolare*.[158]
>
> something that is not sanctioned, that is not codified, that nobody defends and that is the work, so to speak, of the people, of an entire history, of the entire history of the people of a city. Of an infinity of nameless men, who, nonetheless, worked within an epoch that then produced the most extreme, most absolute fruits, recognizable in authored works of art...no one realizes that what must be protected is precisely this anonymous, this nameless past, this popular past. (trans. Author)

This thesis, in short, is intended as a first attempt to respond to the gap between the *Treasures of Orte* and the community from which they were produced, the same community that too often has been excluded and distanced from the Museum.[159] In fact, the very years in which Orte became a *topos* for the preservation of cultural and natural heritage for Pasolini, new models of safeguarding were being explored in Emilia-Romagna, Umbria and Rome thanks to the work of Giovanni Urbani (1925-1994), Bruno Toscano (b. 1930), Massimo Montella (1948-2019) and Andrea Emiliani (1931-2019), the art historian who imagined Brescia's Museum of Santa Giulia as a *laboratory of history*, a project which will be the subject of the following chapter. [160]

The failure of Orte's museological model emerged in the early 1980s, when the Diocesan Museum was surveyed as part of the regional "*Indagine sui musei locali del Lazio e sulla loro utilizzazione*"

[158] Brunatto, *pasolini e "la forma della città,"* 00:10:17 – 00:11:27.
[159] Massimo Miglio and Silvia Maddalo, eds. *Tesori di Orte* (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 1998).
[160] Andrea Emiliani, "The Museum, Laboratory of the City," in *I Musei*, vol. IV, Understanding Italy (Milan: TCI, 1980): 19-45.
N.B. Orte appears in Paolo Monti's personal archives in 1969-70, the same years of the photographic survey campaigns dedicated to the heritage and territory of central Italy, coordinated by Emiliani. Monti photographed constructions on the cliff of Orte, in the vicinity of the building denounced by Pasolini in *Le Mura di Sana* and in *La forma della città*, which he described as "abusive constructions." At the current state of the study it is not possible to identify any connection between Emiliani's Campagne di Rilievo and Pier Paolo Pasolini's documentary work, discussed in the first chapter.

(1979-1983).[161] The museum was found to be "open upon request" and not "every day of the week" as required by internal regulations.[162] The whole was judged "interesting," but "lacking [of] an adequate didactic apparatus," while the setting "presents evident problems of humidity that could cause damage to the works."[163] The times had changed.

In 1985 Bruno Toscano, as full professor at the University of Rome and director of the above-mentioned census, emphasized the increasingly social role recognized to museums:

> […] *resta il fatto, su cui è difficile accendere dubbi, che avendo da tempo il museo locale cessato di rappresentarsi come il "salotto buono della municipalità" (per usare la sapida definizione di Andrea Emiliani), per la semplice ragione che, di solito, il salotto non è più intrinseco alla configurazione psico-culturale dei gruppi municipali, i materiali del museo avrebbero dovuto essere traslocati in altra apposita stanza chiamata, con un termine che designa egalitaria efficienza, laboratorio. Si rifletta infatti che solo una quota, e non certo la più rilevante, del patrimonio raccolto nei musei locali, a cominciare da quelli a esponente archeologico, è, per così dire, "a funzionamento estetico" e che tutto il resto ha quasi sempre titolo per entrare in altri, importanti circuiti: quello attinente all'intera gamma delle serie storiche, in particolare ove si riconsideri con equilibrio la distanza, spesso più apparente che reale, tra storia nazionale e storia locale; e quello attinente ad una sorta di semiotica del territorio, sulla cui funzionalità agli studi per l'assetto urbanistico non è il caso di insistere. È evidente che attivare questi due circuiti vuol dire, da un lato, immettere organicamente le testimonianze visive storiche nei processi formativi e di qualificazione; dall'altro, riconoscere il nesso tra tutela del patrimonio culturale, museificato o no, e politica del territorio*.[164]

> [...] the fact remains, about which it is difficult to raise doubts, that since the local museum has long since ceased to represent itself as "the municipality's salon" (to use Andrea Emiliani's wise definition), for the simple reason that, usually, the salon is no longer intrinsic to the psycho-cultural configuration of municipal groups, the museum's materials should have been moved to another special room called, with a term that designates egalitarian efficiency, the laboratory. In fact, it should be kept in mind that only a portion, and certainly not the most relevant parts, of the patrimony collected in local museums, beginning with the archaeological exponent, is, so to speak, "aesthetically functioning" and that all the rest is almost always entitled to enter other, important circuits: the one pertaining to the whole range of historical series, particularly where the distance, often more apparent than real, between national and local history is reconsidered with greater balance; and the one pertaining to a sort of semiotics of the territory, which are functional to research in urban planning, but it is not the case to insist. It is

[161] Rangoni, "Orte. Museo Diocesano:" 215–16.
[162] Rangoni, "Orte. Museo Diocesano:" 215.
[163] Rangoni, "Orte. Museo Diocesano:" 216.
[164] Bruno Toscano, "Introduzione," *I Musei locali del Lazio*: XVII.

> evident that to activate these two circuits means, on the one hand, to organically introduce visual historical evidence into the processes of formation and qualification; on the other, to recognize the connection between safeguarding cultural heritage, whether or not it is a museum, and local politics. (trans. Author)

3.2. Art photography as a safeguarding strategy. An independent photographer documents Orte (1967-about 1988)

The logical evolution of this analysis would lead to an in-depth discussion of the development of Italian museological models based on the premises indicated by Toscano, Emiliani and Montella. This discussion, however, together with the one concerning the premises for a city museum at Orte, will be deferred to the next two chapters. The following section will delve into the propaedeutic potential of documentation in conservation, one of the *fils rouge* of this research; hence our attention turs to the role of photography and, more precisely, the work of one photographer, Max Hutzel, for a new narration of Orte's heritage and its community.

For Adolfo Venturi the use of photography served to "*vedere e rivedere*" the masterpieces of art history and characterized his teaching method from his first lessons at the University of Rome.[165] His students spread and deepened Venturi's method, giving increasing importance to photography. For Pietro Toesca, the art-historical method "*consiste essenzialmente nel saper vedere*,"[166] a skill acquired by training one's eyes through visits to art collections and monumental complexes, or, in everyday practice, through the study of art photography.[167] The discipline became increasingly important and developed in parallel with the medium's technology.[168] It was customary for students like Matthiae and Mortari to accompany their studies, as well as their conservation activities, with image documentation from photo libraries or *ad hoc* photo campaigns. [169] This is evident from the 19th-

[165] Aldi, "Istituzione di una cattedra:" 121.
[166] Pietro Toesca, "Lezione del 22 novembre 1911" citato in Aldi, "Istituzione di una cattedra:"120-121.
[167] *Cf.* Pietro Toesca, *Aosta*, vol. Fasc. 1, Catalogo delle cose d'arte e di Antichità d'Italia, Seria 1 (Roma: Direzione Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti, 1911); Paola Callegari e Edith Gabrielli, eds., *Pietro Toesca e la fotografia. "Saper Vedere"* (Milan: Skira, 2009).
[168] Frederick N. Bohrer, "Photographic Perspectives: Photography and the Institutional Formation of Art History," in *Art History and Its Institutions: Foundations of a Discipline*, ed. Elizabeth Mansfield (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 246–59.
[169] Maria Grazia Bernardini, "Guglielmo Matthiae," in *Dizionario biografico dei Soprintendenti storici dell'arte (1904 - 1974)* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2007): 351–53.

century photograph by Giovanni Gargiolli that Mortari chose to include in her catalogue of the *Museo Diocesano di Orte* (fig. 7a-b). [170]

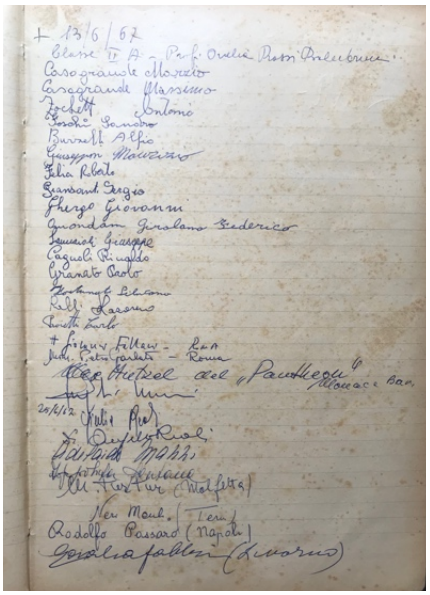
In the early years of the 20th century, leading art photographers – like Anderson, Brogi, Hanfstaengl and Bruckmann, Alinari, Lattes, Danesi, and Paraviae – and their patrons favored works from (certain) major centers and rarely included works dating later than the 16th century.[171] This approach continued throughout the century,[172] influencing the study, teaching, restoration, and conservation of Italian art. Today, with digital media and the proliferation of images, art photography acquires an even more critical meaning, taking on different values that, however, depend on whether or not images can be accessed on the Internet and whether or not their metadata can trace the users back to the physical object and its location.

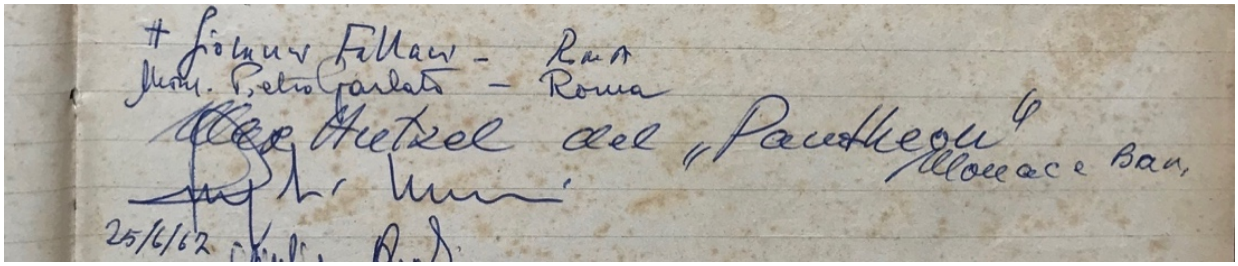
*****

Between 1967, the year of the inauguration of the Diocesan Museum, and the mid-1980s, Orte benefited from the attention of a German-born photographer named Max Hutzel (Möhringen, 1911 - Rome, 1988), who dedicated himself to an independent preservation operation which included Orte's cultural heritage. In spite of his decades-long commitment, only two traces of Hutzel's stay in the small town can be found: (1) the print of a sculpture by Andrea Bregna from the Diocesan collection the local museum, now preserved in the local Diocesan Archives (fig. 38) and (2) the photographer's

[170] *Il Viaggio in Italia di Giovanni Gargiolli: Le origini del Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, 1895-1913*, Clemente Marsicola, ed. (Rome: ICCD, 2014).
At the time of its birth, therefore, the Diocesan Museum of Orte had little up-to-date documentation and a photographic collection only partially filled by Foto Scalfa, a local firm dedicated mostly to bureaucratic photo services (fig. 30). *Cf.* Mortari, *Diocesan Museum*; Funeral page with Gisella Klumm's photograph of 1964 (Source: Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4, ASDO).
[171] Aldi, "Istituzione di una cattedra:" 120.
[172] Regine Schallert and Johannes Röll, "La Fototeca della Biblioteca Hertziana (Istituto Max Planck per la Storia dell'arte," in *Immagini e Memoria. Gli archivi fotografici di istituzioni culturali della Città di Roma; Atti del Convegno, Roma, Palazzo Barberini, 3 - 4 Dicembre 2012*, ed. Barbara Fabjan (Roma: Gangemi, 2015): 169–82.







(top left) Fig. III-38. Photograph taken in the ASDO showing a printed photograph of Hutzel kept in the "Diocesan Museum" folder and a digital image of the same photograph in comparison (left, top; (top right and below) Fig. III-39 and Fig. III-40. The museum's first visitors' register book, ASDO, with a detail of the register image with the signature of Max Hutzel and Prof. L. Mortari.

signature deposited in the visitors' register next to that of Prof. Luisa Mortari on 13 June 1967 (figs. 39-40).[173]

Hutzel was self-taught in the field of art history but had received an exceptional technical education. He was driven by the conviction that photographic documentation was one of the most effective methods for protecting the art and monuments of Italy's small towns. For this reason, he devoted the last thirty years of his life to an ambitious project called *Foto Arte Minore* (1956-1988), a collection

[173] After the photographer's signature it reads "del *Panthéon* – rivista internazionale d'arte – Monaco Bav." Perusal of the magazine has not allowed us to find any trace of his work for the periodical, a publication which in fact dealt with anything but the 'minor' decorative arts.
Above the signature of Max Hutzel, there are the signatures of two clerics who signed alongside the photographer and the official are Don Giovanni Fallaci and Msgr. Pietro Garlato. This could be Monsignor Pietro Garlato (1928-2013), bishop emeritus of Tivoli, former Consultor of the C.E.I. for Ecclesiastical Cultural Heritage - H.E. Monsignor Pietro Garlato, Bishop of Palestrina. At the beginning of his career the prelate was active in the activities of AGESCI. The signature of many children on the register suggests the hypothesis that the occasion of the visit to Orte was part of Boy Scouts' activities. "Diocesi: mons. Parmeggiani (Tivoli) su mons. Garlato," accessed 2020/04/05, https://www.agensir.it/quotidiano/2019/4/29/diocesi-mons-parmeggiani-tivoli-su-mons-garlato-uomo-buono-e-umile-che-ha-amato-la-chiesa-il-paese-e-il-bene-comune/.

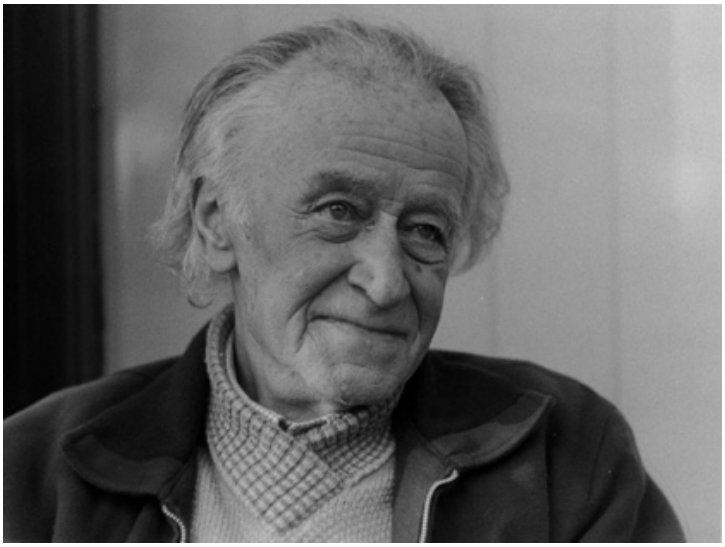


Fig. III-41. Portrait of Max Hutzel (circa 1978) (Photo: Roberto Sigismondi)

of over 80,000 printed photographs and 900,000 negatives[174] , described by the art critic and historian Mario d'Onofrio as a "miniera preziosa e inestimabile d'immagini."[175] Of these, 312 photographs – all unstudied until now – were taken in Orte between 1967 and 1988 (*data ante quem*).[176]

The photographic fund, now owned by the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles (USA), captures minor centers in fifteen Italian regions, documenting their artistic and architectural heritage, as well as the evolution of their states of conservation over the arc of three decades[177] . In some cases, his work represents the only evidence of works that have been lost to time and neglect, or have been subject to *ripristino*, stolen or abandoned.[178] In *Foto Arte Minore*, the landscape, archaeology, town planning, and art collections (from museums and beyond) become elements of a common narrative, reflecting the history of thousands of small Italian towns.[179] To date, this photographic *corpus* has been the subject of only two short scholarly essays. Nonetheless, the investigations carried out over the course of this research have exposed the immense potential of this documentation.

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[174] Schallert, "I tesori nascosti d'Italia:" 338.

[175] Citazione di una lettera indirizzata al Getty, 1985/09/13. Cfr. Nota 2, Brent Maddox, "'Bunched Images Begetting Ideas,'" in *Art History through the Camera's Lens*, ed. Helen E. Roberts (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1995): 385.

[176] As an assistant to the established photographer Paul Wolff, Hutzel went on a "Grand Tour" of Italy as early as the 1930s in which he witnessed the creation of a book illustrated clichéd photographs of a rustic Italy captured by state-of-the-art cameras and portable photographic technology (Fig. 43). *Cf.* Schallert, "I tesori nascosti d'Italia:" 337.

[177] See Martha Steele et al., "Finding Aid for Foto Arte Minore: Max Hutzel Photographs of Art and Architecture in Italy," Foto Arte Minori - Max Hutzel, Series VI. Lazio (GRI, n.d.), http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/getty/spcoll/86.P.8.pdf.

[178] Federico Farina and Roberto Sigismondi, "Max Hutzel: Fotografo e 'Cantore' dell'Abbazia di Casamari," *La Provincia*, 2018/04/29: 39. For example, Gabriele Barucca notes that a cross that served as a support for a crucifix was lost after 1970, but is documented in the photo GRI, N.6911.H88, Marche, Tolentino, San Francesco, n. 42. *Cf.* note 35, Gabriele Barucca, "Medieval evidence in the church of San Catervo in Tolentino," in *Le Cattedrali. Macerata Tolentino Recanati Cingoli Treia* (Macerata : Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio della provincia di Macerata, 2010):: 119.
Max Hutzel references works he photographed at Orte that he reports as stolen. *Cf.* Max Hutzel, "*Orte - Die Kirche und das Museum Diocesano S. Silvestro; Die Cattedrale Assunta (Lazio)*," an undated document preserved with the photos of the Diocesan Museum at GRI. It is available in digital form in two files entitled: "gri_86_p_8_b244_f2_000a" and"gri_86_p_8_b244_f2_000b." These are some marble fragments also partly published by Joselita Raspi Serra in *Le diocesi dell'Alto Lazio*. Spoleto: Centro Studi Italiano sull'Alto Medioevo, 1974. In *Foto Arte Minore* of the GRI, in the category "Antiquities: Fragments of sculpture", the digital images "gri_86_p_8_b245_f1_006.jpg" and "gri_86_p_8_b245_f1_007.jpg" can be found, which correspond respectively to the images 175 and 176 of the digital catalogue with the photos of the Diocesan Museum, *cf.* http://hdl.handle.net/10020/86p8s06m678.

[179] Hutzel's photos appear to have been published in no fewer than 35 scientific articles written from 1965 to 2020, more than half of which were written from 2000 onwards.

The current section of this chapter will therefore proceed with an *excursus* on the studies dedicated to Max Hutzel (fig. 41) and his *Foto Art Minore and* will then proceed with a cultural biography of the photographer based on the information gathered and, sometimes discovered, in the course of this research.

3.2.1. Max Hutzel and *Foto Arte Minore*. Documentation as preservation

To fully understand the scope and significance of Hutzel's work in Orte, it is necessary to contextualize *Foto Arte Minor* project within the photographer's career. This analysis is complicated by the limited number of studies devoted to the subject; they amount to a few short articles. On the occasion of the 10th and then of the 20th anniversary of the photographer's death, his assistant Roberto Sigismondi,[180] who has been collaborating with the Fototeca Hertziana for 40 years, as well as with the Kunsthistorische Institut Florenz and the National Gallery of Art Washington. In gratitude, Sigismondi shared choice memories about his teacher in local publications.[181] The first scientific study dedicated to Hutzel, however, was published about ten years ago. It is the work of Regine Schallert, art historian and scientific collaborator of the Bibliotheca Hertziana 's Photographic Collection. She carried out in-depth research at the Photo Study Collection of the Getty Research Institute in order to compare two of the most important collections of *Foto Arte Minore*: the Getty collection and that of the Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max Planck Institute for Art History's Photographic Collection (BHR).[182] Through this comparative study, Schallert laid the first solid foundation for an adequate understanding of Hutzel and *Foto Arte Minor*.[183] Subsequently, in 2014, upon concluding

[180] Caraffa Costanza and Ute Dercks, "Die metiers des fotografen. Roberto Sigismondi," Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Online Exhibition Opening 2020/09/12 http://photothek.khi.fi.it/documents/oau/00000310.
In addition to the popular articles written by Roberto Sigismondi, the many phone conversations devoted to Max Hutzel's work and the few unpublished photos of Hutzel held in Sigismondi's private collection were particularly important. Our exchanges occurred weekly during the *lockdown* from March 11 to early May 2020. The telephone exchange continued through 2021 when the author was able to meet Sigismondi at his home. Special thanks to Roberto Sigismondo for 'introducing' the author to his beloved teacher.
At the Bibliotheca Hertziana's Photographic Collection, the author was also able to meet Enrico Fontolan, a photographer trained by Sigismondi, to view some of Max Hutzel's prints together.
[181] Roberto Sigismondi, "Max Hutzel, il mio maestro," *Gazzetta di Casal Palocco*, 1998/12, no. 232; Federico Farina and Roberto Sigismondi, "Max Hutzel: Fotografo e 'cantore' dell'Abbazia di Casamari," *La Provincia*, 2018/04/29.
[182] Deepest thanks to Dr. Schallert for her generous support of this research and for her availability by email and phone during the first lockdown. In May 2020, she lent an entire binder of notes and photocopies collected at the Getty during an earlier fellowship. She was equally generous with her time when it was possible to return in person to the Photographic Collection in 2021.
[183] The results of the studies have been condensed in a short essay published in *Photo Archives and Photographic Memory of Art History*, an authoritative volume that remains a cornerstone for studies devoted to photo libraries and, above all, to their new significance in the digital age. *Cf.* Regine Schallert, "I tesori nascosti d'Italia. L'archivio dello studio 'Foto Arte Minore' di Max Hutzel," in *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, ed. Costanza Caraffa,

the digitization of 80,000 of Hutzel's photographic prints preserved in California, Tracy Schuster, Head of Permissions and Photo Archive Services at the Getty Research Institute, published the second and final essay devoted to Hutzel. In her paper, she described the photographer's working method, the content of *Foto Arte Minore* and the collection's importance for the American public, emphasizing how this documentation could enhance the field of conservation.[184]

Although the three authors and Hutzel's heirs were contacted during the course of this research, there is still very little information to help reconstruct his cultural biography. He was born in Swabia,[185] not far from Stuttgart, where he trained from 1928 to 1930 as a typographer at an institute that he remembered as the "*Akademie oder Schule des ‚Bauhaus' oder des Kubismus oder auch Surrealismus*."[186] The building (fig. 42) was located 150 meters from the Weißenhofsiedlung,

Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, and Courtauld Institute of Art, Italienische Forschungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, Max-Planck-Institut (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011): 335–45.

[184] Tracey Schuster, "Foto Arte Minore: The Max Hutzel Collection of Photographs of Art and Architecture in Italy," *Getty Research Journal*, no. 6 (2014): 129-36, https://doi.org/10.1086/675795.

[185] Roberto Sigismondi reconstructed this place and date of birth in a telephone conversation with the author on 2020/04/13. This information diverges from that reported in the biography of Max Hutzel on the Bibliotheca Hertziana website (https://www.biblhertz.it/de/photographers/max-hutzel, consulted 2020/02/14) and by Tracey Schuster. Roberto Sigismundi has published the place of birth, news of Hutzel's brothers, and date of death in Federico Farina and Roberto Sigismondi, "Max Hutzel: Fotografo e 'Cantore' dell'Abbazia di Casamari:" 38.

[186] Translation into English: "The Academy or Bauhaus school of Cubism and Surrealism." *Cf.* Letter accompanying photographic campaign for Museo Campano in Capua, notes on Ground Floor, Rooms 5-9 (*Cf.* "Campania--Caserta--Capua--Museo Campano, 1960-1990," http://hdl.handle.net/10020/86p8s03m022, consulted 2020/06/24).
During regular telephone call with the author in the spring of 2020, Roberto Sigismondi recalled receiving Kandinsky's book from Hutzel with instructions to use the text as "study material." *Cf.* Wassily Kandinsky, *Point and Line to Plane*, trans. Howard Dearstyne and Hilla Rebay, Bauhaus Books 9 (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1927). Hutzel told his students only that he had been trained at the Bauhaus through exercises in cutout and composition that echoed those developed by Wassily Kandinsky in his text *Point and Line to Plane*.
Regarding Hutzel's training, it is worth noting that he attended a course in typography from 1928 to 1930 in Stuttgart, at the art academy founded as the *Württembergische Staatliche Kunstgewerbeschule zur Förderung der deutschen Kunstindustrie* and today called *Die Staatliche Akademie der Bildenden Künste Stuttgart* (the ABK Stuttgart). The connection between the ABK Stuttgart, the Bauhaus and the trends of the German avant-garde, as well as between the artist and the lecturer Willi Baumeister, are confirmed by the official website of the art academy itself, as well as the common fate of being considered degenerate art: "During the time of National Socialism, the connection to modernism was cut; here too, artists were forbidden to work, defamed as being 'degenerate'." (http://www.abk-stuttgart.de/en/academy/profile/history-of-abk-stuttgart.html, consulted 2020/06/24). See Schallert, "I tesori nascosti d'Italia:" 336-337, note 5.
"Staatliche Akademie der Bildenden Künste Stuttgart," wikipedia.it, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Staatliche_Akademie_der_Bildenden_Künste_Stuttgart , accessed 2020/04/02); Arnold Lyongrun and M. J. Gradl. *Masterworks of Art Nouveau Stained Glass*. Mineola, New York: Dover: 83.

[186] Exemplary in this regard is a visit he made to the Museo Campano in Capua in 1960, just a few years after he began photographing minor towns, where he was moved by the statues of Mater Matuta (fig. 48) and wrote a more prosaic note than usual, in which he concluded, "they are nothing but Bauhaus art." This is the first and only document, to date found, in which the photographer writes about his academic training.
The only teacher whose activities at the academy at the time of Hutzel's training can be ascertained is Rudolf Rochga (Teterow, 1875 - Murrhardt, Germany, 1957), an artist linked to the *Jugendstil* movement from the early 20th century (fig. 45). He was commissioned to decorate the facade of the institute with six monumental reliefs celebrating arts and crafts as early as 1930. Their geometric and almost Orientalizing stylization does not look towards the Bauhaus style, although there is a co-presence of modern design together with the 19th century tradition of Arts & Crafts as well as Art Deco. The

headquarters of the *Deutscher Werkbund*, designed by Le Corbusier, Peter Behrens and Mies van der Rohe: Bauhaus architects.[187] The second *Werkbond* exhibition – a movement with strong links to the Arts and Crafts movement – was held in Stuttgart in 1927, on the grounds adjacent to the art academy, and became the Modernist Movement's international showcase. This it becomes clear that Hutzel's artistic education took place in a cultural climate that was particularly dynamic from a theoretical, artistic, architectural and even urbanistic point of view, aspects that shine through in his later artistic production.[188]

Max Hutzel's transition from typography to photography is not documented, but Schallert suggests that this artistic choice could be linked to the cultural climate that pervaded the city of Stuttgart, marked by the important exhibition *Film und Foto*, organized by the *Deutscher Werkbund* and inaugurated in 1929 (the last year of Hutzel's professional career).[189] While training in this milieu, the skills he acquired in the field of printing, enabled Hutzel to make his way into the German publishing industry in the 1930s and participate in the rapid development of photographic technology.[190] Between 1930 and 1936,[191] worked for the studio

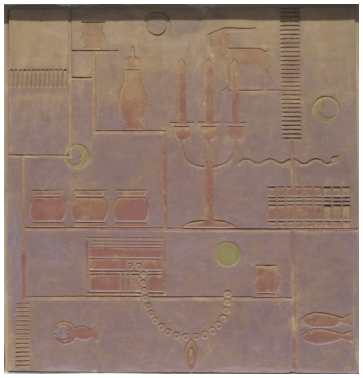


Fig. III-42. Rudolf Rochga, Relief 6, symbolizing the decorative arts from the façade of the Stuttgart' art academy (3m x 3m) c. 1930. (Photo: Gerd Leibrock, CC BY-SA 3.0)

reliefs by Rudolf Rochga can be dated thanks to the images published in the volume *Führer durch die Württ*. Staatl. Kunstgewerbeschule Stuttgart 1930-31 (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Dr. Fritz Wedekind & Co., o. J., 1932).

[187] *Cf. Bauhaus* (New York: MoMA, 1938): 12-14.

[188] Rem Koolhass and AMO, *Countryside, a Report: Countryside in Your Pocket!* (New York: Guggenheim Taschen, 2020).

[189] Schallert, "I tesori nascosti d'Italia:" 336-337.

[190] Although Hutzel never worked with equipment of this caliber after his apprenticeship, the experience gave him the skills to make full use of the equipment at his disposal, both in the field and in the darkroom. In the last years of his life, Hutzel gave a copy of *Arbeit!* (Berlin: Volk und Reich, 1937) with photos by Paul Wolff and Alfred Tritschler, text by Paul Georg Ehrhardt) to his assistant Roberto Sigismondi. Hutzel recommended the volume as a didactic demonstration manual on how to compose a photograph. Here he describes the use of models or actors posed as *tableaux vivants,* as well as complex lighting systems. Ulrich Prehn confirms this working method on the basis of documents and negatives by Wolff and Tritschold, dating from the mid-1930s and preserved at the Opel AG archives in Rüsselsheim am Main (Germany). See footnote 22 in Ulrich Prehn (2015): 375.
On a technical level, Hutzel learned from Wolff how to pay particular attention to light and shadow, a sensitivity made even more acute by the lenses, lamps and machinery supplied to them directly by Leica to advertise their technological innovations. It is interesting to note how the documentation already included paradigms, naming the equipment used in the caption, together with the model number, or even filmed within the photographic campaigns to demonstrate their use. See Hans Koetzle, "Chronology of the Life and Work of Dr. Paul Wolff and Alfred Tritschler," in *Dr. Paul Wolff & Trischler: Light and Shadow - Photographs from 1920 to 1950* (Berlin: Ernst Leitz Museum, 2019): 98.

[191] The economic difficulties of this period did not spare the Hutzel family. For generations they had lived in a holiday home near Möringen, where, it is said, their ancestors had hosted Goethe and Schiller. The land was sold at a reduced price because of the development project that led to the Stuttgart International Airport (built in 1939). Communication by Roberto Sigismondi.

of Dr. Paul Wolff & Tritschler, working directly with Wolff,[192] a renowned photojournalist and pioneer of Leica,[193] on commercial and documentary photo campaigns like the 1936 Berlin Olympics.[194] Thus Hutzel experienced directly a season of photography dominated by heroic images, an agenda promoted by figures such as the art historian Paul Schultze-Naumburg, who sought to annihilate any form of art that did not obey classical canons.[195] As Hutzel himself partly admitted, the decision to devote himself to the documenting 'minor' subjects can be read as a rejection of this ideology and cultural actions in service of telling a singular account of 'great' History.

At Wolff's workshop, Hutzel embarked on a career as a photojournalist, working alongside the master photographer in a number of campaigns documenting German cities which, as in the case of Frankfurt, were the only evidence of structures destroyed by bombings in 1944. [196] From Wolff he learned that documenting a city meant showing its specific features: urban plans, buildings, means of transport, commercial activities, graphic elements, commercial and residential structures, but also the

[192] Regine Schallert reports news from Roberto Sigismondi about the apprenticeship with Wolff. *Cf.* Schallert, "I tesori nascosti d'Italia:" 337. Ulrich Prehn reports on the photojournalism courses Wolff held with his partner Alfred Tritschler from 1935 to 1942, *cf.* Prehn (2015): 375, note 22.
Wolff, a physician by training, created reportage in line with the *Neue Sachlichkeit* movement, for which the photojournalist was required to act with objectivity and scientific rigor: "His work is purpose, it is document. He must shoot things as they are in front of him." Author's translation. Quoted by Paul Wolff in Paul Wolff and Georg Biermann (1938): 25. The original quotes, "*Seine Arbeit ist Zweck, ist Dokument. Er wird die Dinge nehmen müssen, wie sie vor ihm stehen*." *Cf.* Schallert, "I tesori nascosti d'Italia:" 337, note 8. On Wolff's education, *Cf.* Koetzle, "Chronology of the Life and Work of Dr. Paul Wolff and Alfred Tritschler:" 420.
[193] Paul Wolff's books were commissioned by both private and public entities and were both independent and, often, commercial publications, intended for a general audience. He popularized the use of the Leica with *Meine Erfahrungen mit der Leica. Ein historischer Querschnitt aus fast 10 Jahren Leica-Photographie.* Frankfurt am Main: Breidenstein, 1934 and *Meine Erfahrungen mit der Leica farbig* (1940), *cf.* Schuster, "Foto Arte Minore:" 129. His travel books include *Griechenland im Auto erlebt.* München: Bruckmann, 1936 (photos by Paul Wolff and Alfred Tritschler, text by Carl Wiskott) and *Kleine Italienfahrt*. Berlin: Specht, 1938, (photo by Wolff with text by Georg Biermann). Koetzle, *Dr. Paul Wolff & Trischler*: 98-99.
[194] Paul Wolff also figures among the 191 exponents of *Film und Foto* with six of his own photographs. See Koetzle, "Chronology of the Life and Work of Dr. Paul Wolff and Alfred Tritschler:" 423.
News of the collaboration between Hutzel and Wolff comes from Regina Schallert's research in the private archives of Marinella Canale, niece of Hutzel's widow, in which she recovered negatives with dates and places that corresponded to the itinerary outlined by Wolff in the Appendix of *Italienfahrt*: 31-32. *Cf.* Schallert, "I tesori nascosti d'Italia:" 337. According to Dr. Canale these materials have been lost.
[195] The phrase 'noble humanity' was used by Paul Schultze-Naumburg in *Nordische Schönheit,* 111, cited by Johann Chapoutot in "From Stone to Flesh: The Body of the New Aryan Man between Aesthetics and Eugenics," in *Greeks, Romans, Germans*, trans. Richard R. Nybakken, 1st ed., How the Nazis Usurped Europe's Classical Past (University of California Press, 2016), 189, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1f5g5m8.7. Chapoutot's essay delves into the use of classical sculpture to define the new aesthetic, such as its ideal bodies 'displayed' at the 1936 Olympics, photographed in detail by Paul Wolff, Max Hutzel's mentor discussed below.
[196] Schuster, "Foto Arte Minore:" 129. Relative to these campaigns, Regine Schallert was able to identify photographs of the stained glass windows in Mainz Cathedral. Communicated to the author by email on 2020-04-20.
Cf. Alt-Frankfurt. *Vierzig Bilder nach Aufnahmen von Paul Wolff.* Frankfurt: Englert & Schlosser, 1923. Wolff continued his documentation of Frankfurt even after the publication of this volume. Wolff's photographs still constitute the most important documentation of *Old Frankfurt*, but most of Paul Wolff's archive was lost during the same bombing raids that destroyed the city in March 1944. See https://drwolffundtritschler.de.tl/Bildarchiv.htm (consulted 2020/04/01).
It was not possible to consult images of either this publication or another parallel publication from the 1930s. *Cf. Ins Land der Franken fahren ... Eine Mainreise*. Bilder von Paul Wolff. Verhagen & Klasing, 1934.

surrounding landscape. The young Hutzel, in fact, followed Wolff along the Italian peninsula for a project that culminated in the volume *Kleine Italienfahrt* (1938): a traditional itinerary across the Italian territory told through a series of *clichés* in the footsteps of Goethe (fig. 43).[197]

In some respects, there was an evident generation gap that, over time, separated the master and his pupil. This is most obvious in his commitment to make *Foto Arte Minor;* twenty years after *Kleine Italienfahrt*, Hutzel described Italy in diametric opposition to Wolff's vision.[198] He avoided the so-called *città d'arte* and concentrated on places like Orte, towns forgotten by the persistent tradition of the Grand Tour, in pursuit of capturing their essence and identifying their specific forms. [199]



Fig. III-43. Assisi photographed by Paul Wolff in Kleine Italienfahrt (1938).

As per Hutzel's early career, the young photographer work as a photojournalist during and after the war. From 1953, he worked as a film photographer in Rome on the sets of neorealist directors (figs. 44-47). This experience allowed him to consolidate his mastery of composition, space, and lighting, and to develop the determination to save the traces of an endangered and shape-shifting Italy. He was also aware that, in the mid-Fifties, Italian cultural heritage was no longer threatened by the bombs, but by the economic boom and gentrification.[200]

[197] *Cf.* Schallert, "I tesori nascosti d'Italia:" 337.
The caption in the original read: "Mittelalter in Assisi," *cf.* Wolff, *Kleine Italienfahrt* (Berlin: Specht, 1938): 33. In the photo, Piazza del Comune is shot from above and foreshortened, a pretext for crystallizing the Mediterranean light, cutting the space with wings of light and shadow. The title diverts attention to the Palazzo dei Priori in the background - a structure restored in the twentieth century, emphasizing its medieval *facies* - and to the female figure with the basket in the foreground. Wolff thus weaves a fable, erasing the coexistence of medieval architecture with fifteenth-century (the portal on the right) and eighteenth-century (the fountain in the centre of the picture) architecture.
[198] The title *Foto Arte Minore* does not appear in the Hutzel fonds dating from the 1960s. It appears frequently only from 1977 (*post quem* date) being used by his assistants, hired at that time. For example, Roberto Sigismondi cited his master's operation when he titled his own documentary work *Foto Arte Italiana.*
[199] In the only minor center reported in *Italienfahrt*, Wolff denies the Calabrian identity of Morano Calabro, describing it as "Un borgo senese," or "Bergnest bei Siena," *cf.* Wolff, *Kleine Italienfahrt*, 1938: 27.
[200] Interestingly, Hutzel showed a strong interest in documenting private Roman palaces, real estate that was the focus of alterations and modernizations to accommodate new tastes, *cf.* Schallert, "The Hidden Treasures of Italy:" 342. This aspect of *Foto Arte Minore* remains entirely unexplored; a fruitful starting point might be the documentation of archaeological finds reused in Rome's aristocratic palaces such as, for example, those of the sarcophagi in Piazza Margana, 24 (Rome) preserved at the German Archaeological Institute, Rome (inv. 68.1204-68.1209).

The genesis of the *Foto Arte Minore* project is little known. In a 1982 letter addressed to the head of the Getty's Photographic Archive, Max Hutzel describes it as follows: "*Circa trent'anni fa ho rilevato che negli archivi italiani statali e privati esistenti era stato raccolto soltanto materiale fotografico dei più grandi musei e città, dei più famosi palazzi e chiese; …* [e dei] *pittori, scultori e architetti noti in tutto il mondo*."[201]



Fig. III-44. Gina Lollobrigida, photo for a book dedicated to the actress (no date), (Hutzel, Rome);
Fig. III-45. Photo of Totò and Anna Maria Ferrero on the set of Totò e Carolino (1955) by Mario Monicelli, (Hutzel, Rome);
Fig. III-46. Photo of Sophia Loren from the set of Due notti con Cleopatra (1953) by Mario Mattoli, (Hutzel, Rome),
Fig. III-47. Photo of Max Hutzel as an actor (in the role of a German soldier) with Alberto Sordi from the set of Tutti a casa (1960) by Luigi Comencini (photographer unknown, Rome). The four photos above are unpublished and come from the private archive of Roberto Sigismondi.

In the notes that often accompany *Foto Arte Minore*, the language Hutzel uses to describe his subjects – words like "crude," "primitive," "folk" – hint at vestiges of romantic affinities towards *Volkskunst.*[202] Other notes show how Hutzel explicitly rejected tradition hierarchies of art and artists:

> *Basta mit den Kirchen und Kunsttwerken von Rom und Florenz, Basta mit Giotto, Michelangelo, Raffaello, Bernini und Bramante, auch unsere Cattedralen, Paläste und Kirchen da und dort sind Kuntwerke erstter Ordnung und reich an Kleinoden der Kunst, die jenen von Rom und Florenz zumindest gleichkommen.*[203]
>
> Enough of the churches and works of art in Rome and Florence, enough of Giotto, Michelangelo, Raphael, Bernini and Bramante, even our ranndom cathedrals, palaces and churches are first-rate works of art and are full of gems of art, at least equal to those in Rome and Florence (trans. Author)

[201] Schallert, "I tesori nascosti d'Italia:" 336.
[202] On the continuity and evolution between 19th century *das handwerk* and 20th century *kunsthandwerk,* see Stefan Muthesius, "Handwerk/Kunsthandwerk," *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 1 (1998): 85-95. For the quote by Max Hutzel, *Cf.* Cover letter on Rosciolo dei Marsi (AQ) - S. Maria, a document consulted among Regine Schallert's notes, collected at GRI in 2010. Available online: https://rosettaapp.getty.edu/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE407285, consulted 2020/06/25.
[203] "Leitmottiv: Das unbekannte Italien" included in the notes on L'Aquila - die Basilika S. Bernardino, indexed between 1983/09/29 and 1983/10/05. Special thanks to Susanna Ohtenen and Andrea Cecchi for their assistance in translating this and other texts from German.



Fig. III-48. Votive figure of the Mater Matuta, circa 4th century, Museo Provinciale Campano, Capua (Photo: Max Hutzel, Source: "gri_86_p_8_b076_f3_092.jpg", GRI, Digital image

This synthesis reveals the aesthetic values that underpinned *Foto Arte Minor*, namely a moral drive to document the anti-monumental and the micro-histories of art (fig. 48).[204] Hutzel therefore sought to fill this knowledge gap, a gap creating by the common practice of marginalizing certain works and places in the shadows of the 'great' monuments of art and architecture.

The second half of the 1950's saw the beginning of a fruitful collaboration between Hutzel and the art historian Guglielmo Matthiae (Rome, 1909 - 1977),[205] a figure active in the restoration of the Campanile di San Silvestro in Orte in the mid-1950s and, later, in the creation of the Museo Diocesano as first class director of the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie e ai Monumenti di Roma e del Lazio.[206] The earliest evidence of their collaboration,[207] discovered during this research, dates back to the creation of the catalogue of the National Museum of L'Aquila (figs. 49-51), in which some images owned by the Getty Research Institute and the Soprintendenza correspond to parallel prints preserved in the BHR's Photographic Collection.[208] Bringing the experience at L'Aquila back to Orte, one can imagine that it was Matthiae who suggested the newly opened Diocesan Museum, so rich in decorative arts, as a subject for Max Hutzel's *Foto Arte Minore.*

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[204] In addition to Guglielmo Matthiae, Hutzel's work was appreciated and published by Otto Lehmann-Brockhaus (1909-1999), general librarian of the Bibliotheca Hertziana from 1962, who took over as director of the Institute until 1977. *Cf.* Otto Lehmann-Brockhaus. *Abruzzen und Molise*. Andreas Thielemann and Martin Raspe, eds. Living Book (Rome: Bibliotheca Hertziana, 2009), http://db.biblhertz.it/abruzzo/index.xml.

[205] "Max Hutzel," Photographers, Online Photo Archive, ICCD, accessed 2020/02/14, http://www.fotografia.iccd.beniculturali.it/index.php?r=photographers/view&id=41.

[206] Bernardini, "Guglielmo Matthiae," in *Dizionario biografico dei Soprintendenti:* 352; Guglielmo Matthiae, "Lavori della Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio. Frescoes in S. Maria in Vescovio,"s *Bollettino d'arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, II (August - Year XXVIII 1934): 86-96.

[207] Examples of this are the photo of the carved window blind from the 12th century of the Museo Nazionale dell'Aquila belonging to the Soprintendenza (registered with no. 4083) (fig. 49) and the photos of the same work, belonging to Foto Hutzel (fig. 50), both acquired by the Hertziana at the same time (registered respectively as BHR 097112 and BHR 097107). In all likelihood, this was the same photographic campaign that Hutzel carried out for Matthiae-which included both Fine Arts and Minor Arts subjects-after which the photographer sold some negatives to the Abruzzi Superintendency, while other contemporary photographs remained the property of Foto Hutzel and were sold to the Hertziana over the years.
See "Hutzel + Matthiae" at http://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/cerca/fotografia (consulted 2020/01/20); Guglielmo Matthiae, *Il Castello dell'Aquila ed il Museo Nazionale abruzzese*, Itinerari Dei Musei, Gallerie e Monumenti d'Italia, 101 (Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, 1959): 30.

[208] The photo "gri_86_p_8_b004_f4_020.jpeg" (Fig. 50) corresponds with Soprintendenza dell'Aquila, n. 4038, BHR 097112. It hasnot been possible to trace the Soprintendenza's version due to the difficulty in obtaining permits from the authority, still overburdened with paperwork related to the devastating 2009 earthquake.



Fig. III-49. Window blinds from Carsoli: Detail (Source: Guglielmo, Il Castello dell'Aquila ed il Museo Nazionale Abruzzese, (1959), cat. 30); Fig. III-50. Carved imposts, S. Maria in Cellis (Carsoli). Preserved at the Museo Nazionale Abruzzese (L'Aquila) (Source:, "gri_86_p_8_b004_f4_020.jpeg," GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program); Fig. III-51. Detail of the Visitation from the carved right casement, 1132. Preserved in the Museo Nazionale Abruzzese (L'Aquila) (Photo: Hutzel, BHR 097107, Photo: Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom).

Since the Thirties, Matthiae dedicated his research to understudied monumental complexes, investigating the meeting ground between archaeology and art history, Antiquity and Christianity, West and East, architecture and painting, fine arts and decorative arts, structure and matter. To fully understand these connections, the art historian needed photographic campaigns designed *ex novo,* capable of establishing a dialogue between walls, spaces, frescoes, mosaics, stuccoes and marble and bronze decorations *in situ.*[209] Matthiae found in Hutzel a photographer of rare sensibility, oriented towards an artistic field commonly considered secondary, capable of portraying a decorated surface without aestheticizing it, that is, showing even the signs of degradation and tampering.

It was Pietro Toesca (1877-1962), Matthiae's teacher,[210] who was the first to interpret monumental complexes as a structured and dynamic whole linking location, architecture, and decorative programs.

[209] At present, it is not possible to investigate any connection between Matthiae and the studies conducted in parallel by Richard Krautheimer, which were inspired by principles set out in *Wandmalerei* by Hans Hildebrandt, art historian and curator of the 1929 exhibition *Film und Foto. Cf.* Hans Hildebrandt, *Wandmalerei. Ihr Wesen und Ihre Gesetze* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Ansalt, 1920). The work is not cited by Matthiae, but recalls German studies conducted by art historians with whom Matthiae was actively in dialogue, at least according to his bibliographic references. *Cf.* Ernst Kitzinger, *Römische Malerei vom Beggin des 7. Bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrrhunderts* (Munich: 1935); Richard Krautheimer, *S. Pietro in Vincoli and the Tripartite Transept in the Early Christian Basilica* (Philadelphia: 1941); e Richard Krautheimer et al., *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae: Le Basiliche Cristiane Antiche Di Roma (Sec. IV-IX)*, Monumenti di antichità cristiana (Città del Vaticano: Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1937-1980). Krautheimer was an external member of the scientific committee of the Hertziana from 1965 and lived at Palazzo Zuccari from 1971 to 1994, continuing his studies devoted to the heritage of the city of Rome. *Cf.* "Lascito Richard Krautheimer," Lasciti e donazioni, Biblioteca Hertziana di Roma, accessed 2020/04/23, https://www.biblhertz.it/it/richard-krautheimer.

[210] "Guglielmo Matthiae," *L'urbe. Rivista romana.* 41/4 (1978): 30.

This approach had been used, a decade before Matthiae and Hutzel's collaboration, in the series *Artis Monumenta Photographice Edita*, whose volumes included photographic campaigns carried out by the Florentine photographers Bencini and Sansoni (heirs to the Alinari tradition),[211] closely accompanied by Toesca's commentary, interconnecting text and image in novel ways.[212] Perhaps the title *Foto Arte Minore* was suggested by Matthie to the German photographer, as a vernacular counterpart to Toesca's "monumental" series. [213] As testified by Hutzel's writings,[214] the title given to the photographic corpus was in fact too learned for the photographer's lexical background. Matthiae's guidance probably acted as a catalyst for the photographic operation,[215] aimed, in fact, at bringing the so-called 'arti minori,' a term dating back to the 15th century, not coincidentally, in dialogue with the language and methods promoted by Toesca and Luisa Mortari.[216]

The photographs Matthiae commissioned from Hutzel are noteworthy for the attention paid to the surfaces and, consequently, for their ability to highlight material palimpsests. The deliberate objectivity of these photographs – reminiscent of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* – made it possible, and still makes it possible, to identify walls, pigments, gaps, consolidations, retouches and the surfaces'

[211] *Cf.* Pietro Toesca, *Monumenti dell'antica Abbazia di S. Pietro al Monte di Civate*, Artis Monumenta Photographice Edita (Firenze: Bencini & Sansoni, 1943); Pietro Toesca, *Gli Affreschi della Vita di San Francesco nella Chiesa Superiore del Santuario di Assisi*, Artis Monumenta Photographice Edita (Firenze: Bencini & Sansoni, 1947); Pietro Toesca, *Gli Affreschi della Cappella di San Silvestro di Santa Croce a Firenze*, Artis Monumenta Photographice Edita (Firenze: Bencini & Sansoni, 1947); Pietro Toesca, *Gli affreschi del Vecchio e del Nuovo Testamento nella Chiesa superiore del santuario di Assisi: Riprodotti in 300 tavole fotografiche in tre volumi a Cura di Bencini e Sansoni*, Artis Monumenta Photographice Edita (Firenze: Bencini e Sansoni, 1948).

[212] Paola Callegari and Edith Gabrielli, eds., *Pietro Toesca and Photography. "Saper Vedere"* (Milan: Skira, 2009): 191.

[213] Carlo Bertelli has drawn attention to a further dialogue between photographic titles, in particular Toesca's use of the word "*Photographice*," as was also done by the Ditta Danese in the *Phototypice expressi* series for their work in the Vatican Library in the 1930s. *Cf.* Paola Callegari and Edith Gabrielli, eds., *Pietro Toesca e la fotografia. "Saper Vedere"* (Milan: Skira, 2009): 190.

[214] See Hutzel, Max. "Presentation." In Papi Mellito, *Il volto di Gesù* (Casamari: 1967): 5-6.

[215] So far no document has been found in which Hutzel writes explicitly about his relationship with Matthiae. In notes dating back to the 1980s, Hutzel describes the importance of his thirty years of photographic experience on early Christian mosaics, work he began with Matthiae in preparation for the volume *Mosaici medioevali delle Chiese di Roma* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1966-1967): *Fotografien lassen in vollem Masse dieses einmalige Wek der Mosaikkunst erkennen und nichtt zuletzt sind diese ein weiterer Beweiss für meine These,dass man gerade diese "Arte minore" oder obekannte Kunst unbedingt der Kunstwelt bekannt machen sollte und diesse damit auch unter Denkmalschutz stellen zu lassen* (notes appended to the documentation on San Prisco a Capua, GRI).
Communicated by Hutzel to Roberto Sigismondi, his assistant from 1977 to 1988. In 1977, Sigismondi accompanied Hutzel to Matthiae's to deliver a photograph of Four Crowned Saints, the subject of study in the last period of the art historian's life.

[216] As recalled by Ferdinando Bologna, it was Walter Gropius in his *Bauhaus Manifesto* (1919) who extolled the importance of craftsmanship: "*Non v'e alcuna differenza qualitativa fra l'artista e l'artigiano* […]. *Formiamo una nuova corporazione di artefici senza la distinzione di classe che alza un'arrogante barriera tra artigiano e artista*." *Cf.* Ferdinando Bologna, *Dalle arti minori all'industrial design: Storia di una ideologia*, Grandi Opere (Laterza) (Bari: Laterza, 1972).

stratigraphy (fig. 52).[217] As a photographer in the service of conservation, Hutzel worked in parallel with Matthiae (fig. 53), who in his drawings for the restoration of Santa Costanza's ambulatory, for example, highlighted the edges of the late antique mosaics by tracing contours between a lacuna and an original fragment (fig. 54).[218] For Hutzel, the deterioration of a pictorial surface assumed a dual significance, acting as both an object of documentation and a subject with an esthetic value in its own right.

At present, it is impossible to define the exact number of photographs commissioned by Matthiae from Hutzel: some were taken on behalf of superintendencies, while others are included in the 2,000 images that make up the Matthiae Fund, preserved at the Bologna's Fondazione Zeri, of which only 12 can now attributed to the German photographer. Today, numerous photographs by Hutzel serve as illustrations for scholarly articles, and, without a shadow of a doubt, countless remain to be





Fig. III-52. Left: Hutzel, Convento di SS. Trinità, Orte (VT) 1960-1988 (source: GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program); Fig. III-53. Centre: Max Hutzel, Rome, S. Prassede, episode of martyrdom, detail, right side (Fondo Matthiae, Fondazione Zeri); Fig. III-54. Right, Scheme showing the original parts of the mosaic integrated in the restoration directed by Pietro Camuccini, Mausoleum of Santa Costanza (Source: Matthiae, Mosaici romani, 1967).

attributed. The current knowledge gaps about Hutzel's career are exacerbated by the dispersion of the photographic holdings, which could be solved, however, through the aggregation of electronic catalogs (*i.e.* data merging). The operation, which is currently underway through the collaboration of numerous photo archives, will make it possible to bring new data into dialogue and to create a body of documentation dedicated to small Italian towns: a tool capable of providing useful information for

[217] Wolff's lessons can still be traced in Hutzel's photographic gaze, traceable in the younger photographer's tendency to incorporate 'disruptive' elements within the picture frame, as well as in his ability to read complex spatial relationships between walls, empty spaces and wall decorations.
[218] *Cf.* Alessandro Conti, *Storia del restauro* (Milan: Electa, 1973): fig.130. This method of documenting the boundaries between the lacuna and the original tesserae has its origins in the documentation of the mosaics of Ravenna carried out by Corrado Ricci at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

both the preservation and the enhancement of a heritage that has remained in the shadow of the 'giants' of the history of Italian art and architecture.[219]

3.2.2. Orte in Hutzel's photographs

Max Hutzel spent over thirty years travelling through 'minor' towns in Italy by bus, motorcycle and on foot. His gaze retained the gaze of an explorer, whose photos did not aim to create an illustrated taxonomy of local heritage, but to communicate the experience of the place, favoring a personal vision inspired by the context and not by pre-established categories. On his first visit to a new destination, he routinely relied on the TCI's *guide rosse*, as suggested to all Hertziana staff at the time. Hutzel often returned to the place, even after a decade, to deepen the photo campaigns begun earlier, looking for better lighting, access to new monumental complexes, or simply for a better shot of an object in more suitable conditions.[220] This is the approach he used at Orte, taking more than 300 photographs over the course of three, distinct photographic campaigns. One of the results is the most complete photographic documentation to date of the present Museum of Sacred Art of Orte and of some monumental complexes of the town.[221] If on the one hand these campaigns tell the story of the town through the eyes of this artist-documentarist, on the other they offer a vision of the years characterized by the same urbanistic mutations Pasolini witnessed and denounced. At Orte the photographer devoted himself first and foremost to the local art collection, to an archaeological exhibition in the then Diocesan Museum and to four churches, taking photographs of their furnishings and decorative programs. However, he also took numerous shots of *palazzi*, squares, alleyways, and panoramic shots of the area, so as to create a photo-reportage of the city and its surroundings through a set of emblematic landmarks.[222] It is clear that Hutzel retained the spirit of the photojournalist (a role that characterized the first half of his career), since for him a single photographic image was not enough to appreciate Orte in its entirety. His photographs document the town and its museum from near and far, rendering, for example, the main monuments of the town contextualized in their urban contexts, in addition to capturing minute details of some of the artworks preserved in the Diocesan Museum.

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[219] Costanza Caraffa, Emily Pugh, Tracey Stuber, and Louisa Wood Ruby, "PHAROS: A Digital Research Space for Photo Archives," *Art Libraries Journal* 45, no. 1 (January 2020): 2–11, https://doi.org/10.1017/alj.2019.34.

[220] The term *unbekannte* ("unknown") appears frequently in Hutzel's notes. This quotation comes from the notes accompanying the photographs of San Prisco in the province of Caserta.

[221] The Photographic Collection of the Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte Rom began to acquire the photographs Hutzel took in Orte in 1967, the *ante quem* date for the beginning of his photographic campaigns in this area. Many, but not all, of the photographs held in the Photographic Collection can be consulted at the Photo Study Collections of the Getty Research Institute, see *Foto arte minore: Max Hutzel photographs of art and architecture in Italy, 1960-1990,* Boxes 243-245; consultabili online: http://hdl.handle.net/10020/86p8s06m675.

[222] *Cf.* Zucker, Paul. "The Aesthetics of Space in Architecture, Sculpture, and City Planning." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 4, no. 1 (1945): 12-13, doi:10.2307/426254.

His intense interest in surfaces and the epidermis of his subjects brings out the three-dimensional qualities of the wooden panels and the plasticity of sculpted figures sculpted like decorating processional crosses. The black and white images give body to the works by documenting the "tactile value" of their surfaces and volumes; this was made possible through Hutzel's ability to read surfaces, to render saturated shadows and to capture a wide range of tones.[223]

In the course of this research an attempt has been made to piece together a cultural biography of the photographer, making use of both his work and interviews with Hutzel's principal assistant and his heirs. The hope is to identify a key that can "speak" to this set of visual documents, most of which remain to be catalogued and valorized.

Hutzel's own notes constitute rather general texts that are currently deposited at the Getty (see Appendix I) thanks to which it has been possible to reconstruct a small part of his activity in Orte. [224] The notes he wrote accompany his digitized photographs – as was the case at his home studio – thanks to the care with which *Foto Arte Minore* was transferred from Rome to Los Angeles (c. 1983-1990).[225] In the case of Orte, Hutzel wrote the earliest texts himself in German, often paraphrasing from the *guida rossa* for *Lazio* (1964 edition) and drawing up a list of art objects preserved in the Museo Diocesano and the Duomo. The notes show that Hutzel had no training in art history, but was passionate about it, leading him to write very personal and often nostalgic descriptions of an imaginary past. He showed a particular passion for the stratification of styles, as evidenced in his description of the complex of San Silvestro, an example in which he reported inaccurate remarks about the alleged foundation of the Romanesque church on a pagan temple. In another passage, he mentions a dubious account of the theft of the museum's most precious works (such unconfirmed reports echo oral accounts often told by local figures across La Tuscia. See Appendix I). He also applied a summary method in reporting information about works in the museum's collection: errors in transcribing the artists' names, inaccurate chronologies (both of the works in the museum collection and of the date when he took some pictures) and rather vague directions.[226] A second text

[223] Quote from Bernard Berenson, *Florentine Painters of the Renaissance,* New York-London, 1896, republished in Bernard Berenson, "eBook of The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance," The Project Gutenberg, accessed June 21, 2022, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/17408/17408-h/17408-h.htm.

[224] From the electronic catalog, in some cases, it is not possible to trace which photograph the description refers to because of the numerous photos that depict the same object multiple times. The text can be found among the digitized images in the Getty's electronic catalogue. See image 63 and 64, San Silvestro, Museo Diocesano di Orte (https://rosettaapp.getty.edu/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE323362) and image 55, Convent of the Trinità (https://rosettaapp.getty.edu/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE325698). The latter is written in Italian.

[225] Communication by Roberto Sigismondi.

[226] Some marble fragments photographed by Hutzel are missing from the roll call and all traces of them have been completely lost. Moreover, the text makes explicit: "unfortunately the best works are gone forever."

describes the Church of La Trinità with greater precision, written in Italian presumably by one of the photographer's assistants, including notes on the origin of the complex, its frescoes, their iconography and news about recent restorations. [227]

Being unable to consult the negatives preserved at the Getty's Special Collections, it is difficult to know exactly when and in what order Hutzel carried out the photographic campaigns. Yet the chronological sequence of the photographs can be partially reconstructed by consulting some of the purchase records in the photo libraries, or by deducing information from the images. The BHR's Photographic Collection built up its fond on Orte in the 1960s, 1970s and then in the early years of the 21st century, offering two main *terminus ante quem* for some of Hutzel's work: 1967 and 1978. Hutzel certainly returned to the town again on a third occasion, during an exhibition at the Museo Diocesano dedicated to findings from the late Etruscan period. The date of this third visit is difficult to determine, but it is certain that the show was organized in 1981 and remained *in situ* for many years.[228] There are no other points of reference about the last decade of the photographer's life, a period in which he was particularly active (having died in 1988). For example, he hired more assistants and, from 1983 onwards, enjoyed greater economic security thanks to arrangements made with the Getty.

Overall, the visual evidence within the photos make it possible to reconstruct the sequence of the photographer's activity at Orte: the presence of lilies on an altar suggests an visit in June 1967 (confirmed by the photographer's abovementioned signature in the museum registry); a snowfall in the cloister of San Bernardino indicates another winter visit on the occasion of an undated photographic exhibition, which may have celebrated restoration work completed in 1978;[229] a rain-soaked Piazza Colonna with cars parked in different positions suggest that, even within the same day, Hutzel would return several times to photograph the same subject from multiple points of view.

Hutzel took four landscape photographs at Orte, applying the skills he had acquired from Wolff in the 1930's along with skills sharpened during wartime when he learned to work in the most spartan conditions. Each of these panoramic shots reflects the taste of the collection which later acquired the

[227] "Lazio--Viterbo--Orte--Church of the Trinity," accessed 2020/02/12, https://rosettaapp.getty.edu/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE325698.
[228] Information about the exhibition can be found among the scattered papers in the "Museo Diocesano" file in the ASDO.
[229] Francesca Giuseppini, "*Le chiese di Orte dal tardo medioevo all'era moderna*," Thesis aa 2019/2020, supervisor: Enrico Parlato, co-rapporteur: Dr. Abbondio Zuppante. University of Tuscia: 30.

given prints.[230] The photograph with the most classical setting was acquired by BHR in 1967 and follows the same point of view chosen by three 19th century painters:[231] The town seen from the Strada Ortanna, the road that runs down from the Cimini Mountains (fig. 55). The shot retraces the itinerary suggested by the TCI: the ruins of the aqueduct and the rows of trees lead to "the ancient *Horta*, a city of the Etruscans." Hutzel must then have walked along that road, as suggested by the guide, leads to the nearby necropolis. Here he turned his back on the "*conico Cimino*" and took three more photographs, later acquired by the Getty. These panoramas portray the southern side of Orte and its disfigured urban sprawl and agrarian landscape give a more complex twist to the *guida rossa*'s account: "patches of trees," valleys, vegetable gardens, land speculation, the "tuffaceous hillside" unfold below the 'prettier' historic center (fig. 56).[232]

Overall, for a historian, Hutzel's photos constitute evocative but incomplete documentation. For the artist, this sequence captured the authentic face of Italy's 'minor' heritage, that was experiencing numerous, irreversible transformations. In his notes Hutzel gives back an image of a forgotten Orte (*cf*. Appendix I), proposing a generic narration that follows the well-known report written by Italo Faldi in 1964:

> *Orte - Die Kirche und das Museum Diocesana S. Silvestro / Die Cattedrale Assunta (Latium)*
> *Das kleine Städtchen Orte liegt heute direkt an der Autobahn Rom-Florenz kaum 60 Km on Rom entfernt. Niemand kann das Städtchen übersehen, dem dasselbe liegt, hoch oben auf einem Tuffsteinhügel über der Autobahn und Tal des Flusses Tiber. Das mittelalterliche Orte auf dem Tuffsteinhügel zählt heute kaum 2000 Einwohner, lebt von Landwirtschaft und Weir bau. Dass es sich hier um die antike Etruskerstadt Horta handeln würde, vermutet niemand, wurde vergessen. Auch im Mittelalter spielte Orte eir bedeutende Rolle, war immer ein Zankapfel zwischen Kirche und Fürsten Königen und Kaisern sogar. Wenn auch direkt an der Autobahn, Orte liegt abseits des Touristenverkehres - Rom liegt zu Nahe*.
>
> Orte - S. Silvestro Church and Diocesan Museum / The Assumption Cathedral (Latium)
> The small town of Orte is situated directly on the Rome-Florence motorway, just 60 km from Rome. Nobody can miss the small town, which lies high on a tuff hill above the motorway and the valley of the river Tiber. The medieval town on the tuff hill today has just 2000 inhabitants and lives on agriculture and viticulture. Nobody suspects that this was the ancient Etruscan city of

[230] This territorial recognition may have roots in both his training as a war photojournalist and the lessons of Toesca filtered through Matthiae.
[231] See Thoma Hans Mann (1839-1924), *View of Orte*, 1887. Oil on canvas; Elihu Vedder (1839-1924), *Orte*, c. 1887 (1991.105.21), National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Ernest Hébert (1817-1908), *Orte* (Musée Hébert, Paris).
[232] Touring Club Italiano, *Lazio* (1964): 230.

Horta, it has been forgotten. Orte also played an important role in the Middle Ages, and was always a bone of contention between the church and princes, kings and emperors. Although it is directly on the highway, Orte is far from the tourist traffic - Rome is too close. (trans. Author)



Fig. III-55. Max Hutzel, Panoramic photo of Orte, 1967 (Photo: bh129826, Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom); Fig. III-56. Max Hutzel, panoramic photo of Orte, western side, undated (Source: GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program).

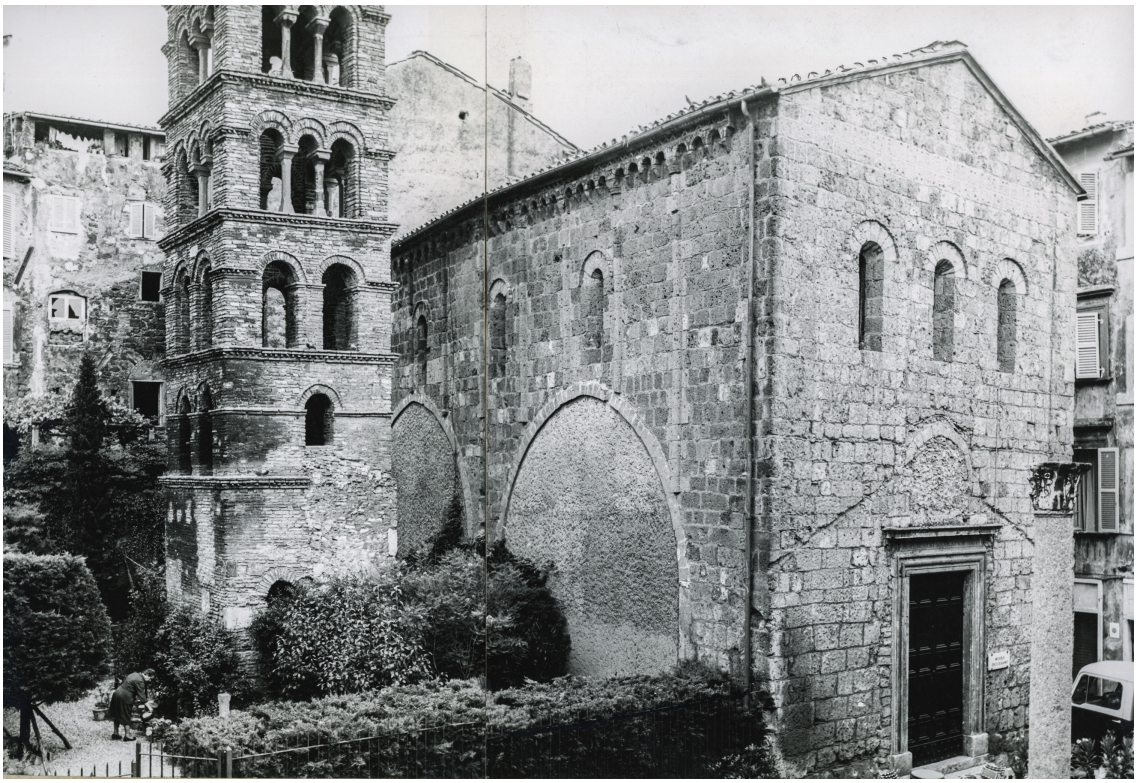


Fig. III-57. Max Hutzel, Photo of the former church of San Silvestro and its bell tower, 1967 (Photo: bh129359, Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom)



Fig. III-58. Series of photos of the exterior of San Silvestro (Photo: Max Hutzel, GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program)

Photographs of the complex of San Silvestro, now preserved at the BHR and the Getty, also reflect the divergent priorities of the two photo archives at the time when the respective images were acquired. In the 1960's, the Hertziana aimed to offer scholars methodical documentation of the architecture and museum collections. Hence, the institute, not surprisingly, acquired a 1967 image of San Silvestro taken from three-quarter view (fig. 57). The photograph, canonical in its composition, enables a precise reading of the monument. Interestingly, it consists of two prints glued together in such a way as to create a panoramic photograph, a technique that Hutzel employed quite often to offer a wide-angle view of a site without having to procure expensive equipment and without distorting the

subject's forms.[233]The Getty, on the other hand, acquired fourteen heterogeneous shots (fig. 58) taken at different and distant moments in time, as can be seen from the vegetation in the outdoor photographs.[234] Contrary to some claims, the Getty collection does not preserve Hutzel's entire corpus as other photo collections preserves positive prints that the US collection does not. The GRI does, however, distinguish itself through the more experimental, at times almost playful, shots that reflect the dual purpose of *Foto Arte Minore*: it is both a documentary and an artistic operation. These divergent interests allow us to reconstruct Hutzel's particularly dynamic relationship with exteriors and allow us to imagine that he acted without a pre-established plan of action. The photographer positioned himself on the three sides of the structure, approaching and then moving away along Via Matteotti to catch a glimpse of the former church, climbed the stairs of the house opposite the entrance and took a photo of the presbytery and the car park in front of the museum. He also captured traces of the pre-existing rose window still visible between the three single lancet windows invented during the 20th century *ripristino* (fig. 24). He took care to document decorative details of the bell tower and of the column placed by Cardinal Nuzzi in Piazza Colonna, attentive to the brick's texture and to the reused materials incorporated into the monuments. His photographs capture a plurality of information, giving the idea that the piazza as a mixture of 'minor' and 'major' elements.[235] The Getty's reportage is not therefore a philological documentation of the newly restored San Silvestro, but a narrative that stems from a gestalt experience which occupies various points of view: the reportage conveys a sense of place examined by the photographer for decades and inhabited by its citizens for centuries, if not millennia.

During his photographic campaigns at Orte, Hutzel devoted more than two-thirds of his attention to the collection of the Museo Diocesano, a collection he documented on at least three different occasions. He photographed all the paintings mentioned in the 1964 edition of the TCI *guida rossa*, paying particular attention to the marble and metal bas-reliefs; even the panel paintings seem transformed into bas-reliefs through his lens and light bulb, one of the few modest tools Hutzel used while on the road. He was particularly adept at translating solids and voids into two-dimensional images, such as the relief of nimbuses or the punching of gilded and silvered backgrounds, taking

[233] In the course of his career Hutzel sold images constructed in this manner to both photo libraries and scholars. See Hans Ost, "Santa Margherita in Montefiascone: A Centralized Building Plan of the Roman Quattrocento." *The Art Bulletin* 52, no. 4 (1970): 373-89. https://doi.org/10.2307/3048764.

[234] Hutzel's notes on Orte cannot be used to derive an exact chronology of the photographic campaigns. Hutzel, in fact, claims to have taken photos of the Museum in 1959, but the museum was not opened until eight years later and the structure, at that time, was in the midst of restoration and renovation work.

[235] Hutzel grasped the uniqueness of San Silvestro, not least because he was standing in front of a church and a Romanesque polyphora bell tower, subjects with which he was already familiar thanks to the photographic campaigns he had carried out for Matthiae.

care to capture the interplay between light and shadow.[236] For example, he exploited the reflective qualities of the gold background of the *Dossal of San Francesco* by using a grazing light, emphasizing the three-dimensional pastille decorations: recessed cornices, geometric decorations, twisted columns and crenellated incisions at the corners of the painting (fig. 59). The tactile quality of his photography brought out the handiwork of artists' and craftsmen alike, a sensibility Hutzel most likely cultivated at a young age during his 'Bauhaus' training in Stuttgart.

The photographer relying on very humble tools which needed to be small enough to be transported by motorcycle; aware that not all of his photos may come out during a first visit, he grew accustomed to photographing the same works several times leaving him free to experiment. Sometimes he tinkered to create optimal lighting, other times to enhance details like the gesture and the rays engraved around the bust of the *Padre Eterno* (figs. 60-61). When image turned out overexposed, he sometimes used a black watercolor to intensify the chiaroscuro, making it easier to read the image. With each session in the darkroom, he became more aware of his limitations and errors, ready to resolve them in the subsequent photographic campaigns. This layered work method he developed over the years allows for a greater understanding of the works' former qualities and of its museographic conditions.

These continuous tweaks and technical refinements can be seen, for example, in Vannuccio di Viva's processional cross. In the first photograph the surface of the object appears flat, perhaps because of the circular light source that surrounds and cuts the upper sphere (fig. 62). In his second campaign, Hutzel made it possible to photograph the cross outside the display case and shot the piece at an upwards-facing angle, producing a foreshortened image that vaguely recalls dynamism of the *Neue Sachlichkeit*. This insightful choice communicates the object's processional and devotional function (fig. 63). He later photo also emphasizes the polymateric aspects of the piece, capturing the material surface of the silver while clearly documenting the state of conservation of the work's enameled medallions.

[236] *Cf.* Heinrich Wölfflin, "How One Should Photograph Sculpture," in *Art History*, trans. Geraldine A. Johnson, vol. 36, no. 1, 2013: 52-71.



Fig. III-59. Detail of the upper part of the Dossal of Saint Francis, pastille (Photo: Max Hutzel, GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program)

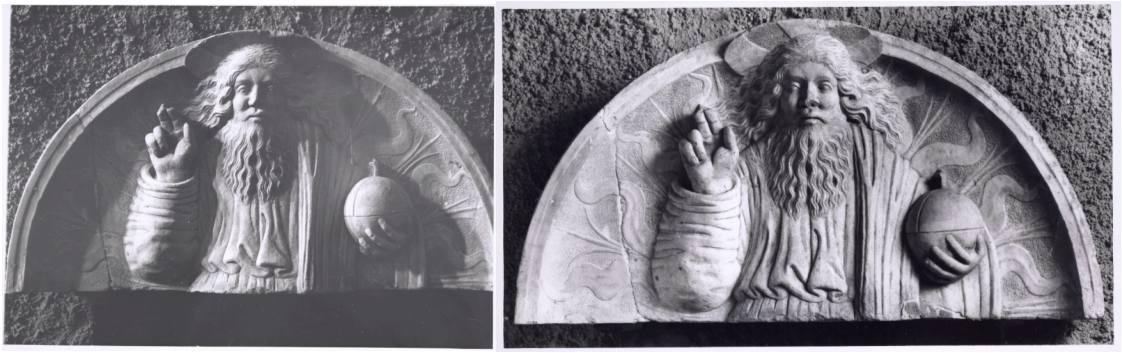


Fig. III-60. Follower of Andrea Bregna, Padre Eterno, undated (Photo: Max Hutzel, GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program) ; Fig. III-61. Follower of Andrea Bregna, Padre Eterno, undated (Photo: Max Hutzel, GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program)



Fig. III-62. Detail of the Processional Cross by Vannuccio da Viva, undated (Photo: Max Hutzel, GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program); Fig. III-63. View of the Processional Cross by Vannuccio da Viva, undated (Photo: Max Hutzel, GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program)



(above left) Fig. III-64. Cloister of San Bernardino, 1978? (Photo: Max Hutzel, GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program); (above right) Fig. III-65. San Bernardino Cloister wall, 2020/07/08; (bottom, left) Fig. III-66. Detail of a roundel from the Cloister of San Bernardino with typing marks, 1978? (Photo: Max Hutzel, GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program); (bottom, right) Fig. III-67. Detail of a tondo from the San Bernardino Cloister, 2020/07/08.

Max Hutzel took exceptional photographs in the cloister of the Convent of San Bernardino which shine light into both the potential and some shortcomings of *Foto Arte Minore*. These were taken on a snowy day a few years before the structure was definitively closed. This chapter of local painting has almost been entirely lost due to the state of degradation in which the complex finds itself today (figs. 64-67). Situated in a locality called *Civita deserta*, a toponym in dialogue with the ancient archaeological evidence found in the area, the Convent has been cyclically inhabited and

abandoned.[237] While other photographers would have opted for more usual choices like documenting the architecture of the complex, the pictorial cycle, or the current photographic exhibition. Hutzel's sequence of images, on the other hand, demonstrates a keen interest in the white stucco moldings, heavily coated most likely during the 1978 restoration, which frame each scene of the 1605 fresco cycle.[238] The stuccoes themselves are the result of a particularly aggressive and dissonant restoration, of which one can read the white marks of the tapping wire and compasses used to renovate the heavy reliefs. While many would see this decoration a heavy-handed or second class, in Hutzel's eyes, these forms evoked the craftsmen's skilled hands and endangered arts (figs. 65, 67). Upon entering the cloister Hutzel began to photograph the pictorial cycle frontally. Once in the ambulatory, he seemed to forget about the frescoes and began to photograph the medallions from three-quarters view through, playing with the brightness of the white putti and the shadows they cast on the curvilinear frames. This approach captures the photographer's playfulness, but the photographs render the iconography and the sequence of the pictorial cycle illegible. Although Hutzel's photographic campaign at San Bernardino, conserved at the Getty, provides incomplete information about the cloister's painting cycle, to date, it constitutes the most exhaustive documentation of an irreparably damaged 16th century convent. [239]

In addition, the material produced in Orte testifies to Hutzel's enthusiasm and attests to some of the perplexities about raised early on by the Hertziana's Photographic Collection, one of his most important clients. One could say that *Foto Arte Minore* was an antithetical operation compared to the institute's *modus operandi*.[240] This said, the BHR and the Getty's vast holdings preserve the most

[237] On the toponym, *cf.* Leoncini, vol. IV, 46r.; Gioacchini, *Orte, le contrade, i borghi*, (Orte: 2001): 243-247; *cf.* subsection "2.1.2. Leoncini on the city's name and the metaphor of its bridge."

[238] Francesca Giuseppini, "Le chiese di Orte dal Tardo Medioevo all'Età Moderna," Master's thesis, 2019/2020, supervisor: Enrico Parlato, co-rapporteur: Dr. Abbondio Zuppante. University of Tuscia: 30.

[239] The general state of decay is the object of a kind of tourism that seems to oscillate between voyeurism and vandalism. *Cf.* Giovanni Rossi Filangieri and Anna Ciriello, "The Convent of San Bernardino," Essere Altrove, https://www.esserealtrove.it/contenuti/urban-exploration/il-convento-di-san-bernardino/, consulted 2020/02/29).

[240] Hutzel was a point of reference for a number of scholars such as, for example, the art historian Otto Lehnmann-Brockhaus, who expresses himself particularly favorably about his collaboration with Hutzel in footnote 24 of *Abruzzen und Molise* (Munchen: 1983), 8. He writes: "Ho potuto dare al fotografo Hutzel, che realizzò numerose foto in Abruzzo in accordo con la Fototeca, una lista di '*desiderata'* per le fotografie dei suoi numerosi viaggi, e spesso tornò in Hertziana con buoni risultati" (Trans. Regine Schallert). *Dem Photographen Hutzel, der im Einvernehmen mit der Photothek zahlreiche Aufnahmen in den Abruzzen machte, konnte ich manche Wünsche für Photographien auf seine vielen Reisen mitgeben, und häufig kehrte er mit guten Ergebnissen in die Hertziana zurück* (Testo originale). Cfr. Schallert, "I tesori nascosti d'Italia:" 341, note 23-24

Reports from the Hertziana staff, however, show a certain ambivalence. Hildegard Geiss, director of the Photographic Collection of the Bibliotheca Hertziana from 1960 to 1980, had several meetings-meetings with Hutzel in which she demanded more systematicity in her architectural and artistic documentation. *Cf.* Schallert, "I tesori nascosti d'Italia:" 343.

important collection of documentation produced by the photographer.[241] Hutzel began his collaboration with the Hertziana in 1963, at the height of its expansion, acting as a *free-lance* photographer, having made a deliberately choice to work without a fixed contract in order to maintain his independence, all the while contributing to photographic campaigns dedicated to medieval Rome and central-southern Italy.[242] The relationship lasted over twenty years, but the Hertziana did not share his passion for small towns and 'minor subjects,' nor Hutzel's leanings towards photojournalism.

Sometimes it was difficult for photo libraries to acquire his photographs, not only because the iconographic choice was unusual, but also because his attitude towards a find or a building did not follow the methodological criteria adopted by scholars. His work was characterized by an enthusiasm that sometimes translated into an inconstant and unpredictable method, which compromised the possibility of selling the shots for professional or more official use. At the time, in fact, it was customary to take photographs of artistic documentation with a more schematic structure and, therefore, more suitable for the philological and comparative study of buildings and works of art. Ultimately, despite these shortcomings, when working in the field, Hutzel demonstrated an extraordinary ability to cope with unfavorable conditions and to take unconventional photographs which can now be considered even more valuable because of their rarity.

In spite of the imperfect quality of the photographic documentation that Hutzel produced in Orte, his thirty-year commitment has transmitted to us today an exceptional corpus of images, essential for the study, for conserving and for enhancing a heritage that now, thanks to the renewed interest in 'minor' centers, in rural life and in the digital transition[243] shows renewed potential.[244] His photographs have

[241] The Bibliotheca Hertziana was founded at the same time as its own collection of photographic documentation, establishing the state of the art since the early twentieth century with the historic documentation of the Sistine Chapel and the Pauline Chapel in the Vatican. The two photographic campaigns were carried out in close collaboration with Domenico Anderson (1854-1938), who created a collection so emblematic that it is still considered a fundamental point of reference for the discipline. See Regine Schallert and Johannes Röll, "La Fototeca Della Biblioteca Hertziana (Max Planck Institute for Art History," in *Images and Memory. Gli Archivi Fotografici Di Istituzioni Culturali Della Città Di Roma; Atti Del Convegno, Roma, Palazzo Barberini, 2012/12/03-04*, ed. Barbara Fabjan (Rome: Gangemi, 2015): 170-171.

[242] Schallert, "I tesori nascosti d'Italia:" 343.

[243] Rem Koolhass and AMO, *Countryside, a Report: Countryside in Your Pocket!* (New York: Guggenheim Taschen, 2020).

