

“... per Roma l’acqua sua spandendo”.
Giuliano Dati’s *Diluvio del 1495*
and the Representation of the Flood
in Word and Image

Abstract

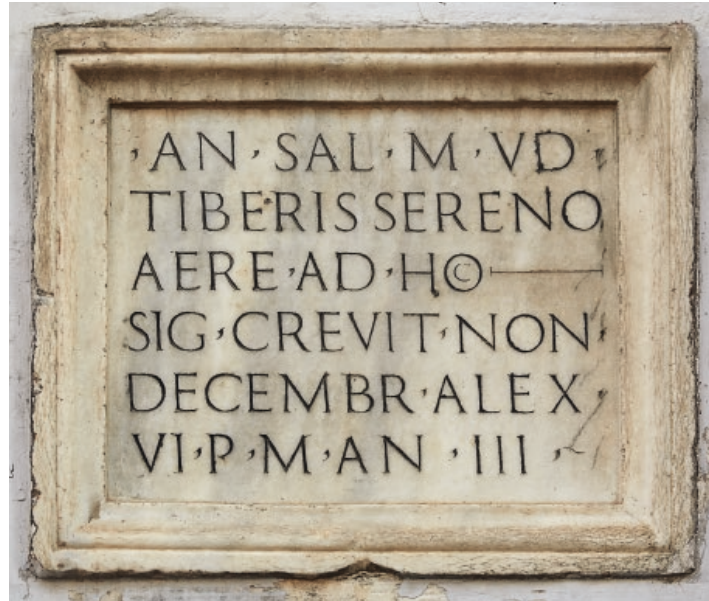
Flooding of the Tiber River has regularly afflicted Rome since antiquity. This paper analyzes the flood of the year 1495 – for which we have documentation in the form of texts, images and flood markers – and focuses on the perception of the flooded city’s topography and on strategies of crisis management. The main source, Giuliano Dati’s poem *Del diluvio de Roma*, was the first account dedicated exclusively to the description and illustration of a flood or a natural disaster as a historical event. The frontispieces of two editions, one printed in Rome by Johann Besicken and Andreas Freitag and another printed in Florence by Antonio Miscomini, are just as unusual as the text itself and reflect the exceptional situation that they illustrate. The model for both frontispieces can be traced to representations of the biblical flood, in addition they depict an important aspect of the text: that is, the way those affected deal with the crisis by attempting to save themselves and others. These illustrations of the 1495 flood are dated to the exact time when a change in representations of the Deluge can be observed. While medieval pictures dramatically depict drowned bodies and birds gnawing corpses, Renaissance images rarely show dead bodies, instead making the subject of the picture the heroic struggle of humans against the flood. In this respect, the innovative interpretation of a natural disaster in Dati’s *Diluvio* may have prepared the way for later Renaissance imagery of the Deluge.

The floods of the Tiber River that have regularly afflicted the city since antiquity have been studied in various publications concentrated on historical reconstructions and assessments of the calamities on the one hand, and on differing patterns of justification (from meteorological and environmental causes to the punishment of God), omens (comets, abortions and so forth), and the perceived association of supernatural events (e.g. dragons, or other monsters that surfaced with the rising waters) on the other.¹ Instead, using not only written sources but also visual testimonies, I would like to focus on two aspects that I believe have received less attention, that is, the perception of the topography of the flooded city and strategies of crisis management. The analysis that follows examines the most significant flood of the 15th century, that of the year 1495, for which we have documentation in the form of texts, images and flood markers.²

On 3 December 1495, after two days of heavy rain, the weather had improved, when “sereno aere”, “out of the blue”, as the flood marker at Sant’Eustachio records (fig. 1),³ the Tiber began to swell. On Friday, 4 December, the feast of Saint Barbara, it began to flood the city, and by Saturday it had reached its highest level. On Monday the water was gone from the streets, but courtyards and cellars were filled with animal carcasses and garbage, the wells polluted, and warehouse supplies and the mills on the Tiber had been swept away, thus threatening the city with famine and epidemics. On 10 December, the Pope gave orders for a procession and a mass in Saint Peter’s, which took place on Sunday, 13 December.⁴ In January of the following year, with the recession of the water, a monster was found on the banks of the Tiber. The creature was illustrated by Wenzel Olmütz and later became an icon of anti-papal propaganda as the ‘Papal Ass’.⁵

The most detailed accounts are two extensive letters from the circle of the Venetian ambassador, and a 109-verse poem by the cleric Giuliano Dati.

The letters, dated 4 and 8 December 1495, were written by two authors, each reporting from their own perspective.⁶ The first one describes the catastrophe from its onset up to the consequences it had on the city, and although dated 4 December, i.e., before the flood that would begin that night, the writer already mentions the procession ordered by the Pope, which indicates that this letter is more likely to have been written on the 14th. The second author reports on the event as it directly affected him. Both letters are addressed to the Venetian government, where they were made available to a limited public; the second writer even requests that the message be passed on to Marin Sanudo, who later became famous as a historian.⁷



1 Rome, church of Sant’Eustachio, flood marker on the façade (photo Bibliotheca Hertziana/Enrico Fontolan)

* I would like to thank Julia Triolo for helping to translate this text into English.

1 Cf. Bersani/Bencivenga 2001; Esposito 2010; Di Martino et al. 2017; in general Schenk 2010 a.

2 Our knowledge of the floods of the Tiber in the Middle Ages depends on a few markings scattered throughout the city and on relatively short descriptions. For 1495 see Esposito 2011; Di Martino et al. 2017, pp. 50–54, 180–186.

3 Di Martino et al. 2017, p. 167, cat. 10; Bartels 2000, p. 74, cat. 3.9.

4 Burchard 1883–1885, vol. II, pp. 252–258.

5 Lange 1891; Buck 2014; Meserve 2018. The South African visual artist William Kentridge, in his work *Triumphs and Laments* on a part of the river wall, brings the Papal Ass back to its origins on the Tiber, absurdly holding the Bialetti *caffettiera* that frequently appears in his works. In the end, it was the Papal Ass that, rather than recalling the flood of 1495, remained a universally known symbol for antipapal propaganda.



2 Rome, church of Santa Dorotea in Trastevere, cippus with the coat of arms of Giuliano Dati (photo Bibliotheca Hertziana/ Enrico Fontolan)

Giuliano Dati, on the other hand, uses the recently invented medium of book printing for his account. The author was born in Florence in 1445 and resided in Rome, where he was canon of San Giovanni in Laterano from 1485, and subsequently (by 1503) rector of Santa Dorotea in Trastevere, the church where he was buried after his death in 1523.⁸ To this church Dati donated a Roman cippus consecrated with a relic of Saint Dorothy and blazoned with his coat of arms, which is still preserved there (fig. 2). Between 1492 and 1505 he published a series of treatises in the vulgate dedicated to different religious and profane, historical and contemporary topics.⁹ His poem, entitled *Del diluvio de Roma del MCCCCXCV a dì IIII de decembre*, was printed and reprinted three times in the wake of the event.¹⁰ The text was intended for public performance: the poem was to be recited by a balladeer, *cantastorie*, since Dati repeatedly addresses the “auditore” – the audience – directly, and inserts quasi-theatrical passages with, for instance, the cries for help of the drowning.¹¹ In this way the text is directed at an unrestricted public, and considering it ran to three editions, its circulation must not have been limited. Each edition is also provided with an illustration, two of which can be drawn on for their informative and artistic significance (figs. 3 and 4).¹²

Dati escorts his audience on two tours through the flooded city, recounting those dramatic days in what today we might call disaster tourism. A curiosity about the drama engulfing the city is also present in the words of the second of the Venetian diplomats, who stayed in one of the houses of the Massimi, a site opposite Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne. The ambassador, Girolamo Zorzi, who had his residence in the nearby Palazzo Pichi in Via del Paradiso, releases his collaborators after lunch “to watch this flooding”, almost as if it were a public spectacle.¹³ Their perspective changes, however, when they are confronted with the misfortune of an acquaintance, a certain Madonna Pippa – a situation so tragic that they decide they have seen enough for the day, and return home. The attitude of the Venetian shifts again once he and his landlord are themselves directly affected by the rising water. From then on, the writer concentrates on their own personal experience of the flood. His account provides a general description of the disaster, as well as an evaluation of the consequences for the city.¹⁴

6 Malipiero 1843–1844, pp. 109–115. Published in part in Di Martino et al. 2017, pp. 51–52.

7 On the role of letters from ambassadors and similar officials in Venice Neerfeld 2006, pp. 150–154; for Marin Sanudo, *ibid.*, pp. 27–34.

8 Curcio/Farenga 1987; Cassiani 2008, pp. 35–73.

9 Curcio/Farenga 1987; Cassiani 2008, pp. 38–47; Farenga 2011, pp. 28–29, and Sander (1942) 1969, vol. 1, pp. 414–419, vol. 6, ill. 770–773.

10 It was printed without a date, but probably soon after the event of 1495: Dati, *Del diluvio de Roma* (Besicken/Freitag), reprinted as Dati 2011. Further editions Dati, *Del diluvio de Roma* (Miscomini) and Dati, *Del diluvio de Roma* (Silber). See Farenga 2011, pp. 39–41.

11 The author speaks as though his work were vocal (“canto”, “dico”) rather than written. This approach is also found in his other texts, such as the Book of Job, published as: Dati, *Storia di santo Iob* (Morgiani/Petri). He is also the author of the text for the Passion Play performed at the Colosseum: Dati, *Rappresentazione della passione* (Besicken/Freitag). Cf. Niccoli 1990, pp. 12–15 and Olschki 1938, p. 292, n. 6. In the text on Prester John and the wonders of India, there is a reference to visual images shown during the recitation: “Benché tu vegga qui strane figure [...]”, *ibid.*, p. 312.

12 The frontispiece of the edition Dati, *Del diluvio de Roma* (Silber) shows a scene taken from another context: a man who falls from a ship and kneels on an island in front of a figure (with halo?). See the image in the electronic facsimile of the Biblioteca Trivulzana in Milan.

13 Malipiero 1843–1844, p. 412. The letter states that the person who writes, specified as “coadiutor” in the publication, is not alone. For the ambassador see notes 23 and 75.

14 Malipiero 1843–1844, p. 412.



3 Frontispiece of Dati, *Del diluuió de Roma* (Besicken/Freitag) (photo Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III di Napoli)

Del diluio
di Roma del
M.CCCC.lxxxxv.
Adi.iii.di dicembre
Et daltre cose di gran marauiglia



O Glorioso idio che liberasti
 delgrā diluio el tuo seruo noe
 & che per loratione el sol fermasti
 di quel sancto propheta Iosue
 cosi come le leggi tu donasti
 nelle tauole scripte a Moysse
 cosi libera & ferma i me longegno
 chi cāti in uerā alcū tuo magno se
 gno

Siho ben lecto latua biblia sancta
 & tanti segni facti a pharaone
 q̄dol tuo popol tēne i doglia tāta
 che la sacra scriptura aperto el pone
 come seccossi e arse ogni sua piāta
 con q̄lla siera uerga et col sermone
 daronne et moyse ma lo indurato
 fa sommerfo nel mare & anegato

Giuliano Dati's description

Giuliano Dati's poem opens with a long excursus about heavenly signs preceding various historical catastrophes, thus placing it in the context of the prophecies produced in great numbers in the 14th and 15th centuries.¹⁵ Connecting the appearance of a comet over Puglia in 1485 with a series of lost battles of the Christians against the Turks, then citing a number of preachers who had warned of the imminent catastrophe, he finishes with the devastating campaign of Charles VIII in Italy in 1495, to finally arrive at the flood as the culmination of these disasters.¹⁶ The next step in the interpretation of the flood, i.e., as a punishment for the sins of Rome, would be played out only by the ultramontane authors.¹⁷ Dati's treatise instead is the first to explicitly make the description of a natural catastrophe the subject of a written work. We can only conclude indirectly from the text that Dati speaks as an eyewitness and that he must have explored the flooded city more than once, since he speaks several times in the present tense, as for instance: "the streets are a sea on which one can navigate everywhere" (LXIII), and because he later refers to the traces that are still to be seen: "see where the water has left its mark" (LXXII).¹⁸ He does not, however, follow a strict logic for his description of the disaster, instead alternating topographical details with evocations of the situation, certainly meant to captivate his audience. In doing so he succeeds in suggesting an emotional experience of the events, together with his movement through the city.

