

Reisherinneringen aan Rome

Images of Rome constructed by Dutch travel writers between 1859-1870



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Cover photo: 'Rome'. Lithographic printing by P. Blommers, in: Jan Jakob Lodewijk ten Kate, *Italië: reisherinneringen*, (Arnhem, 1857), 172.

“Maar wij gingen ook naar Rome, dat Rome wat zijn leeftijd bij *eeuwen* telt en de jaren zijns ouderdoms met duizendtallen berekent.”¹

¹ Joannes G. Heeres, *Vijf weken op reis naar Rome*, (Arnhem, 1869), 49.

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Preface

Until a year ago, I had never visited the Eternal City. I had never experienced Rome in real life. It was from the *Monumento Nazionale a Vittorio Emanuele II* that I saw the Forum of Nerva and parts of the Forum Romanum, and realised that centuries ago, the ancient Romans had actually walked there. I remember seeing St. Peter's Church rising further away, the remains of Trajan's Forum below and a seagull even closer, moving around on the same balustrade as I was leaning on. Well, remember? The pictures I took confirm what I saw that day, but they also showed me much more. Things I did not remember seeing at all. Still, my pictures did not capture all of Rome. And what if I had written down what I had seen? Would that have captured all Rome has to offer? I do not think so.

The subject of this thesis is images of Rome, constructed by nineteenth-century Dutch travel writers. As a result, three of my personal interests come together into one research, namely the nineteenth century, (the power of) images and, above all, Rome. Therefore, I hope this thesis is as pleasant to read as it was for me to write. I want to thank my parents, brother and sister for their support and help during my entire study. I want to thank those teachers who contributed to my knowledge of, and interest in Rome. Special thanks go out to Dr. Nathalie de Haan and Dr. Lien Foubert, who helped me during the realisation of this thesis.

Chapter 1: Getting familiar with the subject

“Rome is de meest beschreven stad ter wereld. Rome is de enige stad op aarde waaromheen zich een consistente, zichzelf telkens bevestigende en toch ook vernieuwende retoriek heeft ontwikkeld; zo is het als het ware de som van zijn woorden geworden.”²

With these words, the Dutch scholar Peter Rietbergen started his book called *De retoriek van de Eeuwige Stad. Rome gelezen*. According to Rietbergen, Rome is the most described city in the world. Due to her everlasting, constantly confirming as well as renewing rhetoric, Rome became, in a sense, the sum of the words describing her.

Rome has a special position in Western history and thought, and has generated many thoughts and ideas, formulated in countless novels, poems, scholarly literature and travel writings.³ Rome is not the only city which can claim the longest tradition of travel guides for visitors,⁴ it is also the most described city, above all by her visitors themselves, as Rietbergen has shown.⁵ The images of Rome that they have created by ways of their writings are boundless. Over the years, Dutch Rome-travellers have also been part of creating images of Rome. During the nineteenth century, the most important event to shape what Bondanella has called “the myth of Rome,” was the Italian Risorgimento.⁶ During this period of political and religious upheaval, Rome - until 1870 the capital of the Papal States - was regarded as the ideal capital of the future unified Italy.

During the (second half of the) nineteenth century, the increase and development of infrastructure throughout Europe made travelling faster and, usually, cheaper. Travelling became a frequent activity in the Netherlands as well.⁷ After the era of the elite Grand Tour,

² Peter Rietbergen, *De retoriek van de Eeuwige Stad: Rome gelezen*, (Nijmegen, 2003), 7.

³ Peter Bondanella, *The Eternal City: Roman images in the modern world*, (Chapel Hill, 1987), 1, 7; Hans-Ulrich Cain and Annette Haug, ‘Einleitung’, in: Hans-Ulrich Cain, Annette Haug and Yadegar Asisi (eds), *Das antike Rom und sein Bild*, (Berlin, 2011), xi-xx, there: xi; Catharine Edwards, ‘Introduction: shadows and fragments’, in: Eadem, *Roman presences*, 1-18, there: 2; Edwards, *Writing Rome: textual approaches to the city*, (Cambridge, 1996), 1-2; Richard Hingley, ‘Images of Rome’, in: Idem (ed.), *Images of Rome: perceptions of ancient Rome in Europe and the United States in the modern age*, (Portsmouth, 2001), 7-22, there: 8; Larmour and Spencer, ‘Introduction – Roma, recepta: a topography of the imagination’, in: Idem (eds), *The sites of Rome*, 1-60, there: 2; and Michael Silk, Ingo Gildenhard and Rosemary Barrow (eds), *The classical tradition*, 309.

⁴ Michael Silk, Ingo Gildenhard, and Rosemary Barrow, *The classical tradition: art, literature, thought*, (Chichester, 2014), 309.

⁵ Rietbergen, *De retoriek*, 7, 15.

⁶ Bondanella, *The Eternal City*, 158.

⁷ See, for example: Jan Hein Furnée and Leonieke Vermeer (eds), *Op reis in de negentiende eeuw 37.4* (2013), 257-359.

Italy remained a popular place to visit. Many Dutch travellers visited Rome and most of them, if not all, wrote about their journey contributing to the existence of many different images of the Eternal City. This thesis focusses on the images of Rome that can be found in the travel writings of Dutch travellers during the last circa ten years of the city as capital of the Papal States, before it became the capital of united Italy. What are the different kind of images that can be found in the travel writings of Dutch Rome-travellers between 1859-1870?

Travel, travel writing and scholarly interest

Before accessing the problems concerning the definition of travel writing and its usage and reliability as a source, a short overview of scholarly research about this subject will be presented first. Even though writing and travel have always been intimately connected and intriguing to human beings, it was not until the last decades of the twentieth century that the interest in travel writings witnessed a huge rise of interest.⁸ Not only did the 1970s witness several commercially successful travelogues,⁹ they also saw the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), which was highly influential in awakening scholarly interest in travel writing.¹⁰ Said's publication, Paul Fussell's *Abroad* (1980),¹¹ the rise of cultural studies in the Western world, the understandings of societal construction, the advance of anthropological terms and concepts,¹² and the spread of postcolonial and feminist studies¹³ led to more scholarly research on travel and travel writing.¹⁴ The 1990s not only saw the publication of

⁸ Carl Thompson, *Travel writing*, (New York, 2011), 3-4.

⁹ Carl Thompson mentions Paul Theroux's *The great railway bazaar* (1975) and *The old Patagonian Express* (1979), Peter Matthiessen's *The snow leopard* (1975) and Bruce Chatwin's *In Patagonia*. (Thompson, *Travel writing*, 61.) Famous Dutch travel writings came from, for example, Cees Nooteboom and, later, since the 1980s, Adriaan van Dis.

¹⁰ Thompson, *Travel writing*, 61; Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 'Introduction', in: Idem (eds), *The Cambridge companion to travel writing*, (Cambridge, 2002), 1-13, there: 8.

¹¹ Another influential work is Fussell's *The Norton book of travel*, published in 1987.

¹² On societal construction, Hobsbawm's and Ranger's *The invention of tradition* (1983) and Anderson's *Imagined communities* (1983) should without a doubt be mentioned. On anthropology, Clifford Geertz's *The interpretation of cultures* (1973), Mary Douglas' *Implicit meanings* (1975) and *Writing culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography* (1986) by James Clifford and George E. Marcus are highly influential works. For a good introduction on literature of the development of travel writing and supplementing studies, see Hagen Schulz-Forberg, 'Introduction. European travel and travel writing. Cultural practice and the idea of Europe', in: Idem (ed.), *Unravelling civilisation: European travel and travel writing*, (Brussels, 2005), 13-40, there: 16-19.

¹³ On (post-modern) feminist studies see for example Susan Morgan, *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women's. Travel Books about Southeast Asia*, (New Brunswick, 1996); Annette Pritchard et al. (ed.), *Tourism and gender: embodiment, sensuality and experience*, (Wallingford, 2007); and Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830-1920*, (Charlottesville - London, 1997).