[244] *Foto Arte Minore* has become a case study for the digital humanities through implementation in the PHAROS project, "a collaborative project between fourteen photo archives in North America and Europe established to create a common, freely available digital platform for researching images of artworks in all media, both Western and non-Western, through comprehensive consolidated access to their collections." The collections of these photo libraries add up to thirteen million images for which shared methodologies, ontologies, and tools such as, for example, open data and open-linked data are sought. Hutzel's photographs dedicated to Orte's heritage, even if in an extremely limited way, are the object of study of one of the greatest experiments in international and inter-institutional cataloguing. The data merged from the GRI and the

proved fundamental in the course of this research, both for the study of the museum collections and for the reconstruction of the history of safeguarding in 20th century Orte. Some images of *Foto Arte Minore,* moreover, have been chosen to accompany a new website developed in collaboration with the Municipality of Orte to promote the small town.[245] Even the inventory of the Museum of Sacred Art, which is currently being updated, will soon be enriched by Hutzel's photos, so as to create a digital platform easily accessible to all those interested in understanding the museum collection from 1967 to the present day. [246]

Hutzel's documentation, in the optics of a future city museum at Orte, represents a precious resource, not only to tell the town's and its inhabitants' stories, but also to sensitize locals and visitors about the importance of its artistic, cultural and landscape patrimony, as well as the need to preserve a wide range of heritage. In its current state, *Foto Arte Minore* represents the most complete documentation of the Diocesan collection, as well as the only set of documentary photos of the former Convent of San Bernardino, now in state of abandon. Hutzel's photographic corpus, accompanied by up-to-date metadata, could provide an exceptional tool at the service of studies dedicated to the 'minor' centers and the so-called decorative arts, since it would facilitate comparison and dialogue between images. Consequently, this documentation could aid in the retrieval of unpublished data and unknown histories of artistic exchange, especially regarding the migration of artists, objects, materials and artistic techniques between the centers and the neighboring regions.[247] The photographs could be complemented by data collected in GIS format and content enriched by a local and online community, leading to the creation of a database aimed at a plurality of users, from experts in the field to tourists.

Hertziana Photographic Collection, undertaken during this research, promises to fill in at least some of the missing pieces in our knowledge of the history of Orte's heritage and its preservation.
Costanza Caraffa et al., "PHAROS: A Digital Research Space for Photo Archives:" 2-11, https://doi.org/10.1017/alj.2019.34; "Pharos Consortium," http://pharosartresearch.org/, accessed 2019/07/02; "Why Open Data?" Open Data Handbook, accessed 2021/11/13, http://opendatahandbook.org/guide/it/why-open-data/.

[245] *Cf.* Maria Ida Catalano, Francesca Groppi, Yvonne A. Mazurek, Davide Vigliotti, "Orte – Verso un museo della cittadinanza," accessed 2022/09/30, https://www.ortecittamuseo.it/. Website made in collaboration with the Municipality of Orte and the Diocese of Civita Castellana.

[246] Abbondio Zuppante, "Museo d' Arte Sacra Di Orte." Accessed 2022/01/31. https://museodartesacradiorte.it/.

[247] On the occasion of the Baltic-Adriatic Summer School on Digital Humanities, on 2022/06/13-17, the Finding Aid of *Foto Arte Minore* was accepted as a case study through which to identify *next steps* in the valorization of the Hutzel corpus. This investigation revealed that the inventory was poorly sorted at the programming level (in ead .xml format), pointing out ways in which mass digitization comes at the expense of well-processed metadata. The sheer quantity of data will, however, make it necessary to automate the reordering process at least in part. Some strategies, developed together with Prof. Benedikt Perak, of the Center for Language Research at the University of Rijeka, include both geolocation and metadata reordering. It may be useful, for example, to develop a crowdsourcing initiative that could help identify artistic categories based on multiple-choice questions composed of shared and interoperable vocabularies (such as the Getty Thesaurus of Art and Architecture). This last example draws directly from Prof. Marijana Tomić's work at the Center of Research in Glagotism (University of Zadar, Croatia) that involved virtual volunteers in machine learning, using Transkribus software (HTR-assisted transcriptions) in the analysis of Glagotic manuscripts from the 9th to the 19th century.

This project, not by chance, is included as a prerequisite for Orte's city museum (the subject of the concluding chapter of this study), but before delving into Orte's specificity, it is useful to investigate the strategies, approaches and models used in other museums devoted to their cities. The following chapter, therefore, will backtrack along Pasolini's footsteps and follow a surprising path in which the filmmaker's ideas intertwine with those expressed by the art historian Andrea Emiliani to explore an understudied vision of Italian museology. While this line of thinking only rarely segued into Italian museum design, these ideas find important parallels with institutions now active in the ICOM debate. The next chapter will therefore explore how museums can act as a catalyst for socio-cultural developments, as promoters of knowledge and as inclusive and interactive "laboratories," open to all members of society.

IV. THE CITY MUSEUM AS AN OPEN MODEL

"*What is the city, but the people?* "
- Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, 3:1[1]

4. Introduction

The previous chapter traced developments in the history of safeguarding Orte's heritage which, by the third quarter of the 20th century had grown dysfunctional. Between 1979 and 1983 the Diocesan Museum was the object of an "*Indagine sui musei locali del Lazio e sulla loro utilizzazione*," a mapping of local museums in Lazio carried out by the University of Rome, in collaboration with the Region under the direction of Bruno Toscano (fig. 1).[2] The results were published in the 1985 special edition of *Bollettino d'arte. I Musei locali del Lazio*, in which an underlying weakness merged from Luisa Mortari and other official's single-handed commitment to 'frontier' territory. Enzo Borsellino wrote that "*si può facilmente comprendere quale sia stato l'impegno profuso nella realizzazione di questi musei; un impegno tuttavia quasi sempre a carattere personale e fondato sulla iniziativa e l'interessamento del singolo e non proiettato all'interno di un programma complessivo*.''[3] Once Mortari was transferred from Orte, the Diocesan Museum ceased to evolve and grew increasingly self-referential,[4] becoming a place seemingly reserved for scholars and few enthusiasts.[5] This closure or resistance to input from 'outside'



Fig. IV-1. I musei locali del Lazio. *Supplement n°30 of Bolletino d'arte, 1985.*

[1] The quotation was reported by Ian Jones at the CAMOC 2021 meeting held in Barcelona. See William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Coriolanus*, consulted 2022/01/12, http://shakespeare.mit.edu/coriolanus/coriolanus.3.1.html.
[2] Enzo Borsellino, "La ricerca: premesse e svolgimento," *Bolletino d'arte. I Musei locali del Lazio.* Supplement N. 30 (1985): I.
[3] Enzo Borsellino, "Stato ed Enti locali," *Bolletino d'arte. I Musei locali del Lazio.* Supplemento N. 30 (1985): 12.
[4] The condition of museums, internationally, is characterized by a picture sadly familiar to Italians, marked by institutional crises, the consequences of Covid-19 on visitors and staff, a changing economy, as well as the challenges posed by climate change. Former ICOM president Suay Aksoy, former chair of the CAMOC committee in 2010-2013, resigned in June 2020, stating, "we are divided and self-referential." *Cf.* "Siamo divisi e autoreferenziali'. Ecco perché l'ex presidente ICOM si è dimessa," Finestre sull'Arte (July 25, 2020), https://www.finestresullarte.info/politica/siamo-divisi-e-autoreferenziali-suay-aksoy-spiega-dimissioni.
[5] Similarly, one can extend the same observation to Max Hutzel's effort in documenting a *minor* Italy; the lack of integration of *Foto Arte Minore* with other catalogues diminishes the irrefutable value of the photographic fund, as the information remains decontextualized and difficult to use.
Recall the colossal PHAROS project (http://pharosartresearch.org/), which aims to merge the metadata of 31,000,000 photographs from major photo archives around the world, including Hutzel's 900,000 negatives and just under 100,000 positive prints.

circles needs to be interpreted historiographically, according to the art historian and Bolognese Superintendent Andrea Emiliani,:

> […] *il museo antico è, in realtà, un'opera 'chiusa': ma se ciò si riferisce al fatto che esso è chiuso proprio per non turbare il modello culturale che quella età e quella società ci hanno proposto e consegnato, ciò non toglie affatto che occorre portare luce entro la deliberata struttura del modello per farlo funzionare a pieno regime, anziché come esibizione passiva o soltanto gratificante di oggetto d'arte*.[6]
>
> [...] the old model of museum is, in reality, that of a 'closed' work: yet if this refers to the fact that museums remain closed so as not to disturb the cultural model proposed and transmitted in a given period age and society, this does not, in any way, detract from the fact that structure of such models must deliberately be brought into the light so that museums live out their full potential, rather than serve as a passive or merely appeasing displays of art objects. (trans. Author)

In order to actively fulfill their potential, museums must not only be able to tell their histories, but also their meta-histories,[7] placing themselves as a "laboratories of the city" in which citizens can become protagonists of the in-house narrative and co-creators of the exhibitions' content to make it relevant for their own communities.[8]

Despite the current management's constant efforts, the former Church of San Silvestro has become an inadequate container for the Diocese's collection due to the limitations of its operational model.[9] The failure to monitor the microclimate, precarious maintenance of the roof, and the historical problem of capillary humidity are symptomatic of the lack of economic planning, adequate technical materials, and specialized human resources: conditions necessary to ensure long-term preservation and vibrant activity at any museum.[10] In regards to museum

[6] Andrea Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale: il caso di Brescia" in Emiliani, Andrea, *Il museo alla sua terza età* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1985): 138-139. Originally published in *San Salvatore di Brescia: materiali per un museo*. Volume II (Brescia: Grafo Edizioni, 1978): 256-272.
[7] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:" 137.
[8] See Andrea Emiliani, "Il Museo, Laboratorio della Città," *I Musei*, vol. IV, Capire l'Italia (Milan: TCI, 1980): 19-45.
[9] For example, dottor Zuppante's efforts are geared toward the unification of local museums in more suitable structures. The following chapter will take into account to upper story of the Palazzo Vescovile, spaces where a more recent branch of the Museo di Arte Sacra was located. The former bishop's residence predates the 13th century and has undergone various renovations and additions over time, including the incorporation in the 16th century of the ancient church of San Lorenzo and the works that lead to its current, late 17th-century forms. *Cf.* "Museo d'arte Sacra di Orte | Diocesi di Civita Castellana," http://www.diocesicivitacastellana.it/museo-arte-sacra-orte.
[10] In the months that followed heavy rains in the fall of 2019, the museum's only *data logger* was not always functioning regularly. In January 2020, relative humidity reached unprecedented and unsustainable levels. The museum's administration has since begun using a dehumidifier with is emptied daily but would also benefit from

communication and scientific dissemination, most communication channels reach a limited group of people, figures who have been historically active in local cultural programming. Despite the restricted group of participants, this museum takes part in praiseworthy lecture series held in conjunction with local researchers. Topics have included restoration work at Palazzo Nuzzi and research projects undertaken by numerous archaeological, archival and art historical scholars and lecturers.[11] Yet overall, current strategies struggle to attract new audiences with greater demographic and socio-cultural diversity.

As non-for-profit institution, museums have relied on external funding and will continue to do so, yet the models according to which they were designed and managed in the 19th and 20th centuries have failed to keep up with the times and fall short of providing a true public service.[12] In order to enter into partnerships with their communities, these institutions need to identify alternative strategies that engage audiences, promote and disseminate research, educate their visitors and promote a sense of belonging so museums can provide quality services to local inhabitants and visitors.

Taking up the challenge posed by Pier Paolo Pasolini, we face an imperative to tell the monumental history in the light of microhistories, making it necessary to identify new approaches capable of narrating a city's urban heritage, its material culture and the complexity of its territory. We therefore turn to Andrea Emiliani. In his eyes, a city could be defined as an "*emergenza e cultura, società e costume*;" the ideal place for telling a city's story is a city museum.[13] While this museum category is still in pursuit of a definition, the past half century has seen various city museums emerge. These realities share an aspiration to be highly inclusive, adaptable, and open to a plurality of possible narratives about local history and today's socio-cultural realities. They also cultivate dynamic and reciprocal relationships between their communities and heritage.[14]

a cohesive preventative conservation strategy. In collaboration with Dr. Zuppante (Director of the Museum), the author invited Dr. Francesca Mariani to lay the foundations for a plan of action. She suggested regular maintenance on the grounds surrounding the complex and systematic monitoring the museum's microclimate, but no funds have been since allocated to cover the costs in developing the project.

[11] The activities of the Ente Ottava Medievale come to mind as do the publication of the *Quaderni Archeologici* by Tuscia University.

[12] *Cf.* definition of 'museum' under Article 1, DM of December 23, 2014, discussed below.

[13] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:" 115.

[14] Enzo Borsellino, "Stato ed Enti locali," *Bolletino d'arte. I Musei locali del Lazio.* Supplemento N. 30 (1985): 12.

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In looking for alternative ways of managing Orte's historic collections, this chapter adopts the principle "think globally, act locally," a phrase that, not by chance, originated in the field of urban planning. It was coined in 1915 by the Scottish scholar Patrick Geddes in his *Cities in Evolution. An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*.[15] Thinking globally and acting locally, according to Geddes, meant bringing together knowledge from the fields of sociology, conservation, pedagogy, ecology, and museology.[16] The current debate on city museum models addresses all these issues and explores new frontiers in safeguarding and valorization.

The following reflection is divided into two parts. The first half investigates the theme of the city museum on a theoretical level, retracing certain comments of Pasolini that coincide with conservation strategies promoted by Andrea Emiliani for Bologna's historical center. As a case study, this section takes an in-depth look at Emiliani's Museo di Santa Giulia, a project that placed the museum at the center of Brescia's integral urban revitalization. This radically systemic model, unfortunately, "remained on paper."[17] Fortunately, similar projects have taken shape in other parts of the world, maturing experiences regularly discussed and evaluated by the international museum community. Hence, the second half of this chapter begins with reflections inspired by International Council of Museums (ICOM), a body that represents museums from 122 countries and hosts 32 international committees dedicated to both theoretical and practical issues. With particular attention to the current search for definitions of both the 'museum' and 'city museum.'

[15] Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution. An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics* London: Williams and Norgate; 1915. (Google Scholar); "Patrick Geddes," National Library of Scotland, accessed 2022/03/15, https://www.nls.uk/learning-zone/politics-and-society/patrick-geddes/.
[16] Geddes, in 1892, turned an Edinburgh watchtower into a museum, naming it Outlook Tower: "place of outlook and a type-museum as a key to a better understanding of Edinburgh and its region, but also to help people get a clear idea of its relation to the world at large." See "Outlook Tower," Geddes Institute: University of Dundee, consulted March 15, 2022/03/15, https://www.dundee.ac.uk/geddesinstitute/outlooktower/.
[17] Vasco Frati, "Il rapporto museo-città: il caso di Brescia," in *I Musei*, vol. IV, Capire l'Italia (Milano: TCI, 1980): 223-228; Massimo Tedeschi, "L'apporto di Vasco Frati alla Città," Corriere della Sera (22 dicembre 2020), https://www.pressreader.com/italy/corriere-della-sera-brescia/20201222/281483573986416/textview.

The concluding section of this chapter has a more practical focus. It is based, in fact, on field experience carried out during meetings held by ICOM's International Committee for the Collections and Activities of Museums of Cities (CAMOC), a committee made up of members from 77 countries in the world and their city museums.[18] Case studies were identified at four multi-branch museums in Europe, the geographical area where CAMOC happened to host its activities in 2019-2022, a coincidence that facilitated the author's regular participation at conferences, both online and in person in the guise of an ICOM Student Member. Research for an updated definition of a city museum began in 2014-2015 at Moscow City Museum (Музей Москвы) and continued in 2019 at the Museum of Lisbon (Museu de Lisboa in Portugal) during the Workshop "Towards a City Museum Watch."[19] The following year, CAMOC accepted to the author's short talk titled "Tracing Small Town Memory in Pasolini's Heritage Documentaries. Towards a Burgeoning 'City Museum' at Orte (Italy)" at the annual conference hosted by the Kraków City Museum (Muzeum Krakowa in Poland). [20] Postponed three times due to pandemic-related restrictions, the meeting was finally held in June 2021, only six months prior the annual conference scheduled at the History Museum of Barcelona (MUHBA in Spain) (Fig. 2). The temporal proximity between the two events inevitably facilitated a dialogue between the Krakowian theme "The Right to the City," inspired by geographer David Harvey's essay of the same title, and the theme of "Connecting cities, connecting citizens. Towards a shared sustainability," chosen for the conference held in Catalunya. To investigate these innovative museum practices, the author spent three months abroad as a Visiting Scholar at the three above-mentioned city museums. This opportunity allowed for repeated site visits

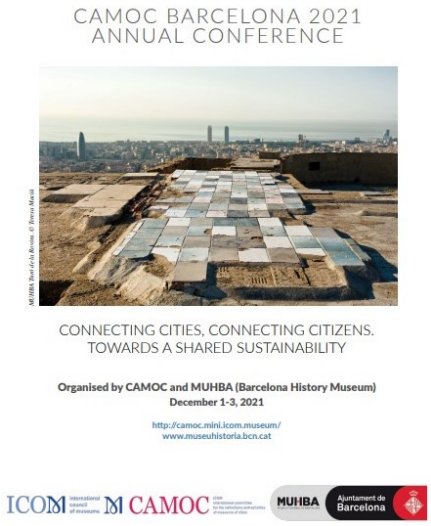


Fig. IV-2. Announcement of ICOM CAMOC's 2021 conference held in Barcelona

[18] Number stated by CAMOC Secretary, Jelena Savić during the "Annual Report" at the CAMOC Barcelona 2021 conference.
[19] Marlen Mouliou, "Moscow Workshop: 'Redefining the City Museum in the 21st Century,'" *CAMOC. Museums of Cities Review*, no. 4 (2015): 30–32; Elif Çiğdem Artan, "After the CAMOC 'Towards a City Museum Watch' Workshop," *CAMOC. Museums of Cities Review* 2 (2019): 16–17.
[20] Yvonne A. Mazurek, "Tracing Small Town Memory in Pasolini's Heritage Documentaries.Towards a Burgeoning 'City Museum' at Orte (Italy)," In ICOM CAMOC Krakow 2020 (2021) Digital Annual Conference Proceedings. The Right to the City, Kraków, June 9-11, 2021, ed. Jelena Savić and Michał Niezabitowski (ICOM CAMOC, 2022): 102-107. https://camoc.mini.icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2022/06/KRAKOW-CONFERENCE-BOOK-OF-PROCEEDINGS-for-website.pdf.

and meetings with curators, museum staff, museum directors and visitors, as well as collecting local bibliographic and audiovisual materials. [21]

Three months in the field helped identify best practices, chosen according to criteria inspired by ICOM's ongoing debate around a new definition of 'museum.' Each of the four institutions models excellence. Kraków embraces a plurality of voices in its museum narrative, providing a radically inclusive and participatory experience. While Lisbon stands out for the high quality of its exhibition design and for the professional way in which 'minor' topics, like popular devotion and culinary culture, are featured at their museum branches. Barcelona offers a unique example of a systematic vision which successfully unites a heterogeneous urban heritage with innovative communication strategies. These protagonists of the CAMOC meetings are joined by the Museum of Leiria, a more modest reality compared to the others. It shows how an old, malfunctioning institution can be transformed into an award-winning museum, becoming a local and international reference point in the field of accessibility.

In confirmation of the selection made, many of the chosen case studies received national, European, and international awards over the course of 2021.[22] In the light of these experiences, one hopes that Orte too will be able to foster greater awareness about the importance of developing new ways of safeguarding and narrating the city's cultural and natural heritage.

4.1. In response to a "closed" museum. The paradigm of a city museum

The following discussion takes up some salient points from *Le mura di Sana* and *pasolini e… "la forma della città"* to put Pier Paolo Pasolini's vision in dialogue with Andrea Emiliani's. The art historian and Superintendent, who was active in the field during the last twenty years of the artist's life, tried to devise a model of systematic conservation for Bologna's historical center, envisaging a central role for the civic museums. In his popular texts and technical essays, Emiliani strongly sanctioned the close interconnection between museums and their cities. The reflections of the scholar are best expressed in Emiliani's project for the

[21] The author would have preferred to conduct site survey by applying the principles of participatory observation, but due to imposed sanitary restrictions, she found many exhibition spaces empty or frequented by very few visitors. In the notes that follow, the author tries to thank all the people who facilitated her access to the complexes during this period, knowing full well that it will be impossible to acknowledge everyone who made it possible to carry out this research *in situ*. It has, in fact, been a team effort, often virtual and invisible. Thanks to all.

[22] These are awards from the Associação Portuguesa de Museologia (APOM), Society for the History of Technology, and the European Museum of the Year Award. Each of the awards will be identified within each case study.

redevelopment of Brescia's urban core. Designed in 1976-1980, it centered on the restoration of the complex of Santa Giulia and San Salvatore, later the site of the "city museum." It became a point of reference for Italian intellectuals, but nonetheless remained a model that was never actualized in this country, at least not with the same ardor seen beyond national borders. [23] This debate has evolved over the past fifty years and has coalesced around a common desire to create "a museum that stands in the city, talks about the city, and thinks through the city. [...It is also capable of] fostering knowledge and awareness about their city's pasts, presents and futures" in its infinite declinations.[24]

4.1.1. Pier Paolo Pasolini and Andrea Emiliani. A shared vision

An important cue comes from *Le mura di Sana* (1971), Pasolini's cinematic appeal to UNESCO for the preservation of the ancient Yemeni capital, an urban core whose mud-brick walls both separate it from its surroundings while melding the city to its territory. Halfway through the film, Arab dancers and musicians are interrupted by the image of a mediocre apartment building abutting Orte's historic center. In this narrative, the small *laziale* town serves as a warning to Sana'a: cultural landscapes are in danger of being plundered and distorted by land speculation. According to Pasolini, the only defense from this risk is to be found in the systematic protection of the city's urban and natural fabric. This is only possible through the active participation of community members, who must have a say and be directly involved in issues affecting their city and the territory, an idea Pasolini puts into practice by interviewing local Ortani men about this very subject. (fig. 3).

[23] For a more complete view of the debate on Italian city museum in more recent years, cf. Antonello Negri, Massimo Negri, e Rosanna Pavoni, *Il museo cittadino: formazione, gestione, strutture* (Roma: La Nuova Scientifica, 1983); *Museum International*, Volume 47, Issue 3 (1995); Cristoforo Sergio Bertuglia e Chiara Montaldo, *Il museo della città* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2003); Adriano Aymonino e Ines Tolić (eds), *Vita delle Mostre*, Milano: Mondadori, 2007; Graziano Campanini e Massimo Negri, eds. *Il futuro dei musei della città in Europa: esperienza e prospettive/ The Future of City Museums in Europe: experiences and perspectives* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2008); Donatella Calabi, Paola Marini, and Carlo M. Travaglini, eds., *I Musei della città*, Città & Storia, III.1-2 (Roma: Roma Tre-CROMA, 2008); Daniele Jalla, "Il Museo della città presente," *MuseoTorino*, no. 0 (giugno 2010): 7-13; Donatella Calabi, ed. *Built City, Designed City, Virtual City: the Museum of the City* (Rome: Roma Tre, 2013); Layla Betti and Elena Tonezzer, eds., *La Storia della Città: Esperienze di Narrazioni e Rappresentazioni Museali*, Quaderni Di Archivio Trentino 42 (Trento: Associazione Museo Storico di Trento, 2015); Donatella Calabi, "Il Museo della Città. Un'esplorazione," *Nuova Informazione Bibliografica* Anno XVI, no. 4 (Ottobre-Dicembre 2019): 771–85, https://doi.org/doi:%2010.1448/95130.

[24] CAMOC, "The City Museums Global Mapping Project," consulted 2021/12/03, https://city-museumsglobal-mapping.formstack.com/forms/the_city_museums_global_mapping_project_copy_13.

As discussed in the first chapter on Pasolini in La Tuscia, three years after its television debut, Pasolini returned to fight for the preservation of Sana'a through two film screenings of *Le mura* organized for small, niche audiences.[25] The first took place in Milan in June 1974 at the Italian premiere of *Il fiore di mille e una notte* hosted by Italia Nostra and the architect Gae Aulenti.[26] The second took place in October of that same year at a press conference hosted by the Associazione italo-araba, an event dedicated to safeguarding Sana'a.[27] The events included speeches before and after each screening of which only a transcript of the Rome event has survived. Addressing the those present, Pasolini – who had owned the Torre di Chia (municipality of Soriano del Cimino) for four years by now – reiterated a comparison already made clear in the documentary, restating some of the similarities between Yemen and La Tuscia: "*lo Yemen è* […come] *una nazione formata da Viterbo, Tuscania e magari Soriano del Cimino, ecco... non è difficile arrivare alla gente, e parlare quasi di persona* […]. *Il tutto è cominciare a farlo, ma penso che i risultati potrebbero essere buoni*."[28] At another moment of the press conference, the artist specified the need to reach "the people" and to educate them about urban conservation according to Bologna's model:



Fig. IV-3. Film still from Le mura di Sana *(1971).*

> *In Italia purtroppo questo problema è stato posto soltanto a Bologna. Ed ha un senso che si faccia questa riunione, che noi italiani ci battiamo per la difesa dell'intero centro urbanistico di una città come Sana'a, proprio perché se non altro abbiamo l'esempio di Bologna che si è posto il problema della autoconservazione, e l'ha risolto.*[29]

[25] The Institute of Cultural Heritage of the Emilia-Romagna Region was created in 1974: "*Per oltre 40 anni ha operato quale organo tecnico-scientifico e strumento della programmazione della Regione nel settore dei beni artistici, naturali, librari e documentari. Come tale, ha promosso e svolto attività conoscitiva e operativa, di indagine e di ricerca, per il restauro e la valorizzazione del patrimonio, la valorizzazione e la conservazione di alcuni elementi paesaggistici (alberi monumentali), per lo svolgimento di ogni funzione relativa ai beni culturali prestando in tali campi la propria consulenza alla Regione e agli Enti locali*." *Cf.* "Istituto per i beni artistici, culturali e naturali della Regione Emilia-Romagna," https://patrimonioculturale.regione.emilia-romagna.it/chi-siamo/servizio-patrimonio-culturale-1/istituto-per-i-beni-artistici-culturali-e-naturali-della-regione-emilia-romagna.

[26] Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Pasolini Racconta con rabbia l'assurda rovina di una città," *Corriere Della Sera* (20 giugno 1974).

[27] For a detailed analysis of Pasolini's actual impact on the preservation of Sana'a, see Yvonne A. Mazurek, "Pier Paolo Pasolini's Film *The Walls of Sana* (1971). A Preservationist's Vision and Its Legacy," in *Cities Identities through Architecture and the Arts*, vol. II, ASTI (Selected Papers from Cities' Identity through Architecture and Art, 4th edition, University of Pisa/ online: Springer, 2022): 267-278. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-99480-8_20

[28] "Conferenza stampa della Lega italo-araba," in Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Per il cinema*, Walter Siti e Franco Zabagli, ed. Meridiani. Milano: Mondadori 2001: 2118.

[29] "Conferenza stampa della Lega italo-araba:" 2120.

> Unfortunately, in Italy, this problem has only been raised in Bologna. And it makes sense for this meeting to be held, for us Italians to fight to protect the entire urban center of a city like Sana'a, precisely because, if nothing else, we have Bologna as an example, which has posed the problem of its self-preservation, and has resolved it. (trans. Author)

In this passage, Pasolini specifically refers to the 1969 *Piano per il centro storico di Bologna* and the 1973 *Piano di edilizia economica e popolare*,[30] promoted by Andrea Emiliani (art historian and Superintendent), Pier Luigi Cervellati (architect-urbanist, university professor of restoration, and Bologna's *assessore al traffico, all'edilizia pubblica e privata* from 1964 to 1980)[31] and Paolo Monti (photographer and first chair of Photography in Italy) (fig. 4).[32] This model of "self-preservation" was successfully disseminated through the 1970 exhibition *Bologna: Centro Storico*,[33] a show seen by more than 200,000 visitors that sealed the link between museography and town planning. [34]



Fig. IV-4. Photograph by Paolo Monti of Via Nosadella (Source: Emiliani and Monti, "Centro storico di Bologna: un censimento fotografico" Arte Illustrata, 1970/05/04))

The show presented a polysemic image of Bologna which was presented through an interdisciplinary approach. Monti's photographic documentation brought the city inside the exhibition space and communicated the importance of a rigorous campaign to survey and catalogue the urban heritage.[35] Cervellati's technical charts elucidated the regulation

[30] "Piano di salvaguardia del centro storico," Bologna Online, consultato 2022/03/08, https://www.bibliotecasalaborsa.it/bolognaonline/cronologia-di-bologna/1969/piano_di_salvaguardia_del_centro_storico.
[31] "Cervellati, Pierluigi," Storia Amministrativa. Iperbole-la rete civica di bologna, World, consultato 2022/03/08, http://www.comune.bologna.it/storiaamministrativa/people/detail/36265.
[32] "Monti, Paolo," Fotografieincomune, consultato 2022/03/11, http://fotografieincomune.comune.milano.it/FotografieInComune/autori/AUF-s5020-0000001.
[33] AA. VV. *Bologna/ Centro storico*. Catalogue for the exhibition Bologna/ Centro storico, Bologna, Palazzo d'Accursio, 1970 (Bologna: Alfa, 1970). In the plan of the volume, Pier Luigi Cervellati, Andrea Emiliani, Renzo Renzi and Roberto Scannavini are listed, with photographs by Paolo Monti.
[34] Andrea Emiliani, "Città e museo: Un problema di metodo" in *Dal museo al territorio*. Bologna: Edizioni ALFA, 1974: 98.
[35] Andrea Emiliani and Paolo Monti. "Il Centro Storico di Bologna: Un Censimeto Fotografico." *Arte Illustrata*, no. 25/26, Anno III (February 1970): 97-112/ 151-152.

plan for Bologna's historical center. [36] The curators underscored a strong desire to preserve lower class buildings as testimonies of local history,[37] a choice made in sharp contrast with the dominant tendency of the time.[38] The exhibition catalogue deepened topics on display and included an evocative essay by Emiliani that traced the iconography of the city. In it, the art historian identifies a 14th century fresco as the first "portrait" of Bologna:

> […] *fatta di case e di guglie oggi appena riconoscibili che fa giaciglio a Santa Apollonia dormiente nella parete di ingresso di Mezzaratta, nella Pinacoteca Nazionale* […]. *Rossa di mattoni e di intonaci, sopporta il lieve peso della Santina addormentata come fosse un giardino, un brolo: ma fatto di storie di povera gente che vive insieme fra quelle mura, e dal fondo dei vicoli si immagina invocare al cielo quella protezione gentile, quasi fosse una nuvola di passaggio nel gran calore pomeridiano di Bologna*.[39]
>
> […] made up of houses and spires that are barely recognizable today, creating a bedstead for the sleeping Saint Apollonia on the entrance wall of Mezzaratta, in the Pinacoteca Nazionale […]. The brick and plaster redden the city which holds the featherweight, sleeping little Saint. She looks as if she were in a garden or an orchard: but it is made up of the stories of the poor people living together within those walls, and one imagines them invoking heaven's gentle protection from the depths of those alleys, as if that prayer were a passing cloud in Bologna's heavy afternoon heat. (trans. Author)

Houses, towers, gardens, orchards, and the city walls were interpreted as expressions of the "stories of the poor people," testified by the bricks and plaster façades of the city center. This way Bolognese art reflects an image of the city similar to the one emerging from archaeology and material culture and town planning clearly demonstrates the *forma urbis* as a seamless continuation between past and present.

The model shown at *Bologna: Centro Storico* applied a method developed during the "Campagne di Rilevamento," or the regional survey campaigns run from 1969 to 1972 that

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[36] Cf. Pier Luigi Cervellati, "*Bologna centro storico*," in: *Art. Un universo di relazioni. Le mostre di Bologna 1950-2001*, edited by Andrea Emiliani and Michela Scolaro (with photos by Paolo Monti) (Bologna: Rolo Banca 1473, 2002).

[37] Luca Gullì and Francesca Talò, "Cinquant'anni di esperienze nella gestione dei centri storici in un caso esemplare / Fifty years of experience in the management of city centres: an exemplary case," *IL CAPITALE CULTURALE. Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*, no. 5 (May 8, 2012): 41–61, https://doi.org/10.13138/2039-2362/109; Ilaria Agostini, "Dal restauro urbano al dov'era, ma non com'era. Dialogo con Pier Luigi Cervellati sulla cultura della città storica," *IN_BO. Ricerche e progetti per il territorio, la città e l'architettura* 4, no. 6 (June 30, 2013): 277–88, https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2036-1602/3960.

[38] In 1973, Cervellati was awarded the "Antonio Feltrinelli: Prize by the Accademia dei Lincei in the field of town planning.

[39] Andrea Emiliani, "Per una storia del 'ritratto' felsineo," in *Bologna: Centro storico*. Catalogo per la mostra Bologna/ Centro storico, Bologna, Palazzo d'Accursio, 1970 (Bologna: Alfa, 1970): 46.

documented and sought to protect the artistic, archaeological and natural heritage of the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines.[40] Those were years in which Emiliani was grappling with questions regarding the conservation of heritage nestled in small town, provincial Italy:

> *Ma tutta l'infinita, paziente sedimentazione di opere 'minori' o anche 'piccole,' una volta dilacerata, chi la ricostruirà mai più? Tagliate, ridotte, pasticciate; la cornice in un emisfero e la tela nell'altro; senza dichiarazione di origine, senza anagrafe, senza paternità. L'aspetto morale della questione investe, dunque, anche la coscienza dei cittadini, oltre che le leggi dello Stato. Sono decenni che l'amministrazione artistica invoca, per prima, nuove leggi, nuovi mezzi e prima di tutto la possibilità di istituire finalmente, a cento anni dall'Unità, l'inventario dei beni culturali della nazione*.[41]
>
> Once torn apart, who will ever reconstruct the infinite, patient sedimentation of 'minor' or even 'small' artworks ever again? Minced, reduced, messed up; the frame in one hemisphere and the canvas in the other; with no declaration of its origin, no registry, no paternity. So, in addition to the laws of the State, the moral aspect of the question also involves a civic consciousness. For decades, the art administration has been the first to invoke new laws, new means and, moreover, the possibility of finally creating an inventory of the nation's cultural assets, one hundred years after the Unification. (trans. Author)

While the team principally surveyed and documented the area's 'minor' heritage, Orte makes a cameo appearance amidst the "*Documentazione per dott. Andrea Emiliani, Soprintendenza di Bologna*,"[42] in an extemporaneous photograph taken by Paolo Monti (fig. 5).[43] The image entitled "*Orte. Costruzioni abusive*" was taken in the winter of 1969 and captured recently built structures along Via de Dominicis, adjacent to the historical center and not far from the building so fiercely criticized by Pasolini in *Le mura di Sana* and later in *La forma della città*.[44] The image marks a deliberate contrast to the *cliché* of Orte as an "Etruscan" and "medieval" city, as suggested by Italo Faldi in TCI's *guida rossa*: it documents the present-day *facies* of the

[40] Cf. Andrea Emiliani, *La vita delle forme nel paesaggio. Problemi storici e considerazioni attuali sulle Campagne di Rilevamento 1968-1971* (Faenza: Fratelli Lega Editori, 2017); Andrea Emiliani, "L'esperienza sul campo. Le campagne di rilevamento dei beni culturali nella provincia di Bologna.," in *L'esperienza sul campo. Per un'analisi del paesaggio appenninico*, ed. Grazia Agostini, Cesare Mari, and Piero Orlandi (Bologna: ALFA, 1981): 1–12.

[41] Andrea Emiliani, "Patate e opere d'arte," *Dal territorio al Museo*. Bologna: Edizioni ALFA, 1974: 121. Originally published in *Il Giorno* (1969/02/16).

[42] In the Fondo Monti of the Civico Archivio Fotografico Milano, three more photos of Orte turn up. One has no certain date, the other two may date from a photographic campaign made for Josolita Raspi Serra's *La Tuscia romana un territorio come esperienza d'arte: evoluzione urbanistico-architettonico* (Milano: Electa, 1972).

[43] Paolo Monti (Anzola d'Ossola (VB), 1908 - Milan, 1982) was a contemporary of Italo Faldi, Guglielmo Matthiae and Luisa Mortari.

[44] *Cf*. Fig. III-55. Hutzel, at an unknown date, was also attracted/repulsed by the virulent building speculation that consumed Orte's southwest flank from the 1960s onward.

viterbese town. This photo shows how the cultural milieu in which Pasolini and the Bolognese group aligned with the battles of Italia Nostra, the group which openly exposed issues relating to new trends in mainstream Italian architecture and urban planning. Hence Pasolini was not alone in promoting safeguarding strategies which viewed conservation and enhancement as a systemic issue; it demonstrates that Emiliani's group also espoused the battle to protect the heterogeneity of small town heritage against building speculation.[45]



Fig. IV-5. "Orte. Costruzioni abusive," photographic documentation realized by Paolo Monti for Andrea Emiliani. It shows recently built buildings near the historical center of Orte between January and March 1969 (source: "Civico Archivio Fotografico Milano," http://fotografieincomune.comune.milano.it/FotografieInComune/ricerca?query=Orte).

The photograph taken by Monti at Orte seems to have been an isolated reflection on Lazio. Emiliani never included the small town in his public debates and, although Pasolini focuses heavily on the town, the artist's reflections had no repercussion on either local urban planning or the management of local heritage.

As mentioned earlier, Luisa Mortari had been handling Orte's art history in an altogether different fashion, carried out with utmost rigor in the spirit of the "*Norme per la compilazione del catalogo degli oggetti d'arte*," she followed the logic established by far reaching, but old

[45] Italia Nostra was the only proven *trait d'union* between Pier Paolo Pasolini and Andrea Emiliani. The art historian was referring to a meeting with Senator Cifarelli held by Italia Nostra in Rome in February 1969 about the preservation of historical centres. Cf. Emiliani, Andrea. Andrea Emiliani, "Patate e Opere d'arte (Da *Il Giorno*, 16 Febbraio 1969)." In *Dal museo al territorio*. Bologna: Edizioni ALFA, 1974: 118.

fashioned laws dating back to 1888.[46] In keeping with Emiliani's values, she showed great care in territorial reconnaissance and in constructing local art histories. She also shared a keen interest in inventorying and cataloguing local heritage, but the model promoted by the Soprintendenza del Lazio lead to that "solitary commitment," recalled in the 1985 *Bollettino d'Arte*, which failed to make a holistic impact on the community or on the administration's management practices. [47]

Emiliani's multifaceted vision distinguished itself for his overarching view of urban nuclei and their heritage, in addition to his sensitivity to conservation, musealization and dissemination. In his famous essay "*Città e museo: un problema di metodo*" published in 1972,[48] the art historian outlined a portrait of the "urban form" that resonates with the ideas Pasolini extolls in the film-essay *La forma della città* (1974):

> *Dall'alto dei molti secoli della storia dell'uomo, e del rapporto fra società ed espressione artistica, noi possediamo argomenti sufficienti a meglio intendere, di quel rapporto, l'equilibrio intimo. Il filtro idealistico della nostra cultura ci ha fatto intendere generalmente tutte le ragioni dell'individuo creatore, al di là di ogni confine interattivo che pure dovette esistere. […] Indubbiamente, la forma urbana è il risultato più completo di una costante integrazione fra opere diverse, intersezione spazio-temporale del comunitario e dell'individuale: il suo volto [quello della città] nasce da mille mani e da mille gesti creativi, che tuttavia restano validi in loro stessi. La sua storia [, quella della città,] è costituita da mille azioni, che da azioni divengono tuttavia anche fattori per altre e nuove azioni che senza quelle non avrebbero eguale forza, realizzazione e forma. La sua storia è infine gesto espressivo e fatica, sudore e fortuna, cultura e condizione economica*.[49]
>
> From the height of many centuries of human history, and of the relationship between society and artistic expression, we possess sufficient evidence to better understand the intimate balance of this relationship. Our culture's idealistic filter has generally allowed us to understand all the reasons that motivated individual creators, beyond every interactive boundary that surely must have been in place. [...] Undoubtedly, the urban form is the most complete result of the constant integration between different works, an intersection of communal and individual space-time: [the city's] face is born from a thousand hands and a thousand creative gestures, which continue to remain valid in and of themselves. [The city's] story is constituted by a thousand actions, actions which become factors for other actions, in addition to new

[46] "La storia dell'ICCD - ICCD - Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione," consultato 2022/04/04, http://www.iccd.beniculturali.it/it/chisiamo/la-storia-ICCD.
[47] Borsellino, "Stato ed Enti locali:" 12.
[48] Cfr. Emiliani, "Città e museo."
[49] Emiliani. "Città e museo:" 116-117.

> actions without which the earlier ones would not have equal strength, presence and form. Its history is ultimately an expressive gesture and toil, sweat and destiny, culture and economic condition. (trans. Author)

Emiliani read urban history through a social lens testified by "a thousand hands and a thousand creative gestures, which continue to remain valid in and of themselves," a suggestion that highlights explicit parallels between Emiliani's thoughts and that of the artist. [50]

Also in the essay "*Città e museo*," the scholar promoted the museum as a "*struttura pubblica di servizi culturali aperti verso il futuro*," drawing connections between potential social functions and urban planning.[51] The piece puts forward two convictions: the first is the need to document and study artistic,[52] urbanistic,[53] architectural,[54] and even linguistic heritage[55] "*nella loro entità, unità, omogeneità*;"[56] the second is the importance of recovering prestigious, public buildings often left in a state of neglect and putting them in service of the wider public as cultural 'containers.'[57] For Emiliani, it was especially important for these structures to be transformed into museums, in a concrete act meant to reverse a centuries-old process of heritage subtraction,[58] in which this "*sorta di indolore privatizzazione burocratica*" saw important properties relegated to local administrations at the cost of keeping local citizens definitively locked out. [59] He further explored the idea of the museum as an educational

[50] The way in which Roberto Longhi might have influenced the reading of the historical-artistic heritage of his pupils, including Pasolini and Emiliani, deserves further exploration. *Cf.* Cultural Heritage Emilia-Romagna Region, accessed 2022/03/16, https://patrimonioculturale.regione.emilia-romagna.it/chi-siamo/andrea-emiliani/biografia; Andrea Emiliani, "In attesa delle regioni (maggio 1971)" in *Dal museo al territorio*. Bologna: Edizioni ALFA, 1974: 209-217.
[51] Emiliani, "Città e museo:" 102.
[52] Emiliani, "Città e museo:" 106-7.
[53] Emiliani, "Città e museo:" 98-99, 113.
Fifty years ago, Emiliani came up with an idea for a display with unusual criteria that, alas, are rarely implemented to this day: "*Come 'rivedere', come 'ricostruire' la faccia di una faccia, anche nei suoi aspetti architettonici, e più ancora urbanistici, meglio che con l'aiuto della lingua parlata*?".He therefore makes a plea for linguistic documentation: "*registrazioni delle parlate locali [come] base per una intera sezione di un museo tutto da inventare: il museo delle voci cittadine*."
In the setting of Palazzo Pepoli at *Genus bonaniae*, we find a display that recalls Emiliani's idea in room 31 entitled "Parlano i bolognesi" (or "The Bolognese speak"), a room that remained out of use for reasons of hygiene during the sanitary measures linked to Covid-19.
[54] Emiliani, "Città e museo:" 101, 109.
[55] Emiliani, "Città e museo:" 99.
[56] Emiliani, "Città e museo:" 104.
[57] Emiliani, "Città e museo:" 102.
[58] Emiliani leaves implied the Napoleonic suppressions, the closure of the convents and the demanization of urban property by unified Italy: a "subtracted" heritage never again made available to the local population. Cf. Emiliani, "Città e museo:" 106-107.
[59] Emiliani, "Città e museo:" 105.

instrument,[60] in that he believed schools to be "*sede privilegiata della costruzione democratica della società e del lavoro*."[61] This sort of systematic and profoundly social approach could protect the *genius loci* as a whole: "*ogni discorso che oggi si fa sulla pianificazione è proprio quello di restituire al territorio sul quale viviamo una omogeneità, una correttezza, una semplicità non artefatta da schemi sovrapposti, ma paragonate all'uomo che sopra vi nasce, vi vive e procrea*."[62]

In the utopian museum model described above — "*un museo tutto da inventare*" [63]—, Emiliani juxtaposed two antithetical images: one of traditional, static, and self-referential museums with that of an 'open' museum. In his 1973 essay "*Il museo, opera chiusa*," he described the traditional museum as a work in and of itself, a space that merely narrates itself instead of narrating the works it houses or their connection to the community and the environment.[64] He highlighted the sharp contrast between conventional practices and a new museology which aimed to transform the relationship between cultural heritage and landscapes, be they urban or natural.[65] A composite vision of Italian heritage was taking shape. It was made up of works of art (including contemporary ones!),[66] testimonies of rural civilization,[67] material culture,[68] public libraries,[69] architectural palimpsests,[70] historical centers[71] and human landscapes.[72] In

[60] Andrea Emiliani, ed., *La conservazione come pubblico servizio: Ipotesi per un Piano di tutela, intervento e riqualificazione dei Beni Artistici e Culturali mobili delle Provincie di Bologna, Ferrara, Forlì e Ravenna 1971 - 1975*, Report of the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Bologna 8 (Bologna: ALFA, 1971): 35-41.
[61] Emiliani, "Città e museo:" 115.
[62] Emiliani, "Città e museo:" 99-100.
[63] Emiliani, "Città e museo:" 99.
[64] Andrea Emiliani, "Il museo, opera chiusa," in *Dal Territorio al Museo* (Bologna: Edizioni ALFA, 1974): 51-56.
[65] Luca Basso Peressut, "La città museo," *Interior Readings*. Francesca Lanz, ed. (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2014): 146.
[66] Marisa Dalai Emiliani, "Il museo e l'arte contemporanea," *I Musei*, vol. IV, Understanding Italy (Milan: TCI, 1980): 198-219.
[67] Fabio Giuseberti, "Carlo Poni Designer Museale," in *DEA Museums Practices and Methodologies. Study Day Dedicated to the Memory of Carlo Poni* (Villa Smeralda Institute, Museo della Civiltà Contadina, Bentivoglio: Institute for Artistic, Cultural and Natural Heritage of the Emilia-Romagna Region, 2020): 11-13.
[68] Emiliani, "Il museo, opera chiusa:" 109.
[69] Armando Petrucci and Giulia Barone, *Primo: non leggere. Biblioteche e pubblica lettura in Italia dal 1861 ai nostri giorni*, Milano: Mazzotta, 1976.
[70] Bruno Toscano, "Ripristino, restauro, conservazione" in Andrea Emiliani, Giovanni Fanelli, and Giovanni Romano, eds. *Il Patrimonio Storico Artistico*. Vol. III. Capire l'Italia. Milano: Touring Club Italiano, 1979: 205-216.
[71] "La Carta di Restauro, 1972" in Cesare Brandi, *La teoria di restauro*, Turin: Einaudi, 1977:131-154.
[72] Emilio Bianchi and Michele D'Innella, eds. *I Paesaggi Umani*. Vol. I. Capire l'Italia. Milano: Touring Club Italiano, 1977.

this short essay, Emiliani vies for transformation of museums into places of research[73] and in which conservation is practiced as a "public service."[74] This result would be the fruit of:

> […] *una metodologia "globale" di una storia dell'arte vista come realizzazione formale di una dinamica antropologica sempre varia, fortunata e sfortunata che fosse, ma sempre e comunque tale da fornire il documento più completo, l'informazione qualitativamente e quantitativamente più vasta del passato dell'uomo. Una storia dell'arte globale risponde le richieste: parla entro la sua capacità informativa anche quella storia assente o silenziosa che nessun documento scritto o narrato si è mai sforzato di tramandarci*.[75]
>
> […] a "global" methodology of art history seen as the formal realization of perpetually varied anthropological dynamics, successful or unsuccessful as they may be, in any case, much always provide the most complete document possible, the most qualitatively and quantitatively vast information about the human past. A global history of art responds to these demands: the information it seek to recount absent episodes and silenced histories which no written document or narrative has ever made the effort to hand down to us. (trans. Author)

This vision was first implemented in Emiliani's contribution to the redevelopment of Brescia's historical center and by converting the Santa Giulia and San Salvatore complexes into museum buildings. Begun in 1975, the project marked a qualitative leap in the historian's thinking about the ways cities and museums interrelate. Drawing from the urban fabric and archaeological sites, 'minor' history was to be put into active dialogue with 'highbrow' artistic culture at an ideal "city museum," much in keeping with Pier Paolo Pasolini's thoughts on conservation and enhancement.[76]

4.1.2. Brescia as an Italian case study. A model which remained on paper

Andrea Emiliani's project for Brescia's monumental complexes constitutes a will to create a city museum in Italy aimed at reinterpreting and revitalizing a city on the basis of interdisciplinary, territory-based programming that drew from both museography and urban planning.[77] The Brescia project constituted a concrete and disruptive response to an

[73] Emiliani, "Il museo, opera chiusa:" 53-4.
[74] *Cf*. Emiliani, ed., *La conservazione come pubblico servizio*.
[75] Emiliani, "Il museo, opera chiusa:" 52.
[76] The term "city museum" appears three times in Andrea Emiliani's essay, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:" 112, 114, 119.
[77] Francesco Amendolagine, Federico Bulfone Gransinigh, Federica Cecconi, "Il Museo di Santa Giulia a Brescia," in *Arrigo Rudi. Architettura, restauro e allestimento*," edited by V. Pastor, S. Los and U. Tubini (Venice: Marsilio editori, 2011): 121

'antiquated' and 'closed' museum model,[78] breaking down the walls of the container, contaminating the interior with the exterior and vice versa. Emiliani wrote: "…*il museo è morto, viva il museo. La sua vita ha ormai oltrepassato, invadendo ambiente e territorio, i termini concettuali ed istituzionali della sua stessa azione storica*."[79]

Born from a transversal collaboration between the Municipality, the Superintendence, architects, urban planners and researchers, the project was presented as a "*cantiere museografico nazionale*," aimed at the decentralization of cultural heritage from the central government in favor of their municipal management,[80] a real reversal of the alienating processes that have plagued, and continue to plague, local heritage for centuries.[81] The project for the Museo della città di Brescia embraced global conservation, in which the museum represented the nucleus for activities regarding the redevelopment of the city's entire historic center. The site chose to create this museum was a complex that included the former convent of Santa Giulia, the basilica of San Salvatore and the oratory of Santa Maria in Solario, a site of Roman foundation with architectural features dating back to the Longobard and Romanesque periods and the 16th-century. About 14,000 m^2 of exhibition space was obtained from this archaeological and architectural palimpsest,[82] ample enough space for the municipal collections coming from the Roman Age Museum (1840) with the *Afrodite alata*,[83] from the Christian Age Museum (1882),[84] as well as the *Croce di Desiderio* from the Biblioteca Queriniana together with polymathic objects preserved at the Pinacoteca Tosio.[85] The Museum of Santa Giulia thus housed 11,000 objects, collections of local paintings and sculpture, from private collections of the 18th and 19th centuries, together with pieces of monumental architecture and examples of the applied arts from the modern era to the 19th century.[86] The narrative aspired to recount city's history through finds from the Veneto and medieval periods, along with archaeological material unearthed during both planned and emergency excavations, likes the mosaics of the Domus dell'Ortaglia, discovered under the foundations of the museum in 1967-1971.

[78] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"138.
[79] Emiliani, "Il museo, opera chiusa:" 56.
[80] Cf. Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"11-148.
[81] Andrea Emiliani, "Un esempio di déracinement culturale," in Emiliani, *Dal museo al territorio*: 93-97.
[82] "Brescia Musei - Museo Di Santa Giulia," accessed 2022/03/07, https://www.bresciamusei.com/santagiulia.asp.
[83] "Museum of the Monastery of Santa Giulia in Brescia. "
[84] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"124.
[85] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"124-125.
[86] "Brescia Musei - Museo di Santa Giulia. "

The dominant theme of the project revolved around the concept of *res publica*. For the "*cantiere museografico nazionale*," Emiliani tapped into the Bolognese paradigm discussed earlier, [87] while venturing into social, cultural, and logistical dimensions that had remained unexplored in museum practice up to that time; therefore, "*il museo di Brescia è – comunque lo si afferri – un museo della città*." [88] In Emiliani's writings, the term "city museum" made its debut between 1976 and 1978, and the new institution was defined as:[89] "*strumento di organizzazione politica e culturale, poiché costruisce un'immagine assolutamente pubblica delle cadenze culturali cittadine, e la costruisce prevalentemente su opere pubbliche, soprattutto su dipinti chiesastici, così carichi e gravidi di significati e di contenuto*."[90] The project at Brescia met one essential prerequisite for Emiliani, namely that the monumental complex destined to become the new home of the civic museums had already been deemed municipal property already in the 19th century, in the years following the suppression of religious orders and congregations.[91] The city's museum collections were an exemplary and innovative testimony to local artistic development, a result achieved through the application of the "*nozione corretta di collezionismo civico*."[92] As a means of constructing "*un'immagine assolutamente pubblica delle cadenze culturali cittadine*," Emiliani proposed "laboratory," "work site," and "workshop" as synonyms for "museum:"

> *Tutte queste considerazioni portano infine a far davvero del museo e del suo allestimento il laboratorio ottimale per una conoscenza capace poi di riverberarsi sulle più generali ed ampie strategie che l'intervento per il centro storico richiede. Il museo di Santa Giulia, dunque, come cellula iniziale, cantiere e officina, per sviluppare conseguentemente indirizzi precisi in campo urbanistico*.[93]
>
> All these considerations make museums and their exhibitions ideal laboratories to promote a kind of knowledge that resonates with the needs of the more general and broader strategies employed in revitalizing the city's historic center. Hence, the museum of Santa Giulia acts as an initial cell, a worksite and workshop, in which to develop consequently specific guidelines in the field of town planning. (trans. Author)

[87] Not surprisingly, the project also involved the urban planner Leonardo Benevolo, who was responsible for a number of sectoral studies initiated in 1963 in preparation for Bologna's future master plan. *Cf.* Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale," 137; "Piano di salvaguardia del centro storico," Bologna Online, accessed 2022/03/08, https://www.bibliotecasalaborsa.it/bolognaonline/cronologia-di-bologna/1969/piano_di_salvaguardia_del_centro_storico.
[88] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:" 11.
[89] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"112, 116.
[90] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:" 112.
[91] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"113.
[92] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:" 118.
[93] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:" 137.

Emiliani's project coincided with the Municipality's political will to redevelop the entire eastern quarter of Brescia's historic center. In fact, excavations in the area of the Forum and the theatre were planned and carried out in line with the discipline's state of the art, and other archaeological investigations were planned to go hand in hand with the public works projects in the city.[94] The project was envisaged as a future, educational laboratory in the open-air.[95] Assuming the institution's social responsibilities, Emiliani designed a "*Museo, città e comprensorio*" that envisaged collaborations with universities, trade unions, associations, schools and even the "*costruzione di un'inchiesta-dibattito da condursi in collaborazione con gli insegnanti e nella fattispecie con insegnanti della scuola d'obbligo*."[96]

In addition to the museological aspect, the scholar outlined "*un codice per Brescia*," meaning a method for deciphering the image of the city, useful for managing museum materials and treating the heritage not as a static body, but as a project and a process. This code, made up of concrete programmatic points, showed a remarkably anticipatory force and embraced values that have been promoted by most city museums only since the 21st century. He argued that the "*immagine assolutamente pubblica delle cadenze culturali cittadine*" was provided by literature – "*artistica, odeporica, turistica, amministrative, ecc*." [97] – and historiography,[98] iconography and photography,[99] but also by political, legislative and cultural work from the Unification to the present day,[100] as well as by the collaboration between state, region, municipality, associations, unions and schools. [101] If approached in any other way, the museum could risk closing itself off – a concept that was reiterated in numerous studies by Emiliani at the time – and reducing its function to that of a container of objects which would be protected, but also alienated from their original context.[102] Historiographical reading were to be skillfully flanked by local knowledge[103] and told through voices coming from different specialists and social spheres, so as to favor "*una osmosi convincente, feconda*" between the museum, city, and territory.[104] In order to do this the museum had to be enriched with indispensable tools,

[94] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"119.
[95] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"122.
[96] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:" 140, 141, 147, 148.
[97] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:" 140.
[98] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"139-140.
[99] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"140.
[100] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"141.
[101] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"144.
[102] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"138-139.
[103] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"143.
[104] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"114.

hence Brescia's 'Code,' foresaw a series of methodologies, interventions and activities that had to be tuned and verified continuously: the reinterpretation of the relationships between the center and the periphery, the creation of new inventories and audiovisual archives, the rethinking of storage areas, the inclusion of ethnographic materials and 20th century materials in the collections, the development of new exhibition and didactic strategies, the creation of equipped restoration labs and, lastly, training so as to cultivate qualified staff.[105]

By 1980, Brescia's model became a case study in the TCI series *Capire l'Italia*,[106] but in hindsight Vasco Frati, at the time Brescia's *assessore alla cultura* and author of the essay "*Il rapporto museo-città: il caso di Brescia*," said that Emiliani's project had "remained on paper."[107] In fact, ten years after the start of construction, the collaborative spirit which marked the start of the project started to fade. The "tangled mess" of contracts for the restoration and redevelopment of the Santa Giulia complex[108] had transformed the original project so much that the form the museum had taken by 1998, the year of its inauguration, showed little to no trace of the "*cantiere museografico nazionale*."[109]

In 1981, for the centenary of Bologna's Museo Civico, Emiliani recalled how "*i primi anni '70 hanno segnato per la cultura artistica e storica italiana un vertice assai alto del dibattito, superiore a quello di molti altri paesi*."[110] The discourse was immortalized in 1985 with the publication of the essay "*Il museo alla sua terza età*," an essay based on the 1981 lecture which lent its title to a now-famous anthology of Emiliani's essays and interviews from 1978-1985. If, according to the scholar, Italian museums had by around 1945 entered their "*terza età*,"[111] which in Italian means 'seniority' or 'old age,' by the Eighties they were showing the first signs of senescence, since "*fra verifica e progetto,* […] *buona parte di questi stessi progetti o non hanno progredito o non hanno mai avuto conclusione. Essi sono stati messi in ginocchio, certo, dalla crisi finanziaria locale; ma assai più hanno sofferto dell'imponente deviazione dei bilanci verso le strade della precarietà*."[112]

[105] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:"142-145.
[106] Vasco Frati, "Il rapporto museo-città: il caso di Brescia."
[107] Massimo Tedeschi, "L'apporto di Vasco Frati alla Città."
[108] Amendolagine, *et al*, "The Santa Giulia Museum in Brescia:" 120.
[109] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale:" 11-148.
[110] Andrea Emiliani, "Il museo alla sua terza età," in Cristiana Morigi Govi and Giuseppe Sassatelli, eds., *Dalla stanza delle antichità al Museo Civico. Storia della formazione del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna* (Bologna: Grafis edizioni, 1984): 18.
[111] Emiliani, "Il museo alla sua terza età:" 17.
[112] Emiliani, "Il museo alla sua terza età:" 9.

For the Italian context, Emiliani's vision of a museum was precocious, if not utopian, yet it found similar experiences in the European context. Parallels can be identified in the guidelines adopted by the Frankfurt Museum of History in the early 1970s: "With the slogans 'place of learning versus temple of the muses!' and 'culture for everyone,' the Historisches Museum launched a process to become, first and foremost, a place of learning open to all strata of the population."[113] The opening of the Museum of London in 1976 demonstrated a clear desire to create, *ex novo,* a museum of social and urban history in the heart of the city. These two institutions remained landmarks for city museums the world over, while this type of museum continued to proliferate and evolve over the next fifty years.

This is not to say that Italy ceased to inaugurate new urban museums. In fact, there were many museological proposals dedicated to cities' archaeological and art historical heritage of one's and that of their territories. This theme is not the monopoly of city museums and lies at the heart of ecomuseums,[114] urban museums,[115] open air museums,[116] *musei diffusi* [117] and 'museums in the city.'[118] Each kind of structure takes on different meanings depending on the cultural, administrative, and territorial context in it developed (Tab. 1).[119] The case of the Museo di Roma is particular interest. Established in 1929 under the directives of a Commission coordinated by Antonio Muñoz, it was the first museum dedicated to the history of an Italian

[113] Jan Gerchow, "History Museum Frankfurt," in Luca Basso Perusset, Francesca Lanz, and Gennaro Postiglione, eds., *European Museums in the 21st Century.*, vol. 2 (Milano: Politecnico, 2013): 487. https://issuu.com/melaproject/docs/melabook_07_vol2_hq-single_page

[114] Kjell Engström, "L'idée des écomusées s'implante en Suede," *Museum,* no. 148, vol. XXXVII, no. 4 (1985): 206-210, consulted in "Images of the Ecomuseum - UNESCO Digital Library," consultato 2022/05/26, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000127347; Hugues De Varine, *Radici del futuro. Il patrimonio culturale al servizio dello sviluppo locale* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2005).

[115] Andrea Emiliani, "Conservazione urbana e trasmissione museale" in Emiliani, Andrea, *Il museo alla sua terza età* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1985): 97-109 (Interview by Letizia Caruzzo with Andrea Emiliani that appeared in July-August 1978 in *Hinterland*, an architecture and urban planning magazine edited by Guido Canella. Cf. Peressut, "La città museo:" 146.

[116] Andrea Emiliani, "La giustaposizione delle culture. Open Air museum nella campagna emiliana," in *Dal museo al territorio*. Bologna: Edizioni ALFA, 1974: 276-288.

[117] Fredi Drugman, *Il museo diffuso*, in "Hinterland," 21-22, 1992: 24-25. Cfr. Dragoni, Patrizia. "Introduzione al Museo Diffuso." MUMO-net. Macerata Mountain Museum Network, accessed 2022/02/16. http://www.mumo-net.eu/it/82/introduzione-al-museo-diffuso.

[118] Andrea Emiliani, *The museum in the Italian city: historical events and current problems; a project for Terni* (Milan: Motta, 2004); Fabio Roversi-Monaco, "Genus Bonaniae: Museo della Storia di Bologna" in Genus Bononiae, *Palazzo Pepoli: da residenza cittadina a Museo della Storia di Bologna* (Florence: Giunti, 2014): 9. N.b. the author of the short 2014 introduction signs himself: "Presidente Genus Bonaniae, Musei nella città."

[119] "Recognition and Valorization of Regional Ecomuseums - Law Num. 3 Del 11 Aprile 2017," Lazio Region, consulted 2022/03/07, https://www.consiglio.regione.lazio.it/consiglio-regionale/?vw=leggiregionalidettaglio&id=9309&sv=vigente. *Cf.* Hugues De Varine, *L'ecomuseo singolare e plurale* (Udine: Utopie concrete, 2022).

city. It was first located in the former Pastificio Pantanella, repurposed to house "*i monumenti e i documenti della storia, del costume, delle vicende edilizie, della storia pubblica e privata della città di Roma dal Medioevo ai nostri giorni*."[120] In order to align with the political mutations which followed WWII, the project was radically rethought and moved to its current location in Palazzo Braschi in 1952. A series of rearrangements ensued for over three decades, followed by the museum's closure from 1987 to 2002, the year in which it was reopened.[121]

The debate over a new organizational model for the capital's museum, over time, created fertile ground and debates around the creation of other Italian city museums. What seemed to emerge is the need for polycentric narratives about Italy's many centers, but the museums that emerged continued to focus on the monumental heritage and perpetuate celebratory readings of local history.[122] The overall pattern that has been replicated can be described as museums located in monumental complexes whose exhibits focus on the foundation of a given urban center while treating local history up to the 19th century. Some also include sporadic references to contemporary art. Exceptions to this rule can be found in two urban ecomuseums, namely Rome's Ecomuseo Casilino ad Duas Lauros (also known as the Museo della Casilina)[123] and Palermo's Ecomuseo urbano Mare Memoria Viva.[124] These realities promote awareness and

[120] Archivio storico capitolino, *Governatorato di Roma*, Del. n. 7847 del 16 novembre 1929. Citato in Mihaela Ilie e Carlo M. Travaglini, "Per un museo-laboratorio della città a Roma. Note su una vicenda incompiuta," *Città e Storia*, III, 2008, 1-2 (Roma: Università Roma Tre-CROMA, 2009): 201-224.
[121] Mihaela Ilie and Carlo M. Travaglini, "Per un museo-laboratorio della città a Roma:" 210-213; *Il Museo di Roma racconta la città,* edited by Rosella Leone, Federica Pirani, Maria Elisa Tittoni, Simonetta Tozzi (Rome: Gangemi, 2002).
[122] See footnote 21 of this chapter for more bibliographical information.
[123] Despite the nomenclature, the Casilina Ecomuseum remains the museum model most closely aligned with the objectives shared by many of the city's museums represented by ICOM. In fact, Claudio Gnessi, Director in charge and coordinator of research on contemporary art, described the museum as "*un museo diffuso urbano*" in a recent conference held at the University of Roma Tre, in the context of the Round Table Discussion on May 13, 2022 entitled "*Ecomusei per la valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale attraverso la partecipazione attiva della comunità*" edited by Paola Demartini and Michela Marchioti.
Moreover, the internet portal of the Museum reports the following: "*L'associazione persegue l'obiettivo statutario di salvaguardare, valorizzazione e promozione del patrimonio ambientale, paesaggistico e culturale del Comprensorio Archeologico Casilino Ad Duas Lauros e dei quartieri limitrofi, attraverso la costituzione dell'Ecomuseo Urbano che, come detto sopra, è recentemente riconosciuto fondato, operante e d'interesse regionale*." *Cf.* "Chi siamo," *Casilino Ecomuseum* (blog), consulted 2022/05/06, https://www.ecomuseocasilino.it/chi-siamo/.
[124] Also during the Round Table Discussion "*Ecomusei per la valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale attraverso la partecipazione attiva della comunità*," Cristina Alga, co-founder of Mare Memoria Viva, clarified that the association was born with the idea of creating a Museum of the Sea, only to discover that what had been created was a city museum. As in the case of the Casilino Ecomuseum, the museum services focused on curating mostly intangible evidence to reflect on the history and present of the south-eastern coast of the city of Palermo: "*L'ecomuseo ospita meeting, conferenze, laboratori che trattano temi culturali, ambientali e sociali proposti da imprese etiche ed enti del terzo settore mettendo a disposizione gli spazi interni ed esterni, competenza organizzativa, networking e tutti i necessari servizi logistici*," *Mare Memoria Viva* (blog), consulted 2022/05/24, https://www.marememoriaviva.it/spazi-ed-eventi/.

enhancement of their urban contexts, but they do not possess museum collections and, therefore, do not have responsibilities regarding material preservation.[125]

Daniele Jalla, a historian by training and former president of ICOM Italy from 2004 to 2010, pinpoints an intrinsic aspect which perpetuates the self-referentiality that Emiliani so criticized in Italian museums half a century earlier. Jalla notes how territorial superintendencies act as "territorial garrisons" towards local administrations, ultimately creating an obstacle for adapting truly participatory strategies:[126]

> […] *la loro competenza si limita alla protezione e non include anche la valorizzazione e gestione – diretta o indiretta – del patrimonio culturale. Per questo, da ben più di un decennio, ICOM Italia ha puntato piuttosto su una prospettiva 'museocentrica' assegnando ai musei il ruolo di 'presidi territoriali di una tutela attiva' che, nella proposta di considerarli 'centri di responsabilità patrimoniale', a mio parere, si rafforza e trova un coerente sviluppo*.[127]
>
> [...] their competence is limited to the protection of cultural heritage and does not include its – direct or indirect – enhancement and management. Therefore, for more than a decade, ICOM Italy has taken on a "museum-centric" perspective, assigning museums the role of "territorial garrisons of active protection" which, in the proposal to consider them as "centers of patrimonial responsibility", in my opinion, is strengthened and, in such, develops coherently. (trans. Author)

By contrast, the current debate around participation, social cohesion, and accessibility compels museums to shift their focus to the experience of museum visitors. For museums about cities, this means, telling urban story according to transversal criteria that can speak to the general public, an imperative which Emiliani foresaw back in the 1970's.[128]

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[125] Hugues De Varine, *Radici del futuro. Il patrimonio culturale al servizio dello sviluppo locale*, ed. Daniele Jalla, vol. 11, Lexis IV, MuseoPoli: Luoghi per Il Sapere; 11 (Bologna: CLUEB, 2005); Hugues De Varie, *L'écomusée singulier et pluriel. Un témoignage sur cinquante ans de muséologie communautaire dans le monde* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2017); Consiglio Regionale del Lazio, Legge Num. 3 del 2017/04/11, https://www.consiglio.regione.lazio.it/consiglio-regionale/?vw=leggiregionalidettaglio&id=9309&sv=vigente.

[126] "Daniele Jalla," *ICOM Italy*, accessed 2022/05/26, https://www.icom-italia.org/daniele-jalla/.

[127] Jalla, "Paesaggi culturali e Musei. Il Museo nella sua quarta età," Sistema Museale della Provincia di Ravenna, consultato 2022/05/26, http://www.sistemamusei.ra.it/main/index.php?id_pag=99&op=lrs&id_riv_articolo=1032. Already published in *Speciale Paesaggi culturali e musei*, No. 59 (2017): 9, nota 34.

[128] The art historian's writings remain virtually unknown outside national borders, despite the importance of his theoretical contribution. In 2019, the year of Emiliani's death, the essay "*Il Museo alla sua terza età*" gained greater international accessibility thanks to its republication in the proceedings of the ICOM European Conference held in Bologna, in the former Church of San Mattia, on 13-14 November 2017. See Giuliana Ericani, ed., *The Role of Local and Regional Museums in the Building of a People's Europe. Museums and Communities in Europe: Past, Present and Future* (Bologna: ICOM Europe/ Italy, 2019): 39-54.

A selection of Italian museums dedicated to a given city		
Name of Museum	Museum Headquarters	Opening date
Museo di Roma	Former pasta factory Pantanella (1930) then Palazzo Braschi (since 1952) Rome, Lazio	1930, 1952
Museo della città e del territorio – Vetralla	Antica Torre di Porta Marina, Vetralla (Viterbo), Latium	1991
Museo della città e del territorio di Monsummano Terme	Osteria dei Pellegrini, Monsummano Terme (Pistoia), Tuscany	1998, 2005
Museo di Santa Giulia	Monumental complex of San Salvatore - Santa Giulia, Brescia, Lombardy	1998
Museo della città - Portogruaro	The ancient Tower of S. Agnese, Portogruaro (Venice), Veneto	1999
Museo della Città e del Territorio di Cori	The monumental complex of Sant'Oliva, Cori (Latina), Latium	2000
Museo della città - Aquino	Modern structure in the park adjoining the monumental church of S. Maria della Libera, Aquino (Frosinone), Lazio	2000
		cont…
Museo della Città – civico e diocesano di Aquapendente	Palazzo Oliva (Bishop's Palace)/Chiostro della chiesa di San Francesco, Aquapendente (Viterbo), Lazio	2005
Museo della città di Mantova	San Sebastiano Palace, Mantua, Lombardy	2005
Museo della Città a Monte Porzio Catone	Seventeenth-century premises belonging to the Duomo, Monte Porzio Catone (Rome), Latium	2005
		cont…
Museo della Città di Guastalla	Ducal Palace, Guastalla (Reggio Emilia), Emilia-Romagna	2009*
MuseoTorino	Virtual museum with interactive map of the city of Turin, Piedmont	2011
Museo diffuso urbano - Ancona	The ancient Hospital of St. Thomas of Canterbury and the former Fish Market, Ancona, Marche region	2011*
Museo della città - Chiari	Premises in the historic buildings overlooking Piazza Zanardelli (such as the former palazzo del Podestà and premises once used as prisons), Chiari (Brescia), Lombardy	2011
Genus Bononiae Museo nella città di Bologna	Palazzo Pepoli (one of the five sites of Genus Bononiae), Bologna, Emilia-Romagna	2012
L'Ecomuseo Casilino ad Duas Lauros	Virtual museum with interactive map of the city; Rome, Latium	2012
Ecomuseo urbano Mare Memoria Viva	The former Sant'Erasmo locomotive depot, Palermo, Sicily	2014
Museo della Città "Luigi Tonini"	Jesuit College, Rimini, Emilia-Romagna	Named with the current name in 2015
Museo della Città di Livorno	Deconsecrated church in Piazza del Luogo Pio (part of the complex recovered to create the current Polo Culturale Bottini dell'Olio); Livorno, Tuscany	2018
MuseoOristano	Virtual museum with interactive map of the city of Oristano, Sardinia	2019*
Museo della Città	Palazzo Sichart, Rovereto (Trento), Trentino-Alto Adige	2019
		* data to be confirmed

Table IV-1. A selection of Italian museums dedicated to a given city

In the Italian panorama, Bologna's Genus Bononiae at Palazzo Pepoli is often mentioned in the international debate on city museums but, on closer inspection, this institution does not

grapple with questions of urban history with the same rigor as its European counterparts.[129] While its mission enshrines the importance of dialogue between the museum and its urban fabric, these guidelines tend to propagate a crystallized sense of local identity:

> *Per meglio descrivere e comprendere il "genus," la stirpe dei bolognesi di ieri e di oggi, Genus Bononiae. Musei nella Città si sviluppa attraverso un percorso urbano che ne racconta la storia, la vita, le arti e i sogni; utilizza le strade di Bologna come corridoi, palazzi e chiese come sale di un unico grande museo, inserendosi nella struttura istituzionale già esistente e prevedendo un pieno collegamento con le altre realtà culturali, economiche e sociali che animano la comunità locale*.[130]
>
> To better describe and understand the "genus" and stock of the Bolognese people from yesterday and today, Genus Bononiae. Museums in the City follows a path through the city and narrates its history, life, arts and dreams; it uses the streets of Bologna as corridors and the buildings and churches as rooms, blending into the existing institutional structure, and ensuring a full link with other museums, art galleries, as well as the other cultural, economic and social initiatives which animate the local community.

The ensured "full link with […] other cultural, economic and social initiatives which animate the local community," fails to transpire in the exhibition in regards to less conventional groups of Bolognesi. Created by the banking foundation CARISBO, the institution presents itself as the Museum of the History of Bologna and distinguishes itself for its elegant exhibition design. Palazzo Pepoli, however, presents a univocal and celebratory narration of a specific *genus*, that is a specific "stock of the Bolognese people," a rather obsolete concept of lineage compared to the fluid identities that characterize today's cities and citizens. The museum proposes a stereotyped image of the city, without paying attention to the plethora of contributions made by local women and foreigners; furthermore, difficult themes such as the Fascist *Ventennio* or the Piazza Fontana massacre, so indicative of the 20th century, are not addressed in the permanent exhibition.[131] This is in keeping with observations made by Michał Grabowski, an expert in *Cultural Studies* and a museum operator at the Museum of Kraków:

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[129] Graziano Campanini and Massimo Negri, ed. *The Future of city museums in europe. Experiences and perspectives/ Il futuro dei musei della città in Europa*. Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2008; Francesca Lanz, "City Museums in Transition: A European Overview. Cues for reflections," *European Museums in the 21st Century: Setting the Framework*, Vol. 7 (Milan: MeLa Books, 2013): 410-440; Donatella Calabi, "The City Museum. An Exploration." *Nuova Informazione Bibliografica* Year XVI, no. 4 (October-December 2019): 771-85. https://doi.org/doi: 10.1448/95130;

[130] "Chi siamo," *Genus Bonaniae* (blog), accessed il 2021/09/14, https://genusbononiae.it/chi-siamo/.

[131] Michał Grabowski, "Wystawa-miasto-sieć. Przypadek Genus Bononiae," *Journal of Urban Ethnology*, Kraków 2022, nr 20/22 (forthcoming, shared courtesy of the author); Cf. Tim Marshall and Joan Roca i Albert, Eds. *European City Museums*, Barcelona: MUHBA (forthcoming).

> *Ekspozycja prezentująca miasto oprócz walki ze stereotypowym, pocztówkowym postrzeganiem czy założeniami edukacyjno-informacyjnymi powinna pokusić się o próbę zilustrowania przeszłości w sposób interdyscyplinarny bez cenzurowania treści, a nie jedynie wybierać "przyjazne" tematy, które łatwo poddać interpretacji czy reprezentacji. O ile próba zwalczenia pocztówkowej wyobraźni za sprawą oferowanych praktyk jest udana, to wspomniany wyżej zabieg rezygnacji z niewygodnych, kontrowersyjnych treści przyczynia się do tworzenia pewnego mitologizowania miasta.*[132]
>
> In addition to combating stereotypes and postcard-like perceptions or educational and informational assumptions, an exhibition should consider representing the city spur itself to try and illustrate the past in an interdisciplinary way and to avoid censoring content, rather than simply choosing "friendly" topics that can be easily interpreted or represented. As much as the battle against picture postcards has been successful in this instance, the aforementioned resignation from addressing uncomfortable and controversial content, to a certain degree, mythologizes the city to a certain extent. (trans. Author).

In the search for a museum model capable of communicating a city's complex history with more nuanced communication strategies, this study addresses themes that have emerged in the ongoing international debate, starting with the exemplary work begun and continued in Paris.

4.1.3. City museums. An open debate

In 1880 the Musée Carnavalet – often considered the world's first city museum[133] – was inaugurated in the 16th-century building of the Hôtel de Ligneries (known as Carnavalet) in the heart of the Marais.[134] The idea was suggested by the prefect Georges-Eugène Haussman in 1866 to the Ville de Paris – "*peut-être comme instrument compensatoire des destructions parisiennes*" – when he announced his intention to acquire the Renaissance complex to create

[132] Grabowski, "Wystawa-miasto-sieć."
[133] Albert K Baragwanath, *More than a mirror to the past: the first fifty years of the Museum of the City of New York.* New York: The Museum, 1973: 5. https://archive.org/details/morethanmirrorto00bara/page/n33/mode/2up. The history of the City Museums transcends Western Europe. The Chicago History Museum (formerly the Chicago Historical Society) was founded in 1856 and the Moscow City Museum in 1885, only five years after the Carnavalet. As for the current city museum paradigm, it was the London and Frankfurt Museums that were the first to put the new model into practice. See Ian Jones, *Understanding Cities. A Brief History of CAMOC, an International Committee about Cities* (Self-published, 2021): 14; Tim Marshall, "City History Museums and City Museums in Europe: A Survey," in a forthcoming book to be issued by the City History Museums and Research Network of Europe, n.d. (Shared in the form of a Word document courtesy of the author).
[134] Andrea Delaplace, "Musée Carnavalet and Pavillon de l'Arsenal: History of Paris from Two Different Points of View," *CAMOC. Museums of Cities Review* 3 (2021): 19.

a museum dedicated to the history of the French capital.[135] One hundred and fifty years after the proposal laid out by the prefect of the Seine, the museum closed its doors in order to carry out a complete renovation: restoring the monumental complexes and the numerous works in the museum's collections; renovating the plant and the microclimate control systems; consolidating the storerooms; expanding the collections with medieval, Renaissance and 20th-21st century testimonies; developing new museographic solutions with particular attention to accessibility.[136] In addition to reorganizing the 3,900 m^2 of exhibition space, the museum itself was rethought in order to meet new challenges which, in the words of the director Valérie Guillaume, concerned the contents of the collection and their evolving interpretation:[137]

> The difficulty for city museums is to keep their collections in synchronicity with the living history and the challenge of these museums is to preserve the memory of uses, not only the objects. Several city museums are developing the biography of objects in their exhibitions, and in the Musée Carnavalet this is also particularly important.[138]

In contrast to the 'backward-looking' gaze that characterized the narration of the city's history at the time of the *Grands Travaux*, the Carnavalet wanted to enhance the polysemy of its collections, to "tell the story of the city through the eyes [of Parisians]" from the Neolithic to the present day.[139]

As absolute excellences in the field, mention should also be made of the Museum of Amsterdam, a point of reference in the sector for decades, which has successfully tackled themes linked to decolonization[140] and the Museum of Moscow, founder of the CAMOC

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[135] "L'histoire | Carnavalet," accessed 2022/01/12, http://www.carnavalet.paris.fr/le-musee/lhistoire; "Musée Carnavalet (@museecarnavalet) - Instagram Photos and Videos," accessed 2022/01/12, https://www.instagram.com/p/CPF8DUQnwBc/.

[136] Andrea Delaplace, "Interview with Valérie Guillaume, Director of the Musée Carnavalet, August 25, 2021." *CAMOC. Museums of Cities Review* 3 (2021): 28-33.

[137] See Kopytoff, Igor. "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process." In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986: 66-68; Magdalena Wròblewska, "Things in the Museum," in *The Things of Warsaw*, Jarosław Trybuś (ed.) (Warsaw: Museum of Warsaw, 2017): 167-172.

[138] Delaplace, "Interview with Valérie Guillaume:" 29.

[139] Delaplace, "Interview with Valérie Guillaume:" 30-31.

[140] Following the complete restoration of Queen Wilhelmina's carriage in 1898, the exhibition *The Golden Coach* (2021-2022) was inaugurated, inviting the public to participate in a reinterpretation of the decorative programme of the Dutch colonial period, such as the depiction of dark-skinned slaves squatting at the feet of a personification of the motherland before whom they offer tribute. "The Golden Coach is the subject of a current debate, caused by the painting on the left side of the vehicle: *Tribute from the Colonies*. Depicted are people from the colonies paying tribute to a white youthful woman symbolizing the Netherlands. An increasing number of people are finding this depiction of colonialism inappropriate for national celebrations. [...] To achieve a polyphonic and contemporary view, artists from different generations with various cultural backgrounds were commissioned to create artworks in which they reflect on the rituals that encompass the coach, the materiality and craftsmanship

committee,[141] currently active in the narration of local districts and their articulated incorporation into the metropolis.[142] Mention should also be made of the Museums of London,[143] Frankfurt, New York, Istanbul, Tokyo, Mexico City and the recent Nunavut Heritage Centre (Edmonton, Canada), for their commitment to participatory curation stimulating questions linking their territories' past, present, and future.

In the wake of the Carnavalet's reinauguration on 29 May 2021, the following section aims to delve directly into the current debate as led by ICOM members of CAMOC. The organization is neither the first nor the only group dedicated to this topic but best represents this worldwide phenomenon thanks to its 700 members who come from all continents and speak for dozens of heterogeneous institutions that define themselves, at least in part, as museums of the city.[144] The international committee is therefore a meeting place, where members can discuss issues concerning urban themes yesterday, today and tomorrow:

> CAMOC is about the city and its people-their history, their present and their future. It is a forum for those who work in museums about cities, but also for anyone involved and interested in urban life: historians, urban planners, architects, citizens, all of whom can exchange knowledge and ideas across national frontiers.[145]

For decades, the scholarly and museum community has been trying to circumscribe the openness of these museums to other professional figures. To quote the Belgian museologist Jean-Louis Postula, it remains "impossible to establish a definition" for city museums.[146] The

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of the vehicle, and the colonial past and its impact on the present." *Cf.* "The Golden Coach,": Amsterdam Museum, https://www.goudenkoets.nl/en/about-the-exhibition.

[141] Ian Jones, *Understanding Cities. A Brief History of CAMOC, an International Committee about Cities* (London: Self-published, 2021): 19-20. Director Glaina Vedernikova, then director of the Moscow City Museum, is particularly influential in the creation of the committee at ICOM.

[142] Anna Trapkova, Director of the Museum of Moscow presented "Moscow without Outskirts: The Research of the Remote Kapotnya District in the Museum of Moscow" at CAMOC Barcelona 2021.

[143] The Museum of London has recently changed its name, becoming the London Museum. The permanent exhibition in the historic Barbacan building is currently being refurbished due to the Museum's move to the former markets in West Smithfield.
It was the Museum of London's Docklands venue that first sparked interest in this strand of research in March 2019.

[144] Joana Sousa Monteiro (Chair, CAMOC - ICOM), "CAMOC, a (very) short story," Talk at CAMOC Barcelona 2021 Annual Conference, December 1, 2021.
Outside the ICOM network there are other organisations dedicated to the research and development of city museums, including the International Association of City Museums (IACM), the Council of Europoean Urbanism anf the Cities Program, the UN-Habitat and the City History Museums Network of Europe.