In the beginning his description follows the invasion of the water as if it were an external enemy (fig. 5). It enters the city through the gates nearest the Tiber: from the north through the Porta del Popolo, and through the Porta del Castello, Porta Portuense and Porta Settimiana (XLIX–L).¹⁹ Dati then proceeds with the area close to the river, outside the city walls and without their protection, which was probably the first to be flooded: the present-day Via della Lungara and the villas between the Vatican and Trastevere, and the church of San Giacomo alla Lungara (L–LII). Here and in what follows he usually mentions the churches, squares and bridges, which were probably known to all, while the non-religious buildings, indicated with the name or function of their owners, require from the audience a certain knowledge of the Roman clergy, local families and important foreign personalities. He often invites the listener to "go there" or "look at", suggesting a physical movement in the urban space.²⁰ The first station within the city walls is Trastevere, where the citizens had prevented the worst by securing the gate. Nevertheless, the churches of Santi Silvestro e Dorothea, and San Giovanni della Malva²¹, perilously close to the River, are both under water (LVI). Dati then becomes more generic and gives an overview of the affected area, moving first to the Borgo, and then immediately shifting across the Tiber, listing the districts of Campo Marzio, Sant'Eustachio, Parione and Ponte

15 Dati 2011, I–XLVIII. For prophecies see Niccoli 1990; Esposito 2010.

16 Following Esposito 2011, p. 20, it contains also a polemic against Alexander VI.

17 Three authors comment on the flood in the immediate vicinity of the event: Engelhard Funk, Sebastian Brant and Jacob Locher. See Wuttke 2005.

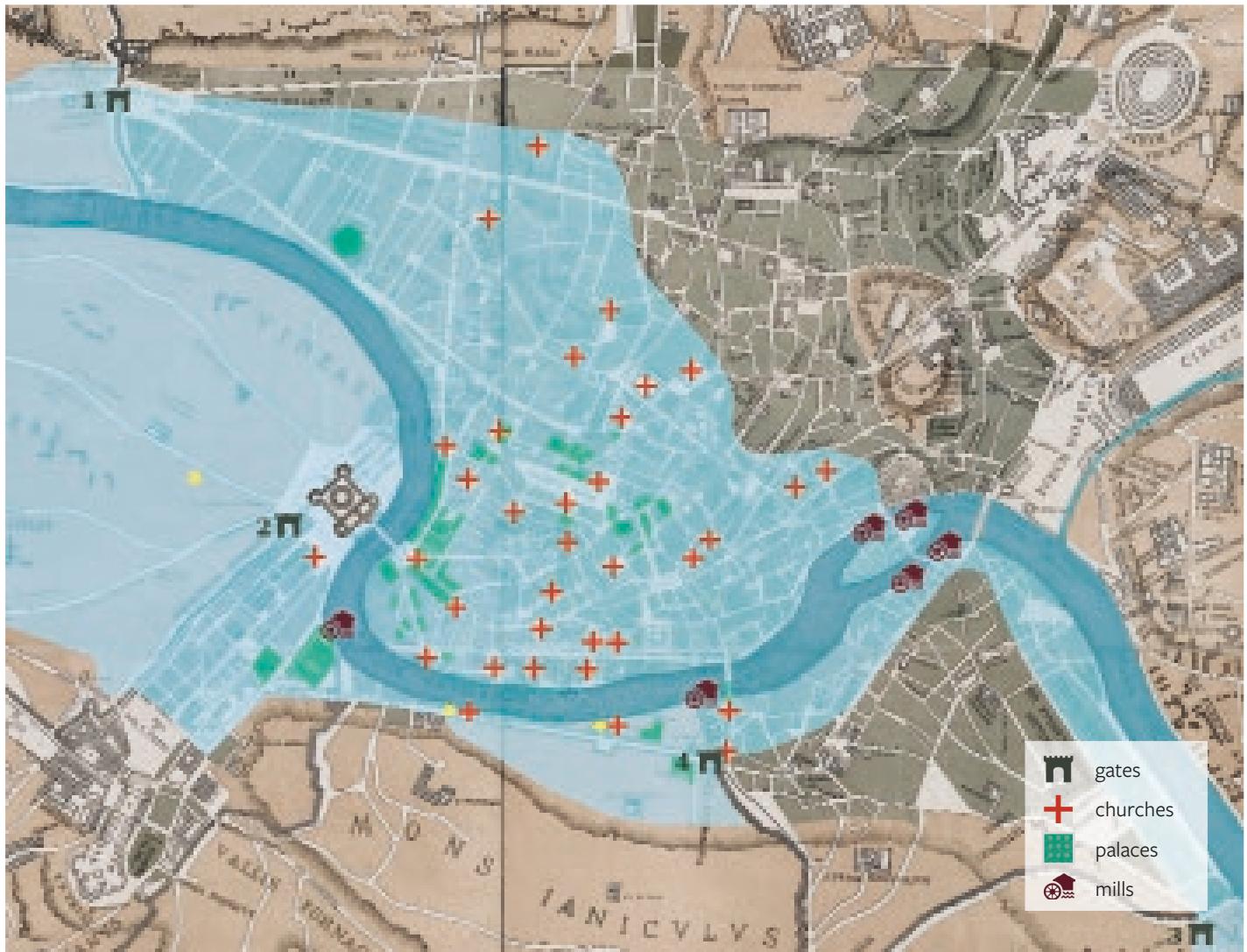
18 Hereafter the indication of the verses refers to the edition of Esposito and Farenga in Dati 2011.

19 In the following I embrace the identification of the persons or places mentioned by Esposito and Farenga in Dati 2011. Only in cases where my interpretation differs is this noted.

20 LVI, "tu puoi voltarti in ogni lato"; LXXI, "Vaten un po' abbasso"; LXXII, "Vattene innanzi"; LXXVIII, "aprite gli occhi all'epitaffio scripto antico e degno"; LXXXIV, "or va più oltre [...] e vedi"; XCII, "come si vede chiaramente el segno"; XCIV, "Dove gli altr'epitaffi leger puoi".

21 "Santo Ianni" incorrectly identified by Esposito and Farenga in Dati 2011, p. 98, note 150, as San Giovanni in Mica aurea, which is not identical to San Giovanni della Malva, but was located near San Cosimato.

22 For the mills on the Tiber, see D'Onofrio 1980, pp. 33–64, and Segarra Lagunes 2006.



5 Author's reconstruction of the flooded city with gates, churches, palaces, and mills named by Giuliano Dati

in one breath, and also mentioning Piazza Navona (LV–LVI). In the prelates' houses the river water ruined the wine in the cellar and elsewhere the silk, linen and precious books, and it destroyed the procurators' books and documents. Court officials, bankers, tradesmen, merchants, pharmacists, glove makers and anyone who stored grain, hay or straw in the lower parts of their buildings must now lament their losses (LVII–LIX). After this description of the various types of damage, which also gives a vivid impression of the inhabitants of the area, Dati returns to the "water that floods", moving further inland to the chief monuments: with the Pantheon, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, whose cloister now appears to be a water reservoir, the church of Sant'Eustachio and the Dogana, a building today no longer extant between what are now the palazzi della Sapienza and Madama, and San Giacomo degli Spagnoli in Piazza Navona (today Chiesa di Nostra Signora del Sacro Cuore), he runs a serpentine route of the most important churches at the heart of the city, ending with San Lorenzo in Lucina towards the northern edge of the inhabited zone (LXI–LXV). With Sant'Angelo in Pescheria he changes quarters, jumping to the southernmost point and moving from there to the Tiber Island. He reports that in this badly affected area one out of ten residents had perished, and several houses and a tower had been destroyed. The random destruction had unearthed some "medaglie", obviously an ancient treasure trove, the value of which seems to be unknown do Dati (LXVIII). The narration now centers on the Tiber itself, where the mills built on floating platforms, which guaranteed the city's flour supply, had been decimated.²² Our author men-

tions the one at Ponte Sisto built in 1475 by pope Sixtus IV, observing that the “disrespectful” river swept over it on the Trastevere side (LXIX–LXX).

At this point there is a change in the description: so far, Dati has moved within a larger radius mainly on the basis of orientation points of the urban topography such as churches, squares, bridges and quarters, but here his description becomes characterized by a greater attention to detail. Starting with the Rione Parione (today cut in half by Corso Vittorio Emanuele II), he takes a circular route almost clockwise, from the northern to the southern part of the quarter. Apart from the churches, he names the homes of important Roman families: the houses of the Mellini, of which the Tor Millina is still preserved today, Sant’Agnese, Sant’Apollinare, the palace of Raffaele Riario, today part of Palazzo Altemps, the Platea dei Lombardi, today Piazza Madama, Via dei Chiavari, Torre Sanguigna and Santa Maria della Pace, the houses of the Massimi, today Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, the Pichi Palace in what is now Piazza Pollarola,²³ San Lorenzo in Damaso and Via dei Pellegrini (LXXI–LXXIII). With the Chiavica di Santa Lucia, the sewer in Via dei Banchi Vecchi, he mentions a part of the city’s sewerage system (LXXIII). From here to the monastery of Santa Elisabetta a Pozzo Bianco, one of the buildings later incorporated by the Chiesa Nuova, the whole city seems to be a lake. At this point Dati inserts a description of the desperate population struggling with the floods (LXXIV–LXXVI).

After the rione Parione, the narrator moves to the adjoining rione Ponte, naming the owners of all the buildings in the immediate vicinity of the Ponte Sant’Angelo, i.e., the bridge to the Castel Sant’Angelo, among them mainly houses of the non-Roman banker and merchant families. His starting point is the church of San Celso (later slightly displaced from its original location, and today known as Santi Celso e Giuliano), where there was another sewer.²⁴ He then cites the Zecca, which was probably located in Palazzo Bonadies in Piazza di San Celso, the palazzo of the Altoviti, located on the banks of the Tiber at Ponte Sant’Angelo, the house of Simone Bonadies, Bishop of Imola, in Via dei Banchi, that of the Genoese bankers Sauli, the Mori, Incatenati, Bonadies, Ginucci, Spannocchi, Martelli, Strozzi, Gaddi, Spinelli, Medici, Pazzi, Rucellai, Gaddi, Gruffo, Sanminiato, Ludovico del Borgo, de’ Nerli, Nicolini (LXXVII–LXXIX). Leaving the world of bankers and merchants, he turns to the ranks of the artisans, whom he introduces to the audience as though they were familiar acquaintances, again citing San Celso as the orientation point: the pharmacist, “your barber on the narrow corner”, the goldsmith Giacomo Magnolino, and another person called “my Sutrin” (LXXX). With the Berti and Bini he again names Florentine merchant families, followed by “my master Diego”, the Arcioni and Schiattesi, Freddi, Baldi, Salvetti (LXXXI). Dati now reaches Tor di Nona (LXXXII), the papal prison in which, according to the Venetian, all the prisoners had drowned.²⁵ The sudden death of the inhabitants of this penal institution may be what the author is referring to when he rhetorically asks “if the saints and righteous were made to tremble, then how would it be for sinners?” (LXXXIII).²⁶ With the mention of the flooded palace and garden of Cardinal Giovanni Giacomo Sclafenati, Bishop of Parma, Dati remains near the Tor di Nona, then jumps to the other side of the river into the Borgo, to the palazzo of Domenico della

23 This is the palace where the Venetian ambassador was lodged, who recorded the flood with a sign.

24 There follows a sentence whose meaning is somewhat obscure: “start quietly at the bridge where it flowed through, and then you can scream Padella for all the rest” (LXXVII). Esposito and Farenga in *Dati 2011* interpret it as an allusion to Piazza Padella, which, however, is much further away, at today’s Via di Monserrato/Via degli Carceri, and would not fit very well into the topographical logic. It seems more likely that instead the phrase “gridar padella” is a kind of proverb or phrase, referring to the call for a bedpan as an expression of urgent need, as it is later documented in Tuscan, see Lippi 1688, p. 137.