¹⁴ Philip Dodd's *The art of travel: essays on travel writing* (1982) was, according to its author, 'the first collection of critical essays to be devoted to British travel writing.' Maczak's and Teuteberg's *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte* (1982) and *Reisen und Reisebeschreibungen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert als Quellen der Kulturbeziehungsforchung* by Krasnobaev, Robel and Zemann (1987) are standard German works.

important works on imperial and (post)colonial travel writing, but also James Buzard's influential work called *The beaten track* (1993) - about tourism, travel and travel writing in the nineteenth century - and Zweder von Martels' *Travel fact and travel fiction* (1994) - discussing the relationship between fiction and reality.¹⁵ This growing interest developed during the last decade, as seen in the production of many recent works, like *The Cambridge companion to travel writing* by Peter Hulme's and Tim Youngs (2002) and Carl Thompson's *Travel writing* (2011).¹⁶

Defining travel writing

As travel writings are the basic source of my thesis, it is important to clarify this genre. Unfortunately, defining travel writing has appeared to be a difficult matter.¹⁷ The boundaries of travel writing may range from travel books, travel narratives, guidebooks, itineraries and novels, to journey accounts of sailors, pilgrims and merchants, and more autobiographical travel books.¹⁸ As stated by Hooper and Youngs, "As travel itself has changed – physically, as well as in terms of its perception – so too has travel writing altered, reflecting the shifting aesthetic and cultural fashions of the day."¹⁹ This wide range of material and consequently changing of what should be seen as travel writing even makes Thompson argue that "there is probably no neat and all-encompassing definition of the form."²⁰

¹⁵ On imperial and (post)colonial travel writing, see: Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial eyes* (1992), *Voyages and visions* by Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (1999), and Duncan's and Gregory's *Writes of passage* (1999). On tourism and travel, an important contribution was done by John Urry, who wrote *The tourist gaze* (1990).

¹⁶ Other works should be mentioned as well, like Casey Blanton's *Travel writing* (2002), Glenn Hooper's and Tim Youngs' *Perspectives on travel writing* (2004) and Hagen Schulz-Forberg's *Unravelling civilisation* (2005). Examples of works focusing on the nineteenth-century specifically, are David Seed's *Nineteenth-century travel writing* (2004) and Youngs' *Travel writing in the nineteenth century* (2006). Until recently, Dutch contributions were rare. Besides Jacques Presser's introduction of the term 'Egodocuments' in the 1950s, it took until the 1990s that, for example, Peter van Zonneveld published his *Romantische reizen* (1991) (though not on Dutch travellers). Consequently, more works followed: for example, *Egodocumenten* and *Reisverslagen van Noord-Nederlanders* by Lindeman, Scherf and Dekker (1993, 1994); Rudolf Dekker's 'Van Grand Tour tot treur- en sukkelreis', published in *Opossum* (1994); *Nederlanders op reis in Amerika 1812-1860* by Pien Steringa (1999) and Anna Geurts' 'Elders thuis. Noord-Nederlandse reizigers in Europese steden, 1815-1914,' published in Bertels' *Tussen beleving en verbeelding* (2013).

¹⁷ Jan Borm, 'Defining travel: on the travel book, travel writing and terminology', in: Hooper and Youngs (eds), *Perspectives on travel writing*, (Aldershot, 2004), 13-26, there: 13; Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs, 'Introduction', in: Idem, *Travel writing in the nineteenth century: filling the blank spaces*, (London, New York, 2006), 1-26, there: 2; Thompson, *Travel writing*, 11.

¹⁸ Casey Blanton, *Travel writing: the self and the world*, (New York, 2002), 2; Borm, 'Defining travel', 13; Zweder von Martels, 'Introduction: the eye and the eye's mind', in: Idem (ed.), *Travel fact and travel fiction: studies on fiction, literary tradition, scholarly discovery and observation in travel writing*, (Leiden, 1994), xi-xviii, there: xi; Thompson, *Travel writing*, 26.

¹⁹ Hooper and Youngs, 'Introduction', 3.

²⁰ Thompson, *Travel writing*, 26.

According to Thompson, “To travel is to make a journey, a movement through space,”²¹ and all travel requires us to deal with an interplay between the self and the other, between alterity and identity on the one hand, and difference and similarity on the other.²² Therefore, all travel writing is at some level a record or product of this negotiation and encounter. In *Travel writing*, Thompson stresses that these types of texts inform us on both the wider world and unfamiliar people and places, as well as on the traveller who produced the writing, and his culture.²³ As argued by Youngs, travel writing “is influenced, if not determined, by its authors’ gender, class, age, nationality, cultural background and education.”²⁴ So, by reading and analysing travel writings, one should always keep the author’s background in mind, as the product of the writing is a result of this. Furthermore, according to Schulz-Forberg, travel writing is always simultaneously focused on understanding the foreign – by the scholar described as ‘unravelling civilisation’ – just as well as the self.²⁵ Thus, by studying travel writing, one obtains knowledge on both the persons written about, as well as the writers themselves.

Probably because of its apparently vague and “all compassing” character, giving a clear cut definition of travel writings appears to be a difficult task. Fussell started with defining the travel book, which to him, should best be regarded as:

“a sub-species of memoir in which the autobiographical narrative arises from the speaker’s encounter with distant or unfamiliar data, and in which the narrative – unlike that in a novel or a romance – claims literal validity by constant reference to actuality.”²⁶

According to Fussell, a travel book is characterised by its autobiographical narrative and its claim to literal validity and should, therefore, be seen as a non-fictional rather than fictional work. This interpretation had its influence on definitions given by other scholars, like Jan Borm and Thompson. Both scholars consider the travel book as a predominantly non-fiction, first-person narrative, to which Borm adds that the travel book concerns one or more

²¹ Ibidem, 9.

²² Ibidem, 9, 10.

²³ Ibidem, 10. See Maczak and Teuteberg, *Reiseberichte als Quellen*, 12, as well.

²⁴ Youngs, ‘Introduction: filling the blank spaces’, in: Idem (ed.), *Travel writing in the nineteenth century: filling the blank spaces*, (London – New York, 2006), 1-18, there: 2.

²⁵ Schulz-Forberg, ‘Introduction’, 15.

²⁶ Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British literary traveling between the wars*, (Oxford, 1980), 203: quoted in Thompson, *Travel writing*, 14.

journeys, which “the reader supposes to have taken place in reality while assuming or presupposing that author, narrator and principal character are but one or identical.”²⁷

I regard both Thompson’s and Borm’s definitions on the travel book useful, although, I do not agree on the distinction made by the latter scholar between the travel book and travel writing. Borm distinguishes the travel book or travelogue, functioning as a predominantly non-fictional genre, from travel writing or travel literature, the latter being “an overall heading for texts whose main theme is travel.”²⁸ Whereas Borm sees the travel book as a genre and travel writing not, I agree with Hooper, Young and Thompson, who consider travel writing more than that. In *Perspectives on travel writing*, Hooper and Young state that travel writing is capable of absorbing different narrative styles and genres, shape-shifting and interacting with “a broad range of historical periods, disciplines and perspectives.”²⁹ So, what defines travel writing is put together in one big spectrum: on the one hand depending on narrative elements, and on the other on the historical period in which the travel account was written.

A similar idea on the scope of travel writing is proclaimed by Thompson. According to the scholar, travel writing should be seen as a broad genre, “as a constellation of many different types of writing and/or text.” Within these writings and texts, “there are a variety of features or attributes that can make us classify a text as travel writing, and each individual text will manifest a different selection and combination of these attributes.” To Thompson, the travel book is the central form of travel writing. Meanwhile, there is a greater range of texts that can all be seen as branches and sub-genres of travel writing.³⁰ Whereas Borm does not see travel writing as a genre and distinguishes the phenomenon from the travel book, I agree with Thompson, who, like Hooper and Young, accredits the genre of travel writing many different styles and elements, and does consider the travel book part of travel writing.

Whatever definition one gives to the travel book or to travel writing, either way, the question will rise, where to draw the line between the different types of writings and how to distinguish works being travel books, travel writings or travel literature. Furthermore, one has to keep in mind that the boundaries which decide whether a text can be regarded as travel writing, have changed over the years.³¹ That is why I prefer to make a distinction between travel writing and travel literature. However, not in the way Borm has done. While following

²⁷ Borm, ‘Defining travel’, 17.

²⁸ Ibidem, 18. In the same way French scholars make the distinction between *récit de voyage* and *littérature de voyage* and German scholars between *Reisebuch* or *Reisebericht* (travel report) and *Reiseliteratur*, according to Borm.

²⁹ Hooper and Youngs, ‘Introduction’, 3.

³⁰ Thompson, *Travel writing*, 26.

³¹ Hooper and Youngs, ‘Introduction’, 3.

Hooper, Youngs and Thompson, I consider travel writing as a broad genre (including sub-genres), capable of adapting different styles, in which every text has its own dominating elements within the broad spectrum travel writing stands for. In my opinion, the travel book is therefore part of the extensive genre called travel writing. Travel literature is, however, not part of this broad genre. In my opinion, travel literature should be regarded as what has been written *about* travel writing, i.e. modern scholarship, like the works from Fussell, Pratt, Buzard and Youngs.