[145] "CAMOC is about the city and its people—their history, their present and their future," *ICOM CAMOC* (website), accessed 2022/01/13, https://camoc.mini.icom.museum/camoc/.

[146] Jean-Louis Postula, *Le Musée de Ville. Histoire et Actualités* (Paris: La documentatio francaise, 2015): 30-31. As indicated by Postula, the phrase "The museum as a guide to the life of the city" refers to a speech by architect John V. Van Pelt published by the American Association of Museums in 1931.

impossibility of the task stems from the fact that this category has "the city and the people of the city" as both the subject and the object of its interventions; these spaces take on multiple physical and digital forms and aspire to narrate dynamic, complex, and constantly changing systems. With the aim of "discovering the diversity of today's city museums to demonstrate their crucial role in the socio-cultural context of contemporary cities," *The City Museums Global Mapping Project* was launched at the conclusion of CAMOC's last meeting held at MUHBA (the Museum of History in Barcelona) in December 2021.[147] This census is "interested in learning about the different types of city museums around the globe: where they are, what they do, and how do they do it," so as to collect and provide up-to-date qualitative and quantitative data.[148] In order to identify the parameters of the survey, the provisional definition to which this research refers is proposed below:[149]

> A city museum is a museum that stands in the city, talks about the city, and thinks through the city. However diverse they may be in their strategies, approaches or models, city museums have the city at the core of their interests and activities. Their main aim is to contribute to urban social and cultural development by engaging with different communities, connecting people and places, and fostering knowledge and awareness about their city's pasts, presents and futures.[150]

City Museums, therefore, are not mere repositories of local history. In addition to safeguarding their collections, they are committed to protecting their communities of reference, not only by exhibiting evidence of the past, but also by investigating urban identity, cultivated through a plurality of narratives aimed at building a sense of belonging for today and tomorrow.[151]

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[147] The project was launched by CAMOC with the participation of the scholar and architect Francesca Lanz. NTUE (National Taipei University of Education, Taiwan), COMCOL (International Committee for Collecting-ICOM) and ASPAC (Asia-Pacific Alliance) will collaborate on the data processing.

[148] CAMOC. "The City Museums Global Mapping Project - Formstack," accessed 2021/12/03. https://city-museums-global-mapping.formstack.com/forms/the_city_museums_global_mapping_project

[149] Donatella Calabi, in 2019, published one of the most up-to-date articles on City Museums in the Italian language. The article, however, opens with a misunderstanding regarding a definition of City Museums that she attributes to ICOM. She presents a proposal for a "working definition" (i.e. a provisional definition) of the City Museum promoted by the Australian museologist Amareswar Galla as the 'official definition' promoted by ICOM: "Centre of coordinated action aimed at the cultural representation of the urban population, through: (a) the celebration of a common identity, a sense of one's roots, and the appreciation of different communities; (b) the identification of resources for community cultural development activities with reference to the cultural and natural heritage of the urban centre and surrounding area; (c) the establishment of a coordinating centre for the preservation, augmentation and communication of the artistic endeavours of the whole population." See Amareswar Galla, "Urban Museology: An Ideology for Reconciliation," *Museum International* 47, no. 3 (1995/01/12): 40-45; Donatella Calabi, "The City Museum. An Exploration," *Nuova Informazione Bibliografica*, Year XVI, no. 4 (October-December 2019): 771, "https://doi.org/doi:%2010.1448/95130" .

[150] CAMOC, "The City Museums Global Mapping Project."

[151] The city museums act, in some cases, as think-tanks or evaluation bodies for civic projects and urban spaces. Think of the MUHBA's role in the debate on industrial archaeology and the musealization of Oliva Artés, now the contemporary history laboratory. The Pavillon d'Arsenal, an exhibition space and not a museum, has adopted

Data collection of the CAMOC survey is being carried out in eleven languages. It will take two years to collect and public the reflections produced by city museums around the world.[152] As we await an updated assessment of the state of the art, issues raised in recent CAMOC meetings can help us understand some of the radical transformations underway at museums. The very way in which they are conceived is currently being questioned as we investigate what it now means to create "showcases and mirrors of our secularized societies." [153]

4.2. Best Practices and City Museums in Europe

As reiterated in the previous pages, the prospect of developing a city museum at Orte is based on the evolution that the very concept of 'museum' has undergone in the last decades. Italian law founds its understanding of the term on ICOM's 2007 definition that reads:

> A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.[154]

This definition was ratified in Italy in 2014 in the first article of the del *Decreto ministeriale del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo Organizzazione e funzionamento dei musei statali*. The text was taken up in its entirety with the final clarification that the museum operates "*promuovendo la conoscenza presso il pubblico e la comunità scientifica*."[155]

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the custom of displaying urban planning proposals in which the Marie de Paris can welcome the opinion of visitors to adapt proposals for the development of the city.

[152] The survey was published in English, French, Spanish, German, Russian, Portuguese, Italian, Chinese (Mandarin), Japanese, Korean and Arabic.

[153] Krzysztof Pomian, "Introduction," *Le Musée, Une histoire mondiale: 1. Du trésor au musée.* Paris: Gallimard, 2020: 19.

[154] The current definition of Museum was approved by the ICOM General Assembly in Vienna, 2007/08/24. See "ICOM Definition of Museum," ICOM Italy, https://www.icom-italia.org/definizione-di-museo-di-icom/; "Museum Definition," International Council of Museums, accessed 2019/11/15, https://icom.museum/en/resources/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/.

[155] "D.M. 23/12/2014 - Organizzazione e Funzionamento dei Musei Statali," Pub. L. No. (G.U. 10 marzo 2015, n. 57) (2014), http://musei.beniculturali.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Decreto-Ministeriale-23-12-2014-agg.-02-2018-ECA.pdf.

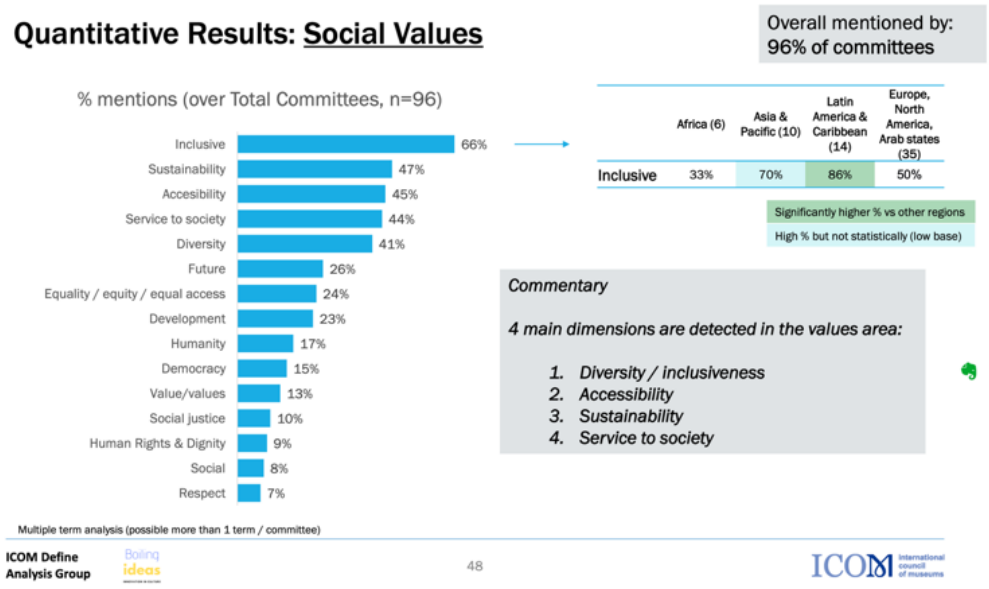


Fig. IV-6. Committee for Museum Definition, Prospects and Potentials, "Defining the Museum in Times of Change. A Way Forward," ICOM Webinar (2020/12/10) (Source: https://icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/ICOM-Define-Methodology.pdf)

The international community has dedicated the last decade to revising the above-stated definition so as to affirm the traditional functions of the institution,[156] while giving greater importance to civic matters – a concept anticipated by Andrea Emiliani half a century ago – in accordance with the interests, questions, and skills of today's heterogeneous audiences. These social functions are envisioned in the recently approved definition of 'museum:'[157] "Inclusive/ Diversity," "Sustainability," "Accessibility," and "Service to society."[158] These terms were selected by 41% to 66% of the survey participants, representing 96 ICOM committees, from all continents: data that testify to a new consensus, and a growing commitment to democratic, participatory, and transparent practices (Fig. 6).[159] In August 2022, just as this research was drawing to a close, ICOM approved the following definition of 'museum,' a conceptual that has yet to shape national and international legislation:

> A museum is a not-for-profit, permanent institution in the service of society that researches, collects, conserves, interprets and exhibits

[156] Roberta Capozucca, "L'Icom non raggiunge un accordo sulla nuova definizione di Museo," *Il Sole 24 ORE*, 2019/10/01, https://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/l-icom-non-raggiunge-accordo-nuova-definizione-museo-ACPQyBo.
[157] "On the Way to a New Museum Definition: We Are Doing It Together!," International Council of Museums, accessed 2022/03/17, https://icom.museum/en/news/on-the-way-to-a-new-museum-definition-we-are-doing-it-together/.
[158] Committee for Museum Definition, Prospects and Potentials, "The Museum: Report on the ICOM Member Feedback for a new museum definition Independent analysis & report elaborated for the ICOM Define Committee," (2021/06/22): 48. https://www.icom-italia.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/ICOM-Define-Consultation-2-Results-Report-enVF.pdf.
[159] Committee for Museum Definition, Prospects and Potentials, "Defining the Museum in Times of Change:" 48.

> tangible and intangible heritage. Open to the public, accessible and inclusive, museums foster diversity and sustainability. They operate and communicate ethically, professionally and with the participation of communities, offering varied experiences for education, enjoyment, reflection and knowledge sharing.[160]

In fact, the boundaries separating museums from their social, cultural, and natural contexts have been growing more permeable for years. Producing culture content in Europe today requires new strategies for managing tangible and intangible heritage in its cultural and natural forms. These guidelines were established in 2005 by the Faro Convention, the abbreviated title of the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society. The agreement advocates protection strategies that stimulate dialogue between cultural heritage and civil society:

> The Faro Convention emphasizes the important aspects of heritage as they relate to human rights and democracy. It promotes a wider understanding of heritage and its relationship to communities and society. The Convention encourages us to recognize that objects and places are not, in themselves, what is important about cultural heritage. They are important because of the meanings and uses that people attach to them and the values they represent.[161]

This statement overturns a former paradigm by putting citizens at the center of safeguarding and enhancement. Italy's recent Ratification and Execution of the Council of Europe's Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Legge 1 ottobre 2020, n. 133) favors holistic and participatory safeguarding strategies, as specified in the second article:

> *a. il patrimonio culturale è un insieme di risorse ereditate dal passato che alcune persone considerano, a prescindere dal regime di proprietà dei beni, come un riflesso e un'espressione dei loro valori, credenze, conoscenze e tradizioni in continua evoluzione. Esso comprende tutti gli aspetti dell'ambiente derivati dall'interazione nel tempo fra le persone e i luoghi;*
>
> *b. una comunità patrimoniale è costituita da persone che attribuiscono valore ad aspetti specifici del patrimonio culturale, che essi desiderano, nel quadro dell'azione pubblica, mantenere e trasmettere alle generazioni future.*[162]

[160] "Museum Definition," International Council of Museums, https://icom.museum/en/resources/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/.
[161] "Faro Convention," Council of Europe Venice Office (2005/10/27), accessed 2022/03/15, https://www.coe.int/it/web/venice/faro-convention.
[162] "Legge 1 Ottobre 2020, n. 133 Ratifica ed Esecuzione della Convenzione Quadro del Consiglio d'Europa sul Valore del Patrimonio Culturale per la società, Fatta a Faro il 27 Ottobre 2005. (20G00152) (GU Serie Generale n.263 del 23-10-2020)," Gazzetta Ufficiale, accessed 2022/15/03. https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2020/10/23/20G00152/sg.

> a. cultural heritage is a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time;
>
> b. a heritage community consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations.[163]

Experts in the field therefore have the duty to adapt to these new legal criteria and to identify and implement practices that render cultural heritage – an evolving heritage at that – into a laboratory of democracy and civic sense. Therefore, four models with their best practices have been identified amidst Europe's many city museums, namely the museums of Kraków (Poland), Leiria (Portugal), Lisbon (Portugal) and Barcelona (Spain).

These realities are likened by their common ability to operate in inclusive and creative modalities, while they all share the aim of promoting social cohesion and local development with the highest standards. In spite of their different forms, these institutions are characterized by a vision that embraces the entire city in light of urban history *and* present-day life. Their branches spread throughout the city and the territory. They avoid aprioristic contents and leave it up to their audiences – in all their diversity – to formulate urban narratives. These institutions inform and guide the public through interdisciplinary exhibitions, thematic routes, catalogues, virtual resources, artistic activities, and research, as well as through guided and unguided itineraries. They encourage the coexistence of multiple interpretations regarding their collections, while facilitating open and dynamic museum experiences. These museums adopt open models through which to articulate relationships between visitors, artworks, places, memories, and historical data. These interconnections are created by multiple pathways, centripetal ones contained within a museum venue and centrifugal ones that project visitors beyond their containers and into the urban fabric they recount.[164] The case studies presented below, are independent of each other, but share the same "goal to contribute to urban social

[163] *Cf.* The Faro Convention (2005/10/27).

[164] This concept was expressed by Dr. Sarah Dominique Orlandi, Project manager for culture and founder/coordinator of the working group Digital Cultural Heritage of ICOM Italy, during her intervention within the webinar "Curare," held on 2022/06/09, at the conclusion of the cycle "Musei e digitale/ Musei in corso" (*cf.* Fondazione Scuola dei Beni Culturali, https://www.fondazionescuolapatrimonio.it/en/musei-in-corso-musei-e-digitale-webinar/#:~:text=Si%20comincia%2C%20dunque%2C%20con%20%E2%80%9C,relazione%20tra%20musei%20e%20digitalizzazione).

and cultural development by engaging with different communities, connecting people and places, and fostering knowledge and awareness about their city's pasts, presents and futures."[165]

4.2.1. Listening to the city. Kraków's many voices

The Museum of Kraków (figs. 7-9) (Muzeum Historyczny Miasta Krakowa, or Muzeum Krakowa or MK for short) embodies a trend described by French museologist Dominique Poulot: "a new generation of establishments is more set on provoking memory than on providing a kind of unified narrative."[166] Muzeum Krakowa differentiates itself through the polyphonic quality of its museum narrative and provides a rich understanding of the layered stories of the people who have lived and live in this Polish city. [167]

A network of eighteen distinct exhibition venues (with one more under construction) show the range of facets that characterize this city and allows each visitor to develop a personalized image of Krakow. A fundamental element of this versatility is the museum's ability to establish a dialogue between 'great' narratives, *i.e.* those linked to hegemonic powers and legendary dimensions, and voices typically excluded from institutional narratives. [168]

[165] CAMOC, "The City Museums Global Mapping Project."
[166] Dominique Poulot, "Uses of the Past - Historical Narratives and the Museum," in *Great Narratives of the Past. Traditions and Revisions in National Museums: Conference Proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Paris 28 June 1 July & 25-26 November 2011*, ed. Dominique Poulot, Felicity Bodenstein, and José María Lanzarote Guiral, EuNaMus Report No. 4, Conference Proceedings, No. 78 (Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press, 2012): 8. https://ep.liu.se/ecp/078/ecp11078.pdf.
[167] The prism metaphor was suggested by Michał Grabowski, Muzeum Krakowa staff member responsible for international cooperation, in a meeting with the writer on 2022/01/21.
[168] For a full list of venues, see *Muzeum Krakowa*, consulted 2022/02/07. https://muzeumkrakowa.pl/en.



(Clockwise) Fig. IV-7. Pluricentric map of Museum Krakowa in which the Thesaurus Cracoviensis, Muzeum Podgórze, and Muzeum Nowej Huty are highlighted; Fig. IV-8. The locations of Ulica Pomorska and Pałac Krzysztofory; Fig. IV-9. The location of Muzeum Podgórze, Oskar Schindler's Factory and the Pod Orłem Pharmacy; Fig. IV-10. The name of the city of Krakow in eight autochthonous languages

The collection was founded in the 19th century and boasts over 190,000 objects that reflect the city's material, political, and artistic culture from the 13th century to the present day.[169] The archaeological collection is characterized by clay fragments and domestic utensils from the 13th-18th centuries,[170] while the medieval collection preserves evidence of domestic life, the guilds' activities and certain objects from ecclesiastical spheres.[171] The museum also exhibits a numismatic collection and a miscellany of polymathic testimonies of urban history from the 16th century to the present day.[172] These testimonies take on many forms: drawings, engravings, printed and digital photographs, paintings, sculptures, theatrical apparatus, textiles, furniture, handicrafts, postcards, philately, books and a collection of patriotic, Soviet, trade union and scouting memorabilia,[173] as well as a collection of Jewish objects, often donations that do not necessarily originate from the city. [174]

[169] The exact number of finds was communicated to the author by Michał Grabowski in a private conversation on 2022/02/01.
[170] Marcin Baran and Anna Bednarek, eds., *Thesaurus Cracoviensis. Artefacts Interpretation Centre* (Kraków: Muzeum Historyczna Miasta Krakowa, 2018): 15.
[171] Baran and Bednarek, eds., *Thesaurus Cracoviensis*: 19.
[172] Baran and Bednarek, eds., *Thesaurus Cracoviensis*: 21.
[173] Baran and Bednarek, eds., *Thesaurus Cracoviensis*: 29-59.
[174] Baran and Bednarek, eds., *Thesaurus Cracoviensis*: 37.

Kraków is conventionally narrated as an ancient university town;[175] the seat of royalty during the golden age of the Polish-Lithuanian Confederation;[176] a city of art, literature and theatre;[177] the city of Pope Wojtyła,[178] when it is not connotated by smog[179] or by its opposition to Warsaw which 'stole' the title of capital in the 18th century.[180] Others still accuse Krakowians as being co-responsible for the Holocaust, since the city acted as a sorting hub for nearby concentration and extermination camps during the Nazi occupation. [181]

Macro-history and micro-history, through their material and non-material heritage, intertwine to forge complex and non-linear narratives. For example, secondary histories recount memories of neighborhoods which were once independent towns in their own right, like Kazimierz,[182] Podgórze,[183] or Nowa Huta.[184] One of the themes that constantly emerges at MK is the city's intercultural nature, a topic that is translated museographically at entrance to the museum's main branch at Pałac Krzysztofory. Here the name of the city appears in the eight different

[175] The Jagiellonian University was founded in 1364 and remains the oldest university in Poland. See https://www.uj.edu.pl/uniwersytet-z-collegium-medicum/historia.

[176] "Poland and Lithuania occupied in the 14th and 15th centuries a huge territory, more than 1.12 million square kilometers, where different ethnic and religious groups lived: Poles, Lithuanians, Germans, Russians, Jews, Armenians, Tatars, people of Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish and Muslim faiths. Such a great proliferation of faiths, despite the fact that Catholicism was dominant, pushed the rulers to follow a policy of tolerance. [...] In the history of Poland the 16th century is called the 'golden century,' then the territory of Poland and Lithuania measured 815 thousand square kilometers and the population was about 8 million." *Cf.* Ambasciata della Repubblica Polacca, Roma, "La Storia della Polonia," 2002: 6-8. See Embassy of the Polish Republic, Rome, "The History of Poland," 2002: 6-8. http://www.alpcub.com/storia_polonia.pdf.

[177] The city is regarded as a muse for such authors, artists and playwrights as Juliusz Słowacki (1809-1849), Jan Matejko (1838-1893), Stanisław Wyspiański (1869-1907), Czesław Miłosz (1911-2004), Tadeusz Kantor (1915-1990), Stanisław Lem (1921-2006), Jerzy Grotowski (1933-1999), and Wisława Szymborska (1923-2012). Kraków is recognized by UNESCO as a City of Literature.

[178] *Cf.* Marina Moioli, "La città di Wojtyla: Cracovia in cinque atti," Il Messaggero, April 28, 2014, https://www.ilmessaggero.it/viaggi/mondo/cracovia_cinque_atti-389280.html.

[179] Until 2019, coal has been used as the main source of domestic heating, further exacerbating urban pollution.

[180] Warsaw was officially designated the capital in 1793, but the move of the Polish capital from Kraków was officiated in the late 16th and again in 1918 when the Republic of Poland was founded. *Cf.* Francis William Carter, *Trade and Urban Development in Poland: An Economic Geography of Kraków, from Its Origins to 1795* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 187.

[181] See Wikipedia, "'Polish death camp' controversy," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/"Polish_death_camp"_controversy.

[182] The Jewish Quarter in Krakow, not to be confused with the Jewish ghetto in Podgórze, was created in 1939 during the Nazi occupation.

[183] This district was founded in the 8C and houses the tomb of Krakow's legendary founder, King Krak. Today's Podgórze dates back to 1784, when it was proclaimed a free city by Joseph II of Habsburg and provided with remarkable infrastructures, aimed at attracting new inhabitants necessary for the development of this new industrial pole on the right bank of the Vistula River. *Cf.* Katarzyna Bury and Melania Tutak, *The Podgórze Museum. A Guide* (Kraków: The Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, 2018): 16.

[184] Locality situated in the industrial suburbs, founded in 1951 following the transformation of the original rural territory into a steel-making pole. See Treccani Encyclopedia. "Nowa Huta," accessed 2022/01/29. https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/nowa-huta.

languages that have formed part of the local soundscape for centuries (fig. 10): the museum acts as a bridge between the city of yesterday and the local and international visitors of today, thanks to its constant evolving story.[185]





Figure IV-11. #jestemkraków *at Schindler's Factory; Figure IV-12.* #jestemkraków *at Muzeum Podgórze.*

Listening and narration are the museum's cardinal objectives, both at a theoretical and a practical level. The mission statement, also stated on the walls of the corridor leading to the polyglot panel mentioned above, declares: "Keeping our ears to the ground, we listen to Krakow documenting the city and telling its story."[186] The museum listens synesthetically to its audience, as testified by initiatives launched in 2019 to mark the 120th anniversary of the Museum's founding. For example, the *Jestem Kraków* ("I am Kraków") contest invited residents to send in historical photographs which portray the city (even as the photo's background). Through crowd-sourcing, citizens helped build a new photographic narrative which was later published as a book titled *Jestem Kraków. Krakowianie wczoraj i dziś* (*I am Kraków. Krakowians yesterday and today*). This way the museum amplified a participatory and subjective image of the city and its inhabitants, through which the citizens themselves could "see inside themselves."[187] Coinciding with this was the *#jestemkraków* initiative, consisting of a series of mirrors inscribed with the appropriate hashtag which are placed at the entrances of all museum premises. These mirrors help visitors see themselves reflected, re-contextualized, and included in each museum itinerary (figs. 11-12). By sharing the same message throughout the entire network, the museum gains visibility and reaffirms its policy of inclusion and participation: *#jestemkrakòw* creates a first-person narrative, collecting many examples of 'my' Krakow, so

[185] At the entrance to Pałać Krzysztofory, MK's headquarters, one can read the name of the city in the languages historically spoken in Krakow, such as Hebrew, German, Yiddish, Ukrainian, English, Polish, Hungarian and Armenian.
The curators have thus exploited the importance of the entrance to the venue, which faces directly onto the city's main square, in order to highlight one of the main themes of the museum's narrative.
[186] *Cf.* "Misja i Strategia," Muzeum Krakowa, accessed 2022/01/25, https://muzeumkrakowa.pl/misja-i-strategia. The English translation is displayed at the entrance to Pałac Krzystofory at the beginning of the tour route.
[187] The author translated the motto "see inside themselves" from the original Polish "przeglądają się w sobie." *Cf.* Ewa Gaczoł, Joanna Geller, and Anna Kwiatek, *Jestem Kraków. Krakowianie Wczoraj i Dziś* (Kraków: Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa, 2019); https://muzeumkrakowa.pl/o-muzeum.

as to co-create a narrative about 'our' Krakow.[188] In a similar way, the Museum is able to talk to its audience, using also informal museological languages. For example, it sets up display cases in the town's squares and even in shop windows, breaking down cultural and socio-economic barriers and increasing access to both tangible and intangible heritage (Figs. 13-14).




(left) Fig. IV-13. A nativity scene displayed in the park surrounding the historic center; (right) Fig. IV-14. Nativity scene displayed in the front window of the historic bookstore Księgarnia Pod Globusem.

On several occasions Michał Niezabitowski, MK's director, has stressed that a city museum should be able to present the city and its inhabitants as a whole; it should therefore be considered as a place capable of bringing together all its parts, its polarities, its minorities together with its majorities.[189] Since urban agglomerations are often the scene of conflicts and social divisions, city museums can represent the place where even fractured countries can be momentarily contained and safeguarded in their indivisibility.[190] Niezabitowski appeals to the author Olga Tokarczuk who, during her speech at the 2019 Nobel Prize Awards,[191] issued the challenge to narrate differently and speaks in terms of "a tender narrative" characterized by an empathic, holistic, maternal, almost psychological quality:

> "Why is this happening?," "What does it mean?," "What is the point?," "Where is this leading?" Quite possibly our minds have evolved toward the story as a process of giving meaning to millions of stimuli that surround us, and that even when we're asleep keep on relentlessly devising their narratives. So, the story is a way of organizing an infinite

[188] Natalya Bekhta, "We-Narratives: The Distinctiveness of Collective Narration," *Narrative* 25, no. 2 (May 2017): 164-81.
[189] Michał Niezabitowski, "A City Museum Professional as 'The Tender Narrator,'" in *The Right to the City* (CAMOC Kraków 2021, Kraków, 2021); Michał Niezabitowski, "Municipal Museums and Global Polarization," (talk delivered by Krzysztof Haczewski on behalf of Michał Niezabitowski) at *Connecting Cities, Connecting Citizens. Towards a Shared Sustainability* (CAMOC Barcelona 2021, Barcelona, 2021).
[190] Michał Niezabitowski, "Municipal Museums and Global Polarization' (Delivered by and Krzysztof Haczewski on behalf of Michał Niezabitowski)," in *Connecting Cities, Connecting Citizens. Towards a Shared Sustainability* (CAMOC Barcelona 2021, Barcelona, 2021).
[191] Olga Tokarczuk, "The Tender Narrator," trans. Jennifer Croft and Antonia Lloyd-Jones (Nobel Lecture, Stockholm, Sweden, 2019/12/07), https://culture.pl/en/article/olga-tokarczuks-nobel-lecture-the-tender-narrator.

> amount of information within time, establishing its relationship to the past, the present and the future, revealing its recurrence, and arranging it in categories of cause and effect. Both the mind and the emotions take part in this effort.[192]

When museums are able to listen to a plurality of voices and establish "a relationship between past, present and future," they become sounding boards for historic, urban palimpsests. They have an imperative of keeping debates alive, to preserve their complexities and implicit contradictions, and to avoid simplistic resolutions and convenient conclusions.[193]

It is useful to describe two contexts in which the Muzeum Krakowa narrates difficult chapters of local history with the aid of interdisciplinary exhibition strategies and truly multimedia. The first example comes from the Memory Trail,[194] while the second from a mini-exhibition entirely curated and set up by a local citizen.[195] At the MK branch located on Pomorska Street, 2, former headquarters of the Gestapo during WWII, you can 'hear' former prisoners tell their stories. This experience requires visitors to reformulate stereotypes. For example, the homologating photographs of prisoners in striped uniforms become humanized when you look at them as individuals with real names and expressive faces (fig. 15).[196] Since 1980, the MK has been collecting testimonies from victims of Nazi and communist terror, material that can now be consulted both *in situ* and online thanks to their digital archive.[197] These oral, written, documentary, and photographic testimonies make it possible to reconstruct two seasons of totalitarian terror, the first one under the Nazi regime from 1939 to 1945 and the second during the Soviet invasion of 1945-1956, *i.e.* the first years of the Polish People's Republic.

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[192] Tokarczuk, "The Tender Narrator."
[193] As mentioned in note 8 of chapter II "All roads lead to Orte. The history of a transport hub in the shadows of Rome," Orte currently lacks a rigorous, interdisciplinary knowledge base on which to found this narrative strategy. This said, the current study seeks to indicate future directions for knowledge production, a pursuit which can go hand-in-hand with the gradual creation of a future city museum at Orte. MUHBA, Barcelona's city museum discussed later in this chapter, offers a particularly fruitful model for converging research, museum development and community outreach.
[194] The 'Remembrance Trail' includes countless activities and events, promoted by the museum, centerd around three locations: Oskar Schindler's Factory, the under the Eagle Pharmacy and the Pomorska Street (Fabryka Emalia Oskara Schindlera, Apteka Pod Orłem, Ulica Pomorska).
[195] The idea of the memory deposit (*Depozyt Pamięci*) originated at the Podgórze Museum but has been adopted in at least two other venues: Schindler's Factory and Pałac Krzysztofory, the headquarters mentioned above. These spaces are open to local residents to display objects of their possession loaned temporarily to the museum and displayed in independently curated mini-exhibitions so as to tell the city's stories from its grassroots.
Infinite thanks go to Director Melania Tuta and her associate Katarzyna Bury for their availability in both June 2021 and January-February 2022.
[196] Special thanks to Dr. Grzegorz Jeżowski and Dr. Tomasz Stachow, director of the Ulica Pomorska office, for their helpfulness and for their tours conducted in June 2021 and January 2022, respectively.
[197] "Archive of the Victims of the Nazi and the Communist Terror in Kraków 1939-1956," consulted 2022/01/30, http://krakowianie1939-56.mhk.pl/en/.



Visiting detention cells one can read graffiti left by detainees who were subjected to brutal interrogations and torture. The narrative, provided by expert guides and supplemented with memories of the prisoners' lives before their capture, makes it possible to give personality and dignity back to women and men too often confined in the role of "victim."[198] Among the graffiti left by the prisoners (fig. 16) it is easy to read the one left by Henryk Sroka (Kraków, 1925- Kraków, 1944), a scout and a young member of the *Armia Krajowa* (AK), the Home Army the underground national resistance army who conspired against the Nazi occupation. Sroka who died while inn detention at Ulica Pomorska at the age of 19 (see fig. 15). The tone of the narrative avoids widespread "martyrological" rhetoric – a term and point of view promoted by the Institute of National Memory regarding Polish history of the 20th century – so as to transmit the image of a young city resident who lived in a specific historical context.[199] The museum also offers guided walks through the neighborhood to learn the stories of other residents who shared Sroka's fate or who barely survived the Gestapo's cruelty without ever being able to fully reintegrate into society. The psychological hardships that persisted well after the war's end are thus also exposed. Ambivalent testimonies like that of police officer Michał Kliś,

(top) Fig. IV-15. The display dedicated to Gestapo prisoners at Ulica Pomorska; (bottom) Fig. IV-16. A selection of graffiti left by prisoners in holding cells between Gestapo interrogations.

[198] In the exhibition *Time to Act: Rohingya voices*, opening on July 15, 2019 at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights, a similar strategy was chosen to humanize the Rohingya through a narrative that also includes the humanitarian crisis in Bangladesh and persecution in Myanmar: "Some community members are also participants in a voice-driven interactive experience. When you visit the exhibition, you can get to know them and their life experiences through a personal exchange of questions and answers." See "Time to Act: Rohingya Voices," Canadian Museum for Human Rights, consulted 2022/02/07. https://humanrights.ca/exhibition/time-to-act-rohingya-voices - :~:text=Time to Act%3A Rohingya Voices compassionately portrays the plight of,consider what action to take.

[199] N.B. The *Bureau for Commemorating Struggle and Martyrdom* (Biuro Upamiętniania Walk i Męczeństwa), established within the Instytut Pamięci Narodowej founded in 1998-1999, states: "The tasks of the Institute include collecting and managing the documents of state security organs, drawn up from July 22, 1944 to July 31, 1990, conducting investigations into Nazi and communist crimes, including crimes committed against persons of Polish nationality or Polish citizens of other nationalities, committed in the period from November 8, 1917 to July

pseudonym "Wojtek" (Kraków, 1900-Flossenburg(?), 1944) come to life *in situ*; he was both a collaborator with and a conspirator against the Nazis. Complex stories like his escape categorical interpretations and compel visitors to delve into this painful and infinitely complex period of history.



Fig. IV-17. A door from the KGB holding cells with graffiti erased by subsequent owners of the facility; Fig. IV-18. Museum display dedicated to hangings; Fig. IV-19. A flap that allows visitors to look at documentary photos of hangings at their own discretion.

This difficult narrative is also addressed through the exhibition's design. This museum branch respects the varying degrees of the audiences' sensibility, aware that the extreme events represented belong to unresolved collective and personal traumas. When addressing public hangings, for example, it is the visitor who chooses whether to consult the documentary photographs (figs. 17-18). In addition to material from the Nazi occupation, there are also

31, 1990." *Cf.* Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, "O IPN," Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, consulted 2022/01/30, https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/o-ipn/24154,O-IPN.html.

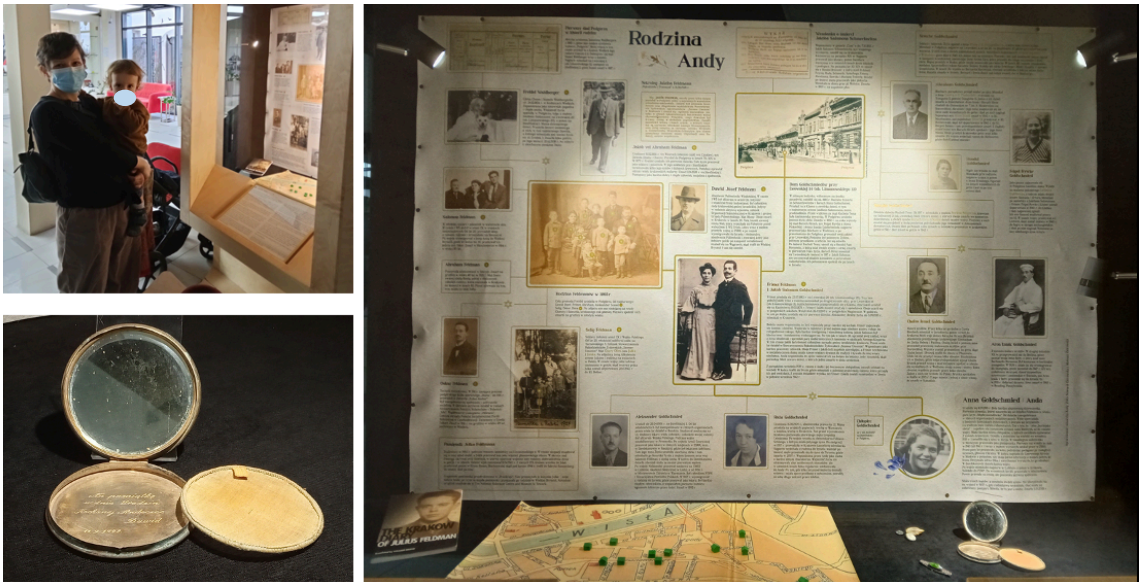
exhibits from the Stalinist period, such as the door from a KGB prison cell from a building not far from the former Gestapo headquarters in which the visitor finds him or herself. The graffiti carved into the wood by the victims of Soviet terror can be seen amidst the numerous abrasion marks: emblematic cancellations of the anonymous owner of the door – which returned to become a private cellar after the 1950's – who tried to erase all traces of these unbearable voices (fig. 19). Through this humble object, the museum succeeds in recounting the dramatic memories and torture, through people's experiences and voices, while seeking to preserve narrative complexity.

The second instance turns our attention to the mini-exhibition *Rodziny Andy* (*Anda's Family*), hosted in the Memory Deposit (*Depozyt Pamięci*) at the Podgórze Museum branch in January-April 2022. It was curated by a neighborhood resident, and not by an institutional figure. Zofia Noworól-Ostrowska is a sociologist by training, a yoga and dance teacher, and the granddaughter of a Polish Jewish survivor of Nazi persecution named Anna (Anda) Goldschmeid's (Kraków, 1919-Kraków, 2008) (figs. 20-21).[200] For obvious reasons, no family objects have been passed down from the pre-war era to the present, so Noworól-Ostrowska began her journey with one of the oldest objects that came into her grandmother's possession return to Kraków: a powder box given to her by a suitor named Dawid in 1948 (fig. 22). This citizen-curator stepped back in time to reconstruct the lives – and not the deaths – of relatives at which she had only caught glimpses through her grandmother's stories. Many figures were identified for the first time thanks to the genealogical research she carried out for this exhibition. Ultimately, she was able reconstruct seven generations of this Krakowian family stretching from the Austro-Hungarian period to the onset of the Second World War. The private dimension of the Feldman-Goldschmieds reveals a family who was far more connected to socialist values than to the Jewish religion. The backdrop of their story are the streets of Podgórze one sees through the museum's windows and on the map in the display case (fig. 23). As Tokarczuk reminds us, "the micro and macro scales show an endless system of similarities."

For years, the curator says she had experienced an inner conflict, in which she felt torn between her sense of duty to transmit the stories of departed relatives and her desire to live in the present

[200] We would like to thank Dr Zofia Noworól-Ostrowska and Mieczysław, her very young son, for the afternoon spent together at the Podgórze Museum to talk about her experience as a citizen-curator and the need for new narrative strategies. The meeting took place on 2022/01/27, i.e. on International Holocaust Remembrance Day, a symbolic date which gave the meeting added value.

and let time pass.[201] Forced to "fit" her story within the space of a display case, she had to ask herself: what aspects of the story need and need not to be shown? what is *her-story*? how do you find the words to tell the Holocaust? By showcasing a part of her story, she allows us Krakowians, Poles, outsiders to listen and ask the same questions.



(Clockwise) Fig. IV-20. The curator-citizen Zofia Noworól-Ostrowska; Fig. IV-21. Anda's family genealogy; Fig. IV-22. The powder-case which inspired the exhibition.

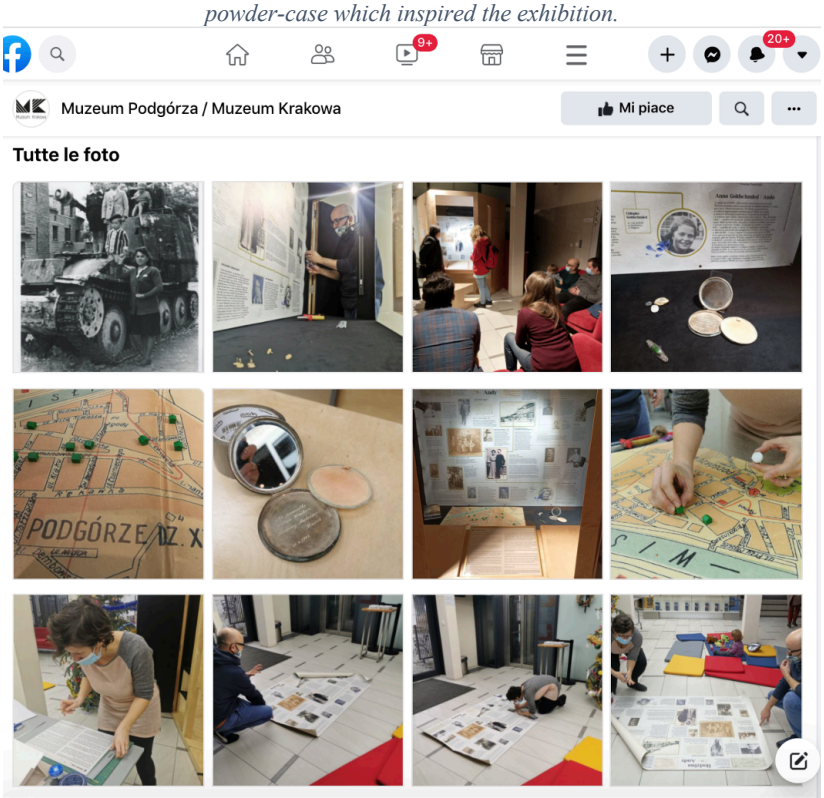


Fig. IV-23. The Facebook post in which the Podgórze Museum announced the installation of the new exhibit in the Memory Deposit, with the streets of Podgórze in the display's background.

[201] Personal communication between the curator and the author.



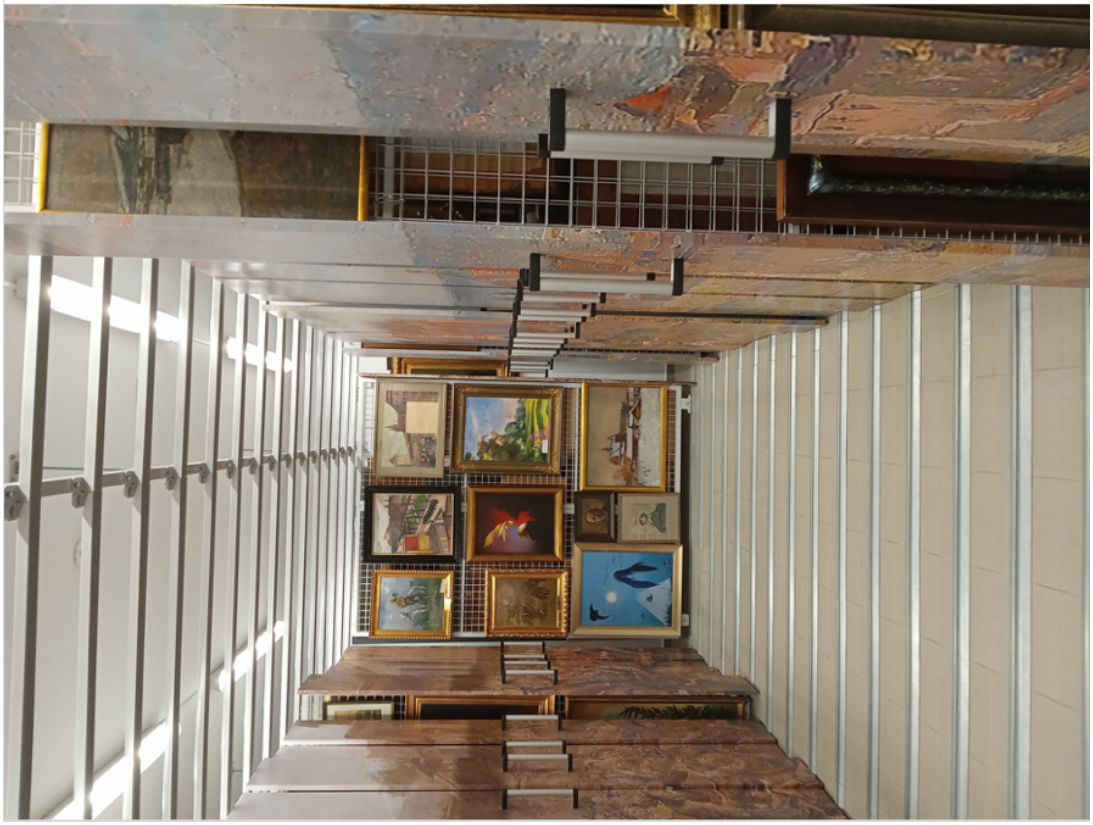


Fig. IV-24. The laboratories, although closed, remain visible along the visit route to the Thesaurus Cracoviensis; Fig. IV-25. Open storage with mobile racks.



Fig. IV-26. Cover of the popular book dedicated to the Thesaurus Cracoviensis; Fig. IV-27. Public portals placed in the museum deposit; Fig. IV-28. Lajkonik's costume and mace with a didactic label recalling the museum inventory.

So far, we have talked about how the MK listens to Kraków, but the museum's mission has as its second objective the documentation of the city. This task is formally carried out by the *Thesaurus Cracoviensis*, the Artifacts Interpretation Center: a museum venue consisting of a system of open storage rooms and visitable restoration laboratories (Figs. 24-25), which welcomes the public at scheduled times.[202] This MK branch was included as one of the 2021 European Museums of the Year (Special Commendations category), recognized "The fifth specially commended museum stands out for its commitment to democratize access to the objects that once belonged to its local communities and its determination to open up conversations about city history through its reserve collections, now fully accessible."[203] Indeed, the museum appeals to a wide audience, both through publications for the wider public (fig. 26) and through an in-house database that can be consulted on site (fig. 27) and online at the "Digital Thesaurus" website.[204] As a counterpart, "cataloguing" is brought to the viewer's attention at other museum branches in order to communicate the importance of cataloguing and inventorying, as well as the museum's responsibilities to preserve the collection; Muzeum Krakowa thus educates the public about tasks that often remain hidden from the public (fig. 28).

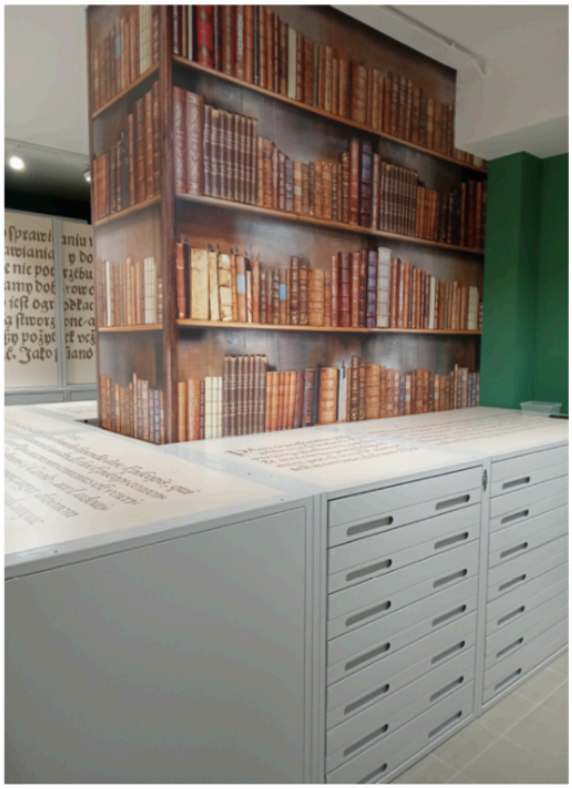
[202] Special thanks to Dr. Bożena Urbańska, director of the *Thesaurus Cracoviensis*, for her time and thoroughly guided tour on 2021/06/29.
Anna Antonini et al., "Discovering Hidden Collections: The MUDEC Open Storage," *Museologia Scientifica*, no. 13 (2019): 103-9, http://www.anms.it/upload/rivistefiles/c9efdd86ed7ce8164d09adce2a7f5b73.pdf.
[203] *Cf.* "The Winners of the EMYA 2020 and 2021 Are Now Announced!," European Museum Forum, May 6, 2021, https://www.europeanforum.museum/en/news/the-winners-of-the-emya-twenty-and-twentyone-are-announced/.
[204] "Users' Collections," cyfrowy thesaurus, accessed 2022/01/30, http://ct.mhk.pl/wps/portal/mhmk/main/kolekcje.

The Thesaurus is also committed to supporting personal and independent interpretations of the collection, helping visitors to recontextualize the objects through graphic reproductions that form the backdrop to the tour (fig. 29).[205] A visit to the depository also allows visitors of all ages to gain experience with international standards for preventive conservation adopted by the museum. For example, the archival cabinets are ergonomically designed to facilitate consultation, conservation and the staff's health and safety (figs. 30-33).



Fig. IV-29. Weapons and watercolor paintings in dialogue along a storerooms' corridor. The painted images depict the city walls once protected by the very weapons stored in this museum space.

[205] Baran and Bednarek, eds., *Thesaurus Cracoviensis*: 14.









(clockwise) Fig. IV-30. Storage area and furniture for drawings and engravings; Fig. IV-31. The same storage area with works displayed on the walls; Fig. IV-32 Ergonomically-designed furniture and storage spaces; Fig. IV-33. An image of the Lajkonik, a testimony of popular culture, preserved with due rigor.

The third and last objective identified in the MK mission is to tell about the city, a task that, once again, is carried out in refreshingly clear and accessible ways.[206] Already at first glance, the readability of the museum's graphic design annuls a common preconception that considers the museum obsolete and 'boring.'[207] For example, a recent communication campaign assigned each museum branch a stylized, yet informative icon (fig. 34), giving the MK a modern and easily accessible 'look' that conveys a strong link between the collections and contemporary culture. The stylistic conformity of the logos, moreover, levels differences between royal, aristocratic, civic, bourgeois, and industrial heritage, as well as those between pagan, Catholic, Jewish and atheist cultures. This choice circumvents hierarchies that conventionally proposes the Young Poland period (*i.e. Młoda Polka* as seen at an artist's house at the Rydlówka branch) as a more 'authentic,' if not 'superior' heritage to the industrial heritage of the Stalinist era (like the Muzeum Nowej Huty discussed below).[208] The easily recognizable forms do not target specific audiences, thus nullifying specific language, cognitive, and cultural barriers. The same graphical strategies characterize resources dedicated to assist in visitor accessibility like MK's 2021 webpage that provides audio descriptions according to "Easy to Read" standards (fig. 35), a widely accepted standard for creating materials aimed at all visitors. [209]

[206] Ivana Bruno, "Comunicazione e Accessibilità Culturale. L'esperienza di Museo Facile," *Il Capitale Culturale: Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*, no. 20 (2019): 304-305. https://riviste.unimc.it/index.php/cap-cult/article/view/2068/0.

[207] Carlos Tortolero, "Museums Need to Stop Being Dinosaurs," in *Creating the City. Identity, Memory and Participation Conference Proceedings Malmö University 9-10 February, 2017*, ed. Pål Brunnström and Ragnhild Claesson, Urban Studies (MAPIUS 23) (Malmö University Publications, 2019): 442-58; Alessandra De Angelis, "Penny Siopis' Three Essays on Shame. Questioning the Psychoanalytical M(a)us(ol)eum through Postcolonial Female Art," *The Ruined Archive*, ed. Iain Chambers, Giulia Grechi, and Mark Nash, MeLA Books 11 - RF02 Cultural Memory, Migrating Modernities and Museum Practices 11 (Politecnico di Milano, 2014): 127-44.

[208] Młoda Polska, Young Poland in Italian, refers to "a modernist period in Polish art, literature and music covering roughly the years 1890 to 1918. It was one of the effects of the strong opposition to the ideas of positivism and promoted the characters of decadence, neo-romanticism, symbolism, impressionism, and art nouveau." *Cf.* "Giovane Polonia," in *Wikipedia*, August 24, 2021, https://it.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Giovane_Polonia&oldid=122643882.

[209] Personal communication between Michał Grabowski and the writer, which took place on 2021/06/25 at the offices of MK.
Pałac Krzysztofory's layout offers many tools to facilitate the visit for people with disabilities, such as raised floor signs or tactile corners where you can touch reproductions of the exhibits next to captions made in Braille.



(above) Fig. IV-34. A recent communication campaign created a series of nineteen icons depicting an emblematic aspect of each museum venue, employin simple and easily readable visual language;
(left) Fig. IV-35. Videos made using the "Easy to read" method for blind and visually impaired audiences.

A wide range of museographic solutions is used to narrate the city's tangible and intangible heritage. At the recently renovates Pałac Krzysztofory's, which opened on 23 July 2021, the exposition is organized thematic and not chronologically. It, however, also provides visitors with diachronic information.[210] In the Baldassare Fontana Room, a room on the *piano nobile* whose name recalls the 18th century Italian Swiss artist who executed the room's decoration, evokes the atmosphere in which Kraków's notables gathered in the 18th and 19th parlor (fig. 36).[211] While the exhibition design recalls the museum tradition of the recreating period rooms, it also makes use of new technologies to complement the narrative. In the second room, visitors can see their themselves reflected in three mirrors, framed like the portraits of Krakowian

[210] Special thanks to the curator Kamil Stasiak for taking the time to meet with the author despite his many commitments in the midst of restoration and renovation work at the historic complex.
[211] According to a recent study, the Baldassare Fontana Room would have originated as a Palace Chapel; the author speculates, however, that the presence of the decorated fireplace and the neoclassical iconography of the stuccoes leave the debate open. See Maria Zientara, "Baldassare Fontana's Stucco Decoration in the So-Called Chapel at Krzysztofory Palace and Its Ideological Message," Krzysztofory, no. 30 (2012): 144.

nobles. The mirrors are cyclically animated by recordings of young dancers from various historical periods, performed in period costumes, immersing spectator in the *zeitgeist* of the grand balls that took place in spaces like the room in which they are visiting. [212]

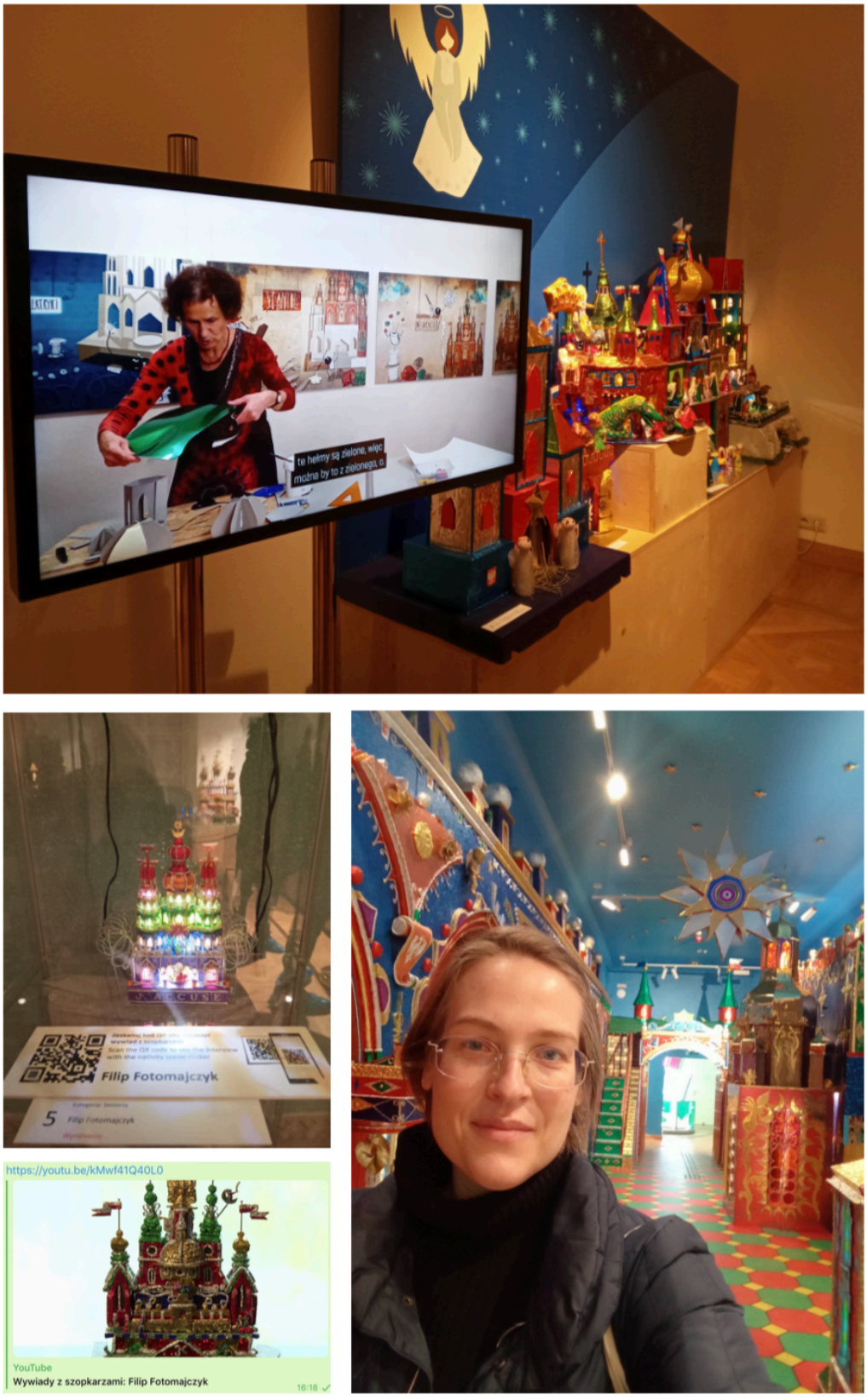
In the section dedicated to local religious practices and popular devotion, a corridor is transformed by a display suggesting sacred architecture through steel cages that recall the three ogival bays of a church's nave (fig. 37). The display exhibits objects like a processional lantern and cross next to testimonies belonging to other faiths and even secular traditions like a toy from the secular holiday Children's Day. On the other side of the 'nave,' there is a showcase dedicated to the non-Catholic religions that have been historically present in the city and their sacred chants can be reproduced via touch screen with interviews with representatives of these religions.[213] This thematic organization makes it possible to show how spiritual life has taken many forms over the centuries, but it does not stress the differences between the faiths: for a country like Poland which currently polarized by a militant and self-referential Catholicism, this display creates a space for dialogue between multiple perspectives.

[212] See Rainey Tisdale, "Do History Museums Still Need Objects?," *History News* 66, no. 3 (2011): 22-3, https://www.jstor.org/stable/42654330.
[213] You can hear, for example, Icchak Horowitz (a young rabbi), Tadeusz Isakowicz-Zaleski (an Armenian Catholic priest) and other religious figures from the city.





Fig. IV-36. Pałac Krzysztofory's Baldassare Fontana Hall set up as an "augmented" period room with new technologies; Fig. IV-37. The hall dedicated to the plurality of Kraków's devotional traditions.



(Clockwise) Fig. IV-38. Display of nativity scenes made by children in 2021 with a video demonstration of a szopkarka*; Fig. IV-39. The author in the room dedicated to nativity scenes in Pałac Krzysztofory's permanent exhibition; Fig. IV-40.e IV-41. The 2019 YouTube video in which young* szopkasz *Filip Fotomajczyk (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7F9m3VS8yGQ) shows the nativity scene he made in 2021. The craftsman used this context to address the highly controversial issue of migration, by including the quote "J'accuse" and barbed wire.*

In addition to objects and oral testimonies, the museum promotes the city's intangible heritage and, in fact, often acts as an arbiter for these evolving traditions. Two events stand out: the Krakowian Nativity Scenes (figs. 38-41), called *szopki* in Polish, and the procession of the Lajkonik, a caricature figure of a man on horseback celebrating the victory over the Tatars in the 14th century (figs. 42-45).[214]

The history of the *szopki* has been intertwined with that of the MK since the first public creche competition in 1937, when Ludwig Strojek, director of the Municipal Archives and head of the Kraków's Museum at that time, was one of the three jury members.[215] Since then the museum has played an important role in preserving the tradition; since the early Seventies it has also been responsible for the defining the competition's criteria.[216] In the in Seventies and Eighties, the institution also defended the nativity scenes from the communist regime recalling that this handiwork was a traditional pastime of local masons.[217] Today the MK disseminates knowledge about this form of craftsmanship through exhibitions, workshops and conferences in the museum, in the city, and at an international level.[218] Furthermore, it promotes and facilitates communication between craftsmen and accompanied them in their candidacy as UNESCO World Heritage from the proposal's conception to its ratification (fig. 38).[219] The renewel of Pałac Krzysztofory's permanent exhibit offered the opportunity to involve a group of *szopkarze*, craftsmen dedicated to nativity scenes, in a rare collaboration: the museum commissioned of a life-size nativity scene, thanks to which one can enter this enchanting world,

[214] The tradition of Krakowian nativity scenes dates back to the 18th-19th centuries and was recognized as an intangible cultural heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 2018. The phenomenon is presented by the Museum, along with the figure of Lajkonik, as follows: "Traditional nativity scenes commemorate the birth of Christ, which is why we find in each of them the whole Holy Family: the statuette of the Baby Jesus, Mary and Joseph. Very often the Three Wise Men, the shepherd children and some animals keep her company. The crib sculptors also show us scenes with some historical (kings, national heroes, great and famous Polish characters) or legendary (for example, the Trumpeter, Lord Twardowski) characters. The favorite character of the crib sculptors is Lajkonik, related to the Tatar invasion, when the ferrymen - also called poles - managed to defeat the Tatars by subterfuge, and then entered Kraków wearing their clothes. In some cribs there are characters dressed in traditional costumes such as: the Krakowian costume and the mountain people, or even famous contemporary characters." *Cf.* Małgorzata Niechaj's information *leaflet*, "The Kraków Nativity Scene" (Kraków: Muzeum Krakowa, 2018).
[215] Andrzej Iwo Szoka, "Szopka Krakowska. The Nativity Scene Tradition and the Museum of Kraków," *Volkskunde: Transforming, Not Saving. Intangible Cultural Heritage, Museums and/or the World*, Intangible Cultural Heritage & Museums Project, 3 (2020): 471-72, https://www.ichandmuseums.eu/en/toolbox/theme-issue-volkskunde-transforming-not-saving-intangible-cultural-heritage-museums-and-or-the-world. Special thanks to Dr. Szoka for his willingness to meet to talk about the Museum's commitment to the *szopki* world in June 2021.
[216] Szoka, "Szopka Krakowska:" 474.
[217] Szoka, "Szopka Krakowska:" 476.
[218] The Kraków Museum and the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the Jagiellonian University recently organized the international conference entitled "Intangible Cultural Heritage in Theory and Practice," which was held at the Pałac Krzysztofory between 2021/11/08-09.
[219] Personal communication from Michał Grabowski.









Fig. IV-42. Crowds of citizens waiting for the Lajkonik procession; Fig. IV-43. The Lajkonik waves to the audience from a boat on the Vistula; Fig. IV-44. Spectators observing the traditional dancing and fighting from the banks of the Vistula in an effort to preserve social distancing; Fig. IV-45. The Lajkonik and a courtier greet passers-by under the Ojca Bernatka pedestrian bridge (photo from the shore: Y.A. Mazurek; photos taken on the river: Muzeum Krakowa)

and pay homage to the holy family or enjoy simple the spectacle of its brightly colored spaces (fig. 39).

Kraków's intangible heritage is means through which to feel the pulse of the city. Hence, when the tradition of Lajkonik was discontinued in 2020, the city experienced this hiatus as a devitalization. In June 2021, when the procession risked being cancelled for the second year in a row, the Muzeum Krakowa adapted the tradition to the recommended sanitary measures, moving the procession from the streets of the Old Town to the river, allowing the Lajkonik and his procession to cross the city by boat along the Vistula (figs. 44-45). The Museum oversaw the event's reformulation, logistics, and communication, ensuring access to the folkloric performance – dances and mock fights that play a superstitious role in the Krakowian imagination – for all. As in other instances, MK challenged the boundaries between 'highbrow' and 'lowbrow' culture, thus uniting the city.

To conclude this *excursus* on the Museum of Kraków, it is essential to highlight how the institution has been able to manage and enhance a particularly difficult cultural heritage. It is useful at this stage to draw on the concept as it was formulated by British anthropologist Sharon MacDonald:

> a past that is recognised as meaningful in the present but that is also contested and awkward for public reconciliation with a positive, self-

> affirming contemporary identity. Difficult heritage' may also be troublesome because it threatens to break through into the present in disruptive ways, opening up social divisions, perhaps by playing into imagined, even nightmarish, futures.[220]

One of the most contested heritages of Krakowian identity is the one linked to the half-century of pro-Soviet regime. The type of narration adopted is 'tender,' as Tokarczuk recommends, and prefers to expose uncomfortable themes and welcome criticism and perplexity. Rather than abandoning uncomfortable stories *a priori*, the museum prefers to disrupt prolonged silences, but knows how to do so gently and appropriately. The mere existence of two museum poles in Nowa Huta (Stalin's proletarian 'ideal city' mentioned above) attracts criticism, as did the recent exhibition *Wańka-Wstańka. Nowohucki pomnik Lenina* dedicated to the colossal statue of Lenin that once dominated the district's central square (fig. 46).[221] One aspect of the work's vicissitudes that was highlighted was its removal and the decision to sell the bronze statue to Bengt Erlandsson, a Swedish entrepreneur who reinstalled the piece in his amusement park in Värnamo.[222] Grappling with this decision, the curators chose to illustrate decisions made in parallel contexts, illustrating the way by street artists transformed a contemporary Soviet relief into a comic theorem of superheroes in Bulgaria (fig. 47), or the recent season of vandalism and destruction of statues dedicated to U.S. Confederates (fig. 48). Without imposing any 'right way of doing things,' the audience was encouraged to formulate their own ideas about safeguarding historic monuments, however uncomfortable the question may seem to many locals.

At the Muzeum Krakowa, the narration of urban history and people's memories never ends with a 'happily ever after.' The institution stays true to the city's polyphony, even its cacophony, probing the territory day after day. It makes a clear commitment to tell the stories of yesterday, today, and tomorrow, courageously nurturing a sense of understanding, cohesion and belonging.[223]

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[220] Sharon Macdonald, *Difficult Heritage. Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond.* London & New York: Routledge, 2009: 1.

[221] Personal communication from exhibition curator Zbigniew Semik in June 2021. Interestingly, the exhibition was the result of research directly relevant to his PhD in Contemporary History. Many thanks to Dr. Semik for his availability.

[222] Instytut Pamięci Narodowej - Kraków, "Krótki żywot pomnika Lenina w Nowej Hucie," Instytut Pamięci Narodowej - Kraków, consulted 2022/01/31, https://krakow.ipn.gov.pl/pl4/edukacja/przystanek-historia/96261,Krotki-zywot-pomnika-Lenina-w-Nowej-Hucie.html.

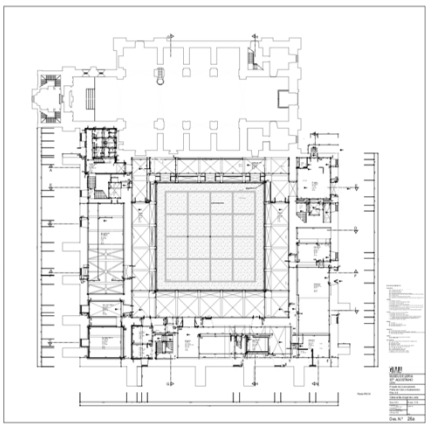
[223] This is particularly evident in the current exhibition *Współistnienie* (*Coexistence*) organized at the Podgórze Museum and dedicated to the lived experiences of Krakowians during the 2020-21 lockdowns. The exhibition was entirely produced via crowdsourcing strategies that were promoted on Facebook, thanks to the synergy that has been created between the Museum and local citizens over the last twenty years. Indeed, the Museum



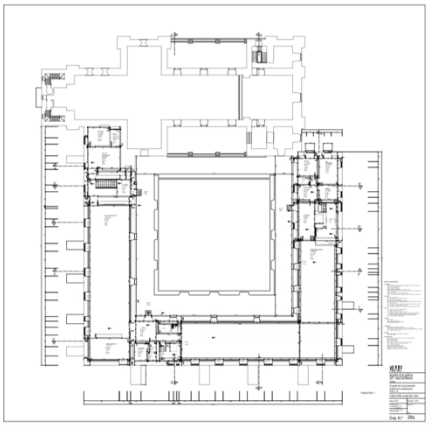
Fig. IV-46. The colossal statue of Vladimir Il'ič Lenin erected in Nowa Huta in 1974; Fig. IV-47. Soviet-era relief transformed by street artists in Sofia, Bulgaria; Fig. IV-48. Educational panel devoted to the recent season of vandalism, removal, and destruction of statues dedicated to Americann Confederate 'heroes.'

recognizes how its inhabitants process the present through autonomous and unpredictable strategies, as in the case of the 2020-2021 *szopka*, in which Lajkonik remained no less than two meters away from the other characters in the crib (Figs. 38-41). The Museum has also documented anonymous entries, such as graffiti related to the vaccine issue, a topic that has strongly divided the citizenry. One of the installations, for example, shows the inscription "WHO WANTS TO GET STUCK THERE?" placed above the figure of a rabbit, together with a syringe and the inscription "COVID-19."









(Clockwise) Fig. IV-49. Satellite map showing three urban locations of the Leiria Museum (source: Google Earth); Fig. IV-50 e IV-51. Planimetry of the museum complex in the former convent of Saint Augustine (source: Museu de Leiria); Fig. IV-52. Facade of the Museum of Leiria in 2021.

4.2.2. Everyone included. Accessibly in Leiria

"Do we have the capacity to make more and more places where people want to be? And stay longer?" - Theaster Gates[224]

The Museu de Leiria seems to have taken up the challenge issued by Theaster Gates, an artist-activist and university lecturer from Chicago. Located 150 kilometers from Lisbon, the museum sees itself more as a cultural hub for the Leiria region than as a museum for the city, while embracing the spirit of this museum category in an exemplary manner.[225] This analysis focuses exclusively on its headquarters, located in the former Augustinian complex of the 16th century, but the museum includes three other sites, namely the Castle of Leiria, the Centre for Intercultural Dialogue and the interpretation center of Abrigo do Lagar Velho Lapedo. The

[224] Theaster Gates, Lessons from Chicago Civic Commons: A conversation on belonging with Theaster Gates, 2019/07/25, https://medium.com/reimagining-the-civic-commons/lessons-from-chicago-civic-commons-a-conversation-on-belonging-with-theaster-gates-4a4a9689e157.

[225] The museum was invited, in fact, to participate in CAMOC meetings in 2016-2017. See Vânia Carvalho, Antonio Tavares, and Alice Cravo, "Leiria Museum: 100 Years of Constructing a Museum for All," *CAMOC. Museums of Cities Review*, no. 2 (2017): 19-21.

collections are the result of an eclectic and discontinuous process and date back to 1917. The museum reopened its doors in 2015, after being closed for nearly thirty years, and is still in the process of inventorying its holdings.[226] The objects on display tell the story of the region's geology and the archaeology of the territory from the Paleolithic, Roman and medieval periods. Sacred paintings and sculptures from the 15th to 18th centuries are flanked by decorative arts and objects from convents that remained abandoned during the Napoleonic Suppressions and a series of paintings and drawings represent artistic trends that flourished in Leiria in the 20th and early 21st centuries.

In response Theaster Gates's question, yes, "people want to be there" and they want to stay and come back thanks to the *ethos* created by the team that works at Leiria's museum (figs. 49-52). In fact, the institution was awarded the 2017 *European Museum of the Year* in the category of *Community Participation and Engagement,* or the Silletto Prize, an award from the Council of Europe and the European Museum Forum for a museum that stands out as a "point of orientation and reference placed at the center of its community."[227] This award, only one of nine national and international awards won in the last seven years,[228] would be enough to demonstrate the spirit of cooperation that unites the institution's direction with their local community:

> This award goes to a museum that is a living community in itself, pro-actively serving the residents of both city and region. A light and welcoming atmosphere, unpretentious approach to the history of the city and the region, through a large range of interactive activities offering intellectual and emotional learning and connecting the experience with today's community. Staff and volunteers work together across all the museum's initiatives. The museum coordinates the programming of the city's other heritage sites, in a sustained and systematic cooperation, a place where working in partnership is viewed as both a challenge and an opportunity for pleasant engagement by all its stakeholders.[229]

[226] Carvalho, Tavares, e Cravo, "Leiria Museum:" 19.
[227] European Museum of the Year, "The Silletto Prize for Community Participation and Engagement," consulted 2022/01/18, https://www.europeanforum.museum/en/winners/silletto-prize/.
[228] 2019: Dibner Award for Excellence in Museum Exhibits | SHOT - Society for History of Technology; 2019: International Project Award | APOM - Portuguese Museology Association; 2018: Cultural Marketing Award | APOM - Portuguese Museology Association; 2018: The Best in Heritage Certificate; 2017: Silleto Award | EMYA - European Museum of the Year Award; 2016: Best Museography Work Award | APOM - Portuguese Museology Association; 2016: Most Accessible Municipality Award | INR - National Institute for Rehabilitation; 2016: Honorable Mention - Best Museum | APOM - Portuguese Museology Association; 2016: Honorable Mention - Physical Accessibility | Access Culture Award. See "Leiria Museum" consulted 2022/01/18, https://www.cm-leiria.pt/pages/849.
[229] This award goes to a museum that is a living community in itself, proactively serving the residents of the city and region. A light and welcoming atmosphere, an unpretentious approach to the history of the city and region

Thanks to the *Lei Quadro dos Museus*, Portuguese laws make accessibility and democratic participation are now a statute for all museums who have the obligation to: "*Facultar acesso regular ao público e fomentar a democratização da cultura, a promoção da pessoa e o desenvolvimento da sociedade.*"[230] Echoing Portugal's decision, the Faro Convention, approved by the European Council in 2005 and ratified in Italy (only) in 2020, explicates how access to cultural heritage cultivate democratic values and practices (*cf.* Article 12).[231] Essentially, the agreement "*chiede che* – according to Massimo Montella – *si agisca per accrescere la consapevolezza del valore del patrimonio e dei diversi benefici che possono derivarne su un piano ambientale, economico e sociale*."[232] In this day and age, the metaphorical scale's fulcrum has shifted and museums, too, are adjusting their focus from musealization to enhancement strategies:[233] a situation for which Leiria serves as an *exemplum*.[234]

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through a wide range of interactive activities that provide intellectual and emotional learning and connect the experience with today's community. Staff and volunteers work together on all museum initiatives. The museum coordinates the programming of the city's other heritage sites in a sustained and systematic cooperation, a place where partnership working is seen as both a challenge and an opportunity for enjoyable engagement by all its stakeholders (Translated with www.DeepL.com/Translator). See Carvalho, Tavares, and Cravo, "Leiria Museum:" 21.

[230] See Articles 3 paragraph b, as well as Articles 42, 43, 47, 50, 59, 64 and 95 of Lei Quadro dos Museus (Legal Framework of Museums), Lei n.º 47/2004 de 19 de Agosto, consulted 2021/11/17. https://arquivo.icom-portugal.org/multimedia/LeiQuadrodosMuseus.doc.

[231] Faro Convention of 27 October 2005: Article 12 - Access to cultural heritage and democratic participation. The Parties undertake to: a. encourage everyone to participate: - in the process of identifying, studying, interpreting, protecting, preserving and presenting cultural heritage; - in the reflection and public debate on the opportunities and challenges that cultural heritage represents; b. take into account the value attributed by each heritage community to the cultural heritage with which it identifies; c. Recognise the role of voluntary organisations, both as partners in activities and as bearers of constructive criticism of cultural heritage policies; d. Promote actions to improve access to cultural heritage, particularly for young and disadvantaged people, in order to raise awareness of its value, the need to conserve and preserve it and the benefits that can be derived from it. See *Official Journal,* Year 161 - Number 263 (2020/10/23), https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/gu/2020/10/23/263/sg/pdf

[232] Massimo Montella et al., "La Convenzione di Faro e la tradizione culturale italiana / The Faro Convention and the Italian cultural tradition," *Il Capitale Culturale: Studies on the* Value of Cultural Heritage The valorisation of cultural heritage in Italy. Proceedings of the conference, no. 5 (October 20, 2016): 15, https://doi.org/10.13138/2039-2362/1551.

[233] "The Faro Convention on Cultural Heritage," FAI, accessed 2022/01/19. https://fondoambiente.it/news/convezione-di-faro-patrimonio-culturale.

[234] The museum was created thanks to the participation of the residents of the city and region of Leiria, in the wake of the success of the Museu da Comunidade Concelhia da Batalha. This is the municipal museum of the small municipality contiguous to Leiria, winner of the prestigious *Kenneth Hudson Award for Institutional Courage and Professional Integrity* in 2013. See Anna Danilewicz, "Kilka Uwag o Dostępności Muzeów Na Przykładzie Portugalii. Batalię Wygrała Batalha," *Muzealnictwo*, no. 54 (2013): 217-23
According to the 2021 census, the municipality of Batalha had 15,533 inhabitants, while that of Leiria 128,640. The case of Batalha might seem more suitable as a comparison with the reality of Orte, but the management of the Museum of Leiria has shown greater stability and success over time. See https://www.citypopulation.de/en/portugal/admin/10__leiria/.

For local curators[235] accessibility is not a moral issue, but simply a practical one.[236] In order to avoid museum fatigue and to foster the "study, education and enjoyment," they believe every visitor should feel comfortable during their stay.[237] Their thinking is underpinned by pragmatic considerations and democratic values: every human being, throughout life, faces physical, sensory, and cognitive limitations and barriers, so museum accessibility affects everyone sooner or later, whether permanently, temporarily, or situationally (fig. 53). [238]

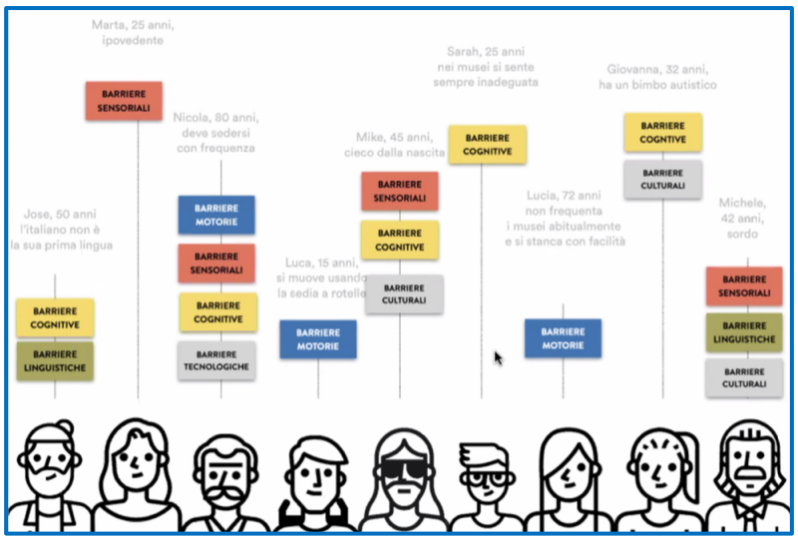


Fig. IV-53. Various barriers involved in a museum visit. Accessibility is a field that concerns us all (author: Maria Chiara Ciaccheri)

In this regional museum, accessibility is applied almost imperceptibly, all members of the community are meant to be included since the museum is open to all. The result is not perfect, nor the goal fully achieved. This attitude is key for designing accessible museums according to Sina Bahram, a US-based expert on digital accessibility and the visually impaired, who writes: "Inclusion is not a binary pursuit with a finite destination. Inclusion is a state of thinking and acting toward a shared purpose based on a commitment to iteration, refinement, and self-

[235] In the course of this research, a visit was made to the Museum of Leiria, where we had the opportunity to meet the curators, talk about their research and exhibition strategies, but also to observe both the museum staff at work and a class of young high school students visiting. Special thanks go to Vânia Cecília Marques Carvalho, archaeologist of the Municipality of Leiria and coordinator of the Museum; Mário Jorge Vinhais Dias Pires Coelho, Art Historian of the Municipality of Leiria; Sara Luísa Pedrosa Marques da Cruz, researcher, also involved in the Centre for Intercultural Dialogue of Leiria for their exceptionally warm welcome. It was a pleasure to meet other members of the "team," such as those responsible for reception, security, cleaning, digitization, conservation and documentation.
In addition, the author would like to thank Dr. Maria Chiara Ciaccheri for suggesting the Museum of Leiria as a case study for this research.
[236] Dr. Carvalho reiterated the point several times during our visits to the Museum on November 16-17.
[237] Benjamin Ives Gilman, "Museum Fatigue." *The Scientific Monthly* 2, no. 1 (1916): 62-74.
Reference is made to the current definition of the Museum according to ICOM (currently being reformulated): "A museum is a permanent, non-profit institution, at the service of society, and its development, open to the public, which carries out research into the tangible and intangible evidence of man and his environment, acquires, conserves, and communicates it, and specifically exhibits it for purposes of study, education and enjoyment."
[238] Maria Chiara Ciaccheri, "Accessibility," lecture on 2021/04/19 as part of the course "History of Art Criticism" by Prof. Maria Ida Catalano, held online and in presence at the University of Tuscia.





(clockwise) Fig. IV-54. Tactile map of the ground floor of the museum; Fig. IV-55. Exploded axonometry of the museum complex with armchairs; Fig. IV-56. PECS book.

improvement."[239] In Leiria, this *forma mentis* can be traced in two different threads that run through the visit routes: the museum's reception and the connections is fosters with the city and the territory.

The museum sends clear messages to visitor's starting at the front door leading into a welcoming and barrier-free space. The rooms can be visited through facilitated routes, by taking advantage of the more conventional guided tour, or completely independently. There is always the possibility of choosing from a few options that are constantly being improved.[240] For example, the first panel one sees is a tactile map created for visually impaired visitors, clearly located to the right of the entrance (fig. 54). Initially this tool was used little, a fact that led the museum staff to supplement this map with a larger and easily readable one for sighted visitors. As many people have trouble reading floorplans, the second map takes the form of an exploded axonometry in which the three floors of the structure are superimposed to better communicate the organization of the exhibition spaces and their points of access (fig. 55). Visitors can proceed with their visit accompanied by an attendant or independently, also thanks to a guide printed in braille, a tactile path indicating the museum itineraries or a PECS book[241] (fig. 56), and leaflets printed in four languages. The custodian, Mrs. Maria Graça Rosinha, is on duty to welcome visitors and explain these services (fig. 57).[242] The only artwork on display in the entrance, is a statuette of

[239] Sina Barham, "The Inclusive Museum," *The Senses: Design Beyond Vision*. Lupton, Andrea and Lipps, Ellen (eds). Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 2018: 34.
[240] As a museum dedicated to accessibility, the entrance door was recently replaced to allow all visitors to be able to open it easily while ensuring the safety of the facility. Personal communication between the museum director and the author.
[241] PECS, an acronym for "Picture Exchange Communication System," is a "unique Augmentative/Alternative Communication System developed in the United States in 1985 by Andy Bondy, PhD, and Lori Frost, MS, CCC-SLP. It was initially used for students diagnosed with preschool autism as part of the Delaware Autism Program. Since then, PECS has been used with great success worldwide with thousands, of students of all ages and with a variety of cognitive, physical, and communication difficulties." *Cf.* https://pecs-italy.com/il-picture-exchange-communication-system-pecs/.
[242] Ms. Rosinha speaks only Portuguese, but she has proved more effective in her work than any of the multilingual employees previously in charge of reception. The team unanimously chose to continue working with her despite her apparently unsuitable profile.

Saint Augustine, which comes from the ex-convent itself, as if the Doctor of the Church were welcoming visitors entering 'his home' (fig. 58).[243] Next to the saint, there are two armchairs close to the larger of the two maps. This comfortable and modern furniture invites visitors to rest before and after their visit. There are places to sit throughout the Museum to let visitors enjoy their experience at Leiria and, in turn, to better grasp the museum's content. [244]





(right) Fig. IV-57. Mrs. Maria Graça Rosinha at the entrance of the museum; (left) Fig. IV-58. Vanîa Cravalho, the museum's directos, in front of the statuette of Saint Augustine.



Figure IV-59. The city and the territory of Leiria painted by young Leirians.

[243] The statue stands at the entrance without a display case but is strategically positioned to safeguard the piece. This deliberated choice marks another way in which the curators wanted to encourage greater proximity between viewers and the collection.
[244] Carvalho, Tavares, and Cravo, eds., *Museu de Leiria*: 16.