Rovere, Cardinal of San Clemente, which is opposite the hospital of Santo Spirito that Flavio della Rovere had begun to build when he became preceptor of the institution under the aegis of the Della Rovere pope Sixtus IV. Two verses are then dedicated to the difficulties of the hospital itself (LXXXIV–LXXXVI).

Here, Giuliano Dati takes a break from describing the moment of the crisis, first reflecting on his own narrative by attributing its irregular structure to the “confusion” of the situation, repeating the word in each of the six lines of the verse to emphasize the chaos of the moment (LXXXVII). Then, clearly speaking from a later point in time when he had collected knowledge about miraculous events and other buildings and people affected, he describes the area between the Vatican and Trastevere, focusing on the miracles that occurred there: in the church of San Leonardo behind the hospital of Santo Spirito, in Via della Lungara, the painted and gilded crucifix that hung above the choir was shifted by the flood waters onto the main altar itself (XC–XCIII); another miracle took place in the nearby church of San Giacomo in Settignano, where a statue of Saint James was transported by the water to another chapel (LXXXVIII–LXXXIX). This passage illustrates the performative character of Dati’s description, a city walk to be experienced in the urban space. After having moved from San Leonardo to San Giacomo a Porta Settimiana, i.e., San Giacomo in Settignano o alla Lungara, he indicates to “return on this road”, to get to Santa Maria in Traspontina. In this church near the Castel Sant’Angelo, where the flood rose to the halfway point of the door, the water marked the columns at which Peter and Paul had been scourged, columns which had not dried out since then (XCIV–XCV).²⁷ By suggesting to “keep walking after crossing the porta Castello”, the city gate by Castel Sant’Angelo, the author once again gives walking directions. There, one may “see” the mural decoration of a church (or a tabernacle?) dedicated to the Virgin Mary that had not been destroyed by the water (XCVI). Dati has thus arrived in Prati and now reports on the events that took place there: during the flood the desperate had fled to the roofs of the few buildings nearby. Among them, three companions from Urbino managed to attract the attention of a boat; as soon as they were taken on board, the house collapsed, and they were brought to San Pietro “trembling like leaves” (XCVII–C). The author mentions that other things happened in Prati, but they are too many for him to sing about (CI). The Venetian letters report two more miracles: a man was swept away alive clinging to a tree all the way from Monterotondo to Rome,²⁸ and a newborn child floating in its cradle was saved, auspiciously recalling the fates of both Moses and Romulus.²⁹

“Since you cannot tell everything anyway” (CII), Dati leaves Prati and follows those affected by the waves and flooding of the water on the other side of the river. Once again he concentrates on people, here the prelates whose houses had been damaged: the cardinals Giovanni Giacomo Sclafenati, Raffaele Riario, Girolamo Basso della Rovere, Bernardino Carvajal, Jorge da Costa, Giovanni

25 Malipiero 1843–1844, p. 414.

26 I would interpret the last lines of verse LXXXII differently from Esposito and Farenga in Dati 2011, p. 114, notes 283–284: The river has entered the prison, and has “vacated” the prisoners (“arcastieri” from *ergastulum* = chain gang; inmates of a workhouse) without contract or deposit, in the sense that they have left their lives.

27 Santa Maria in Traspontina had been destroyed in 1564 and rebuilt at some distance between 1566 and 1668, the columns are preserved in the new building. See note 67.

28 This is reported by the second letter, Malipiero 1843–1844, p. 414.

29 As the first letter tells it: “È stà trovato in una cuna un figliuolo nascente ire a segonda del fiume, et è rihavuto et salvo: Dio lo facci simile a Mosè et a Romulo, che hebbero ambidoi simile fortuna ne i loro nascimenti”, Malipiero 1843–1844, p. 411. A child carried away by the floods in its cradle is a recurring motif, both in reports of historical events and in representations of the Flood. On the tradition of the motif in mythology and religion see Gibellini/Longhi 2013.

Antonio Sangiorgi, Jean Bihères de Lagraulas, Oliviero Carafa, Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, Giuliano Cesarini, and Federico Sanseverino, as well as the bishop Bartolomeo de Luna and many other high clerics, courtiers and dignitaries of the Curia who lived on the lower stories of the buildings (CII–CIV). Now the description changes from a practicable tour to an enumeration of other affected churches in a larger radius, drawing the outer boundaries of the affected area. He names the church San Silvestro in Capite at the eastern edge, and then those near the Tiber he had not mentioned before, including the church of the Florentines, on the site of the present-day San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, that of Sant’Orso and San Tommaso, on a square near the Banco di Santo Spirito, San Biagio alla Pagnotta, Santa Lucia ad Flumen (today replaced by the Oratorio dell’Arciconfraternità del Gonfalone), Santa Lucia del Gonfalone in Via dei Banchi Vecchi, Sant’Aurea in the present Via Giulia, San Giovanni Evangelista,³⁰ San Simeone de Posterula, San Biagio dell’Anello, located between Sant’Andrea and San Carlo ai Catinari, San Biagio della Tinta in Rione Ponte, where the dyers had their workshops, San Sebastiano in Via papae, later demolished to build Sant’Andrea della Valle, Santa Maddalena prope Rotundam, today’s Piazza Santa Maddalena, the Mausoleum of Augustus and Sant’Ambrogio della Massima in the Ghetto (CV–CVI). Here the sweeping topographical description ends and Giuliano Dati turns to a general reflection: neither with pen nor brush would he be able to begin to describe or draw the extent of the destruction (CVII).

No literary model can be found for Giuliano Dati’s description of the city under water.³¹ The report of the Florentine flood of 1333 by Giovanni Villani, for example, is structured differently: he also begins his account with the river that enters through the city gates, but he then follows a hierarchy of buildings, starting with the cathedral via the government buildings, to the important churches and concluding with the Oltrarno. In addition, he lists only quarters, churches and public buildings, but no private houses.³² For Rome we only know the somewhat more detailed commentary of the Anonimo romano on the flood of 1345, which is again differently structured, presenting, as it were, a cartographic view from above: only the seven hills of Rome still emerge from the floods, and the author describes “briefly the extent on the basis of the outermost points.”³³ He names about ten places, generally around monuments and churches: the deeply submerged square around the Pantheon, the Jewish quarter around Sant’Angelo in Pescheria, the Colonna quarter up to the column (of Marcus

30 Probably San Giovanni in Ayna in Via di Monserrato: see Huelsen 1927, p. 270, as S. Iohannes (Evangelistae) in Agina.

31 For the description modes of catastrophes, Rohr 2007b; Schenk 2010b; Fresu 2017.

32 “E nel primo sonno di quella notte ruppe il muro del commune di sopra al Corso de’ Tintori incontro a la fronte del dormitorio de’ frati minori per ispazio di braccia CXXX; per la quale rottura venne l’arno più a pieno ne la città, e adusse tanta abondanza d’acqua, che prima ruppe e guastò il luogo de’ frati minori, e poi tutta la città di qua da l’Arno; generalmente le rughe coperse molto, e allagò ove più e ove meno; ma più nel sesto di San Piero Scheraggio e porte San Piero e porte del uomo, per lo modo che chi leggerà per lo tempo avvenire potrà comprendere i termini fermi e notabili onde faremo menzionare apresso. Nella chiesa e Duomo di San Giovanni salì l’acqua infino al piano di sopra de l’altare, più alto che mezze le colonne del proferto dinanzi a la porta. E in Santa Liperata infino a l’arcora de le volte vecchie di sotto al coro; e abbatté in terra la colonna co la croce del segno di san Zanobi ch’era ne la piazza. E al palagio del popolo ove stanno i priori salì il primo grado della scala ove s’entra, incontro a la via di Vacchereccia, ch’è quasi il più alto luogo di Firenze. E al palagio del Comune ove sta la podestà salì nella corte di sotto dove si tiene la ragione braccia VI. Alla Badia di Firenze, infino a piè de l’altare maggiore, e simile salì a Santa Croce al luogo de’ frati minori infino a piè de l’altare maggiore; e in Orto San Michele e in Mercato Nuovo salì braccia II; e in Mercato Vecchio braccia II, per tutta la terra. E Oltrarno salì ne le rughe lungo l’Arno in grande altezza, specialmente da San Niccolò, e in borgo Pidiglioso, e in borgo San Friano, e da Camaldoli, con grande disertamento delle povere e minute genti ch’abitavano in terreni”, Villani 1990–1991, vol. 3, pp. 5–7 (lib. XII). For the context see Schenk 2007; *L’acqua nemica* 2017.

Aurelius), the Porta del Popolo, the area around the Mausoleum of Augustus (Campo dell'Austa), San Trifone, San Silvestro, San Giacomo in Settignano in Trastevere, San Paolo Maggiore, San Paolo fuori le mura, as well as the vineyards in front of San Pietro and the whole area of Santo Spirito. He also mentions the damage, the loss of mills, houses, animals, and everything the Tiber had washed away. But in his enumeration of churches and buildings there is no recognizable route, and he rather seems to jump associatively.

Giuliano Dati, for his part, interweaves general topographical data with an almost prosopographical approach (by naming numerous personalities and families), and adds theatrical elements, which merge the whole into a narrative of experiences. He was from the same family as Goro Dati, author of *Storia di Firenze*, a history of Florence, and *La Sfera*, a mythological-geographical description of the world.³⁴ His origin in the ambit of Florentine merchant-writers may have influenced his literary production in the vernacular and his interest in Roman epigraphy. He wrote his books in *ottava rima*, both saints' legends and historical works, as well as others specific to the Urbs: the foundation of Rome, *Aedificatio Romae*, published in 1494, a pilgrims' guidebook, the *Stazioni e indulgenze di Roma*, in 1495, and a treatise on San Giovanni in Laterano in 1499. He had thereby also mastered the two most common topographical-descriptive models of ancient and Christian Rome, that form the basis of his knowledge: the splendor of ancient Rome in the *Aedificatio Romae* is exemplified by the mention of the important urban structures, the most significant monuments and several elements of statuary: from references to its walls and towers, bridges, triumphal arches, aqueducts, obelisks, theatres, the Colosseum and Pantheon, equestrian statues, baths, and tombs, up to the columns and the monumental head on the