Besides the difficulties concerning the definition of travel writing, a second problem arises. The question of fiction, non-fiction, ‘facts’ and lies is one of the main struggles within the study of travel writing.³² According to Thompson, “All examples of travel writing are by definition textual artefacts,” as travel writers do not reconstruct, but construct their experiences.³³ However, Thompson continues, the extent to which travel writers add fictional elements to their writings vary greatly.³⁴ Borm suggests that the problem of fact and fiction lies not in the hand of the writer, but of the readers. It is what they regard to be fictional or non-fictional, true or not true, within the travel account of the author.³⁵ In *Travel fact and travel fiction*, Von Martels takes a similar stand, stating that “so much of our reality is built up out of fiction; often what is fiction for the public at home is reality for the author who had been far away, and *vice versa*.”³⁶ Besides, we should keep in mind that many travel writers borrow(ed) much of their material from predecessors, as authors “often expressed themselves in words that reflect their reading of literature instead of what they actually saw.”³⁷ Moreover, Von Martels stresses that readers “must be on guard against errors caused by lapses of memory,” especially in texts composed (many) years after events had taken place.³⁸ Thus, while reading travel writings, one should be cautious with what is presented by the author, as usually bits and pieces of what the traveller had seen, were put together after the trip was finished. Moreover, one should keep in mind that the travel writer’s image of a place was more or less built up by writings from his predecessors. As seen in (travel) writings about Rome.

³² Schulz-Forberg, ‘Introduction’, 13.

³³ Thompson, *Travel writing*, 27, 28.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, 28.

³⁵ Borm, ‘Defining travel’, 17.

³⁶ Von Martels, ‘Introduction’, XVIII.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, XII-XIII.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, XVII.

(Travel) writing on Rome

More than any other city, the image of Rome was constructed not only by the city, but also by those who visited and wrote about her.³⁹ Especially the last couple of decades, scholars have been focussing not only on Rome as a city, but also on Rome as an idea.⁴⁰ Perhaps the most groundbreaking research was done by Catharine Edwards, published in *Writing Rome* (1996), in which she focusses on both the literary resonance of the city as well as the city's resonance in literature. Consequently, other contributions followed by scholars such as Peter Rietbergen, David Larmour and Diana Spencer, and Caroline Vout.⁴¹

Beside classic writers like Virgil, Livy, Varro and Cicero, Rome was also described by Petrarch, Gibbon, Goethe, Byron, Burckhardt and Freud, and, of course, many more. As stated by Duncan Kennedy, "Rome has been seen as the destination *par excellence*, and all roads proverbially lead there."⁴² Due to the city's boundless capability of continuously changing and adapting to the desired image, there are multiple, all different kinds of Romes.⁴³ Therefore, the city has been described as a palimpsest by some scholars.⁴⁴

Thus, even though all authors that have written about the Eternal City were in some way influenced by the images created by other, precedent Rome-writers,⁴⁵ one can still speak of different images of Rome, provided to us during different times in history. These images of Rome give us information about Rome itself, but additionally provide us insight into the travel writer himself and the specific historical period in which s/he constructed the images.⁴⁶ In other words, by analysing the different images of Rome, for example, provided by travel writers, one can also learn more about the time in which these images were created, and by who, how and why they were created.

³⁹ Edwards, *Writing Rome*, xi, 1-2.

⁴⁰ See, for example, David Thompson's (ed.) *The idea of Rome from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (1971); Annabel Patterson's *Roman images* (1984); Peter Bondanella's *The Eternal City* (1987); *The legacy of Rome* by Richard Jenkyns (ed.) (1992), especially Nicholas Purcell's contribution, 'The city of Rome', 421-453; and *Search for Ancient Rome* by Claude Moatti (1993).

⁴¹ Rietbergen, *De retoriek*, (Nijmegen, 2003); David Larmour and Diana Spencer (eds), *The sites of Rome*, (Oxford, 2007); Caroline Vout, *The hills of Rome*, (Cambridge, 2012). See also: Boyer's *The city of collective memory* (1994); Edwards' *Roman presences* (1999) and *Rome the cosmopolis*, together with Greg Woolf (2003); *The Roman gaze* by David Fredrick (2002); *The seven hills of Rome* by Grant Heiken, Renato Funicello, and Donatella De Rita (eds) (2005); and Matthew Sturgis' *When in Rome* (2011).

⁴² Duncan F. Kennedy, 'A sense of place: Rome, history and empire revisited', in: Edwards (ed.), *Roman presences: receptions of Rome in European culture, 1789-1945*, (Cambridge, 1999), 19-34, there: 19.

⁴³ Edwards, 'Introduction', *Roman presences*, 3; Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 1-2; Larmour and Spencer, 'Introduction', 2-3; and Rietbergen, *De retoriek*, 64.

⁴⁴ Larmour and Spencer, 'Introduction', 3; and Silk, Gildenhard and Barrow, *The classical tradition*, 312.

⁴⁵ Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 8.

⁴⁶ Larmour and Spencer, 'Introduction', 12; and Schulz-Forberg, 'Introduction', 15.

So, nineteenth-century travel writers and their travel writings give us more information on both Rome itself, as well as on Dutch society during the nineteenth century. Even though there is a rising popularity in the study of Dutch travel writings – usually referred to as *reisgedocumenten* –, to a great extent, answers concerning questions about the personal experiences and imaginations of Dutch travellers abroad are still lacking.⁴⁷ On nineteenth-century Italy, and Rome in specific, the period of time and geographical location I am concerned with, contributions were made by Bastet, for example, who wrote *Duizendjarig dolen* (1983) in which he dedicated one chapter to Dutch travellers to Rome in the nineteenth century. Bastet tried to give an overview of several writings on Rome, written down by a few Dutch Rome-travellers. Unfortunately, this chapter misses a proper and clear thread that links all these stories together. Furthermore, Jeannette Koch wrote an article for the Dutch magazine *Artikelen*, focussing on Louis Couperus and his predecessors.⁴⁸ By ways of the travellers' descriptions of the Colosseum, Koch argues that Couperus was both a typical example of the time he was writing in, as well as a follower of the writings from his predecessors. Herman van Bergeijk published *Italiaanse reisherinneringen* (2010), about the Dutch architect H.P. Berlage.⁴⁹

So, whereas Van Bergeijk basically restricts himself to only one Dutch Rome-traveller, Bastet and Koch focus on multiple travellers, spread over the entire nineteenth century – the latter, however, restricting herself to only one monument of Rome. On the contrary, I prefer to focus on several Dutch Rome-travellers within a shorter period of time.

Outline

In this thesis, I focus on the images of Rome that can be traced in travel writings, both published as well as non-published, from twelve Dutch Rome-travellers between 1859-

⁴⁷ Jan Hein Furnée and Leonieke Vermeer, 'Op reis in de negentiende eeuw: inleiding', in: Ibidem (eds), *De negentiende eeuw* 7.4 (2013), 257-263, there: 260.

⁴⁸ Jeannette E. Koch, 'De ketting der negentiende-eeuwse Rome-reizigers: Colosseum: Couperus en zijn voorgangers', *Artikelen* 8.16 (2000), 4-15.

⁴⁹ Other famous Dutch travel writers who wrote about Rome are, for example, Conrad Busken Huet (*Van Napels naar Amsterdam*, 1877), Bertus Aafjes (*Een voetreis naar Rome*, 1946) and Godfried Bomans (*Wandelingen door Rome*, 1956). For Dutch-Rome travellers in the eighteenth century, see, for example: Ronald de Leeuw, *Herinneringen aan Italië: kunst en toerisme in de 18de eeuw*, (Zwolle, 1984). Hans de Valk published an article about Dutch Rome-travellers during the Holy Year of 1950 in *Trajecta* (2004). On nineteenth-century Dutch travellers to other places in the world, see, for example: Peter van Zonneveld, *Naar de Oost! Verhalen over vier eeuwen reizen naar Indië*, (Amsterdam, 1996); Pien Steringa, *Nederlanders op reis in Amerika, 1812-1860. Reisverhalen als bron voor negentiende-eeuwse mentaliteit*, Utrechtse historische cahiers, (Utrecht, 1999); and Frits Broeyer and Gert van Klinken (eds), *Reizen naar het Heilige Land: protestantse impressies, 1840-1960. Jaarboek voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse protestantisme na 1800* 16 (Zoetermeer, 2008), 7-95. A good overview of the Dutch development of study concerning Dutch travel writing in the nineteenth century is given by Furnée and Vermeer in 'Op reis', 260-261.