The museum narrative is not monopolized by adult voices but is the result of intergenerational collaboration. Shortly after the inauguration of the Museu de Leiria in 2015, young locals were invited to create a tempera painting of the region's cultural and natural landscape (fig. 59).[245] The activity was filmed and provides the background imagery for an orientational film played in the museum's small theater. Visitors are told about the links between the collection, the city and the territory, through a narration that uses both images of historical value and the playfully descriptive painting. The short film's content conveys a sense of belonging to a community with an old town, a historic castle, and a historic industrial zone made possible thanks to the presence of the area's dense forests (a source of raw materials) and the sea (a means of shipping and transportation). The young "artist's" work is not officially catalogued, but is carefully preserved in storage, despite its large dimensions (measuring overs than 2m x 3m), thanks to the staff's awareness of the work's value.

The museography reaffirms the importance the museum places on reception and inclusion by limiting physical barriers and by designing access points and visitor paths which allow to experience the exhibition's narrative sequence from multiple access points. The ground floor is barrier-free and the first floor has three access points – two sets of stairs and one elevator - allow to follow the narrative of the exhibition in a coherent way.

The ground floor is dominated by the 16th-century courtyard, which is used both for events and as a communal leisure space for the young and old. On one side is a multi-purpose space that serves as a room for educational activities, a meeting room, a refreshment area during special events and an informal exhibition space. The opposite side of the courtyard houses an office-*atelier*, a storage space for teaching supplies and props, the archaeological collection storage (with a differentiated microclimates that can accommodate the conservation needs of different materials) and a small restoration lab: these spaces remain closed to the public, as does the intermediate floor where paintings and mixed-media objects are kept.

On the first floor there is a permanent exhibition, which runs along one wing of the complex, and an area dedicated to temporary exhibitions that change on a yearly bases,[246] for a total of

[245] Personal communication of Mário Jorge Vinhais Dias Pires Coelho with the author.
[246] The 2020-2022 health emergency has led to the two-year extension of the exhibition *Plasticidade - Uma História dos Plásticos em Portugal*.

4000 m^2 of exhibition space.[247] The permanent exhibition, from a thematic point of view, explores the area's geology and natural history, the castle, Roman times, the local pine forest, the urban settlement and the diocese, as well as a section dedicated to contemporary history and the evolution of the local identity. The itinerary is bi-directional: accessing the museum from the main staircase, the exhibit unfolds chronologically from prehistoric times to the present (indicated as A-B-C in fig. 60); access from the elevator sends you backwards in time, starting with art from the industrial period to the Diocesan collection, through the archaeological section, to conclude the visit with a geological reflection on the territory (indicated as C-B -A in fig. 60).

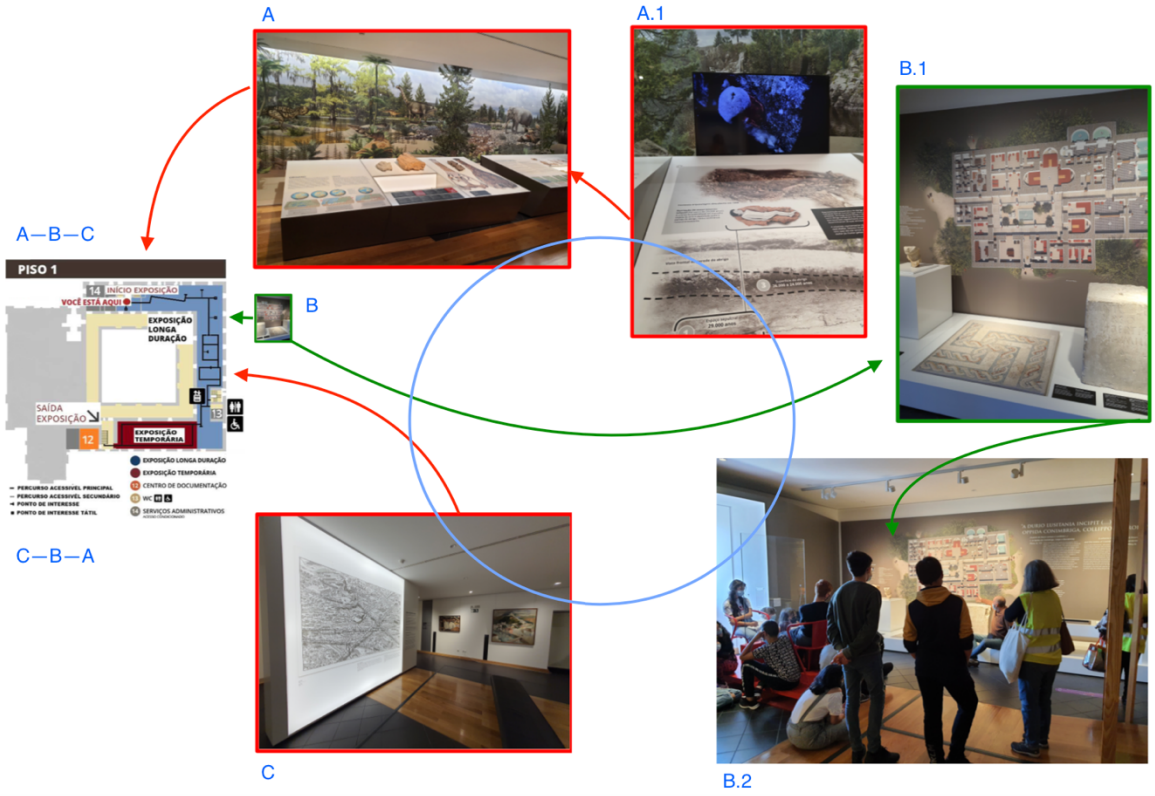


Fig. IV-60. Map of the first floor of the museum with indicating two museum routes. A-B-C part of the geological and prehistoric section (A); archaeological section (B) and picture gallery dedicated to the modern and contemporary ages (C). Starting from the first floor elevator, the route winds in the opposite direction (C-B-A), offering the same narration, but starting from the present day and ending at the territory's natural history.

Overall, the Museum of Leiria presents offers an analogue experience, preferring to take care of the person-to-person experience *in situ* rather than by engaging audiences virtually. This choice, however, should not lead us to think that the multimedia materials are not show the meticulous attention seen in other aspects of the museum. The exhibition dedicated to the Paleolithic settlement in the Lapedo Valley, at Abrigo do Lagar Velho – where another

[247] Personal communication of Vânia Carvalho, director of the museum, with the author.

museum branch, the Heritage Interpretation Centre, is located – , the display uses text, objects, tactile replicas, images, graphic reconstructions and a filmed 'historical' reenactment made in collaboration described below. For this part of the exhibit, the didactic panels were written and edited by 26 experts from various fields in order to ensure a shared language and uniformly described content.[248] In addition to the texts and graphics, there is a video dedicated to the region's most significant finding; [249] *Menino do Lapedo* is a hypothetical reconstruction of the inhumation of a twelve-year old that took place 29,000 years, the result of an interdisciplinary collaboration between archaeologists, museologists, actors and filmmakers.[250] It is a prime example of *Inclusive Design*, in that it marks an attempt to include as many visitors as possible without differentiating the experience of one group from another's. The concept of Inclusive Design is being applied more and more frequently in the United States, as well. Sina Bahram, the computer scientist mentioned above, explains why:

> Universal design is the act of considering all audiences, or as many as we can, at the beginning of a project, and iterating upon this consideration until we arrive at a solution that is usable by far more people than if we had not taken such a design tack. Inclusive design is a newer term, used by many contemporary designers and advocates. While "universal" implies a potentially unattainable burden for designers and developers, "inclusive" is an invitation. It's warm, and it aligns with the basic values of most people. We include our friends, our loved ones, and so on. Inclusive design recognizes that people have multiple forms of identity and difference, including age, ability, language fluency, socioeconomic status, cultural background, and so on. Accounting for those differences doesn't mean making everyone the same.[251]

Leiria's staff and their collaborators avoid creating distinct niches for different audiences, lowering cognitive, sensory, motor, language and technological barriers throughout the museum's setting and materials.[252] There are multiple inclusive strategies employed in the

[248] In order to avoid century-old diatribes, the decision was taken to exhibit all the works by indicating their topographical and not their political origins. This allows the narrative to avoid disputes concerning the displacement of political boundaries between municipalities; for this same reason, the cartography of the territory is not displayed in the Museum.
Personal communication between Dr. Vanîa Cravalho and the author.

[249] See "The burial of the Lapedo Child 29,000 years ago: an imagined reconstruction:" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GX1O7H1XiX8)

[250] Ana Cristina Araújo and Ana Maria Costa, "O paleolítico superiore e as primeiras manifestações do homem anatomicamente moderno na região de Leiria," *Museu de Leiria.* Vânia Carvalho, Antonio Tavares, and Alice Cravo, eds (Leiria: Municipio de Leiria, 2019): 89-99.

[251] Bihram, "The Inclusive Museum," 25.

[252] On April 19, 2021, as part of the "*Storia della critica d'arte*" course taught by Prof. Maria Ida Catalano, the author held a few hours of lectures during which Dr. Maria Chiara Ciaccheri, an expert in museum accessibility, was invited. During the meeting, the expert deepened this model of inclusion and cited the success of the Museo de Leiria.



Fig. IV-61. Film still of Uma história com 29 000 anos: recriação imaginada do enterramento do Menino do Lapedo

video on Lapedo's website. The angle of the device allows visitors to view the content both standing and seated. Language barriers have been broken down by avoiding a voice-over, instead there is a soundscape recorded in the woods around the archaeological site. This understated soundtrack allows specially trained museum guides to narrate the content *ad hoc* for sighted and non-sighted visitors. The professional actors interpret characters through minimal gestures without trivializing the importance of the ancient funeral rite. While the film is projected in black and white, some details are rendered in color, highlighting scientific innovations that have emerged from diagnostic analyses, such as the deer tooth ornament (*cervus elaphus*) deposited with the corpse, wrapped in a red fabric, a dye made from pigments derived from a marine mollusk (*littorina obtusata*) (fig. 61). [253]

The accessible services which the museum promotes stem directly from the diverse character of its staff, as well as their open and horizontal working method. While models of horizontal management are known from metropolitan museum contexts in capital cities like Wellington (New Zealand) and London (UK), the case of Leiria shows that new ways of working can also arise from grassroots initiatives in provincial areas.[254] In her anthology on the city museums, Francesca Lanz explains how the museum can act not only as a mirror of intercultural processes, but also as a generator of new inclusive processes that approash "openness – not so much as a philosophy, but – as a way of working." She cites Jack Lohman, former director of the Museum of London, as a case in point:

> Here [at the Museum of London], the architecture, the exhibition design and the museum narrative reflect the idea that, as Jack Lohman recently said at the 2012 CAMOC conference, "a [city] museum should not only [be] taking energy from the city in which it is, but also creating new energies and synergies with other cities in the world," and, first and

We would like to thank Dr. Ciaccheri for her suggestion and for facilitating the initial contact with the management of the Portuguese Museum.

[253] Araújo e Costa, "O paleolítico superiore e as primeiras manifestações," 94.

[254] One thinks of the organisational structure informed by the spirit of the Maori people that is applied in the Museum of New Zealand (Te Papa) in Wellington which involves integration between departments to create cohesion in the museum's activities: https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/learn/research.
The Museum of London is mentioned later.

> foremost, it should "not only provide access but genuine openness to all voices, adopting openness as a way of working.[255]

In Leiria, the curatorial content is developed by a team of three coming from different backgrounds: archaeology, history and art history (fig. 62). The staff includes men and women of all ages, people born in Leiria, in other cities, and from a former Portuguese colony; the GIS technician is deaf, while the computer scientist is blind and travels with a guide dog (who has a water bowl available at all times) (fig. 63). [256]





Fig. IV-62. Sara Cruz and Mário Coelho prepare materials for the new exhibition; Fig. IV-63. The museum's computer technician has guide dog whose water bowl has a permanent location in the museum.

Immigration is not a topic to be dealt with, but an everyday reality; this is evident in the collaboration with Inesa Markava, a dancer of Belarusian origin, who has lived in Leiria for 20 years. In the autumn of 2021, she was preparing an event called "Exposição Dançada. Advento" as part of a series, created together with museum staff, in which the collection was interpreted, on this occasion, through a dialogue of painted and danced gestures (fig. 64). [257] The activity was designed to include whole families and not intended as an activity exclusively for children.

The administration has also identified strategies for reconciling professional and family responsibilities. Since the curators are often on duty on Saturdays and Sundays, their children visit the Museum regularly; over time they have become young experts in certain aspects of the spaces and works. For this reason, the team asked the municipality

[255] Francesca Lanz, "Galleries of Modern London, Museum of London," *European Museums in the 21st Century*, vol. 2. Luca Basso Perusset, Francesca Lanz, and Gennaro Postiglione, eds. (Milan: Politecnico, 2013): 464. https://issuu.com/melaproject/docs/melabook_07_vol2_hq-single_page.

[256] In the recent MOOC offered by ICOM Creating Meaningful and Inclusive Museum Practices, the importance of interdisciplinary museum management was stressed: "rooted in museum management structures, opening spaces within leadership positions is a necessary step in fostering the agency of historically marginalized communities. Respecting their right to tell their own stories and to determine how they are told must be a priority for museums working with vulnerable groups. This would help institutions build trust with communities and ensure that their stories are interpreted and exhibited with the rigour they deserve. See ICOM, "Creating Meaningful and Inclusive Museum Practices," consulted 2021/11/03 https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/meaningful-inclusive-museum-practices/1/todo/103603

[257] Velcrodesign, "'Exposição Dançada. Advento', by Inesa Markava," Rede Cultura 2027 Leiria, accessed 2022/02/03, https://www.redecultura2027.pt/en/programme/exposicao-dancada-advento-by-inesa-markava.

to recognize these young locals as members of the Center for Intercultural Dialogue, earning them a badge that clarifies their 'institutional' role to the public (fig. 65). Being receptive to the staff's personal needs is another "way of working," to quote Francesca Lanz.



Fig. IV-64. Inesa Markava prepared the "Exposição Dançada. Advento" with the participation of the museum curators; Fig. IV-65. The badges of Mário Coelho and his daughter, a young expert on the Leiria collection.

Returning to Theaster Gates' question. Yes, a person gladly stays at the Museum of Leiria, but why? Starting from St. Augustine's welcome at the museum entrance, one perceives that the complex is a place made for the Leirians, that it speaks of the Leirians and, above all, that it was made with the Leirians. The institution's coherence resulted in requests immediately following the 2020-2021 lockdowns from more than one school and one nursing home to use the museum as a safe, communal meeting space.[258]

Lastly, it is important to acknowledge the relationship that the Museu de Leiria has managed to weave with the territory, attuning voices from the past and with those of the present. In the permanent exhibition, the transition from antiquity to the modern era takes place through the "*Pinhal de Leiria*:" a tactile and sound tracked scenography made from dozens of pine poles positioned to recall the local pine forest, a characteristic element of the local landscape which lies at the foundation of the local industrial and tourist economy (fig. 66).[259] The forest 'canopy' is represented by strips of forest-green cardboard on which are inscribed the names of historical figures who have dedicated their lives to preserving local heritage: a genealogy of the museum's 'founding fathers' translated into a light and easily readable visual language.

[258] Personal communication from Vânia Carvalho.
[259] In 2017, 80% of the forest was destroyed by a wild fire; hence, this tribute to the forest was particularly felt by visitors.



Fig. IV-66. The display dedicated to the Pineta de Leiria, linking the archaeological collection to the picture gallery.

The museum's narrators, however, did not emerge exclusively through the archives, but also through participatory strategies which have resulted in an important collection of oral testimonies (fig. 67). In preparation of the recent exhibition *Plasticidade - Uma História dos Plásticos em Portugal*, carried out in collaboration with the anthropology department of the University of Coimbra, interviews were held with factory workers, plastic factory managers and their families to collect stories about the local industry and economy from multiple perspectives.

In its own way, plastic has become a difficult heritage and represents a topic which could have polarized the public. Instead, the museum chose to contextualize this sector's development chronologically and to talk about to the merits and demerits of this revolutionary material from the first half of the 20th century till today. Based entirely on crowd-sourced objects, the *Plasticidade* exhibition told the story of this manufacturing sector through objects from the Leirians' homes (figs. 68-69).[260] The outstanding results were internationally recognized by the Society for the History of Technology[261] who awarded the Dibner Award for Excellence[262] in Museum Exhibits to the Museu de Leiria in 2019.

[260] Maria Elvira Callapez, Raquel Ferreira Coimbra, Sara Marques da Cruz, Vânia Carvalho, and Susana França de Sá. *A exposição Plasticidade - Uma História dos Plásticos em Portugal: um processo participativo no Museu de Leiria.* MIDAS. Museus e estudos interdisciplinares, no. 12 (2020/12/15). https://doi.org/10.4000/midas.2537.
[261] "SHOT: [a North American scientific society founded in 1958] dedicated to the historical study of technology and its relations with politics, economics, labor, business, the environment, public policy, science, and the arts." / "devoted to the historical study of technology and its relations with politics, economics, labor, business, the environment, public policy, science, and the arts." *Cf.* "About Us," Society for the History of Technology (SHOT), March 13, 2017, https://www.historyoftechnology.org/about-us/.
[262] "Leiria Museum (Leiria, Portugal)," History of Technology, consulted 2021/11/16. https://www.historyoftechnology.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Dibner-2019.pdf




Fig. IV-67. Corner of the exhibition set up with a timeline devoted to local industrial development with videos of former plastic factory employees; Figs. IV-68. e IV-69. Plastic objects from Leirian homes dating from the 1950s, 1980s and 1990s.

As a concluding remark about Leiria, the whole museum is based on the assumption that the museum should be a starting point more than a destination, as if it were a teaser for raising doubts and questions and for stimulating a visitor and the community's desire to learn more about other museums and other sites in the area. The building's very structure communicates this intention.[263] During the restoration of the complex, in fact, specific windows were enhanced; their views and light wells punctuate the visitors path with glimpses in function to the permanent exhibit. For example, archaeological finds from the city's castle are located next to the window that frames this pivotal site. (fig. 70). This view from the window has been recently accentuated thanks to the inclusion of the *Perspectograph*, an installation created by local artist Ana Bonifacio.[264] The *Perspectograph* takes the form of a red steel platform, on which two chairs are placed in a mirror-image, from this position viewers can sit, look out the window or into the museum and draw what they please on a transparent plastic screen (figs. 71-72). The structure is inspired by Alberti's veil which sees "painting as an open window."[265] Here the visitor is free to faithfully trace the castle, portray a friend sitting opposite her, or break all the rules: "In her artistic work [Bonifacio] places, as primordial reflections, the relationship of proximity and intimacy with the spectator and the individual and collective appropriation of the public space as a place full of plurality and a natural stage for democracy."[266] By combining participatory theories and democratic practices, the Museum of Leiria has exemplarily achieved its objective of making the museum a bridge between culture and citizenship.

[263] Personal communication with Vânia Carvalho.
[264] We thank the artist for his permission to publish an image of the work and to create a "Perspectograph" in Orte's future city museum.
[265] Email communication in which Sara Marques da Cruz reports texts shared by the artist.
[266] Email communication in which Sara Marques da Cruz reports texts shared by the artist.



Fig. IV-70. Ana Bonifacio's Perspectograph; Fig. IV-71. The museum's director draws the Castle of Leiria; Fig. IV-72. Drawing left by a visitor on the window of the Perspectograph.

4.2.3. The sacred and the profane on exhibit. Choices made in Lisbon

The Lisbon Museum (Museu de Lisboa) presents itself as "One Museum. Five Places," in reference to its five branches: Palácio Pimenta, Santo António, Teatro Romano, Casa Dos Bicos, and Torreão Poente (fig. 73).[267] Formally founded in 1908, it has enjoyed a new management model since 2014 under the direction of museologist, manager, and current president of CAMOC (2016-2022) Joana Sousa Monteiro, a figure who accompanies its 70 employees[268] in this evolution of the institution from a Museum of the History of the Portuguese capital to a next-generation city museum "lying halfway between cultural policies and urban policies."[269] The current museum strategy develops exhibitions and programming based on four pillars:

[267] The official names of the venues (in English): Pimenta Palace, Saint Anthony, Roman Theater, Casa Dos Bicos, West Tower (the latter is currently closed for renovations).
The Museum of Lisbon's mission statement: "The Museum of Lisbon is composed of five sites: the main one at the Pimenta Palace, for the long-term exhibition hall and a temporary exhibition pavilion; the Roman Theater museum site, including the former theatre ruins; the site dedicated to the life of Saint Anthony and to the religious and pagan festivities; the West Tower site at the main city square for temporary exhibitions and events and the 'Casa dos Bicos' archaeological site."
Joana Sousa Monteiro, "Becoming a City Museum. New Approaches on Time, People and Urban Heritage at the Museum of Lisbon," in *The Future of Museums of Cities*, CAMOC: ICOM International Committee for Collections and Activities of Museums of Cities (Frankfurt: CAMOC ICOM, 2019): 102.

[268] Personal communication between Joana Sousa Monteiro and the author, interviewed at Palacìo Pimenta on November 23, 2021. Thanks to Dr. Monteiro and Deputy Director Davide Felicismo, for the hours they dedicated to me and also for the invitation to participate, as a "Visiting Scholar," in the visit to the Lisbon Museum in the fall of 2021.

[269] In the original text, Monteiro cites the director of MuHBA, Joan Roca, as the author of this definition of a new generation city museum. See Joana Sousa Monteiro, "An Impossible Future Is the Most Probable: An Experience at The Museum of Lisbon," in *City Museums as Cultural Hubs: Past, Present and Future*, CAMOC: ICOM International Committee for Collections and Activities of Museums of Cities, 2020 (Kyoto: CAMOC ICOM, 2020): 154-5.

- Time: not only embracing the historical past but also the recent past and the present, and even future prospects, however, not necessarily in chronological views;
- People: engaging systematically with groups of city inhabitants, both people born in the city and any type of migrants, coming from other parts of Portugal or from abroad. Increasing diversity awareness;
- Disciplines and themes: broader, multidisciplinary approaches to both collecting and exhibiting. The traditional exhibition frame within the fields of decorative arts, documents and archaeology is complemented with contemporary art, science artefacts, industrial heritage, and intangible heritage, including documentation of oral history;
- Debates: being available as a cultural space to experiment and discuss identity issues, urban cultural problems and cultural diversity, and thus promoting regular debates and talks.[270]

To implement this vision, the museum's activities are carried out in an interdisciplinary way, following diachronic and synchronic criteria that draw on intercultural language and logic. The narration takes many forms, like exhibitions, research, walks, debates, publications, transversal partnerships, gastronomic events, and playful activities offered both in presence and online.

The Museu de Lisboa, founded in 1942, holds an eclectic collection of *circa* 100,000 objects, organized in almost 50 different collections.[271] It documents the history of Lisbon and its urban transformations through paintings, sculptures, photographs, engravings, tiles, ceramics, furniture, textiles, weapons, numismatics, and scientific instruments. The *maquette* of Lisbon before the 1755 earthquake is outstanding, as are the *azulejos* (ancient and modern), typical painted tiles that flourished in the Baroque era and are still made today. The site of the Roman theatre includes an archaeological site from the 1st century B.C. and a former suitcase factory where evidence from the 6th century B.C. to the 20th century is preserved, with a focus on material from the Roman period. While the collection dedicated to the cult of St. Anthony dates to 1962 and includes heterogeneous objects that recount the spread of popular devotion to the saint in its local and global expressions. [272]

[270] Monteiro, "Becoming a City Museum:"100.
[271] "Collections," Museu de Lisboa, accessed 2022/03/17, https://www.museudelisboa.pt/en/collections; "Museum of Lisbon," in *Wikipedia*, 2021/10/11, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Museum_of_Lisbon&oldid=1049351491.
[272] Pedro Teotónio Pereira, "Introduction," *Museu de Lisboa. Santo António. Guia - Guide* (Lisboa: CML/ INCM, 2016): 11.





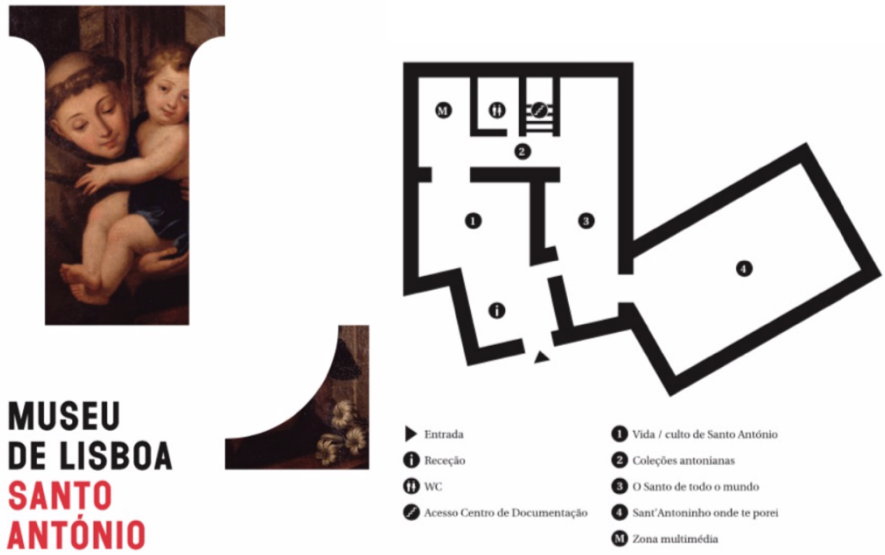


Fig. IV-73. Map of the Lisbon Museum; Fig. IV-74. Logo and floor plan of the Lisbon Museum – Sant'Antonio branch

In the fall of 2021, the Portuguese Association of Museology (APOM) recognized two awards to the Museu de Lisboa for the traveling exhibition *Valha-nos Santo António! Artesanato em tempo de Covid-19. Coleção Mário Coelho*, held at Santo António from December 2020 to June 2021 (fig. 74)[273] and for the temporary exhibition *Hortas de Lisboa. Da Idade Média ao século XXI* curated by Daniela Araújo and Mário Nascimento, at the Palácio Pimenta venue

[273] It was not possible to visit this exhibition in 2020-2021 due to travel restrictions. Therefore, the following discussion will be based on the permanent exhibition at the Santo António site.

(October 2020-December 2021).[274] Leveraging these goals, the present discussion aims to highlight the best practices in exhibition design in relationship to two specific themes: the cult of Saint Anthony and food production. The museum creates effective meeting points between the sacred and the profane, the popular and the aristocratic, the past and the future.

Quoting researcher and museographer Raffaella Trocchianesi, the layout of the Santo António branch is presented in "*forma di racconto* […] *strutturato secondo una matrice narrativa fondata su elementi organizzati secondo specifiche gerarchie in una sintassi funzionale ai contenuti da mostrare*."[275] The exhibit conveys a monographic theme effectively and communicates elegantly the connections between the historical figure and the surrounding neighborhood, the global dimension of this cult and the its symbolic values for Lisbon's secular culture today.

Born Fernando Martins (Lisbon, c. 1191-Arcela (Padua), 1231), Saint Anthony is recognized above all as a citizen of Lisbon who distinguished himself as an intellectual, orator and teacher of theology at the first European universities.[276] Dom Fernando was born in the Alfama district and entered the nearby Monastery of San Vicente de Fora at the age of 18.[277] Traditionally there is a strong attachment to the figure of Saint Anthony and the nearby district which dedicates the entire month of June to the festivities (fig. 75). Processions are held on the feast day of St. Anthony on June 13th, the neighborhood comes alive with decorations and the folkloristic 'thrones,' little altars dedicated to the saint, traditions of popular origin that

[274] *Cf.* "Museu de Lisboa distinguido pelos Prémio APOM 20/21," Museu de Lisboa, consulted 2022/02/09, https://museudelisboa.pt/pt/acontece/noticias/museu-de-lisboa-distinguido-pelos-premio-apom-2021.
In addition, in 2021, the Museum was awarded an honorable mention for the high quality of the videos on the YouTube channel "Museu de Lisboa," the selection of which was expanded due to pandemic-related lockdowns: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCtsFzhi5scFk0z04zg8Yrjw.
[275] Raffaella Trocchianesi, "Oggetti transitivi: il potenziale narrativo dell'oggetto nel progetto espositivo," in *Design vive di oggetti-discorso: design e narrazioni.*, Eterotopie 231 (Milano-Udine: Memesi Edizioni, 2014), 68, https://www.torrossa.com/it/resources/an/2968564.
[276] He taught in Bologna, Toulouse, Montpellier, and Padua and was the first member of the Franciscan Order to assume a professorship in theology. Cf. Henrique Pinto Rema, OFM, "Biography of Saint Anthony of Lisbon," *Museu de Lisboa. Santo António. Guia - Guide* (Lisboa: CML/ INCM, 2016): 16-17.
[277] Pinto Rema, "Biography of Saint Anthony of Lisbon:" 16.

sometimes adapt and sometimes clash with the globalized reality that characterizes the town today (fig. 76). [278]



Fig. IV-75. Genealogy of Dom Fernando (lay name of Saint Anthony)

The neighborhood in which the Museum is located is permeated by a plurality of cultural influences, from historical legacies to post-modern dynamics that often accompany a tourist-oriented economy. For many months of the year, the district is often overrun by merciless mass tourism, thanks to the daily arrival of cruise ships docking a few hundred meters from the heart of Alfama. Every day of the week you can attend Fado shows, the famous genre of music born in the same district, which has also adapted to its various target audiences. Pseudo-craft shops filled with industrially made majolica objects and gadgets, often imported from China and sold by traders mostly native of Bangladesh, seem omnipresent (fig. 77). The coexistence of these elements cannot be considered a true syncretism but, with is true to the typical openness of large port cities.[279] The Museu de Lisboa tries to get to know the cities' morphing faces and seeks new ways to open itself to a wider public with who to construct meaningful dialogues and co-create exhibition contents.[280]

The Santo António branch is located next to the homonymous Church, near the birthplace of the Father of the Church and a few steps from Lisbon Cathedral, bordering Alfama (figs. 78-79).[281] The Museum of Lisbon has stimulated locals to perpetuate the tradition of thrones of St. Anthony, an intangible heritage in transition

> One of the traditions that have lately been revitalised by the Museum is the making of "thrones of St. Anthony," which are placed all over downtown, in windows, staircases and food stands. Some of the thrones, based on an old Catholic tradition, are made by elderly people from the neighborhood and placed in immigrants' shops (regardless if they are Hindus or Muslims) in order to catch the attention of others.

[278] Joana Sousa Monteiro, Daniela Araújo, and Rui Coelho, "Thrones and Seeds - Migrant Cultures Flow in Lisbon: New Challenges, New Perspectives," in *Museums of Cities and Contested Urban Histories*, CAMOC: ICOM International Committee for Collections and Activities of Museums of Cities (Mexico: CAMOC ICOM, 2018): 86-89.
[279] Paulo Almeida Fernandes and Ana Paula Antunes, eds., *Convivencia(s). Lisboa Plural: 1147-1910* (Lisboa: Museu de Lisboa, EGEAC, E.M., 2019).
[280] Personal communication with Daniela Araújo on 2022/03/13.
[281] *Museu de Lisboa. Santo António. Guia - Guide* (Lisboa: CML/ INCM, 2016): 48-49.

> In Alfama, we can map foodscapes of spicy samosas, typical Lisbon food (cabbage soup and sardines), and international fast food like hamburgers and hotdogs [...]. The result is a cosmopolitan melting pot where we can feel a certain thrill out of food neophilia, in people keen to try the typical Lisbon and the migrants' exotic specialities.[282]



(Clockwise) Fig. IV-76. Throne of St. Anthony; Fig. IV-77. Typical shop of Alfama with tourist articles; Fig. IV-78. Inhabitants of the Alfama district; Fig. IV-79. Historical photograph of a throne of St. Anthony and children in the neighborhood circa 1907 ("Document PT/AMLSB/CMLSBAH/PCSP/004/JBN/000119," source: Arquivio Municipal de Lisboa).

[282] Monteiro, Araújo, and Coelho, "Thrones and Seeds," 87-88.

Such syncretism has characterized the cult of Saint Anthony since the first contacts between Portuguese explorers and sub-Saharan Africa in the 15th century, as well as countless devotional forms that have spread to every corner of the world by way of missionary and colonial dynamics.[283] The display's narrative conveys an optimal understanding of both popular devotion and the power systems that made use of it.[284] In the entrance of this museum, there is a detailed timeline that winds around the walls encircling an interactive map; by touching the screen, one can witness the procession of St. Anthony in the various forms it has taken, for example, in the communities of Southeast Asia, or in the Amazon, or in the US communities of Portuguese descent (fig. 80).[285] In the showcases dedicated to votive statues there are material testimonies of the cult's development, such as the 17th century Indo-Portuguese statuettes carved in ivory in which the drapery of the Franciscan friar conveys a hieratic sinuosity compared to the contemporary figures executed in Europe which draw from Mediterranean aesthetic canons (fig. 81). The saint took on radically different forms among descendants of the enslaved Africans in north-east Brazil, where Saint Anthony assumed the iconography of a warrior and acquired the name Ogum (fig. 82). In that votive context, a small figure of the saint can serve as an amulet when inserted into the body through a subcutaneous incision, a custom reminiscent of the first contacts between the Portuguese and the Congo kingdom in the 15th-16th centuries.[286] In the latter case, however, St. Anthony's figurines were not inserted under the skin, but rested against the body: the *Toni Malau* protects the owner from injury in case of illness or during maritime voyages (fig. 83).[287] In contrast to the Ogum figures, the small Congolese sculpture is not evidence of slave trade, but rather of diplomatic relations between Europe and the Congolese royalty who were granted noble titles by the Portuguese throne in the 17th century and were often educated at Iberian universities. [288]

[283] Jorge Fonseca, "Meztiza Lisbon," in *Convivencia(s) Lisboa Plural: 1147-1910*, ed. Paulo Almeida Fernandes and Ana Paula Antunes (Lisboa: Museu de Lisboa, EGEAC, E.M., 2019): 68-89.
[284] Ivan Karp, "Museums and Community: The Politics of Public Cultural Intervention," in *Museums and Identity: Cultural Policy and Collectivity*, Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine, eds., Lexis IV, MuseoPoli: Luoghi per Il Sapere; 3 (Bologna: CLUEB, 1995): 8.
[285] The selection of videos was made online, mostly on YouTube, by anthropologist Pedro Teotónio Pereira, coordinator of this museum site. Special thanks to Dr. Pereira for the two meetings and guided tours of the collection in November 2021.
[286] Fonseca, "Meztiza Lisbon:" 73.
[287] Museum of Lisbon/ EGEAC, *Testemunhos da Escravatura*, *Passado e Presente - Lisboa Capitale de Cultura Ibero-Americana* (Lisboa: Museu de Lisboa, EGEAC, E.M., 2017): 18-19.
[288] Fonseca, "Meztiza Lisbon:" 73-74.



(Clockwise) Fig. IV-80. Interactive map of the cult of St. Anthony around the world; Fig. IV-81. Statuette of St. Anthony coming from Indo-Portuguese colonies; Fig. IV-82. Image and objects related to the Anthonine cult of Brazil, with an image of Ogum; Fig. IV-83. Toni Malau, a Congolese talisman.

Parallel to the anthropological and historical complexities of the cult of Saint Anthony, the Museum suggests that local devotion underlies the transversal admiration that many Lisboans harbor for their protector. For believers, he is a thaumaturge capable of converting heretics, making newborn babies talk, mending severed feet, preaching to the fish, etc.[289] In the secular sphere, the saint is invoked to find lost objects, to change one's fortunes through lotteries, etc., or to assist single women in their search a husband (fig. 84).[290] Saint Anthony loves Lisboans,

[289] Cf. "Miracles," *St. Anthony of Padua*, consulted 2022/02/09. https://www.santantonio.org/it/miracoli.
[290] Personal communication of Pedro Teotónio Pereira with the author.





Fig. IV-84. Secular expressions of the cult of St. Anthony;
Fig. IV-85. Objects in the bookshop of the Museum of Lisbon - Santo Antonio

Lisboans love him: a commutative relationship that reinforces a general sense of belonging. This sort of local pride is easily translated into objects and souvenirs which have circulated the image of the saint together with his stories and money.[291] The Museum's bookshop, creatively taps into this custom promoting the cult of Saint Anthony and the tokens from the museum (fig. 85).

The Lisbon Museum's exhibition design demonstrates an exceptional astuteness in narrating profane themes that often prove difficult to musealize. The Casa Dos Bicos branch hosts a display of an ancient cetaria or fish processing area (Group B, fig. 86), meaning that the entire museum branch is devoted to one, rather humble archeological site that can be read as a memorable application of Umberto Eco's classic challenge to create a museum around a single work or art: "*un tragitto che mi conduca* […] *a entrare veramente 'dentro' a una sola opera*" that makes "*quella visita al museo un'esperienza memorabile*."[292] The processing plant and trading industry in the Roman port of Olisipo (present-day Lisbon) are suggested through three, small amphora fragments. The profile of each typology is graphically reproduced on the wall by means of a life-size technical drawing, in the same legible, clear, and elegant style that characterizes the written text, informative video, and an axonometric reconstruction of the same Roman complex (fig. 87).[293] The labels convey only the essentials. The artefacts are displayed in a suspended showcase, made entirely of glass, and illuminated so that the sharp

[291] As illustrated in Fig. 85, statuettes of St. Anthony are still in vogue and museum visitors can purchase monochrome pop figurines, available in various sizes and in a variety flashy colors at its branch gift shops.
[292] Umberto Eco, "Il Museo nel terzo millenio," Conferenza tenuta al Museo Guggenheim di Bilbao il 25 giugno 2001: 1. http://www.umbertoeco.it/CV/Il%20museo%20nel%20terzo%20millennio.pdf
[293] A fragment of the video and the didactic apparatus has been uploaded on the Museum's YouTube channel, with the title "Capt. III - A paisagem - Casa dos Bicos" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cxTQlWDdEC0).

edges cast shadows on the white wall, leading one's gaze towards the architectural findings. The ancient, waterproofed wall delimits 37 m^2 of vats where fish scraps were macerated to produce a condiment known as *garum* (figs. 88-89). To bridge with this ancient industrial testimony, a short passage from Strabo dedicated to Olisipo was chosen in which the geographer describes the width and depth of the Tagus River, explaining the port's efficiency and the top quality of local fish. This primary text puts the voice of an ancient authority that stimulates the dialogue between the exhibition space and the territory.

This museum branch is located in the foundations of Casa Dos Bicos, the former residence of Brás de Albuquerque, son of the Viceroy of India, a building which was mostly destroyed during the 1755 earthquake. The structure, inaugurated in 2014, has completely reinterpreted; the upper floors host the Saramago Foundation and the Museu de Lisboa was called in to enhance the recently discovered excavations. In this small museum allow visitors to experience a barrier-free, historic palimpsest, six days a week, entirely free of charge.

As mentioned earlier, the archaeological finds are modest, but the context so dignified that the setting makes for an outstanding visit that conveys a few key ideas that are relevant to one's visit to Lisbon and generally inspiring. The archaeological nucleus of Casa Dos Bicos is curated with criteria that have made the Portuguese school of interior design synonymous with excellence.[294] The place offers intellectual and sensory stimuli, creating a phenomenon described by the visual artist Paolo Rosa of Studio Azzurro:

> *Nei musei intesi come luoghi d'elaborazione, lo spettatore viene coinvolto all'interno di un insieme di opere progressive capaci di attivare la sua esperienza. Diviene un luogo che accoglie un racconto non più solo da leggere ma da vivere, dove la persona viene chiamata a un ruolo attivo, coprotagonista di un sistema che amplifica e sfrutta le sue potenzialità cognitive e sensoriali.*[295]
>
> When museums are understood as places of elaboration, a spectator is involved within a set of progressive works capable of activating his or her experience. It becomes a place that welcomes a story which is not just meant to be read but to be experienced, where the person is called into action, becoming a co-protagonist of a system that amplifies and exploits his cognitive and sensory potential. (trans. Author)

[294] The archaeological excavations date from 1981-1982 and 2010 and the museum venue was inaugurated in 2014. The museographic project was curated by P-06 Atelier, ambientas e comunicação, Lda with the participation of Nuno Gusmão and Joana Proserpio. The architectural layout was curated by Atelier Santa-Rita Arquitectos Manuel Vicente and João Santa-Rita with the collaboration of Tiago Anastâcio.
[295] Paolo Rosa, "Dai musei di collezione ai musei di narrazione," *DISEGNARECON*, December 31, 2011, 130, https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.1828-5961/2578.

In Museu de Lisboa, cognitive and sensory stimuli create a dialogue between the container and the content, but also between the visitors' experience inside the Museum and that lived in the city streets. For example, the lighting design of Casa Dos Bicos testifies to a Lisboan sensitivity to the qualities of light, a particular atmosphere created at the meeting point of the Tagus River and the Atlantic Ocean.[296] Sardines, like the ones marinated at this site 2000 years ago, are on the menus of every local restaurant and, thanks to a branding proposal launched by the city hall in the early 2000s, the fish have become cute 'mascots,' bought by visitors and locals alike: an affordable gadget that everyone can enjoy. [297]

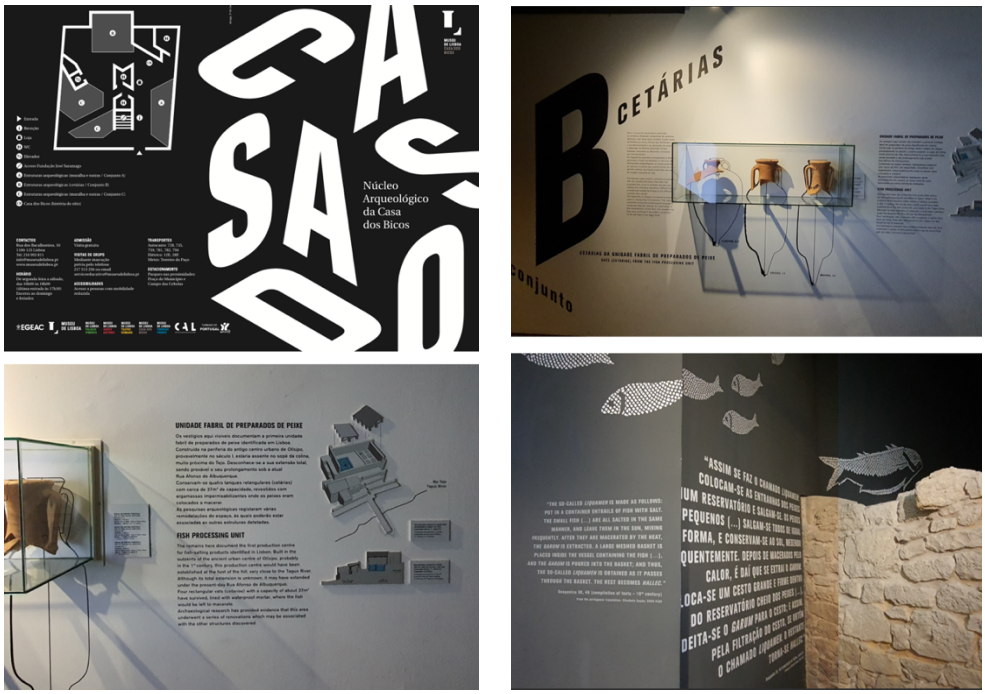


Fig. IV-86. Floorplan and logo of the Lisbon Museum - Casa Dos Bicos; Fig. IV-87. The arrangement of three amphora fragments; Fig. IV-88. Image of the musealization of the cetaria *finds; Fig. IV-89. Display of the* cetaria *archaeological site.*

In order to explore the identity and lifestyles of Lisboans, food had been the object of research at other museum branch, culminating in the recent exhibition *Hortas de Lisboa* curated by the anthropologist Daniela Araújo (figs. 90-93). Research into the history of urban gardens from the Middle Ages to the present has provided a new lens through which to interpret Lisbon society and Lisboans today, stretching beyond stereotypes branded onto the city's inhabitants.[298] Preparation for the exhibition focused on methods of fruit and vegetable

[296] *Cf.* "The Light of Lisbon's 2019 exhibition:" https://www.museudelisboa.pt/en/events/the-light-of-lisbon.
[297] Personal communication from Daniela Araújo with the writer.
[298] In addition to citizens from former Portuguese colonies, more than 170,000 migrants from Brazil, Eastern Europe, and Asia were registered in the Lisbon metropolitan area in 2015. See Joana Sousa Monteiro, Daniela Araújo, and Rui Coelho, "Thrones and Seeds - Migrant Cultures Flow in Lisbon: New Challenges, New

cultivation, practices that have been widely documented in the city since the 12th century, a tradition that continues thanks to the 9.5 hectares of public gardens (800-900 plots in total) managed by the Lisbon City Council.[299] The project covered both historical and anthropological aspects, lasted four years, and involved an interdisciplinary team of museum figures (from the management to the marketing department) who worked in collaboration with a transversal network of more than 20 partners including the City Council, the *Colher para Semear* Association, the European initiative Lisbon Green Capital 2020, the School of Agriculture of the University of Lisbon and the architecture studios Norigem and Parto Atelier.[300]

In addition to sharing workspaces, curators cultivated a vegetable garden together at a municipal allotment for over a year, thus putting their observations into practice – and to the test. Their conversations extended from the museum's offices and exhibition spaces into the city streets. As Trocchianesi recalls:

> *Abitare la città significa per de Certeau (2001) concepire lo spazio attraversato giorno per giorno come se si trattasse di utilizzare una scrittura; è un modo per sfuggire alla pianificazione e al controllo di chi l'ha disegnata mediante l'attuazione di tattiche deambulatorie "astute," e per contribuire a una incessante riformulazione della sua storia (Di Cori 2002). Questo tipo di città è anticelebrativa, minimalista, acentrica; ha piuttosto infiniti nodi, passaggi,* […][301]
>
> For de Certeau (2001), inhabiting the city means conceiving spaces traversed day in and day out as if one were using a script; it is a way of escaping the planning and control of those who designed the city by implementing "crafty," ambulatory tactics, so as to contribute to an incessant reformulation of its history (Di Cori 2002). This type of city is anti-celebratory, minimalist, acentric; instead, it has infinite nodes, passages, [...] (trans. Author)

Perspectives," in *Museums of Cities and Contested Urban Histories*, CAMOC: ICOM International Committee for Collections and Activities of Museums of Cities (Mexico: CAMOC ICOM, 2018): 87.

[299] Personal communication from Daniela Araújo to the author. We thank her for the hours we spent together both at the Museum and at the CAMOC conference in Barcelona: moments of harmony that make stays abroad a lifetime treasure.

[300] Joana Sousa Monteiro, "Cultivating Good Ideas," in Daniela Araújo and Mário Nascimento, eds., *Hortas de Lisboa. Da Idade Média ao Século XXI* (Lisboa: Museu de Lisboa, EGEAC, E.M., 2021): 12-19; *Cf.* https://upfarming.org/pt-pt/.

[301] Raffaella Trocchianesi, *Design e narrazioni per il patrimonio culturale* (Sant'Arcangelo di Romagna (RN): Maggioli Editore, 2014): 7. Con riferimento a Michel de Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien* (Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1980) e Paola Cori, "Margini della Città," *Antropologia* 2 (July 1, 2013). https://doi.org/10.14672/ada2002102%p.

Their participatory observation and practice of horticulture allowed historian Mário Nascimento and Araújo to rethink Lisbon's everyday history, substantially influencing their scientific output. In general, experiences like this one allow the curators to breathe life into concepts that all often remain too theoretical and sterile, as demonstrated by Nascimento's choice to animate some historical prints to demonstrate the urban growth by coloring spaces the horticultural toponyms (fig. 94).[302] When the curators vegetable gardened, they could unite field experience and museography, elements recognizable during part of the visit which is accompanied by birdsong and the buzzing of bees. These kinds of stimuli engage visitors through multiple senses and give substance to otherwise compartmentalized information.



(Clockwise) Fig. IV-90. Rendering of the exhibition Hortas de Lisboa*; Fig. IV-91 e IV-92. Details of the exhibition brochure; Fig. IV-93. Graphic with the logo of the same exhibition.*

[302] Mário Nascimento, "The Presence of Vegetable Gardens in Lisbon Toponymics," in Daniela Araújo and Mário Nascimento, eds., *Hortas de Lisboa. Da Idade Média ao Século XXI* (Lisboa: Museu de Lisboa, EGEAC, E.M., 2021): 26-34.







Fig. IV-94. Map of the Lisbon vegetable gardens of the 12th century; Fig. IV-95. 17th-century azulejo depicting the sale of fruit; Fig. IV-96 Women in costume in the historical procession of 1947.

Vegetables and their cultivation are historically linked to lower classes diets in Lisbon, as testified by an 18th century *azulejo* that depicts a market scene in which a wealthy man buys fruits, not vegetables, from peasant women. Royal recipes confirm such reports like the Infanta Maria of Portugal's 16th-century recipe book (fig. 95).[303] Furthermore, the exhibition and its research methods enable the museum to tell a counter-narrative of local food production in respects to romanticized 20th century 'reenactments' whose postcards are often mistaken as documentary photographs of the times 'of yore' (fig. 96).

By tackling a living topic that spans the past and the present, the exhibit *Hortas de Lisboa* became a vehicle for citizen participation and a link between new museum practices and local politics. The exhibition's unusual subject matter successfully attracted the attention of new audiences like gardeners and families who are not regular museum-goers. In the show's preparatory phase ethnographic research involved dozens of passionate gardeners; this process led to a detailed study involving the quality and methods of cultivation and other data (and even seeds!) deposited with the municipality of Lisbon in order to stimulate good practices and inform the public local land management (Figs 97-100).[304] The exhibition featured the voices of gardeners, their stories, their recipes and their interest in cultivating the land, giving space individual personalities and the uniqueness of each person (fig. 101).[305]

[303] Nascimento, "The Presence of Vegetable Gardens:" 30-31.

[304] The debate is represented by a rich plurality of voices, reported in the exhibition catalogue. Some authors, including Rita Folgosa, report a centralized vision of the management of municipal gardens, while others, such as Isabel Rodrigo, argue for the importance of a development that originates locally and from the grassroots, in order to foster greater food autonomy. Cf.
Rita Folgosa, "Municipal Horticultural Parks," and Isabel Rodrigo, "Some Thoughts on Urban Produce Gardens in Europe" in Daniela Araújo and Mário Nascimento, eds., *Hortas de Lisboa. Da Idade Média ao Século XXI* (Lisboa: Museu de Lisboa, EGEAC, E.M., 2021): 115-119; 136-139.

[305] At the entrance to this part of the exhibition, the sound experience that accompanies the cultivation of the garden is evoked, such as birdsong and the buzzing of bees.

In addition to its scientific and social impact, Palácio Pimenta's exhibition succeeded in exposing future possibilities that are already being tested in similar contexts on a global scale. For example, Sky Green's vertical vegetable garden was imported for the exhibition to showcase modes of fruit and vegetable production currently in use in Singapore, a nation facing very high population density and a dramatic lack of food autonomy (fig. 99). In the park surrounding Palácio Pimenta, a group of employees decided to start a compost system under the guidance of permaculturists from the Facoltà di Agraria di Lisbona, a partner in the exhibition to manage waste produced by both park management and in-house food consumption (fig. 100).[306] Local urban planners also entered into the dialectic; Atelier Prato reflected on architects' potential roles in Lisbon's ecological transformation, creating plans for eight structures with vertical urban farms at existing spaces which are particularly suitable for growing food (fig. 102).

Overall, *Hortas de Lisboa* has shown that in Lisbon's city museum is interested in producing knowledge about local history while taking to heart questions concerning the city's socio-economic well-being. The show promoted diversity and social cohesion; strengthened partnerships between gardeners, farmers, consumers, and researchers; disseminated information about the importance of short supply chains in food production; and brought visibility to certain associations, allowing them to become economically autonomous.[307] The project's process made the city museum into a hub for partners and stakeholders co-creating activities and materials of considerable scientific, social, political and creative value.

[306] The Lisbon Museum is the first museum in Portugal to dispose of some of its organic waste with its own composting system. Personal communication from Joana Sousa Monteiro to the author.
[307] Conclusions of Joana Sousa Monteiro shared in her talk "Lisbon Vegetable Gardens" at the CAMOC meeting in Barcelona, 2021/12/03.



(Clockwise) Fig. IV-97. Exhibition curator Daniela Araújo explains the methods by which she collected evidence from Lisbon's horticulturists; Fig. IV-98. A study of seeds identified during preparatory research for the exhibition; Fig. IV-99. Representatives of Sky Green explain the way the vertical vegetable garden is being used in Singapore; Fig. IV-100. The compost system created in the Palaço Pimenta park that is made by Museum staff through waste; Fig. IV-101. A maquette of the urban gardens created by Atelier Prato for the exhibition; Fig. IV-102. The installation of the filmed testimonies and some objects belonging to the interviewed horticulturists.

4.2.4. Creating a "citizenship museum." Barcelona's systemic vision

The 2021 CAMOC meeting was hosted by the Barcelona Museum of History (Museu d'Història de Barcelona or MUHBA), inaugurated in 1943 early in Franco's regime.[308] The collection amounts to 32,500 objects preserved at *El centre de col·leccions*, a warehouse dedicated to the study, restoration, cataloguing, conservation and storage for archaeological finds from urban excavations.[309] The archaeological collection, which grows by about 3,000 objects a year, is substantial and includes material from the Neolithic, Protohistoric, Roman, Late Antique and Medieval periods.[310] The modern and contemporary departments bring

[308] MUHBA, "80 years of history: towards the citizenship museum," Museu Historia de Barcelona, consulted 2022/02/11, https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/80-years-history-towards-citizenship-museum.
[309] We thank Emili Revilla Cubero, head of the archaeological collection at the Col-leccions Center, for the visit to the repository on 2021/12/14 and for her comprehensive introduction to the management systems, including information technology, of the MUHBA collections.
[310] "Les Col-leccions del MUHBA," Museu Historia de Barcelona, accessed 2022/03/18, https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/ca/colleccions-fons-i-arxiu/colleccions/les-colleccions-del-muhba.

together heterogeneous objects from the municipal collection: domestic items (including decorative majolica, furniture, textiles, numismatics, photo albums, household machines), liturgical furnishings (including altarpieces, censors, lamps), paintings and commemorative sculptures from municipal properties, fragments of sculptures dating from urban gutting, signage and industrial machinery. In addition to movable assets, the MUHBA coordinates the conservation and enhancement of certain municipal assets of a monumental, as well as an "informal" nature [311] such as the Plaça del Rei complex (which includes the Casa Padellàs, the Saló del Tinell the Chapel of Santa Àgata and its archaeological area), the guardhouse of the Güell Park, the Refuge 307, the archaeological site of Santa Caterina, MUHBA El Call, the Domus de Sant Honorat, Turó de la Rovira and the Casa de l'Aigua.[312]

The MUHBA today defines itself as "a heritage center of urban knowledge and citizen-building" (fig. 103).[313] At the opening of the CAMOC conference in December 2021, the director of MUHBA Joan Roca i Albert shared reflections on the importance of narrating a city, he argues that as long as its history remains unknown, a city is not able to present itself neither to its inhabitants nor to its visitors. Merely deconstructing anachronistic narratives is not enough, as this depletes the city of meaning and leaves a void in the collective imagination.[314] City museums positioned to use their collections and research as tools at the service of civil society. They have an intrinsic vocation for constructing narratives from fragmentary data, which can facilitate access to their collections on behalf of heterogeneous audience and stimulate participation.[315] According to Roca i Albert, they are laboratories of democracy and, for this reason, the MUHBA declares that it wants to evolve not as a city museum, but as a museum of citizenship.[316]

[311] Shruthi Ramesh, Bhagyasshree Ramakrishna and Shriya Dhir, "Curating Informalities: Syncretism of Social Innovation in the City," CAMOC 2021 Barcelona, MUHBA, December 1, 2021.
[312] MUHBA, "80 years of history: towards the citizenship museum."
[313] Joan Roca i Albert, "Innovating in Times of Pandemic: Decalogue for a Citizens' Museum," *MUHBA Butlletí*, no. 36 (December 2020): 2.
[314] Dr. Roca i Albert has a background as an urban geographer and worked as a geography and economics teacher in a local high school for over 10 years before becoming MUHBA director. The way he coordinates 'Equip MUHBA' is strongly connected to his vocation for dissemination and quality education.
[315] Joan Roca i Albert, "Opening speech," CAMOC 2021 Barcelona, MUHBA, 2021/12/01.
[316] Joan Roca i Albert, "A Decalogue proposal for city museums in a time of pandemic," ICOM-CAMOC *Museums of Cities in the Time of Pandemic* (online meeting), 2020/10/27 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D8l3wSdBmqw); MUHBA, "80 years of history: towards the citizenship museum."

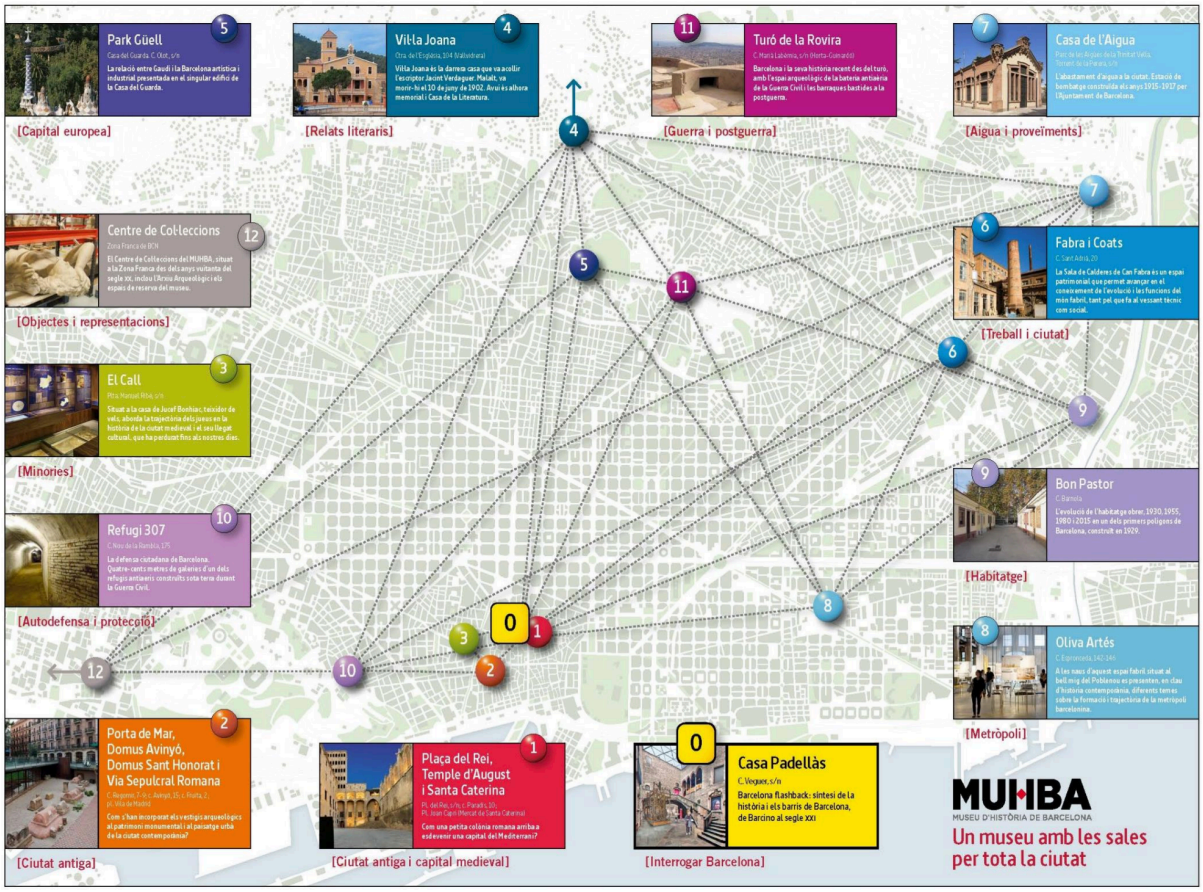


Fig. IV-103. Map of MUHBA's polycentric museum system (Source: Roca i Albert, Joan. MUHBA, City History Museum of Barcelona, Summary of the museum's new strategic plan. Barcelona: MUHBA, 2008).

The institution used the pandemic-related closures in 2020-2021 as an opportunity to reorganize its web portal, a fact that triggered a complete restructuring of Barcelona's museum system.[317] The idea started from the premise that the actual museum is the city itself and MUHBA's actual purpose was to narrate the city's 2000-year transformation from *Barcino Auguste* to BCN.[318] Hence, this city museum sees itself as the custodian of 55 'rooms' dispersed across seventeen distinct museum branches, but linked by a network that connects the center and periphery (figs. 104-105, 109). Each room presents its contents chronologically and thematically, mirroring the museum's presentation of its digital content:

> The configuration of the Barcelona History Museum as a polycentric network museum, with the rooms distributed throughout the city, allows for weaving cross-sectional views between heritage spaces and diverse

[317] The discussion on the virtual and conceptual restructuring of MUBHA is mainly based on the formal and informal interventions of Elena Perez Rubiales, researcher at UAB and curator at MuBHA, given on 2021/12/01 at the CAMOC 2021 Barcelona meeting.
We thank Joan Roca i Albert, Teresa Macià i Bigorra, Emili Revilla Cubero and Joaquin Brugada Perich for the meetings, guided tours, permissions and for the warm welcome at MUHBA in December 2021.
[318] The Museum mentions BCN, the IATA code for Josep Tarradellas Barcelona-El Prat International Airport, also as a reference to the mass tourism that has affected Barcelona in recent decades.

> territories to establish conceptual relationships with a multiscale vision of the city.
> A model of a sustainable polycentric museum does not equate to a set of autonomous micromuseums but, on the contrary, to a set of interconnected and conceptually complementary spaces, capable of generating a cohesive, transversal and plural narrative of the city's history. [319]

The Museum's website provides seven 'doors' or 'gateways' through which to enter MUHBA's fifty-five rooms;[320] the effective metaphor of a 'door' suggests a plurality of disciplinary, thematic and logistical approaches, including heritage,[321] activities,[322] the Museum's knowledge,[323] research and education,[324] the history of Barcelona,[325] geography and cartography,[326] and museum-based education (the 'school museum').[327] These 'doors' act as virtual hubs that follow a digital logic, allowing users to customize connections – as if to create 'open links' – and personalized paths of knowledge – much like 'threads' – within a multidimensional, coherent, and open network. Each museum branch, however, retains its own internal order without imposing a reading scheme on the user.[328]

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[319] Elena Perez Rubiales, "Museum narratives. The city in 55 rooms" (Abstract), CAMOC 2021 Barcelona, MuHBA, 2021/12/01.
[320] Mònica Blasco and Edgar Straehle, "The Seven Doors of MUHBA. From Website to Knowledge Hub," *Muhba Butlletí*, no. 36 (December 2020): 17.
[321] "Heritage spaces, collected objects and archaeological and documentary archives of the museum, to delve into the history and heritage of the metropolis of Barcelona and its neighborhoods." See MUHBA, "Heritages," Museu Historia de Barcelona, consulted 2022/02/11, https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/heritages.
[322] "The museum's activities are organised according to presentation formats: exhibitions, publications, visits, itineraries, urban history and heritage dialogues, conferences, congresses and seminars..." *Cf.* MUHBA, "Formats," Museu Historia de Barcelona, consulted 2022/02/11, https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/formats.
[323] "MUHBA media library-archive, with the record of research and activities in all formats and with the digital version of written, audiovisual, sound, visual and other documents generated by this activity." *Cf.* MUHBA, "The Museum's Knowledge," Museu Historia de Barcelona, consulted 2022/02/11, https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/museums-knowledge.
[324] "Research and education in urban history and heritage on the strategic issues of Barcelona's trajectory, as a result of the confluence between the Museum, universities, study centers and interested citizenship that drives the MUHBA at local and international level." See "Research and Education," Museu Historia de Barcelona, consulted 2022/02/11, https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/research-and-education.
[325] "A selection of materials from the MUHBA from which to weave an open and questioning history of Barcelona, in six periods and from different perspectives." See "The Ages of Barcelona," Museu Historia de Barcelona, consulted 2022/02/11, https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/ages-barcelona.
[326] "Geographies that bring together from the perspective of urban cartography the most diverse phenomena of Barcelona's trajectory over the centuries, until recent times." See MUHBA, "Geographies and Cartographies," Museu Historia de Barcelona, consulted 2022/02/11, https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/geographies-and-cartographies.
[327] "Learning to read and interpret the city, building knowledge about the history and heritage of Barcelona. The museum goes to the schools and the schools to the museum." See "School Museum," Museu Historia de Barcelona, consulted 2022/02/11, https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/school-museum.
[328] For more information on the characteristics of open linked data, see Europeana, "Linked Open Data - What Is It?," 2012, https://vimeo.com/36752317.

The aim of this subsection is to describe how MUHBA's radical vision was applied two different circumstances: at the temporary exhibition entitled *Barcelona Flashback* in MUHBA's headquarters and at a guided urban tour devoted to industrial archaeology and organized at the *Casa de l'Aigua* (Water House) in Trinitat Nova, a lower-class neighborhood in the city's northwest side (figs. 107-108).[329]



(Clockwise) Fig. IV-104. e IV-105. Maps of MUHBA museum locations (source: https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en); Fig. IV-106. Barcelona Flashback exhibition graphics (source: https://view.genial.ly/5d932eec695a260f8409091d/presentation-barcelona-flashback); Fig. IV-107. e IV-108. Exterior and interior of the Casa de l'Aigua; Fig. IV-109. Chart showing the themes of the 55 rooms of the MUHBA (source: https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/heritages/muhba-site).

[329] The MUHBA's meritorious efforts to promote the Catalan language as a vehicle of knowledge for local history and culture are not addressed here.

Plaça de Rei - Casa Padellàs complex, forms the founding nucleus of MUHBA's museum system.[330] From October 2019 to December 2021,[331] the venue hosted *Barcelona Flashback. Kit d'història en 100 objectes*,[332] a temporary exhibition and seed project from which the museum plans to develop its future permanent exhibition (fig. 106).[333] The show's itinerary posed three questions: "Where do we come from, who are we, and where are we going?"[334] These questions were answered through a virtual and material dialogue based on objects, documents and images that tell Barcelona's many stories.

The exhibition did not impose a pre-established narrative.[335] At the entrance, the public was greeted by the sound of a heartbeat – Barcelona's heartbeat – and found themselves in front of a mirror – similar to the MK's *#jestemkraków* strategy – in which visitors' reflections get shuffled into projections of historical photographs of Barcelonians.[336] Curators organized according to a semantic decision which privileged actions over people, events or places. Given that stories developed via actions, Barcelona's history was presented through a series of verbs related to urban life: "feed," "work," "fight," "live," "learn," etc. [337]

The route was divided into five rooms, organized themeatically: (1) *Escoltar TESTIMONIS* ("Listening to TESTIMONIES"), (2) *Construir RELATS* ("Constructing STORIES"), (3) *Recórrer BARCELONES ("*Crossing BARCELONAS"), (4) *Connectant CIUTATS*

[330] The history of the complex bears witness to the urban development of Barcelona since Roman times, which is documented by the archaeological site that emerged in the basement of the complex. The site, in particular, was discovered in the early twentieth century, at a time when Casa Padellàs was first demolished and then rebuilt in the position in which it can still be seen today.
[331] Between 2019/10/10 and 2019/12/31, the exhibit was viewed by 9,696 visitors. See "Memòria de l'any 2019. Museu d'Història De Barcelona," http://www.bcn.cat/museuhistoriaciutat/docs/MEMORIAMUHBA2019.pdf. The 2020-2021 statistics are heavily influenced by the closures imposed by the pandemic and remain difficult to interpret.
[332] Barcelona City Council, "'Barcelona Flashback': An Exhibition for Discovering the History of the City through a Hundred Objects | Info Barcelona | Barcelona City Council," accessed 2022/02/11, https://www.barcelona.cat/infobarcelona/en/tema/culture-and-leisure/barcelona-flashback-an-exhibition-for-discovering-the-history-of-the-city-through-a-hundred-objects_864624.html.
[333] Communicated by Joan Albert i Roca during a guided tour of the exhibition on December 2, 2021.
[334] José Ángel Montañés, "Barcelona s'explica en 100 objectes," *El País*, 2019/10/11, https://cat.elpais.com/cat/2019/10/10/cultura/1570735383_988550.html.
[335] The exhibition is designed to be visited in 60 minutes ("Barcelona in an hour"), a strategy based on the public's estimated ability to concentrate.
[336] The mirror plays the same role here as in Kraków's *#jestemkraków* initiative, described in the earlier sub-section on the Kraków Museum.
[337] This choice was made explicit by Joan Albert i Roca during a guided tour of the exhibition on 2021/12/02 with CAMOC members. One finds a similar strategy adopted in the video "Here is MUHBA (English Version)" (MUHBA, 2021). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uKSD1m7uiCU

("Connecting CITIES"), (5), *Llegir PATRIMONIS* ("Reading PATRIMONES"). The nouns appear in their plural forms while the exposed objects literally 'spoke,' asking questions and making comments placed in thought bubbles that recalled comic strips: this way the questions assumed greater importance than the straight facts told in the captions and more traditional panels (fig. 111-112).



Fig. IV-110. Presentation of the themes addressed in the Barcelona Flashback exhibition (Source: https://view.genial.ly/5d932eec695a260f8409091d/presentation-barcelona-flashback); (bottom right) Fig. IV-111. Joan Roca i Albert, MUBHA's director, explains the exhibition's communication strategies.

The displayed information made it possible to enjoy the exhibition independently (in Catalan or English), to easily contextualize the collection in different historical moments and to reflect on the themes the objects raised. The show's atmosphere was informal, despite the impeccable research on which the exhibition was developed. Historiographical elements were often introduced, in the spirit promoted by the anthropologist Igor Kopytoff, who launched the idea of giving objects "biographical" interpretations:[338]

> In doing the biography of a thing, one would ask questions similar to those one asks about people: What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its "status" and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who

[338] A similar strategy was adopted in the Warsaw City Museum. *Cf.* Jarosław Trybuś, ed., *The Things of Warsaw* (Warsaw: Museum of Warsaw, 2017).

> made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized "ages" or periods in the thing's life, and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens it when reaches the end of its usefulness?[339]

The most striking example of the "biography of the thing" was the way in which the exhibition presented the so-called *Venus of Barcelona*. It was the first work displayed in the exhibit's first room with the theme 'listening to TESTIMONIES.' The bronze statuette was surrounded by three commentaries written in the first person (fig. 111), including the story of the Morales-Velasco family (immigrants from Andalusia) who found the statuette in their vegetable garden on the outskirts of the city. Another comment conveyed the statue's own sense of pride when which, in 1955, the museum celebrated the statuette as a symbol of Augustan glory. One could almost hear the statue's voice sink in the third comments recounting its own 'disgrace' when connoisseurs determined the piece's modern chronology. The viewer thus found herself reading each piece as a primary source and constructing her own interpretation of it and of the city's history: an exercise easily applied to all the other ninety-nine objects on display.



Fig. IV-112. The room dedicated to the theme Escoltar TESTIMONIS ("Listening to TESTIMONIANS") with the Venus of Barcelona visible on the left and the translation insert (in yellow).

[339] Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986): 66-67, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511819582.004.

The room titled "crossing BARCELONAS" devoted to metropolitan geographies, presented demographic statistics about urban development while cross-referencing the human, geographic, and architectural impact. Graphic charts and maps were displayed next to painted landscapes and contemporary photographs. The analytical tools in this *Kit d'història* formed a critical toolbox (fig. 112). Here, as at the Podgórze Museum (Kraków) and in *Hortas de Lisboa* (Lisbon), the museum reproduced a map of the city that stretched across the room's entire width. This cartographic solution provoked a seemingly universal reaction, whereby visitors began searching for familiar places underfoot and then began to compare their results with others. This spontaneous game reinforced geographical awareness while encouraging playful interactions between visitors (figs. 113-115).



(clockwise from top to bottom) Fig. IV-113. Joan Roca i Albert leads CAMOC members into the Recórrer BARCELONES room ("Crossing BARCELONAS"); Fig. IV-114. Detail of the satellite map reproduced on the floor of the hall; Fig. IV-115. Figure 1. Documentary photographs displayed among paintings and technical graphs dedicated to urban geography.

As a whole, the museum embraces a core Gramscian idea reiterated at the CAMOC conference, namely that a city is created by the actions of its citizens: "*in essa la catena sociale non pesa su pochi, in essa ogni cosa che succede non è dovuta al caso, alla fatalità, ma è intelligente*

opera dei cittadini."[340] By making its exhibition design accessible, MUHBA successfully engages citizens in discussions about the city of yesterday and today, in the quest for sustainable social and urban solutions for tomorrow.[341]

A museum capable of applying a systematic vision succeeds in creating links between the micro and the macro. For example, in *Barcelona Flashback*, an 'Indian'-style block-print cotton shawl testifies to social history – and not that of elite circles – in the 18th century when Barcelona's industry flourished, attracting new residents to populate the required workforce (fig. 116). As confirmed by similar studies of the French textile industry, "Printing textiles is really a form of applied chemistry and in the second half of the 18th and the first decades of the 19th century, French scientists and craftsmen co-operated and worked closely together to the benefit of this very lucrative industry."[342] This is but one example of ways in which MUHBA employs material culture to narrate connections between fashion, science, economics, industry, town planning, and demographics, themes regularly correlated with current topics such as immigration.

MUHBA's museum system is also the result of an active commitment to protect and enhance Barcelona's industrial archaeology. For over twenty years, the museum fought for the regulation of land speculation, raising public awareness – together with local government officials – about ways this heritage testifies to the development of the city's peripherical neighborhoods, the history of local migrants in search of work, and the effects of transferring manufacturing processes overseas.[343] These aspects are made evident in one of the urban trekking itineraries which starts in the city's 22nd district, an urban area studded with ex-factories and trendy new projects. This visits ends at Nau Oliva Artés, a former arms factory MUHBA converted into a museum branch dedicated to the history of local industrialization

[340] The journal was the only critical text cited in the talk "Why is it important to discuss a city from a geopolitical perspective?" by Oriol Nellio, professor of Geography at the Autonomous University of Barcelona and MUHBA research partner, at the CAMOC Barcelona 2021 conference. *Cf.* Antonio Gramsci, "La Città Futura," Archivio Gramsci, 1917, https://www.marxists.org/italiano/gramsci/17/cittafutura.htm#i.

[341] Equip MUHBA, "Museu de la ciutat, mirall i portal de Barcelona Línies estratègiques," 2019: 5. http://www.bcn.cat/museuhistoriaciutat/docs/LiniesEstrategiques2019.pdf

[342] Hanna Elisabeth Helvig Martinsen, "The History of Printing Cotton in France in the Second Half of the Eighteenth and First Decades of the Nineteenth Century" (Toronto, University of Toronto, 2015): iii. https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/82430/1/Martinsen_Hanna_2015_PhD_thesis.pdf.

[343] The Museum acts as a cultural intermediary, with the dual purpose of educating local citizens on the right to housing while also acting as an intermediary between the municipality and real estate investors. It is also active in projects to convert certain former industrial complexes centers dedicated to higher education and the arts. Communication by Joan Roca i Albert during the *urban trekking* with the CAMOC committee.

(fig. 117).[344] This decision illustrates how MUHBA sees itself as "*un laboratori ciutadà que integra les perifèries al cor del coneixement, incentivant la recerca, les col·leccions i la programació pública*," a vision testified through its branches at Casa de l'Aigua de la Trinitat, Fàbrica Fabra i Coats, Cases del Bon Pastor, and Nau Oliva Artés.[345] As a whole, the museum questions the conventional urban icons, giving due importance to sites of 'lesser' cultural interest, which are, nevertheless, urban spaces that form part of the daily lives of the majority of Barcelona's residents.



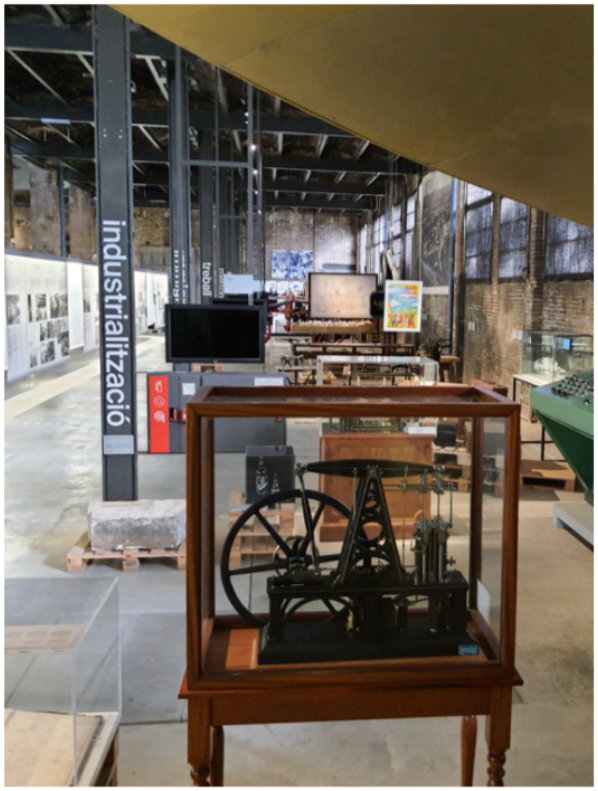


Fig. IV-116. The display of a 1798 cotton shawl from the Barcelona Flashback *exhibition;*
Fig. IV-117. The display of some machinery in the museum branch installed at the former Nau Oliva Artés factory, with explanations dedicated to the history of Barcelona's industrialization.

MUHBA actively cultivates a dialectic between center and periphery through radically polycentric enhancement strategies, like that seen at Trinitat, a neighborhood often associated with immigration and poverty.[346] Since 2015, the museum has been working towards "*La consolidació de la Casa de l'Aigua com a conjunt patrimonial de primer ordre per explicar la*

[344] The walk was an integral part of the CAMOC meeting that was hosted in the Barrio Gotico for two days; the meeting ended however in the venue dedicated to industrial history with a contemporary dance performance inspired by the gestures and body language of factory employees.
[345] Equip MUHBA, "Museu de la ciutat, mirall i portal de Barcelona Línies estratègiques," 2019: 12. http://www.bcn.cat/museuhistoriaciutat/docs/LiniesEstrategiques2019.pdf
[346] Joan Roca i Albert, "At the Crossroads of Cultural and Urban Policies. Rethinking the City and the City Museum," in *The Future of City Museums. Book of Proceedings* (Frankfurt: CAMOC. Museums of Cities Review, 2019): 19.

història del medi ambient a Barcelona i la noció de sostenibilitat històrica, a partir del proveïment d'aigua a la ciutat" (figg. 118-119).[347] During the museum tour, one can walk through the city's 1915-1917 waterworks, the tunnel of an aqueduct and other structures, to arrive at the main cistern. The visit concludes at a permanent exhibition dedicated to the *Clima i aigua des de Barcino* which describes the climate of the ancient city and solutions adapted to meet local demands for water distribution (fig. 120).[348] The introductory tour appears simple but is based on a systematic study of the city's entire water network. Hence, technical publications are made available free of charge on MUHBA's website or is available for a modest price at the museum's on-site bookshop (figs. 121-122). Aimed at a multifaceted dissemination, the Casa de l'Aigua cultivates relationships with local administrators and students,[349] using its facilities as a cultural space for art classes and workshops. Activities like this provide creative contexts in which promote social cohesion and create space for conversations about public resource management and ecological sustainability.[350]



Fig. IV-118. e IV-119. Historical structures of Barcelona's water distribution network; Fig. IV-120. the aqueduct of the Trinitat; Fig. IV-121. Temporary exhibition at the Casa de l'Aigua entitled Clima i aigua des de Barcino (http://www.bcn.cat/museuhistoriaciutat/docs/Casaaiguaa.pdf)

Overall, MUHBA is committed "to fight the fight for history is especially important at a time in which revisionism is making great efforts to blur political and social responsibilities."[351] It promotes independent thought and curates a plurality of testimonies by providing visitors with tools they can use to construct their own understanding of the past and to face an increasingly

[347] Equip MUHBA, "Linies Generals Programacio MUHBA 2019-2023," 2019: 6. http://www.bcn.cat/museuhistoriaciutat/docs/LiniesGeneralsProgramacioMUHBA2019-2023.pdf
[348] For tourists, Trinidad Nova is recognizable as the *terminus* of the L3 and L11 metro lines; on the contrary, for many Barcelonians the neighborhood is not associated with cultural events, like the walk organized by MUHBA on 11 December, but more often with negative aspects of city life like maladjusted immigrants and drug dealing.
[349] Roca i Albert, "At the Crossroads of Cultural and Urban Policies:" 21-22.
[350] Equip MUHBA, "Museu de la ciutat, mirall i portal de Barcelona Línies estratègiques," 2019: 4. http://www.bcn.cat/museuhistoriaciutat/docs/LiniesEstrategiques2019.pdf
[351] Joan Roca i Albert, "At the Crossroads:" 16.

uncertain present and future. The institution takes action on various fronts, preserving and making known Barcelona's multiple histories and helping citizens to translate ideas and information into civic engagement.



Fig. IV-122. Scientific material related to the water network of Barcelona, on sale at the bookshop and downloadable free of charge through the website : https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/sites/default/files/guiaaiguabcn.478_0.pdf .

V. AN OPEN CONCLUSION. PREMISES FOR A CITY MUSEUM AT ORTE

> *Ma la città non dice il suo passato, lo contiene come le linee di una mano, scritto negli spigoli delle vie, nelle griglie delle finestre, negli scorrimano delle scale, nelle antenne dei parafulmini, nelle aste delle bandiere, ogni segmento rigato a sua volta di graffi, seghettature, intagli, svirgole.*
>
> \- Italo Calvino, *Le città invisibili* [1]

> But the city does not tell its past, it contains it like the lines of a hand, it is written in street corners, window grills, the handrails of staircases, lightning rod antennas, flagpoles, each segment is in turn scored with scratches, saw marks, etchings, fumbles. (trans. Author)

5. Premises for a city museum at Orte

Avant-garde realities in Europe, like the Museums of Kraków, Leiria, Lisbon and Barcelona, show how city museums can act as models for uniting a multitude of activities aimed at safeguarding and enhancing local heritage. One of the main goals of this type of museum is to reverse a dominant trend in which visitors find it increasingly difficult to identify with museum institutions.[2] It is possible to bridge these two worlds by aligning traditional functions – collecting, preserving, exhibiting and communicating – with important social values like accessibility, inclusion, participation, economic and ecological sustainability.[3] In addition, this articulated and open form of museum management is well-suited for creating networks among different territorial institutions and bringing the public closer to its heritage. More than other models, city museums are capable of addressing younger audiences, promoting new forms of learning and stimulating the co-creation of story about the past. Ideally, city museums stay rooted in the present while orienting themselves towards the future. Their exhibition spaces, curatorial content, working methods and communication styles are designed to provide visitors and citizens with critical tools that enable them to arrive at their own interpretation of the collections, stimulating a direct experience with multiform historical, contemporary, and territorial testimonies.