33 “Nella citate de Roma crebbe lo fiume lo quale se dice Tevere, e fu per sio crescere de acqua uno diluvio mortifero e meraviglioso in tale muodo, che pochi, anche nulli, se recordassino essere stato lo simile. [...] Allora comenzao lo Tevere a crescere e non descresceva niente. [...] Tutta la pianura de Roma nota. Soli sette cuolli se pareno non occupati dalla acqua. Questi so' li tiermini e.lli confini de tale diluvio in Roma, e dico brevemente. In prima, la piazza de Santa Maria Rotonna era tanto piena che per nulla via per essa se poteva ire, né a pede né a cavallo. Anche nella contrada de Santo Agnilo Pescivennolo venne l'acqua fi' alla contrada delli Iudiei, la quale vao alla piazza delli Iudiei da priesso a l'arco lo quale vao alla piazza delli Savielli. Anche in Colonna pervenne l'acqua fi' allo Folserace, lo quale stao a Santo Antrea de Colonna, dove stao la granne colonna. Anche porta dello Puopolo notava per tale via, che per nullo modo ad essa se poteva ire, *Item* lo campo dell'Austa tutto stava piena. *Item* a Santo Trifo exuberao fi' allo aitare e empio la chiesa. Anche entrao lo monistero e.la chiesa delle monache de Santo Silvestro dello Capo. E chi voize ire alle donne, gio colla sannoella. *Item* entrao lo monistero de Santo Iacovo de Settignano per la via de Tristevere in tale muodo, che tutto lo luoco e.la chiesa notava nell'acqua, e occupao tutto lo coro collo aitare. Anche pareva a quelli che staivano nello monte de Santo Vrancrazio che da pede fossi un laco terribile, in mieso dello quale pareva stare quello munistero. Anche occupao li confini e.la chiesa de Santo Pavolo Maiure, le vigne e.lle seminata, li campi collo seminato. Anche occupao tutte le vigne nello territorio della porta de Santo Pavolo, la quale hao nome Ostiense, anche tutte le vigne in porta de Santo Pietro, brevemente onne pianura la quale iace canto lo fiume. Con ciò sia cosa che tanta abunanza d'acqua occupassi tutto lo spazio de Santo Spirito e.la piazza dello Castiello e.lle case de Puortica, entrao la porta dello ponte, la quale è de metallo, e sallio alla porta secunna dello ponte, la quale è de leno. Anche la onna della acqua, la quale veniva per la porta de Civita Leonina canto lo Castiello, imprimamente se commattéo coll'onna la quale veniva da Santo Spirito. Quanno iva l'omo a ponte per la strada ritta, da casa delli Vaiani, se iva nella acqua fi' alli guazzaroni dello cavallo. Questa soperchia acqua consumao e defocao tutti li coiti e.lli seminati che trovao. E sorrenao le vigne de creta. E scarporio li arbori da radicina. E deo per terra muri e case. Affocao vestiamme. Danniao lo territorio de Roma più de dociento migliara de fiorini. Anche ruppe le catene e.lli ignegni delli mulinari e menaone da cinque bone mole, la quale conusse allo mare. Allora fuoro le mole perdute, aitre moite deslocate recuperate a granne pena”, Anonimo romano 1979, pp. 135–137 (Chap. XV, *Dello grannissimo diluvio e piena de acqua*).

34 Curcio/Farenga 1987.

Capitoline, closing with the important living Romans up to the cardinals and popes.³⁵ *Stations and indulgences* is an enumeration of the churches and the saints and relics venerated there, without a description of the topography of the city,³⁶ while the *Trattato di San Giovanni in Laterano* is focused on the Lateran and its legends.³⁷ Instead, the treatise *Del diluvio de Roma* is a multi-layered description of the city from the perspective of the raging river: only the churches, palaces and streets affected by the flooding are mentioned, which is why many other things that characterized Rome in both contemporary Renaissance and present day thought are omitted: there is no Capitol and no Lateran, no Orsini or Colonna, no Colosseum or any other *mirabilia*. And only for the flooded areas do we learn about the condition of the buildings and their inhabitants, the cardinals, merchant families and craftsmen, the loss of goods, possessions and documents, the destruction and the collateral wonders. In his description, therefore, he follows not so much neuralgic points, but rather topographical structures using the urban logic of a pedestrian who moves from quarter to quarter, oriented mainly by the religious buildings. In addition, his enumeration distinguishes various groups that reveal his close knowledge of the inhabitants of this zone: not only the clerics, with whom, being a penitentiary, he was probably acquainted, and the many merchant families, who were known to him since he was a Florentine, but also the Roman families, from the nobles to the craftsmen, the latter rarely referred to by name, but by their professions. Those affected by the flooding in the city form a community of their own that must struggle to survive the crisis, and one in which social differences are leveled: as the Venetian observer writes, even the unaccountables suddenly were forced to live modestly and humbly.³⁸

The illustrations of the frontispieces of Giuliano Dati's *Diluvio*

The frontispieces of the two editions are just as unusual as the text and reflect the exceptional situation that lay between crisis and crisis management. Although their imagery differs and they are of diverse quality, their compositions are similar in that at first glance they show a city at the moment of its flooding, but not the Rome recognizable from its monuments that we see in other contemporary woodcuts. For example the frontispiece of Giuliano Dati's *Aedificatio Romae* (fig. 6) does not show a realistic city view, but apart from Romulus and Remus it also labels the Aventine and Palatine, and depicts the Castel Sant'Angelo and the Pantheon.³⁹ The view of Rome provided in the anonymous *Lamento Romae* of 1495 about the campaign of Charles VIII goes back to the woodcut illustration of the 1490 *Supplementum Chronicarum* (fig. 7),⁴⁰ a quite detailed bird's-eye view of the city seen from the northeast, which focuses on the Vatican, as does the Rome view in the *World Chronicle* by Hartman Schedel 1493 (fig. 8)⁴¹

Let us look first at the edition printed in Rome by Besicken and Freitag, which we can assume was the first to be published (fig. 3). Dati published several of his treatises with Andreas Freitag in which the framing of the frontispiece is repeated. Unusual for the incunabula illustration is the fact that his coat of arms, as he left it to us in the cippus in Santa Dorotea (fig. 2), is always found in

35 Dati 2012.

36 Dati, *Stazioni e indulgenze*.

37 Dati, *Trattato di San Giovanni in Laterano*.

38 "In modo che anche li dissoluti questa fiata sono stati modesti nel vivere et sobrii; molti anche non ne hano potuto quanto gli bisognava", Malipiero 1843–1844, p. 410.

39 For Dati's *Aedificatio Romae*, see note 35.

40 Sander (1942) 1969, vol. 5, ill. 204.

41 Cassiani 2008, pp. 15–18.



6 Frontispiece of Dati, *Aedificatio Romae*
(photo Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana,
Venice)

the lower border.⁴² In general this field is left blank to allow for the arms of the owner, or occasionally that of an addressee or client, to be inserted, but never that of an author.⁴³ We do not know who created the illustration, but given that the author personalizes the frontispiece in such a way, we may assume that he also influenced the illustration.⁴⁴ Moreover, in the case of the *Diluvio*, we have a text dedicated to a historical event for which no pictorial tradition existed.

In the frontispiece, under the sign of the comet described by Dati, one sees an immense surface of water out of which rise a few buildings, and a bridge on the right, as well as four figures: in the middle ground a man has saved himself

42 Dati, *Aedificatio Romae*; Dati, *Stazioni e indulgenze*; Dati, *Trattato di San Giovanni Laterano*; Dati, *Traslazione della sacra camera*; Dati, *Leggenda di Santa Barbara*; Dati, *Calcolazione delle eclissi*, see illustration partly published in Sander (1942) 1969, vol. 6, ill. 770–773.

43 See the numerous examples in Sander (1942) 1969.

44 An example of the participation of an author in a book illustration is Fra Marco da Montegallo's visualization of Monte di Pietà, also intended to reach a large audience, see Helas 2004.



7 View of Rome in Giacomo Filippo Foresti, *Supplementum chronicarum*, Venice 1490 (photo Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lissabon)

by climbing a tree, while another approaches in a small boat, possibly coming to his aid; the head of a third man is visible in the water under the bridge at the right, while at the center foreground a fourth keeps afloat in a makeshift vehicle, possibly a wooden barrel. Rome seems almost not to exist here, so to speak, with the masses of water making a plain out of the city on the seven hills. The model for the representation was not simply the biblical Flood, as it was often depicted within Genesis cycles.⁴⁵ In this context we also find pictures concentrating on the suffering of humans and animals, most of them already drowned, or in other ways visualizing the hopelessness of the situation.⁴⁶ Nearest in time and place are the frescoes by Paolo Uccello painted around 1440 in the Chiostro Verde of Santa Maria Novella, a derivative drawing from the early 1460s attributed to Maso Finiguerra,⁴⁷ and the engraving by Francesco di Lorenzo Rosselli of 1465/70 (fig. 9).⁴⁸ In Dati's illustration the aspect of rescue and mobility regardless of the flood dominates, thus showing a rather optimistic attitude towards the event. From an artistic point of view, the illustration is a very simple construct: it does not show the subjects in their perspective relation to architecture and distance, but rather brings together the elements that characterize the written work, such as the comet, the water, the city, and the people. But it also contains a topographical reference, made more evident in the frontispiece of the Florentine edition (fig. 4). Here a similar flood scenario is designated, but the artist creates a perspective view that leads across the water to the urban architecture and finally to

45 The most prominent examples in medieval Italy are in the mosaics in the Baptistery of Florence, the frescoes by Giusto da Menabuoi in the Baptistery of Padua and in the Camposanto in Pisa. For the 15th–16th centuries, see Dubus 2014, p. 245. More in general see Barasch 2006; Rohr 2014.

46 See for example in French miniatures of Augustinus, *The City of God* from the 15th century: Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 28, fol. 66v.

47 Klemm 2009, p. 177, cat. 223, ill. p. 13.

48 Hind 1938–1948, part I, vol. III, plate 197, 199. For the relation of the drawing to the engraving see Landau/Parshall 1994, pp. 108–112.



8 View of Rome in Hartman Schedel, *World Chronicle*, Nuremberg 1493, printed by Anton Koberger, fols. LVIIv–LVIIIr, from Rücker 1988, pp.194–195

a mountainous landscape.⁴⁹ A number of figures watch from the tower on the right, while two more, carrying torches, walk towards each other on the bridge, possibly alluding to the fact that the water surprised the inhabitants at night. Some swim in the water, but without showing fear of death. The two figures in the foreground demonstrate provisional mobility, the figure on the right calls out of the picture, thus including the beholder into the action. The difference between this image and the Florentine representations of the Deluge is particularly striking: while the barrel in the pictures of Uccello, Maso Finiguerra and Rosselli is a precarious life raft, in the book illustration it becomes a steerable vehicle, just as the wooden objects become navigable. Since the comet does not appear here either, the impression of a more realistic description of the event is created.⁵⁰ In comparison to the Roman edition, the bridge with its two buildings at either end has shifted into the center of the picture and looking at the city view of the *Supplementum Chronicarum* or that in the 1493 printed *World Chronicle* by Hartman Schedel, it would appear to be the Ponte Sant'Angelo (fig. 8). On the town side were the two circular chapels dedicated to Santa Maria Maddalena and the Innocenti, built by Nicholas V after the disastrous incident on the bridge in 1450, but demolished in 1527, while the other side of the bridge was fortified with two towers, until they were replaced under Alexander VI with a round guard tower. Behind the raging waters, the view leads to some buildings where a visual analogy with the “Palatium Pape” in Schedel’s *Chronicle* and the city walls with the “Porta Pertusa” can be found. Thus we are looking across the Ponte Sant’Angelo from the north towards the Vatican, the only place that seems to have escaped the flooding.

The special character of the representations of the Tiber flood introducing Giuliano Dati’s poem becomes apparent in a comparison with analogous images, such as the frontispiece illustration of *Carmen di diluvio Rome effuso* by Jakob Locher, printed in Freiburg im Breisgau by Friedrich Riederer, and also dedicated to Rome’s Tiber flood of 1495 (fig. 10). Here we see the Pope making a procession in a flooded city, identified as Rome only by the crossed keys above

49 A certain compositional analogy can be found in the representation of Luna from the Florentine series of the planets, in which a bridge is also seen at the center. Hind 1938–1948, part I, vol. II, plate 126–128.