1870.⁵⁰ One should keep in mind that those who did publish their travel writings, wrote differently and, most probably, with different reasons, than those who did not publish their travel account. This is discussed more elaborately in Chapter Two, as are the travel writers themselves and the historical context, both discussing the Netherlands as well as Italy. The reason I chose to centre my research around these specific years, is simply because I find it an interesting period of time, as they are the years following the Second Italian War of Independence, the final years of the Papal States, and, the final years of Rome, before reaching her third life: as capital of the new united Italy.

In Chapter Three, I clarify the travellers' reasons to visit Rome or Italy and their reasons to write, and, if necessary, publish about it. However, the point of focus is the images of Rome these Dutch travellers created in their writings. The account of this is based on the general, recurring images that can be found in their travel reports. Obviously, not *all* of their images of Rome can be discussed, as it is far beyond the scope of this research. In Chapter Four, I have made an attempt to explain the different images of Rome, aiming on clarifying how both similarities and differences can be understood. This thesis, of course, ends with an answer to the research question and some further conclusions, contributing to the idea of Rome as *the* city of different meanings and images.

⁵⁰ Even though they did not publish their travel books themselves, I will mainly refer to them as the publishing travel writers. The others are referred to as non-publishing.

Chapter 2: Introducing the writers

Introduction

This chapter positions the Dutch travel writers I am concerned with in their historical context. More detailed information about the travellers themselves, can be found in Appendix 1. They visited Rome in a century that was characterised by developments in infrastructure - which made travelling faster and easier - and both religious as well as political turmoil all over Europe. In the Netherlands, Roman-Catholics, Protestants and liberals discussed how society should progress. In Italy, the position of Rome divided the peninsula. Still, the Eternal City was a popular place to visit. But who were these Dutch Rome-travellers from whom travel writings remain?

Travelling in the nineteenth century

Over the years, it has been argued that nineteenth-century Europe saw the rise of tourism, marking the end of the elite Grand Tour, mainly due to better and cheaper infrastructure, and the increasing middle class.⁵¹ These developments increased the speed of travelling and decreased its costs. It was between the eighteenth and twentieth century that travel “assumed a characteristically modern form.”⁵² According to Duncan and Gregory, “travel became more than a necessary evil,” merely a form of pleasure, and no longer an exclusively aristocratic matter.⁵³ Mass tourism flourished and modern ways of travel altered travellers’ perceptions of the foreign.⁵⁴ Moreover, the belief in the superiority of the Western civilisation grew rapidly too, both causing a (romantic) desire for difference and authenticity.⁵⁵

What this meant for both (European) travel and travel writing has been discussed wonderfully by James Buzard in *The beaten track*. During the nineteenth century, those who saw themselves as ‘travellers’ wanted to distinguish themselves from those they regarded as ‘tourists.’ This meant that the so-called travellers from now on focussed on originality and authenticity – according to them, ways of experiencing that tourists were not capable of

⁵¹ This leading idea can for example be seen in Wolfgang Schivelbusch’s *The railway journey* (1986); James Buzard’s *The beaten track*, (1993); and *Romantic geographies* by Amanda Gilroy (2000), but also more recently in Hulme’s and Youngs’ *The Cambridge companion to travel writing* (2002), more specific in the articles by James Buzard and Helen Carr; *The railway and modernity* by M. Beaumont and M. Freeman (2007); and Carl Thompson’s *Travel Writing* (2011).

⁵² James Duncan and Derek Gregory, ‘Introduction’, in: Idem (eds), *Writes of passage: reading travel writing*, (London, 1999), 1-13, there: 5.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, 5, 6.

⁵⁴ Schulz-Forberg, ‘Introduction’, 20, 21.

⁵⁵ Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (eds), *Voyages and visions: towards a cultural history of travel*, (London, 1999), 51; Thompson, *Travel writing*, 53.

doing.⁵⁶ For the traveller - who wanted to get 'off the beaten track' - the tourist was regarded as incapable of making contact with what these places "essentially were."⁵⁷ The increasing development of infrastructure throughout Europe, which made the activity itself less adventurous, established a plain anti-tourist attitude by those who regarded themselves as travellers, those who could truly experience the unknown abroad.

Dutch Rome-travellers

This general thought that tourism rapidly increased during the nineteenth century, was also the leading idea for scholars concerning nineteenth-century Dutch travellers.⁵⁸ In the Netherlands infrastructure increased and developed too.⁵⁹ However, recent research on Dutch travellers has shown that this traditional image of a miraculously fast and almost complete transformation from pre-modern travelling to modern mass tourism should be approached with caution.⁶⁰

A closer look at the Dutch travel writers I am concerned with reveals that travelling to Rome, even after the downfall of the Grand Tour, mainly remained an elite activity.⁶¹ These Dutch travellers were primarily elite men - high-educated writers, clerics or men with a political function in daily life. One should keep in mind that this research is based on a handful of travellers to Rome from whom travel writings remain. Therefore, it does not give us enough information about *all* Dutch Rome-travellers. However, as argued by Anna Geurts, it still reveals that travelling in the Netherlands was preserved for those who could afford it: a small group of the entire population. Travelling by train, for example, was still expensive in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁶² Furthermore, no traces remain of Dutch female

⁵⁶ James Buzard, *The beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800-1918*, (New York - Oxford, 1993), 6.

⁵⁷ According to Buzard, such a place functioned as a *pars totalis*: places that could immediately express the whole. (Buzard, *The beaten track*, 10.)

⁵⁸ Anna P.H. Geurts, 'Reizen en schrijven door Noord-Nederlanders: een overzicht', *De negentiende eeuw* 7.4 (2013), 264-288, there: 265. For the view on the rise of nineteenth-century Dutch tourism, see for example: Auke van der Woud, *Een nieuwe wereld: het ontstaan van het moderne Nederland*, (Amsterdam, 2010); and Gerrit Verhoeven, *Anders reizen?: evoluties in vroegmoderne reiservaringen van Hollandse en Brabantse elites (1600-1750)*, (Hilversum, 2009).

⁵⁹ J.H.C. Blom, 'Nederland sinds 1830', in: J.H.C. Blom and E. Lamberts (eds), *Geschiedenis van de Nederlanden*, (Amersfoort, 2012), 314-374, there: 317.

⁶⁰ Furnée and Vermeer, 'Op reis', 259.

⁶¹ See Appendix 1.

⁶² Only the Zouaves Weerts and Witte seem to be exceptions to this. They, of course, did not just go for fun. The two travellers had the task to protect the Papal States. (Geurts, 'Reizen en schrijven', 267, 272-273, 277. See also: Hans Knippenberg and Ben de Pater, *De eenwording van Nederland: schaalvergroting en integratie sinds 1800*, (Nijmegen, 1988), 58.)

travel writers about Rome. Women did travel,⁶³ but simply less than men.⁶⁴ Moreover, even though they were capable of doing so, women wrote less than men, and chances of publishing their works were relatively smaller than for their male counterparts.⁶⁵

Contrary to this seemingly unity of travelling and writing elite men, more diversity is found when one observes their religious backgrounds. Five of these Dutch travel writers were Roman-Catholic. Halfway the nineteenth century, about thirty-five to forty percent of the Dutch inhabitants were Roman-Catholic, who had always had a minor position in Dutch social life. About fifty-five percent of the Dutch population was part of the *Hervormde Kerk*, the Dutch Reformed Church, to which at least three Rome-travellers belonged.⁶⁶ At least two of the travel writers belonged to the small group of Remonstrants.⁶⁷ Altogether, they show that visiting Rome was interesting for Dutch travellers from different religious fields. The religious and political disagreement the city caused within Dutch politics during the second half of the nineteenth century, did not seem to matter to the travellers.

Living in the Netherlands, visiting Italy

During the nineteenth century, according to the Dutch scholar Marita Mathijsen, Dutch citizens strove for an ideal, harmonic society, without extreme poverty, stupidity and other excessive behaviour. The nineteenth-century writers saw themselves as leading figures in this process.⁶⁸ Thanks to several innovations, the production and spread of newspapers, books, pamphlets, magazines and all other kinds of prints increased rapidly. Moreover, there was a growing demand on publications by a growing audience.⁶⁹ These printed works created a public sphere, in which the spectrum of the public opinion was decided.⁷⁰

⁶³ See, for example: Wolf Kielich, *Vrouwen op ontdekkingsreis: avonturiersters uit de negentiende eeuw*, (Amsterdam, 1990) and Lisette van der Lans, 'In korset en crinoline de wildernis in: negentiende-eeuwse vrouwen op reis in Afrika', *Savante* 6.21 (1997), 24-26.