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[1] Italo Calvino, *Le città invisibili* (Milan: Mondadori, 2014): 11.

[2] A recent ICOM webinar grappled with audience's difficulty in recognizing themselves in museum content. *Cf.* "Educare al patrimonio culturale," hosted by ICOM Italia on 2022/04/21.

[3] Committee for Museum Definition, Prospects and Potentials, "The Museum: Report on the ICOM Member Feedback for a new museum definition Independent analysis & report elaborated for the ICOM Define Committee" (2021/06/22). https://www.icom-italia.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/ICOM-Define-Consultation-2-Results-Report-enVF.pdf.

The creation of such a museum can only take place through participatory processes that involve interdisciplinary experts, as well as representatives of institutions and of various interest groups (local and non-local citizens, schools, associations, confraternities, etc.). Hence, this chapter elaborates a series of proposals which serve as premises for new safeguarding strategies for Orte's local heritage, in the plurality of its forms, as preliminary contribution to the elaborate process of actual museum design. Although this research remains open, here we lay foundations for a museum that aspires to be a citizenship museum, guided by CAMOC's working definition, which sees the city museum as a contributor "to urban social and cultural development by engaging with different communities, connecting people and places, and fostering knowledge and awareness about their city's pasts, presents and futures."[4] The reflection elaborated in the following pages can read as an aporeme due to the exclusion local groups, students and other actors on the city scene, especially when speaking about a museum model that is inherently participatory. The pandemic thwarted all attempts made in this direction, but the research continued so as to prepare for a season of well-informed dialogues with heterogenous institutional and civil stakeholders.[5] These conversations are waiting to happen with the imperative of creating a collaborative team with assorted skills spanning the fields of art history, archaeology, archival sciences, anthropology, architecture, linguistics, humanistic informatics, communication, and project management.

[4] CAMOC, "The City Museums Global Mapping Project," consulted 2021/12/03, https://city-museums-global-mapping.formstack.com/forms/the_city_museums_global_mapping_project.

[5] The present work aspires to make a valid contribution to Orte's local administration, with particular reference to articles 11 and 12 of Orte's Municipal Statute. These are dedicated, respectively, to the Protection of the natural-historical-artistic and cultural heritage and to the Protection and Enhancement of the Municipal territory"
Art. 11 Tutela del patrimonio naturale-storico- artistico e culturale: 1. Il Comune definisce con le altre istituzioni e associazioni locali l'adozione di misure idonee a conservare e difendere l'ambiente per eliminare le cause di inquinamento atmosferico, acustico, idrico. 2. Promuove ed opera in collaborazione con enti di ricerca ed istituzioni, culturali, locali, nazionali ed internazionali, lo sviluppo la salvaguardia e la fruizione del patrimonio culturale, etnico, linguistico, storico, artistico ed archeologico. 3. Favorisce i collegamenti con comunità di emigrati residenti all'estero. 4. L'Amministrazione, al fine di conseguire obiettivi generali di politica socio-culturale, ha facoltà di assegnare, di volta in volta e ove se ne presenti l'esigenza, ad un soggetto associativo il ruolo di essere punto di riferimento, di coordinamento e di integrazione delle attività delle altre forme associative. Tale scelta è motivata anche dall'esigenza di realizzare una più razionale ed ottimale utilizzazione delle risorse economiche che il Comune annualmente mette a disposizione dei soggetti associativi interessati; Art. 12 Tutela e valorizzazione del territorio Comunale: 1. Il Comune garantisce la partecipazione dei cittadini ai procedimenti di pianificazione territoriale. 2. Favorisce la valorizzazione ed il recupero del centro storico come patrimonio irrinunciabile del territorio Comunale e polo privilegiato dell'attività culturale e sociale cittadina. *Cf.* Comune di Orte, "Statuto Comunale," 2010/03/08, http://www.comune.orte.vt.it/Portals/1231/SiscomArchivio/Statuto/statuto.pdf.

At the time of writing, the proposed ideas may seem futuristic and even uncomfortable for local authorities and administrators in that they represent a rift from enhancement models applied in the territory throughout the last century. To restore dignity to a place which has historically been considered subordinate, these suggestions hypothesize a considerable displacement of cultural assets, so as to amplify the plurality of their voices and to promote new protagonists in Orte's narrative. Hence, this proposal puts forth the idea of a multi-branched museum network to stimulate a vision of local heritage in its entirety and "in all its messiness."[6] This chapter outlines a plan to get closer to the sensibility of today's audiences and to break down prejudices that separate scholars from pop culture, mashing up conventional boundaries between 'highbrow' and 'lowbrow' cultures. The following chapter presents a selection of places and objects coming mainly from the diocesan and municipal collections, along with exhibition strategies aligned with salient criteria established during the present research. The proposal is based primarily on an integrated and anti-monumental vision suggested by Pier Paolo Pasolini in the film-essay *La forma della città* (1974). Therefore, it aims at recognizing how urban landscapes shape local identity alongside the artistic, archival, and archaeological heritage of a place. At the same time, however, these reflections want to address the multi-layered identity crises that characterize our age. Looking at museological and museographic strategies experimented in other cities, the aim here is to strengthen links between assets and territory, and to give voice to historical figures that emerged over the course of this research, like that of Lando Leoncini and other voices from the 20th century. The places chosen to tell these stories constitute the possible *foci* of Orte's future city museum and include the railway station, Palazzo Nuzzi / Palazzo del Comune, the former church of San Silvestro and the Palazzo Vescovile. This study's conclusion necessarily remains open, awaiting the future participation of more people to make this city museum a reality (fig. 1). Aware that continuous change is physiological to every city, all this work will require periodical reinterpretation and consequent adaptations: oscillations that a living museum implies to keep its narratives relevant and up-to-date.

[6] John Pendlebury, Michael Short and Aidan While, "Urban World Heritage Sites and the Problem of Authenticity (2009)," in *Managing Change: Sustainable Approaches to the Conservation of the Built Environment*, ed. Jeff Cody and Francesco Siravo (Getty Conservation Institute, 2019): 423.



Fig. V-1. Satellite image of the Municipality of Orte (source: Google Earth)

5.1 Possible 'doorways' to the city museum

On 3 October 2018, the Municipality of Orte and Tuscia University signed the "*Convenzione per Attività di collaborazione scientifica*," on the basis of a scientific collaboration agreement deliberated by the Municipal Council on 20 December 2016. The Municipality, represented by Angelo Giuliano, lawyer and town mayor from 2016 to 2021, committed to contribute 5,000 euros:[7]

> *per l'acquisto dei materiali per l'allestimento dei laboratori di restauro adibiti presso ambienti comunali ed a fornire per ogni tesi […] la cifra di 1.000 euro. Tale cifra concerne l'acquisto di materiali, la documentazione fotografica, grafica e le indagini diagnostiche relativi alle opere selezionate per essere sottoposte ad intervento di restauro. Il Comune si impegna a rendere idonei all'accoglienza spazi di propria*

[7] This agreement has a duration of five years and refers to the premises of the former registry office located on the ground floor of Palazzo Nuzzi, a map of which was attached to the signed document. In November 2020, the municipal pharmacy was transferred to these premises for an "estimated duration of two months," due to extraordinary maintenance work on the premises where the pharmacy is located. The temporary relocation was, however, extended until February 2022 due to the pharmacy's indispensable role during the health crisis. These developments made it impossible to convert these spaces into restoration labs. Other municipal offices had by that time already been moved to the town's former Carabinieri barracks, "per garantire un risparmio energetico e di riscaldamenti." *Cf.* "Palazzo Nuzzi, traslocano gli uffici comunali," Tusciaweb.eu, 2019/11/19, http://www.tusciaweb.eu/2019/11/lavori-corso-trasferiti-gli-uffici-demografici/; "Lavori in corso, la farmacia comunale si sposta a palazzo Nuzzi," Tusciaweb.eu, 2020/11/13, http://www.tusciaweb.eu/2020/11/lavori-corso-la-farmacia-comunale-si-sposta-palazzo-nuzzi/; Gaetano Alaimo, "Inaugurata la nuova farmacia comunale di Orte," *Newtuscia Italia* (blog), 2022/02/21, https://www.newtuscia.it/2022/02/21/inaugurata-la-nuova-farmacia-comunale-di-orte/.

> *proprietà ad uso degli studenti e dei docenti dell'Università della Tuscia*.[8]
>
> for the purchase of materials for the setting up of restoration laboratories located in municipal premises and to provide for each thesis [...] the sum of 1,000 euro. This sum concerns the purchase of materials, photographic and graphic documentation and diagnostic investigations relating to the works selected for restoration. The Municipality undertakes the obligation to make spaces of its own property suitable for students and teachers of Tuscia University.

While, on the other hand, the University:

> *si impegna a collaborare con il Comune nella progettualità dando in uso i fondi librari, individuando le opere da sottoporre ad intervento di restauro, assumendo la responsabilità tecnica e scientifica dello svolgimento dei lavori, condividendo i risultati e concordando le forme della valorizzazione*.[9]
>
> undertakes to collaborate with the Municipality in the project, making its library funds available, identifying works to be restored, assuming technical and scientific responsibility for the work, sharing the results and agreeing on forms of enhancement to be undertaken.

Over the course of the 2018-2019academic year, by virtue of this Convention and news of a new museum at Palazzo Nuzzi, five degree students from the *Ciclo Unico in Conservazione e Restauro dei Beni Culturali* restored of artworks belonging to the municipality, Diocese, and local brotherhoods (the Confraternite Riunite di Orte) as part of their professional training and degree theses.[10] As part of this project, the decorative cycle of the former cardinal's bedroom on Palazzo Nuzzi's *piano nobile* was cleaned and consolidated, as a concrete demonstration of instating "*un rapporto non episodico di collaborazione*."

[8] Comune di Orte e l'Università degli Studi della Tuscia (DIBAF), "Convenzione per Attività di collaborazione scientifica" (2018/10/03).
[9] Comune di Orte e l'Università degli Studi della Tuscia (DIBAF), "Convenzione per Attività di collaborazione scientifica" (2018/10/03).
[10] Sofia Annarilli, "La tela dei santi Ambrogio e Girolamo con la Vergine Incoronata. Un nuovo contributo per la biopulitura e la sostenibilità nel restauro," Tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi della Tuscia, a.a. 2021/2022, supervisors: Dott.ssa Sabrina Sottile, prof.ssa Maria Ida Catalano, dott.ssa Francesca Riccio, prof.ssa Claudia Pelosi; Sara Barreca, "Una tavola di Gabriele di Francesco nel Museo d'Arte Sacra di Orte. Intervento di restauro e verifiche sperimentali di un sistema di pulitura green," Tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi della Tuscia, a.a. 2019/2020, supervisors: Dott. Giorgio Capriotti; Maria Rosaria Caira, "Scoperta e recupero di un Crocifisso ligneo maitanesco," Università degli Studi della Tuscia, a.a. 2019/2020, supervisor: Dott.ssa Maria Ida Catalano e Cristina Caldi; Francesca Groppi, "Muzio Scevola e Porsenna nel palazzo Nuzzi a Orte. Restauro e diagnostica di un dipinto murale," Tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi della Tuscia, a.a. 2019/2020, supervisor: Dott.ssa Sabina Vedovello; Davide Vigliotti, "Sinergie per il recupero dell'arco in stucco e finti marmi di Palazzo Nuzzi a Orte. Storia dell'arte, restauro, tecniche diagnostiche e documentazione digitale," Tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi della Tuscia, a.a. 2020/2021, supervisor: Dott.ssa Sabina Vedovello.

Regarding the research presented in this dissertation, this project was conceived in the abovementioned context, but elaborated and articulated over the next few years which also coincided with the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. The sanitary measures taken consequently made it impossible to launch participatory workshops aimed at citizens and schools, not to mention initiatives involving marginalized immigrants: practices deontologically necessary for the creation of "museum that stands in the city, talks about the city, and thinks through the city."[11] The daily challenges of 'social distancing' were grafted into an administrative context already characterized by strong instability and the lack of a long-term vision for the city's cultural development. The dialogues needed to convert stipulated agreements into concrete measures were interrupted repeatedly and, despite the willingness expressed in words, a team of transdisciplinary figures has never identified nor invested with specific responsibilities to address common research goals and objectives.

Despite this political and social precariousness, an effort was made to probe and listen to local needs and potentialities. Compelled by the desire of overcoming administrative and social divisions, the recommendations made below suggest a non-disjunctive vision that, on the contrary, encourage participation, exchanges, and networks. One of the alternatives suggested below would like to strengthen the symbolic role played by the railway station at Orte Scalo. The ones that follow intentionally disobey current disciplinary and administrative barriers so as to update of the roles and meanings assumed by Palazzo Nuzzi and the current premises of the Museum of Sacred Art. The strategic position of the central Piazza della Libertà can be levered to promote a more conscious dialogue among citizens has also been taken into consideration (fig. 2). These access points point to potential branch locations of a future city museum at Orte. These ideas remain to be tested in participatory workshops that involve figures already active at local museums, archeological sites, and archives along with administrators and other local citizens. Museum discussions and developments must occur in physical spaces as well as in virtual ones, including periodic meetings with a citizen committee,[12] educational workshops aimed at teachers and pupils, public debates on the history and future of town planning, guided tours for specialized audiences (from researchers and administrators to

[11] CAMOC, "The City Museums Global Mapping Project."

[12] As part of this research a questionnaire was put online with the title "*Orte e tu per tu. Verso un museo della tua città.*" Its aim was to get to know the museum-going habits of Orte's visitors. It was designed with the intention of hosting in-person meetings in local piazzas to explore issues together with participants. These plans remained unfulfilled due to the continuation of the global health emergency. Despite the limits of the experience, 44 responses were collected, of which 63.6% expressed the desire to be part of a citizen committee. At the moment, this committee consists of 28 volunteer members.

construction workers), the creation of a wikimedia community dedicated to the documentation Ortano heritage, and *scanathons*. [13] To work towards these objectives, the following proposal has drawn inspiration from best practices from European vanguards in the fields of accessibility (Leiria), inclusive storytelling (Kraków), eloquence in exhibition design (Lisbon) and systematic programming (Barcelona).



Fig. V-2. Possible 'doors' or 'gateways' to Orte's city museum

5.1.1. Orte as crossroads. An exhibition space at the railway station

If included in the future city museum, Orte's railway station could host a room dedicated to the theme of Orte as crossroads (figs. 3-4), a functional dimension that is embodied by the very structure which provides a contemporary interpretation of the city's age-old identity. For millions of commuters and travelers, in fact, 'Orte' represents a junction, whether for the exit of the Naples-Milan motorway or for the railway stop. In 2007, the last year in which the data was updated, Orte was the fifth busiest station in Lazio, with its 3,091 daily passengers, and the first four were all located in Rome.[14] The station has 448 m^2 of commercial space available,

[13] *Scanathon* refers to the organization of events aimed at digitizing archival and crowdsourced materials such as historical photographs collected by private individuals. *Wiktionary*, 2022/03/30, https://en.wiktionary.org/w/index.php?title=scanathon&oldid=66287430..

[14] "CLASSIFICA 2008(19 dic.2008) PREPARATO X STAMPA.xls," Comparimento di Roma c/o *Wayback Machine* (2008/12/19). https://web.archive.org/web/20160304111315/http://www.rfi.it/cms-file/allegati/rfi/Roma.pdf.

with public toilets and a limited number of architectural barriers.[15] While relatively few drivers exit the Autostrada del Sole and stop at Orte, Trenitalia travelers often left waiting for the many connections between regional, interregional and high-speed trains. This unintentional frequentation of the station makes the former waiting room – a non-place that has been closed for years[16] – as a possible exhibition space dedicated to local heritage and, consequently, as a modern gateway to the city (figs. 6-7).



Fig. V-3. Stylized map of Central Italy underscoring Orte's centrality (source: Orte Intermodale. Società Centro Merci, 1983)

Currently, Orte's station offers almost nothing to visitors, neither to learn about Orte's past nor to explore its more recent history. Just outside the station, in the center of the parking lot, modern block letters announce one's arrival to the "CITTÀ DI ORTE." This is a questionable attempt at reception and cannot make up for the lack of more necessary facilities, namely some form of reception area indicating local tourist and cultural offerings (museums, archaeological sites, Orte's thermal baths, etc.), information about the area's hotel and gastronomic services or timetables about (unfortunately limited) local transportation (fig. 6). Furthermore, it remains difficult to get an idea about the surrounding territory and to reach destinations other than Orte Scalo, the surrounding district that has developed chaotically since the end of the 19th century.

[15] "CLASSIFICATION 2008(19 Dec.2008) PREPARED X PRINT.xls. "
[16] *Cf.* Marc Augé, *Non-lieux. Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1992).

During WWII, the area was heavily scarred by repeated bombings, as recalled by Emilio Lavagnino,[17] and even more so by land and building speculation in the post-war period. [18]

By converting the train station's waiting room into a focal point of Orte's city museum, this museum model could help transform a peripheral district into the city's main entrance, a function it assumes *de facto* for most passersby. MUHBA's relationship to Barcelona offers a helpful model: the curators deem the city to be the actual museum, while the city museum merely curates 55 of the city's 'rooms.' Orte's station already has a pre-established basin of users – an estimated 1,128,215 passengers – ready to engage with cultural materials while they wait for their connections.[19] This place could evolve easily from a point of departure from Orte to an emblematic space through which to discover the city and the territory.



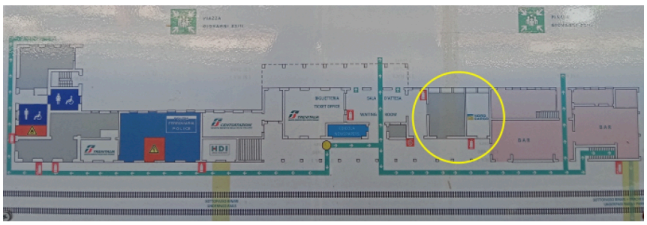




Fig. V-4. Photograph of the entrance to the railway station's waiting room, as viewed from the tracks; Fig. V-5. Floorplan of the railway station; Fig. V-6. Signage in the parking lot in front of the station.

[17] *Cf.* "3.1.2. The Superintendencies' commitment to creating Orte's Diocesan Museum."
[18] Within the framework of this research, it would have been appropriate to include a historical analysis of this neighborhood. Due to limited access to local archives and further complications related to the health emergency, it was impossible to find adequate testimonies of Orte Scalo's town planning (or lack thereof) and of the community's demoanthropological evolution, including Ortani that go back generations, commuting Romans, immigrants, and migrants. Inevitably, this kind of research would need to be carried out by an interdisciplinary team capable of collecting oral testimonies and 'informal materials.' A future city museum could promote this sort of project while applying participatoty strategies fostering social cohesion in the spirit of events sponsored by the Muzeum Podgórze, a branch of Kraków's city museum.
[19] "2008 CLASSIFICATION(19 Dec.2008) PREPARED X PRINT.xls."

Ontologically, establishing a city museum branch involves collaborative processes among diverse people with heterogeneous skills. Therefore, it is inappropriate to propose a veritable museum here, but it is possible to suggest certain exhibition strategies and identify selected materials which convey this railway crossing's historical and current significance. It goes without saying that valuable objects cannot be displayed without a viable security system, so the exhibition would be based on 2D and 3D reproductions together with audio-visual materials in printed and digital formats. The room could tell the story of the station with its pontifical foundation, the railway, and its surroundings. Visitors would learn about the long-awaited construction of the city's bridge at the end of the 19th century, the more than sixty bombings that hit Orte Scalo in 1943-1944, and the post-war reconstruction to which we owe the station's current layout. This last theme relates back to land speculation which is so evident in nearby buildings. *La forma della città* would insert itself well here because the film-essay denounces the very phenomenon and lack of safeguarding so evident in this area. The documentary could be projected *in situ* and made accessible through a link to the Teche RAI with QR-Code, so that travelers could enjoy the short film independently on their own gadgets, even as they continue their journey via rail. This could also be an opportunity to take advantage of the permissions already granted to the Municipality of Orte for the dissemination of *La forma della città* via the *Orte Città Museo* website, a collaboration attempt launched in September 2021 as part of this research project.[20]

In order to understand Pasolini's vision and his "ideal landscape," this exhibition would display the passage in which Gianfranco Contini described the harmonious relationship between Orte's center and the surrounding landscape and the damage inflicted on this territory. The philologist captures the surprising beauty of its humble urban and natural forms, as well as the dialogue between monumental and non-monumental testimonies: streets, houses, squares, churches, and works of art. The text could be transcribed on a wall or on a screen suspended in the center of

[20] The initiative dates back to the period in which the Municipality of Orte was *commissariato* from May to September 2021; the project for a city museum was announced as a way to develop local cultural resources with the support of the commissioner Dr. Virginia Rizzo. The initiative, however, remained unimplemented after the end of her term in office. *Cf.* "Viterbo News 24 - Diocesi, Comune e Università Uniti per 'Orte Città Museo,'" consultato 2022/04/29, https://www.viterbonews24.it/news/diocesi,-comune-e-universit%C3%A0-uniti-per-orte-citt%C3%A0-museo_117531.htm; android, "'Orte Città Museo', presentato il progetto di un Museo della Città a Palazzo Nuzzi," *ONTUSCIA* (blog), 2021/10/01, https://www.ontuscia.it/orte/orte-citta-museo-presentato-il-progetto-di-un-museo-della-citta-a-palazzo-nuzzi-345905; Redazione, "Comune, diocesi e università uniti per 'Orte città museo,'" *TusciaTimes.eu (.it)* (blog), consultato 2022/04/29, https://www.tusciatimes.eu/comune-diocesi-e-universita-uniti-per-orte-citta-museo/; "Orte città museo, presentato il progetto," Tusciaweb.eu, 2021/10/01, http://www.tusciaweb.eu/2021/10/orte-citta-museo-presentato-progetto/.

the room, so that visitors could contemplate – visit after visit – the tension between the frugal, yet noble compactness of its "rocky pensility" and "the built ignominy:"

> *Una chiave del suo ideale di paesaggio Pasolini la fornì in una trasmissione televisiva (...). La rubrica s'intitolava Io e..., era gestita con vera intelligenza da [Anna Zanoli] un'allieva di Longhi ...ed era dedicata a un monumento o a un'opera d'arte di cui un intellettuale denunciava la sopravvivenza minacciata. Pasolini scelse "La forma di Orte". E denunciò gli oltraggi edilizî inflitti a questo luogo della Teverina un tempo frugalmente ma nobilmente compatto nella sua pensilità rupestre: un campione dunque dell'ideale bellezza italiana secondo Pasolini, povero, genuino, assoluto, ai limiti del deserto e dell'arsione vulcanica*.[21]
>
> Pasolini provided a key to his ideal landscape in a television program (...). The program was entitled *io e...* , and it was produced with real intelligence by [Anna Zanoli], one of Longhi's pupils ... and it was dedicated to a monument or a work of art whose threatened survival was being denounced by an intellectual. Pasolini chose "La forma di Orte." And he denounced the built ignominy inflicted on this Tiberine place which was once frugally but nobly compact in its rocky pensility: a sample therefore of ideal Italian beauty according to Pasolini, poor, genuine, absolute, at the limits of the desert and of volcanic ardor. (trans. Author)

This room would also provide visitors with tools to help them navigate Orte autonomously with references to ancient and modern maps, logistical information, GIS coordinates and text-based and audio-visual materials. This section would deconstruct the univocal narration of Orte as an Etruscan-medieval town and affirms its role as hub and connector of many realities that lie beyond the city. By interrupting conventional hierarchies between 'major' and 'minor' testimonies, the exposition grants space for constructing evergreen narratives about local history and the present.[22]

[21] Contini, "Testimonianza per Pier Paolo Pasolini", published in Zanoli, "io e... *Pasolini e 'La forma della città'*," *Paragone* (2011): 16.
[22] This last phrase is used by Professor Maria Andaloro when she speaks of the eternal relevance of research, a parallel context, which remains "*sempre giovane*."



Fig. V-7. An undated relief of a boat with an oarsman, previously displayed at the ex- Civic Museum (Photo: Matteo Zagarola)

As the very concept of "form of the city" suggests, Orte's location recalls a timeless balance between the urban settlement and the surrounding landscape. The city crowns the rocky bluff from which it emerges, creating a buffer zone, a line of demarcation, a fulcrum and a *limes*. Likewise, the relationship between the Ortani and the Tiber, so close to the station, lends itself well to such a reflection. Orte's vocation as a transport hub is the center's *raison d'être* seeing that the river granted its inhabitants key advantages over neighboring centers. The fluvial theme would be embodied by the (undated) relief of an oarsman in a boat, previously displayed at the ex-Civic Museum. The railway station could host a 3-D, tactile reproduction as way to encourage accessibility and tactile engagement (fig. 7). Didactic panels, adapted to lower both sensorial and linguistic barriers, would introduce documents from the municipal and diocesan about people working and playing on the Tiber through accounts about ferrymen, boatmen, and the *Ludi teberini* celebrating Sant'Egidio. Another display could address the threats that the watercourse has historically posed to the community through, for example, accounts from Lando Leoncini's *La fabrica ortana* about the bridge's destruction following the early 16th century floods. Using an exhibition strategy similar to the one already seen above for Contini's words, digitized images of both the original manuscript and the 20th-century transcription could be displayed.[23] The colossal writing project, selected passages, the history of its preservation and Pasquinangeli's paratext and transcription would be recounted. This display could draw on 'the biography of the thing,' to make known the life of this book-object, recalling the anthropologist Igor Kopytoff's strategy applied by MUHBA with the so-called *Venus of Barcelona*.[24] In order to give life to the 400-year-old text, passages could be recorded in high quality, drawing on interpretations by professional actors, by people with strong *Ortano* pronunciation or by those with a foreign accent, spokespeople for the city's newer inhabitants.

[23] In an era full of "fake news," it is particularly relevant to address the importance of primary and secondary sources with a wide audience.
[24] Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986): 66-67, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511819582.004.

This museum branch would also lend itself to accommodate two of the topics addressed in the chapter "All roads lead to Orte," namely the evolution of the municipal coat of arms from the 15th century to today and a cartographic *excursus* that would dialogue with the exhibition at the city museum branch at Palazzo del Comune discussed below. The exhibition would take on the spirit of a history "workshop" or "worksite," recalling the lessons of Andrea Emiliani, with the aim of stimulating visual literacy, meaning the ability to read images in a critical manner. Contrary to the rigid approaches often used in local school classrooms, this space would recount the sources through easily understandable wording, while making use of technological solutions and kinesthetic strategies. For example, the reproduction of a high resolution satellite image of the city across the room's floor would activate the curiosity of visitors, spurring them to explore the city and the territory within the space of the waiting room, a strategy used successfully at the Museums of Kraków, Lisbon and Barcelona. Seeing Orte and the Tiber Valley beneath one's feet would stimulate comparisons between cartographic reproductions and today's reality. The city's development would thus reveal itself and bring to life the vast socio-economic changes of the 20th century.

The railway branch of Orte's city museum would also feature the Ortani Pasolini interviewed in 1970, showing images of Franco Menichetti and Ettore Zeno in sequences from *Le mura di Sana* projected in the same way as *La forma della città*. [25] This footage would act as a cue to talk about the production of the film in 1970, exhibiting the photographs of Deborah Beer, the photographer who, as we have seen, immortalized Pasolini's presence at Chia. Visitors would also be able to listen to recordings of the conversations between Pasolini and Gideon Bachman, about the preservation of La Tuscia (and Yemen). As illustrated in the first chapter of this study, it was the memory of the interviewed Ortani that led to a correct reconstruction of the short film's chronology. At the same time, it would be important to emphasize the local reception of Pasolini's praise and denunciation of Orte. This section of the exhibition would need to be entirely invented, with the hope of involving Menichetti and Zeno as local instigators of an open debate about urban development that, for the first time ever, could focus on the community's experiences, needs and desires and not just private interests. Pasolini's film work in this area constitutes a difficult heritage for Orte, requiring time and a number of delicate conversations with a variety of stakeholders.[26] Such a journey would, and should, include the

[25] *Cf.* "1.2.3 Reordering the documentaries' chronologies and production."
[26] On the subject of difficult heritage, see "4.2.1 Listening to the city. Krakow's many voices."

entire city – Ortani of various ages, of different genders, of multi-ethnic origins and of all religious and sexual orientations – in order to talk about the value of historical landscapes and the evolving needs of cities and citizens.[27]

Neither the station nor the district of Orte Scalo have ever been subject to in-depth historical and urban planning studies, despite the socio-economic importance of the railway station from the time of the *Patrimonium Sancti Petri* till today. [28] They places do not belong to the city's current narrative. Yet for one hundred and sixty years the train has facilitated a fast connection between Orte and Rome. This convenience, together with the affordable cost of provincial living, has meant that the station's surroundings are inhabited by people coming from very different cities, regions, and nations. These dynamics are modern versions of the ones that, for example, led some Ortani to Algeria in Roman times, or Norman-Arabic merchants to Orte in the 12th century, as testified by al-Idrīsī's *Book of King Roger*. [29] Today, one can hear French spoken with a West African cadence along the streets of Orte Scalo, and see women wearing wax print, i.e. colorful wax-printed cotton fabrics, as well as the *jilbab* and the *niqab*.[30] They are often the parents of children who attend the Sirto Sacchetti Primary School, 200 meters from the station: permanent or passing residents who are systematically excluded from the city's story. These are veritable pieces of local history that remain untold. In this way, the city museum can be a place through which the Municipality "*favorisce i collegamenti con comunità di emigrati residenti all'estero*," a commitment stated in Article 11, paragraph 3 of the Municipal Statute dedicated to Protection of the natural-historical-artistic and cultural heritage. Ultimately, the heterogeneous character of train travelers, as well as the district's inhabitants, makes the railway station a particularly suitable place for disseminating knowledge and for awakening feelings of civic pride and social cohesion. In order to achieve these objectives,

[27] Unpublished interview with Franco Menichetti and Ettore Zeno, 2019/09/08, conducted by Yvonne Mazurek with the collaboration of Abbondio Zuppante at Palazzo Roberteschi, Orte (VT). *Cf.* "www.trenidicarta.it - Prospetto cronologico dei tratti di ferrovia aperti," consultato 2022/04/28, http://www.trenidicarta.it/aperture.html.

[28] *Cf.* "Le opere del regime. La nuova ferrovia da Civitavecchia a Orte" in *Le vie d'Italia. Revista mensile del Touring Club Italiano*, Volume 36 (1928); Abbondio Zuppante and Giulio Nasetti, in Armando Ravagliol, Ed., "Orte-Roma, dal Tevere alla strada ferrata," *Le strade del Lazio* (Roma: Newton Compton Editore, 1994): 367-384; Antonella Parisi, "La linea Roma-Orte," *La maravigliosa invenzione. Le strade ferrate del Lazio* (Roma: Gangemi Editore, 2003): 37-39.

[29] See "2.2. Orte as crossroads. Archaeological and cartographic evidence" on the presence of Ortani in North Africa and the Islamic presence in Orte in the Middle Ages.

[30] "Abiti tradizionali per donne islamiche nel mondo," 2020/05/18, https://unasognatriceinviaggio.com/abiti-tradizionali-per-donne-islamiche/.

language and cultural barriers should be lowered to a minimum, adopting analogue tools and multimedia strategies like those seen at the Museu de Leiria.

In Orte's city museum, inclusion should be the operative, collaborative, and creative mode shared by cultural operators and visitors alike.[31] A city museum, like the city itself, is a living organism, constantly adapting to its environment. Quoting Sina Bahram, an expert (blind) in technological accessibility, we are reminded that: "Inclusion is not a binary pursuit with a finite destination. Inclusion is a state of thinking and acting toward a shared purpose based on a commitment to iteration, refinement, and self-improvement."[32] Over time, the city museum could produce a series of recordings, short podcasts and sound bites,[33] made by both experts and citizens, in a similar way to the testimonies collected by the anthropologist Daniela Araújo of Lisbon's horticulturists during the temporary exhibition at the Museu de Lisbon.[34] Here we have the possibility of collaborating with the families of generations of railway workers, ideally meetings at the former railway workers' club (the *Dopolavoro*) located in front of the station and currently used as a caffé and bar. Women's voices, rarely heard in archival documents, should also be included, as well as testimonies of the area's transition from rural to digital life.[35] Such materials could enrich the station's exhibit with the support of a digital archive,[36] made accessible through an internet portal like *Orte Città Museo*.[37] These sorts of narrative resources and strategies represent a concrete way to build a historical alternative based on the direct experience of community members that are antithetical to celebratory narratives that

[31] Maria Chiara Ciaccheri, *Museum Accessibility by Design: A Systemic Approach to Organizational Change* (Arlington, VA: American Alliance of Museums, 2022).
[32] Sina Barham, "The Inclusive Museum", *The Senses: Design Beyond Vision*. Lupton, Andrea and Lipps, Ellen (eds). Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 2018: 34.
[33] An excellent model for this project would be found in the radio program entitled "Gettoni di letteratura," five-minute audio recordings described as follows: "Cinque immagini, cinque istantanee, cinque aspetti poco noti di una vita." Cfr. "Gettoni di letteratura," Rai Play Sound, https://www.raiplaysound.it/programmi/gettonidiletteratura/.
[34] Daniela Araújo and Mário Nascimento, eds., *Hortas de Lisboa. Da Idade Média ao Século XXI* (Lisboa: Museu de Lisboa, EGEAC, E.M., 2021).
[35] It would also be useful to record the anecdotes of Ortani about the strange fame their town enjoys in the world. Thanks to the national motorway and the railway, millions of foreigners have passed through Orte and remember their stay in the town. One morning in May 2022, during an informal chat between the author and two Ortani, stories emerged of Orte being remembered by the inhabitants of Paris, Istanbul, and Chicago: tales of Orte as crossroads worthy of being collected!
[36] This kind of documentation would allow visitors to get to know Orte during a stop-over or to deepen their knowledge of themes encountered at the museum exhibition while continuing their journey. These resources would reinforce the museum's didactic impact, and could facilitate visits from school groups, families with children and elderly people, foreign visitors, people with cognitive difficulties or anyone who simply wants to deepen the knowledge of the city and the territory of Orte.
[37] Maria Ida Catalano, Francesca Groppi, Yvonne Anna Mazurek, and Davide Vigliotti, "Orte – Verso un museo della cittadinanza," consultato 2022/04/30, https://www.ortecittamuseo.it/.

flatten the heterogeneity of a community composed of its own centers and peripheries (figs. 1, 8-9).



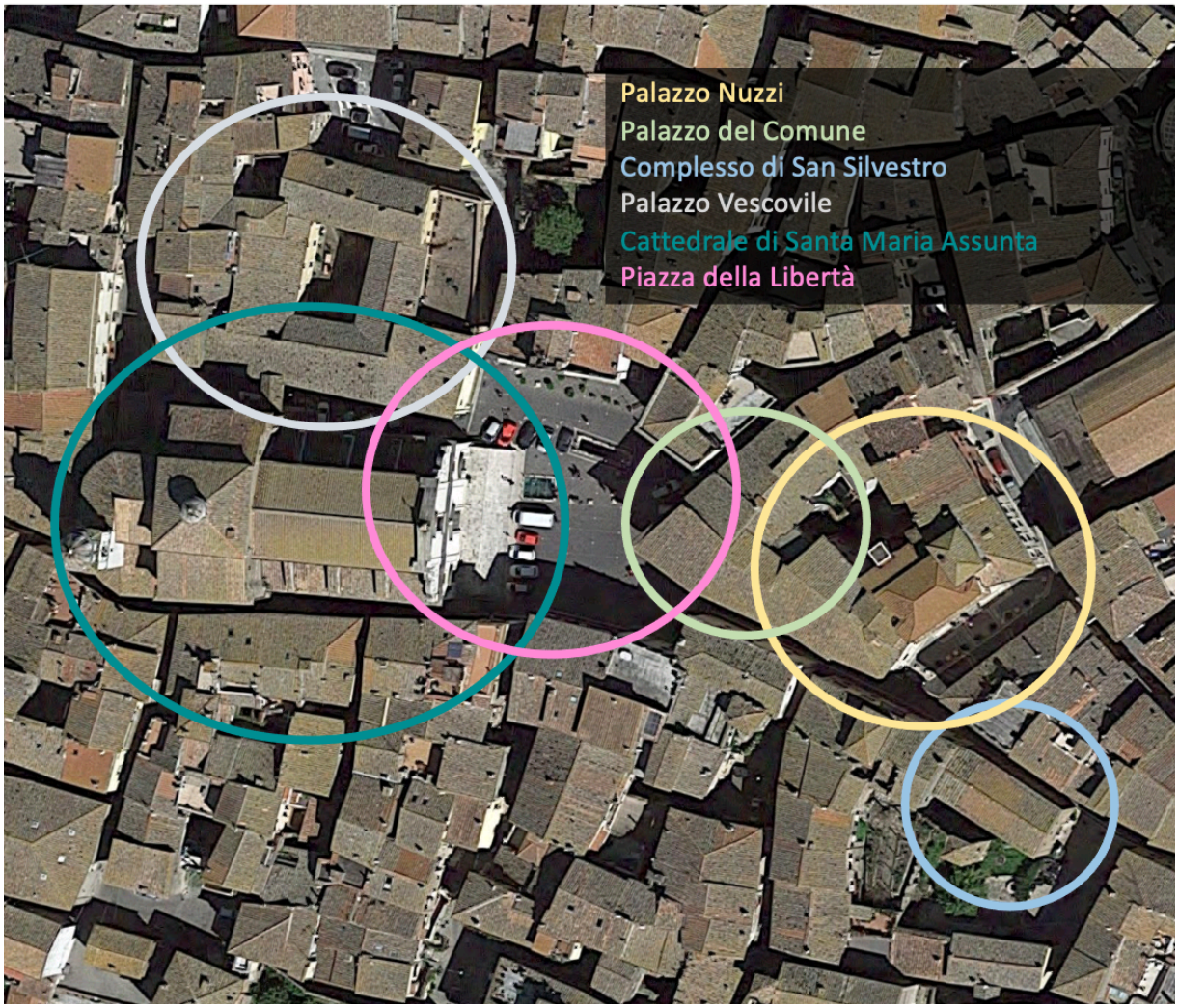


Fig. V-8. Satellite image of Orte's historical center, with Piazza della Libertà highlighted in pink;
Fig. V-9. Detail of the historical center indicating Palazzo Nuzzi, Palazzo del Comune, the Complex of San Silvestro, the Palazzo Vescovile, the Cathedral of Saint Maria Annunciata and Piazza della Libertà (Photo: Google Earth)



Fig. V-10. Façade of Palazzo Nuzzi seen from Via Matteotti

5.1.2 Reinstating Palazzo Nuzzi as a public space

The musealization and enhancement of Palazzo Nuzzi poses more perplexities. It was the headquarters of the Municipality of Orte until 2020, is currently in a state of abandon, but has recently been re-destined to host the municipal offices in the indeterminate future. The choice of use the space as a public office determines significant constraints. Moreover, the archaeological collections of the former Civic Museum have been transferred to exhibit them there, but the plan lacks a museographic vision for material is neither accessible nor accurately catalogued. From this project's point of view, both situations present limits that the following recommendations take into account. The aim of the following suggestions is to sensitize the municipal administration about alternative choices in can make, suggestions made in light of the abovementioned agreements between the Municipality and Tuscia University.

This subsection aims to underline certain potentialities made evident during the course of this research and by the recent restorations of works commissioned by the Nuzzi family. It therefore presents themes and materials useful for knowledge dissemination and exhibition proposals

concerning the *palazzo*, the conservation work, and the civic destination that the Municipality has recently deliberated. As in the case of Orte Scalo's train station, future studies and the involvement of other professional figures will be necessary to truly reinstate this cardinal and patrician residence as a public space (fig. 10).

A special agreement of 2021 between the local administration, the Diocese of Civita Castellana and Tuscia University's DIBAF department sealed the choice to use Palazzo Nuzzi as an integral part of a city museum network.[38] This declaration promotes a scientific collaboration aimed at the establishment of a city museum at Orte with an adjoining restoration laboratory. It coincided with the creation of the website *Orte Museo Città* intended to facilitate local knowledge disseminate. Yet a few days after the agreement, the election of the new municipal administration whose electoral promises states that he would bring the City Council's offices back to Palazzo Nuzzi.[39] The situation is further complicated by the building's state of conservation; the structure needs to be consolidated due to seismic risks, in addition to the conservation work needed to restore the decorative cycle of the *piano nobile* and an overdue valorize plan for the entire the complex. In view of the possible coexistence of the administration and future museum, a preference voiced by the current administration, the three priorities have been identified, so as to effectively recount Palazzo Nuzzi's 300 years of architectural and historical, private and public relevance:

1. It is important to emphasize the functions that the *palazzo* has assumed over the centuries, starting with the correct historical contextualization of Cardinal Nuzzi. He was born in Orte, but of Tudertine origin, lived in Rome and died in Orvieto. The magnate's narrative survives through the monument's architectural *facies* and in surviving sculptural fragments that remain to be catalogued. His narrative should be complemented with other stories related to the life of the palace in the 18th century. These stories still need to be retrieved through new archival perusals attentive to reports about everyday life and objects which have till now received only fragmented attention. Parallel findings emerging from active urban excavations can help construct a more accurate image of Orte during the Nuzzi's heyday.

[38] City of Orte, Diocese of Civita Castellana, and University of Tuscia (DIBAF), "Convenzione per attività di elaborare e realizzare un progetto di costituzione del 'Museo della città di Orte'," (September 2021).
[39] Maria Ida Catalano et al. "Orte – Verso un museo della cittadinanza."

2. Recent restoration campaigns at the *palazzo* should be enhanced and protected from any structural work that remains to be carried out. All results obtained from conservation operations should be communicated to wide sectors of the population to render their contents a public service. The following proposal indicates some of the didactic potential of these materials and foresees collaborations with schools and vocational projects.
3. Public vicissitudes must acquire a more important role in the *palazzo*'s narrative because it served a civic function since the early 19th century when Palazzo Nuzzi became the Town Hall. Its municipal offices were recently relocated to another location but then redeployed back to this site (at least on paper), but the Municipality's recent decision to move back to the *palazzo* marks an opportunity to highlight the relationship between the place's private history and that of the Comune. The structure overlooks Piazza della Libertà, the urban and social heart of Orte testified by its underground fountain and washing well, an ancient source of publicly supplied water which also acts as the current entrance to a well-established tour called Orte Underground. [40]

This research identified two studies dedicated to Palazzo Nuzzi but believes that the monumental complex remains only partially understood. In *Committenze a Orte in età barocca: cultura gesuita e influenza pozziana: gli Alberti e i Nuzzi* (2006), Salvatore Enrico Anselmi successfully contextualized Nuzzi patronage in the cultural milieu of 17th and 18th century Rome, reconstructing the influence of Pozzi's followers at Orte and the rising taste for the Rococo in the wake of Carlo Fontana's projects. Anselmi commendably deciphered the iconography of the decorative apparatus in the cardinal's bedroom and the adjacent reception area (the municipality's former council chamber). However, his transcriptions of contemporary documents are characterized by certain omissions, some of which are due to illegible segments of the text, while others were conditioned by the art historian's research priorities and hierarchical criteria.[41] In fact, the information reports certain parts of the documents but mentions the existence of "*beni inventariati, che comprendono per altro numerosi arredi e*

[40] "Orte Sotterranea," Visita Orte, consultato 2022/09/11, https://www.visitaorte.com/welcome.
[41] Salvatore Enrico Anselmi, "Appendice documentaria," *Committenze a Orte in età barocca: cultura gesuita e influenza pozziana gli Alberti e i Nuzzi* (Roma: Argos, 2006): 139-223, with particular reference to editorial choices made, *cf.* 193-198.

mobili" of which the author chose not to give an account.[42] These transcriptions exclude information about daily life in the palace, omitting, for example, information about the kitchen or the "Bread Room."[43] Reconstructing 'minor' histories would require new archival research at the Municipal Archives (ASCO) – which was hardly accessible in the 2020-2021 – in order to restore dignity and identity to all the monument's inhabitants, including those who served the cardinal and the Nuzzi family. [44] The palazzo's new narration and valorization will only be possible once missing information has been recovered. The structure could also adapt minimally invasive strategies like the mirror/time machine in the Baldassare Fontana Room in Museum Krakowa's Krzysztofory Palace offers an interesting model from which to draw (figs. IV-36).

As per the *palazzo*'s architecture, the historian Nina Mallory clarified the relationships between Carlo Francesco Bizzacheri,[45] Carlo Fontana and Borromini's *milieu*, while assuming a Roman-centric perspective.[46] Her otherwise stimulating research provides no information about ways in which the building impacted Orte's urban development. The worksite involved the southern axis of the city, aligning the modernized Piazza Colonna and the restored facade of San Silvestro with the western flank of Palazzo Nuzzi. These interventions created a corridor leading from the center's oldest church directly to the cathedral, a structure that the cardinal began to restore almost in its entirety. To reinterpret Palazzo Nuzzi's role in the city and for the citizens, the *palazzo* would require new studies from both an urban and architectural point of view. This research could facilitate a more comprehensive dialogue with 'minor' testimony from the 17th and 18th centuries to reconstruct a more complex narrative. Here, too, new perusals become necessary, in the hope of identifying information which may have been

[42] Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte*: 211, note 42.
[43] "Inventario/ Di tutto ciò ch'esiste nel Secondo Piano di Palazzo Nuzzi," ASCO, busta 50, tit. 11.5. in Anselmi: 196-198.
[44] In the southern U.S., these kinds of curatorial choices are being practiced in an effort to reinterpret radically the history of former plantations. For example,at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello there are explicit efforts being made to restore a more complex understanding of the life of the country's third, and often admired president, highlighting uncomfortable realities that lie at the root of nationwide racism and classism. *Cf.* Niya Bates, Susan Ferentinos, and Estevan Rael-Galvez, "Communicating the Value of Inclusive History," *Reframing History*, podcast of the American Association for State and Local History, Christy Coleman and Jason Steinhauer, Ed. (Apr. 20, 2022), https://pod.link/1610366620/episode/e2fb59125a3c0d86fab95daeb2bc2bf6.
[45] Francesco Amendolagine, Federico Bulfone Gransinigh, "Architettura e arte plastica nell'opera di Carlo e Baldassarre Fontana: un connubio perfetto," intervento al convegno internazionale *Carlo Fontana 1638-1714. Celebrato Architetto,* 2014/10/22-24, organized by the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca and the Biblioteca Hertziana Max-Planck- Insitut fur Kunstegeschichte. https://www.accademiasanluca.eu/news/2014/2014.10.22-24_convegno_carlo.fontana/brochure-.pdf.
[46] Nina A. Mallory and John L. Varriano, "Carlo Francesco Bizzacheri (1655-1721)," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 33, no. 1 (1974): 44, https://doi.org/10.2307/988837.

ignored by previous research to understand the significance of this building site. Furthermore, it would be important to understand the role of the palace's role in the early 19th century up through the Unification of Italy, during the Fascist *Ventennio* and after the fall of Nazi-Fascism. This place has traditionally acted as a symbol of power for the Ortani, and still does seeing that it featured in the current municipal administration's electoral campaign.

Having gathered more knowledge about the way life at Palazzo Nuzzi took shape, it would be important to narrate the lives of the people who inhabited its walls; everyday objects could help bring to life its few noble inhabitants and those who have remained anonymous from the 18th century to the present day. Inspired by MUHBA's *Barcelona Flashback*, ceramic materials from local archaeological finds could tell their stories using "*linguaggio pedagogico delle cose*," through which Pasolini created dialogues between period objects through the spatial relationships he created on camera.[47] This is how simple objects can take on a timeless, narrative power: "*mi insegnavano dove ero nato, in che mondo vivevo e, soprattutto, come dovevo concepire la mia nascita e la mia vita.*"[48] The objects and people who populated Palazzo Nuzzi no longer exist, but the inventories suggest their memories. It will be interesting to see which artifacts emerge from ongoing urban archeological excavations, stratified evidence of modern material culture, once carefully and consistently contextualized, and to accommpany their transformation from mere objects into *cose* (or "things").[49] The philosopher and historian Remo Bodei's offers insight into how properly curated "things" engage our most intimate sentiments: "*investiamo intellettualmente e affettivamente gli oggetti, diamo loro senso e qualità sentimentali, li avvolgiamo in scrigni di desiderio o in involucri ripugnanti, li inquadriamo in sistemi di relazioni, li inseriamo in storie che possiamo ricostruire e che riguardano noi o altri*."[50] Making parts of Palazzo Nuzzi into a museum means weaving the right spatial and temporal relationships between various objects and the lives of the "thousands of nameless people" who, as Pasolini recalls, shaped Orte.[51]

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[47] Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Gennariello: La prima lezione me l'ha data una tenda," *Lettere luterane* (Torino: Einadi, 1976). Special thanks to Dr. Antonello Ricci for having pointed out this text in the first months of this research.
[48] Pier Paolo Pasolini, "La prima lezione me l'ha data una tenda," *Lettere Luterane* (Torino: Einaudi, 1975): 35.
[49] Nadia Barrella, "Il museo, gli oggetti, la memoria dei luoghi. Spunti di riflessione per un nuovo modo di raccontare la città," *Un sogno fatto a Milano. Dialoghi con Orhan Pamuk intorno alla poetica del Museo*, Laura Lombardi and Massimiliano Rossi, eds. (Monza: Johan & Levi editore, 2018): 44–52.
[50] Remo Bodei, *La vita delle cose* (Bari: Economia Laterza, 2009): 23. *Cf.* Charlotte Emilie Blasi, "Case d'artista. Il caso particolar della Tuscia viterbese," Tesi di laurea di Laurea magistrale in Storia del Restauro e della critica d'arte, Università degli Studi della Tuscia, a.a. 2017-2018, Supervisor: Maria Ida Catalano, co-supervisor: Patrizia Mania: 34-41.
[51] Bodei: 115-117.







Fig. V-11. Laser scan of the western wall under restoration (Image: Ing. Mauro Proietti and Arch. Raffaelle Ascenzi); Fig. V-12. Photo of the scaffolding under the triumphal arch during restoration work; Fig. V-13. Detail of the decorative program after the restoration (Photo: Francesca Groppi)

Another strategy for rereading Palazzo Nuzzi and its main patron is to tell the structure's history through the *palazzo*'s recent restoration campaigns, rendering this work a public service as indicated in the second priority listed above. Data about the works' executive techniques and diagnostic images from worksite can help the public understand new conservation strategies and, at the same time, stimulate a plurality of stories so as to involves local schools and vocational institutes. By showcasing ancient construction and decorative techniques, these tools can cultivate a new sensitivity towards artistic craftsmanship which is completely absent in the area today, dominated by the conspicuous presence of construction companies interested in large-scale, speculative operations.

It should also be noted that creating "*un annesso laboratorio di restauro*" on the ground floor of the building – as explicated in the 2018 agreement [52] and then reaffirmed by the 2021 agreement [53] – would be a concrete way to turn conservation into a "public service," to quote Andrea Emiliani.[54] On the one hand, the city has not been able to actuate this commitment; on the other, the university would need to find additional funding to develop these services. Nonetheless, the partners have the opportunity, if not the imperative, to disseminate knowledge that has emerged from conservation work caring out on two prime examples of Nuzzis' patronage, namely the restoration of the pictorial cycle and stuccoes in the cardinal's chamber

[52] Comune di Orte and Università degli Studi della Tuscia (DIBAF), "Convenzione per Attività di collaborazione scientifica" (2018/10/03).
[53] Comune di Orte, Diocesi di Civita Castellana and Università degli Studi della Tuscia (DIBAF), "Convenzione" (2021).
[54] Andrea Emiliani, ed., *La conservazione come pubblico servizio: Ipotesi per un piano di tutela, intervento e riqualificazione dei Beni Artistici e Culturali mobili delle Provincie di Bologna, Ferrara, Forlì e Ravenna 1971 - 1975*, Rapporto della Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Bologna 8 (Bologna: ALFA, 1971): 6.

in Palazzo Nuzzi[55] (figs. 11-13) and the restoration of Cardinal Nuzzi's funeral monument (figs. 14-18).[56]

The Athenaeum, in agreement with the director of the Museum of Sacred Art, has foreseen the monument's reconstruction in Palazzo Nuzzi's atrium, as mentioned earlier. The Cardinal's bust and the Nuzzi coat of arms have been considered objects of 'greater' artistic value; they are currently located in Orte's Church of San Francesco, while other stone fragments from the funerary monument are in storage awaiting a more permanent arrangement. Contrary to the *palazzo*'s decorative cycle, the monument does not belong to the history of Orte's artistic production, instead it testifies to the evolution of artistic tastes and restoration practices, as well as 18th century executive techniques and materials.

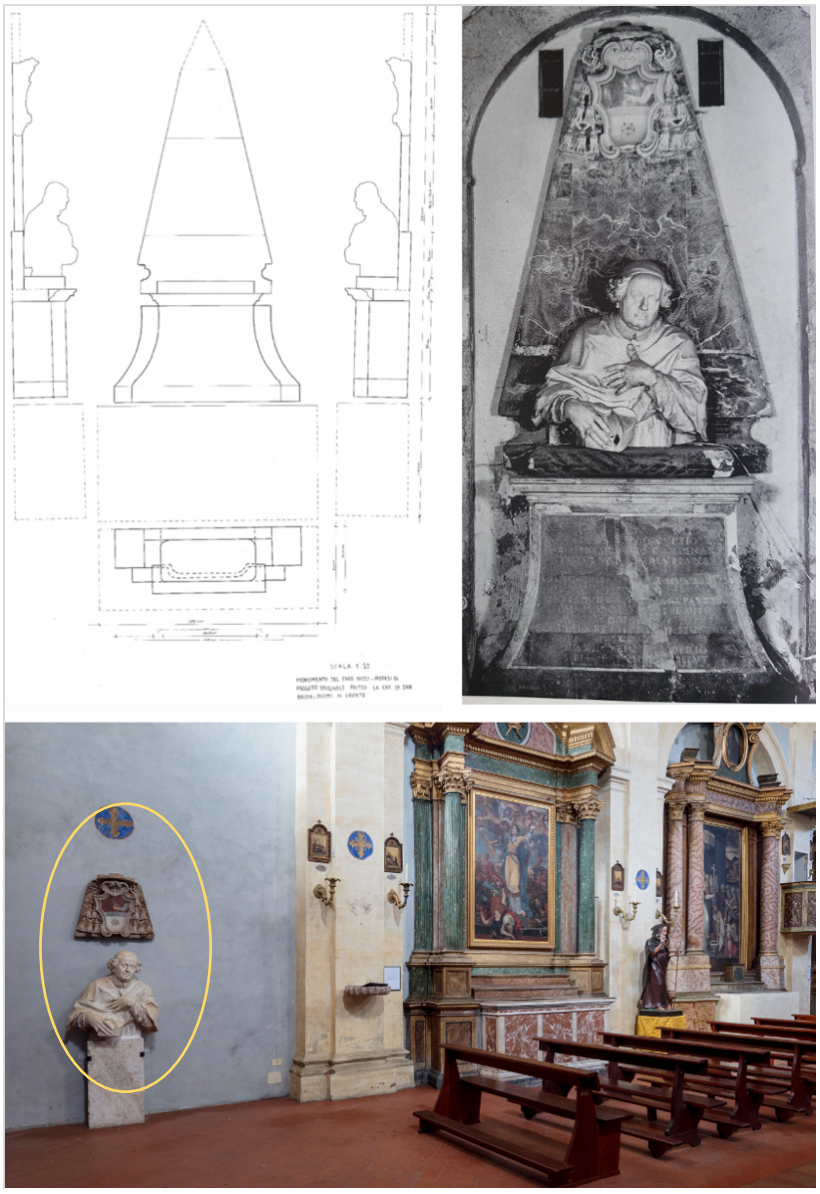
Overall, the funerary monument represents a self-celebratory operation heralding Cardinal Nuzzi and his family. Commissioned in 1718 by the Cardinal's nephew Innocenzo, it was carved by Bernardino Cametti, the same artist who executed the sculptural program for the Chapel of San Brizio in the Duomo of Orvieto (Terni).[57] The Nuzzi monument was removed from Orvieto's chapel – with "*qualche altro ingombro*" – in 1845, during the restoration of Signorelli's frescoes and subsequently left in storage. It arrived in fragments at Orte only thirty years later, where it was partially reconstructed in the courtyard of the Palazzo Vescovile.[58] While in Orvieto it was considered spurious, in Orte it was easily inserted among the other examples of Nuzzi's patronage (Piazza Colonna, Palazzo Nuzzi, the decoration of the Duomo). This relocation reinforced the narration of a 'great' local past, which also corresponded with the Unification of Italy and Orte's slow economic, demographic, and cultural recovery at the end of the 19th century.[59]

[55] The restoration work on Palazzo Nuzzi's *piano nobile* has yet to be completed and related data is still being processed. Restoration work is also planned to begin in the former reception area, the former Council Chamber, but related contracts are currently under negotiation. Meanwhile, we await the final reports and relative documentation in order to develop a *bone fide* enhancement strategy for the newly restored area.
[56] Prof.ssa Maria Ida Catalano and prof.ssa Paola Pogliani are responsible for the scientific direction of these projects. The first of these was carried out by Prof. Maria Grazia Chilosi and Prof. Cristiana Beltrami within the Course PFP1 Design and Restoration of Stone Material, a.y. 2017-2018. The second site has been the object of two theses: Francesca Groppi, "Muzio Scevola e Porsenna nel palazzo Nuzzi a Orte. Restauro e diagnostica di un dipinto murale;" Davide Vigliotti, "Sinergie per il recupero dell'arco in stucco e finti marmi di Palazzo Nuzzi a Orte. Storia dell'arte, restauro, tecniche diagnostiche e documentazione digitale."
[57] Anselmi, *Committenza a Orte*: 105-112.
[58] Anselmi, *Committenza a Orte*: 105.
[59] *Cf.* "2.3.3 A nearly abandoned territory. The 19th Century" and "3.1. Venturi's novel vision and its mutations (1900-1985)."

During the 2017-2018 academic year, Tuscia University's laboratory restored stone fragments of the funerary monument including the cardinal's coat of arms, providing clues for a new reading of the sculpture's material qualities. These processes have laid the foundation for the works' philological rearrangement, also based on photographic and graphic documentation produced during the conservation work.[60] Students produced reports on segments they restored and provided unpublished insights into the 18th century polychrome marble monument. These data lend themselves as potential teaching material for vocational students at workshops to be developed both *in situ* and through multimedia resources regarding the parallel histories of local stone extraction (tuff and travertine), a 'minor' tradition to be compared with sophisticated materials and techniques which were imported for their strong symbolic value, a lens through which one can reread the painted marble panels at Palazzo Nuzzi and on the Pozzi altars in Orte's Cathedral.[61] MUHBA's experience teaches us that this proposal would need to involve teachers, students from vocational and artistic schools and artisans right from the planning stage, in order to develop a service that is relevant to students, to construction workers in training, as well as craftsmen and members of the conservation sector. This sort of approach could be part of a set of municipal strategies aimed at cultivating a greater awareness of the importance of building codes and town planning while safeguarding endangered artisan traditions.

[60] The church of San Francesco serves as the second branch of the Museo delle Confraternite Riunite di Orte. This *Museo diffuso* has not been taken into account in the present essay, as mentioned in the Introduction to this dissertation. Its collection contemplates objects linked to local folklore and others still used in certain religious processions. A future collaboration with an ethno-anthropologist are needed to include this museum into a shared narrative about Orte's tangible and intangible heritage. *Cf.* "Confraternite Riunite di Orte," consulted 2022/04/30, http://www.confraterniteorte.it/.

[61] *Cf.* "3.3.2. Self-celebration and sublimation. The 18th Century."



(top left) Fig. V-14. Hypothetical reconstruction of Cardinal Nuzzi's funeral monument in the Chapel of San Brizio at Orvieto's Cathedral (realized by Maria Elisa Cappelletti); (top right) Fig. V-15. Reconstruction of the monument inside Orte's Palazzo Vescovile (photo of unknown origin c/o A. Zuppante); Fig. V-16. Current location of the monument inside Orte church of San Francesco (Photo: Gaetano Alfano); (bottom left); Fig. V-17. A selection of polychrome marble fragments restored in the academic year 2017-2018 by the Corso PFP1 Progettazione e Restauro del materiale*, supervised by Prof. Maria Grazia Chilosi and Prof. Cristiana Beltrami; (bottom right) Fig. V-18. The Cardinal's Coat of Arms with indications of previous restoration work, documentation realized by Maria Elisa Cappelletto and Beatrice Stella, students in Tuscia Univerity's Restoration Program.*

The reallocation of the municipal headquarters to the 18th-century complex opens up the possibility of investing Palazzo Nuzzi with a new spirit of *res publica*, a principle with which Andrea Emiliani launched the "national museographic worksite" at Brescia's city museum.[62] This opportunity must, however, be juxtaposed by the spirit with which Nuzzi became an arts patron. The Nuzzi family aimed to affirm the cardinal's personal role as a man of culture and a patriarch, in sharp contrast to the values promoted by a democratic municipality. These artistic sources reflect the image of an illustrious man who spent his last years flaunting his wealth and his long-awaited status as Cardinal, acquired only in 1715 at the age of 70, two years before his death.[63] Nuzzi's local patronage was part of an operation to assert a family that moved to Orte from Todi in the middle of the 17th century[64] and sought to affirm itself among the local patriciate.[65] The rise and fall of the Nuzzi family lasted a century and a half due to the Nuzzis' short-sighted management of the family fortune: the portentous projects celebrating the cardinal were economically disastrous for his nephew Innocenzo and his grand-nephew Giuseppe.[66] For today's audiences, it may be more interesting to recount the Nuzzi house as an example of poor estate planning and a failure from which the City of Orte was nonetheless able to draw benefits like the emphyteutic cession of the family's *palazzo* for municipal use. [67]

The third priority listed above gives prominence to the civic function of Palazzo Nuzzi and Palazzo del Comune (fig. 19), contiguous and connected structures that form an urban fulcrum at the crossroads between the central *piazza* and Via Giacomo Matteotti, the main axis of the southern side of Orte's historical center. To valorize the complex's physical and symbolic centrality, this project urges the Town Hall to make the building's back entrance into a 'doorway' or another 'gate' to the local city museum (fig. 21). The branch could be located at the corner of Via Vincenzo Gioberti and Piazza della Libertà,[68] the most pivotal point of the

[62] Emiliani, "Un cantiere museografico nazionale: il caso di Brescia," in Andrea Emiliani, *Il museo alla sua terza età* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1985): 111-148.
[63] Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte*: 55.
[64] Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte*: 51.
[65] Cf. "3.3.2. Self-celebration and sublimation. The 18th Century."
[66] Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte*: 102-103
[67] "Enfiteusi tra l'Ill. Casa Nuzzi e l'Ill.ma Com.tà della Città di Orte," busta 50, tit. 11.6, 1777-1873 (cc. 1-2); "Approvazione della cessione enfiteutica di un'ala del palazzo Nuzzi e relativa descrizione," Titolo 11. Artt. 6-7, 1777-1834, fascicolo di carte non numerate, ASCO. In Anselmi, *Committenze a Orte*: 199-200.
[68] The crucial value of this site is affirmed by the presence of the local *Pro Loco*, tourist information point, in Piazza della Libertà 4 (as officially reported on the Municipality of Orte's website). This service is, in fact, carried out at the adjacent offices of Orte Sotterranea, managed by the association Veramente Orte just around Piazza della Libertà in Via Matteotti 45. The hope would be to fully integrate the museums' offerings with their guided tours of the rock-hewn environments, including the underground fountain below the main square, the tunnels and other adjoining structures, as well as the Nymphaeum. See "Comune di Orte - Vivere Orte - Associazioni e Enti

town's public life which has, coincidentally, been inhabited since the town's Etruscan foundation (figs. 20-21).[69] In fact, this location offers a privileged view of the Duomo's monumental façade, decorated with the municipal coat of arms adorned with the crown of the Kingdom of Italy, confirming the stratified coexistence of State and Church at Orte (fig. 22). This branch of the city museum would be positioned *vis-à-vis* the entrance of the public, hypogeum fountain, also decorated by an elegant municipal crest from the 15th century, encouraging people to visit Orte Sotterranea. The tour gives access to a network of tunnels articulated between a cistern, a cold cell, a dovecote, wells, and other underground spaces and tell the millenary continuation story of this urban settlement. This service currently constitutes one of the major points of attraction for the town.[70]



Fig. V-19. Floorplan of Palazzo Nuzzi's ground floor with an emergency plan and the proposed layout for the "Progetto di Restauro e riutilizzo di Palazzo Nuzzi" dated 28/07/2020 (designer: Marco Proietti); the yellow circle indicates the area occupied by the property called "Palazzo del Comune" (Town Hall)

Piazza della Libertà is studded with other coats of arms observable on the façades of many buildings (figs. I-12, II-37). The centrality of the municipal crest at this central location lends itself to creating a museum space that uses the icon of the bridge over the Tiber as a lens through which to interpret the city. It would also reinforce the physical and symbolic connection between Palazzo Nuzzi, the conjoined Palazzo del Comune and Piazza della Libertà.

Selected rooms at this branch of Orte's city museum would display original municipal coats of arms made in stone, along with painted and paper versions to enhance materials coming from

- Turistiche," consulted 2022/05/01, http://www.comune.orte.vt.it/Home/Guida-al-paese?IDDettaglio=19032; "Orte Sotterranea - Visita Orte," consulted 2022/05/01, https://www.visitaorte.com/welcome.

[69] A rare testimony of Orte's continually inhabited plateau is provided by a wall fragment of an Etruscan dwelling, found during the excavations conducted by Dr. Stefano Del Lungo and now preserved at the Civic Museum of Orte. Personal communication between Dr. Lungo and the writer.

[70] Giancarlo Pastura, ed., *La città sotto la città. Research and analysis on the buried part of Orte's built-up area.* Orte: Museo civico di Orte, 2017; Visit Orte. "Orte Sotterranea," consulted 2022/06/11. https://www.visitaorte.com/welcome.

both the municipal and diocesan collections. This space would allow the public to interact with some of the same historic pieces reproduced in the 'room' located at Orte Scalo's railway station. With appropriate renovation work, an evocative exhibition space could emerge from the storage areas located on the ground floor and the first floor rooms once used to host parts of the Municipal Archives and other services. The large windows overlooking the town's central square support the museum's narrative coherence reiterating the theme of Orte as a crossroads. As seen at Lisbon's Casa Dos Bicos (fig. IV-86-89), simple messages can inspire people and stir important insights. [71]



Fig. V-20. ***Annibale Ceccarelli****,* Orte in Festa *(1960c). The Feast of Sant'Egidio in Piazza della Libertà (Photo: c/o Abbondio Zuppante)*

[71] Raffaella Trocchianesi, "Oggetti transitivi: il potenziale narrativo dell'oggetto nel progetto espositivo," *Design vive di oggetti-discorso: design e narrazioni*, Eterotopie 231 (Milano-Udine: Memesi Edizioni, 2014): 68.



Fig. V-21. View of Piazza della Libertà from the Duomo looking towards the secondary entrance of historic seat of Palazzo del Comune, at the corner of via Gioberti. The proposed entrance for this branch of Orte's city museum is highlighted in yellow (Source: Google Maps)



Fig. V-22. Piazza della Libertà before the feast of Sant'Egidio with the Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta in the background.

The museum 'room' at Palazzo del Comune aims to consolidate links between the city, the cultural heritage and the territory, and links between the municipality and its citizens. The museum strategies used here would reinforce those used at Orte Scalo. For instance, this museum branch would employ the same satellite map of the city across one of its floors but would here be surrounded by original objects that convey the setting's public nature. Although

different in content, but similar in spirit to the museum at the railway station, this 'room' would also dialogue with its surroundings, namely the historical center. A large maquette of the city could be created *ad hoc* to be displayed here. The exhibition would also include exemplars like 1447-1448 coat of arms of, the oldest one found so far which now lies on the ground in Palazzo Nuzzi's atrium (fig. II-29), the 16th century manuscript of the *Catasto rustico*, currently kept at the ASCO (fig. II-42), a tactile reproduction of the rectangular coat of arms depicting the waters of the Tiber in tumult, walled into the facade of Palazzo del Comune (fig. II-43), along with another of the 17th-18th century crest (to be restored), currently abandoned in the municipal courtyard. A period prints of the 'Augustan bridge' dedicated to Ferdinando Nuzzi by Giusto Fontanini (now kept at the ASDO) could provide an interesting counterpoint to the municipal coat of arms. A series of 20th century printed coats of arms, from the Municipality's archives could recount the country's evolution from the Kingdom of Italy to Dictatorship to the Republic. Valorized as an icon with ancient meaning, the local coats of arms would thus become a *fils rouge* for visitors and act as a tool with which to explore independently the urban fabric in search of modern crests scattered throughout the historic center, where they are further declined according to the town's seven *contradas* or districts.

Ultimately, this project proposes a central and public space where cultural information could be disseminated and promoted. In addition to displaying objects from local collections, it could coordinate workshops dedicated to civic themes, including conferences aimed at local administrators to weave links between historical instances and the present. The Memory Deposit (*Depozyt Pamięci)*, the participatory strategy used for the mini-exhibitions at the Podgórze Museum and at Schindler's Factory (Muzeum Krakowa), would be particularly well-suited here, offering 'citizen-curators' the opportunity to periodically integrate the official museum narrative with living memories. These are multiple ways in which to increase the relationship between visitors, the city and the city museum.

5.1.3. Untold stories. The collections of the Museum of Sacred Art

Today, as Massimo Montella reminds us, it is necessary that "*si agisca per accrescere la consapevolezza del valore del patrimonio e dei diversi benefici che possono derivarne su un*

piano ambientale, economico e sociale."[72] The following sub-section, therefore, aims at shifting the focus from musealization to valorization, exposing ideal strategies that explore radically different solutions than those experimented so far, all the while taking existing physical spaces into consideration.

This research has already established why the Museum of Sacred Art, a cultural container in line with the criteria outlined in the first half of the 20th century, is inadequate to meet the needs of today's audiences. The high levels of relative humidity, attributable to the structure's tuff foundations, were evident already in the Seventies at the former church of San Silvestro.[73] This situation cannot guarantee thermo-hygrometric conditions to properly protect historic art collections. These same problems also limit the possibility of integrating materials like archival parchments and papers into the exhibition, or of introducing electronic instruments, like *touch screens*, which are by now common use in most museums. This environment requires substantial interventions and investments to adequately accommodate art objects, visitors, and custodians. While San Silvestro presents endemic conservation concerns, Palazzo Vescovile, where another part of the collection is preserved, guarantees a more stable, though unmonitored microclimate.

There is a need to identify an alternative location to host the diocesan collections currently exhibited in the Museo di Arte Sacra at the former church of San Silvestro to allow the evocative Romanesque building to be completely emptied, transforming this 'jewel box' for Orte's treasures into a conference hall and multipurpose space for workshops, lectures, honorary events, concerts, etc. held during warmer seasons.[74] In 1967, Luisa Mortari opened the catalogue *Museo Diocesano di Orte* by talking about why this structure was transformed into a museum. One of the main reasons is that it was "*il più antico [edificio] che si conservi a Orte*," a criterion that recognized the location's symbolic value. The art historian also

[72] Massimo Montella et al., "La Convenzione di Faro e la tradizione culturale italiana / The Faro Convention and the Italian cultural tradition," *Il Capitale Culturale: Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage* La valorizzazione dell'eredità culturale in Italia. Atti del convegno, no. 5 (October 20, 2016): 15, https://doi.org/10.13138/2039-2362/1551.
[73] Various notices can be found among unfiled papers in Museo Diocesano 2, ASDO.
[74] During the meeting held on 2022/05/03 between the Mayor of Orte and Prof. Maria Ida Catalano, along with representatives of the municipal council and Tuscia University, the *Assessore alla cultura* mentioned the possibility of converting the Sala di Giobbe (the former Church of the Recommended, the property of the ASL that recalls the hospital tradition of the city) and Palazzo Novelli (municipal property located a few steps from the Cathedral) into an exhibition space.

explicated her esthetic orientation, since she considered the seat as "*la più suggestiva che il luogo potesse offrire*," individuated in the "*romanica chiesa di S. Silvestro, situata in una piccola piazza ove sorge una colonna che è uno dei pochi resti della primitiva Cattedrale*."[75] By reconstructing the history of local safeguarding (chap. III), it is now clear that the present structure was not restored with philological precision on the part of Arch. Sanguinetti who acted according to a post-war vision of the Romanesque, making, for example, acritical use of modern construction materials (fig. 23).[76] In lieu of its philological authenticity, in addition to its unstable microclimate, the real strength of the former church of San Silvestro today is its location in the city. The people of Orte particularly love Piazza Colonna, the square in front of the former church. This relationship deserves to be cultivated through active collaborations with adjacent merchants while including the owner of the adjoining garden, so as to provide at least sporadic access to the bell tower standing in the complex's former cloister (fig. 24). The interior of the structure should be entirely re-imagined by applying different strategies like "the biography of the thing" in which we learn about the monumental complex and its history through local narrative voices. Panels, conceived according to the criteria of Inclusive Design, could cite passages from Leoncini's memories of the Church of San Silvestro, or from Pasquinangeli's mention of the practically abandoned complex. This space would provide the right container in which to recount the commitment of Luisa Mortari (an *Ortana* by adoption) to safeguarding the artistic heritage of Orte, a place considered a frontier zone in the 1950's and 1960's. The display could include news and images of Max Hutzel's independent commitment to document the structure within its 'minor' urban context. In parallel, the citizens could be involved in telling the site's history by crowdsourcing personal photographs of Piazza Colonna and the San Silvestro complex, a strategy successfully adopted by the *#jestemkraków* ("I am Kraków") initiative which led to the co-creation of a community-based catalogue of historical photos of Kraków.

[75] Luisa Mortari, *Museo Diocesano di Orte* (Viterbo: Agnesotti, 1967): 5-6.
[76] *Cf.* Xavier Barral i Altet, *Contro l'arte Romanica?: Saggio su un passato reinventato*. Roberto Cassanelli, ed. (Milano: Jaca Book, 2009).





Fig. V-23. Detail of two elevations of San Silvestro. One can observe the indiscriminate use of concrete applied during the demolitions and consolidation work aimed at restoring the Romanesque facies *of the complex (Photo: Max Hutzel, 1967 (?), GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program); Fig. V-24. Piazza Colonna with Bar Colonna patrons, May 2020.*

Clearing out the former church of San Silvestro would give new importance to Palazzo Vescovile, the secondary seat of the Museo di Arte Sacra consisting of a conference room and two corridors hung with paintings from the 16th to 20th century and lined with display cases containing 18th-19th century liturgical furnishings and sacred vestments, as well as the particularly rich diocesan Archive. The collection preserves testimonies of a range of votive

works from area churches, but the overall exposition lacks a narrative strategy. San Silvestro could display documentary images, as mentioned above, while also becoming a conference space, a function now covered by a large room on Palazzo Vescovile's *piano nobile* which could, in turn, be converted into an exhibition space, dedicated to temporary exhibitions focused on specific aspects of the Diocesan art collection and archives (figs. 25-27). To optimize this project, the Museum of Sacred Art's collection could be transferred to an open storage system to be built next to the current conference room.[77] While museum storage often represents a curatorial "shadow cone," in this case the storage space would become an attraction, granting regular public access to Palazzo Vescovile, a place historically connotated with its exclusive, clerical vocation.[78] This idea draws from the open storage model applied at the Muzeum Krakowa's Thesaurus Cracoviensis (figs. IV-24 to IV-32) and aims to preserve artworks in a regulated and monitored microclimate and to offer visitors greater proximity to the artwork with the aid of state-of-the-art equipment (fig. 28). Palazzo Vescovile's 'doorway' to the city museum would be a 'museum-in-progress' dedicated to temporary exhibitions organized around either single artwork or a specific theme.[79] These experiences would, in turn, act as pilot projects in which to test exhibition choices and narrative strategies. The current conference room is well suited for this purpose and could become a laboratory for experimenting with the Diocese's artistic and archival heritage: a collection with stories that remain to be known and told.[80]

[77] In its current state, the first floor of the Palazzo Vescovile can only be accessed via the internal stairs. As of today, therefore, it is not accessible to all visitors, but the structure does provide toilet facilities, a service that San Silvestro currently lacks.

[78] Museo e Real Bosco di Capodimonte, "Storie ancora da scrivere "Depositi di Capodimonte. Storie ancora da scrivere," comunicato stampa, 2018/12/13, https://capodimonte.cultura.gov.it/depositi-di-capodimonte-storie-ancora-da-scrivere/.

[79] This idea draws from the firm Arca Systems, creators of the custom-built repositories at the Capodimonte Museum, which describes the repository as "*un percorso specializzato, una sorta di 'secondo museo' parallelo alle mostre, riservato agli studiosi*." *Cf.* "*Chi siamo – Arca System*," consultato 2022/05/07, https://www.arcasystem.it/chi-siamo/.

[80] "Depositi di Capodimonte. Storie ancora da scrivere," *Museo e Real Bosco di Capodimonte*. Press release (2018/12/19), https://capodimonte.cultura.gov.it/mdc/uploads/2018/12/cartella-stampa-depositi_19dic.pdf.



Fig. V-25. Photograph of the entrance to the Palazzo Vescovile, Orte (Photo: Croberto68, Creative Commons); Fig. V-26. Planimetry first floor of Orte's Palazzo Vescovile; Fig. V-27. Planimetry ground floor of the Episcopalian Palace of Orte (Plans: Studio Raccanello)

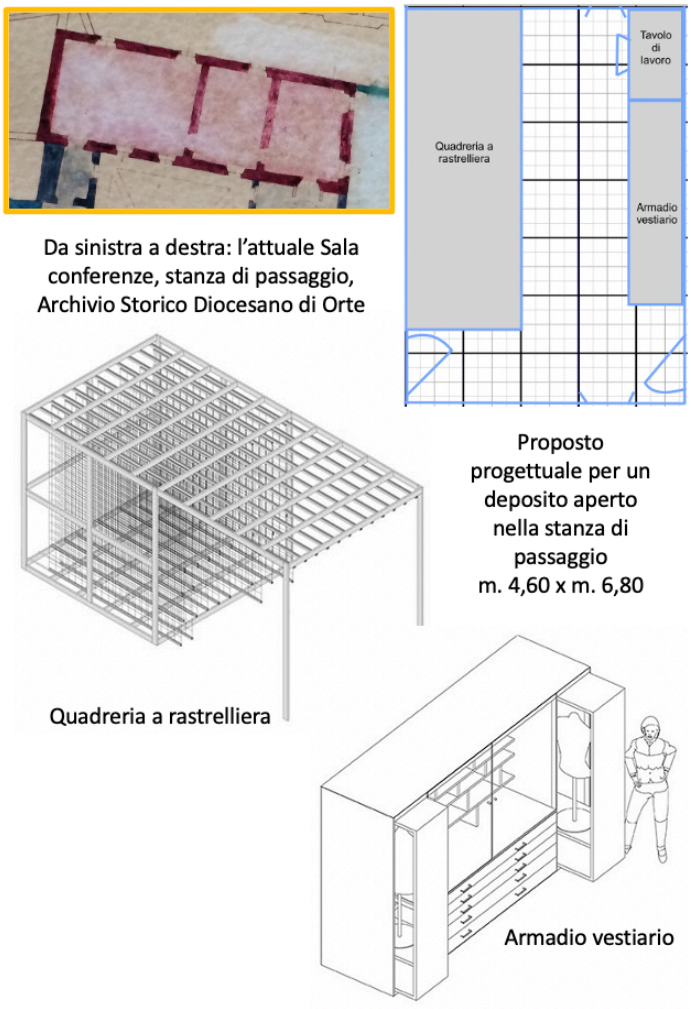


Fig. V-28. Floor plan of the area suitable to host temporary exhibitions and a storage area in Orte's Palazzo Vescovile, with images of proposed furniture (Source: Studio Raccanello); Drawing of the storage area (Source: Y. A. Mazurek); Proposed furniture (data sheets: Arca System)

The room between the conference room and the archive could be adapted to create a storage area in which paintings would be rehung on pull-out picture racks supported by load-baring steel frames. These would allow greater accessibility for both museum staff and visitors, and compact mobile shelving dedicated to liturgical furnishings and textiles would guarantee optimal conditions for viewing and safeguarding textiles with their gold and silver embroideries. Based on the model of Kraków's Heritage Interpretation Center, the storage area would also include an IT documentation center with a digitized inventory and a general catalogue of the works, including historic photographs by Gargiolli to Hutzel. It would also be important to collect heterogeneous images made by amateurs, even prompting visitors and residents to continue producing this type of images. In parallel, the whole collection is in need of a modern photographic campaign to be merged with diagnostic documentation and reports produced during recent restorations.



Fig. V-29. User-friendly graphics presenting key aspects of an 'open' and a 'closed' museum, according to the Wikimedia approach (source: Iolanda Pensa, "Tutti i musei italiani su Wikipedia," CC0).

It should be noted that among the city museums visited during this research, it was difficult to identify institutions that successfully integrated traditional painting galleries into the urban narrative. This work will most likely occur at a more mature phase of museum experimentation, as city museums learn to engage with their monumental testimony. To this aim, the open storage system would serve as a laboratory in which to conceive and co-create an open, participatory, and accessible museum.[81] Following Emiliani's footsteps, this museum space would draw on the concept of the "*opera aperta*" proposed by Umberto Eco, an opportunity to

[81] Andrea Emiliani, "Il museo, opera chiusa," in *Dal museo al territorio* (Bologna: Edizioni ALFA, 1974): 51-56.

stimulate "*un libero intervento interpretativo da parte dei propri destinatari*."[82] In line with web-based logic, the documentation center would host the museum's digital platform, for example, in the spirit of the Rijksstudio, a portal that allows visitors to draw from the Dutch collection, set up digital exhibitions, and design a personalized and geolocalized visitor path to be realized *in situ.*[83] Such experiments could also be informed by the recent collaborations between Torino's Museo Egizio and local teachers who became digital partners during the 2020 lockdown.[84] It would be preferable for this new season of documentation to produce content with Creative Commons licenses,[85] "to spread free knowledge" in collaboration with the Italian Wikimedia community (Fig. 29).[86] An open access policy would create an ecosystem of content, data and images in line with the standards already adopted by the scientific community and would facilitate collaboration between researchers, museum experts and the public. These are the new 'entries' that can bring 'minor' heritage closer to a wider public, while ensuring new areas of research and updated narratives.

To test new exhibition and narrative strategies, two pilot projects could be launched in the spirit of MUBHA's *Flashback Barcelona*, a show that acted as a 'dress rehearsal' for museum's future permanent exhibition which is currently under elaboration. The first suggestion is an in-depth exhibition that focuses on a single object, while extracting possible connections with other parts of the collections through which themes can progressively be identified. This kindo for exhibit should rely on modern museographic solutions – making use of maps, axonometries, engravings, photographs and augmented reality apps that evoke historical landscapes[87] – while drawing on materials preserved in the Diocesan archives (ASDO).[88] Meanwhile, the historical palimpsest of the very Palazzo Vescovile would also need to be recounted in this city museum branch, but this task requires new research much like Palazzo Nuzzi.