50 The comet is represented on fol. 2v when it is cited in the text.



the arch, and the flying banner.⁵¹ The picture corresponds to the text in so far as it reports that the flood only receded after the Pope prayed for mercy, which neither Dati nor the Venetians report.⁵² The frontispiece of the treatise published by Prospero d'Amelia, which adapts Dati's poem for the flood of 1514, again presents the Pope with two clerics on horseback on the Ponte Sant'Angelo in front of Castel Sant'Angelo attempting to pacify the floodwaters raging below.⁵³ In both cases, therefore, the Pope is the protagonist who faces the floods. The frontispieces to Giuliano Dati's treatise, in contrast, visualize the aspect that also plays an important role in the text: that is, the way those affected deal with the crisis, by attempting to save themselves and others.

Neither Dati's text nor other sources inform us, however, about any form of centrally organized intervention or civil assistance.⁵⁴ From the diary of Johann Burchard, which unfortunately only starts up again on 10 December, we learn

9 Francesco di Lorenzo Rosselli, *Deluge*, ca. 1465/1470. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphic Collection, inv. A 21678 (photo Staatsgalerie Stuttgart)

51 Locher 1495. For the author see Fuchs 2016.

52 For content and interpretation of the poem see Wuttke 2005, pp. 1151–1153.

53 See illustration in Dati 2011, p. 129.

54 In later periods, the charity of the Pope or cardinals during the emergency situation of the flood is often mentioned. Cf. Megna 2006, pp. 32–33. Regarding other tragic events we know a little more about disaster management in the 15th century, for example that in such cases the organization of assistance fell to the *caporione*, an elected leader of each district (*riione*) responsible for the safety of the neighborhood, as in the case of the terrible accident on Ponte Sant'Angelo on 23 December 1450. After the Pope had shown the Vera Icon, due to the crowding of the pilgrims on their way back from Saint Peter on Ponte Sant'Angelo, one hundred and seventy-two people, four horses and a mule were trapped on the bridge and died in the crush. The chronicler Paolo dello Mastro reports that he informed the *caporione* Paolo dello Scuto and, after the bridge was closed, began to clear the bodies. These were first brought to San Celso, where most of them were later buried. The clothes of the dead were kept there under the supervision of the *caporione's* father Benedetto, so that their relatives could ascertain their

L'armen de diluuiio Rome effuso.



10 Frontispiece of Locher 1495 (photo Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

by others in boats (LI); there are the “wise and good inhabitants” of Trastevere, who “helping one another as good neighbors” gather to defend the Porta Settimana (LIII). Those trapped by the water around the Pantheon become resourceful out of necessity, constructing “nuovi ingegni” – probably rafts – out of furniture and accidental materials to save themselves from drowning and starvation (LXII). A certain Cesario from Perugia proved to be particularly ingenious, inventing a boat with four wheels that could move both on water and land (LXXVI). Studies for two such vehicles can be found in the drawings by Francesco Giorgio Martini around 1470 (fig. 11).⁵⁸ From the context of the tale, it can be inferred that Cesario’s contraption was used to deliver bread. We do not know on whose behalf the inventor acted; possibly he himself profited from deliveries with this vehicle. But the Venetian advisor also recounts instances of solidarity

identity using these means. The accident is also mentioned by Infessura 1890, p. 49. Paolo later became one of the *magister stratarum* in 1452, and *caporione* in the Rione Ponte in 1472. Cf. also Helas 2011, p. 166.

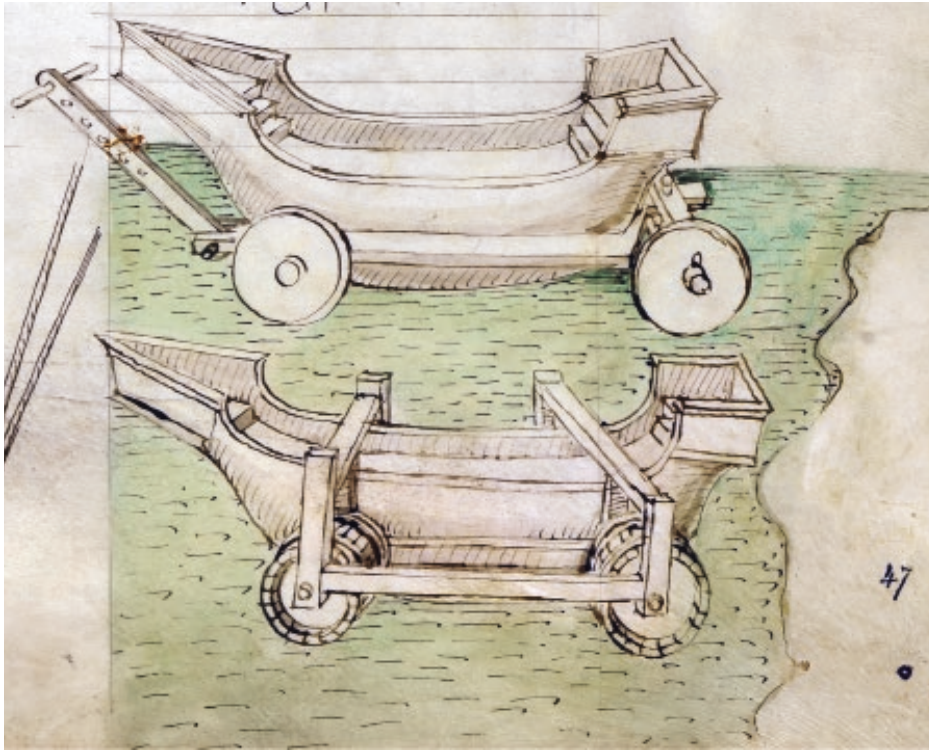
⁵⁵ Burchard 1883–1885, vol. II, pp. 252–253. The bull that the Pope had displayed in Saint Peter’s after Mass says: “Ut igitur proxima futura dominica pro cessatione diluvii et inundationis aquarum, nec non salubri aere iliusque conservatione accedere [...]”, *ibid.* p. 258.

⁵⁶ Burchard 1883–1885, vol. II, p. 253. Johann Burchard replies to a Cardinal who asks him for necessities for the procession: “quod gubernatori Urbis committeretur, qui faceret statim recte a campo Flore ad basilicam predictam mundari expensis camere Urbis cum curiales, et inhabitatores Urbis essent ex fluminis impetu minus damnificati; quod ad processionem Pape non videretur mihi ullo pacto color albus convenire, quod esset letitie et gaudii, et processionem mestitie propterea in violaceis illam fieri oportere.”

⁵⁷ Malipiero 1843–1844, pp. 410–411.

⁵⁸ Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattato di architettura, ingegneria e arte militare*, ca. 1470, Torino, Biblioteca reale, cf. Gille 2016, p. 130.

merely that the Pope had decided to order a procession and a mass “pro aeris serenitate”, for good weather, in which the color of the robes to be worn – white as a sign of joy, or purple as a sign of mourning – was up for discussion.⁵⁵ Since the Master of Ceremonies specifically mentions that the Governor of Rome should clear the processional route from Campo dei Fiori and San Lorenzo in Damaso to Saint Peter at the expense of the City Chamber, the population having just been so discomfited by the flood, one can assume that such measures had not yet taken place and were not foreseen.⁵⁶ During the flood, evidently, the situation was chaotic. The first Venetian writer reports that everyone tried to save himself and thus, when many were surprised by the water at night, several died, while the shepherds, who struggled with each other for the trees that offered the only refuge outside the city gates, then died of cold and hunger.⁵⁷ From Giuliano Dati, instead, we hear more on solidarity and aid given: there are the citizens who have fled to trees or roofs who are saved



11 Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattato di architettura civile e militare*, ca. 1470, detail with amphibian vehicle. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Ashb. 361, c. 47r (photo courtesy of MIBACT)

among the affected: while they gave wine to their renter Domenico dei Massimi, he gave them bread, which they lacked. With their wine (which was an important resource because there was a lack of drinking water) they seem to have been able to offer assistance throughout the neighborhood and one of their servants went shopping for them and their neighbors by floating about in a bakers' trough.⁵⁹ According to the second Venetian letter, people moved around Rome in small boats as in Venice, but also using rafts and bakers' troughs to bring food to those trapped in their houses. Indeed, in the absence of boats and barges, household objects were apparently the most available emergency solution – in both variants of the frontispiece of Dati's treatise, a man moves through the floods in a wooden barrel (fig. 3 and 4). We also hear about the situation of the most important charitable institution in the flooded urban area: the hospital of Santo Spirito, which was rebuilt by Sixtus IV in 1475 in the form of a vast hospital hall divided in two by a chapel.⁶⁰ The sick had to be carried to rooms on the upper floor, while the wine in the large cellar was under water and wood and barrels were tossed about and carried away by the tide. The mill of the hospital on the Tiber and the garden and its walls were also destroyed (LXXXV) (fig. 12).

59 Malipiero 1843–1844, pp. 413–414.

60 For the hospital see among others Colonna 2009; Helas 2011, pp. 175–183; Helas 2017, pp. 33–47.

61 Di Martino et al. 2017, p. 185, cat. 15. The sign of the flood from 1589 can be still seen today (ibid. p. 78, fig. 43, p. 203, cat. 36). On this occasion the rescue of patients to the upper floors was repeated. The painting by Pierre Subleyras, *Camillo de Lellis rescuing the sick in the hospital*, from 1746 when the protagonist was sainted, depicts this flood.

62 For this topic, see *Une histoire du sensible* 2018.

63 Here the water levels of 1422, 1495, 1530, 1557, 1598 and 1871 are still recorded. The documented marks of 1379 and 1476 have been lost. See Di Martino et al. 2017, cat. 5, 6, 7, 12, 21, 29, 43, 99.

64 On the problem of water level marks, see Rohr 2007a, pp. 89–91.

65 Di Martino et al. 2017, pp. 40–43, p. 176, cat. 1. Today in the Museo di Roma, Palazzo Braschi.

66 Di Martino et al. 2017, p. 178, cat. 4.

Thereafter for weeks neither the ill nor those in good health could be accommodated there, as the place had become insalubrious (LXXXVI). The memorial plaque placed on the hospital to mark the level of this flood has not survived.⁶¹ In both the text and the two frontispieces, an attention to suffering and the response of human compassion, unobstructed by topical evocations of sin and punishment, may be observed.⁶²

The flood markers and representations of the flood

Flood markers (fig. 1) can still be seen in many places in the city today, for instance especially prominently on the façade of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.⁶³ Others have since been moved from their original locations but continue to bear witness to this form of communal memory. In order to deduce the real water level, further sources such as the measuring rod at San Giacomo a Ripa or more recent publications must be used. My interest, instead, lies in their role as a manifestation of the city's relationship to its river.⁶⁴ The earliest of these markings, dating to 1180, is preserved on a column that was probably located at the original church of San Celso in the immediate vicinity of the Tiber River.⁶⁵ The inscription of 1277 that may be seen today, walled into the Arco dei Banchi, also originated from San Celso.⁶⁶ Dati could be referring to one of these in his poem when just after listing the palaces around the church he mentions that the water rose to a *palmo* higher than an “*epitaffio scripto antico e degno*” – an ancient and worthy written epitaph – (LXXVIII) i.e., a flood marker. He also comments that anyone who wanted could get an impression of the other floods by looking in Santa Maria in Traspontina or at the “*epitaffi*” at the foot of the Castel Sant’Angelo (XCIV). The only inscription to survive from this church records the flood of 1495, and is on a plaque that refers to the venerated columns, which served for the flagellation of the apostles Peter and Paul, today preserved together in the