⁶⁴ Geurts, 'Reizen en schrijven', 278-281.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, 278-279. In her quantitative research on Northern-Dutch travellers, Geurts traces a decline of travel writings during the nineteenth century. According to the scholar, this can be explained by the grow of non-elite Dutch inhabitants, together with the stagnation of, what she calls, 'university-going families' (Geurts, 'Reizen en schrijven', 274).

⁶⁶ Appendix 1; Blom 'Nederland sinds 1830', 322.

⁶⁷ Namely Beijerman and Van Vollenhoven. All Remonstrants together did not even make 0,5% of the Dutch population by the end of the nineteenth century (Joris van Eijnatten and Fred van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis*, (Hilversum, 2006), 274). The religious backgrounds of Van der Chijs and Staats Evers cannot be traced in any biographical or literary sources (see: Appendix 1).

⁶⁸ Marita Mathijsen, *Nederlandse literatuur in de romantiek, 1820-1880*, (Nijmegen, 2004), 12, 14.

⁶⁹ Remieg Aerts, *De letterheren: liberale cultuur in de negentiende eeuw: het tijdschrift De Gids*, (Amsterdam, 1997), 14; D. van Lente, 'Drukpersen, papiermachines en lezerspubliek: de verhouding tussen technische en culturele ontwikkelingen in Nederland in de negentiende eeuw', in: Theo Bijvoet, et al. (eds), *Bladeren in andermans hoofd: over lezers en leescultuur*, (Nijmegen, 1996), 246-263, there: 246-247.

⁷⁰ Aerts, *De letterheren*, 14.

Within this public opinion, Rome - more specifically, the relationship between the Dutch Roman-Catholics and the Eternal City - was part of the discussion too. Rome had for centuries been the capital of the Papal States and head of the Christian or Roman-Catholic world. All over Europe, the emergence of constitutional and democratic nation-states came along with strong conflicts between Roman-Catholics and anticlerical forces about the role and place of religion within modern politics.⁷¹ In the Netherlands too, conflicts between Roman-Catholics, liberals and Protestants characterised the political landscape, during the second half of the nineteenth century. As head of the Christian world, the position and role of Rome was inevitably part of the huge discussions within Dutch politics, which now, through all kinds of publications, reached the Dutch audience more than ever before.

In the constitution of 1848, declared by J. R. Thorbecke, freedom of religion, education, press, organisation and assembly were given to the Dutch citizens; state and church ought to be separated from each other. The new constitution gave the Roman-Catholics more freedom, a privileged used in 1853 to re-establish the bishopric hierarchy. The growing power of the Catholics in Dutch society during the 1850s and 1860s led to strong responses from Protestants. To them, Catholics were more loyal to Rome than to the Dutch nation, and were therefore called ultramontanists.⁷² Within the political field, the biggest enemies of the Catholics were the (secularised) liberal parties. One famous clash between the different political fields within the Netherlands grew out of disagreement on schooling (*Schoolstrijd*).⁷³

In the same years, Italian liberals and Roman-Catholics fought for the city of Rome. After the French left Rome in 1814, they left Italy an important legacy. Not only did the Italians take over the French legal and administrative systems, they were also highly influenced by their Enlightened ideas and mentalities. Many Italians now aimed at a new united Italy, which characterised the period between the French Revolution and the actual unification, known as the *Risorgimento*. Three men contributed the most to this process, namely Camillo Cavour (1810-1861), a Pietmontese statesman; Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872), fighting for a republican united Italy; and the “fearless warrior and romantic

⁷¹ Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser, ‘Introduction. The European culture wars’, in: Idem (eds), *Culture wars*, (Cambridge, 2003), 1-10, there: 1.

⁷² Blom, ‘Nederlands na 1830’, 322-323. An example of this strong antipathy against Roman-Catholics and the fear of losing the nation’s Protestant character is known as the *Aprilbeweging*.

⁷³ Beside Blom’s and Lamberts’ *Geschiedenis van de Nederlanden*, many other overviews of Dutch history have been written. General overviews: Peter Rietbergen, *A short history of the Netherlands*, (2006); and *Geschiedenis van Nederland: van prehistorie tot heden* by Mulder, Doedens and Kortlever (eds) (2008). On Dutch political history: N.C.F. van Sas, *De metamorfose van Nederland*, (Amsterdam, 2004); Remieg Aerts, et al. (eds), *Land van kleine gebaren*, (2013); and *A tiny spot on the earth* by Piet de Rooy (2015). On the religious field: Hans Knippenberg’s *De religieuze kaart van Nederland* (1992); and *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis* by Joris van Eijnatten and Fred van Lieburg (2006).

revolutionary” Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882).⁷⁴ One thing was sure: the new united Italy would not be complete without the city of Rome as its capital.

The Eternal City, however, was the capital of the Papal States, with the Pope as its religious and political leader. Even though Catholicism was a central part of everyday life for many Italians, liberal forces and the idea of national independence became the enemy of the Church, especially after 1848. Between 1849 and 1870, French (and Austrian) armies and, mainly during the 1860s, thousands of young, Roman-Catholic men from all over Europe came to protect the Papal States, and thereby Rome, from its enemies. In between these thousands of warriors, there were more than 3000 Dutch Zouaves, who could not resist the Pope’s call for help.⁷⁵ After the Second Italian War of Independence (1859), Garibaldi handed over the entire southern peninsula to King Victor Emmanuel II (1860), who proclaimed the Kingdom of Italy with Turin as its capital (1861). What was left of the Papal States was the region immediately surrounding Rome. During the 1860s, several attempts failed to solve ‘the Roman Question’ in a more or less peaceful and, for the Pope, respectful way. It was at the end of the Franco-Prussian War in September 1870 when the French armies left Rome and Italian troops entered the city. The Papal States had to surrender, and Rome became the capital of a united Italy under the reign of Victor Emmanuel II.⁷⁶

Conclusion

All over Europe, conflicts between Roman-Catholics, Protestants and liberals marked the political field during the second half of the nineteenth century. Even though Italy was marked by political turmoil, Dutch travellers, mainly elite men, divided by political and religious backgrounds, still wanted to visit Rome. The only non-elites were the two Zouaves Weerts and Witte, who went to Rome to protect the Pope from its political and religious enemies. Like Da la Court, another Rome-traveller, the two Zouaves did not publish their travel writings, contrary to the other Dutch adventurers. During the nineteenth century, the Dutch

⁷⁴ Bondanella, *The Eternal City*, 158.

⁷⁵ See Martijn Spruit, ‘Helden en avonturiers: Nederlandse vrijwilligers in het leger van de paus 1860-1870’, *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 66 (2012), 197-208; and Wim Zaal, *De vuist van de paus: de Nederlandse zouaven in Italië, 1860-1870*, (Nieuwegein - Beusichem, 2009).

⁷⁶ Plenty has recently, and before, been written on the Italian Risorgimento. See, for example: John A. Davis (ed.), *Italy in the nineteenth century, 1796-1900*, (Oxford, 2000); Derek Beales and Eugenio F. Biagini, *The Risorgimento and the unification of Italy*, (London, 2002); Lucy Riall’s *Garibaldi: invention of a hero*, (New Haven, 2007) and *Risorgimento: the history of Italy from Napoleon to nation-state*, (Basingstoke, 2009); Claudia Baldoli, *A history of Italy*, (Basingstoke, 2009); Silvana Patriarca and Lucy Riall (eds), *The Risorgimento revisited: nationalism and culture in nineteenth-century Italy*, (Basingstoke – Hampshire – Houndmills - New York, 2012); Antonino De Francesco, *The antiquity of the Italian nation: the cultural origins of a political myth in modern Italy, 1796-1943*, (Oxford, 2013). For information on the history of the Papal States, see, for example: Willem F. Akveld, *De geschiedenis van de kerkelijke staat*, (Zwolle, 2004).

reading audience had increased and possibilities to reach them had grown as well. The travel writers who published their works could reach a bigger audience and had a clear possibility to influence, directly or indirectly, their readers by ways of their writings. Within their writings, they created images of Rome, which are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Images of Rome

Introduction

Whether Rome was the final, or most important destination during the Dutch travellers' trip through Italy, descriptions of the city can be found in all their travel writings.⁷⁷ These travellers each had their own reasons to visit Italy, or Rome specifically, and write about it. They saw and experienced the city's ruins, monuments, churches and street life of Rome in their own ways. Hence, creating images that were sometimes similar, and other times diverse.