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[82] Umberto Eco, "Il ruolo del lettore," *Lector in fabula. La cooperazione interpretativa nei testi narrativi*, (Milano: Bompiani, 1979/ Apple Books, 2011): 8.
[83] "Rijksstudio," Rijksmuseum, consultato 2022/05/27, https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/rijksstudio.
[84] Example cited by Paola Matossi L'Orsa, Direttore Comunicazione Marketing e Relazioni Esterne at the Museo Egizio, during the lecture "Promuovere, comunicare," held online on May 27, 2022, hosted by the Fondazione dei Beni Culturali during the course *Musei e digitale*.
[85] Le modalità di mettere un museo online adottando l'approccio Wiki sono varie: Wikipedia, Wikisource, Wiki voyage, OpenStreetMap, Wikimedia Commons, e WikiData. Cfr. Iolanda Pensa, "Tutti i musei italiani su Wikipedia," lezione tenuta online il 24 maggio 2022 all'interno del corso *Musei in corso. Progetto di informazione e formazione per il Sistema museale Nazionale*, ospitata dalla Fondazione dei Beni Culturali.
[86] "Chi siamo," *Wikimedia Italia* (blog), consultato 2022/05/27, https://www.wikimedia.it/chi-siamo/.
[87] A. Gamberini e Chiesa, A., *Delle cagioni e de' rimedi delle inondazioni del Tevere con Pianta del corso del Tevere e sue adiacenze dallo sbocco della Nera fino al mare e profile di livellazione del medesmo*, Roma 1744.
[88] The potential of ASDO is limitless. One can imagine, for example, of a series of workshops developed with teachers and other stakeholders to promote the reading of primary sources to combat functional literacy.

Two exhibition proposals will be outlined below: one is dedicated to a valuable artifact from the diocesan collection to be reread philologically, the other regards a beloved local folk festival to be approached thematically. These two strategies would offer the public an interdisciplinary view of local art and documents while validating – or discarding – potential communicative strategies relevant to an updated version of Orte's urban narrative.

The earlier sub-section "Pageantry and penance. The 13th -14th centuries" (cf. Chapter 2) identified contents that could be translated into a monographic exhibition dedicated to Vannuccio da Viva's processional cross (figs. 30-32). Lando Leoncini noted that the reliquary cross, "*non è punto dissimile da quelle, che hanno le chiese Patriarcali di Roma che sogliono portare nelle letanie magiori et Rogationi*."[89] This piece of Sienese goldwork offers a glimpse at Orte in 1352, allowing us to understand both the quality of the artifact, as well as the values that spurred the work's creation. But, above all, this exhibition would bring to the fore the object's symbolic function in the aftermath of the first wave of the Bubonic Plague in 1348: liturgical functions that, to this day, draw the lively participation of Orte's *Confraternita Riunite* who reenact the *Via crucis* each Holy Week.

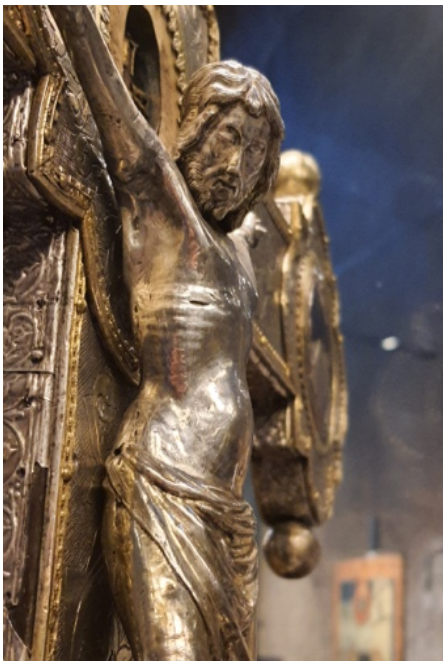


Fig. V-30. Detail of the crucifix from Vannuccio da Viva's Processional Cross of 1352

This itinerary experiments with Umberto Eco's reflections on "*Museo del terzo millennio*," setting up only one work at a time to create a coherent narrative within a contained exhibition. [90] Museographically, the show would recall the way in which the Museo di Santa Giulia displays the *Croce di Desiderio* as a solitary object (fig. 33). But, contrary to the saturated background created by the frescos of the former Church of Santa Maria in Solario, the exhibition space would enable a diversified audience to view the piece comfortably by providing chairs, didactic panels written in an accessible language, audio materials downloadable through QR-codes, and other resources displayed at various heights.

[89] Leoncini, II, c. 86v, parzialmente citato in Anselmi e Principi (2013): 58.
[90] Umberto Eco, "Il Museo nel terzo millennio," giugno 2001, http://www.umbertoeco.it/CV/Il%20museo%20nel%20terzo%20millennio.pdf.

The space would be divided in two: one side of the exhibit would allow visitors to concentrate on the artwork, while the other side of the space would experiment with postmodern strategies aimed at contextualizing the piece socially and historically (figs. 34-35).[91] The context would try to evoke the epoch in which the object was created, showing period documents like wills and inventories from which it is possible to reconstruct contemporary settings that could bring to life nightmarish demographic data related to the plague. It would also be important to reconstruct the role that the Cross played for the community over time, drawing on Leoncini's description of the penitentiary processions and the 'reinvented' processions of the Confraternite Riunite now performed at Orte. These narrative strategies could also evoke parallels between the Bubonic Plague and the COVID-19 pandemic, to elicit greater understanding and to allow visitors to identify with local history.[92]




Fig. V-31. Vannuccio da Viva, Processional Cross, 1352. Museum of Sacred Art, Orte (Photo: Max Hutzel, GRI, Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program); Fig. V-32. Vannuccio da Viva, relic of the True Cross, detail of the Processional Cross.

[91] Consider the strategies adopted by Germano Celant on the occasion of the exhibition *Post Zang Tumb Tuuum. Art Life Politics: Italy 1918-1943*, held at the Fondazione Prada in Milan in 2018. See *Fondazione Prada | POST ZANG TUMB TUUUM. ART LIFE POLITICS: ITALIA 1918-1943 | Exhibition Video*, 2018, https://vimeo.com/286510307.

[92] This kind of approach could also be used for the other objects in the museum that are emblematic of the themes addressed in the second chapter
Another three sections of the museum could be based on themes introduced in the third chapter, regarding the narration of Orte as crossroads: "From bridge building to crisis. The 12th -14th centuries" (The city takes shape, Pageantry and penitence), "Precarious stability. The 15th-16th centuries" (Clashes and promises of concord, Turbulent waters), and "Becoming a satellite city. The 17th-19th centuries" (Inattention and Subordination, Self-celebration and sublimation, A territory left to its own demise).



(right) Fig. V-33. Croce di Desiderio *at Santa Maria del Solario, Museum of Santa Giulia (Brescia); Fig. V-34. e V-35. Stills from the video of the exhibition* Post Zang Tumb Tuuum*. Art Life Politics: Italy 1918-1943, (2018) (source: Fondazione Prada, https://vimeo.com/28651030)*

The second pilot project would assume the same experimental quality applied to a monographic exhibition dedicated to six centuries of the Feast of Sant'Egidio (St. Giles). This exhibition would have as its founding nucleus the 1475-1480 *Polyptych of Sant'Egidio*, a painting attributed to Cola di Orte which is currently under restoration at Tuscia University's restoration labs. It depicts the brotherhood of the Holy Cross, the work's patrons recognized as the "*Compagnia di S. Egidio*" in the painted inscription on one of the panels (fig. 36). [93] Cola's painting would serve as a *leitmotif* through which to recount this local folk festival, devotional patronage, artistic techniques, and the remarkable plurality of 15th century Italian painting styles. The exhibition would also identify local and imported materials to explore how this artefact reflects local memories and identities.

Similar to the cult of St. Anthony in Lisbon, Orte's eight-day feast called the Ottava di Sant'Egidio's is characterized by rites that reinforce social cohesion and has been declined across the ages to meet the historical and cultural of a given time. In 1476, in the middle of a civil war that lasted for generations, Sixtus IV reconfirmed the plenary indulgence to the cult of St. Giles.[94] By contrast, Leoncini, a priest who was unaware of the post-Tridentine *innovatio,* described completely secular celebrations: the *Ludi teberini*, boating games and swimming on

[93] Mortari (1967): 19 Catalogue 4-7 and Table 21.
[94] Cavallaro (1994): 116.

the Tiber.[95] In the 20th century, the onomastic celebration was particularly indicative of the morphing *zeitgeists*: in 1913, Sant'Egidio was synonymous with a cattle fair; in 1939, the feast honored a powerful Abbot, a convenient subterfuge for a country under dictatorship; finally, in 1971, the event was disguised as a neo-medieval tradition to evoke the world 'of yore.' This last declination – which remains the feast's current form – marks a collective and 'lowbrow' response to the economic boom, the same phenomenon to which Pasolini produced his cinematic defense of Orte's heritage (fig. 37).

Ultimately, the intent of the second exhibition would be to narrate this folk festival conveying the fluidity of its forms across the ages, as well as its importance for the local community. Its didactic panels would employ clear and succinct wording capable of reaching new audiences, like Orte Scalo's multi-ethnic community, while also speaking to visitors from the capital who often reach *la provincia* conditioned by atavistic prejudices. The Casa dos Bicos and Santo António sites at Lisbon's city museum here too serve as models, in that their displays take on "*una forma di racconto […] strutturato secondo una matrice narrativa fondata su elementi organizzati secondo specifiche gerarchie in una sintassi funzionale ai contenuti da mostrare.*"[96]

[95] Leoncini, *La Fabrica Ortana,* vol. IV, (19r) 55r. *Cf*. Appendix F.
[96] Raffaella Trocchianesi, "Oggetti transitivi: il potenziale narrativo dell'oggetto nel progetto espositivo," in *Design vive di oggetti-discorso: design e narrazioni.*, Eterotopie 231 (Milano-Udine: Memesi Edizioni, 2014), 68, https://www.torrossa.com/it/resources/an/2968564.

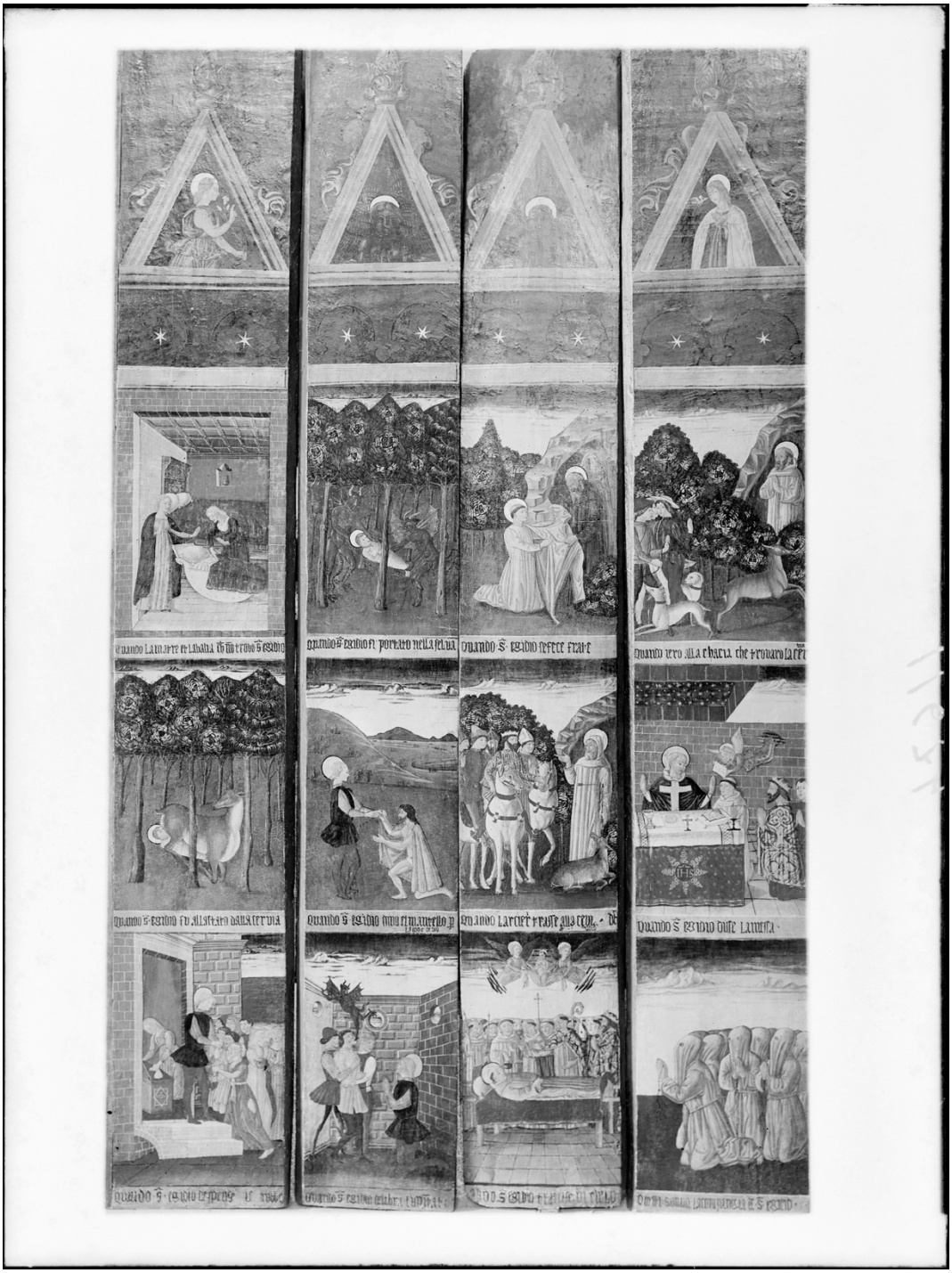


Fig. V-36. Cola di Orte, Polyptych of Sant'Egidio, c. 1475-1480. Preserved at the Museum of Sacred Art in Orte, currently under restoration at Tuscia University's Restoration Laboratory (Source: "E011674," GFN).

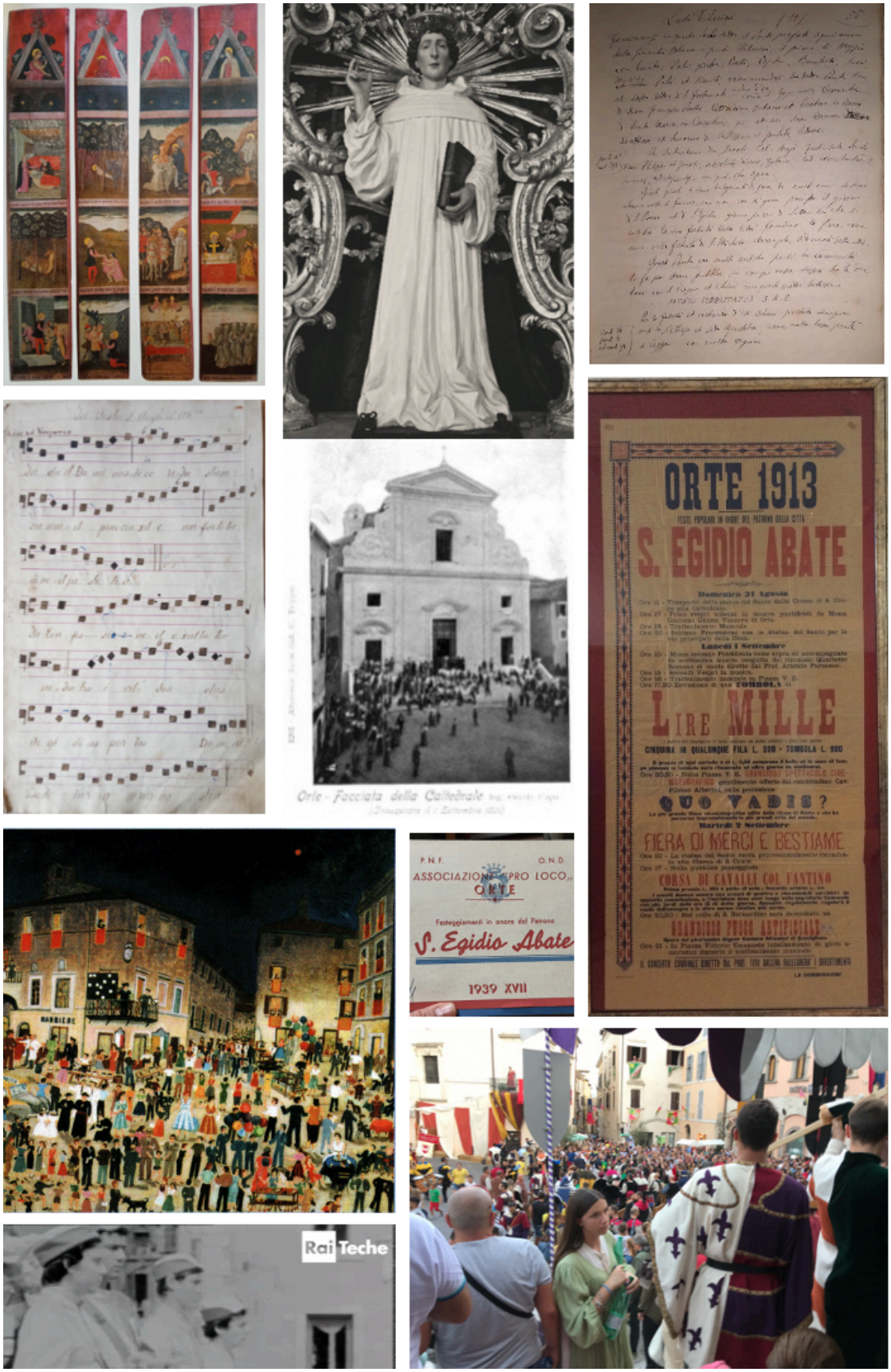


Fig. V-37. Six centuries of Sant'Egidio at Orte (Photo: Y. A. Mazurek and Abbondio Zuppante; provenance: Museum of Sacred Art, Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta, ASDO, ASCO, Municipality Offices of Orte, private collection, Teche RAI).

5.2. An open conclusion

Giocondo Pasquinangeli was first to express his wish for a "*museo cittadino*" and continued to voice his persevering commitment from his deathbed.[97] For decades, the scholar had laid the museum's foundations through activities he carried out together with a grassroots Archeological Committee, resulting in numerous territorial surveys aimed at safeguarding inscriptions, archaeological finds and works of art threatened by abandon or improper use. There was also Adolfo Venturi's 1901 survey of Orte which led to the restoration of numerous artworks in view of the bourgeoning museum. In the early 1950's, while preparing the exhibition *La Pittura viterbese*, Pasquingeli's idea was taken up again by Superintendent Emilio Lavagnino who recognized the potential of the collection locals had assembled in the city's Cathedral. Yet it was the government official Luisa Mortari who completed this safeguarding mission in the following decade, inaugurating the Museo Diocesano in 1967.

Today Pasquinangeli's idea has entered a third phase. This research hopes to have laid the groundwork needed for a metamorphosis capable of reordering local heritage collections and creating a polycentric city museum. Although the project may seem disproportionately ambitious for a town of less than 10,000 inhabitants, Orte as a crossroads lends itself perfectly as a bridgehead for the entire territory of La Tuscia – a model already announced by Pasolini in the 1974 press conference dedicated to *Le mura di Sana* – and as a cultural amalgam for many centers in upper Latium, Umbria, and Tuscany. This role that can, after all, be traced back millennia, as testified by Etruscan inscriptions up through the composition of visitors who attended events run by the Fondo per l'Ambiente italiano last spring.[98] A future city museum at Orte, much like the spirit of Leiria, could be conceived not as a destination, but as a starting point to discover local the micro-diversities so typical of the Italian peninsula. Moreover, it is important to consider the potential role of CAMOC, a committee composed of highly qualified

[97] Giocondo Pasquinangeli planned the bequest of one of his properties for the establishment of a "*museo cittadino*" for the restoration of the works to be placed in the museum itself, and for the construction of the church near the station. See Giocondo Pasquinangeli, Letter to Gisella Klumm (1925/07/10), Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4, ASDO. Appendix G.

[98] In March 2022, Francesca Groppi and Davide Vigliotti, the young restorers trained at Tuscia University who are now primarily responsible for the site, organized visits to Palazzo Nuzzi's *piano nobile* and the former church of the Raccomandati on the occasion of the two *Giornate di primavera FAI* (Fondo per l'Ambiente italiano). According to Davide Vigliotti, more than 700 visitors came from Orte, Lazio, Umbria and Tus
cany to attend the event. Its success has shown that Palazzo Nuzzi lends itself to become a point of attraction to raise awareness for the enhancement and restoration of Orte's cultural heritage. The event also confirmed the public's attraction to the practice of cultural heritage preservation as introduced by experts in the field. In general, restoration work takes on greater significance when the wider public can meet with professionals directly: a strategy that should be encouraged in the future. *Cf.* Davide Vigliotti, "ITINERARIO - PALAZZO NUZZI | Giornate di primavera FAI," FAI, consultato 2022/04/30, https://fondoambiente.it/luoghi/palazzo-nuzzi?gfp.

museum specialists interested in professional exchanges with museums and collections of all shapes and sizes. By joining this worldwide conversation, Orte could participate in a professional network that is ready to take up the challenge of enhancing the 'minor' heritage as the group meets regularly to reflect on common difficulties and to share noteworthy achievements.

Exchanges of this caliber would stimulate a 'minor' urban center to finally overcome limits imposed by the continuous promotion of a disempowering, stereotyped image. One hopes, therefore, that by launching a city museum, the community can begin to question localist and debilitating tendencies and update its self-perception. This is not a *rebranding* operation, but rather a 'construction site' that sees interdisciplinary experts working together with representatives of an entire community. At this sort of museum, narratives are co-created and include a multitude of local realities, putting people's lives into dialogue with the cultural and natural 'forms' present in city of yesterday and today. The participation of new actors will inevitably lead to paradigmatic changes. The hope is for Orte to realize its own museum within a polycentric network that can adapt to the changing tides. 'Worksites' like this can transform the past into a viaticum for the future. Concluding with the words of Olga Tokarczuk, master storyteller and muse of the Muzeum Krakowa, museology ultimately needs just one thing: "new ways of telling the story of the world."[99]

*****

You live wherever you live
You do whatever you do
You talk however you talk
You eat whatever you eat
You wear whatever clothes you wear
You look at whatever images you see

YOU'RE LIVING HOWEVER YOU CAN
YOU ARE WHOEVER YOU ARE

"Identity"
Of a person
Of a thing
Of a place

[99] Olga Tokarczuk, "The Tender Narrator," trans. Jennifer Croft and Antonia Lloyd-Jones (Stockholm, Sweden, 2019), https://culture.pl/en/article/olga-tokarczuks-nobel-lecture-the-tender-narrator.

"Identity"
The word itself gives me shivers
It rings of calm, comfort, contentedness.
Where is it, identity?
To know where you belong?
To know your self-worth?
To know who you are?
How do you recognize identity?
We are creating an image of ourselves,
We are attempting to resemble this image...
Is that what we call identity?
The accord
Between the image we have created
Of ourselves
And, uh... ourselves?

Just who is that... "ourselves"?
We live in cities
The cities live in us...
Time passes.

We move from one city to another,
From one country to another.
We change languages,
We change habits,
We change opinions
We change clothes
We change everything
Everything changes, and fast.

- Wim Wenders, *Notebook on Cities and Clothes* [100]

[100] Wim Wenders, *Notebook on Cities and Clothes* [*Aufzeichnungen zu Kleidern und Städten*], (Berlin:Axiom Films/Road Movies Filmproduktion 1989).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.
TRANSCRIPT OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN PIER PAOLO PASOLINI AND GIDEON BACHMAN (1974/09/13-14), CINEMAZERO ARCHIVES (PORDENONE)

PLACE: ..... Torre di Chia, Chia (Viterbo)
DATE: ..... 13 settembre 1974
FILE: ..... "pasolini 056 aa 26 PAS XXV I II 0026 AT CZ GB munich jazz + pasolini – viterbo 1 9-13-14.mp3"
TIMESTAMP: 00:02:05-00:42:23
ARCHIVE: ..... Archivi di Cinemazero, Fondo Bachman a Pordenone

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OTHER VERSIONS OF THIS SAME CONVERSAZIONE (1979-2015)

It was used as a primary source Gideon Bachman's article "Cara Tuscia," printed in the *Messagero* (22 settembre 1974): 3.

Partially transcribed by Luciano de Giusti under the title "La perdita della realtà e il cinema inintegrabile," *Cinema in forma di Poesia* (Pordenone: Cinemazero, 1979): 152-161. Reprinted in Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Per il cinema* (Milano: Mondadori, 2001): 2108-2109.

Transcribed by Daniele Zanello, intern at Cinemazero, Pordenone in 2014-2015.

The following text was transcribed by Yvonne A. Mazurek at Cinemazero from 2019/09/18-20 and then editted with the generous help of Jadwiga (Jadzia) Tedeschi.[1]

TRASCRIZIONE

[circa due minuti di silenzio]

BACHMAN: […]

PASOLINI: Si, sono di quelli che a lungo non parlano, lo sai

BACHMAN: No, questo si porta alla radio, perché questo si porta benissimo alla radio

PASOLINI: È impegnativa però questa cosa. Tecnicamente meravigliosa, però impegnativa

BACHMAN: No, no, beh l'ho costruito perché a un certo punto mi da noia di sempre andare avanti e indietro tutto il giorno ... poi la qualità sonora.

[1] At the conclusion of this research project, the same conversation was published in German as part of a project edited by the Swiss philologist Fabien Vitali whom the author met in person at the BHR i Rome in March 2022. It was not possible, however, to consult the two volumes due to time constraints. *Cf*. Gideon Bachman and Fabien Vitali, *Pasolini Bachman | Gespräche 1963-1975* (Vol. I) and *Bachman, Pasolini | Kommentar | Fabien Vitali* (Vol. II). Fabien Vitali e Gabriella Angheleddu, eds. (Maintal, Germania: Abnormal Arts Gallery, 2022). https://www.volkshausbuch.ch/buch/fabien-vitali-pasolini-bachmann

PASOLINI: Bellissimo, cos'è?

BACHMAN: Poi Questo qui vedi che è a forma di penna. Massimo lo posso anche mettere qui e non si nota come recorder.

BACHMAN: Poi Questo qui vedi che è a forma di penna. Massimo lo posso anche mettere qui e non si nota come recorder.

PASOLINI: Aaa

BACHMAN: La gente si è un po' più spaventata…

PASOLINI: Si, si.

BACHMAN: …della tecnica a un certo punto. Guarda, questa cosa del Lazio – sai chi ha da primo messo il dito su questa regione? Era Piero Gherardi.[2]

PASOLINI: A sì. Mi ricordo, infatti. Mi l'ho dicono. Sì, sì. L'ho conosciuto. Lo conosco. M

BACHMAN: Sì?

PASOLINI: mi l'ho ricordo ancora.

BACHMAN: Che una notte ero andato a Viterbo, non avendo mai visto Viterbo, e lui mi aveva parlato. Era in inverno. Sono andato a Viterbo così, per nessuna ragione, e sono stato in albergo di vecchio stile – liberty, un po' pre-liberty

PASOLINI: Si, si, sulla strada verso La Quercia, un po' fuori.

BACHMAN: Non mi ricordo dov'era. Proprio dentro la cittadina. E allora il portiere, non avendo niente da fare mi chiese: "Lei che fa?" Ho detto "Mah, cinema." [Il portiere rispose:] "Ah, abbiamo un signore qui del cinema. E allora in mezzo a questo inverno, in una stanza, un albergo di cose vuote c'era Piero Gherardi che era molto ridotto male, dev'esser stato un po' meno di un anno prima che è morto. Allora lui quella notte lì, in quest'atmosfera un po' tragica mi ha raccontato tante cose di questa regione. Lui si era comprato varie case lungo un lago. Dice: "poi io non sono mai più andato." Quindi sempre ha avuto un interesse. Quindi il fatto che tu ti sei messo qui, poi è naturalmente vicino Roma. Come mai che si è salvata questa regione?

PASOLINI: Si è salvata perché non è stata industrializzata. Perché è un po' una regione povera. Povera in cui non sono nate delle iniziative dell'industrializzazione, così. Ed è rimasta un po' abbandonata a sé stessa. E allora è proseguita un po' l'agricoltura – cioè, non ci è stato un tonfo dell'agricoltura come in altre [regioni?]. Poi certo la crisi c'è per quanto riguarda tutta l'agricoltura italiana, insomma – meno peggio che altrove – c'è una certa continuità. E [sono nate?] ultimamente [hanno cominciato a sorgere] delle piccole industrie

[2] Piero Gherardi (Poppi, 1909/11/20 – Roma, 1971/06/08) was an Italian architect, set and costume designer. He was a close collaborator of Federico Fellni and Mario Monicelli and nominated six times for the Academy Award for his work in *La Dolce Vita* and in *8½*. (fonte: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Piero_Gherardi, consultato il 22 settembre 2019).

che sempre per delle ragioni che mi sembrano abbastanza, abbastanza logiche sono decentrate; quindi, sorgono queste industriette in mezzo alla campagna anche nei posti più belli…una forma di fabbrichetta […]

BACHMAN: Appunto, se tu dici si è salvata a causa della mancanza di industrializzazione…

PASOLINI: Si questi ultimi anni è […] cominciata. Però con la recessione, suppongo questo finirà.

BACHMAN: Oppure farà una pausa e poi ricomincerà

PASOLINI: Oppure farà una pausa e poi ricomincerà…sì, purtroppo è così, ma si ma però comunque facciano sarà sempre una piccolissima […] una serie di fabbrichette, insomma – non ha l'aria di una regione fortemente industrializzata come per esempio a sud di Roma. No? Come Latina.

BACHMAN: Lì c'è la cassa del mezzogiorno

PASOLINI: La cassa del mezzogiorno, si

BACHMAN: Sarebbe una cassa del Lazio?

PASOLINI: Sarebbe anche questo…sì, insomma, non c'è l'aria, non c'è l'aria di un'industrializzazione forte. E allora però c'è il problema della miseria, in compenso. Cioè, è una regione povera che è ingiusto anche questo. Ecco allora perché mi interessavo, m'interessavo in questa storia dell'università. Perché se Viterbo ha un'università, un'università fatta in un certo modo – io pensavo di suggerire, pensavo di suggerire a … [une rumore forte. Forse cade l'apparecchio] … Aiii.

BACHMAN: No, va bene [si percepisce un rumore metallico vicino al microfono.]. Sì. Suggerivi… io guardo soltanto …

PASOLINI: […] se funziona? … No, pensavo di suggerire agli amministratori del comune di istituire certe facoltà. Per esempio, lingue, oppure una nuova facoltà di turismo; dico, come si chiama? Economia turistica. Oppure veramente specializzarsi in archeologie, cose che potrebbero servire per qui…

BACHMAN: Archeologia?

PASOLINI: Archeologia, sì. Turism..Lingue, perché, per fare una specie di università di Perugia, insomma.

BACHMAN: Pensavo subito Perugia.

PASOLINI: Appunto, è creare un'altra cosa un po' come Perugia. E allora l'arrivo di centinaia di studenti qui – dall'America o dall'Inghilterra o dalla Francia o, ancora dipende, dal terzo mondo sarebbe una soluzione per Viterbo. Sai, Viterbo è una piccola cittadina. Mah, cinquantamila, sessantamila. Poco più che un grande paese. E sarebbe una soluzione economica in un punto, una città dove non ce ne sono altre. Hai capito, quindi questa soluzione economica farebbe sì che [incomprensibile]… una soluzione economica creata da

un […] un […] iniziativa culturale. E quindi una cosa si rimanderebbe all'altra. In somma, hai capito? Questa organizzazione culturale acquisterebbe prestigio. E avendo prestigio presso i bottegai di Viterbo, presso, non so, i ristoranti, gli osti…Viterbo risuonerebbe un po' in tutta la regione. Anche per altre cose, soprattutto per la difesa del paesaggio. Perché ci sono certi paesi che sono interamente da farsi monumento nazionale, per esempio, a parte Bomarzo, che è stupenda non tanto per i famosi giardini, proprio per il paese, l'hai visto? È bellissimo.

BACHMAN: Sì, anche Vetralla

PASOLINI: Vetralla, sì. Ma poi c'è un paesino dopo Bomarzo, verso Attigliano, e si chiama Mugnano. Beh, sarebbe da prendere tutta la collina su cui sorge il paesetto intero, così, e farne una specie di parco nazionale…perché è di una bellezza…per non parlare si San Martino, vicino Viterbo. Per esempio, potrei farti un elenco di dodici, quindici città.

BACHMAN: Muniano?

PASOLINI: Mugnano, questo paesino piccolo dopo Bomarzo. Ma sai, parliamo poi di Tuscania, la strada che va verso Tarquinia. Che è quasi un enorme deserto stupendo. Poi tutta l'archeologia, le tombe. Insomma, c'è tutta una serie di cose che vanno difese insomma.

BACHMAN: Ieri c'era nel giornale una notizia che avevano trovato vicino a Cerveteri altre cose

PASOLINI: Si, tante altre cose

BACHMAN: però mancava naturalmente il personale per continuare gli scavi. E alla stessa pagina c'era scritto che almeno cinquecento furti archeologici sono compiuti dai cittadini della città.

PASOLINI: Hmm

BACHMAN: Annualmente

PASOLINI: Sì.

BACHMAN: Loro invece hanno il personale quando sfruttano per questi scopi molto personali. Se però noi andiamo sempre avanti pensando che, che salvare una regione si può fare soltanto attraverso modi che portano soldi—e quindi industria, e quindi progresso, […]—a un certo momento le iniziative tendono sempre a sopraffare l'intento, l'intenzione. Cioè, quando un paese diventa più ricco, vuole diventare sempre ancora più ricco. E lasciano… Come siamo passati adesso davanti a Orte, che è anche un gioiello…e davanti sorgono questi grattacieli ridicoli, proprio…come, che in un altro paese non si permetterebbe neache di costruire.

PASOLINI: Lo so, lo so. Io ho fatto un documentario su questo.

BACHMAN: Su questo?

PASOLINI: Sulla televisione.

BACHMAN: Davvero?! Ah, non sapevo.

PASOLINI: Ho fatto un documentario. Uno, un pezzettino, è inserito in quel, quel documentario che ho fatto su Sana'a, sulle mura di Sana'a. Ho aperto una parentesi parlando dello Yemen. Ho detto, per esempio, in Italia c'è una città che, in fondo, ancora, come colpo d'occhio, come situazione nel mondo naturale circostante (la collina, il Tevere che passa sotto, i vigneti, in somma) è uguale a Sana'a nel deserto, però, ecco qui, cosa hanno fatto. Ho usato l'inquadratura in cui, zumando leggermente in dietro dalla, dalla perfetta forma di Orte, si è scoperto questo, questo gruppo di immondi grattacieli popolare che hanno costruito lì vicino. Ora lì, la gente di Orte è, è molto sensibile a questo.

BACHMAN: A sì? E come mai che l'hanno [viene tagliata la domanda]

PASOLINI: L'ha percepita e l'ha sentita. Era indignata mentre lo facevano, ma sai che sono questi intrallazzi italiani a un certo livello per cui la gente non ha potuto intervenire perché la cosa è avvenuta un 6, 7 anni fa, 8 anni fa quando in fondo la gente era meno coinvolta nelle cose.

BACHMAN: E nella Città dei Papi non succederebbe lo stesso?

PASOLINI: A Viterbo?

BACHMAN: [Segno di consenso]

PASOLINI: Mah, a Viterbo hanno fatto già delle cose abbastanza tremende, proprio lungo tutte le mura di Viterbo – che sono stupende perché sono straordinarie, originali, costruite in un momento della storia che non è sopravvissuto in altri punti, o non so, o almeno che non si trattasse di un gusto particolare di Viterbo, non lo so – so che quelle mura sono bellissime, ma addosso alle mura hanno costruito case, case nuove, la strada che va a Roma…potevano, capito? Ora questo è stato fatto in un momento in cui questi problemi qui non venivano posti perché non erano drammatici come oggi, capito? (00:11:49)

BACHMAN: Tu pensi che questo, questa dialettica tra utilitarismo economico e mancanza di gusto – per salvaguardare le cose che hanno un valore esclusivamente estetico, storico – è una provincia, un'eredità specificamente italiana?

PASOLINI: No…no, no. Secondo me, questa, questa [presidia?] che sta passando adesso l'Italia, nazioni come la Francia, o l'Inghilterra l'hanno già sorpassata, l'hanno già passata psicologicamente

BACHMAN: Perché si sono industrializzati…

PASOLINI: Un secolo prima, circa. E quindi l'Inghilterra, in fatti, è distrutta.

BACHMAN: Però, in Inghilterra, questo non sarebbe potuto succedere.

PASOLINI: È successo nell'Ottocento.

BACHMAN: Gli intrallalazzi…però le cose che costruivano nell'Ottocento non avevano la stessa forza di distruzione, perché erano più piccoli.

PASOLINI: Beh, no. No, no. Guarda, tutte le città inglesi sono tutte città nate dall'industrializzazione. Nate da un'industrializzazione violenta. Se non altro, c'è un'altra cosa: che gli Inglesi hanno costruito le cose nuove con più gusto. Perché è una nazione veramente ricca.

BACHMAN: Ma hanno cent'anni di esperienza con questo fatto qui.

PASOLINI: Ma l'avevano da altri cent'anni prima. Insomma, è praticamente dal Seicento che è una nazione ricca, e potente. Ricca, e quindi quello che hanno costruito in Inghilterra in quel periodo è sempre stato fatto con criterio e buon gusto, pur distruggendo quello che c'era prima…la parte medioevale o rinascimentale.

BACHMAN: Oggi sono molto coscienti. Non si può costruire un tetto, cambiare la forma di una casa senza un permesso.

PASOLINI: Certo, ma questo che sta venendo adesso in Italia in maniera brutale – primo perché il neocapitalismo è ancora più brutale del primo capitalismo, anche per ragioni tecniche, economiche. Insomma, oggettive. È in più grande scala, è in scala mondiale, multinazionale. Quindi passa soprattutto come un carro armato – peggio del capitalismo, del palepcapitalismo che era nazionale, che era in fondo provinciale, eccetera, eccetera.

BACHMAN: Il paleocapitalismo al quale paragoni quello inglese di quel…

PASOLINI: Appunto. Allora è chiaro che oggettivamente il neocapitalismo che sta facendo oggi in Italia, quello che ha fatto il paleocapitalismo in Inghilterra un secolo fa, è peggiore. In più, c'è il fatto che l'Italia è povera. Quindi le cose nuove che costruiscono…sono sempre cose, eccetto rare eccezioni, sono cose miserabili – nuove ma miserabili. Grattacieli brutti, casupole […] micragnose, capito? Quindi il nuovo non è neanche un bel nuovo.

BACHMAN: Ma questi intrallazzi di cui parlavi?

PASOLINI: Ma sai, l'intrallazzo è una cosa molto italiana e latina, diciamo così.

BACHMAN: Appunto.

PASOLINI: In Inghilterra forse non c'è tanto l'intrallazzo – però c'è stato forse il progressismo nel capitalismo, la rivoluzione borghese che forse ha fatto in buona fede. Ha risanato, distrutto quelle vecchie case feudali, eccetera eccetera; ha costruito quella che si credevano nuova civiltà, rivoluzionaria.

BACHMAN: Però loro già nel fine Ottocento in Italia per esempio, oltre forse Garibaldi, non c'era un William Morris, cioè, persone di questo genere insomma.

PASOLINI: No, ma questo è oggettivo: l'Italia è rimasta praticamente fino a tutto il fascismo, e fino a dieci anni fa, una nazione ottocentesca.

BACHMAN: Cioè, anche nel miglior senso…

PASOLINI: Nel migliore e nel peggiore. La miseria, non a parte…ma anche nel migliore. Però è chiaro che appunto, l'Inghilterra appunto potrebbe essere una civiltà a livello molto più alto, potrebbe essere l'Inghilterra una nazione molto più ricca. Se non si è avuto rispetto per gli antichi monumenti poveri – non i monumenti ricchi, quelli si sono salvati, capito? Ma per […] lo Yemen il problema non è salvare le quattro moschee più belle della città, quei quattro palazzotti più belli. Il problema è salvare l'intera figura della città. La città nella natura, ecco. Capito? Quindi i risanamenti all'interno, eccetera eccetera.

BACHMAN: Forse il problema è tutto lì, cioè nella mantunenzione o nel mantenimento di un equilibrio con la natura, che il progresso distrugge inevitabilmente.

PASOLINI: sì, sì, ma basta che il progresso si ponga il problema. È sicuro se in Inghilterra [per una ragione qualsiasi] una regione come l'Alto Lazio, esclusa dall'industrializzazione, un miracolo – un'ipotesi sto facendo – forse in Scozia c'è qualcosa di simile, non mi ricordo. Se l'Inghilterra rimanesse come l'Alto Lazio, fosse sopravvissuta all'industrializzazione dell'Ottocento e quindi si presentasse il problema oggi, sarebbe risolto in maniera stupenda…

BACHMAN: O in Irlanda.

PASOLINI: O in Irlanda. Ecco, probabilmente una cittadina come Viterbo, con tutti questi villaggi e paesetti intorno, sarebbero rispettati profondamente proprio nel loro rapporto con la natura. E dovessero fare qualcosa di nuovo, lo farebbero distaccato. Cioè, non lo farebbero addosso.

BACHMAN: Venendo su qua, [se hanno bisogno di] queste cose brutte qua, perché non le mettono in un altro posto, altrove.

PASOLINI: Certo, sarebbe una cosa molto semplice. Cioè, sarebbe complicata perché le proprietà uno possiede un campo quindi lui si costruisce una casa dove ha il campo, diciamo così. Però basterebbe un minimo di programmazione, un minimo di interesse culturale da parte dei comuni, eccetera eccetera, e si potrebbe ovviare.
Viterbo è ancora al limite, hai capito, del poter fare questo. Un paese come Mugnano, o come San Martino, o come la vecchia Chia, si possono ancora salvare come farebbero in Inghilterra. Capito?

BACHMAN: E leggi ci sono?

PASOLINI: Ci sono delle leggi, ma secondo me…non le conosco direttamente. Non te lo so dire, non potrei dire…non mi sembra che non siano leggi che proteggano la città nel paesaggio. Forse proteggono i monumenti.

BACHMAN: Non sarebbe quindi il caso di, su scala nazionale, di istaurire delle leggi precise sulla salvaguardia…

PASOLINI: Credo che Italia Nostra si dia da fare, si dia da fare

BACHMAN: sì, lo so, però sono considerarsi così, dei pazzoidi, romantici, eccetera …recentemente per esempio questa campagna di bruciare le foreste, che mi sembra veramente una cosa organizzata da…

PASOLINI: A questo punto, veramente, è l'unico caso nel quale istituirei la pena di morte.

BACHMAN: Si, è veramente…stavamo parlando di queste cose…veramente mi viene una tale rabbia.

PASOLINI: Uno che brucia una foresta, io, a questo punto, non avrei pietà. Uno che uccide un altro uomo si capisce perché c'è la passione, chi sa cosa ci può essere in mezzo, ci può essere una malattia, un trauma infantile. Non oserei giudicarlo. Ma uno che distrugge una foresta, si, lo giudicherei. Ecco. Ma per tornare al nostro discorso, occorrono delle leggi che proteggono in modo più totale, insomma, le cose antiche. Cioè, Orte deve essere difesa in quanto tutta la città di Orte, non sui singoli monumenti, eccetera eccetera. È poi c'è una gerarchia, cioè, a questo punto un grande palazzo, una grande chiesa, a questo punto vale un muretto, vale un capitello, vale un tabernacolo, no? Vale una loggia…insomma, vanno difesi anche questi; vale un casale di contadini, ci sono dei casali di contadini, a questo punto, stupendi. Stupendi. Vanno difesi. Un casale di un contadino va difeso come una Chiesa.

BACHMAN: Ci saranno degli argomenti economici, più che altro, perché lo sfruttamento, come per esempio visto ieri a Genova – hanno confiscato un monastero su una roccia che da sopra ai portici – perché qualcuno lì ha visto che si poteva costruire anche un albergo, e non era protetto. Allora, l'ultimo [momento?] in comune, rendendosi conto ha agito…perché lì è molto esposto e in vista, ma tutti questi posti qui, nella campagna, eh,

PASOLINI: sono in balia delle speculazioni, certo…è per questo che, tornando al nostro discorso, io sto, mi do da fare, mi interesso di questa cosa per la creazione di un'università di Viterbo come centro culturale, eccetera eccetera. Siccome la città è piccola, e quindi è sorvegliabile, hai capito?

BACHMAN: Ci sarebbe un [vantaggio?] anche economico

PASOLINI: Un avamposto…Anche economico, perché tornando, tornando […] l'industrializzazione non si è fatta, e per almeno per i prossimi anni non si possono nemmeno pensare …fonti di ricchezza. E quindi l'agricoltura che beh, evidentemente va ridimensionata, e questo è programmato in tutta Italia secondo me, perché l'ha detto Cenfi, l'ha detto Fanfani, la questione dell'agricoltura. Quindi si sono rese conto, e vabbè.

BACHMAN: Sì, ma invece vanno a chiedere due miliardi alla Germania.

PASOLINI: Che pare […] America per il diritto di costruire […] ma a parte questo, vabbè, si daranno da fare per ricostruire un po' l'agricoltura. Un problema difficilissimo, perché la piccola proprietà è in difesa, mi spiegava il sindaco di Soriano in modo molto intelligente, che potresti interrogare.

BACHMAN: Ho conosciuto quello di Sovana, sono andato lì…un giovane, avrà ventotto anni il sindaco. È pieno di questi problemi. È cosciente, una persona molto

PASOLINI: Ma anche il sindaco di Soriano, innsomma…ma ce n'è, ce n'è abbastanza singolarmente. Ormai, insomma, si sta cominciando ad allargare questa coscienza. Allora, dunque, è che nel Viterbese, attraverso…ma attraverso, ma attraverso questo questo questo orrendo sviluppo, è implicato anche un certo disordinato progresso, capito? E quindi, certe

cose che prima non si sapevano si sanno, si circolano più le idee, eccetera. Allora, per concludere, l'unica possibilità industriale, industria è turistica in questa regione dell'Alto Lazio. Capito?

BACHMAN: Ma per questo si dovrebbe ridimensionare tutto il turismo in Italia, perché sa…sono stato via tutta l'estate. Ho parlato con tanta gente all'estero che normalmente andava in Italia, però non va più.

PASOLINI: Non va più perché è caduta un'Italia che aveva un presidio turistico. Quella è crollata. Però sono rimaste delle zone che hanno, che possono conservare, che hanno […] intatto la loro fisionomia e quindi possono avere un nuovo presidio turistico.

BACHMAN: Si, ma non si tratta di prestigio estetico. Si tratta del fatto, per esempio, sono apparsi in Germania, mentre che stavo lì, in vari giornali, delle storie orrende della gente alla quale è stato rubato tutto, e che la polizia diceva: ma, guarda, se lei viene qui in una macchina sportive deve aspettarsela che se sarà rubata. E in un giorno dove, al lago di Garda, a Malcesine, sono state rubate dodici macchine sportive aperte con targhe tedesche. E i carabinieri reagiscono in questo modo. Naturalmente, il prossimo turista, o le mille turisti, non vengono più.

PASOLINI: Ma per la delinquenza Italiana è tremenda, proprio gli Italiani stessi […]

BACHMAN: poi una cosa che fa molti turisti non vengono più in Italia, è una cosa che quasi mai si è parlato in Italia, è il chiasso. Il rumore che questo paese fa vivendo, che a uno straniero è spaventoso. Guardi che questo fatto in sé stesso…la gente non va più nelle città, a Roma, a Napoli, eccetera…eh, si dimentica il resto. Cioè, una zona può essere molto bella – se tu vai in un piccolo paese, diciamo che sei inglese o tedesco, non so, un turista normale con un po' di soldi in tasca; arrivi diciamo a Soriano, a questo paese, e diciamo che c'è lì un albergo, tu ti metti a dormire. E dalle sei della sera fino alle undici, non hai nessuna tranquillità, perché da tutti le finestre ti viene la televisione italiana. A alto livello. Oppure questa faccenda dei pappagallismi, del pappagallismo. Una volta era un'industria; oggi è un tale spavento alle donne, specificamente straniere, che il fatto che il Comune di Roma non ha per esempio un riparto che si occupa di questo, che è una cosa che è trattata così, con un po' di perbenismo, sai un sorriso, eccetera eccetera. Poi dico, ma le ragazze vengono anche per questo, questa vecchia, vecchia scusa che c'è… che a un certo punto la gente non sono, cioè voglio dire, che il turismo può essere rimesso in funzionamento soltanto con un cambiamento di atteggiamento di base. Non, va bene, c'è una zona bella. Ci sono zone belle anche in Iugoslavia dove la gente non va più, perché succedono le stesse cose. Quindi in Spagna, eccetera. Sai che il turismo scozzese è aumentato moltissimo da Inglesi che una volta andavano nei paesi del sud, e adesso in estate vanno in Scozia, anche perché costa di meno. Perché una volta costava di meno qua, adesso si è rovesciato. Comunque, anche per tutti questi argomenti qui, che sono importantissimi da città…di un paese che ha bisogno di appoggio, eccetera. Se poi verrebbero trecento o seicento studenti in una città come Viterbo, e sarebbero esposti a tutto questo macello di vita anche campagnola che in fondo è la stessa come c'è…che sono cose difficilmente a toccare; l'Italiano si sente sempre aggredito quando gli dici queste cose. Sei io in un ristorante accanto a me, dove fanno chiasso fino alle due-tre del mattino, io non riesco…dico: ma perché siete obbligati sempre a fare tanto chiasso? Arrabbiandomi a un certo punto, dopo mesi e mesi…dicono: ma come noi? Non ti piace l'Italia? Ma vai via! Questo…l'Italiano non difende mai l'Italia se non quando è toccato…e questi sono argomenti che nessuno…

PASOLINI: Beh, ma cosa vuoi? Non sono mica argomenti turistici questi qui. Questi sono argomenti di politiche interne. Cioè, il pappagallismo di cui tu mi dici è frutto della tolleranza, della permissività concessa a un popolo che non se l'è conquistata. Hai capito? E allora il pappagallismo è diventato una forma orribile, patologica, nevrotica di essere. Il chiasso e la maleducazione è il benessere dato a una popolazione che non se l'è conquistato. Capito? Cioè, il potere consumistico in Italia è un potere dall'alto come in Inghilterra o in Francia o anche in Germania, non riesce nemmeno a concepire. Qui è stato tutto…è stato una befana. In Italia è arrivata una befana. E ha concesso queste cose. Capito? Adesso ci stanno multinazionali…

BACHMAN: Con l'industrializzazione a scatto

PASOLINI: Un'industrializzazione improvvisa, con interessi non soltanto nazionali, ma appunto plurinazionali o transnazionali. E quindi la furia a guadagnare, ad avere dei profitti immediati dei piccoli industriali che si sono aggregati alla grande industria; tutto questo ha fatto si che il potere consumistico sia stato una befana per gli italiani. Soprattutto del centro-sud. E quindi cosa vuoi? Gli escatenati nel weekend, hai capito? E ha dato loro proprio un'euforia che si manifesta in queste forme arcaiche, rozze, di maleducazione. E qui, a questo punto, non è in vista del turismo che tu puoi cambiare questa mentalità, la devi cambiare in vista di una politica interna italiana. Ed è un lavoro da mettersi le mani nei capelli. Che guarda, il pappagallismo è lo stesso, che puoi dire, "Vi abbiamo concesso la permissività, ma poi con questa permissività dovete essere educati." Ora mi da di no perché li hai nevrotizzati. Un giovane italiano che impropriamente può fare mambassa di tutto, mentre fino a soltanto sei anni fa le sue ragazze erano tutte in casa, così, come monache, erano quasi velate. In sei anni, impropriamente, può far tutto. Hai capito? E il poter far tutto l'ha nevrotizzato in una maniera spaventosa. Sono nevrotici gli italiani, gli italiani sessualmente una volta erano molto equilibrati, quando c'era la repressione. Con la tolleranza, sono diventati tutti nevrotici. Ora dovresti istituire, fare delle case di cura in Italia. Perché si possa prendere il turismo in quel senso lì… Hai capito?

BACHMAN: sei milioni […]

PASOLINI: però, per tornare a Viterbo, visto che partiamo da qui, ecco, è strano dirsi, il fatto che la provincia di Viterbo, l'Alto Lazio, la Tuscia, diciamo così, sia rimasta esclusa da questa…dalla befana – la befana di qui non è passata – quindi l'agricoltura, più o meno è continuata, adesso…e il mondo è rimasto veramente abbastanza simile all'Italia che amavano i turisti stranieri, cioè veramente c'è una pace profonda dalle sei di sera in poi, fin troppa. Se venissero questi trecento, quattrocento, cinquecento studenti a far Lingue a Viterbo, troverebbero fin troppa pace, capito?

BACHMAN: Non c'è troppa pace.

PASOLINI: No, no. No, no, guarda, ti assicuro! Guarda, se vuoi stasera venir con me, stasera andiamo a Viterbo, vedrai il silenzio profondo che si sente nella città e in tutti i paesi intorno, non ci sono televisioni che fanno… . No, no, no, non ne senti una ti assicuro. E la gente è molto mite, di un'estrema mitezza, di un'estrema educazione…in tutta la Tuscia.

BACHMAN: E non credi che…

PASOLINI: In tutta la Tuscia

BACHMAN: …che, sviluppando economicamente, arriverebbe questa…

PASOLINI: Sai, è per questo che io, forse utopisticamente punto su questa cosa dell'università. Mi piacerebbe perché sia uno sviluppo che va di pari passo con il progresso perché, in fondo, quei miei articoli cui accennavi tu prima, eccetera eccetera, in che cosa si potrebbero riassumere? Nella lacerazione che è avvenuta in Italia dovuta al fatto che c'è stato lo sviluppo, ma non il progresso. Eh, capito?

BACHMAN: [Versi di assenso]

PASOLINI: Ha questa orrenda dicotomia.

BACHMAN: Ma sai, io penso una cosa che è importante in questo…che penso che prima la gente funzionava emozionalmente sulla base delle generazioni, avevano una certa fede. Forse qui si esprime in la famiglia. In altro paese, nella religione, in un altro in un'altra media. Cioè, avevano una continuazione. Oggi che sono caduti tutti 'sti miti, tutti hanno quasi bisogno, per avere un senso di identità, di far tutto entro lo spazio che hanno quei pochi che hanno la vita. E quindi non pensano più al futuro, non pensano più al passato, non pensano più all'altro, non pensano più a niente. È tutto…geneticamente uno sviluppo dove il cambiamento culturale ha alterato quello biologico. E quindi in fondo è come la gara tra Achille e la tartaruga. Perché non è riprendibile, in fondo è una tragedia probabilmente interminabile, che forse con certe iniziativi in qualche posto si può ritardare, ma…cioè, vedo che pessimisticamente questo sviluppo…

PASOLINI: Ma sai, nei paesi, per esempio, torniamo all'Inghilterra o la Francia, tutto questo è meno tragico. Meno tragico, sai perché? Perché lì ci sono state due precedenti acculturazioni, o centralizzazioni. Cioè, prima quello monarchico, di carattere aristocratico-feudale, che ha centralizzato, eh…in Inghilterra rispettando le autonomie locali; in Francia molto meno, ma insomma, comunque è avvenuta una centralizzazione…mmm, quindi politica, linguistica, culturale…prima. Poi c'è state la grande acculturazione della rivoluzione borghese e della prima industrializzazione, che in quel momento, come del resto dice Marx, era rivoluzionaria. Marx è un grande, si toglie tanto di cappello alla borghesia nel momento stesso in cui l'accusa dei suoi crimini. No? Perché quando viveva Marx, la borghesia era rispettabile, era in quel mondo rivoluzionaria. Ecco. E allora c'è stata questa grande acculturazione borghese; che invece in Italia non c'è stata né l'acculturazione di una monarchia centralistica, né l'acculturazione di una borghesia rivoluzionaria. Questa è la prima acculturazione che l'Italia sperimenta.

BACHMAN: Cioè distruzione…di valore

PASOLINI: La distruzione dei valori tradizionali, quelli che passavano di generazione in generazione, di padre in figlio, in un rapporto dal punto ormai fissato in modo, in codici millenari da padre in figlio, eccetera, eccetera. Quindi è stato un colpo di spugna così traumatico, che ecco, poi i risultati sono atroci. Io sono arrivato a dire in un certo momento che forse l'Italia di questo momento assomiglia alla Germania di trent'anni fa quando è venuto Hitler. Forse, non lo so'.

BACHMAN: Forse, anche politicamente

PASOLINI: Anche politicamente perché tutte e due le nazioni non hanno non hanno una una tradizione nazionale, ma regionale, diciamo così, no? I piccoli stati. Quindi un'unificazione improvvisa…ma mentre in Germania l'industrializzazione su scala nazionale, totale è avvenuta allora, in Italia sta venendo adesso. Cosa ha fatto quell'industrializzazione? Ha strappato il popolo, i lavoratori, gli umili, da queste sue tradizioni antiche, da questi suoi valori particolari e reali, concreti. Gli ha strappati, e gli ha avviati a diventare dei piccoli borghesi. In questo momento di passaggio, quando il popolo non era più non aveva più i suoi valori che lo proteggevano, perché gli offrivano dei modelli da realizzare, e li realizzavano, no? Un bavarese, […]? Non avevano più questi valori tradizionali e non avevano ancora raggiunti i valori piccolo-borghesi che venivano loro proposti dall'industrializzazione.

BACHMAN: Hanno perfino, sono finito a odiare questi valori tradizionali, perché non corrispondevano al cosiddetto progresso.

PASOLINI: Si, gli hanno odiati, gli hanno abiurato. È l'abiuro che sta avvenendo in tutto il terzo mondo in questo momento. L'abiuro dei loro antichi valori. Quindi gli hanno odiati, calpestati, disprezzati, cosa che sta avvenendo adesso in Italia. E da una parte non erano ancora in grado di essere dei veri borghesi. Cioè, di realizzare il modello borghese di vita, perché allora economicamente, non…allora, quest'enorme massa fluttuante, forse una costruzione romanzesca visto […] lo sto mettendo in un mio romanzo. Questa massa fluttuante enorme di gente ha fornito le truppe alle SS.

BACHMAN: Sì, infatti, perché […]

PASOLINI: Chi erano le truppe delle SS? Chi erano le… Forse i capi no, nei capi, nei capi la degradazione o l'involuzione diciamo culturale è diversa. Ma la truppa secondo me si spiega se non altro così. Allora io a questo punto devo fare una specie di *mia culpa*, […] *mia culpa.* Sono stato razzista perché ho avuto sempre, di fronte ai tedeschi, un atteggiamento un po' razzistico. Perché da ragazzo, visto ch'è l'SS, ho provato un tale spavento e ho legato l'SS alla Germania, poveretta. E invece le SS non sono un prodotto tedesco, non si inseriscono in un modello Germanico. Le SS si inseriscono in un modello borghese.

BACHMAN: Era la gregge che cercava…

PASOLINI: era la… e adesso infatti questo sta avvenendo adesso in Italia. Mi sono accorto che adesso, quell'odio razzistico che provavo verso la Germania, lo sto provando identico verso l'Italia. Vuol dire che non ho una questione di razzismo, insomma è un fatto politico e sociale. E allora secondo me se, per caso, oggi ci fosse una recessione come nel Ventinove, e questa recessione portasse con sé un arcaico sopravvissuto, e non è impensabile, colpo di destra…adesso l'Italia sarebbe matura per fornire truppa all'SS, e non più la milizia fascista, ecco, capito?

BACHMAN: Questo lo dico da due anni, mi dicono sempre: no, in Italia il lavoratore e il contadino sono talmente ben […] sono andato a Parma per vedere Bernardo a far tutt'una […]. E lui è anche positivismo, fiducia…: guardi, tu dici referendum. Sai che le elezioni tedesche prima, quelle prima di Hitler, c'erano 40% della sinistra […]. E allora è successo lo stesso. Ah dice: sì, ma il nostro contadino oggi è preparato, ha letto, capisce, non so, io…

PASOLINI: Sai perché? Perché Bernando non ama i contadini.

BACHMAN: Hai capito questo

PASOLINI: Eh. Cioè ottimisti sono coloro che non amano, insomma. Soltanto una persona che ama sta in pena a vedere uno che cambia, che prova dolore per un suo cambiamento, eh. Uno che non ama se ne frega…capito? Se ne frega e tende a essere ottimistico per non aver problemi.

BACHMAN: Infatti mi sembra molto superficiale questa faccenda.

PASOLINI: Ma tutti, guarda tutti. Io dico questa cosa questa cosa qui, che il referendum non è un segno tutto positivo, che è positivo in un certo senso, perché, sì indubbiamente […] ma c'è anche un forte lato negativo in quanto il 'no' è stato suggerito non tanto dalle sinistre quanto dalla televisione. È la televisione che ha reso il cittadino italiano consumista, e quindi laico, e quindi irreligioso. È la televisione che è assolutamente, totalmente, completamente irreligiosa. No? C'è un […]

BACHMAN: […] atto della televisione

PASOLINI: […] ma non, alla televisione italiana. Dimmi un attimo, una parola dove ci sia una spiritualità religiosa. Mostrano forse delle cerimonie religiose – il papa che va qua, benedice qua, benedice di là, benedice a destra, sinistra…ma quello è ufficialità, no?

BACHMAN: Non so, non lo guardo mai

PASOLINI: Non lo guardo mai, ma insomma suppongo che sia così ma io […] non c'è mai una parola, un fotogramma religioso. Quindi è la televisione che ha spinto gli Italiani pratica al 'no.' Perché un consumatore deve essere divorzista. T'immagini un consumatore, e.

BACHMAN: Deve essere aggiornato a ciò che legge nei…

PASOLINI: E certo, e certo…e poi un tipo nuovo di famiglia che non è abolita, ma è rilanciata in un altro modo, una famiglia moderna, eccetera eccetera. E quando io dico queste cose sono guardato come, come un disfattista. Invece io lo dico perché io amavo quel mondo, quegli italiani lì.

BACHMAN: Sai che la gente non ama essere amata?

PASOLINI: Le singole sì

BACHMAN: Si, le singole sì, ma come gruppo sociale, come così…quando c'è uno che dice 'ma vi voglio bene,' subito, subito…invece quando arrivi con odio, con una macchina in una città a fare chiasso, rubi a tutti quanti…c'è la stima della gente. Vogliono anche loro essere così. E questo è un altro fatto consumistico, veramente…

PASOLINI: Sì, sì, ma questo è una cosa, un fenomeno recente, perché invece una volta no.

BACHMAN: No assolutamente, perché una volta si identificava l'individuo con la società. Oggi l'individuo è totalmente in gara con la società. Cioè, la società è la grande minaccia, e si tenta a andare a captarla…a… […]

PASOLINI: Si esorcizza realizzando in maniera adulatoria e nevrotica sui modelli

BACHMAN: Esattamente, sì…come la coppia, per esempio, è proprio per me l'avanzo della tribù…cioè l'unità sociale più piccola ancora possibile. E tentiamo di mandarla avanti con tanti sforzi…cioè, l'unità di due anime…di mantenere qualche contatto che non sia esclusivamente ogni per sé, dalla nascita alla morte, sempre soli, sempre soli…che è veramente la sorte della società industriale. Che ti isola.

PASOLINI: Infatti, questa recessione industriale ha rilanciato la coppia. Hai visto come è di moda la coppia, adesso? Ma è una coppia completamente falsa, insincera, di un'insincerità spaventosa. Vedi i ragazzi che impropriamente, presi da chissà, da quale slancio romantico, per strada se non altro tenendosi mano per mano, la ragazza col ragazzo, oppure abbracciati…cos'è quest'improvviso romanticismo, tu ti chiedi? Niente. È semplicemente la nuova coppia rilanciata dal consumismo, perché questa coppia qui è consumistica.

BACHMAN: Compra

PASOLINI: Compra

BACHMAN: Esattamente

PASOLINI: Tenendosi mano per mano, vanno poi dove alla Rinascente, Io bimbo, oppure…

BACHMAN: Hai visto questa pubblicità della Rinascente? A me mi […] questo soggetto che non esaustiamo, non si può esaust…

PASOLINI: Esaurire mai.

BACHMAN: Esaurire mai. Comunque, qui c'è una pagina penso del *Messaggero*. Hai vista che c'è una serie di articoli del genere che ieri o l'altro ieri c'era su Foligno

PASOLINI: Ah no

BACHMAN: La terza pagina, che parla ogni tanto una pagina, proprio di questo genere, dove questo si inserisce, inserisce …adesso non so se sono tutti fatti dalla stessa persona o meno. Comunque…

PASOLINI: Ho capito…beh, cerca di dire a Pietra. Potrebbe, questo cosentino qui si saprebbe perché fanno il giorno Ventitré o Ventiquattro una riunione alla Regione del Lazio…Mario forse glielo dice si potrebbe anche dare… per decidere se …diciamo cosetta, la localizzazione dell'università per […] a Viterbo, c'è l'università, l'università è privata…è un consorzio di Viterbo che ha fondato questa università privata che ha cinque anni ormai. Ma gli studenti che la frequentano poi non sanno che farsene di questa documentazione, penso sono non so, un centinaio, così…pochi perché non…pagano ma la laurea non ha valore, quindi non gli serve andare all'università.

BACHMAN: Lo fanno questi del posto

PASOLINI: Lo fanno questi del posto per seguire dei corsi perché sono fatti, tenuti da professori bravi…però a loro non serve, e allora loro devono statalizzarla questa università perché si sviluppi. Per altro poi l'università di Roma poi è quella cosa tremenda che tu sai. No? Sono centotrentamila persone […], che non vanno mai, una cosa tremenda. Quindi mi sembra che un decentramento per l'Alto Lazio, per il Basso Lazio serve. È assolutamente urgente, in somma. Ecco, e loro, loro aspettano questa statalizzazione che deve essere preceduta, che può esser decisa dal Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, credo. Ma deve avere come avallo il benestare della Regione. E questa si chiama localizzazione. Allora la Regione si riunisce entro il Ventitré per dare la localizzazione…per dire se a Viterbo, si localizzi un'università. Dopodiché, poi, il Ministro dell'Istruzione la statalizza, e allora può svilupparsi. Allora, siccome […] di questa localizzazione e a questa localizzazione avevo intenzione di andare anche io insieme con questi di Viterbo, e porterò con me spero anche Moravia, Bruno Zevi, adesso chi glielo chiederò…Bassani, come…hai capito? E andrei insieme con loro proprio perché a noi sta a cuore che ci sia questo centro culturale qui…per fare quei salvataggi che possiamo fare. Capito? Questo te lo do come notizia.

BACHMAN:…questo diciamo …[voce coperta dai rumore di fondo]

PASOLINI: Vuoi che adesso che loro lavorano qua che ci spostiamo di là noi?

BACHMAN: Va bene.

APPENDIX B.
"PRESENTATION" BY PIER PAOLO PASOLINI (1970). TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION (IT-EN), CASARSA DELLA DELIZIA

WITH EXCERPTS FROM THE PARATEXT PUBLISHED IN *CASARSA DELLA DELIZIA. CINQUANTENARIO DELLA SOCIETÀ COOPERATIVA DI CONSUMO. 1919 – 1969*



Casarsa della Delizia

Cinquantenario della Società Cooperativa di Consumo
1919 - 1969

Presentazione

Mi è difficile scrivere una presentazione a un libro come questo. Potrebbe scriverla molto meglio mia madre. Lei infatti ha visto Casarsa quando non c'era la luce elettrica e la stazione; l'ha vista quando in mezzo alla piazza passava la roggia. Io no. Quando ero bambino io, in mezzo alla piazza coi marciapiedi, c'era il lampione della luce elettrica, sotto cui giocavamo a prendersi. Si può parlare meglio di una Casarsa lontanissima, piuttosto che di una Casarsa lontana. È vero che la mia memoria è anche la memoria di mia madre. E la sua Casarsa è come se l'avessi vista con i miei occhi. Ma queste sono cose che si possono scrivere in poesia, e senza molto rispetto, quindi, per i ricordi altrui.

Casarsa è profondamente cambiata. È il campione di un paese neo-capitalistico; e lo sarà di più quando, spero fra pochi anni, saranno rientrati tutti gli emigranti. La Cooperativa? La Latteria? Per me sono due luoghi dello spirito, che ormai frequento nei sogni.

Nella Cooperativa, luogo sacro posto sulla strada che va verso il Tagliamento, poco prima di una pompa (è la geografia di un bambino ostinato), c'era, ecco Sior Lorenzo e un fiabesco profumo di salame; la Latteria era un luogo sacro che si trovava addirittura fuori dalla [topografia], nella [topografia] dei sogni; la strada non asfaltata in cui sorgeva, spandendo il suo acuto e poco rassicurante odore di latticini – che dava una specie di spavento – aveva un'ubicazione che per un bambino era inconciliabile con ogni realtà; ricordo il fango e la polvere di quella strada, che solo dopo dieci anni, o più tardi, ha [ho?] saputo dove andava a finire. Sia gli inverni che le estati vi giocavamo un ruolo straordinario; ma l'inverno fu più inverno e l'estate fu più estate che in Via Segluzza.

D'altra parte – a causa delle esperienze infantili rimaste inalterate nella memoria – esistono due Casarse nettamente distinte: quella della r[e]altà e quella dei sogni. Per esempio, nella Casarsa dei sogni, il paese non finisce dietro la chiesa; al contrario, proprio lì dietro sorge una cattedrale un po' in rovina, di un seicento rustico dal fasto orientale, le cui pareti, in parte crollate, lasciano vedere gli affreschi dell'interno, con azzurri un po' freddi e forme vagamente gotiche; e dietro questa cattedrale (che è la vera chiesa di Casarsa) c`è una profonda e verde vallata, in fondo a cui scorre un ruscello, e qui l'aria è stranamente più toscana o laziale che friulana. E ancora, per via Roma, a destra prima della casa dei Lucchesi, c'era un muretto, con dietro dei tigli: da bambino non riuscivo a cosa ci fosse dietro quel muretto (ricordo perfettamente invece l'acuto odore «storico» dei tigli), e così adesso qualche volta me lo sogno, sempre uguale: si tratta di una ripida china con degli arbusti, stranamente grandiosa, come l'argine di un grande fiume; e anche lì, in fondo, scorre un ruscello. Ciò che è andato veramente perduto, sia nella Casarsa della realtà, che nella Casarsa dei sogni, sono le rogge. E queste le rimpiangerò tutta la vita. Con la Latteria e la Cooperativa, le rogge sono cose «di un tempo», anteriori alla trasformazione capitalistica, e cioè perdute nei secoli dell'epoca contadina, senza soluzione di continuità con le selve romanze, con le invasioni dei barbari, con la chiesa di Cristo. Ora tutto ciò è finito, in una rapida evoluzione, di cui ci vantiamo. E tuttavia non vogliamo, ancora, arrenderci a dimenticare.

PIER PAOLO PASOLINI

Presentation

It's difficult for me to write the presentation of a book like this. My mother could write it much better. She saw Casarsa when there was, in fact, no electric lighting nor the station; she saw it when the *roggia*[3] passed through the middle of the square. Not me. When I was a child, in the middle of the square lined with sidewalks, we used to play tag under an electric lamppost. It's more apt to speak of a very distant Casarsa than a distant Casarsa. It's true that my memory is also my mother's memory. It's as if I've seen her Casarsa with my own eyes. But these are things that can be written through poetry, and therefore with little regard for others' memories.

Casarsa has changed profoundly. It's an exemplary neo-capitalistic town; and it will be even more so when, I hope in a few years' time, all the emigrants will have returned. The Cooperative? The Dairy? For me those are two places of the spirit which I now visit only in my dreams.

In the Cooperative, that sacred place on the road leading to Tagliamento, just before a pump (this is the geography of a tenacious child), there was, there he is Mr. Lorenzo and a fabled smell of salami; the Dairy was a holy place that found itself well beyond topography[4], in the topography[5] of dreams; the asphalt-less road where it arose, emanating its sharp smell of dairy of little reassurance – it gave off a sort of fright – was located in a place that, for a child, was incompatible with all realities; I recall that road's mud and dust, it was only after ten years, or even later, that it [I?] knew where it [I?] would end up. Both in winter and summer, we played an extraordinary role there; but winter was more winter and summer was more summer than in Via Segluzza[6].

Elsewhere – due to childhood experiences which have remained unaltered through memory – there are two, distinct Casarsas: that of reality[7] and that of dreams. For example, in the Casarsa of dreams, the town doesn't end behind the church; to the contrary, just in the back, a slightly ruined cathedral arises, a rustic 17th-century structure with oriental pomp, whose partially collapsed walls allow the interior's frescos to be seen, with rather cold blues and vaguely Gothic forms; and behind this cathedral (which is Casarsa's true church) there is a deep and green valley, where a brook flows in its depths, and here the air is strangely more Tuscan or Latian[8] than Friulan. And still, along Via Roma, swinging right before reaching the Lucchesi's home, there was a wall, with linden trees behind it: as a child I couldn't fathom what was behind that wall (I remember the sharp, "historic" smell of lindens perfectly), and so now sometimes I dream about it, it's always the same: there's a steep ridge with shrubs, it's strangely grandiose like the banks of a large river; and there too, in its depths, flows a brook. That which has truly gone lost, both in the Casarsa of reality and the Casarsa of

[3] It is still possible to see these man-made canals on the outskirts of Casarsa, insinuating through local fields. They are believed to be vestiges of pre-Roman water reclamation works and characterize agrarian landscapes in northeastern Italy still today.
[4] The published text reads "tipografia" in Italian, meaning "printing house". While it was impossible to locate the original manuscript, the term "topografia", or topography, recalls works like "Topografia sentimentale del Friuli" (1948) in Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Un paese di temporali e di primule*, a cura di Nico Naldini (Milano: Ugo Guanda Editore): 162-166.
[5] Here, too, the original text reads "tipografia".
[6] Via Segluzza cuts through a more central and more urban part of Casarsa.
[7] The original reads "raltà", not "realtà": a typo that corroborates evidence for the printer's approximate standards.
[8] A reference to Lazio, the region in which Orte and Chia are located, less than an hour's drive from southern Tuscany. This description could easily apply to the landscape surrounding Pasolini's towering castle in Chia.

dreams, are the *rogge*. And these I will rue for the rest of my life. With the Dairy and the Cooperative, the *rogge* are things "of yore," predating the capitalist transformation, and therefore lost in the centuries of the peasant era, a seamless continuum conjoined with the Romance[9] woods, with the barbarian invasions, with the church of Christ. Now all this has ended, through a rapid evolution, of which we boast. And all the while we don't want to surrender ourselves to forgetfulness, yet again.

PIER PAOLO PASOLINI
(Translation by Y. A. Mazurek)



Figure 1. Foto di Giovanni Castellarin, 1991, Via Segluzza (con la latteria a sinistra, il forno a destra) Dalla mostra "La forma del borgo", settembre 2019, presso il Centro Studi Pier Paolo Pasolini a Casarsa della Delizia

[9] The original reads "romanze", a reference to Romance languages and cultures. Pasolini's native Friulan constitutes a distinct branch of this linguistic group descended directly from Latin, as did other neo-Latin languages like Langue-d'oc, Catalan, Italian, etc. This image echos the "foreste preromane e romanze" cited in "Topografia sentimentale del Friuli" (Ibid., 164).

TRASCRIZIONE DELL"INDICE DEL VOLUME CON FOTO DELLA "SUPERCOOP"

Casarsa della Delizia. Cinquantenario della Società Cooperativa di Consumo 1919 - 1969

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"Finito di stampare nella
Premiata Tipografia «Sanvitese» di Ellerani Giovanni
il 21 Gennaio 1970
in S. Vito al Tagliamento"





SUPERCOOP
Ampliato e completato di attrezzature d' avanguardia, dal 28 Maggio 1968 soddisfa le esigenze della spettabile Clientela. Sistemazione merceologica dello Studio NEW FORM del dott. Mario Mascherin di Padova.

APPENDIX C.
A SELECTION OF THE CULTURAL PROPERTIES USED TO NARRATE ORTE

A SELECTION OF THE CULTURAL PROPERTIES USED TO NARRATE ORTE			
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cont…

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APPENDIX D.
TRANSLATIONS OF DOCUMENTS DATED 1127 AND 1224 REGARDING THE CONSTRUCTION AND MANAGEMENT OF ORTE'S BRIDGE OVER THE TIBER

New translations of documents from 1127 and 1224 concerning the construction of Orte's bridge over the Tiber (Source: Vittorio De Donato, ed. *Le carte dell'abbazia di Santa Croce di Sassovivo* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1975), II:65-66, 71-73.

This translation is published thanks to the kind permission of prof. Carlo Tedeschi, professor of Paleography at the Università G. D'Annunzio, Chieti-Pescara.

1127, maggio

Nel nome del nostro Signore Gesù Cristo, al tempo del signor papa Onorio II, nel mese di maggio, quinta indizione, nell'anno dall'incarnazione del nostro signore Gesù Cristo MCXXVII. Poiché i negozi (i fatti) valgono più delle parole, perciò la scrittura dimostra la storia dei fatti accaduti e proprio per questo è necessaria. In onore del nostro Signore Gesù Cristo e della beata sempre vergine Maria e di tutti i santi noi boni homines maggiori e minori della città di Orte, ovvero Lizo figlio di Drudone e Sigizo e Donadeo e Todino e Cencio e Bianco e Guittone e Giovanni Grasso e Crescenzio e Lemo e Pagano, consoli e rettori di questa città di Orte et con il consenso e la volontà di tutti i cittadini e per ordine del nostro signor vescovo Rodolfo, concediamo e trasferiamo secondo la nostra buona volontà, ad onore di Dio onnipotente e per la salute delle nostre anime, così concediamo a te, Cencio figlio di Crescenzio di Leone Cavalleris e alle persone che tu vorrai incaricare di fare un ponte sul fiume Tevere dove tu vorrai, con un suo ingresso ed una sua uscita, e con ogni utilità che possa essere sufficiente al ponte, in modo che nessuna tassa di attraversamento del ponte possa essere ottenuta da qualunque ambasciatore o pellegrino o itinerante per amore di Dio. Ed inoltre noi soprascritti cittadini promettiamo a te soprascritto Cencio che tu d'ora in avanti otterrai dai mercanti o da chiunque altro attraversi il ponte che tu possa avere in tua potestà ed utilità la chiesa e l'ospedale che edificherai lì, in modo che tu abbia il ponte, la chiesa e l'ospedale sempre liberi, senza alcuna dazione (tassa) e senza molestia e senza pontanatico (imposta per l'uso del ponte) nei confronti delle soprascritte persone, ovvero i predicatori e i pellegrini. Inoltre promettiamo che non faremo nessuna tassa o imposizione e se tu edificherai un molino ad acqua o altra opera, questa rimanga sempre libera e senza comando, e che né il re, né alcun'altra autorità, né il papa possano imporre alcun pedaggio.

Inoltre promettiamo che se non osserveremo tutte le cose che si leggono sopra nei confronti di te, Cencio o di persone da te incaricate, come si legge sopra che se recheremo molestia o saremo carenti nell'aiuto o se chiederemo una tassa o un pedaggio per qualunque motivo e se non osserveremo tutto, allora noi soprascritti consoli e rettori della soprascritta città di Orte promettiamo a voi Cencio e tuoi successori di pagare come ammenda cento libbre di argento in monete pavesi, e dopo aver pagato la pena questa carta (documento), che attraverso la scrittura noi soprascritti consoli abbiamo rogato nel mese e nella quinta indizione soprascritte rimanga sempre valida e stabile.
Segno della mano di Falcone e di suo figlio Cencio e di Guittone, chiamati come testimoni.
Segno della mano di Carello e Pagisa e Pietro di Pietro e di Alda e Massarello, chiamati come testimoni.
Io Berardo, giudice e console della città di Orte, ho scritto, completato e assolto (a tutti i passaggi necessari alla validazione del documento)

1224, marzo 2

Nel nome del Signore, amen. Nell'anno della sua natività 1224, al tempo del signore Onorio terzo papa, nel secondo giorno del mese di marzo, dodicesima indizione. Dato che nella città di Orte noi Guido, per grazia di Dio vescovo ortano, non abbiamo trovato parrocchie limitate da precisi confini, con l'autorità del signor papa Onorio terzo e nostra, sentito il consiglio del Capitolo ortano, nonché di atri svariati uomini illustri tanto chierici, quanto laici, diamo e concediamo in perpetuo alla chiesa di S. Giacomo del ponte di Orte l'intero borgo come parrocchia limitata e distinta da confini certi, ovvero dalla ripa della città ortana fino al fiume e dal muro merlato delle carbonare fino all'altra carbonara volgarmente chiamata di San Iorio, stabilendo per censura ecclesiastica che nessuno d'ora in avanti osi molestare la detta chiesa di S. Giacomo in detta parrocchia. Atto e redatto in Orte, nella Curia di del detto vescovo, di fronte ai seguenti testimoni: Luca, prete di S. Sebastiano, Falcone di Ranuccio, Pietro di Donadio, Leonardo di Amorosa, Allebrandino di Omodeo, Raberto di Andrea, Pietro di Giovanni Peroscini et Pietro di Chiara.
Io maestro Giovanni di Almerico ortano, per grazia di Dio notaio di santa romana chiesa su mandato del detto vescovo scrissi e completai questa carta.

APPENDIX E.
TRANSCRIPTION OF TITLES AND SUBTITLES LISTED IN *LA FABRICA ORTANA* DI LANDO LEONCINI, VOL. IV, ASDO

The following is a list of titles and subtitles proposed by Leoncini and transcribed by Giocondo Pasquinangeli from 1900 to 1901. An attempt has been made to preserve the original spelling, the author's use of upper and lower case letters, and given abbreviations.

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VOL. III

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N.B. Tra i fogli computi come scritti, ve ne sono alcuni stampati (2 nel Vol I° – 2 nel Vol 2° e 12 vol vol. 4°)

- Gli Indici si trovano nei volumi originali, come appreso:
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APPENDIX F.
TRANSCRIPTION OF EXCERPTS FROM *LA FABRICA ORTANA* BY LANDO LEONCINI, ASDO

Transciption by Giocondo Pasquinangeli, 45v, 46v-r, 53v-r, 54v-r, *La Fabrica Ortana di Lando Leoncini*, vol. IV (Transciption transcibed by Y. A. Mazurek, revised by Abbondio Zuppante).

Elenco delle tematiche

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Leoncini, vol. IV, 45v

Orta d'onde detta

L'opinione della Mazola pare che anco Simon Feo la segna in quelli suoi versi sopra allegati, quando più abasso cosi dice, et

= Orta adeo verbo sortita est nomen ab hortor
quod trahat hortetur alliciatque viros.
Vel coluere Deam quae nomine dicitur Orta,
Ad res hortetur quod Dea(m) quemque suas.
Unde igitur nomen Patriae tribuere vetustae
Sive fuit Grecus sive Latinus habes =

Orta la chiama Flavio quando descrivendo le città d'Italia che negli antichi tempi furono 1066, prima che dalle Barbare genti fossero ruinate et destrutte, cosi dice egli referito da Gio: Matteo ad R. Volaterranum in una sua operetta cavata dal detto Flavio, con queste parole, videlicet.