12 Anonymous Fabriczy, *Castel Sant’Angelo and the Hospital of Santo Spirito with the Tiber river*, drawing, ca. 1570. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphic Collection, inv. C 5812 (photo Staatsgalerie Stuttgart)



new building in Via della Conciliazione.⁶⁷ Obviously the first Venetian correspondent, too, knew of these markings since he writes that 120 years before there was a similar flood, and still another at the time of Martin V, and then one as recently as the time of Sixtus IV, stating that the latter was 3 cubits lower and in many places in the city there were “memorie” of this.⁶⁸ About 120 years earlier, the flood of 1379 reached the level of 17 meters, and was recorded on the façade of Santa Maria sopra Minerva; here the sign of 17.32 meters from the papacy of Martin V in 1422, is still today preserved.⁶⁹ The flood of 1476, when a level of 16.88 meters was measured, was recorded at the house of Cardinal Giacomo Ammannati-Piccolomini in the Borgo.⁷⁰ Later descriptions of floods also often refer to the markers.⁷¹ Most of these signs were inscribed on churches so it can be assumed that they were commissioned by the respective parish or order; indeed, in the case of the 1530 mark on the façade of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, under the main inscription is a note recording that the Dominican brothers placed it there.⁷² Nevertheless, very few of these memorials are of a religious nature, citing divine intervention for instance, but rather express admiration for the forces of nature, as in the inscription on the façade of Santa Maria sopra Minerva that reads: “In the year of Christ 1495, on the nones of December. The Tiber, pouring out of its bed, swelled to the immeasurable, its flowing waters, the whirling stream.”⁷³ More rarely, an inscription mentions the authorship of an individual, as in the case of the Spanish bishop, Pietro de Aranda, who had renovated the pavement of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli destroyed by the waters in 1495,⁷⁴ or the Venetian ambassador, Geronimo Giorgio, who resided at Palazzo Pichi in the Via del Paradiso and who remembered the maximum height the waters reached there, on 5 December 1495.⁷⁵

Until the *muraglioni* erected in 1871–1905 finally put a stop to the flooding of the Tiber, at least as far as the historic city center was concerned, these flood markers greatly multiplied. But the mention of these signs by Dati and by the Venetian demonstrate that already by 1500 anyone wishing to be informed about the danger of flooding could have been, and Dati’s precise topographical description could have subsequently also served to define areas at risk. But owing also to papal promotion, the city expanded both architecturally and demographically especially in the flood-endangered areas, such as along Via Giulia and, already during the 15th century, in the quarter between Parione and Ponte. Here, the workshops of the dirty crafts that disposed of their waste in the Tiber, were

67 There had been also inscriptions from 1230 and 1277, see Di Martino et al. 2017, p. 177, cat. 2 and 3.

68 “Si dice che già cento e venti anni, il Tevere inondò un’altra fiata grandemente, in tempo di Sisto; ma che fu tre cubiti meno alto, et vi sono memorie in molti luoghi della città: un’altra volta fu maggiore a tempo di Martino quinto. Ma questa fiata è stato di gran longa più alto”, Malipiero 1843–44, p. 411.

69 Di Martino et al. 2017, cat. 5 and 6.

70 Di Martino et al. 2017, pp. 146, 163, cat. 6.

71 For example in 1530: “Auch auf dem Campoflor ains fürspieß hoch gestanden /und siben Spannen höher / dann es in vorzeyten / bei Bapst Alexandes Regierung / als auch ein Gewesser gewesen / fürgefallen / wie das bei der Tyberprucke daselbst vermerkt befunden würdet”, *Wahrhaftige Anzaygung* 1530, fol. A ii. Those of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Castel Sant’Angelo e Ripa grande have been published in a graphic representation by Bonini 1666, p. 70.

72 Di Martino et al. 2017, p. 191, cat. 22.

73 Di Martino et al. 2017, p. 184, cat. 13.

74 Di Martino et al. 2017, p. 182, cat. 10. “When the Spaniard Alexander VI reigned as Pope, the exuberant Tiber reached this sign on 5 December in the year of salvation in 1495, after he had not even spared the dead. Pietro de Aranda, Bishop of Calahorra and La Calzada, had the floor repaired at his own expense. Glory and Gloria to the highest god and the divine Jacob, patron saint of Spain.”

75 Di Martino et al. 2017, p. 186, cat. 16. Today in the Museo di Roma, Palazzo Braschi.

replaced by hostels and by the residential palaces of merchants and of people close to the Curia.⁷⁶ After the dramatic flood of 1530, when a previously unseen high water level was recorded,⁷⁷ the plaque in Piazza del Popolo explicitly noted the destruction of the new houses built close to the Tiber: “The seventh Clemens, an Etruscan, by his destiny carried the gilded pastoral staff, as the tremendous Tiber rose up to here. Immediately remembering the field which the earlier inhabitants had left uncultivated, he, who had drunk all his tributaries, broke into the new houses, and that he would become an implacable avenger of the space taken from him, he carried away both Ceres and Bacchus as well as the Lares with him.”⁷⁸ The fact that the palaces in the new street created by Julius II were particularly affected by this flood is proven by several accounts, among which a German description.⁷⁹ The same flood was also the reason for the Spanish Cardinal Louis Gomez’s publication of the first systematic enumeration of the known floods of the Tiber.⁸⁰

All the sources mention the destruction of the mills on the Tiber,⁸¹ a clearly predictable consequence of the flood, if not an additional factor since their remains obstructed the water course. But after each destruction, the mills were reinstalled on the banks of the Tiber, and appeals for the resolution of the problem, which became increasingly urgent from the 17th century on (like that of Pompeo Targone in 1606, for example), went largely unheeded.⁸² The markers, which in most cases are limited to mentions of the Tiber, the date and the name of the ruling Pope, therefore seem to be less warnings than demonstrations of resilience, an affirmation of Rome and its populations’ ability to survive: Giuliano Dati, after the pathetic lament that he is unable to either describe or draw the extent of the destruction with pencil or brush, also concludes with the reassurance “You know well that he (the Tiber) has at other times caused even worse

76 Antonucci 2010, 1/2, 129–142; Frommel 2010.

77 For this flood, see notes 71 and 72; Elze 2001; Di Martino et al. 2017, pp. 62–65.

78 Di Martino et al. 2017, p. 190, cat. 21, Bartels 2000, p. 132, cat. 6.11.

79 “In der Straß die man nennt Julia / das ist di Papa Julius gepawen hat / ist uber aus ain schön newer Pallast gewesen so vor Jahren Herr Eusebius ein treffentlicher Official etwa ein Secretari Cardinali Sancti Georgii gepawet / Derselbig ist mit allen seinen hawßgesynd und dem Pallast zu grund und boden gangen. Der gleichen auch vil andere hewser in der selben strassen / und ist also das Erdtrich dermassen auffgerissen das zubesorgen es werden noch viel hewser von tag zu tag nyderfallen / Ich ways auch das nun in der Statt Rom uber hundert hewser unterstützt sein / weil man in Sorgen steht dass sie fallen möchten”, *Warhafftige Anzaygung* 1530, fol. A ii v. (In the street called Julia, built by pope Julius, there was a beautiful new palace, built years ago by Sir Eusebius, an excellent official and secretary of the Cardinal of Saint George. Eusebius and all his household were lost together with his palace. Likewise, many other houses in the same street. And the ground is torn open to such an extent that there is concern that many more houses will collapse as a result. I also know that now in the city of Rome over a hundred houses have been stabilized because people feared that they might collapse.) The damage in the Via Giulia and the death of Eusebius, previously in the service of the Cardinal of San Giorgio, together with 30/40 other members of his household in the ruins of his house, is also reported by other sources. See *Diluio di Roma che fu a. VII d’Ottobre Lanno M.D.XXX. col numero delle case roinate, delle robbe perdute, animali morti, huomini e done affogate, co ordinata discriptione di parte in parte &c. Opuscolo pubblicato in Bologna nel 1530 riprodotto ed illustrato con note* ed. Gasparoni 1865, pp. 10, 14, 21. Gomez 1532, p. 29.

80 Gomez 1532. The Spanish author, cardinal, “uditore delle cause” of the Sacred Apostolic Palace and regent of the Holy Penitentiary, driven by his personal experience of the terrible flood of 1530, traces a “history” of the Tiber, its name and its “deity”, and lists all the floods of the river before the advent of Christ (eight) and after (fifteen), cites one of the water level marks – that at Santa Maria Sopra Minerva – and, with regard to the flood of 1495, those in San Giacomo degli Spagnoli. For the author see Ada Corongiu in *Roma la città dell’acqua* 1994, p. 236, cat. 79.

81 See also *Warhafftige Anzaygung* 1530, fol. A ii: “etlich mülen hinweggeführt und erstossen.”

82 D’Onofrio 1980, pp. 33–64, for how to deal with the problem also Megna 2006.

destruction to churches and palaces, given what I have read and seen described in the chronicles, but the eternal God in his wisdom has still not left you, Rome [...]” (CVII). Like Dati’s poem, the other texts, letters, chronicles and poems also remark on the will to survive of those affected and on the ingenuity, solidarity and empathy arising during the crisis, that is, on something positive emerging from the horror. Might it be said that the flood markers, too, are ultimately a sign of triumph over the river or perhaps even pride in its mighty power, which reflects the magnificence of Rome?⁸³ One could almost come to this conclusion from the inscription of the year 1599, which reads: “When the bold river reached the display of itself attached below, equal to itself, but lower than the nearby fountain, he said: ‘We go higher; it does not suit me to be trumped. I will hunt for glory in all things; I will enjoy heaven from closer proximity, and I will come to the new century more powerful than old times can remember. The marks, Quirinus, put them here: Here I was, the Tiber!’ He overflowed the banks on the 9th day before the Calends of January 1599 in the year 7 of Pope Clement VIII.”⁸⁴



13 Francesco Xanto Avelli, plate, 1531. Milan, Museo d’Arti Applicate (photo Wikimedia Commons)

Perhaps the representation of the 1530 Tiber flood on a plate by the *maiolicaro* Francesco Xanto Avelli can be interpreted in this sense (fig. 13).⁸⁵ This *istoriato* shows a ruinous cityscape flooded by water, in the center of which Apollo, engraved by Marc Antonio after Raphael’s *Parnassus* drawing, sits enthroned in petrified form, a figure that should likely be read as a reference to the Vatican and the papacy. Like the latter, the numerous naked figures in and around the flooding river are also citations from 16 different engravings, including the *Modi* of Marcantonio Raimondi, and, used as a model for the Tiber River, a print figure that depicted Bacchus. In fact, at first glance, the scene seems more cheerful and erotic than a depiction of a catastrophe. We have no information about the occasion for the commission or the patron of this work, so we can only speculate about the intention on the basis of the imagery and the inscription on the reverse. Julia Triolo sees this image as visualizing an antipapal polemic that makes the flood of 1530, in the wake of the Sack of Rome three years earlier, a fate meted out as punishment for the immoral conditions of the Roman Church, and a necessary purification for cleansing its sins.⁸⁶ But none of the figures, neither the muses nor the naked ones reminiscent of erotic poses, actually seem in any real danger, as do those for instance, who float on the river in the frontispieces of Giuliano Dati’s treatise. Nor does the inscription on the back of the plate lead

83 For the later period the play staged by Bernini, which was inspired by the flood of 1637, should also be mentioned, Megna 2006, p. 33.