After shortly discussing the travellers' reasons to make their journey and write about it, and with whom and how they made their trip, the different kind of images of Rome are presented. The order of the subjects being discussed, is partially based on some of the travellers' own routes through the city, and hopefully functions as if the reader wanders through Rome and her surrounding area him or herself. When in Rome, these Dutch travellers first visited St. Peter's Church, or introduced their readers to the Capitol, the Forum Romanum and the Colosseum. I have chosen to follow the latter way of starting the trip through Rome, as this makes it possible to first discuss the pagan monuments and then, from the Pantheon onwards (a monument that used to have its pagan purpose, but not anymore) pass on to the Churches of Rome. Following, the street life of Rome is discussed, as the travellers usually notified their experiences going from one ruin, monument or church to the other. Finally, like most travellers did, this chapter ends with visiting the catacombs of Rome. By ways of their writings, these Dutch travellers created images of the Eternal City. What different kind of images can be found in their travel writings?

Travels and writings

Before discussing the images of Rome, how and why the travellers made their journey to Rome is presented. For the *Zouaves*, the reason was to leave their home country and help the Pope in his battle against the patrons of the *Risorgimento* in Italy. All other travellers travelled

⁷⁷ Josephus M. De la Court, Joannes Gerardus Heeres, Bernardus Henricus Klönne, Henricus Weerts and Cornelis Witte saw Rome as their final destination on their journeys. Others went to Rome just as part of their trips through Italy, namely Willem Richard Boer, Jacobus Anne van der Chijs, Antonius Hirschig, Jan Jakob Lodewijk ten Kate and Jan Jacob van Vollenhoven. Hugo Beijerman and Jan Willem Staats Evers saw more countries in Europe and around the Mediterranean Sea than the other Dutch travel writers. Of course, there were also Dutch travellers who did go to Italy, but did not visit Rome at all, like miss J.A.A. De la Sarraz – van Rappard, who travelled through Europe in 1860, 1863, 1869, but did not visit Italy's nowadays capital. Neither did mister Van Limburg Stirum, who visited Italy in 1855.

for other reasons. Some could not wait to visit the Christian capital, like Klönne,⁷⁸ or see the city and country they learned and heard so much about, like Boer, Van der Chijs,⁷⁹ and Hirschig. In the latter's case, as he was getting old, he decided to visit Italy, "vóór dat het te laat mogt worden."⁸⁰ Others went to Rome for their own research, like Ten Kate, who wanted to see if he gets happy in sunny Italy,⁸¹ and Van Vollenhoven, who wanted to figure out what Rome is capable of for the Christian Church's future.⁸² De la Court, even though unstated, seems to have made a pilgrimage.

These Dutch travel writers each had their own reasons to write down their experiences and for the most part even publish them. However, some writers did not make themselves clear about their writings. Even though Beijerman hopes that his impressions are of any interest to his readers, he does not give any reasons for writing his travel account.⁸³ Neither do Boer, Van der Chijs, Klönne, Ten Kate and Witte. Both De la Court and Van Vollenhoven state that they are not writing an entire travel account. They believe that the last couple of years, so many has been written about Rome already,⁸⁴ for example by Murray,⁸⁵ Förster⁸⁶ and Ten Kate.⁸⁷ However, both De la Court and Van Vollenhoven want to provide their readers with some remarks on their trips: Van Vollenhoven either to warn, or to encourage his compatriots;⁸⁸ De la Court to prove that even though his absence was longer than he thought it would be, his time in Italy was not completely useless.⁸⁹ Weerts thought it would be nice to tell his brother something about his trip and asks him to keep his letter, in case something happens with his own travel account.⁹⁰

⁷⁸ Bernardus H. Klönne, *Eene reis naar Rome [18-]*, (Leiden, 1864), 5.

⁷⁹ Willem Richard Boer, 'Rome. Herinneringen aan Italië', *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 444-490, there: 458; Jacobus A. van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen 15 Julij-14 September 1864. Een reisje naar en door Italië in 1864*, (Tiel, 1865), 2.

⁸⁰ Antonius Hirschig, *Indrukken, avonturen, plaatsbeschrijvingen en karakterschilderingen op eene reis door Italië in 1861*, (Schoonhoven, 1863), 3-4.

⁸¹ Jan Jakob Lodewijk ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen uit het dagboek der reisherinneringen van J.J.L. ten Kate*, (Arnhem, 1865), 3-4.

⁸² Jan Jacob van Vollenhoven, *Rome's kracht en zwakheid. Herinneringen uit Rome*, (Utrecht, 1860), 6.

⁸³ "Ik hoop dat mijne reisindrukken, ook buiten den engen vriendenkring, eenige belangstelling zullen mogen ondervinden." (Hugo Beijerman, 'Reisherinneringen', *De Gids* 35.10 (1871), 99-131, there: 99.)

⁸⁴ Josephus M. De la Court, 'Een Uitstapje naar Rome', *Bedevaartsreizen naar Rome en Genève, 1866-1888*, (Den Bosch, BHIC, 305 - 1006), 1; Van Vollenhoven, *Rome's kracht en zwakheid*, Voorwoord.

⁸⁵ John Murray and son, *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy*, (London, 1843).

⁸⁶ Ernst Förster, *Handbuch für Reisende in Italien*, (München, 1848).

⁸⁷ J.J.L. ten Kate, *Italië: reisherinneringen*, (Arnhem, 1857).

⁸⁸ Van Vollenhoven, *Rome's kracht en zwakheid*, Voorwoord.

⁸⁹ De la Court, 'Een Uitstapje naar Rome', 2.

⁹⁰ Henricus Weerts, 'Reisverslag', *Ingekomen brieven van Henricus Weerts, geschreven tijdens zijn verblijf als pauselijk Zouaaf in Italië (1866-1870) en tijdens zijn bezoek aan het Heilige Land (1869)*, (Maastricht, RHCL, 22.044 - 2), 1.

Contrary to the other travel writers, Heeres, Hirschig and Staats Evers seem to be more open about their publications. Both Hirschig and Staats Evers claim to be asked by their friends, family and other acquaintances. Hirschig states that it was “Op herhaald verzoek van vrienden en bekenden” and “ten einde niet duizendmaal hetzelfde te moeten vertellen.”⁹¹ Staats Evers was encouraged as well, as he was “Bij het mededeelen mijner reisindrukken door dezen en genen uitgenodigd om daarvan, door journaal of voorlezing, eene bijdrage voor het publiek te leveren.”⁹² Heeres decided to write down and publish his memories to help the simple Catholic citizen, who wishes to know about Rome, but is so unknowing.⁹³ Whatever their reasons were, all of these Dutch travel writers had plenty of experiences during their trip to write about.

Not only the country they visited, but the journey to the destination itself, for example Italy, was almost always part of the travel report as well. Wherever they left from within the Netherlands, the travellers’ first big stop was in Paris.⁹⁴ In the French capital, they took the train to Marseille, sometimes visiting Lyon on their way - altogether a train ride of more than 28 hours! There, one hopped on the steamboat that went over the Mediterranean Sea, to Genua or directly to Civita Vecchia.⁹⁵ When in Italy, if the travellers did not go to Rome immediately, they visited places like Livorno and Pisa, or even Naples first.⁹⁶ Cities like Venice, Florence, Pompeii⁹⁷ and Herculaneum were popular as well.⁹⁸ In Italy, according to Ten Kate “The land of ruins,”⁹⁹ the travellers sometimes had to cope with several inspections. In Civita Vecchia, for example, the police had to give permission before the travellers could

⁹¹ Hirschig, *Indrukken*, Voorwoord.

⁹² Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, Voorwoord.

⁹³ “Mijn doel was den eezamen burgerman een weinig op de hoogte te helpen, den eenvoudigen Katholiek, die zoo gaarne iets van Rome wil lezen, omdat hij doorgaans zoo weinig van weet en och zoo veel belang er bij heeft.” (Joannes G. Heeres, *Vijf weken op reis naar Rome*, (Arnhem, 1869), 259-260.)

⁹⁴ Except for the Zouaves Weerts and Witte. They had to go to Brussels first, before they were allowed to continue their trip to the Papal States.

⁹⁵ The Zouaves went on board of the Quirinal, the Papal steamship, which was, according to Weerts, “een van de grootste stoomschepen die ik op de zee gezien heb.” (Weerts, ‘Reisverslag’, 6.)