= Cumque mille sexaginta sex sint Civitates Italiae, ut nonnulli placuit septingente, ut Iginus Stilus Curiae Romanae sexaginta quatuor recenset. Vix uni aut alteri sua facies, suum nomen haeret, tantum potent abolere vetustas et mori saxa nomina titulos cogere, sed iam vale ac felix per legi piumque per aes et libram […] complectare diliges in tuis habeas.

(1) Ex Flavio (2)

Et parlando di Toscana dice: Magistratus Etruririae Castaldio appellatus, et più abasso scrive di Orta, questo:

De Orta Civitate Etruria…

Intellexit Virgilius cum vigit

Ortinae classes etc.

Così Fra Leandro cart 23, 71, 94.

(1) Parte 4 car. 123 et parte V. Tomo 2º. car. 232 – qui(vi) si allega la cagione perché molte città siano mutate ch è per il moto dell'8 spera del Cielo ch' in ogni cento anni si move un grado verso il Polo settentrionale, et cosi farà in fino a XV gradi in 1500 anni et poi tornerà a dietro per simil modo se sia piacere a Iddio che il mondo duri tanto.

(2) Dicono gli astrologi che ciò viene per il moto del'ottava sphera del Cielo, che in ogni cento anni si move un grado verso il Polo settentrionale. Tratto del Patrimonio car. 11 //.

Leoncini, vol. IV, 46r

Orte et sua etimologia

(10) 46

Non solo Orta è detta per le ragioni sopra allegate, ma anco da queste che si diranno seguite da esso Don Lando nella sua Fabrica.

(1) Per esser Orta posta in detto colle et sasso è detta dal Verbo greco θις orthis, che significa colle et elevato, come vuole Esiodo appresso Cicerone nelle Epistole familiari, lib. 6º epist 18, et Ortios, eminens et elevatus significat et dici videtur quod extinctus foret atque robustus, Graece dicitur in altitudine subreptum, come questa opinione seguono et Annio, la Lamazola et il Feo sopra allegati.

E' detta Orta ancora per altra causa, perché in essa si servano le armi pubbliche de' soldati Falisci, quali venivano ad initiarsi et a giurare fedeltà nel Lago Vladimone posto nella bella pianura di Lucignano in territorio Ortano, come a basso se dirà di esso; et initiati ch'erano mentre si facevano l'espeditioni se li davano le arme dal Pubblico; poiché ne' tempi antichi niumo posseva tenere arme privatamente. Et l'arme Nino 3 Re di Babilonia le ritrovò, Trogo Giustino nel primo, Diodoro nel 4º, che prima nel'aurea età et secol d'oro non vi erano ne' armi, ne' arte di guerregiare.

Dandosi dunque le armi dal Pubblico come dice Biondo de Roma triumphante, lib 6º et a longo se ne scrive nella Fabrica Ortana (2) alla 2ª et 3ª parte, il luoco ove dette arme si conservavano si dice Hortus, secondo Plinio de Naturali historia lib. 9 cap. 4º et Festo F(3) dicendo che appresso gli Antichi Hortus se pigliava per ogni villa perché in quella nascevano gli huomini atti alla guerra, come è stata sempre Orta.

(1) cart. 8 parte 2º

(2) 2º cart. 13; 3º part. cart…

(3) F et Nonio Marcello De propinquitate sermonum car. II, dicendo "Hortus apud antiquos cum laliam (?) H.(?) omnis villam dicebatur, quod ibi que (?) arma capere possint orisentur (?). Et Horctum (cosi scritto) et fructuum pro bono (?) dicebatur

Leoncini, vol. IV, 46v

Et perché anco bisognava ch'ove dette arme se tenevano fosse loco forte et munito; et altro loco più forte et munito presso detto Lago Vadimone non vi era nè manco(?) è più di Orta, per questo fu detto Orta da questo effetto et cagione; poiché Orta, anco Orto si diceva come s'è mostrato di sopra et li nomi della città alle volte è stato solito mutarsi come più et più esempi ne sono: et nunc sunt sine nomine Terrae, come sopra s'è detto per il moto dell'octava spera del Cielo, che in ogno cento anni si muove un grado verso il Polo settentrionale

Varrone nel primo de lingua latina dice delli nomi della città inoltre queste parole: Europa (questa è posta a Settentrione et Aquilone, ma l'Asia al mezzogiorno et Euro) loco multe incolunt nationes, ea fere nominata aut traslatitio nomine aut ab hominibus. Sunt et nomina ab tot montibus quos postea Urbs muris comprehendit(?) -

L'anco detta Orta per la ragione che assegna il Volaterrano nel lib. 8º della Sua Geografia, in verbo Tessalia:

[…] veramente questo essere anco alla detta Città di Orta, quale viene ad esser scritta senza la lettera H. venendo dal detto verbo Greco Orthis et Orthios et havendo da essi greci gli primi habitatori imparato a far case et città, et forse furono questi Greci di Partelia che vennero a fabricar Orta ponendoli il nome della loro Patria Orta, da la quale s'erano partiti, come molte altre città hebbero nome da quelli che l'edificavano simili a quelle havevano lassato, cosi fu Oropito, hora Orvieto, detto dalli Oropiti populi d'Acaja come vuole il Sig. Monaldo nel Proemio degli commentarii historici di Orvieto, così Bergamo da Pergamo et fece Enea de li Trojani et i Latini li chiamò con un sol nome Latini come dice il Tarcagnota parte prima, lib. 4, et Evandro chiamò Palatino Castello, ch'era una città potente(?) di Arcadia, et Alba etc. che longo sarei a dirle tutte.

Leoncini, vol. IV, 53v

Ponte del Tevere

Il Borgo di S. Giacomo fu detto dalla Chiesa ch'ivi era di S. Giacomo membro della Badia di Sasso vivo (l'abbazia di Sassovivo) di Foligni.

Per questo Borgo et appesso detta Chiesa passava la via Amerina fra il Ponte che stava sopra il Tevere che al tempo di Leone X cade' per il Diluvio di quei tempi che fu la trigesima prima Inodatione di Roma, come si legge in una Pietra in casa de Signori Illmi-Gastoni con queste parole = Bis denos menses[lettura incerta…] decimo peragente Leone
Idibus huc Tiberis vada Novembris adert
MDXIIII Die XIII Novembris –

|part. 4 cart 376|[10]

|part 4 cart 381|

Et ciò fu in un giorno di mertedì tra le nove et XII hore di notte et fu questa caduta per li Travi del Ponte di Orvieto che si traversorno sotto li archi di detto Ponte et fecerlo cadere in mezo con due archi che risarcitolo poi con un Pilastro ivi di legno rifatto, che similmente cade' poi al tempo di Clemente 7º li 2 di Dicembre, anno 1524 nonostante la grandissima diligenza usatasi dalla Comunita', ed cosi mai più s'è ristaurato, lassando rupi et balze verso la città contigue a detta Chiesa di S. Giacomo, che cagionò anco la rovina d'essa et che il Borgo anco si riducesse a Cultura il resto delle Case che ivi furono lassate l'anno 1405 per le guerre civili di Guelfi et Gibelini, come in detta fabrica nella 4 parte; et cosi detto Ponte fu reso inutile non solo alli Cittadini ma anco a' Passeggieri, che fu bisognato porvi il Passo con le Barche come fin'hora si costuma.

|parte 4 cart. 371 et 412|

|parte 4 cart. 383|

Leoncini, vol. IV, (18) 54r

Parla di questo Ponte Simone Feo predetto in quelli Suoi verbi.

(18) 54

|parte 4 cart. 379|

Finibus acceptis Tyberim transire volendo
Arcubus excelsis prospice Pontis opus.
Munitus geminis hic turribus, undique Pinis (Pinnis?)
Moenibus ac portis cernitur esse bonis.
Strata silex Pontem decorat, qui comprimit undas
Tybridis hibernas ne violentus eat.
Quis tamen hunc struxit, non est mihi nomen et auctor
Reliquiae Augusti sint pote Pontis opus.
Constituere patres insignia publica Pontem

[10] Per segnalare le annotazioni posti ai margini del manoscritto, si userano i tratta verticali, cioè "||", per riportare traccia dei i contorni delineati dallo stesso Leoncini nel testo originale, poi trascritti da Giocondo Pasquinangeli.

Clavibus appositis, cum decus urbis ament.
Pars tamen est Decimi Pontis collapsa Leonis
Tempore, cum rapidis Albula crevit acquis etc.[11]

|questa era la via Amerina selciata al modo degli antichi come se ne vedono le reliquie per alcuni luochi del nostro territorio et in Corchiano|

Molte sono et varie le openioni da chi fosse fatto questo Ponte, chi vuole che Alessandra Mammea lo facesse, altri dalle rovine del Ponte che Augusto fece nella via Flaminia presso Ocrea a Camponale (?) hora giurisdictione dell'ecc.mo Marchese Montoro,,

M. Arcangelo Alonio Cettadino Ortano huomo che faceva professione di historie diceva haver letto mentre fu nella Germania in una historia che non se recordava il nome, che detto Ponte lo edificasse la Moglie di Pompeo il Magno, quale haveva Orta per suoi giardini et Horti, et standose detto Pompeo amalato in Amelia città dell'Umbria cinque miglia lontana da Orta et volendo ritornare a Roma in Carrozza fu fatte fare da suoi schiavi da sua moglie che XX milia erano in spatio di quaranta giorni.

|Amelia parte 1º carta 42|

Diceva ancora come Orta l'haveva edificata un capitano alemano poi che gli Ortani ancora ritengono molti vocaboli alemani nella loro favella.

[11] Per consultare la poesia completa, insieme ad una traduzione critica in italiano, cfr. Luigi Fraticelli, *Ad amicum. Elegia di Simon Feo*. (Orte: 1991): 29-30. Il passo citato corrisponde a righe 105-116 dell'edizione di Fraticelli che fornisce la seguente traduzione:

"Considerati questi confini, volendo passare il Tevere
vedrai che c'è un ponte dalle ampie arcate.

Lo si vede essere munito di due torri con
mura merlate e porte capaci.

Una strada selciata decora il ponte che comprime le piene
invernali del Tevere, affinché questo non vada impetuoso.

Non è a me noto il nome dell'autore che lo costrui,
potrebbero essere tuttavia i resti del ponte di Augusto.

I nostri padri posero il ponte come pubblica insegna
con l'aggiunta delle chiavi, stando ad essi a cuore il vanto della città.

Tuttavia una parte del ponte crollò al tempo di Leone X,
Quando l'Albula crebbe con acque vorticose"

Leoncini, vol. IV, 54v

Ponte

|part. 2 cart 26|

Bernardino Mandosio, cettadino di Amelia in una oratione che fece alli Signori Antiani d'Amelia referendo un'autorità di Georgio Valleuse, cavata da lui da Onesimo, overo Onesio nella vita di Aureliano et Alessandro Imperat. Rom. dice queste parole: Urbe Roma pestilentia laborante Princeps Ameriam Rom. Municipium rusticatum aduit, eam autit, aedificii decoravit, Balnea fecit, aqueductus instauravit, Pontem ad septimum lapidem postuit. De quo et Flavius Vopiscus in vita Cari Carini et Numeriani ait.

|Alex. Imp. 24 al tempo de Papa S. Urbano anno 223|

|Aureliano Imp. 34 anno 271 di S. Felice Papa|

Nel territorio di Amelia altro Ponte non vi era al lui vicno che queto Ponte di Orta, et cosi altri Bagni che li Bagni Favicoli, hora detti di Favicchi, desolati, che stavano vicino a detto Ponte nella regione del Umbria: ove sono due miniere d'arque pretiofissine et vi si vedono alcune vestigie di dette Terme di Favichi, la cui Acqua ha miniera di rame et sapore et è fredda.

|Carino et Numeriano Imp. furno li 37 Imp. anno 282 al tempo delli Pontefici S. Eutichiano et S. Cajo|

L'acqua del Bagno ha miniera di solfo et sapore et è calda.

V'è bene poi la solforata delle quale a suo loco se ne scriverà, come di queste Acque et Bagni.

|Bagni|

|Solforata|

Vi sono anco Laghi et fonti di diverse qualità per il suo fertile territorio.

|Laghi et fonti |

Leoncini, vol. IV, (19r) 55r

Ludi Tiberini (19) 55

Facevanosi in questo locho sotto il Ponte prefato ogni anno dalla Gioventu Ortana i giochi Tiberini, il primo di Maggio con barche, Palii, giostre, Balli, Pesche, Banchetti, Suoni, ~~et altri~~ Musiche Palii et simili, cominciandosi da detto Ponte sino al sasso detto di S. Fortunato a Rivo d'oro come si legge nelle Croniche di Don Francesco Rallo Cettadino Ortano et Rectore

in Roma si Santa Maria in Cacabaris, già et nei sacri Canoni Dottore et huomo di bellissime et pulite lettere.

In Suburbano divi Jacobi Cal. Maji Festivitate Sanctorum Philippi et Jacobi, absolutis divinis, Tyberini ludi exerubantur(?) juvenes, adolescentes, con quel che segue.

|parte 4° carti 398|

Questi giochi si sono tralasciati di fare da molti anni se bene alcune volte si fanno, ma non con si gran pompa il giorno di S. Rocco et di S. Egidio, giorno primo di Settembre che si celebra la sua festività dalla città facendosi la fiera, come anco nella festività di S. Michele Arcangelo, advocati della città.

Questo Ponte era molto anticho poiche' la Comunità lo fa per Arme pubblica, in campo rosso, sopra tra le due torri con il Regno et Chiavi con questo molto bellissimo

=MUNUS FIDELITATIS S.R.E

Per la fedeltà et costanza di essi Ortani portata sempre verso la S. Chiesa et Sede Apostolica come nella terza parte si legge con molte ragioni

|cart. 84 part. 3 et cart.90|

Leoncini, vol. IV, 55v

Torri

Erano in detto Ponte sostenuto da cinque archi due Torri, una per banda per fortessa di ess et sopra di una di esse Torri si era un Leone che teneva un stendardo nelle branche nel quale vi era scritto FEDE ch'anco alludeva alla fedeltà degli Ortani.

|Tomo 2º part. V cart. 29|

Le torri non se facevano ai tempi antichi se non da huomini illustri et segnalati, et dove dette Torri si vedono spesse et molte, come erano in Orta, non solo nella città, ma per tutto il suo territorio, denotavano nobilta' et grandezza, come vuole Carlo Sigonio nel 7 libro carti 327. et […] Malaspina nel cap. 27 dice che li Romani ove andavano facevano queste Torri per habitarvi, che corrobora quello di legge in detto Signorio, come per altre ragioni ancora si legge nella 4.ª parte.

Vicino alla Riva di detto Tebro vi si sentono in molti lochi et tra gli altri non longi da detto Ponte, echi di molta soavita' et gusto, come in molte altre contrade del Territorio et al Porto alla Torre del Muto: ove anco sono Tartani (?) bellissimi et magnifici che vanno et in Roma, Orvieto, Caprarola, Baagnaja et ove fanno bisogno, come il gesso bianco et stucco et Pietre Aquiline et Polver d'oro et marmore Ortano.

|[…] part. V cart. 64

APPENDIX G.
TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SELECTED PAPERS CONCERNING THE ACTIVITY OF GIOCONDO PASQUINANGELI AND ORTE'S ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMMITTEE (1900-1925), ASDO

Documento: Giocondo Pasquinangeli, Riflessioni (1900/12/31-1901/01/01), "Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4", ASDO.

19

Orte 31 Decembre 1900 –
1 Gennaio 1901
==========

Giornata piovosa ed uggiosa. Nessuno movimento ad atteggiamento speciale nella popolazione; se non forse un interiore vago desiderio di uscire definitivamente dal secolo XIX, che non si sa bene se ebbe termine in realtà col 31 Decembre 1899. Pure la notte si è mantenuta piovosa, con l'aggravante di un incipiente vento di scirocco.

Dalle ore undici e messa pomeridiane alla mezza notte suonano le campane di tutte le chiese, per ordine generale del Papa. Penso se sia un saluto al passato, od un augurio per l'avvenire; un rimpianto, od un appello. L'ambiente ortano nulla suggerisce. L'un suono, avvertito soltanto per la sua novità, che peraltro è una ripetizione di quel che fu anche praticato sul cadere del 31 Decembre 1899. All'assopito sentimento cristiano occorrono ben altri rintocchi! Alla messa di mezzanotte nella Cattedrale, non affluisce molta gente. Molto più numeroso era affluito il popolo alla messa di mezzanotte il 31 Decembre 1899. Il vescovo è a Civita Castellana; gli stalli dei Canonici; nel coro, vuoti in gran parte; l'organo ed i cantori stonano più del consueto. Il fondo della Chiesa è coperto da rude tavolato pei lavori di costruzione, molto inoltrati, della nuova facciata; lavori che la rigida stazione tiene per poco sospesi. Nemmeno l'aspettativa di quest'opera fa prigionare dall'anima ortana una qualche nota decisa.

Il secolo XIX morendo lascia ad Orte una popolazione che è il doppio di quella che esso trovò nel nascere, ma la lascia meno organizzata. Orte al principio del secolo XIX era sulla china di una decadenza cominciata già da un pezzo, ma serbava ancora un insieme di piccola città. Ora è in progresso economico, ma se di città serba il nome, non ne serba l'aspetto, sia pure al confronto delle piccole città italiane.

L'avvenire? Gli ortani non hanno programmi, o se li hanno non sanno aggrupparsi per farli valere. Nei decenni che maturarono la scomparsa del governo Papale, quale soffio di nuova vita avrebbe potuto levarsi? Nei decenni posteriori al settembre 1870, i nostri interessi collettivi non ebbero la forza o la fortuna di eliminare o di dominare il giuoco delle bramosie, delle rivalità e delle vanità personali, complicate da strascichi di invidia e di riferimenti di altri tempi. Così si vive alla giornata, ognuno per proprio conto, mentre in questo conto non ancora entrò l'abitudine di considerare la prosperità altrui come un coefficiente della prosperità propria. Ma nuovi influssi battono da non breve tempo alle nostre porte. La rinnovata vitalità nazionale ha profuso intorno a noi e profonde tanti elementi e tanti germi di attività, che altrove sono desiderati ed inverati invano. Non vorranno, non sapranno gli ortani cooperare per la elevazione della loro sorte? Iddio ci ajuti.

GPasq.

Documento: Giocondo Pasquinangeli, Appunti sulla visita del Prof. Adolfo Venturi ad Orte (1902/01/12) , "Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4", ASDO.

Domenica 12 gennaio 1902 il Prof. Adolfo Venturi per mandato del Ministero dell'Interno, allo scopo di riferire intorno ad una domanda della Compagnia di S. Croce, si portò in Orte, ed io lo accompagnai. Partimmo da Roma con il treno direttissimo 9.30 antim. e poco dopo le 11 fummo dentro il paese. Egli doveva riferire sulla domanda fatta dalla predetta compagnia di essere autorizzata a vendere un piccolo quadro della Madonna ed a consegnare al municipio a scopo di custodia le quattro tavole di S. Egidio[12].

Ci recammo subito alla Sacrestia di S. Croce ed egli attentamente esaminò la Madonna e le tavole predette. Trovò che erano lavori molto pregievoli, della Scuola umbra. La Madonna, nel cui quadro, lo sfondo dorato, raffigurante stoffa del tempo (broccato) gli parve lavoro del 400, eseguito forse de un artista viterbese……

Le tavole gli parvero il lavoro di un discepolo di Benozzo Gozzoli. Forse le dipinse Matteo di Gualdo, che lavorò anche ad Orvieto. La scuola di Benozzo rivelasi anche dai cherubini rossi. Essendosi dato che per la Madonna erano state offerte lire 2 mila, disse che il valore sarebbe ben maggiore trattandosi di lavoro non ritoccato. Disse che per riparare alle avarie esistenti è cosa facile - e indicò il modo.

Anche le tavole di Sant'Egidio hanno il pregio di non essere state mai ritoccate. Furono dipinte ad Orte? Lo crede possibile, ove si concede che in esse tavole vi sono confratri vestiti col sacco come costumano portare i *fratelli* di S. Croce.

Vide poi il crocifisso di legno e lo trovò fine lavoro rimarchevole, attribuendolo al 400.

Esaminò il quadro della Madonna del Rosario. Io gli disse che il Leoncini lo attribuisce ad un giovane pittore ortano. Gli parve lavoro di uno scuolare di Sebastiano del Piombo. Così si […]ebbe col Leoncini che dice vissuto quel Pittore nella prima metà del Secolo 16°; io gli parlai anche degli altri quadri attribuiti al detto pittore e gli promisi che gli avrei poi portato gli estratti del Leoncini.

Egli poi mi disse che anche di questo pittore la storia poteva occuparsi; occupandosi d'artisti anche di minor pregio. La Madonna del Rosario ha brutto aspetto, ma ci sono pure delle buone e belle figure. Ciò rivela appunto esser detto lavoro giovanile.

Vide poi la Madonna Addolorata e gli parve una buona copia del Dolce.

Ci recammo poi alla Chiesa dei Raccomandati. Anche la Madonna col Salvatore che le sta di sopra li parvero di scuola umbra del 400 (460?). Il quadro dovette essere ivi trasportato da altro posto. La pittura che sta alla parte inferiore nulla a che vedere colla pittura del quadro. Fra questa pittura inferiore ed il quadro vi sta un pezzo di tavola dipinta che rappresenta un candelabro, il quale evidentemente era ai fianchi del quadro […]. Stimò trattarsi di pittura notevole.

Osservò poi il Salvatore e gli piacque molto, e molto. Trovò aver esso un pregio superiore ai quadri precedentemente veduti. La Pittura è Scuola Umbra, porta l'anno (1497?) ed è notevole il globo che porta in mano il Salvatore (vi sono notate le parte del mondo – pure l'America?)

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[12] Con ogni probabilità, l'oggetto del sopralluogo è da identificarsi con *La Madonna col Bambino* di Antonio del Massaro da Viterbo, detto il Pastura, artista attivo nel cantiere del Duomo di Orvieto e nell'appartamento Borgia affianco al Pinturicchio (Mortari 1967:22-23). La provenienza della tavola risale all'Arciconfraternita di S. Croce e il testo fa risalire il dipinto al Quattrocento, mentre la tavola risale al 1490 *circa*. Inoltre, lo sfondo d'oro ("broccato") e l'attribuzione umbra conferma questa ipotesi.

Si andò poi a vedere il campanile di San Silvestro – gli parve opera bella da attribuire agli anni fra il 1100 e 1150. Così l'opera della chiesa – Vide i residui di pittura nella camera del curato […] ma nulla da essi si ricavò.

Dentro la chiesa di San Silvestro vide le strisce marmoree che sono al suolo con mosaici, ed il mosaico sotto l'altare maggiore. Le disse opere cosmatesche e domandò a sé stesso a che opera poterono servire.

La Madonna della Pietà gli sembrò un lavoro ex-voto non fine, ma non disprezzabile. Vi è scritto l'anno. Disse d. Amodio [Orlandi] che fu uno di Casa Capitani che la fece fare.

| al lato: La pittura nella chiesa sotto il quadro 1400 |

_____

Si passò poi al Magazzino archeologico. I due prospetti ad arco con fiori d'acanto gli parvero lavoro del 1100. Forse furono due pezzi di amboni. Poi poterono essere usati come finestre_____

Continua_____

Domenica 12 gennaio. Prof. Venturi (continuazione)

Si andò poi alla Chiesa di S. Francesco. Il quadro di S. Francesco probabilmente fece parte di un trittico o di altro lavoro campato. Gli dissi che il Leoncini lo faceva risalire al 1280. Al Venturi parve lavoro posteriore, avuto pure riguardo all'opera dorata che circonda il capo di S. Francesco. Le quattro pitture notevole ma ritoccata.

_____

Il quadro della Madonna delle Misericordia disse non potrebbe essere dello stesso autore della Madonna del Rosario Certi volti sono della scuola di Sebastiano del Piombo. E' pittura ritoccata e di non grande pregio.

_____

Il sarcofaco (!) di Sant'Anajo – è probabilmente del III Secolo forse fu una urna preparata per […] e poi adibiti per lo scopo sacro, cambiandovi il coperchio che reca palme emblema del martirio. Mentre l'urna non lo disse ecc. – simbolo di Bacco – ma ciò disse parlando accademicamente, senza interesse.

All'uno pomeridiana si andò a pranzo in casa mia – e dopo pranzo si andò al Vescovado dove il Vescovo stesso ci portò alla cappella –

I due bassorilievi e le due statuette con nicchia gli parve lavoro contemporaneo, dal 1480 al 1500 (Ciò fu supponendo effettivamente appartener al vecchio altare dell'Assunta fatto fare nella vecchia cattedrale del Roberteschi) – Li stimò lavori di pregio ma non di raro pregio.

Il volto Santo – non potrebbe esser lavoro del Pittore Ortano?

| al lato: Per l'episcopio passando la mattina vide la Madonna di Piazza di Trojo – gli parve lavoro di qualche di pregio che dice[…]. |

Nell'interno dell'appartamento vide la Madonna della Pietà – è una copia ma di pregio – _____

Si scese poi alla Cattedrale – la Madonna dell'Assunta è ritoccata. Il lavoro originale deve esser del 300. Forse il nome del pittore e l'anno 1420 che vi è scritto sotto vi fu apposto da un ritoccatore –

_____

La piacevole Madonna dell'Annunciata – che reca la data 1500 li piacque molto e molto – Disse che il prezzo offerto da qualcuno di lire 10 milla è molto inferiore del valore reale – È Scuola Umbra, più fine, delicata, bella, di vero pregio. Il quadro non è ritoccato e dice si può dire come quando uscì dalle mani del pittore. Ecco perché ha elevato prezzo. Avere un lavoro così originale e conservato non è cosa facile.

_____

Il prof. Venturi volle poi rivedere la grande croce d'argento che aveva già veduto ad Orvieto dove apparve una delle migliori cose esposte –

_____

Andò poi a vedere le tavolette a mostra del soffitto alla casa dell'ospedale – Non è cosa comune. Il lavoro dovrebbe essere veduto bene (si guardò alla sfuggita – che sono una camera nuziale?

Probabilmente quelli ornamenti ripetuti e […] sono uno stemma –

_____

La casa del Poggio gli piacque e gli parve notevole – Non sembra poter trattarsi di opera romana –

_____

Finalmente si andò a vedere la Madonna in mosaico alle Monache –Quando lo prevenni mi disse: […] che forse trattasi d'un pezzo ~~della cappella~~ dell'oratorio di Giovanni 7° al Vaticano. Ed infatti tale era – Così con tale […] di tanto pregio fu […]. I residui di quest'oratorio fu sparso in molti luoghi. Il De Rossi ne scrisse ma ignorava che un pezzo importante ne fosse pure in Orte –

_____

Ci furo compagni nella visita D. Amadio, Don Zefferino e […] – Nella mattina il Sindaco, nella sera D. Eucherio e D. Narciso, e molti altri vennero a salutare il professore – Alle 3 ½ si ripartì per Roma dove si giunse […].

| al lato: N.B. Il Min. di Pubb. istruz. con nota 30 Dicembre 1901 n° 19582-20153 scrisse al Prof Venturi dicendogli che Rettore Compagnia S. Croce di Orte aveva chiesto offrire in deposito al Comune di Orte 4 tavole di S. Egidio e vendere Madonna che descrisse per erogare prestito a favore dell'Ospedale – Venturi dopo la visita a Orte ha risposto brevemente al Ministero che le 4 tavole sono della Scuola di Benozzo Gozzoli assai pregevoli e che la Madonna è della Scuola del Perugino splendente di colori col fondo a broccato di oro(*) – che conservazione ora è difficile e che è sconsigliabile l'alienazione di questi lavori.

Documento: Copia estratta dal *Libro delle Adunanze Capitolari*, Adunanza (1903/12/17), "Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

Copia estratta dal «Libro delle Adunanze Capitolari»

1

Adunanza 17 Dicembre 1903 (pag.18 del Volume).

Omissi(oni) etc… Poi il sig. Priore fa la seguente comunicazione al R.mo Capitolo. Egli dice che il locale Comitato Archeologico sorto da qualche anno in questa città allo scopo di radunare i pochi oggetti d'arte che restano ancora del ricco patrimonio artistico che possedevano i nostri antenati, si è rivolto al S.E. Mons. Vescovo per ottenere il permesso di poter depositare nella nostra Chiesa Cattedrale alcuni quadri religiosi di un pregio artistico non comune e che saranno per iniziativa del medesimo Comitato consegnati dai vari Enti proprietari. S. E. R.ma non solo ha molto favorevolmente accolto la proposta e concessi da sua parte tutti i permessi, ma ha altresì encomiato altamente la lodevole iniziativa, poiché riuscirà il fatto a vantaggio e decoro della nostra Cattedrale, la quale verrebbe a possedere un vero tesoro d'arte. Però essendo cosa che riguarda anche e specialmente il R.mo Capitolo, S. E. Rma desidera conoscerne il parere, che si augura per le anzidette ragioni favorevole.
Il R.mo Capitolo si dispone a ricevere nella Chiesa Cattedrale i detti quadri, ma dichiara che non intende assumere con essi alcuna responsabilità, né materiale, né morale. Rassicurato su ciò dal Sig. Priore, si nomina allo scopo di trattar la cosa e ricevere i quadri surriferiti, una Commissione nelle persone dei Signori Canonici: Priore Pasquinangeli, Fabbriciere e Sagrestano Maggiore pro tempore ed Umberto Zuppante.

Documento: Arcangelo Paglialunga, Eucherio Pasquinangeli, Umberto Zappante, Fr. I.A. Episcopus (1904/10/8-14), "Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4" ASDO.

Copia)

2

In seguito ad iniziativa del Comitato archeologico ed artistico ortano S. E. Mons. Vescovo Giacomo Alessandro Ghezzi riconobbe la convenienza che vari quadri ed oggetti di pregio, esistenti senza sufficiente custodia in varie Chiese e luoghi dipendenti, siano possibilmente riuniti e collocati a titolo di deposito e per una migliore conservazione nella Chiesa Cattedrale di Orte, rimanendo inalterata la proprietà preso i rispettivi aventi diritto e salvo a provvedere poi per una definitive sistemazione nei modi dovuti. Il Capitolo della Cattedrale, in coerenza di quanto sopra, con deliberazione del 17 dicembre 1903 si dichiarò disposto a cooperare da sua parte all'attuazione di tale espediente, caldeggiato dalla cittadinanza, nominando apposita Commissione per darvi effetto.
Ciò stante, oggi, l'Amministratore-economo del Ven. Seminario di Orte ha fatto trasportare nella Chiesa Cattedrale di Orte, giuste le accennate intelligenze:

1. Il quadro di S. Sebastiano, dipinto sopra tavola, senza cornice, esistente nella Sagrestia della Chiesa delle Grazie extra muros.
2. Il quadro antico di S. Francesco nella Chiesa di S. Francesco annessa al Seminario.
3. L'altro quadro dipinto su tela, con cornice, esistente nella Chiesa stessa e rappresentante S. Francesco in orazione con cori d'angeli.

Questi quadri sono stati ricevuti dai sottoscritti del Capitolo ed appesi provvisoriamente nelle pareti della cattedrale. Questa scrittura viene fatta in triplice originale, da conservarsi l'uno presso la Cancelleria Vescovile, l'altro presso l'Archivio Capitolare ed il terzo presso l'Archivio del Seminario.

Orte 8 Ottobre 1904
Arcangelo Paglialunga Economo del Ven. Seminario
Per la Commissione Capitolare
Eucherio Pasquinangeli Priore della Cattedrale
Umberto Zappante Segretario.

Visum. Hortae 14 Octobris 1904
+ Fr. I.A. Episcopus

Documento: Eucherio Pasquinangeli, Pericle Novelli, Umberto Zuppante, Fr. Ghezzi A Vescovo, "Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

Duplicato

3

In seguito ad iniziativa del Comitato archeologico ed artistico Ortano S. E. Rma Monsignor Giacomo Alessandro Ghezzi Vescovo di questa città riconobbe la convenienza che varii quadri ed oggetti di pregio, esistenti senza sufficiente custodia in varie Chiese e luoghi dipendenti, siano possibilmente riuniti e collocati, a titolo di deposito e per una migliore conservazione, nella Chiesa Cattedrale di Orte, rimanendo inalterata la proprietà presso i rispettivi aventi diritto e salvo a provvedere poi per una definitiva sistemazione dei modi dovuti. Il Capitolo della Cattedrale, in coerenza di quanto sopra con deliberazione del 17 Dicembre 1903 si dichiarò disposto a cooperare da sua parte all'attuazione di tale espediente, caldeggiato dalla cittadinanza, nominando apposita Commissione per darvi effetto. Ciò stante, oggi, la Rev.da Madre Abbadessa della Monache Benedettine del Monastero di S. Antonio Abate in Orte ha fatto trasportare nella Chiesa Cattedrale di Orte, giuste le accennate intelligenze, il quadro della Madonna a mosaico esistente nella Chiesa di S. Antonio Abate. Questo quadro è stato ricevuto dai sottoscritti incaricati dal Capitolo e collocato provvisoriamente nelle pareti dalla Cattedrale.
Questa scrittura viene fatta in triplice originale, da conservarsi l'uno presso la cancelleria Vescovile, l'altro presso l'archivio Capitolare ed il terzo presso l'archivio del Monastero di S. Antonio Abate.

Orte, 20 Maggio 1906
Lucherio Priore Pasquinangeli
Novelli Can.o Pericle
Umberto Can.o Zuppante

(Timbro del Vescovo Ghezzi)

Visto si approva
Orte, 20 di Maggio 1906
+ Fr. GA Vescovo

Documento: Copia Estratta dal "Libro delle Adunanze Capitolari" (1907/01/03) "Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

4

Copia Estratta dal "Libro delle Adunanze Capitolari"

Adunanza 3 Gennaio 1907 (pag. 67 del Volume)

Omissi(oni) etc…Si legge quindi una lettera con la quale il rettore della Ven. Compagnia di S. Croce in Orte comunica a questo R.mo Capitolo di aver ricevuto un decreto del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione che autorizza a trasportare nella nostra cattedrale i preziosi dipinti di proprietà della suddetta Compagnia consistenti in quattro tavole attribuite alla scuola giottesca raffiguranti la vita e miracoli del nostro Protettore S. Egidio Abate, nonché una Imagine di Maria SSma sotto il titolo delle Grazie, parimente dipinta su tavola su fondo ad arabeschi d'oro, della più classica scuola Umbra. Che inoltre lo stesso consiglio di amministrazione della Compagnia di S. Croce in seduta 19 Dicembre 1906 ad unanimità ratificava l'operato del Rettore e lo facoltizzava a dare esecuzione al decreto di cui sopra.
Il R.mo Capitolo riferendo alla descrizione presa nella Adunanza Capitolare del 17 dicembre 1903 dichiara d'accettare i surriferiti quadri alle condizioni apposte nel decreto Ministeriale, cioè "che il deposito dovrà risultare da un regolare verbale di consegna, in cui riservato il diritto di proprietà della Compagnia, il Capitolo dichiari di assumere la buona custodia e conservazione dei dipinti. Del verbale di consegna si faranno tre esemplari, uno per l'Ente consegnatario, uno per l'Ente proprietario e l'altro inviato al Ministero =
Per le spese che occorreranno per la conveniente sistemazione dei detti quadri il Capitolo stabilisce di concorrere in parte, supposto che vorranno anche concorrere la Compagnia di S. Croce ed il locale Comitato Archeologico=

Documento: Pericle Novelli, Biglietto postale per Sig.re Giocondo Comm.re Pasquinangeli (1907/09/09), "Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

(Timbro: 232)
(Timbro: Roma 10, 9 -07, (Centro))

BIGLIETTO POSTALE
DA 15 CENTESIMI

(Timbro: Orte, illeggibile) (Timbro: Orte, illeggibile)

All'Onorevole Signore
Sig.re Giocondo Comm.re Pasquinangeli
Via dei Sediari 76, Roma

Pregiatissimo Sig. Compare,

da Orte 9 Settembre (1907)

Il 30 Agosto era tutto pronto per porre al Duomo le tavole del Protettore e alle dieci del mattino eravamo nella Cattedrale insieme al Com.re Manni, D. Zeffirino per la regolare consegna. Veturio non venne rifiutandosi di trasportare i dipinti, perché non fu intesa la Congregazione Generale opponendosi agli ordini del Ministero.
Io penso che la miglior cosa sarebbe di far venire qui persona del Ministero con mandato assoluto.
Aggiungo che il Sig. Manni è del parere del Ralli Veturio.
Sono addoloratissimo di tanto […],
Pericle [Novelli Canonico]

Documento: Pagina 6, (1906/12/20) "Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

6

In seguito all'iniziativa dal Comitato Archeologico Ortano e all'autorizzazione di Mons. Vescovo Giacomo A. Ghezzi, nonché alla decisione del Revmo Capitolo di questa Cattedrale, presa in risposta all'avviso del Rettore della Compagnia di S. Croce in data 20 dicembre 1906, col quale questi comunicava un decreto del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione del 3 Nov. 1906 che lo autorizzava a trasportare nella detta cattedrale i pregevoli dipinti antichi posseduti dalla stessa compagnia.

Oggi, presenti il Rappresentate del Ministero della P. I. Conte Francesco Manni, R. Ispettore dei Monumenti e Scavi di Orte, autorizzato dal Ministero con lettera del 9 Agosto 1907, il Rettore della Compagnia di S. Croce, D. Zeffirino Prep. Ralli, il depositario della medesima Sig. Veturio Ralli ed i rappresentanti del Revmo Capitolo, ecc. ecc., sono stati consegnati e depositati nella Chiesa Cattedrale: 1º i quattro dipinti (tavole) raffiguranti la vita e miracoli del protettore S. Egidio Abate; 2° l'immagine (tavola) raffigurante Maria SS. Delle Grazie.

Il R.mo capitolo Consegnatario nel ricevere i sopradetti dipinti dichiara di assumerne la buona custodia e conservazione, restando sempre il diritto di proprietà alla Ven. Compagnia di S. Croce.

La presente scrittura, a seconda del decreto Ministeriale vien fatta in tre esemplari, dei quali uno sarà conservato presso l'ente consegnatario, l'altro presso l'ente proprietario, il terzo presso il Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione.

Orte.

Documento: Comitato Archeologico Ortano, Delibera inviata al Vescovo, al Capitolo della Cattedrale, al Municipio (1910/05/09), "Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

7

In esecuzione della deliberazione presa dal Comitato Archeologico Ortano nella riunione del 9 Maggio 1910, il suo Presidente comunicò:

a Monsignor Vescovo,
al Capitolo della Cattedrale,
al Municipio,

Il voto seguente:

Il Comitato Archeologico Ortano, avendo cognizione delle voci che circolano nel paese circa un progetto per chiudere al culto la Chiesa dei Raccomandati in modo da ricavarne fondi onde erogarli a scopi di pubblica utilità, quali sarebbero quelli di recar sollievo alla amministrazione del nostro Ospedale e di dare sovvenzioni per una erigenda Chiesa presso la nostra stazione ferroviaria, ritiene doveroso da sua parte di richiamare l'attenzione di coloro cui può spettare, sulla sorte che sarebbe serbata ai quadri di grande pregio artistico che ora nella Chiesa dei Raccomandati sono conservati;

facendo voto che verificandosi la chiusura di questa Chiesa si provveda innanzi tutto alla sistemazione dei quadri stessi.

Il Comitato Archeologico Ortano senza entrare nel merito dell'accennato Progetto e degli intendimenti che ad esso si connettono (essendo materia estranea ai fini suoi) rivolge raccomandazione a chi è in grado di accoglierle, affinché attuandosi il progetto medesimo,

1º una quota conveniente di fondi che potranno ricavarsi dalla alienazione del fabbricato che ora costituisce la Chiesa dei Raccomandati sia riservata per una decorosa sistemazione dei suddetti quadri;

2º tale sistemazione va possibilmente effettuata nel luogo dove già col plauso del Comitato Archeologico e della cittadinanza e con l'approvazione della autorità governative sono collocati altri quadri di pregio e cioè nella Chiesa Cattedrale.

Il Comitato Archeologico Ortano mentre a far queste raccomandazioni prende occasione delle voci Suaccennate, aggiunge esser sommamente desiderabile ed anzi urgente che ad ogni modo si addivenga ad un provvedimento che renda possibile una decorosa sistemazione dei quadri, perché oggi è da tutti deplorato che il locale dove esistono custoditi siasi reso disadatto per le deperite condizioni della Chiesa dei Raccomandati e per il quasi abbandono in cui essa trovasi.

Documento: Umberto Zuppante, "Ordine del Giorno" (1910/05/09), "Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

Orte, 10 maggio 1910
Ill.mo e Rev. Signor Priore
della Cattedrale di Orte

La presidenza del Comitato Archeologico Ortano si reca a premura di comunicare alla S. V. Ill.ma e R.ma il seguente Ordine del giorno, che il comitato stesso votò ad unanimità nella riunione tenuta ieri 9 corrente.

Con osservanza

Il segretario
D. Umberto Zuppante

Il presidente
G. Pasquinangeli

-Ordine del Giorno-

Il Comitato Archeologico Ortano, avendo cognizione delle voci che circolano nel paese circa un progetto per chiudere al culto la Chiesa dei Raccomandati, in modo da ricavare fondi onde erogarli a scopi di pubblica utilità, quali sarebbero quelli di recare sollievo all'Amministrazione del nostro Ospedale e di dare sovvenzioni per una erigenda Chiesa presso la stazione ferroviaria, ritiene doveroso da sua parte di richiamare l'attenzione di coloro cui può spettare sulla sorte che sarebbe serbata ai quadri di grande pregio artistico, che ora nella Chiesa dei Raccomandati sono conservati, facendo voti che, verificandosi la chiusura di questa Chiesa, si provveda innanzi tutto alla sistemazione dei quadri stessi.

Il Comitato Archeologico, senza entrare nel merito dell'accennato progetto e degli intendimenti che ad essi si connettono (essendo materia estranea ai fini suoi) rivolge raccomandazioni a chi è in grado di accoglierle affinché attuandosi il progetto suindicato, 1° una quota conveniente dei fondi, che potranno ricavarsi dalla alienazione del fabbricato, che ora costituisce la Chiesa dei Raccomandati, sia riservata per una decorosa sistemazione sei quadri di pregio artistico; 2° che questa sistemazione sia possibilmente effettuata nel luogo dove già col plauso del Comitato e con l'approvazione delle Autorità Governative sono stati collocati altri quadri di pregio artistico, e cioè nella Chiesa Cattedrale.
Il comitato, mentre a far questi voti prende occasione dalle voci suaccennate, aggiunge esser sommamente desiderabile ed anzi urgente, che ad ogni modo si addivenga ad un provvedimento che renda possibile una decorosa sistemazione dei quadri, poiché oggi è da tutti deplorato che il locale dove essi sono custoditi, siasi reso inadatto per la loro conservazione.

Documento: Giocondo Pasquinangeli (1910/05/16), Lettera al Vescovo A. Ghezzi, "Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

Illmo
Sig. Avv. Pasquinangeli
Comm. Giocondo

9

Orte, 16 di Maggio 1910
Ill.mo Sig. Commendatore

Abbiamo letto con piacere l'Ordine del giorno, approvato da codesto Comitato Archeologico il giorno 9 corrente, intorno ai Quadri artistici esistenti nella Ven. Chiesa dei Raccomandati di Orte, nel caso che quella venisse chiusa al culto come se ne vociferata, non sappiamo con quanto fondamento, in mezzo al popolo.

Il nostro comitato può star sicuro dell'interesse che tocca anche Noi per le Opere di arte specialmente sacra, e che qualunque sia la sorte che sarà per toccare alla Chiesa dei Raccomandati, i Quadri stimabilissimi che ivi si trovano verranno sicuramente collocati, come si è fatto di altri nella Nostra Chiesa Cattedrale perché vi siano con ogni cura possibile custoditi.

Ai voti poi del comitato archeologico aggiungiamo i Nostri Voti per un pronto provvedimento

Illmo
Comm. G. Pasquinangeli
Presid.e del Comitato Archeologico
di
Orte

che renda possibile una più decorosa e sicura sistemazione di quei cimelii di arte sacra. Nello assicurare di tanto la S. V. Ill.ma. La preso volersi rendere interprete presso il Comitato della mia viva riconoscenza per l'interessamento che prende alla difesa delle opere di pregio artistico che onorano la nostra città. Ella poi gradisca i sensi della mia sincera stima e perfetta osservanza

(Timbro del Vescovo di Orte e Civ. Castellana)
+ Fr GA Vescovo

Documento: Sindaco di Orte, Invito (1910/05/17), "Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

COMUNE DI ORTE
Ill. Sign…
Consigliere Comunale
S'invita la S. V. Ill.ma ad intervenire all'Adunanza Ordinaria del Consiglio che di terrà il giorno di Sabato 21 corr(ente) alle ore 19 nella Sala delle adunanze per discutere sulle seguenti proposte:

Orte, li 17 Maggio 1910

IL SINDACO (firma)

Oltre le proposte inscritte nei precedenti avvisi e rimaste indiscusse passate in seconda convocazione, la seguente
in 1ª
Voto del Comitato Archeologico Ortano in merito alla Chiesa dei Raccomandati

Documento: Copia estratta dal "Libro delle Adunanze Capitolari": Adunanza (1910/05/19),"Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

11

Copia estratta dal "Libro delle Adunanze Capitolari"

Adunanza 19 Maggio 1910 (pag. 184 del Volume)

Omissi(oni) etc. "Lo stesso Sig. Priore presenta una lettera del Comitato Archeologico Ortano con la quale viene comunicato un Ordine del giorno del Comitato medesimo intorno alla probabile chiusura al culto e conseguente vendita della Chiesa dei Raccomandati e alla necessità che da ciò deriverebbe di provvedere alla sistemazione dei quadri di pregio artistico che ivi si trovano ; sistemazione che sarebbe logica e conveniente se si avverasse nella Chiesa Cattedrale ova già si trovano adunati, trasportativi da altre Chiese, altri quadri ugualmente interessanti e preziosi.

Il Capitolo accoglie ad unanimità e con viva simpatia la proposta del Comitato Archeologico Ortano e stabilisce, per quanto dipende da esso, che effettuandosi la dissacrazione e la vendita della Chiesa dei Raccomandati e trasportandosi nella Cattedrale i preziosi quadri che il Capitolo sarà lietissimo di accettare, questi possano essere degnamente collocati o nell'altare di S. Carlo od in quello di S. Lucia, o ad ogni modo in qualunque altro luogo possibilmente più adatto e conveniente che sarà scelto d'accordo con S. E. Mons. Vescovo. Resta sottinteso che con l'accettazione dei quadri il Capitolo accetterebbe anche il trasporto dei Pii Legati che ora sono soddisfatti nella Chiesa dei Raccomandati, cosa che dovrà naturalmente regolarsi come è dovere di legge, dalla competente autorità ecclesiastica.

L'argomento artistico di cui avanti fa giustamente osservare che sarebbe anche necessario provvedere alla migliore collocazione del Quadro di S. Francesco d'Assisi, preziosissimo dipinto in tavola, che ora trovasi sopra di una porta d'ingresso laterale della Chiesa, in modo assolutamente sconveniente, s'incarica quindi il Sacrista Maggiore di mettersi d'accordo col Comm. Pasquinangeli Presidente del Comitato Archeologico per la scelta di un luogo migliore.

Documento: Copia estratta dal "Libro delle Adunanze Capitolari", Adunanze (1916/09/21), "Quadri di pregio/ esistenti nelle varie Chiesa di Orte/ collocati/ nella Chiesa Cattedrale/ nel 1904-1906-1908-1916, Carte Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

12

Copia estratta dal "Libro delle Adunanze Capitolari"

Adunanze 21 Settembre 1916 (pag. 941 del Volume)

Omissi(oni) etc= Si legge un decreto di Mons. Vescovo emanato in occasione della S. Visita, fatta alla Chiesa dei Raccomandati il giorno 12 Maggio di quest'anno, che è del tenore seguente:

Decreto

Considerato che la Chiesa dei Raccomandati di Orte, dove si trova il quadro di molto pregio artistico, rappresentante il SSmo Salvatore non offre più, per le sue deteriorate condizioni, garanzie sufficienti di sicurezza ;

Considerato che il suddetto quadro ogni anno, nella ricorrenza della festa dell'assunzione di Maria SSma, viene trasportato nella Chiesa Cattedrale, e che solamente in quell'occasione viene esposto alla venerazione dei fedeli

Ordiniamo:

che il predetto quadro sia provvisoriamente conservato nella Chiesa Cattedrale, dove anche si conservano altri quadri di pregio. Ugualmente ordiniamo che sia conservata nella Chiesa Cattedrale la Croce Astile lavoro anch'esso assai pregevole.

Il diritto su cotali preziosità artistiche rimarrà sempre alla ripetuta Chiesa dei Raccomandati, mentre noi così abbiamo ordinato per liberarla da guasti e per porla in venerazione continua presso del popolo.

Orte 12 Maggio 1916

+ Fra Giacomo Vescovo

In seguito al predetto Decreto, Mons. Priore propone:

1° che il quadro del SSmo Salvatore venga posto sopra la Porta della Sagrestia, racchiuso un una custodia di legno con cristallo;

2° che il quadro di S. Sebastiano, che attualmente si trova dentro la Sagrestia, venga esposto alla pubblica venerazione, ornato di una cornice di castagno, somministrando il Comm. Pasquinangeli il legno all'[…] necessario.

3° che i due quadri artistici, di scuola umbra, rappresentanti l'Annunciazione e la Maternità, porti ora a ridosso dei pilastri del Cuppolone vengano rispettivamente messi nella Cappella di S. Nicola e del SSm Sagramento, di fronte ai quadri di S. Sebastiano e S. Francesco.

4° che le spese all'uopo necessarie siano sostenute dall'amministrazione della Sagrestia.

La proposta è approvata ad unanimità=

14

Adunanza Capitolare 21 Settembre 1916

Si legge un Decreto che Mons. Vescovo ha emanato in occasione della Sacra Visita, fatta alla Chiesa dei Raccomandati, il giorno 12 Maggio di quest'anno:

= Decreta =

= Considerato che la Chiesa dei Raccomandati di Orte, dove si trova il quadro di molto
= pregio artistico, rappresentante il SSmo Savatore, non offre più, per le sue deteriorate
= condizioni, garanzie sufficienti di sicurezza ;

=Considerato che il sudetto quadro, ogni anno, nella ricorrenza della Festa dell'Assunzione = di Maria SSma, viene trasportato nella Chiesa Cattedrale, che solamente in quella = occasione viene esposto alla venerazione dei fedeli ;

Ordiniamo:

= che il sudetto quadro sia provvisoriamente conservato nella Chiesa Cattedrale
= dove anche si conservano altri quadri di pregio. Egualmente ordiniamo che sia
= conservata nella Chiesa Cattedrale la Croce Astile, lavoro anche assai pregevole
= Il diritto su cotali(?) preziosità artistiche rimarrà sempre alla ripetuta Chiesa dei
= Raccomandati, mentre Noi così abbiamo ordinato per liberarle dai guasti e per
= porle in venerazione continua presso il popolo.

Orte 12 Maggio 1916
+ Fr. Giacomo Vescovo

In seguito a questo Decreto, Mons. Priore Don Eucherio Pasquinangeli propone:
1° che il quadro del SS^{mo} Salvatore venga posto sopra la Porta della Sagrestia, racchiuso in una custodia di legno con cristallo.
2° che il quadro di S. Sebastiano, che attualmente si trova dentro la Sagrestia venga esposto alla pubblica venerazione, armato di una cornice di castagno, somministrando il Comm. G. Pasquinangeli il legno all'uopo necessario.
3° che i due quadri antichi di scuola umbra, rappresentanti l'Annunciazione e la Maternità, posti per ora a ridosso dei pilastri del Cupolone, vengano rispettivamente messi nelle Cappelle di S. Nicola ed del SS^{mo} Sacramento di fronte ai quadri di S. Sebastiano e di S. Francesco
4° che le spese all'uopo necessarie siano sostenute dall'amministrazione della Sagrestia.
La proposta è approvata ad unanimità

(si volti)

Documento: Adunanza Capitolare (1917/04/21) "Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

Il priore legge la seguente lettera del Comm. Hermanin Sopraintendente delle Gallerie del Lazio:

=Roma 9 Aprile 1917
= Pregiomi significare a codesto Rev.mo Capitolo che ho fatto compilare dal restaura_
= tore Sig. Vittorio Franceschelli, che con Santa abilità ha eseguito il restauro
= alle tavole antiche con le storie di S. Egidio, il preventivo per il necessario
= restauro ai tre pregievoli dipinti conservati in codesta Venerab. Cattedrale, rappre_
= sentanti: l'Assunzione, il Salvatore, e l'Annunciata.
= Il compenso complessivo chiesto da Sig. Franceschelli per tale lavoro
= ammonta alla somma di (lire) 495. Siccome però questa sopraintendenza nel
= momento presente non dispone di sufficienti fondi, rivolge preghiera e codesto
= R.mo Capitolo di voler ricorrere nella spesa in parole, per quanto più
= può, con preghiera di comunicarmi poi la decisione presa al riguardo.
= Con ossequi
Il R. Sopraintendente – Hermanin

Il Capitolo stabilisce di rispondere che stante la ristrettezza finanziarie ecc. non può concorrere, come pur vorrebbe, alle spese.

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21 Aprile 1917

Documento: Giocondo Pasquinangeli, Lettera a Didaco Garau, Commissario Prefettizio per il Comune di Orte (1923/01/06), "Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

23

Orte 6 Gennaio 1923

Illmo Sig. Cav. Uff. Didaco Garau, Commissario Prefettizio per il Comune di Orte,

V.S. Illma ben conosce la esistenza e lo stato del Magazzino Archeologico Ortano, che occupa un vasto ambiente di proprietà Comunale, sottostante all'Asilo Infantile, e che contiene un abbondante materiale di non poca importanza per le memorie cittadine, completo di antiche lapidi, di antichi sepolcri, cippi, colonne, frammenti architettonici e statuari, e di altri oggetti di varie specie ; materiale che si è venuto accumulando a poco a poco e che in maggior copia si spera di poter accumulare in avvenire.

V.S. Illma conosce altresì che tale Magazzino Archeologico – che è Municipale – fu istituito ad iniziativa, che risale al 1901, del Comitato Archeologico Ortano, per depositarci, ma soltanto in via provvisoria, il detto materiale, col finale intento di giungere alla formazione di un vero e proprio Museo cittadino in sede più comunale e degna, ciò che è pure nei voti della parte più eletta dalla cittadinanza ortana, caldeggiati a più riprese da distinti cultori dell'Archeologia e delle Belle Arti, che venuti in Orte, per conto della Direzione Generale delle Antichità e delle Belle Arti, il nostro Magazzino ebbero occasione di visitare e di apprezzare.

Il Comitato Archeologico Ortano – che curò sempre, ed a proprie spese, la conservazione e l'incremento del Magazzino Archeologico – mai cessò dal ventilare progetti e lanciare proposte al fine di trovare e di preparare una sede per l'erigendo Museo. Ma se pel passato, purtroppo ogni tentativo rimase sterile; parve ad esso Comitato esser finalmente giunto il momento, propizio al vagheggiato scopo, or anche V.S. Illma sta occupandosi delle destinazioni da darsi ai vari locali dell'ex-Monastero di S. Antonio. Si pensò che fra questi locali non sarebbe difficile trovare una sede adatta per il desiderato Museo.

Ed il sottoscritto che a nome del Comitato Archeologico Ortano fece cenno della cosa a V.S. Ilma, ebbe la fortuna di poter riferire che Ella non sarebbe stata aliena dal prendere in considerazione, alla stregua del pubblico interesse e delle convenienze dell'Amministrazione Comunale, quelle concrete domande che in proposito si fossero fatte.

In seguito a ciò, il Comitato, premesso con accesso sul luogo, col cortese intervento di V.S. Illma, che, ben inteso, si riservò ogni libertà di determinazioni, ha finalmente deliberato, nella adunanza 2 Gennajo corrente, che dal sottoscritto, a nome di esso Comitato, si rivolgessero all'Amministrazione Comunale di Orte le seguenti richieste, con la piena fiducia che V.S. Illma non mancherà di esaminarle con benevolenza e di provvedere poi come meglio potrà e vorrà.

1 º __Piaccia all'Amministrazione Comunale di Orte disporre che quella parte o zona dell'ex-Monastero di S. Antonio, la quale è aderente alla Chiesa omonima, ed è costituita: da un'area e cortile scoperto con portici, e dagli ambienti immediatamente adjacenti, così al pianterreno come ai piani superiori – zona che è meglio descritta e precisata nell'annesso schizzo topografico – venga destinata per la formazione di un Museo cittadino.

2 º __Piaccia all'Amministrazione Comunale di Orte disporre che, per rendere tale zona libera ed indipendente da ogni altro locale dell'ex Monastero e dalla Chiesa di S. Antonio, possa il Comitato Archeologico Ortano compiere le opere murarie, all'uopo necessarie; opere

di poco conto, che solo in parte dovrebbero avere immediata esecuzione, e che ad ogni buon fine vengono indicate nello schizzo topografico di cui sopra.
3 º __Piaccia all'Amministrazione Comunale di Orte autorizzare il Comitato Archeologico al trasporto, nei locali compresi nella zona di cui sopra, del materiale archeologico che si trova nell'attuale Magazzino, al quale materiale dovrà darsi, a suo tempo, stabile assetto ed ordinamento, secondo le istruzioni e le direttive che saranno domandate alla Direzione Generale delle Antichità e delle Belle Arti, la quale, confidasi, vorrà darle unitamente a congrui ajuti.
4º __Piaccia all'Amministrazione Comunale di Orte rendere più agevole, col suo concorso, la esecuzione delle preindicate operazioni cui il Comitato Archeologico Ortano prende impegno di accingersi; concorso che essa Amministrazione potrebbe dare; col fare partecipare alle operazioni stesse i suoi operai e dipendenti; col permettere che nei lavori di muratura adibiti i rottami che abbondano nei locali dell'ex Monastero di S. Antonio; e col concedere anche un soccorso pecuniario. Sia pur modesto e compatibile con le risorse finanziarie Comunali.

Il sottoscritto non spende parole per illustrare queste richieste del Comitato Archeologico Ortano, ispirate ad una finalità il cui valore non isfuggirà certo alla mente di V.S. Illma, che tanto ha a cuore le sorti della nostra città. Non trattasi, sul momento, che di trasferire, da un locale Municipale, ad altro locale Municipale, un materiale che anche esso è di proprietà Municipale; materiale che è meritevole di speciale considerazione e che nel male tollererebbe di essere trascurato in una occasione come la presente. Con questo trasferimento il Comune di Orte, se impegna un locale che d'altronde non vedesi a quali usi più vantaggiosi potrebbe destinarsi, disimpegna per altro verso un locale che specialmente per la sua ubicazione, è suscettibile di utilissime destinazioni. Ma vi è di più: con questo trasferimento la cittadinanza ortana vede l'inizio di una vera opera di cultura, quale è quella della istituzione di un Museo cittadino.

Il Comitato Archeologico Ortano confida nel senno di V.S. Illma.

A complementare di quanto sopra, il sottoscritto Le significa che il Comitato con le sue deliberazioni del 2 Gennaio corrente ha qui delegato, per tutto quanto possa attenersi alle operazioni che spera essere autorizzate da V.S. Illma, i soci Sig. Armenio Pasquinangeli e Can.co D. Umberto Zappante, dando loro il mandato di mettersi pure in diretta relazione con Lei, di ricevere qualsiasi sua comunicazione e di mettersi altresì in rapporto con la persona o le persone che Ella intendesse designare in ordine alle operazioni medesime.

Gradisca le espressioni della maggiore considerazione, insieme ai sentiti ringraziamenti per le tante cortesie che Ella ha avuto la bontà di usar al Comitato od a tutti e singoli suoi componenti.

Devotissimo,

Giocondo Pasquinangeli, Presidente del Comitato Arch. Ortano

Il segretario
D. Umberto Zuppante

Giocondo Pasquinangeli
Presidente del Comitato Arch.

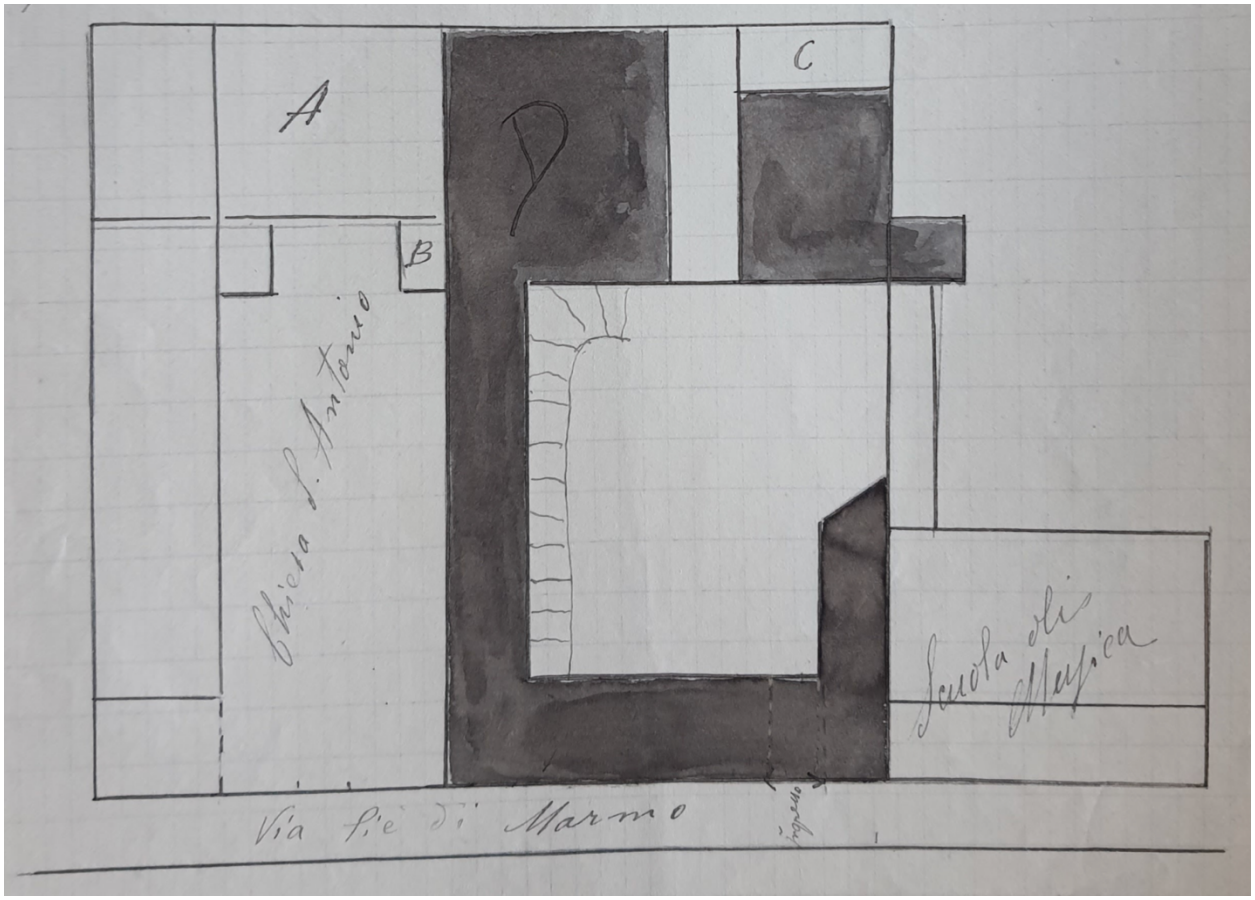
Area dell'ex Monastero di S. Antonio
da adibirsi per Museo Archeologico

Indicazione degli ambienti richiesti.

Pianterreno Cortili e vani segnati di nero, salvo assegnazione eventuali dei vani A.C.

Piano Superiore Si richiede la camera segnata D oltre la loggia e relativo passaggio, salvo assegnazione del corretto e piccolo ambiente B soggetto a servitù per il campanile.

Le opere murarie da compiersi immediatamente sono:
1° muro divisorio sul cortile adiacente - 2° chiusura delle porte che mettono in ambienti non richiesti



Documento: G. Argentati, Segretario comunale, "N. 11 0 Museo Archeologico" (1923/02/12), "Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

(Copia)

MUNICIPIO DELLA CITTÀ DI ORTE (Prov. Roma)

N.11 – Museo Archeologico.–

L'anno 1923, addì 20 gennaio nella Residenza Municipale di Orte.
Il commissario Prefettizio Cav. Uff. Didaco Garau, assistito dal Segretario Comunale.
Constato degli atti di ufficio che esiste in questa Città sin 1901 un Comitato Archeologico ortano, il quale raccolse materiale abbondante ed importante per le memorie storiche cittadine; come lapidi, sepolcri, cippi, colonne, capitelli, frammenti architettonici e statuari ed altri oggetti di varia specie di antichissima data; materiale che il Comitato depositava in via provvisoria in un vasto magazzino di proprietà Comunale sottostante all'Asilo Infantile;
Ritenuto che il Comitato archeologico, nel nobile intento di formare con l'andar degli anni un vero e proprio museo cittadino, seguendo i voti della parte più eletta della cittadinanza e caldeggiato da distinti cultori dell'archeologia e delle Belle arti che ne apprezzano l'iniziativa, chiede ora, a mezzo del suo presidente, Avv. Comm. Giocondo Pasquinangeli, egli sia concessa dalla Autorità Municipale una sede conveniente e degna nei locali dell'ex monastero di S. Antonio Abate e proveniente specificamente : 1º – di destinargli per l'uso sopra indicato, la zona dell'ex monastero S. Antonio aderente alla Chiesa omonima, la quale si compone: di una area o cortile scoperto con porticati, di una terrazza soprastante, di due ambienti adiacenti a piano terreno (come meglio sono descritte in uno schizzo o disegno esibito a corredo della domanda) ; nonché, nel piano primo superiore, di una loggia prospiciente al cortile, dove si acceda con una scala indipendente, di una camera distinta nello schizzo con la lettera D, di una cameretta adiacente a questa segnata con la lettera B, che serve di passaggio per accedere all'altra che serviva di accesso al coro della Monache, dove (col consenso del Vescovo giacché fa parte della Chiesa) il Comitato archeologico intenderebbe costituire l'archivio e la sala dei quadri di pregio e finalmente l'altra camera distinta con la lettera A, che è dietro la Chiesa ed una distinta con la lettera C ; 2 º – di provvedere in modo che il Comitato archeologico possa, mediante opere murarie, rendere la zona concessagli libera ed indipendente da ogni altro locale del Monastero ; 3º – di autorizzare il prelodato Comitato al trasporto, nei locali compresi nella zona da concedersi, del materiale archeologico, per dargli a suo tempo stabile assetto ed ordinamento, secondo le istruzioni e le direttive che saranno chieste dal Comitato alla Direzione Generale delle Antichità e delle Belle arti ; 4 º – che l'Autorità Municipale voglia, col suo concorso, agevolate la esecuzione delle indicate operazioni che il Comitato intende compiere sollecitamente : sia disponendo che gli operai del Comune partecipino alle operazioni stesse ; sia col permettere che nei lavori di muratura siano adoperati i rottami che abbondano nei locali dell'ex monastero ; sia col concedere un soccorso pecuniario in misura compatibile con le risorse finanziarie del Comune stesso.
Lo stesso commissario, considerato che le richieste del Comitato archeologico Ortano sono ispirate ad un fine nobile ed alto, quindi meritevoli di essere prese nella massima considerazione, tanto più che la raccolta di cui è oggetto costituisce un dovere per la Città che ha ricordi storici della sua antica origine e di opere pregevoli di arte dei propri cittadini, potendo tale raccolta riuscire di gradimento ai cultori di cose antiche e delle e può dare lustro

e decoro alla Città ed ai suoi abitatori presenti e trapassati. Ammirando l'entusiasmo da cui sono mossi i cittadini eletti di questa nobile popolazione, rappresentati dal Comitato archeologico, per riunire i preziosi cimeli che attestano l'antica civiltà ortana, ed augurando di veder presto realizzato il loro sogno di possedere nel proprio museo un vero tesoro d'arte e di antichità

DELIBERA CON I POTERI DEL CONSIGLIO

a) di concedere al Comitato archeologico Ortano e per esso al suo Presidente Avv. Comm. Giocondo Pasquinangeli i locali dell'ex Monastero di S. Antonio Abate sopra descritti, per istituirvi la sede del Museo Civico, salvo per la parte adiacente alla relativa Chiesa, per la quale è necessario il consenso del Vescovo sino a quando non sia si ottenuta la sconsacrazione della medesima;
b) di accordare l'aiuto morale e materiale del Comune mercé la cessione dei materiali disponibili per la mutatura, la cooperazione dei propri operai nei lavori di sistemazione e la concessione di un concorso pecuniario, che fissa in Lire cinquecento per una sola volta da prelevarsi dall'art. 114 del Preventivo 1923, destinate alle ricerche archeologiche, facendo obbligo all'Amministrazione Comunale di rifonderle nel venturo esercizio riproducendo lo stanziamento quale sussidio accordato, per lo scopo, dal Ministero.

Letto, approvato e sottoscritto

IL COMMISSARIO PREFETTIZIO
F º D. Garau

IL SEGRETARIO COMUNALE
F G. Argentati

Per copia conforme ad uso amministrativo.
Il Segretario Comunale
F G. Argentati

Il sottoscritto Segretario, su referto del Messo Comunale
CERTIFICA

Che il presente atto è stato pubblicato all'albo pretorio nel giorno di ieri (Domenica) senza essersi presentato reclamo a questo Ufficio.

Orte 12 Febbraio 1923.

Il segretario Comunale
F G. Argentati

N. 1610 – Visto si ratifica per delegazione Prefettizia
Viterbo 14-2-1923

Il sottoprefetto
F. Montuori

Documento: Il commissario Prefettizio, "Assegnazione al Comitato Archeologico Ortano i locali del Comune" (1923/02/21), "Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

li, 21 Febbraio 1923

(Stemma della Città di Orte)
Provincia di Roma
=====
Circondario di Viterbo
=====
OGGETTO – Museo Archeologico

MUNICIPIO DI ORTE

Prot. 17 – 3299

Ill.mo Sig. Presidente del Comitato Archeologico
ORTE

Pregiomi di inviare alla S.V.I. copia della mia deliberazione 20 scorso gennaio N.11, debitamente approvata dall'Autorità Superiore, con la quale, aderendo alla domanda presentatami dalla lodata S.V., ho assegnato al Comitato Archeologico Ortano i locali del Comune, dove potrà essere stabilita la sede del nuovo Museo Archeologico Cittadino.

Assicuro la S.V. Illma che quanto prima potrà mettere a Sua disposizione il muratore Pilade Canfora, il quale, servendosi dei materiali disponibili del Municipio, potrà coadiuvarla per i lavori di stabilimento dei locali destinatele; ed, a tempo debito, ossia quando potrà essere approvato il Bilancio Comunale, sarà emesso il mandato relativo al contributo pecuniario che ho creduto di assegnarle per la migliore riuscita della nobile istituzione.

Il commissario Prefettizio
(Firma illeggibile)

Documento: Giocondo Pasquinangeli, Lettera a Gisella Klumm (1925/07/10) "Giocondo Pasquinangeli 4," ASDO.

Ricordi
//

Roma 10 Luglio 1925

Mia cara Gisella,
Oggi ho scritto e sottoscritto il mio testamento olografo; e ne ho fatto a te la consegna perché, se Dio vorrà, possa da te essere depositato a forma di legge. Abbiamo discusso insieme le disposizioni di questo testamento; ed esse sono adunque di tua soddisfazione. In nessun modo avrei voluto o potuto far cosa che a te fosse riuscita sgradita; a te che mi hai dato tutte le consolazioni. Hai desiderato che, fuori di testamento, di fermare da me la tua attenzione sopra taluni miei desideri, dei quali pure parlammo insieme.
Eccoli i miei ricordi.
Auguriamoci che il pericolo, cui vado incontro, svanisca, e che Dio ci conceda altri anni di unione felice. Ti abbraccio e ti bacio, ti bacio con tutto l'affetto.

Tutto tuo
Giocondo

=Ricordi per la mia diletta Consorte Gisella=

Se Dio mi chiamerà a se, il mio cadavere sia trasportato direttamente dalla casa di salute (S. Stefano Rotondo) al campo Santo di Orte, senza soffermarsi né in Roma, né in Orte. Non fiori, non pompe. Della mia morte si potrà dare annuncio nel Corriere d'Italia, Nel Messaggero, ed in qualche altro giornale, avvertendo che =Non si mandano partecipazioni personali, si dispensa dalle visite e si prega di non inviare fiori=. Del resto questi annunci di giornale si faranno quando già la mia salma è partita da Roma.
Nel trigesimo della mia morte, si faccia decoroso funerale nella Cattedrale di Orte – Ma senza fiori e senza pompe.

Per depositare il mio testamento in Orte (articoli 912 e 913 Codice Civile) occorre l'atto di morte.

Il R^{o} Decreto 20 Agosto 1923 N. 1802, abolì la tassa successione nel Gruppo famigliari (e così anche fra moglie e marito).

Occorre restituire al Municipio di Orte i volumi manoscritti che già sono stati preparati all'uopo – Non che le pergamene si sua proprietà che si trovano in Orte nella mia libreria.

Occorre restituire al Capitolo della Cattedrale di Orte il volume che già è stato preparato – donandogli anche le pergamene di mia proprietà che si trovano in Orte, nella mia Libreria. In questa occasione il Capitolo potrebbe anche ottenere che nel suo Archivio vengano depositate le pergamene del Seminario e quelle della Compagnia di S. Croce; pergamene che si trovano in Orte nella Mia Libreria, e che comunque dovranno restituirsi a chi di ragione.

Occorre restituire al Prof. Laccoli (?) il volume che già è stato preparato.

E dovrà farsi dono al Museo od alla Biblioteca del Risorgimento, in Roma, dei due Cimeli che sono stati già preparati all'uopo.

Debbo ricordare che nella mia libreria in Orte nell'ultimo scaffale della camera lunga, a destra, si trovano alcuni volumi grossi a destra, appartenenti alla Biblioteca del Seminario (Bullarium Franciscanum, Storia dei conventi dei Girolamini del Sajanello[13] e qualche altra opera). Occorre farne la restituzione.

Se si farà in Orte il Museo di Antichità, tanto da me propugnato, desidero si faccia una buona offerta a mio nome, trasportandovi anche i molti oggetti da me già raccolti. In questa evenienza sarebbe bene che la mia Consorte Gisella ottenesse dalle Monache Benedettine (dietro congrua largizione) il consenso di trasportare e collocare nel Museo il Sarcofago marmoreo che esse hanno nel loro giardino. Se poi a scopo di ritrovamenti di antichità si volessero fare scavi, nei legittimi modi, nel mio piccolo terreno a Piscinale, la mia Consorte Gisella che rimarrà assoluta proprietaria di questo terreno, conceda tutte le agevolazioni possibili.

Edificandosi la nuova Chiesa nella Borgata della Stazione, la mia Consorte Gisella agirebbe secondo i miei intendimenti, sottoscrivendo una buona offerta, ricordando il mio nome. L'offerta potrebbe anche consistere in pagamenti rateali.

Se fra i tanti progetti ventilati per sistemare nella Chiesa Cattedrale di Orte i quadri di pregio ed altri oggetti di pregio, si finesse per sceglierne uno e per attuarlo, la mia Consorte Gisella si ricordi che io ho sempre propugnato tale sistemazione e concorrere nelle spese, come meglio potrà.

La mia Consorte Gisella non dimentichi che la nostra famiglia suole dare ospitalità ai Religiosi Cappuccini, avendo i nostri predecessori accettato il titoli di Benefattori ; titolo che nella nostra famiglia fu sempre gradito.

La mia consorte Gisella ricordi a Don Eucherio i discorsi da me fatti con lui in ordine ad un legato di Messe (Legato Schifa. Monti) che dal comune avo Camillo fu addossato a Zia Maria nel suo Testamento, con la intesa che Don Timoteo ne avrebbe curata la sistemazione ecc. Ed in ordine ad un piccolo censo (tre o quattro Lire annue) a favore della sagrestia dei Santi Martiri, che io avrei voluto estinguere, chiedendo di conoscerne il titolo ecc.
È mio fermo proposito che tali partite vengano regolarizzate (senza parlarne a Zia Maria, che forse ignora tutto) (e facendo alla sagrestia dei Santi Martiri la proposta di donare una cartella di rendita dall'importo di Lire 5 annue). Adunque si preghi Don Eucherio di parlarne con chi di ragione, per giungere ad una soluzione che metta ognuno delle nostre famiglie, fuori di responsabilità.
Se Don Eucherio, per le condizioni della sua vista, non potesse occuparsi di questo mio desiderio e proposito, dovrebbe indicare il modo di uscirne.

Desidero che ai miei cognati Edoardo e Carlo ed alle mie cognate Teresa e Luisa, che ebbero sempre affezione per me, affettuosamente ricambiata sia dato un ricordo per ciascuno. Si ricordino di me e preghino per me.

[13] Giovanni Battista Sajanello, Historica monumenta Ordinis Sancti Hieronymi Congregationis B. Petri de Pisis [...]. Editio secunda longe auctior, et correctior ac documentis nunc primum editis illustrata, Venetiis, typis Antonii Zattae, 1758-1762, 3 v.

È mio desiderio che anche al mio antico amico Paolo Ratti si dia un ricordo, in segno che non ho dimenticato le sue attenzioni che furono sempre a me graditissime. Dal giorno che ci vedemmo, ci sentimmo amici veri, e questa amicizia mi è stata sempre di conforto.

La mia amata Consorte Gisella che conosce bene i sentimenti che mi guidarono nel fare il mio testamento, se ne vedrà l'opportunità, non manchi di chiarire il senso delle mie disposizioni, così a Gregorio Primavera (al quale ho voluto in qualche modo, assicurare quella libertà di movimenti che ho reputato di suo interesse e mettendo presso a poco nella posizione che ebbe in confronto mio, senza preoccupazione che possano essere deviate le sue tendenze e le sue direttive) così ai miei cugini (ai quali ho voluto significare essere mio gradimento ed essere loro utile mantenersi in cordiali rapporti col Primavera preferendo sempre le amichevoli intese ai diffidenti atteggiamenti).

Ma soprattutto la mia Consorte Gisella faccia opera presso Zia Maria per tenerla tranquilla e per evitarle qualsiasi contrarietà. Non è dalle mie disposizioni testamentarie che la cara mia Zia deve misurare il mio sentire verso di lei, ma dalla cortesia che la mia Consorte deve ispirarle, che se io sono venuto meno, io sono vicino a lei mediante colei che fu la mia compagna amorosa e che sa bene essere il suo dovere uguale a quello che fu sempre sentito da me.

Le difficoltà maggiori che incontrerà la mia Consorte Gisella deriveranno forse dalla mole non indifferente dei miei libri. Dalla mia libreria che sta in Roma, vorrei che si scegliessero le opere storiche riguardanti Orte, i paesi del Viterbese e di tutta la Tuscia, Il Tevere, le ferrovie e le strade della nostra ragione ecc. per essere trasportate in Orte ed essere utilizzate da chi un giorno volesse dedicarsi alle ricerche che furono la mia passione, e dalle quali le condizioni della mia salute finirono d'impedirmi di farne il frutto vagheggiato. Di questa cernita se volesse occuparsi il mio amico Prof. [Pericle] Perali, dietro congruo compenso, sarebbe una vera fortuna, perché egli saprebbe mettere insieme una bella raccolta da meritare il titolo Biblioteca Tusca ecc.[14]
Le altre opere potrebbero formare oggetto di vendita presso la libreria antiquaria di Luzzietti [di Roma]. Anche molti libri che si trovano in Orte potrebbero ugualmente essere posti in vendita. Comunque la mia Consorte Gisella, vedrà come meglio decidersi mentre ha già acquistato cognizioni che potranno illuminarla.
Per quanto s'attiene alle mie carte ed ai miei manoscritti, la mia Consorte Gisella, già sa che di tutto si dovrà fare il trasporto in Orte, tenendo ivi distinte le carte ed i manoscritti relativi alla storia di Orte ecc dalle carte e manoscritti di altro argomento. Ad essa che si propone di convivere abitualmente con la nostra zia, nella mia casa paterna di Orte, non dispiacerà di essere la custode di quelle carte e di quei manoscritti, nella speranza che qualcuno delle nostre famiglie, o qualsiasi altro volenteroso studioso voglia o possa un giorno utilizzarli meglio che non abbia potuto utilizzarli io.

La mia Consorte Gisella già sa che fra me e Gregorio Primavera furono chiusi i conti, alla fine del decorso anno 1924, in perfetto pareggio, dei conti in corso è già informata.

Nel mio testamento, autorizzando la mia Consorte Gisella a vendere eventualmente 20 ettari di terreno nelle adiacenze della stazione ferroviaria di Orte (ossia 40 ettari di terra, di proprietà comune Pasquinangeli-Primavera) e ad incassarne il prezzo, ho accennato che di

[14] Pericle Perali, storico, nacque ad Orvieto (Terni) il 20 giugno 1884. Fu studioso di storia locale, preside e docente presso il Liceo ginnasio di Gubbio. Collaborò con la Regia deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria a partire dal 1905.

questo prezzo potrebbe essa fare usi speciali. Con ciò nessuna limitazione è imposta al suo diritto di disporre del prezzo come meglio le piacerà, ma tuttavia ho voluto alludere alla contingenza che da questo prezzo potrebbero ricavarsi i mezzi per sostenere quelle spese alle quali ho accennato in questi ricordi e riferibili a elargizioni all'erigendo Museo, alla costruendo chiesa nella Borgata della Stazione di Orte, alla sistemazione dei quadri di pregio nella Chiesa Cattedrale di Orte e così via.
Ma una raccomandazione voglio fare, se la mia Consorte Gisella potrà avere disponibilità di mezzi congrui, non trascuri il riscatto della Imposta del Patrimonio, gravante il mio nome ed i beni che ad essa servono di base. Sarà una liberazione morale, e in pari tempo una semplificazione della gestione dei proventi di cui al N. 4 del mio testamento; semplificazione che per un terzo ricadrebbe anche a vantaggio di Gregori Primavera, il quale pertanto dovrebbe contribuire per la operazione. Qualora poi la mia Consorte stimasse di poter disporre di mezzi per concorrere a qualche opera Religiosa abbia presente che in Orte sarebbe spiritualmente vantaggioso il ripristinamento della Predicazione Quaresimale nel Duomo.