84 Di Martino 2017 et al., p. 199, cat. 31; Bartels 2000, p. 132, cat. 6.12.

85 For the plate see Triolo 2000.

86 Triolo 2000, p. 202.

87 In 1530 the royal Tiber poured out turgid waters, and the sea, pushing the wave [backwards] towards the land, [caused] Rome to remain under water for three entire days.

in this direction: “1531 Versando il Regal Tibro turbid’ acque / nel trenta, e’l mar spingendo l’onda a terra, / Roma sott’esse ben tre giorni giacque.”⁸⁷ There is no reference to divine punishment, but the river is addressed as “royal Tiber”. In addition, the city being submerged for three days inevitably reminds us of Jonas’ journey in the belly of the Whale, which in turn is a metaphor for Christ’s resurrection after three days. Therefore, the question to be asked here, is whether the actual theme might in fact be the pride in the mighty Tiber and the unbroken will to continue to live in the Eternal City. The indestructible optimism and will to survive in another dramatic crisis situation of the Romans can be seen in Paolo Gallo’s letter after the Sack of Rome: in between enumerating the instances of destruction in the city, his personal losses and the general inflation suffered in its aftermath, he writes: “Yet everyone begins to return [...] even though Rome is completely ruined, everyone is happy to return.”⁸⁸

In the late 15th century and the first decades of the 16th century especially, the river was perceived as the lifeline and main artery of the city and admired for its aesthetic qualities. One form of testimony to this are the city views, which change perspective from a rather cartographic appearance to that of a view from the north over the city embedded in the curve of the river, as may be seen in the woodcut in the *Supplementum Chronicarum* of 1490 (fig. 7), and in that from Schedel’s *World Chronicle* (fig. 8) or in the Rome plan in Mantua (all possibly based on a same model created around 1485).⁸⁹ On the other hand, the architectural and urbanistic projects commissioned by the popes, starting with Sixtus IV and Alexander VI, but above all by Julius II and Leo X, promoted the upgrading and structuring of the areas near the banks.⁹⁰

One of these projects was the Villa Farnesina on the river side of Trastevere, built and frescoed from 1508 for the banker Agostino Chigi.⁹¹ The frescoes painted in 1519 by Baldassare Peruzzi in the Sala delle Prospettive on the upper floor treat the visual qualities and presence of the river (fig. 14). The painted space opens a view looking down onto contemporary Rome between fictitious columns, but it is not a correct representation of what one would have seen through actual wall openings.⁹² In fact, Peruzzi creates a kind of collage of two views of the Tiber, one positioned 90 degrees counter-clockwise to the other: to the east towards the Tiber island, which is characterized by one of the mills, and to the west towards the Vatican, with a view of the tambour and the roof of the Santo Spirito hospital. The porticoes of the buildings facing the Tiber are underwater, which also fills the spaces between the balusters. This has led to the assumption that what is depicted in the fresco is a flood of the Tiber River, since the villa had been affected by such an event only a few years earlier: the treatise by Prospero d’Amelia on the flood of 1514 copies the poem of Giuliano Dati in large part word for word, but one of the few updates concerns the area of Via della Lungara, where d’Amelia mentions “di Augustin Chigi la casa e ’l giardino” as being under water.⁹³ As with the flood markers, in the fresco the danger would

88 The letter is published by Modigliani 1994, p. 134.

89 These (and other later similar) city views by Frutaz 1962, vol. II, pl. 165–167.

90 Frommel 2010.

91 Frommel 2010; *La Villa Farnesina* 2003.

92 Not all the buildings or landscapes can be clearly identified, nor do we know why they were represented, so in the case of the tower, which had been inscribed by one of the lansquenets as Babilona. It is mentioned by Tschudi 2000, who interprets it as one of the towers of St. Peter’s, for which exist a design by Peruzzi, and so the remark of the lansquenets would imply a identification of the unfinished church with the Babylonian Tower. I would argue that it represents the campanile of Santa Maria dell’Anima, built in these years, which helps to identify the adjacent church of Santa Maria della Pace, where Chigi had a chapel and where Peruzzi had worked.

93 D’Amelia 2011, p. 136 (verse XVII).



have been immortalized, but without the Tiber having “given back its territory” yet. But if we look at the drawing by Anonymous Fabriczy (fig. 10), we must recognize that he shows the situation on the riverbank beneath the hospital in a similar way. Therefore, it is more likely that Peruzzi showed the substructures with arches terminating directly in the water, as in fact can also be seen in photographs before the erection of the Tiber’s *muraglioni*.

Ultimately, it would seem that the Tiber flood was never really the subject of a picture. Rather, we have to imagine that the river itself has always delineated the city: with the retreat of the dirty water, a mark on the buildings would have remained, thus documenting the height of the water level and making it possible to correctly place the stone or marble flood markers made at some later point in time. These inscriptions sometimes illustrate their message with the representation of water, but mostly they contain a line that preserves the Tiber’s own drawing.

Résumé

The small poem by Giuliano Dati marks a turning point in several respects: on the one hand, it was the first account that was not part of a letter or a chronicle, but dedicated exclusively to the description and illustration of a flood or a natural disaster as a historical event. Innovative through the use of book printing, its direct influence may be seen in the text by Prospero d’Amelia. Subsequently, each flood in Rome generated corresponding publications, though none used the rhyme form or adopted socio-historical description patterns.⁹⁴

14 Baldassare Peruzzi, *The Tiber River with the Hospital of Santo Spirito*, 1519. Rome, Farnesina, Sala delle prospettive (foto author)

94 *Warhafftige Anzaygung* 1530, for example, mentions only a few places where the damage was particularly severe.

On the other hand, it falls exactly at a moment in which the change of representations of the Deluge can be observed. As Barasch noted, in the Middle Ages the pictures drastically depict drowned bodies and birds gnawing corpses, while in Renaissance images dead bodies almost never appear, and the heroic struggle of the humans against the flood becomes the subject of the picture.⁹⁵ Dubus then hypothesized that the predictions spreading from Germany at the end of the 15th and beginning of the sixteenth century of a devastating flood that was supposed to occur in 1524, led to the emphasis in depictions of the Deluge on the aspect of salvation from the floods. The paintings of Michelangelo, Peruzzi, Raphael and Giulio Romano from the first decades of the 16th century in Rome proclaim apotopically that the Flood will not take place.⁹⁶

Of course one should not overestimate the power of a small book that moreover does not illustrate the Deluge, but nonetheless, through its title *Diluvio*, makes a clear reference to it. Still, the fact remains that its frontispiece does not show drowned people, but instead strategies of survival. In doing so, it anticipates exactly what artists in Rome would introduce into fresco painting at the beginning of the 16th century. And the text also goes in this direction, concluding not with threats of retribution for sinful behavior or the interpretation of the flood as God's punishment for Rome, but rather with a conciliatory, optimistic appeal:

“Have faith in your heart, [that] the works in hand are perfect and nothing so bad; have no fear then, faithful Christian, and that way natural philosophy will reveal to you with open compass in hand and no other points or stars; you know that it promises you that it rules a hundred for one, with the aim of eternal life [...]”⁹⁷ (CVIII).

Although Dati introduces his description by mentioning the appearance of a comet, he then proceeds to do the opposite of what the literary genre of *prognostica* generally strives for: to incite fear, call for conversion, etc. In this respect it may have been his innovative interpretation of a natural disaster that prepared the way for later Renaissance imagery of the Deluge.

95 Barasch 2006, pp. 379–380.

96 Dubus 2014.

97 “Abi la fede al cuor, l’opere in mano / che sian perfette e nulla cosa ria, / fa che non temi poi fedel cristiano, / così la natural filosofia / ti mostra con le seste aperte in mano / sanz’aver altri punti o ’strologia, / tu sai che ti promette che governa cento per uno alfin poi vita eterna [...]”

Bibliography

L'acqua nemica 2017

L'acqua nemica. Fiumi inondazioni e città storiche dall'antichità al contemporaneo (conference proceedings, Florence 2015), ed. Concetta Bianca and Francesco Salvestrini, Florence 2017.

Anonimo romano 1979

Anonimo romano, *Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta, Milan 1979.

Antonucci 2010

Micaela Antonucci, "Il fiume e le trasformazioni urbane. L'area tra la via Recta e il Tevere a Roma nei secoli XV–XVI", *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 17, 1/2 (2009 [2010]), pp. 129–142.

Barasch 2006

Moshe Barasch, "Towards an Iconography of the Deluge", in *Sintflut und Gedächtnis. Erinnern und Vergessen des Ursprungs*, ed. Martin Mulsow and Jan Assmann, Munich 2006, pp. 359–401.

Bartels 2000

Klaus Bartels, *Roms sprechende Steine. Inschriften aus zwei Jahrtausenden*, Mainz 2000.

Bersani/Bencivenga 2001

Pio Bersani and Mauro Bencivenga, *Le piene del Tevere a Roma dal V secolo a.C. all'anno 2000*, n.p. 2001.

Bonini 1666

Filippo Maria Bonini, *Il Tevere incatenato ovvero L'arte di frenar l'acque correnti ...*, Rome 1666.

Buck 2014

Lawrence P. Buck, *The Roman Monster. An Icon of the Papal Antichrist in Reformation Polemics*, Kirksville, Missouri 2014.

Burchard 1883–1885

Johannis Burchardi Argentiniensis Diarium sive Rerum urbanarum commentarii (1483–1506), ed. Louis Thuasne, 3 vols. Paris 1883–1885.

Le calamità 2010

Le calamità ambientali nel tardo Medioevo europeo: realtà, percezioni, reazioni (conference proceedings, San

Miniato 2008), ed. Michael Matheus et al., Florence 2010.

Cassiani 2008

Chiara Cassiani, *Roma tra fabula e historia. Parole e immagini alla vigilia della riforma*, Rome 2008.

Colonna 2009

Flavia Colonna, *L'Ospedale di Santo Spirito a Roma. Lo sviluppo dell'assistenza e le trasformazioni architettonico-funzionali*, Rome 2009.

Curcio/Farenga 1987

Giovanna Curcio and Paola Farenga, "Dati, Giuliano", in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 33, Rome 1987, pp. 31–35.

D'Amelia 2011

Prospero d'Amelia, "El diluvio di Roma che venne a dì quindici di novembre MDXIII", in Dati 2011, Appendice, pp. 127–142.

Dati, *Aedificatio Romae*

Giuliano Dati, *Aedificatio Romae*, Rome, Johann Besicken and Sigismundus Mayer, 1494 (GW 7992; ISTC id00044300).

Dati, *Calcolazione delle eclissi*

Giuliano Dati, *Calcolazione delle eclissi*, Rome, Johann Besicken and Sigismundus Mayer, 1493 (GW 07993; ISTC id00044600).

Dati, *Del diluvio de Roma* (Besicken/Freitag)

Giuliano Dati, *Del diluvio de Roma del MCCCCXCV a dì IIII de decembre*, Rome, Johann Besicken and Andreas Freitag (GW 7995; ISTC id00044800).

Dati, *Del diluvio de Roma* (Miscomini)

Giuliano Dati, *Del diluvio de Roma del MCCCCXCV a dì IIII de decembre*, Florence, Antonio Miscomini (GW 7996; ISTC id00045000).

Dati, *Del diluvio de Roma* (Silber)

Giuliano Dati, *Del diluvio de Roma del MCCCCXCV a dì IIII de decembre*, Rome, Eucharius Silber (ISTC id00045500).

Dati, *Leggenda di Santa Barbara*

Giuliano Dati, *Leggenda di Santa Barbara*, Rome, Andreas Freitag, between 1494 and 1496 (ISTC id00045680).

Dati, *Rappresentazione della passione*

Giuliano Dati, *Rappresentazione della passione di Cristo*, Rome, Johann Besicken and Andreas Freitag, ca. 1496 (GW 8005; ISTC id00046500).

Dati, *Stazioni e indulgenze*

Giuliano Dati, *Stazioni e indulgenze di Roma*, Rome, Andreas Freitag, 1492–1493 (GW 8007; ISTC id00048300); Florence, Lorenzo Morgiani, about 1492–1496 (GW 8008; ISTC id00048600); Rome, Andreas Freitag, after 10 June 1493 (ISTC id00048700); Florence, Lorenzo Morgiani and Johannes Petri, about 1495 (GW 8009; ISTC id00049000).