⁹⁶ Alternative trips than this ‘standard’ one were made by Boer, Beijerman, Van der Chijs and Staats Evers. Van Vollenhoven does not mention the way he travelled to Rome at all.

⁹⁷ Hirschig had Pompeii in mind as his ultimate destiny during his trip to Italy. However, he then realised how beautiful Naples was and how powerful Rome was. (Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 37.) For more on Pompeii, see: Eric Moormann, ‘De poppenkast van Pompeii: het idee van Romeinse huizen in reisverslagen en fictie uit de late achttiende en vroege negentiende eeuw’, *Lampas* 39.4 (2006), 386-391; and Moormann, *Pompeii's ashes: the reception of the cities buried by Vesuvius in literature, music, and drama*, (Boston, 2015).

⁹⁸ The travellers’ ways back home seem not important enough to mention, most probably only for those who took a different route. For example Beijerman, who took the boat over the Mediterranean Sea, visiting Tunis, Mahon, and Barcelona back to Marseille; and Staats Evers, who on his way back saw Vienna, Prague, Dresden and Berlin. Van der Chijs too made his way home through Germany. Weerts first visited the Holy Land before going homewards.

⁹⁹ Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 229.

leave their boat.¹⁰⁰ In other places as well, while entering or leaving the Papal States, the authorities had to check the travellers' passports or even their luggage, so no suspected people or objects (like 'wrong' books) could blemish the Papal States.¹⁰¹ This act of protection was, however, over at the time Boer and Staats Evers had published their works.¹⁰²

In general, most of these Dutch travellers made their trips by themselves - at least, they do not mention a travel companion or a cicerone -,¹⁰³ others travelled with family or friends, or would meet people on their way with whom they passed their time.¹⁰⁴ Beside foreign travel companions they would actually have contact with, these Dutch travellers also saw lots of other foreigners, who could be nice, annoying or just 'typically' different. Not only were there Germans and French, but also Spanish, Austrian, Italian, Portuguese, Brazilian, American and, many,¹⁰⁵ English travellers.¹⁰⁶ During the trip, usually on board of the steamship, the Dutch would be busy sharing their ideas about their foreign co-travellers.¹⁰⁷ However, most of their travel writings consisted of descriptions of all kinds of buildings and nature that they saw during their trip and what the travellers experienced by seeing them. Some of the images they created by ways of their travel writings will now be discussed.

Rome: experiencing the city

Which other city than Rome could give them more information and personal experiences to write about? Frits' heart was racing when he finally entered the city of Seven Hills.¹⁰⁸ Boer,

¹⁰⁰ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 41, 45.

¹⁰¹ Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 42; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 70-71.

¹⁰² Boer, 'Herinneringen aan Italië', *De Gids* 34.5 (1870), 227-270, there: 229; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 70-71.

¹⁰³ According to Beijerman, many other visitors did use a cicerone in Rome. (Hugo Beijerman, 'Reisherinneringen', *De Gids* 35.10 (1871), 125.) Hirschig states to rarely explore cities with a cicerone. (Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 111-112.)

¹⁰⁴ Witte had hoped to meet one of his friends on his way to Italy, but unfortunately he was forced to travel by himself. He had more bad luck, as he, due to bad weather, missed his train from Brussels to Paris by an hour, so he had to wait for yet another week, before he could leave Belgium. Luckily enough, there were of course more Zouaves leaving for Rome. (Sjaak Schraag, *Texelaars in het leger van de paus. Het reisverslag van Cornelis Witte, zoeaaf van 1866-1868*, (Texel, 2006), 65-66.) On his trip, Hirschig met two Germans: Mr and Mrs Winkelmann. (Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 8.) In Heeres' book, Frits (the main character, a fictive, recently graduated student of law – made up by Heeres to tell *his*, i.e. Heeres' story), leaves with his sister Lucia. She was made up by Heeres "Om niet saai te worden." During their trip, they meet a French priest, called *Monsieur l'Abbé*, invented by the author to spread knowledge Frits and Lucia did not have, and in some way to reflect himself, "om eeniger mijner werkelijke indrukken, die ik als Priester ontvangen had, weer te kunnen geven." These three fictional characters should, however, not lead to the idea that Heeres, according to himself, had made up his travel book. (Heeres, *Vijf weken*, Inleiding, 259-260.)

¹⁰⁵ "Zij zijn overal te vinden waar gereisd wordt," according to Heeres. (Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 31.)

¹⁰⁶ De la Court, 'Een Uitstapje', 3; Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 30-31; Klönne, *Eene reis*, 34; Weerts, 'Brief aan zijn broer (21-04-1866)', *Ingekomen brieven van Henricus Weerts*.

¹⁰⁷ Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 30-31; Klönne, *Eene reis*, 35.

¹⁰⁸ "Eindelijk reden wij de zeven-heuvelen-stad binnen. Mijn hart klopte hoorbaar." (Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 49.)

Van der Chijs en Van Vollenhoven too mention “de stad der Zeven Heuvelen,” usually when they were entering or leaving the city.¹⁰⁹ More than any other city, Rome *is* in a sense her hills: ‘the city of hills’ *par excellence*.¹¹⁰ The hills are, according to the modern scholar Caroline Vout, inextricably linked to Rome and things which define the city.¹¹¹

However, other titles were used to describe Rome as well. Of course, the Eternal city was one of those titles. Boer, Van der Chijs, Heeres, Hirschig and Klönne refer to Rome as the Eternal City, “de Eeuwige Stad.”¹¹² According to Hirschig, the eternity of the city can especially be seen in the city’s buildings, in which no single type of architectural style was omitted, and in which all centuries reside.¹¹³ In her buildings, the thirty centuries of Rome come together, forming harmony. Hirschig states that they were even capable of bringing his soul to the highest level, “tot het hoogste peil van geestdrift.”¹¹⁴ Frits too thinks that the city’s eternity is best represented by its buildings. He thinks that every single inhabitant of Rome understands the title of Eternal City very well and feels the duty to keep that title,¹¹⁵ as the Romans build their houses “als moesten zij duizend jaren staan, en zijne meubelen schijnen bestemd voor drie geslachten.”¹¹⁶ An everlasting city, characterised by its everlasting buildings.

According to Frits, Rome will, until the end of time, be the capital of the world, “de hoofdstad der geheele wereld.”¹¹⁷ On the contrary, Boer considers Rome the *former* capital of the world.¹¹⁸ Van Vollenhoven too sees Rome as a capital that used to be. He makes clear that, when in Rome, one sees a city in decline. According to the Remonstrant, a Rome-goer witnesses the mess of a former ruler of the world, kept alive in people’s memories. Markers of greatness and power, once belonging to the Roman emperors, have been swept away over

¹⁰⁹ Boer, ‘Rome. Herinneringen aan Italië’, *De Gids* 35.3 (1871), 561-617, there: 617; Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 43; Van Vollenhoven, *Rome’s kracht en zwakheid*, 94.

¹¹⁰ Caroline Vout, ‘Sizing up Rome, or theorizing the overview’, in: Larmour and Spencer, *The sites of Rome*, 295-322, there: 297.

¹¹¹ Vout, *The hills of Rome: signature of an eternal city*, (Cambridge, 2012), 52.

¹¹² Boer, ‘Rome’, *De Gids* 35.3 (1871), 617; Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 44; Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 104; Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 108, 124; Klönne, *Eene reis*, 306.

¹¹³ “Geen bouwtrant, die er niet vertegenwoordigd is, (...). Alle eeuwen leven hier in de gebouwen.” (Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 124).

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁵ “Het schijnt of de titel van *Eeuwige Stad*, dien Rome draagt, door iedereen – ook door den geringsten Romein – zoodanig wordt begrepen, als ontsproot daaruit ook voor hem, den vergeten onbeduidenden man, de pligt, om, mede voor zijn deel, dien titel te helpen handhaven, zij ook dat deel niets anders dan het plat alledaagsche van het klein-burgerlijk en huishoudelijk leven.” (Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 104).

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 104-105.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 54.