Roma 10 Luglio 1925
Aff.mo Consorte
G Pasquinangeli

APPENDIX H.
TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SELECTED PAPERS REGARDING THE PRESERVATION OF ORTE'S CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ITS MUSEALIZATION (1952-1967), ACS-ROME AND ASDO

Documento: Emilio Lavagnino, Lettera al il Vescovo di Civita Castellana Orte e Gallese (1952/12/05), Faldone "Museo Diocesano", conservato presso l'ASDO.

SOPRINTENDENZA ALLE GALLERIE ED ALLE
OPERE D'ARTE MEDIOEVALI E MODERNE PER IL LAZIO
ROMA - VIA DEL PLEBISCITO- PALAZZO VENEZIA - TELEFONO 62-970

Roma, 5 DIC 1952

Prot. 2064 Posiz. 3/1

OGGETTO Orte - Museo diocesano-

Al S.E. il Vescovo di Civita Castellana Orte e Gallese
CIVITA CASTELLANA

In un recente sopralluogo compiuto a Orte mi sono reso conto della opportunità di istituire nei locali della ex chiesa di S. Silvestro in Orte un piccolo Museo Diocesano ove raccogliere talune opere d'arte della città e della diocesi non oggetto di culto e attualmente sparse parte nella cattedrale, parte nella residenza vescovile e parte in chiese sconsacrate.

Naturalmente, prima di inoltrare qualsiasi proposta al superiore Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione e alla Soprintendenza ai Monumenti per il restauro della chiesa, desidererei che la E.V. esprimesse il suo punto di vista sull'argomento, procedendo di comune accordo, ove la E.V. approvi tale iniziativa sulla scelta delle opere.

Qualora la E.V. lo creda opportuno, un incontro a Orte per trattare sul luogo della questione sarebbe molto utile.

Vi è gradito porgere i miei ossequi alla E.V.

IL SOPRINTENDENTE
(firma: E Lavagnino)

Documento: Carlo Ceschi, Lettera al MPI (1953/02/04), Faldone "Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione, Provincia di Viterbo", conservato presso l'ACS-Roma.

Roma, 4 FEB 1953

SOPRINTENDENZA AI MONUMENTI
DEL LAZIO
PIAZZA S. IGNAZIO, 152 – TELEF. 62.490

OGGETTO. ORTE (Viterbo). ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro - lavori.-

Prot. 5728

AL MINISTERO DELLA PUBBLICA ISTRUZIONE
Direzione Generale delle AA.BB.AA. R OMA
e.p.c.
ALLA SOPRINTENDENZA ALLE GALLERIE ED ALLE OPERE D'ARTE MEDIOEVALI E MODERNE PER IL LAZIO
ROMA
(Palazzo Venezia)

(Appunto scritti a matita: 6 Viterbo
Per Campoli […] preliminare esame […] questione del Museo Arch […]/II/53)

Su invito della consorella Soprintendenza alle Gallerie Roma I°, questa Soprintendenza ha effettuato un sopraluogo unitamente ai funzionari di predetta Soprintendenza nella ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro in Orte (Viterbo) per studiare l'opportunità di salvare l'interessante edificio medioevale ed il suo splendido campanile romanico.

Tale Chiesa è da anni sconsacrata ed abbandonata, e con il pericolo di trasformazioni non compatibili al suo carattere monumentale, e peggio, da demolizioni, La trasformazione di predette opere in Museo si ritiene utile data la ricchezza dell'abbondante materiale archeologico esistente in Orte, ora riposto e sparpagliato nei modi e posti più impensati ed assurdi.

Sia la Curia Vescovile, che e Autorità Comunali e la cittadinanza vedrebbero con molta soddisfazione la costituzione del Museo.

Perciò si sottopone alla preventiva approvazione di codesto Ministero, lo studio del riadattamento dell'ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro a Museo Archeologico, ed al restauro del campanile romanico. Si resto in attesa delle determinazioni che codesto Ministero crederà opportuno adottare.

(Timbro: DIREZ.GEN. ARTI
1605 6FEB53
DIVISIONE […])

IL SOPRINTENDENTE
(firma Carlo Ceschi)

SANG/D.L.

(Appunto scritti a matita: Roma II […])

Documento: Umberto Zuppante, Lettera al Vescovo di Civita Castellana Orte e Gallese (1953/02/05), Faldone "Museo Diocesano", conservato presso l'ASDO.

Capitolo della Basilica Cattedrale di Orte

Orte, li 5 febbraio 1953

Eccellenza Reverendissima,

il Capitolo della Chiesa Cattedrale, adunatosi il 4 c.m., avendo preso atto della proposta avanzata dalla Soprintendenza alle Gallerie ed alle Opere d'Arte Medioevali e Moderne per il Lazio circa i restauri della Chiesa di S. Silvestro, da trasformarsi in Museo Diocesano, accoglie con piena soddisfazione l'iniziativa ed esprime il Suo parere favorevole. Fà anzi vati perché tale restauro abbia ad essere tradotto in atto quanto prima con grande vantaggio della nostra Diocesi e a maggior decoro della Città.

Colgo occasione per porgerLe devoti ossequi e per professarmi

dev.mo nel Signore

Sac. Umberto Zuppante

Decano
(firma)

Documento: Emilio Lavagnino, Lettera al MPI e alla Direz. Gen. Antichità e Belle Arti (1953/02/12), Faldone "Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione, Provincia di Viterbo", conservato presso l'ACS-Roma.

SOPRINTENDENZA ALLE GALLERIE ED ALLE
OPERE D'ARTE MEDIOEVALI E MODERNE PER IL LAZIO
ROMA - VIA DEL PLEBISCITO PALAZZO VENEZIA TELEFONO
06970

Roma, 12 Febbraio 1953

N. 302 Posiz. 3/11 (Timbro: DIREZ[…]
ARTI

001540 – 17.FEB.1953
DIV. III)

OGGETTO Orte (Viterbo). Costituitone di
un Museo Dioceaano nella ex Chiesa di
S. Silvestro.

Al MINISTERO DELLA PUBBLICA ISTRUZIONE
Direz. Gen. Antichità e Belle Arti
ROMA

Facendo seguito al foglio n. 5728 in data 4.2.53 della Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e per conoscenza a questo Ministero e per conoscenza a questa Soprintendenza, si richiama l'attenzione di codesto Ministero sull'importanza artistica della ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro in Orte, pregevolissimo edificio romanico, oggi sconsacrato, abbandonato e pertanto soggetto a eventuali, già prospettate, manomissioni o demolizioni.

D'altro canto da parte di questa Soprintendenza è particolarmente sentita la necessità di istituire in Orte un piccolo Museo Diocesano, dove raccogliere e valorizzare alcuni pregevoli dipinti e oggetti d'arte, provenienti da varie sedi delle Diocesi, oggi provvisoriamente custoditi parte nella Cattedrale e parte in Vescovado, onde evitarne continui spostamenti di sede e, alla fine, probabile dispersioni.

A tale scopo, con l'appoggio del Vescovo di Orte molto favorevole all'iniziativa, sì è pensato a raccogliere, tale materiale artistico nella ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro, la quale, opportunamente restaurata, si presterebbe molto bene divenire sede di un piccolo ma interessantissimo Museo Diocesano, dove potrebbe venir disposto anche il cospicuo materiale archeologico attualmente abbandonato nella sede del Comune.

Si verrebbe in tal modo a raggiungere il duplice scopo di salvare da preoccupante decadimento un importante monumento medievale e di costituire una interessante raccolta di opere d'arte locali in una cittadina che per ricchezza di monumenti e bellezze di natura merita di essere convenientemente valorizzata. Si prega pertanto codesto Ministero di voler autorizzare la Soprintendenza ai Monumenti per il Lazio a poter eseguire i lavori occorrenti per raggiungere tale duplice scopo, la cui realizzazione sta molto a cuore a entrambe le Soprintendenze.

IL SOPRINTENDENTE
(firma per esteso: Emilio Lavagnino)

Documento: Soprintendenza alle Antichità dell'Etruria Meridionale (RB), Lettera al MPI (1953/03/06) Faldone "Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione, Provincia di Viterbo", conservato presso ACS-Roma.

Fot/par.

REPUBBLICA ITALIANA
SOPRINTENDENZA ALLE ANTICHITÀ
DELL ETRURIA MERIDIONALE

ROMA, 6 MAR 1953
piazzale di Villa Giulia 9

Prot. 662
Nº. di {
Posiz. 1-IX-Orte

Orte (Viterbo) Ex Chiesa
OGGETTO {
Di S. Silvestro - Lavori

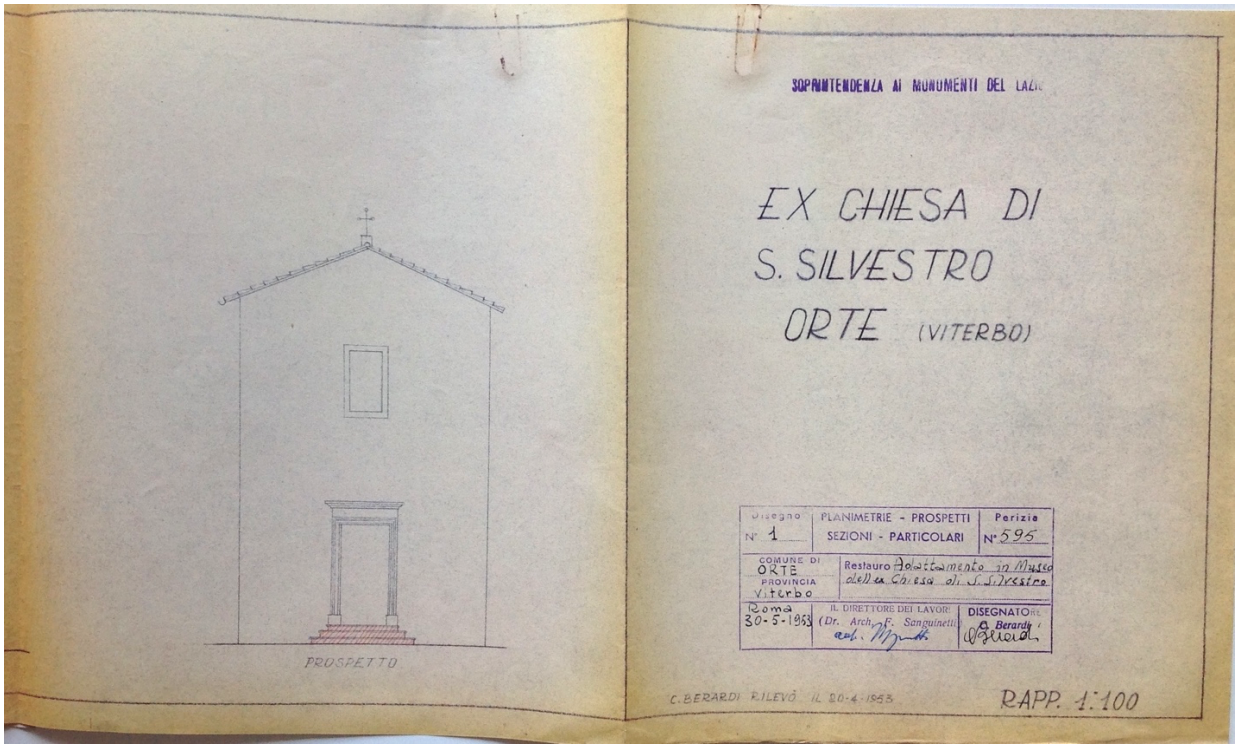
A riscontro della nota n.1605 del 2-3-1953 di codesto Ministero, si comunica che questa Soprintendenza accoglie favorevolmente la proposta della Soprintendenza ai Monumenti di adattamento dell'ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro in Orte, a Sede di Museo Archeologico. Si sarà grati se codesto Ministero vorrà comunicare le decisioni che prenderà al riguardo.

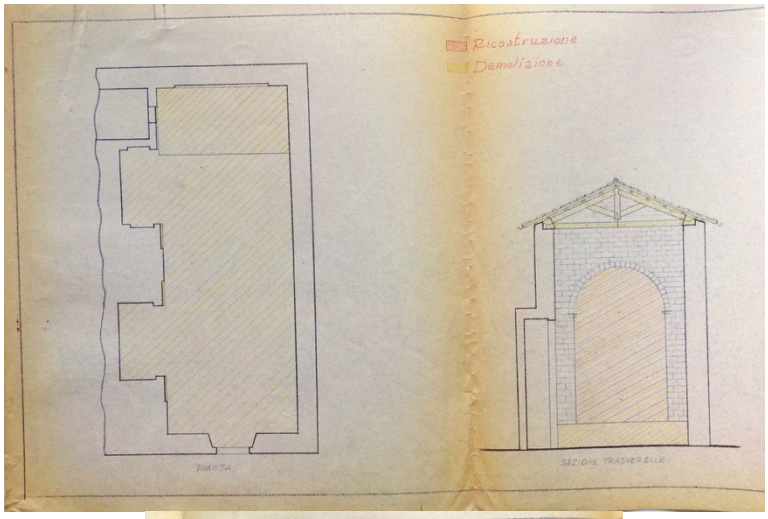
IL SOPRINTENDENTE
(firma illegibile. RB[…]?)

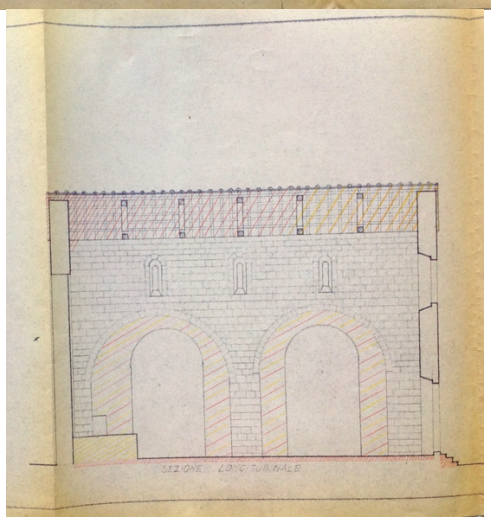
(Timbro: DIREZ.GEN. ARTI
[6]2892 10 MAR 1953
DIVISIONE IIA)

Documento: Francesco Sanguinetti, Planimetrie e prospetti dell ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro, Orte (1953/05/30), Faldone "Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione, Provincia di Viterbo", conservato presso ACS-Roma.

Planimetrie e prospetti. Perizia n. 595.
Comune di Orte, Provincia di Viterbo
Restauro: Adattamento in Museo dell'ex Chiesa si S. Silvestro
Roma, 30-5-1953. Direttore dei lavori: Dr. Arch. F. Sanguinetti
Disegnatore: C. Berardi (dal rilievo del 30-4-1953)




Ricostruzione
Demolizione
PIANTA
SEZIONE TRASVERSALE


SEZIONE LONGITUDINALE

Documento: Emilio Lavagnino, Lettera al MPI (1953/06/22), Faldone "Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione, Provincia di Viterbo", conservato presso l'ACS-Roma.

SOPRINTENDENZA ALLE GALLERIE ED ALLE
OPERE D'ARTE MEDIOEVALI E MODERNE PER IL LAZIO
ROMA VIA DEL PLEBISCITO - PALAZZO VENEZIA- TELEFONO […]

N. 1316 Posiz. 3/11 Roma 22 GIU 1953
OGGETTO Orte (Viterbo) Ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro. -

(Timbro:
Direzione […] delle Arti
005928 24.GIU.1953
DIV. III)

Al MINISTERO PUBBLICA ISTRUZIONE
Direz. Gen. Antichità e Belle Arti
ROMA

In riferimento alla materiale 5225 del 16. 6.53 questa Soprintendenza, richiamandosi al la propria nota n. 3 d, del 12.2.53 diretta a codesto Ministero, rinnova viva istanza perché siano finanziati i lavori di restauro e di adattamento a museo diocesano della ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro in Orte. Ciò che mentre e consentita di salvare da lento decadimento e probabile distruzione un pregevole edificio romanico, servirà del pari per raccogliere in un ambiente particolarmente adatto numerose opere e oggetti d'arte provenienti da chiese sconsacrate o demolite altrimenti soggetti a dispersione e di sistemare altresì convenientemente le raccolte archeologiche locali oggi abbandonate nel Municipio di Orte.

IL SOPRINTENDENTE
(Firma per esteso di Emilio Lavagnino)

Documento: De Angelis (Guglielmo De Angelis d'Ossat?), Lettera al MPI (1953/07/06), Faldone "Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione, Provincia di Viterbo", conservato presso l'ACS-Roma.

DIREZIONE GENERALE
DELLE ANTICHITÀ E BELLE ARTI

6 luglio 1953

Al Soprintendente alle Gallerie
ROMA

SCARICATO

e p.c.

Prot. N. 5225 Div. III^ Al Soprintendente ai Monumenti

ROMA

N. 5928 Div. III^

OGGETTO: Restauri ex-Chiesa S. Silvestro – Lavori. -

in adesione alla richiesta della S.V., si autorizzano i lavori di restauro e di adattamento a Museo Diocesano, dell'ex Chiesa di San Silvestro di Orte, per i quali è stata prevista la spesa è stata di £ 3.500.000. -

Al finanziamento suddetto verrà provveduto nel corso dell1'esercizio 1953/54.

IL MINISTERO
F.to De Angelis

Documento: Carlo Ceschi, Lettera al MPI (1955), Faldone "Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione, Provincia di Viterbo", conservato presso l'ACS-Roma.

SOPRINTENDENZA AI MONUMENTI DEL LAZIO
PIAZZA S. IGNAZIO, 152 - TELEF. 62.490 - 61.952

Roma, 15 GIU. 1955

OGGETTO: ORTE(Viterbo) - Museo Diocesano di Arte Sacra - Lavori

Protocollo N. 3991
Risposta a nota del 28.5.55 N. 7105
Allegali N

(Timbro: DIREZ. GEN. […] BELLE ARTI Istruzione -007981-17.GIU.1958 Antichità e Belle Arti DIV. III)

Al Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione
Direzione Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti
ROMA

A riscontro della nota Ministeriale di cui a margine, relativa al Museo Diocesano di Arte Sacra in Orte (Viterbo) ed all'allegata copia della richiesta del Vescovo di Civita Castellana, Orte e Gallese, per i lavori di isolamento del campanile romanico e sistemazione dei vani addossati a detto campanile e pare te esterna dell'ex Chiesa, questa Soprintendenza chiarisce che tali vani attualmente sono occupati dalle sole masserizie di Don Federico Michelangeli, Tenente Cappellano a Firenze il quale viene ogni tanto ad Orte. Il Parroco della Cattedrale Don Giorgio, occupa l'appartamento di fronte a quello di cui sopra, diviso da un ampio cortile, e non avrà nessun fastidio dall'eventuale isolamento del campanile e della chiesa.

E' tuttavia comprensibile il desiderio del Vescovo di non perdere cinque locali utili alla vita parrocchiale ed essendo possibile ricostruirli in area propria poco lontano, la questione diventa puramente finanziaria.

Tenendo presente che la demolizione dei vani in questione è sostanziale per il godimento di uno dei più completi ed armoniosi campanili romanici del Lazio e che la spesa prevista per i lavori di isolamento e sistemazione era di circa quattro milioni, si tratterebbe di maggiorare tale somma di altri due milioni.

IL SOPRINTENDENTE
(firma: Carlo Ceschi)

(Appunti illeggibili)

Sang/deo

Documento: Emilio Lavagnino, Lettera al MPI e alla Direz. Gen. Antichità e Belle Arti (1956/01/13), Faldone "Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione, Provincia di Viterbo", conservato presso l'ACS-Roma.

SOPRINTENDENZA ALLE GALLERIE ED ALLE
OPERE D'ARTE MEDIOEVALI E MODERNE PER IL LAZIO
ROMA - VIA DEL PLEBISCITO - PALAZZO VENEZIA . TELEFONO 02-970

Roma, 31 GEN 1956

P. 273 Posiz. 3/11

OGGETTO
Orte - Ex-Chiesa di San Silvestro
Restauri -

Al MINISTERO DELLA PUBBLICA ISTRUZIONE
Direzione Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti
ROMA

(Timbro: DIREZ.GEN.ARTI
001743 7.FEB.1955
DIVISIONE II^{A})

Come è noto a codesto Ministero questa Soprintendenza aveva in passato fatto presente la necessità di restaurare la ex-Chiesa di San Silvestro in Orte, pregevole edificio romanico di elegante architettura, allo scopo di salvare da minacciate manomissioni e di creare il monumento stesso re la sede per il costituendo Museo Diocesano di Orte, dove raccogliere quel piccolo ma cospicuo gruppo di opere e di oggetti d'arte sacra non più adoperati per il culto, tratti dalle chiese della Diocesi.

La Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio aveva, nel passato esercizio finanziario iniziato e portato a buon punto i lavori di restauro dell'edificio; ma, orma da molti mesi, i lavori stessi sono stati interrotti per mancanza di disponibilità finanziaria.

Trattandosi di portare a compimento una importante iniziativa, che sta molto a cuore allo scrivente ed è caldamente sollecitata dal Vescovo di Orte e dalle Autorità locali, prego vivamente codesto Ministero di voler metterla consorella Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio in condizioni di poter terminare entro breve tempo l'opera intrapresa, dando così modo a questa Soprintendenza di poter finalmente iniziare l'allestimento del predetto Museo, la cui esigenza è vivamente sentita nel pieno di sistemazione delle raccolte d'arte di provincia che questa Soprintendenza sta attivamente curando.

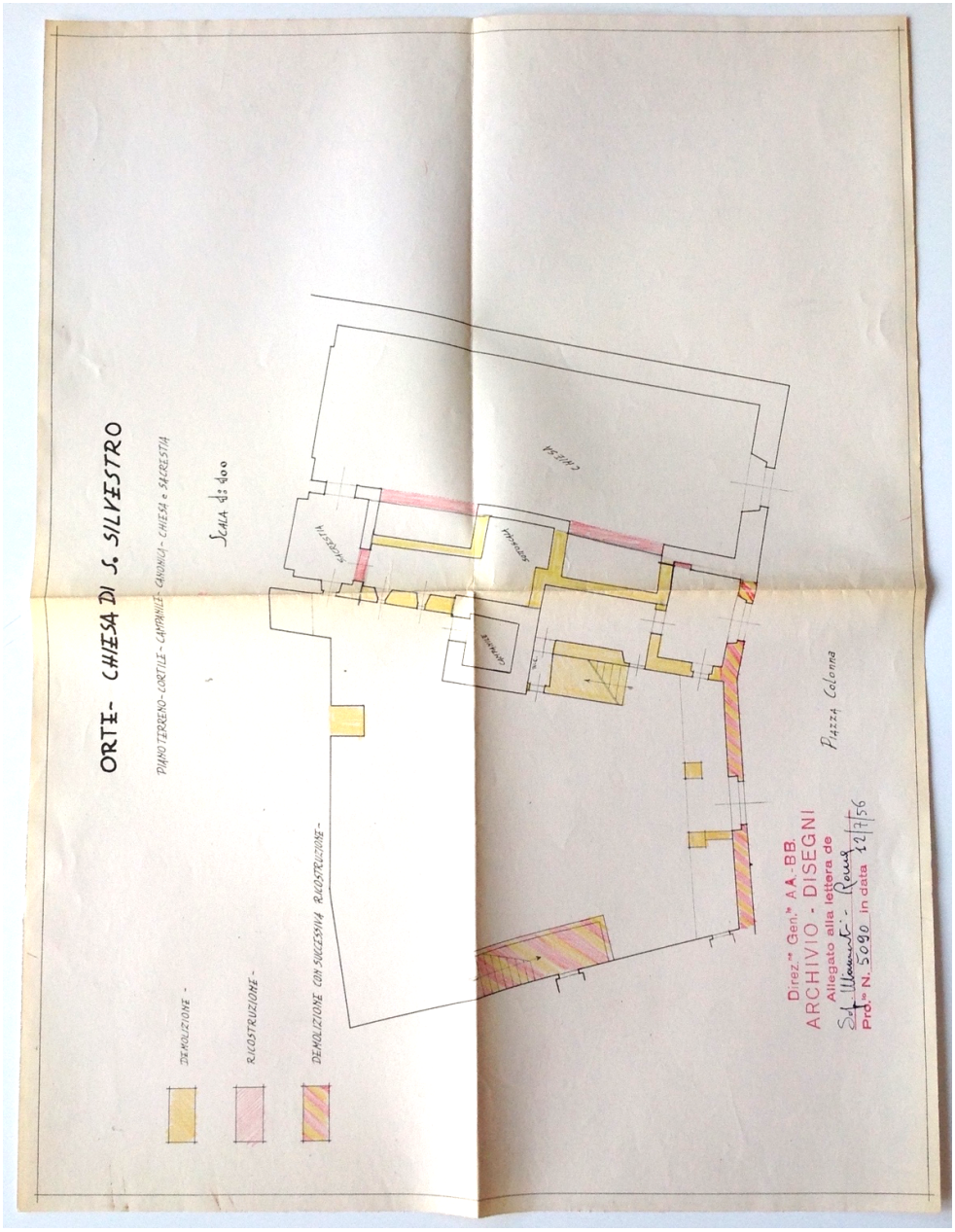
IL SOPRINTENDENTE
(firma per esteso: Emilio Lavagnino)

Provenienza del documento: Faldone "Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione, Provincia di Viterbo", conservato presso l'ACS-Roma.

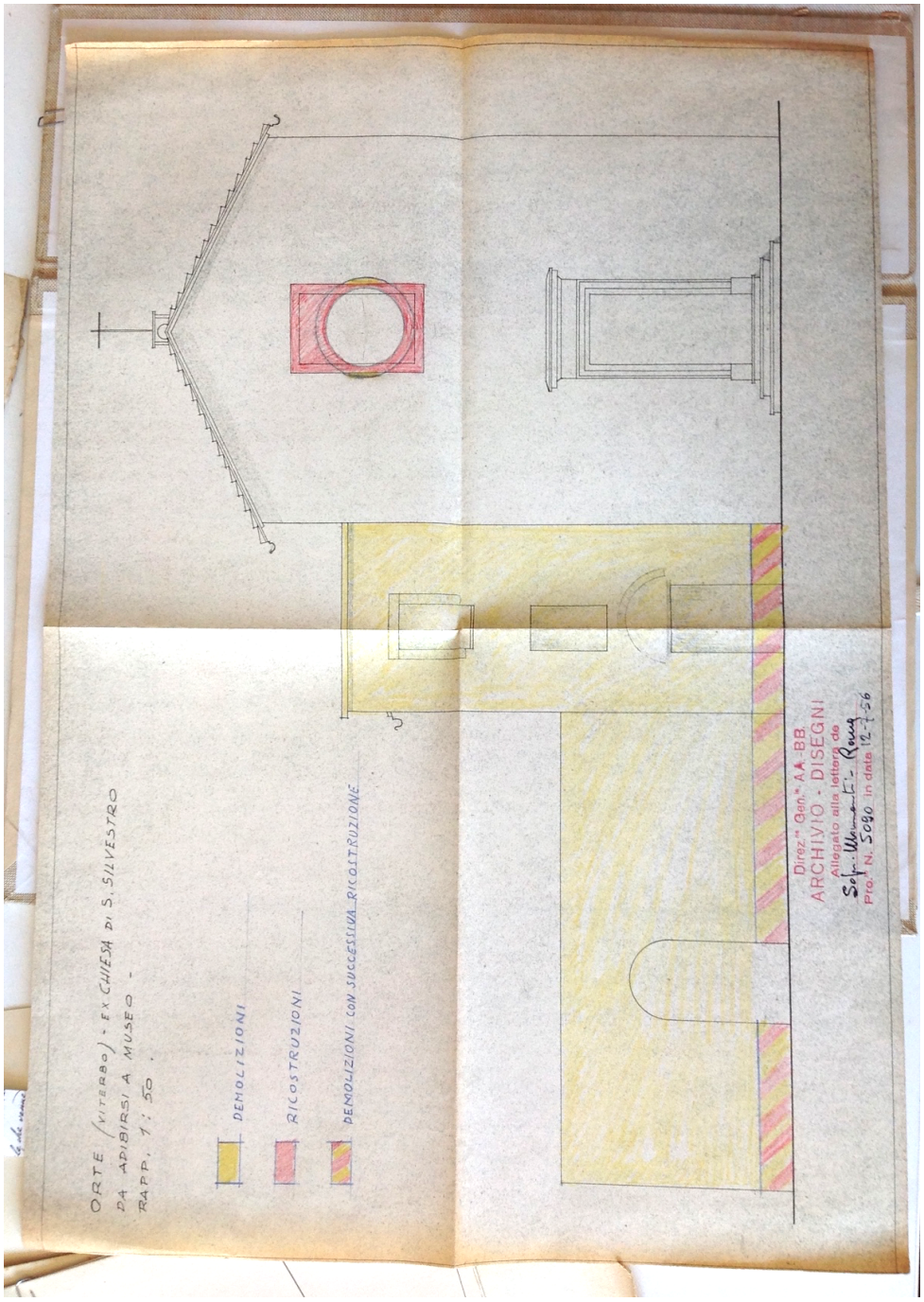
Documento: Francesco Sanguinetti, Disegni dell'ex Chiesa di San Silvestro Orte (1956/07/12), Faldone "Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione, Provincia di Viterbo", conservato presso l'ACS-Roma.

Direz.ne Gen.le A.A.- B.B./ Archivio – Disegni/ Allegato alla lettera de/ Sopr. Monumenti – Roma/ Pro.lo N. 5090 in data 12/7/56

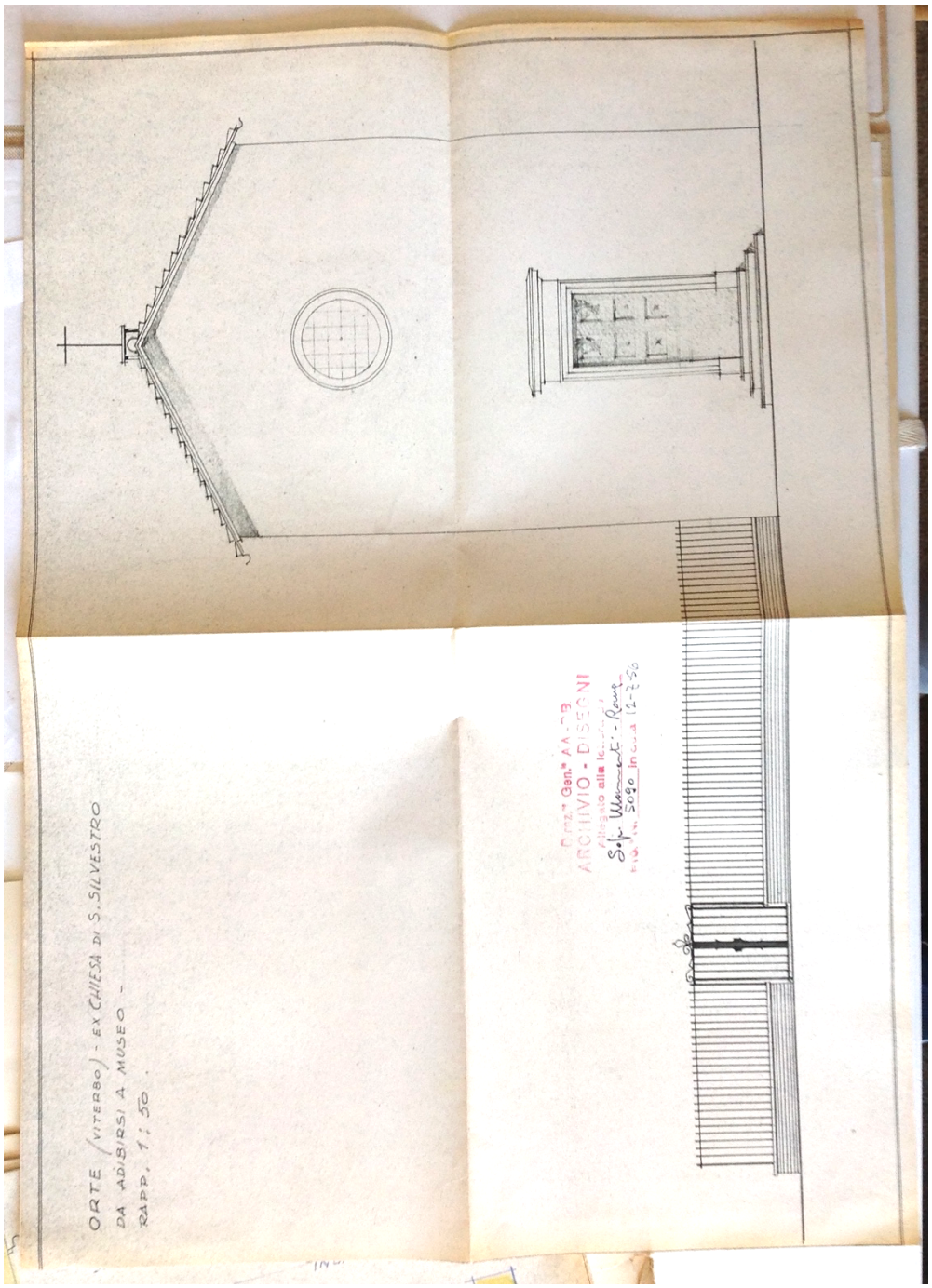
1. ORTE CHIESA DI SAN SILVESTRO
   PIANO TERRENO – CORTILE – CAMPANILE – CANONICA – CHIESA
   e SACRESTIA. Scala 1:100



2. ORTE (VITERBO) – EX CHIESA DI S. SILVESTRO
   DA ADIBIRSI A MUSEO
   RAPP. 1:50



3. ORTE (VITERBO) – EX CHIESA DI SAN SILVESTRO
   DA ADIBIRSI A MUSEO
   RAPP. 1:50



Provenienza dei documenti: Faldone "Ministero di Pubblica Istruzione, Provincia di Viterbo", conservato presso l'ACS-Roma.

Documento: Giorgio Maria Fanti, Lettera al Lettera al Vescovo di Civita Castellana, Orte e Gallese (1958/02/03), Faldone "Museo Diocesano 1", ASDO.

Ave Maria

CURIA VESCOVILE DI ORTE

Tit. Prot. n.
Risposta al foglio n. ORTE, il 3 Febbraio 1958
OGGETTO:

Eccellenza,

mi permetto rivolgerLe la presente per informarLa di una particolare situazione creatasi qui in Orte (VT) per i lavori di isolamento e sistemazione del Campanile di S. Silvestro, opera veramente pregievole che meritava di essere valorizzata.
Compiuti i lavori di adattamento a Museo Diocesano nel vano dell'antica Chiesa Romanica di S. Silvestro, la Sovrintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio, dispose l'inizio dei lavori per il riassesto del Campanile. Nello scorso giugno la Ditta appaltatrice iniziava i lavori di demolizione di una vecchia casa che era stata addossata in passato alla magnifica Torre, e questa Curia ebbe assicurazione che i lavori sarebbero stati condotti a termine dato che la casa parrocchiale del Canonico Parroco della Cattedrale a causa dei lavori intrapresi veniva a subire dei veri e propri danni.
E invece accaduto che ultimati i lavori di isolamento, tutto è rimasto sospeso. A parte il fatto che la torre è rimasta scalzata nelle fondazioni e che la facciata della chiesa sia distaccata dal muro di sinistra con una crepa notevole, il Parroco è costretto a salire nella propria abitazione a mezzo di una passerella ed al pianerottolo della casa parrocchiale è sostenuto unicamente da puntelli, con pericolo che da un giorno all'altro potrebbe franare.
Più volte tanto io che il mio Eccellentissimo Vescovo siamo stati al Ministero per sollecitare la ripresa dei lavori, che per essere ormai iniziati sin dalla scorsa estate, sarebbe opportuno fossero ultimati per il decoro della Cittadina e per valorizzazione di una pregevole opera romanica. Rivolgo pertanto all'Eccellenza Vostra istanza affinché benevolmente voglia interessarsi della cosa.
Perdoni l'indiscrezione e gradisca devoti ossequi. Mi professo,

dev.mo
(Sac. Giorgio Maria Fanti)
(firma)
Delega Vescovile

Documento: Ufficio Amministrativo Diocesano della Curia Vescovile di Orte (Giorgio Maria Fante?), Appunto (1961), Faldone "Museo Diocesano 1", ASDO.

CURIA VESCOVILE DI ORTE
Ufficio Amministrativo Diocesano

L'antica Chiesa romanica di San Silvestro—già sede di ~~xxxxxxxx~~ prepositura parrocchiale fatiscente per vetustà ed abbandono—per interessamento del Vescovo ~~xxx~~. Roberto Massimiliani—fu ridonata allo splendore del suo stile primevo—nell'anno 1960—a cura della Sovrintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio—per essere adibita a ~~xxxxxxxx~~ sede del Museo Diocesane—ove sotto la guida direzione della Sovrintendenza alle Gallerie—sono (state) raccolte pregievoli opere d'Arte proveniente da Chiese ed Istituti della Città—ed insieme la collezione di cimeli etruschi—rinvenuti nella zona circostante—dono ~~xxxxxxxx~~ del Comm. Giocondo Pasquinangeli—insigne cultore di antichità ortane.

A. D.1961+

Documento: Giorgio Maria Fanti, Lettera al Direttore Generale alle Belle Arti Roma (senza data), Faldone "Museo Diocesano 1", ASDO.

Ill.mo.Signor Direttore,

colla presente mi permetto far presente che da tempo la Sovrintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio ha provveduto al restaurare della vetusta Chiesa di San Silvestro in Orte, che dovrà adibirsi a Sede del Museo Diocesano.

Le sarei pertanto grato se avesse la compiacenza di disporre un sollecito allestimento del Museo in parola, dato che nella Città è ormai vivo il desiderio di veder completata un'opera di si alto valore artistico.

La gran parte del materiale è attualmente collocato nella Cattedrale, nel Palazzo Vescovile, presso il Palazzo Pasquinangeli.

In attesa di buone notizie, porgo distinti Ossequi.

(Sac. Gorgio Maria Fanti)
Vicario Generale

_____

Ill.mo. Signore
Sig. DIRETTORE GENERALE alle Belle Arti
ROMA

Documento: Gui (Luigi Gui?), Decreto del MPI (1964/08/04), Faldone "Museo Diocesano 1", ASDO.

MINISTERO DELLA PUBBLICA ISTRUZIONE
Direzione Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti
Serv. III - Divisione Musei

IL MINISTRO

VISTI gli artt.3 e 4 della legge 21 dicembre 1961, n. 1552;
CONSIDERATO che le opere conservate nel Duomo di Orte (Viterbo) rivestono interesse storico-artistico ai sensi della legge 10 giugno 1939, n.1089 e necessitano di opere di restauro;
VISTA la perizia della Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Roma I in data 12 giugno 1964 di 1. 105.000 per i lavori previsti da detto elaborato;
RITENUTO che tali opere sono di particolare interesse in relazione alla conservazione, ripristino e incremento del patrimonio storico-artistico della Nazione e riguardano altresì l'intervento su cose d'arte di pubblico godimento;
RITENUTA l'opportunità che l'Amministrazione provveda direttamente ai lavori in argomento entro il termine di due anni dalla data del loro inizio;
CONSIDERATA la convenienza che tali lavori siano eseguiti in economia (col timo fiduciario) dalla predetta Soprintendenza a norma del regolamento approvato con regio decreto 22 aprile 1886, n.3859, serie 3^; VISTA la relazione del Soprintendente competente;
RICONOSCIUTA l'assoluta urgenza dell'intervento;

DECRETA

E' approvata la perizia di cui alle premesse per l'esecuzione dei lavori da effettuare in economia (cottimo fiduciario) per il restauro delle opere descritte nella perizia stessa per 1'importo di £.105.000 (centocinquemila). La spesa graverà sul cap. 215 periodo 1° luglio-31 dicembre 1964 art. unico del bilancio e sarà accreditata al Soprintendente predetto il quale ne renderà conto nei modi prescritti dal regolamento di contabilità generale del lo Stato e si renderà esigibile mediante ordinativo a favore dei creditori. La spesa per i lavori predetti viene posta a totale e definitivo carico dello Stato; il suo ammontare consuntivo sarà determinato, a lavori ultimati e collaudati, con successivo decreto.
Il Soprintendente predetto provvederà a notificare agli interessati, in forma amministrativa, sia copia del presente decreto corredata dal relativo progetto tecnico-finanziario delle opere, sia il termine per l'esecuzione dei lavori.
Il presente decreto sarà inviato alla Corte dei Conti per la registrazione.

Roma, 4 agosto 1964

IL MINISTRO
F.to Gui

Roma 22 sett.1964 Prot.12697 Serv. III^ Div. Musei

Al Soprintendente
alle Gallerie
ROMA I^

In data odierna il sopra trascritto decreto è stato trasmesso alla Ragioneria Centrale per l'inoltro alla Corte dei Conti. La S.V. provvederà, prima dell'inizio dei lavori, alla notifica.

BM/ (Timbro: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie Roma I) PER COPIA CONFORME (firma)
d'Ordine del Ministro
F.to Agresti

Documento: Gui (Luigi Gui?), Decreto del MPI (1964/10/31), Faldone "Museo Diocesano 1", ASDO.

MINISTERO DELLA PUBBLICA ISTRUZIONE
Direzione Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti
Servizio III - Divisione Musei

IL MINISTRO

VISTI gli artt.3 e 4 della legge 21 dicembre 1961, n. 1552;
CONSIDERATO che le opere conservate nel Museo Capitolare di Orte (Viterbo) rivestono interesse storico-artistico ai sensi della legge 18 giugno 1939, n. 1089 e necessitano di opere di restauro;
VISTA la perizia della Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Roma I^ in data 16 settembre 1964 di £.905,000 per i lavori previsti da detto elaborato;
RITENUTO che tali opere sono di particolare interesse in relazione alla conservazione, ripristino e incremento del patrimonio storico-artistico della Nazione e riguardano altresì l'intervento su cose d'arte di pubblico godimento;
RITENUTA l'opportunità che l'Amministrazione provveda direttamente ai lavori in argomento entro il termine di due anni dalla data del loro inizio;
CONSIDERATA la convenienza che tali lavori siano eseguiti in economia (cottimo fiduciario) dalla predetta Soprintendenza a norma del regolamento approvato con regio decreto 22 aprile 1886, n.3859, serie 3^;
VISTA la relazione del Soprintendente competente;
RICONOSCIUTA l'assoluta urgenza dell'intervento;

DECRETA

E' approvata la perizia di cui alle premesse per l'esecuzione dei lavori da effettuare in economia (cottimo fiduciario) per il restauro delle opere descritte nella perizia stessa per 1'importo di £.905.000. + (nove centocinquemila).
La spesa graverà sul cap.322 art. unico periodo 1° luglio-31 dicembre 1964 e sarà accreditata al Soprintendente predetto il quale ne renderà conto nei modi prescritti dal regolamento di contabilità generale dello Stato e si renderà esigibile mediante ordinativo a favore dei creditori.
La spesa per i lavori predetti viene posta a totale e definitivo carico dello Stato; il suo ammontare cognitivo sarà determinato, a lavori ultimati e collaudati, con successivo decreto.
Il Soprintendente predetto provvederà a notificare agli interessati, in forma amministrativa, la copia del presente decreto corredata dal relativo progetto tecnico-finanziario delle opere, sia il termine per l'esecuzione dei lavori.
Il presente decreto sarà inviato alla Corte dei Conti per la registrazione.
Roma, 14 ottobre 1964

IL MINISTRO
F.to Giu

Roma, 31 ottobre 1964 Prot. 14231 Serv. III - Div. Musei

Al Soprintendente alle Gallerie
ROMA I

In data odierna il sopra trascritto decreto è stato trasmesso alla Ragioneria Centrale per l'inoltro alla Corte dei Conti. La S.V. provvederà, prima dello inizio dei lavori, alla notifica.
(Timbro Soprintendenza delle Gallerie Roma I)
PER COPIA CONFORME d'Ordine del Ministro
Segretario(firma) F.to Ill.le

Documento: Luisa Mortari, Lettera a Giorgio Maria Fanti (1965/03/25), Faldone "Museo Diocesano 1", ASDO.

SOPRINTENDENZA ALLE GALLERIE ED ALLE
OPERE D'ARTE MEDIOEVALI E MODERNE PER IL LAZIO
ROMA - VIA DEL PLEBISCITO - PALAZZO VENEZIA TELEFONO 02-970

Roma, 25 MAR. 1965

N. 1453 Posiz. 5/4
OGGETTO
Museo Diocesano di Orte
Allegati N. 1

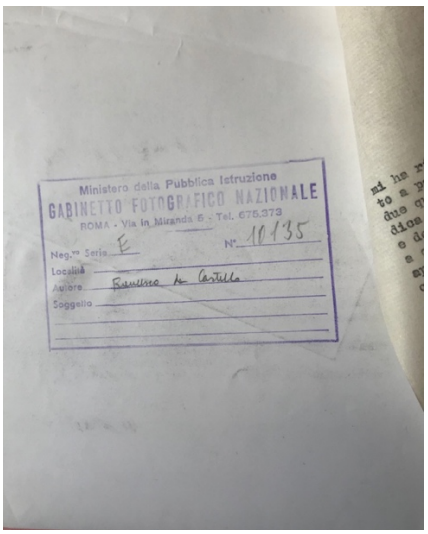
Al Molto Reverendo Don Giorgio Fanti
Piazza Colonna
ORTE

Le invio la fotografia acclusa perché Lei mi fornisca notizie delle opere laterali al quadro centrale. Avrei infatti intenzione di presentare, nel nuovo Museo, l'opera così come appare nella fotografia.

Attendo una sua cortese comunicazione in merito e le invio, intanto, i migliori saluti.

Dott.ssa Luisa Mortari
(Firma)





Documento: Giorgio Maria Fanti, Lettera a Luisa Mortari (24 novembre 1965/11/24), Faldone "Museo Diocesano 1", ASDO.

Ave Maria

24/N/1965

Ill.ma. e Gent.ma.Signora,

il Dr. Clelio Salvadori, nostro Assessore Comunale, mi ha riferito della telefonata avuta con Lei. Io sono finalmente riuscito a parlare con La Signora Ippolita Cianchi, la Quale ancora detiene i due quadri laterali dell'Altare dei Cappuccini. La Signora Cianchi rivendica, in base ad un contratto che ha in mano, la proprietà di detti quadri o dello stesso quadro di Francesco da Castello, pur dichiarandosi disposta a cederli al Museo. È persona molto educata e pertanto Le ho detto che non appena Lei farà una sfuggita in Orte, potranno avere un abboccamento. Comunque non esiste complicazione di alcun genere.

Qualora dovesse venire, abbia la bontà di preavvertir mi. Giorni fà passai in Ufficio, ma non ebbi il piacere di trovarla.

Gradisca frattanto i miei distinti ossequi, che avrà la compiacenza di estendere anche al Gent.mo. Arch. Torossi.

(Smo. Giorgio Maria Fanti)

Documento: [Giorgio Maria Fanti,] Appunti sull'Inaugurazione del Museo Diocesano di Arte Sacra (senza data), Faldone "Museo Diocesano 1", ASDO.

INAUGURAZIONE DEL MUSEO DIOCESANO DI ARTE SACRA
ORTE 9 APRILE 1967
==========

Domenica 9 aprile 1967 è stato inaugurato ad Orte il Nuovo Museo Diocesano di Arte Sacra alla cui realizzazione si è instancabilmente adoperato il Vescovo Diocesano S.E. Mons. Roberto Massimiliani, con la collaborazione del Capitolo alla Cattedrale.
Il Museo è stato allestito nell'ex Chiesa di S. Silvestro a cura della Soprintendenza alle Gallerie e alle Opere d'Arte del Lazio, sotto la direzione della Dott. Luisa Mortari, che ha anche provveduto alla redazione del catalogo delle opere esposte. Ricorderemo che la Chiesa di S. Silvestro, con il Campanile romanico adiacente, venne restaurata alcuni anni fa dalla Soprintendenza ai Monumenti del Lazio.
Per l'occasione si è costituito un Comitato presidiato dal Vicario Generale della Diocesi di Orte Mons. Giorgio Maria Fanti e composto da membri del Capitolo e da Laici tutti appartenenti all'Azione Cattolica Italiana:
Mons. Delfo Gioacchini Priore, Don Ferruccio Riccardi Canonico, Albino Impenna, Gino Pancotto, Canali Argillano, Ezio Fabrizi, Pietro Bonifazi, Fabrizio Fabrizi, Massimo Cianchi.
Con un manifesto, la cittadinanza è stata invitata a partecipare alla cerimonia e a visitare il Museo, che "nelle mirabili opere d'Arte in esso raccolte, è una perenne e nobile testimonianza della Fede dei Padri."
L'avvenimento ha avuto particolare risonanza attraverso la stampa Italiana ed Estera, ne ha diffusamente parlato la Radio nella rubrica del Corriere del Lazio. La Televisione ha effettuato alcune riprese per "La Cronache Italiane".
Tra gli intervenuti erano: Il Direttore Generale alle Belle Arti Prof. Molajoli, il Vice Direttore alle Belle Arti Dott. Agresti, il Vice Prefetto di Viterbo dott. Pascarella, il Senatore Angelilli, il Soprintendente alle Gallerie e Opere d'Arte del Lazio Prof. Matthiae, l'Ispettore Generale alle Belle Arti Prof. Ceschi, il Soprintendente ai Musei di Roma Prof. Pacini, il Comandante dell'XI° Deposito Aeronautico di Orte, il Comandante del Gruppo Carabinieri di Viterbo Ten. Col. Fio(r?)letta, il Maestro Mortari dell'Accademia Di S. Cecilia, il Dott. Gigliozzi della Radio Televisione Italiana e Consigliere Comunale di Roma, la Dott. Mortari Direttrice della Soprintendenza alle Gallerie del Lazio, il Prof. Orlando della Segreteria dell'On. Rumor, il Sindaco di Orte Cav. Baldasserini, l'Avv. Pasquinangeli Vice Pretore, il Comm. Camilli, il Dott. Salvatori Assessore al Turismo, Mons. Fanti Vicario Generale; Mons. Gioacchini Priore del Capitolo, Don Riccardi Cancelliere Vescovile, Don Vincenzo Cappetta, nonché i rappresentanti delle stampa romana, esponenti della cultura e dell'Arte di Roma e del Viterbese.

Nel corso della cerimonia hanno parlato successivamente il Soprintendente alle Gallerie e Opere d'Arte Prof. Matthiae, il Vescovo Massimiliani, l'Assessore al Turismo Dott. Salvatori e il Direttore alle Belle Arti Prof. Molajoli. Mons. Massimiliani ha ricordato il notevole e determinante apporto della Chiesa allo sviluppo delle varie attività culturali ed artistiche, attraverso i Seminari e le Confraternite e le tante Istituzioni Cattoliche che fiorirono nelle nostre Diocesi durante il corso dei Secoli.
Rispondendo all'indirizzo di omaggio e di ringraziamento, Anche a nome dell'amministrazione Comunale, rivoltogli dall'Assessore Salvatori, il Direttore Generale Prof. Molajoli si è vivamente compiaciuto con gli ideatori e con i realizzatori del nuovo Museo, esaltando l'alta testimonianza storica e spirituale in esso contenute, nonché

l'illuminato civismo degli ortani, i quali in oggi tempo gelosamente conservato tanti tesori artistici che altrimenti sarebbero andati irreparabilmente perduti.

Documento: Regolamento del Museo Diocesano di Orte (senza data), Faldone "Museo Diocesano 1", ASDO.

REGOLAMENTO DEL MUSEO DIOCESANO DI ORTE

Il Museo Diocesano di Orte, fondato nell'Aprile 19[15], con sede nella vetusta ex-chiesa di San Silvestro—Piazza Colonna, in Orte, di proprietà della Curia Vescovile di Orte.

Al mantenimento ed al funzionamento del Museo, tenuto presente l'Art. 2 della suddetta legge, provvede secondo le norme del presente regolamento, la Curia Vescovale di Orte, con mezzi propri e con il contributo da parte di Enti Civili ed ecclesiastici.

CAPITOLO I
Sede-Costituzione e fini

Il Museo Diocesano di Arte Sacra ha la propria sede nei locali della ex-chiesa di San Silvestro in Orte. Consta di una raccolta di quadri provenienti in gran parte dalla Sede Vescovile di Orte, dalla Cattedrale ~~xxxxxxxx~~ e Chiese di Orte. Le opere scultoree provengono dalla antica Cattedrale Ortana Il fine che si propone il Museo Diocesano è la conservazione e valorizzazione del patrimonio artistico appartenente alle Comunità Cattoliche di Orte e della Diocesi.

CAPITOLO II

La Curia Vescovile di Orte, d'intesa con l'Autorità Diocesana, provvede alla Sede, al mantenimento ed al funzionamento del Museo, stanziando annualmente i mezzi finanziari, di cui può disporre la propria Amministrazione.

CAPITOLO III

La cura ed il funzionamento del Museo Diocesano sono affidate ad un Direttore, scelto fra i Membri del Capitolo della Cattedrale di Orte dall'Ordinario Diocesano, sentito il parere delle competenti Soprintendenze, e ritenuto idoneo per preparazione culturale e per serietà morale & svolgere i compiti inerenti a tale carica.

L'ufficio di Diterrore[16], che non comporterà alcun compenso in danaro, avrà la durata di cinque anni, e potrà essere riconfermato ulteriormente la stessa persona, restando ferme le condivisioni di cui sopra.

I compiti del Direttore saranno i seguenti

a) provvederà alla gestione tecnico-artistica ed amministrativa del Museo, alla buona conservazione delle opere raccolte, non ché alla manutenzione del ~~XXXXXXX~~ locale ove è istallato il Museo

[15] Il documento non reca una data. Se per fondazione, si intende l'inaugurazione , l'evento ha avuto luogo il 9 aprile 1967 e non il 19 del mese.
[16] Rifuso presente nel testo originale.

b) provvederà alla disciplina delle vistate nonché alla consultazione del materiale da parte di studiosi.

c) segnalerà immediatamente alla Soprintendenza di; competenza i caai[17] in cui si riterranno opportune o necessarie cure o interventi di ripulitura e di restauro.

d) convocherà, almeno una volta all'anno la Commissione di consulenza e la presidierà.

CAPITOLO IV

Al Museo Diocesano Sovrintenderà una Commissione di consulenza, che coadiuva il Direttore nell'esplicazione dei suoi compiti;

Essa sarà composta di 5 (cinque) membri: 2 (due) appartenenti al Capitolo della Cattedrale di Orte 1(uno) al Collegio dei Parroci Urbani; 1 (uno) Personale Direttive della Soprintendenze ai Monumenti; 1 (uno) al Personale Direttivo alla Soprintendenza alle Gallerie.

Di detta Commissione sarà Presidente Onorario l'Ordinario Diocesano.

I membri di cui sopra dovranno essere scelti fra Persone che abbiano competenza in materia artistica.

L'Ufficio di Segretario verrà affidato di preferenza ad uno dei rappresentanti del Capitolo.

La nomina dei Consiglieri viene fatta dalla Commissione di Arte sacra.

I Consiglieri durano in carica 5 anni e potranno essere nuovamente eletti.

La carica di' Consiglieri e gratuita.

Spetta a detta Commissione:

a) esaminare tutti i provvedimenti di ordine generale concernenti il Museo ed il suo funzionamento, nonché funzionamento, nonché i provvedimenti concernetti la sede, la sicurezza delle opere arte ed loro stato di conservazione.

b) trattare questioni di carattere amministrativo, relative alle spese per il personale, illuminazione, riscaldamento, manutenzione ordinaria ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ della Sede.

c) La Commissione si riunirà una volta all'anno, dietro convocazione da parte del ~~XXXXXX~~ Direttore, sarà presieduta dello stesso Direttore e si richiede per la validità, la presenza di almeno 3 (tre) membri.

Della Adunanza verrà steso regolare verbale a cura del segretario.

Per quanto riguarda i depositi di materiale artistico nel Museo Diocesano, il Depositante ne conserva la proprietà, ma non potrà ritirarli senza il preventivo consenso della Commissione di consulenza del Museo e della competente Soprintendenza alle Gallerie.

CAPITOLO V

Ogni opera ed oggetti entrato o che entrerà definitivamente per dono o per legato o per qualsiasi altra causa nel Museo Diocesano, deve essere immediatamente registrata nel Registro delle Opere, con i principali dati di riconoscimento (materia, dimensioni, tecnica, soggetto, età, e, se possibile, autore e provenienza.

[17] Rifuso presente nel testo originale.

CAPITOLO VI

La Curia Vescovile di Orte provvederà alla designazione di un Custode per la vigilanza e salvaguardia delle opere custodita nel Museo.
Il Custode avrà il compito:

a) di vigilare perché le opere non abbiano ad avere alcun nocumento da parte dei visitatori.

b) attendere alla apertura e chiusura del Museo, alla pulizia ordinaria e straordinaria, alla vendita di biglietti, di cui terrà dovuto conto al Direttore

c) dare immediato avviso al Direttore di qualsiasi inconveniente o danno occorso sia alle opere esposte sia allo stabile della sede.

d) durante le visite, terrà un contegno dignitose cortese, fornendo garbatamente indicazioni che ii' verranno richieste.

CAPITOLO VII- Prestiti

Oltre a quanto disposto dalle leggi vigenti per la tutela delle pose di pubblico interesse archeologico ed artistico, nessuna opera potrà essere trasportata, anche temporaneamente, fuori del museo senza previa autorizzazione della Commissione a dell'ordinario Diocesano.

Per quanto concerne prestiti di opere a Mostre o manifestazioni artistiche in Italia all'Estero, la Commissione di consulenza potrà aderire alla proposta sempre sentito il parere della Soprintendenza alle Belle Arti.

Le opere concesse in prestito dovranno essere sempre aperte da assicurazione a carico deli Ente richiedente per il va ore stabilito dalla Commissione consultiva la spedizione potrà aver luogo soltanto dopo la consegna al Museo della polizza assicurativa.

CAPITOLO VIII--

Tutte le opere del museo debbono essere permanentemente visibili. Gli studiosi potranno esaminare e studiare le opere raccolte nel Museo Diocesano, dietro domanda e con speciali cautele, alla presenza del Direttore.
Tutte le opere debbono essere corredate da cartellini esplicativi, contenenti almeno l'autore, la data ed il soggetto del quadro; dovrà essere anche segnalato il noma dell'eventuale donatore, o depositante.

Il Direttore potrà consentire che vengano fotografate opere od oggetti contenuti nel Museo, il quale avrà diritte ad avere due copie della riproduzione eseguita.

CAPITOLO IX

Il Museo è aperto e visitabile tutti i giorni della settimana e resta chiuso nei giorni delle maggiori festività religiose.
Nei giorni feriali le visite potranno essere effettuate dalle ore 9 alle ore 12,30 e dalle ore 15 alle 17,30
Per le visite è fissato il prezzo del biglietto per L.100 (cento). È consentito l'ingresso libero agli Alunni delle Scuole Medie accompagnati dai loro Insegnanti, durante la Settimana dei Musei: l'ingresso è libero a tutti i visitatori il 1 Settembre di ogni anno, festa del Santo Protettore di Orte: S. Egidio.

I visitatori dovranno tenere nel Museo un contegno conforme alle regole della civile educazione e non potranno toccare le opere, non potranno fumare o compiere qualsiasi atto che posa portare danno alle opere o recare disturbo agli altri visitatori.

APPENDIX I.
TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION OF MAX HUTZEL'S NOTES ON ORTE, GRI

Orte – Die Kirche und das Museum Diocesana S. Silvestro / Die Cattedrale Assunta (Lazio)

Das kleine Städtchen Orte liegt heute direkt an der Autobahn Rom-Florenz kaum 60 Km on Rom entfernt. Niemand kann das Städtchen übersehen, dem dasselbe liegt, hoch oben auf einem Tuffsteinhügel über der Autobahn und Tal des Flusses Tiber. Das mittelalterliche Orte auf dem Tuffsteinhügel zählt heute kaum 2000 Einwohner, lebt von Landwirtschaft und Weir bau. Dass es sich hier um die antike Etruskerstadt Horta handeln würde, vermutet niemand, wurde vergessen. Auch im Mittelalter spielte Orte eir bedeutende Rolle, war immer ein Zankapfel zwischen Kirche und Fürsten Königen und Kaisern sogar. Wenn auch direkt an der Autobahn, Orte liegt abseits des Touristenverkehres – Rom liegt zu Nahe.

Bild 1: Orte von der Autobahn aus gesehen. Links die restaurierte antik römische Wasserleitung und die Steile Strasse zum Dorf. Dominierend die mittelalterlichen Häuser in der Stadtmauer und der Komplex der Cattedrale.

Bild 2: der prinzipalen Strasse liegend die Kirche S. Silvestro – erbautim 12. Jahrhundert in den romanischen römischen Stilen über [?]

biss. 7: Ruinen eines römischen Tempels. Dass auch diese Kirche mehrmals zerstört wurde, ist verständlich. Immerhin, nach der letzten Restaurierung im Jahre 1960 ist die Kirche sicher eines Besuch[] wert, vor allem ist interessant der kleine romanische Turm in Ziegelsteinbau mit den Trifori und Bifori. Im Langhaus erkennt lich die gotischen Arkaden – in der Fassade drei Monofori – da Portal jedoch rinscimental schon – recht eine Kolonne des römischen Tempels mit Kapitell – im ehemaligen Klostergarten zahlreiche Framente aus dem römischen Tempel.

Bild 8: Aus dem Innenraum wurde im Jahre das Museum Diocesano der chri lichen Kunst. Diesem Museum, so klein es auch ist, so reich an wahren und seltenen Werken christlichen Kunstschaffens, Leider, auch hier wurde gestohlen und leider verschwanden für immer die besten Werke. Die Fotografien aus dem Jahre 1959 si die einzigen Zeugen dieser Werke.

Im Foto das rinascimentale Portal zujd Museum.

Bild 9: Madonna – eine Mosaik aus dem Jahre 705 der Kappelle di Giovan[] des antiken Petersdomes

Bild 10: Eine Reihe von Tafeln, die Episoden aus dem Leben des Heilig[]

Biss 20: Franzesco schildern - geschaffen im Jahre 1282 von einem Meis[] aus Toskanien

Bild 21: Madonna orante/ eine Tafel geschaffen im Jahre 1420 von Taddeo di Bartolo

Bild 22: Madonna mit Kind – geschaffen von Antonio di Massaro oder „Pasturo"

Bild 24: Madonna mit Kind und Heilige – Altarleinwand geschaffen von Franzesco aus Castello (Fiammingo).

Bild 25: „Redentore benedicente" am dem Jahre 1491 – eine Tafel – geschaffen von D. Velandi

Bild 26: Madonna dei Raccomandati – eine Tafel – geschaffen von Franze sco d' Avanzarano (1590)

Bild 27: Madonna – Teil einer Tafel – Taddeo di Bartolo

Bild 28: Annunciazione – eine Tafel – eine Tafel aus dem Jahre 1501 geschaffen von Domenico Velandi

[scritto a mano: Medieval 1-9(?), 56-59, 43(?)-79
P = 10-21, 23-31
Antiq. 6-7]

[fine pag. 1, inizio pag. 2]

Orte – Kirche S. Silvestro / Museo Diocesano / Cattedrale (2)

Bild 29: Dio-Creatore del Mondo / eine Tafel / 15. Jahrhundert

Bild 30: S. Franzesco und einige Episoden / eine Talel ca. 2.20 Meter
und 31: 13. Jahrhundert / toskanisch-umbrisch

Bild 32: Nun zweu Werke der rinascimentalen Bildhauerei in lebensgrösse
biss 35: wahrscheinlich aus einem Altar stammend
S. Giovanni Battista und S. Lorenzo
Marmor der Abruzzen, nur eine Jahreszahl 1470 - dass diese Statuen einer der grössten Meister der rinascimentalen Bildhauerei schuf, ist sicher – um den Autoren sind sich die Gelehrten noch nicht einig geworden.

Bild 36: Noch eine Statue in Marmor lebensgross – S. Paolo –
Sicher gehörte auch diese zu jenem Altar und wurde vom gleichen Meister geschaffen.

Bild 37: Ein Ciborium für das geweihte Oel / ein grossartiges Werk des 15. Jahrhunderts biss 38: – und auch hier kennt man den Meister nicht, wird umstritten noch heute.

Bild 39: Beachtlich auch diese Reliquiarien in Holz des 16. Jahrhunderts und die beiden
biss 41: Engel – alle vergoldet – Zweifellos aus der Schule des Bernini

Bild 42: Cofanetto in Holz und vergoldet – 15. Jahrhundert
biss 45: auch hier ist der Meister unbekannt

Bild 46: Zwei Prozessionskreuze in Silber und Gold / Getrieben / balzato graviert und

Emaillone in Farben
biss 59: Höhe etwa 96 cm.
Beide Werke schuf im Jahre 1352/56 Venuzzio di Viva da Siena

Die Cattedrale

Bild 60: Kaum 100 Meter von s. Silvestro entfernt der Hauptplatz der Stadt mit der
biss 62: Fassade·der Cattedrale des 17. Jahrhunderts, geschaffen von Gregorio Catracchini, Eine imponierende Architektur insbesondere in den Aussmassen

Bild 63: Rechts von der Cattedrale am Piazza Matteotti oder Piazza Comunale der Palast des Municipio – an sich eine rinascimentale Architektur – wurde vor 30 Jahren restauriert – fast neu gemacht.

Bild 64: Auch die anderen Palästet, die den Piazza Matteotti umgeben, sind 14./15,
biss 67: Jahrhundert, jedoch im Laufe der Jahrhunderte und ins- besondere in den letzten 50 Jahren durch menschliche Hand verunstaltet, oder auch zweckdienlich gemacht. Immerhin blieben einige Portale und rinscimentale Fenster erhalten

Bild 68: Der Innenraum der Cattedrale, ebenfalls ein Werk des Architekten Gregorio Castracchini (1680-) ist einscgiffig mit Seitenkappellen Ein noch rinscimentales Barock, linear und Lichtdurchflutet.

Bild 69: Unbedingt zu erzwängen die prachtvolle Orgel des 17. Jahrhunderts und der Einbau zwischen den schönen Kapitellen.
Holz und vergoldet, geschaffen von Meistern aus Viterbo.

Bild 70: Ein Paliotto im Haupaltar in Kupfer getrein von lokalen Meistern in Jahre 1560
Biss 71

Biss 72: Ein Bischofsstuhl in Holz des 16. Jahrh. / lokale Bildhauer

Bild 73: Drei Altarleinwände von grösster Bedeutung:
S. Lorenzo mit der Madonna / Sacra Familia / Madonna und Heilige alle drei Leinwände schuf Giuseppe Bottani aus Cremona im 17.J.

Max Hutzel

Traduzione dell'autrice dal tedesco all'italiano

Orte - La Chiesa e Museo Diocesano S. Silvestro / La Cattedrale Assunta (Lazio)

La piccola città di Orte è situata direttamente sull'autostrada Roma-Firenze, ad appena 60 km da Roma. Nessuno può mancare la piccola città, che si trova in alto su una collina di tufo sopra l'autostrada e la valle del fiume Tevere. La città medievale sulla collina di tufo conta oggi appena 2000 abitanti e vive di agricoltura e viticoltura. Nessuno sospetta che questa fosse l'antica città etrusca di Horta, è stata dimenticata. Anche Orte ebbe un ruolo importante nel Medioevo, e fu sempre un pomo della discordia tra la chiesa e i principi, i re e gli imperatori. Anche se è direttamente sull'autostrada, Orte è lontano dal traffico turistico - Roma è troppo vicina.

Immagine 1: Orte vista dall'autostrada. A sinistra, l'antica condotta d'acqua romana restaurata e la strada ripida che porta al villaggio. Domina le case medievali nelle mura della città e il complesso della Cattedrale.

Foto 2: di fronte alla strada principale, la chiesa di S. Silvestro - costruita nel XII secolo in stile romanico su [?]

biss. 7: Rovine di un tempio romano. È comprensibile che anche questa chiesa sia stata distrutta più volte. Tuttavia, dopo l'ultimo restauro del 1960, la chiesa merita sicuramente una visita, soprattutto la piccola torre romanica in costruzione di mattoni con trifore e i bifore. Nella navata si possono vedere le arcate gotiche - nella facciata tre monofore - ma il portale è già rinascimentale - a destra una colonna del tempio romano con capitello - nel giardino dell'ex monastero numerosi frammenti del tempio romano.

Foto 8: L'interno è diventato il Museo Diocesano di Arte Cristiana. Questo museo, per quanto piccolo, è ricco di vere e rare opere d'arte cristiana. Purtroppo, anche qui le migliori opere sono state rubate e sono scomparse per sempre. Le fotografie del 1959 sono gli unici testimoni di queste opere.

La foto mostra il portale rinascimentale del museo.

Immagine 9: Madonna - un mosaico dell'anno 705 della cappella di Giovan[] dell'antica Basilica di San Pietro.

Immagine 10: Una serie di pannelli che rappresentano episodi della vita del santo[].

Biss 20: Franzesco - creato nel 1282 da un maestro toscano.

Immagine 21: Madonna orante/ una tavola creata nel 1420 da Taddeo di Bartolo

Immagine 22: Madonna con bambino - creato da Antonio di Massaro o "Pasturo

Immagine 24: Madonna con bambino e santo - tela d'altare creata da Franzesco da Castello (Fiammingo).

Immagine 25: "Redentore benedicente" del 1491 - un pannello - creato da D. Velandi

Immagine 26: Madonna dei Raccomandati - una tavola - creata da Franzesco d' Avanzarano (1590)

Immagine 27: Madonna - parte di una tavola - Taddeo di Bartolo

Immagine 28: Annunciazione - un pannello - un pannello del 1501 creato da Domenico Velandi

[scritto a mano: Medieval 1-9(?), 56-59, 43(?)-79
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[fine pag. 1, inizio pag. 2]

Luoghi - Chiesa di S. Silvestro / Museo Diocesano / Cattedrale (2)

Immagine 29: Dio-Creatore del Mondo / un pannello / XV secolo

Foto 30: S. Franzesco e alcuni episodi / a talel circa 2,20 metri
e 31: 13° secolo / tosco-umbro

Immagine 32: ora due opere di scultura rinascimentale a grandezza naturale
morso 35: probabilmente proveniente da un altare
S. Giovanni Battista e S. Lorenzo
Marmo d'Abruzzo, una sola data 1470 - che queste statue siano state create da uno dei più grandi maestri della scultura rinascimentale è certo - gli studiosi non sono ancora d'accordo sugli autori.

Immagine 36: Un'altra statua a grandezza naturale in marmo - S. Paolo -.
Questo apparteneva certamente allo stesso altare ed è stato fatto dallo stesso maestro.

Immagine 37: Un ciborio per l'olio consacrato / una grande opera del 15° secolo biss 38: - e anche qui non si conosce il maestro, è contestato ancora oggi.

biss 39: Notevoli anche questi reliquiari in legno del XVI secolo e i due
biss 41: Angeli - tutti dorati - Senza dubbio della scuola del Bernini

Immagine 42: Cofanetto in legno e dorato - XV secolo
biss 45: anche qui il maestro è sconosciuto

Immagine 46: Due croci processionali in argento e oro / guidato / balzato inciso e smaltato a colori
biss 59: altezza circa 96 cm.
Entrambe le opere furono create nel 1352/56 da Venuzzio di Viva da Siena.

La Cattedrale

Foto 60: A soli 100 metri da s. Silvestro, la piazza principale della città con il
biss 62: Facciata della Cattedrale del XVII secolo, creata da Gregorio Catracchini, Un'architettura impressionante soprattutto nelle sue dimensioni.

Foto 63: A destra della Cattedrale nella Piazza Matteotti o Piazza Comunale il palazzo del Municipio - di per sé un'architettura rinascimentale - è stato restaurato 30 anni fa - quasi fatto nuovo.

Foto 64: Anche gli altri palazzi che circondano piazza Matteotti sono del XIV-XV secolo,
biss 67: ma nel corso dei secoli, e soprattutto negli ultimi 50 anni, sono stati sfigurati da mani umane, o resi funzionali. Almeno alcuni portali e finestre rinscimentali sono stati conservati.

Immagine 68: L'interno della Cattedrale, anch'esso opera dell'architetto Gregorio Castracchini (1680-), è lineare con cappelle laterali.

Fig. 69: Indimenticabile il magnifico organo del XVII secolo e l'installazione tra i bellissimi capitelli.
Legno e dorato, creato da maestri viterbesi.

Immagine 70: Un paliotto nell'altare principale fatto in rame da maestri locali nel 1560.
Morso 71

Morso 72: Una sedia vescovile in legno del XVI secolo / scultori locali

Immagine 73: Tre tele d'altare di grande importanza:
S. Lorenzo con la Madonna / Sacra Familia / Madonna e Santi tutte e tre le tele sono state create da Giuseppe Bottani di Cremona nel XVII secolo.

Max Hutzel

APPENDIX J.
PERMITS OBTAINED TO REPRODUCE PHOTOGRAPHIC, CINEMATOGRAPHIC, AND ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

1. Archivio Cinemazero, Pordenone
2. Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome
3. Fondazione Marco Besso, Rome
4. Teche RAI, Rome

Gmail **Yvonne A. Mazurek <yamazurek@gmail.com>**

Permesso di pubblicare una foto di Deborah Beer nella tesi di dottorato (PPP a Chia, VT)

2 messaggi

Yvonne A. Mazurek <yamazurek@gmail.com> 5 giugno 2022 20:17
A: Riccardo Costantini <riccardo.costantini@cinemazero.it>
Cc: Elena Tubaro <elena.tubaro@gmail.com>

Gentile Riccardo,

contatto Cinemazero per richiedere formalmente il permesso di pubblicare la foto "Pier Paolo Pasolini alla Torre di Chia (Viterbo) nel 1974 – Foto di Deborah Beer, Archivio Cinemazero Images – Pordenone" nella mia tesi di dottorato. Lo studio s'intitola *Narrare un centro 'minore' italiano. Presupposti per un Museo della città di Orte* ed è stato condotto sotto la guida della prof.ssa Maria Ida Catalano, storica dell'Arte e direttrice dei Laboratori di Conservazione e Restauro dell'Università degli Studi della Tuscia.

Allego alla presente mail la medesima immagine che sarà inclusa nel mio saggio "Pasolini's Defense of Italian Vernacular Heritage. Rereading *The Walls of Sana* and *The Form of the City*". *Annali d'italianistica*, vol. 40. Paolo Desogus, Davide Luglio, Enrico Minardi, Colleen Marie Ryan, ed. (2022—in consegna). Vi ringrazio per aver accolto la mia richiesta di pubblicare la foto anche in quella sede. Spero sempre di aver modo di riportare anche in futuro il lavoro della Beer e di Bachman nella Tuscia in collaborazione con voi.

Un caro saluto,
Yvonne

Yvonne A. Mazurek
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A: "Yvonne A. Mazurek" <yamazurek@gmail.com>
Cc: "elena.tubaro" <elena.tubaro@gmail.com>

Ciao Yvonne,

nessun problema, bene per la citazione come espressa.

In bocca al lupo per la tesi e discussione di rito

A presto

Riccardo

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www.cinemazero.it

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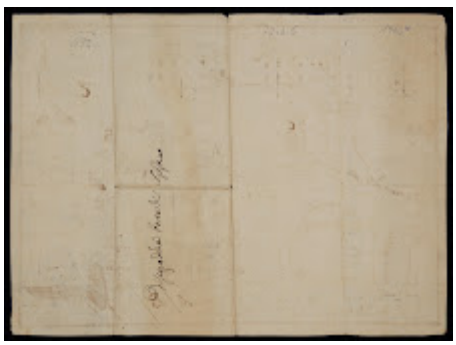
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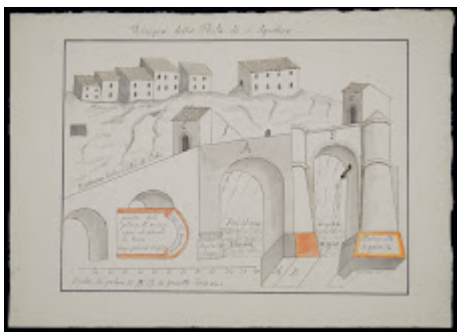
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La consegna del materiale sarà effettuata previo pagamento del prezzo e delle eventuali spese di spedizione. In caso di prestito, alla scadenza il richiedente si obbliga a restituire il materiale nei termini previsti, nello stato di fatto in cui è stato consegnato.
ART. 3 – OBBLIGHI – DIVIETI – LIMITI – MANLEVA
Il richiedente si impegna a non cedere a terzi, neppure a titolo gratuito, l'accordo, o le singole obbligazioni o i singoli diritti da esso derivanti. In nessun caso la consegna del materiale potrà configurare una concessione di diritti avente scopo commerciale e/o di lucro. Fatti salvi gli utilizzi e le attività esplicitati nella richiesta di cessione/prestito, il richiedente si impegna a non cedere a terzi, né a titolo oneroso né a titolo gratuito, il materiale oggetto del presente accordo, a non duplicarlo, a non modificare né procedere a tagli e rielaborazioni (ivi incluso il divieto di conversione in altro formato), e ad utilizzarlo esclusivamente in conformità e nei limiti delle finalità di cui all'art. 1 dell'accordo, con espresso divieto di utilizzare il contenuto (in tutto o in parte) per la realizzazione di prodotti o iniziative (anche a fini non commerciali) attraverso sedi, forme e modi diversi da quelli autorizzati. Il richiedente si obbliga, altresì, a provvedere agli eventuali adempimenti nei confronti degli istituti e società di percezione dei diritti (SIAE, Nuovo IMAIE, SCF, ecc.), a non porre in essere alcun atto e/o comportamento in violazione delle limitazioni indicate nell'accordo, nel presente allegato e/o dalla normativa esistente, manlevando e tenendo comunque indenne la RAI da qualsiasi pregiudizio derivante da pretese e/o contestazioni di terzi in conseguenza dell'utilizzazione del materiale. Qualsiasi deroga a quanto previsto nel presente allegato e/o modificazione all'accordo saranno valide ed efficaci solo se espressamente pattuite per iscritto.
ART. 4 – TUTELA DELLA PRIVACY
Per "GDPR e normativa italiana vigente", ai fini del presente accordo, si intende: General Data Protection Regulation, Regolamento UE n. 2016/679 e successive modifiche e integrazioni e d.lgs. 196/2003 recante il Codice in materia di trattamento di dati personali e successive modifiche e integrazioni.
Qualora il materiale concesso da RAI contenga immagini, suoni o informazioni costituenti dati personali ai sensi del GDPR e normativa italiana vigente, il Richiedente si obbliga a non divulgarli senza il preventivo consenso degli interessati, la cui acquisizione sarà ad esclusivo onere e carico del Richiedente
Ferme restando le limitazioni di utilizzazione sopra indicate, il Richiedente si obbliga comunque a tenere indenne e manlevata la RAI da qualsiasi eventuale pregiudizio derivante da pretese e/o contestazioni da parte di terzi.
RAI tratta i dati personali del legale rappresentante/procuratore del Richiedente, firmatario del presente accordo, con gli obblighi che ne conseguono ai sensi del GDPR e della normativa italiana vigente.
I predetti dati sono trattati da RAI al fine di dare regolare esecuzione al Contratto e/o al fine di esercitare i diritti e/o adempiere gli obblighi da quest'ultimo nascenti e/o al fine di adempiere gli obblighi di legge facenti capo a RAI (es. obblighi derivanti dal codice dei contratti pubblici). Per le finalità di cui sopra, RAI può inoltre trattare dati particolari e giudiziari, acquisiti presso le autorità pubbliche, ove a ciò tenuta in virtù della normativa vigente (es. il codice dei contratti pubblici).
Il legale rappresentante/procuratore del Richiedente, con la sottoscrizione del presente contratto, riconosce di aver richiesto che l'informativa di cui all'art. 13 del GDPR gli fosse data oralmente e che RAI ha regolarmente e puntualmente assolto l'obbligo di informativa, specificando, tra l'altro, che:
(a) i dati personali verranno trattati (manualmente e/o con mezzi informatici) esclusivamente per consentire il perfezionamento e l'esecuzione del, nel pieno rispetto del GDPR e normativa italiana vigente;
(b) tali dati saranno trattati anche con strumenti elettronici, per il tempo necessario all'esecuzione del presente contratto ovvero fino alla scadenza dei termini di decadenza/prescrizione previsti dalla legge, qualora detta scadenza fosse successiva.
(c) i dati potranno essere comunicati ad altre società dello stesso gruppo societario di RAI e/o a terzi, ove necessario per adempiere a eventuali richieste da parte delle competenti Autorità e/o ad obblighi normativi;
(d) Titolare del trattamento è la RAI – Radiotelevisione italiana Spa, con sede in Roma, Viale Mazzini n. 14;
(e) Per l'esercizio dei diritti attribuiti agli Interessati dal GDPR e normativa italiana vigente - tra cui: richiesta di accesso, aggiornamento, rettifica, integrazione e cancellazione – gli Interessati stessi possono inviare una e-mail all'indirizzo: privacy@rai.it oppure potranno rivolgersi al Privacy Manager nella persona del Direttore della Direzione Teche al seguente indirizzo e-mail: teche@rai.it .
Il DPO RAI - Data Protection Officer (in italiano, RPD - Responsabile della Protezione dei Dati), per questioni inerenti i trattamenti di competenza RAI, può essere contattato al seguente recapito: dpo@rai.it .
ART. 5 – RISOLUZIONE – RISARCIMENTO DANNI
La violazione degli obblighi sull'utilizzazione del materiale e sulla tutela della privacy configura un inadempimento ad obbligazioni essenziali per la RAI, che comporterà la risoluzione di diritto dell'accordo, con obbligo di restituire il materiale ricevuto, fatto salvo il risarcimento dei danni subiti.
ART. 6 – IVA - REGISTRAZIONE
L'accordo, relativo a prestazioni di servizi soggette all'imposta sul valore aggiunto, sarà sottoposto a registrazione solo in caso d'uso con pagamento del tributo di registro in misura fissa per il combinato disposto degli artt. 5, 6 e 40 del D.P.R. n. 131/86 e dell'art. 1, punto b), parte seconda della tariffa allegata allo stesso decreto, a cura e spese della parte che avrà interesse.
ART. 7 – ESONERO RESPONSABILITÀ
In nessun caso l'accordo potrà essere considerato tale da costituire un rapporto di associazione di qualsivoglia natura tra le parti, ed in nessun caso una parte contraente potrà essere ritenuta responsabile delle obbligazioni assunte dall'altra nei confronti di terzi anche ove tali obbligazioni derivassero dall'esecuzione del presente accordo. RAI non assume alcuna responsabilità in merito alle condizioni tecniche e/o alla qualità del materiale, che verrà fornito nello stato in cui si trova e senza garanzia di sorta, ivi inclusa, ma senza limitazioni, la garanzia implicita di idoneità del materiale a soddisfare le esigenze del richiedente, né che eventuali difetti riscontrati vengano corretti.
ART. 8 – FORO ESCLUSIVO
Per qualunque controversia relativa alla validità, interpretazione, esecuzione e risoluzione dell'accordo sarà competente, in via esclusiva, il Foro di Roma.

TIMBRO E FIRMA DEL RICHIEDENTE