Dati, *Storia di santo Iob*

Giuliano Dati, *Storia di santo Iob propheta*, Firenze, Lorenzo Morgiani and Johannes Petri, ca. 1495 (GW 8010; ISTC id00049100).

Dati, *Traslazione della sacrata camera*

Giuliano Dati, *Traslazione della sacrata camera di Nostra Donna di Nazareth in Italia appresso la città di Recanati*, Rome, Andreas Freitag, 1492–1493 (GW 0801420N; ISTC id00049400).

Dati, *Trattato di San Giovanni in Laterano*

Giuliano Dati, *Trattato di San Giovanni in Laterano*, Rome, Andreas Freitag, ca. 1495 (GW 8013; ISTC id00049450); Rome, Johann Besicken, about 1499 (GW 8014; ISTC id00049500).

Dati 2011

Giuliano Dati, *Del Diluvio de Roma del 1495 a dì 4 de decembre*, ed. Anna Esposito and Paola Farenga, reprint of the edition published by Johann Besicken and Andreas Freitag (ca. 1495), Rome 2011.

Dati 2012

Giuliano Dati, *Aedificatio Romae*, ed. Francesco Lucoli, Rome 2012.

Di Martino et al. 2017

Vittorio Di Martino, Roswitha Di Martino, and Massimo Belati, *Huc Tiber ascendit. Le memorie delle inondazioni del Tevere a Roma*, Rome 2017.

D’Onofrio 1980

Cesare d’Onofrio, *Il Tevere. l’isola tiberina, le inondazioni, i molini, i porti, le rive, i muraglioni, i ponti di Roma*, Rome 1980.

Dubus 2014

Pascale Dubus, “Conjurer le grand déluge de 1524. Peinture et pronostic au début du Cinquecento”, *Bibliothèque d’humanisme et Renaissance*, 76, 2 (2014), pp. 233–253.

Elze 2001

Reinhard Elze, “Un altro sacco? Blasius von Cesena und die Tiberüberschwemmung von 1530”, in *Italia et Germania. Liber amicorum Arnold Esch*, ed. Hagen Keller et al., Tübingen 2001, pp. 257–264.

Eposito 2010

Anna Eposito, “Il Tevere e Roma”, in *Le calamità* 2010, pp. 257–275.

Eposito 2011

Anna Eposito, “Roma e i suoi diluvi”, in *Dati* 2011, pp. 5–26.

Farenga 2011

Paola Farenga, “Dati e il suo diluvio”, in *Dati* 2011, pp. 27–44.

Fresu 2017

Rita Fresu, “‘L’acqua correva con tanto impeto.’ La rappresentazione linguistica delle esondazioni nel XVI secolo: primi rilievi”, *Rhesis. International Journal of Linguistics, Philology and Literature. Linguistics and Philology*, 8, 1 (2017), pp. 5–21.

Frommel 2010

Christoph Luitpold Frommel, “Il Tevere nel Rinascimento”, *Roma moderna e contemporanea*, 17, 1/2 (2009 [2010]), pp. 91–128.

Frutaz 1962

Amato Pietro Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*. 3 vol, Roma 1962.

Fuchs 2016

Franz Fuchs, “Götter und Heilige. Zur Frömmigkeit des Ingolstädter Humanisten Jakob Locher Philomenus (1471–1528)”, in *Wie fromm waren die Humanisten?*, ed. Berndt Hamm and Thomas Kaufmann, Wiesbaden 2016, pp. 247–259.

Gasparoni 1865

Benvenuto Gasparoni, “Il diluvio di Roma del 7 ottobre 1530”, *Arti e lettere*, 2 (1865), pp. 81–98, 106–131.

Gibellini/Longhi 2013

Cecilia Gibellini and Silvia Longhi, “La piccola Arca. Bambini salvati dalle acque”, in *I volti delle acque. Mitologie del diluvio nelle letterature europee* (conference proceedings, Verona 2012), Florence 2013, pp. 29–56.

Gille 2016

Bertrand Gille, *Leonardo e gli ingegneri del Rinascimento*, Bologna 2016.

Gomez 1532

Louis Gomez, *De prodigiosis Tyberis inundationibus ab orbe condito ad annum M.DXXXI. Commentarci ...*, publ. by Francesco Minizio Calvo, Rome 1532.

Helas 2004

Philine Helas, “Die Predigt in der Weltenlandschaft. Zur Agitation von Fra Marco da Montegallo für den Monte di Pietà in einem Stich von Francesco Rosselli (ca. 1485)”, *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 31 (2004), pp. 105–144.

Helas 2011

Philine Helas, “‘Hoc opus inchoatum (...)’ Bautätigkeit und Bildpolitik des Hospitals von Santo Spirito in Sassia und des Hospitals am Lateran im Rom des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts”, in *Ordnung und Wandel in der römischen Architektur der Frühen Neuzeit. Kunst-historische Studien zu Ehren von Christof Thoenes*, ed. Hermann Schlimme and Lothar Sickel, Munich 2011, pp. 153–183.

Helas 2017

Philine Helas, “Kunst und visuelle Präsenz zweier Hospitäler in Rom: Santo Spirito in Sassia und SS. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum am Lateran zwischen dem 14. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert”, *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 41, (2013/2014 [2017]), pp. 11–109.

Hind 1938–1948

Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving. A Critical Catalogue with Complete Reproduction of all the Prints Described*, 4 vols., London 1938–1948.

Une histoire du sensible 2018

Une histoire du sensible: perception des victimes de catastrophe du Xlle au XVIIIe siècle / Eine Geschichte der Sensibilität: Die Wahrnehmung von Katastrophenopfern vom 13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert (conference proceedings, Lorsch 2014), ed. Thomas Labbé and Gerrit J. Schenk, Turnhout 2018.

Huelsen 1927

Christian Huelsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo. Cataloghi e appunti*, Florence 1927 (reprint Rome 2000).

Infessura 1890

Stefano Infessura, *Diario della città di Roma di Stefano Infessura scribasenato*, ed. Oreste Tommasini, Rome 1890.

Klemm 2009

David Klemm, *Italienische Zeichnungen 1450–1800. Kupferstichkabinett der Hamburger Kunsthalle*, Cologne et al. 2009 (Die Sammlungen der Hamburger Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett, 2).

Landau/Parshall 1994

David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance print 1470–1550*, New Haven et al. 1994.

Lange 1891

Konrad von Lange, *Der Papstesel. Ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Kunstgeschichte des Reformationszeitalters*, Göttingen 1891.

Lippi 1688

Lorenzo Lippi, *Malmantile racquistato. Poema di Perlone Zipoli, con le note di Puccio Lamoni ...*, Florence 1688.

Locher 1495

Jakobus Locher, *Carmen de diluvio Romae effuso*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Friedrich Riederer, 1495 (GW M18602; ISTC il00257500).

Malipiero 1843–1844

Domenico Malipiero, *Annali veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500 del senatore Domenico Malipiero ordinati e abbreviati dal senatore Francesco Longo, aggiuntovi i dispacci al Senato veneto di Francesco Foscari e di altri oratori all'Imperatore Massimiliano I e la storia veneta dettata da Daniele Barbaro e completata colla storia segreta di Luigi Borghi dall'anno 1512 al 1515*, Firenze 1843–1844).

Megna 2006

Laura Megna, “Acque et immonditie del fiume’. Inondazione del Tevere e smaltimento dei rifiuti a Roma tra Cinque e Settecento”, *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 118 (2006), 1, pp. 21–34.

Meserve 2018

Margaret Meserve, “A Roman monster in the humanist imagination”, in *Et Amicorum: essays on Renaissance humanism and philosophy in honour of Jill Krayer*, ed. Anthony Ossa-Richardson and Margaret Meserve, Leiden 2018, pp. [118]–143.

Modigliani 1994

Anna Modigliani, *I Porcari. Storie di una famiglia romana tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Roma 1994.

Neerfeld 2006

Christiane Neerfeld, “*Historia per forma di diaria*”. *La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento*, Venice 2006.

Niccoli 1990

Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and people in Renaissance Italy*, Princeton, New Jersey 1990.

Olschki 1938

Leonardo Olschki, “I cantari dell'india di Giuliano Dati”, *La Bibliofilia* 1938, pp. 289–316.

Rohr 2007

Christian Rohr, *Extreme Naturereignisse im Ostalpenraum Naturerfahrung im Spätmittelalter und am Beginn der Neuzeit*, Köln 2007, pp. 89–91.

Rohr 2007

Christian Rohr, “Writing a Catastrophe. Describing and Constructing Disaster Perception in Narrative Sources from the Late Middle Ages”, in *Historical Research* 32, 3 (2007), pp. 88–102.

Rohr 2014

Christian Rohr, “Sintflutdarstellungen. Ein transkultureller Mythos durch Zeiten und Räume”, in *Mensch. Natur. Katastrophe. Von Atlantis bis heute* (exhibition catalogue Mannheim), ed. Gerrit Jasper Schenk, Regensburg 2014, pp. 166–171.

Roma la città dell'acqua 1994

Roma la città dell'acqua (exhibition catalogue Rome), ed. Angela Adriana Cavarra, Rome 1994.

Sander (1942) 1969

Max Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530. Essai de sa bibliographie et de son histoire*, Milan 1942, reprint Nendeln 1969.

Schenk 2007

Gerrit Jasper Schenk, “‘(...) prima ci fu la cagione de la mala provedenza de' Fiorentini (...)’. Disaster and “Life world”. Reactions in the Commune of Florence to the Flood of November 1333”, in *Coping with Natural Disasters in Pre-Industrial Societies*, ed. Monica Juneja and Franz Mauelshagen (Special Issue, *The Medieval History Journal*, 10, 1, 2 [2007]), Los Angeles 2007, pp. 355–386.

Schenk 2010a

Gerrit Jasper Schenk, “Disastri. Modelli interpretativi delle calamità naturali dal Medioevo al Rinascimento”, in *Le calamità* 2010, pp. 23–75.

Schenk 2010b

Gerrit Jasper Schenk, “Lektüren im ‘Buch der Natur’. Wahrnehmung, Beschreibung und Deutung von Naturkatastrophen”, in *Geschichte schreiben*.

Ein Quellen- und Studienhandbuch zur Historiografie (ca. 1350–1750), ed. Susanne Rau and Birgit Studt, Berlin 2010, pp. 507–521.

Segarra Lagunes 2006

Maria Margarita Segarra Lagunes, “Le attività produttive del Tevere nelle dinamiche di trasformazione urbana. I mulini fluviali”, *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, 118 (2006), 1, pp. 45–52.

Triolo 2000

Julia Triolo, “Piatto con ‘L'inondazione del Tevere’”, in *Museo d'Arti Applicate. Le ceramiche*, 3 vols., Milan 2000–2002, vol. 1, 2000, pp. 200–203.

Tschudi 2000

Victor Plahte Tschudi, “Peruzzi, St. Peter's, and Babylon”, in *Source* 19 (2000), 3, pp. 7–15.

La Villa Farnesina a Roma 2003

La Villa Farnesina a Roma = The Villa Farnesina in Rome, ed. Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Modena 2003, 2 vols. (Mirabilia Italiae 12).

Villani 1990–1991

Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta, 3 vols., Florence 1990–1991.

Warhafftige Anzaygung 1530

Warhafftige Anzaygung des grossen erschroeklichen Gewessers so sich zu Rhom auff den achten Tag des Monats Octobris begeben, Anno X. im M.D.XXX. Jar, n.p. [Augsburg] 1530 (VD16 W185).

Wuttke 2005

Dieter Wuttke, “Der Erzaugur Sebastian Brant deutet Überschwemmungen”, in *Margarita amicorum. Studi di cultura europea per Agostino Sottili*, ed. Fabio Forner, Carla Maria Monti and Paul Gerhard Schmidt, 2 vols., Milan 2005, vol. 2, pp. 1137–1155.