¹¹⁸ Boer, ‘Rome’, *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 457.

time by the popes of Rome.¹¹⁹ It is Rome's history and antiquity that makes the city attractive and different than all modern cities, which surpass Rome in population, industrial development and art.¹²⁰ And even though some of the Christian element is preserved in Rome, more of it is absent.¹²¹ Her inner decline – which can be seen in the city's lack of both religious as well as territorial freedom, according to Van Vollenhoven -,¹²² makes Rome unqualified to rule like she did before, “om als vroeger over de wereld den scepter te voeren.”¹²³

So whereas both Boer and Van Vollenhoven see a city that lost its greatness, Klönne, on the other hand, argues that Rome is rich and that one should admire “het christelijke Rome,” with all her memorials and relics. He condemns those who stick to the pagan ruins, from “het heidensche Rome.”¹²⁴ To De la Court, the entire city of Rome is a museum, with St. Peter's Church and the Vatican Palace as head of all objects, in the same way Rome is the *caput* of the entire Christian world.¹²⁵ Therefore, of course, when he arrived in Rome, De la Court was glad he had finally reached the capital of the Christian world,¹²⁶ like Weerts and Klönne were, the latter identifying Rome more specific as capital of the Catholic world.¹²⁷ During the entire trip to Rome, Klönne had the “hoofdstad der Christenwereld” as final goal in his mind:

“Dat einddoel van mijn reis was mij gestadig voor oogen, mijne gedachten bleven op dat ééne punt gerigt, en wat ik op mijnen togt ontmoette, vond meestal zijn waarde daarin, dat het mij aan iets daarmede overeenkomstigs te Rome herinnerde. Zag ik eene rivier, dan dacht ik aan den Tiber, naderde ik eenen berg, dan kwamen mij de zeven heuvelen der Stad voor de oogen, en waar prachtige Kathedralen gebiedend mijne bewondering eischten, was ik willig die te geven, maar de koningin der kerken, de St. Pieter, kwam ten laatste eene grootere bewondering vragen.”¹²⁸

¹¹⁹ Van Vollenhoven, *Rome's kracht en zwakheid*, 5.

¹²⁰ Ibidem, 7.

¹²¹ Ibidem, 46-47, 81, 94.

¹²² Ibidem, 75.

¹²³ Ibidem, 91.

¹²⁴ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 53-54.

¹²⁵ De la Court, ‘Een Uitstapje’, 10.

¹²⁶ Ibidem, 1.

¹²⁷ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 5, 55; Weerts, ‘Reisverslag’, 8.

¹²⁸ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 5.

So every time Klönne saw a river, he thought of the Tiber, and every time he saw a mountain, he thought of the Seven Hills of Rome. But whatever church or cathedral he saw, it was eventually St. Peter's that demanded most of his admiration. To Klönne, Rome was the ultimate example of everything he saw on his travel. Both De la Court and Staats Evers also had these characterising elements in mind when they realised they were in or at least close to the Holy City, "de Heilige Stad." As De la Court saw Rome approaching, he recognised her because of her buildings, or what was left of them: "hare talrijke koepels, grootsche monumenten en misschien nog grootsere ruinen."¹²⁹ Not the buildings, but the loud sound of church bells as he woke up in hotel Minerva and the many bishops he saw during breakfast, made Staats Evers feel sure that he was in the Holy City.¹³⁰

Much was to be seen in Rome, according to Boer, a diverse city, where its visitors should schedule their days in that way, so they can see as much as possible. However, this can only be done by taking a carriage, "zoowel voor de gezondheid van het ligchaam [sic] als van den geest."¹³¹ Frits too stimulates the idea of seeing all that Rome has to offer, but also notices the difficulties it might bring along: "Maar gij wilt Rome zien: zijne oudheden, zijne kerken, en gij wilt goed zien; gij wilt weten en zoo volmaakt mogelijk weten. En dat kost inspanning, dat vermoeit!"¹³² And while Rome tires out, it was her surrounding area that could bring calmness and peace.

While, for example, travelling down the *via Appia*, the travellers witnessed the beautiful Campagna. Not only the uninhabited fields of fruits and olive trees, surrounded by mountains – by Hirschig described as "*continui montes*"–,¹³³ but also many graves, the ruins and remains of buildings, like castles, and, especially, the aqueducts made a huge impression on those who passed by.¹³⁴ According to Boer, "Weinig natuurtooneelen lieten bij ons een dieper indruk achter dan de hier aanschouwde."¹³⁵ Staats Evers states to understand why so many artists have been inspired by the area.¹³⁶ To the Dutch travel writers, the surrounding area of Rome brought rest and calmness, elements that Rome, with all her pagan monuments

¹²⁹ De la Court, 'Reisverslag', 8.

¹³⁰ Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 43.

¹³¹ Boer, 'Rome', *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 458.

¹³² Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 117.

¹³³ Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 148.

¹³⁴ Boer, 'Rome', *De Gids* 35.1 (1871), 72; Boer, 'Rome', *De Gids* 35.3 (1871), 616; Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 43; Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 148; Klönne, *Eene reis*, 227; Schraag, *Texelaars*, 70; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 41, 63; Weerts, 'Reisverslag', 7-8.

¹³⁵ Boer, 'Rome', *De Gids* 35.3 (1871), 72.

¹³⁶ Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 63.

from a lost capital, and all its sanctified and beautiful churches, whether physically present or kept alive in the memories of people, could not bring.

The Capitoline Hill: “het hart der stad”

On the first day of his trip through Rome, Ten Kate describes the Capitoline Hill to his readers.

“Langs een trap zonder trappen [sic], tusschen Egyptische leeuwinnen die niet bijten, twee klassieke paarden die nooit bereden werden, en een Marius-trophee, die nooit voor Marius gemaakt is, klimmen we den berg op naar – het *Kapitool*, dat geen Kapitool meer is, naar [sc. maar - JtH] een *Campo d’oglio*. Zelfs de *columna milliaria*, die u verzekert dat ge u op den Appischen weg bevindt, een mijl van de plek waar gij staat – is een leugen, maar die toch wel weêr de waarheid bevestigt, dat alles hier in voorkomen en bestemming veranderd is.”¹³⁷

Ten Kate regards the Capitoline Hill as one big lie. Stairs without steps, Egyptian lions that do not bite, two classic horses which have never been ridden, and so on. According to Ten Kate, the Capitol is not the Capitol anymore, but a *Campo d’oglio*. Still, however, like Ten Kate, about half of the Dutch travel writers I am concerned with started their trip through the Eternal City by visiting the Capitoline Hill.¹³⁸

While climbing the stairs of this hill¹³⁹ the statues of two Egyptian lions and of Castor and Pollux were presented to its audience. After one had entered the hilltop, he or she was able to see a statue of Minerva, two statues of horses, the so-called Trophies of Marius, the statues of Constantine the Great and Constans, the Senatorial Palace, a small statue of the *lupa*, and at the centre of the hill, of course, the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius:¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 98.

¹³⁸ In the sixteenth century, Pope Paul III (1534-1549) commissioned Michelangelo to redesign the Capitol. It was, for example, re-orientated towards the Campus Martius and supplemented with the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius - for centuries thought to be a statue of Constantine and hence saved from destruction. (Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 93.)

¹³⁹ “Ik was het Kapitool haast aan de buitenzijde onopgemerkt voorbij gegaan, toen mij dit gewezen werd; het geleek naar alles, wat ik daarvan in mijne jeugd gelezen had, vrij onbeduidend en nietig, terwijl de berg zoo laag scheen.” Staats Evers almost passed by the Capitoline Hill, as he walked on the southern side of the hill, where there are no stairs that could guide him towards the famous hilltop. (Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 46-47.)

¹⁴⁰ Boer, ‘Rome’, *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 475; Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 59-60; Ten Kate, *Itaië. Nieuwe bladen*, 98, 108; Klönne, *Eene reis*, 56; Schraag, *Texelaars*, 86; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 47; Van Vollenhoven, *Rome’s kracht en zwakheid*, 94. Beijerman, Van der Chijs, De la Court, Hirschig and Weerts do not mention visiting the Capitoline Hill.

according to Witte, a statue of Julius Caesar.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, visiting the Capitoline Museum was something the travellers were willing to do. Whereas Boer and Ten Kate try to give a (broad) description of what they saw there,¹⁴² Frits is sure that it is impossible to give a proper description of the museum's splendours: "Ik zal echter geene beschrijving der schoonheden wagen; want ik geloof, dat de dorre schets van kunstwerken zelden iets behoorlijks voor den lezer heeft."¹⁴³

The Capitoline Hill was an enjoyable and interesting place to visit, contrary to the other hills of Rome, like the Palatine, which was, according to Boer, "eene opeenhoping van bouwvallen en brokstukken,"¹⁴⁴ and the deserted Aventine Hill.¹⁴⁵ According to Frits, this spot had always been the heart of the city.¹⁴⁶ From (the tower of the Senatorial Palace on) the hill, one had the best view over the city of Rome, according to Boer, Ten Kate and Van Vollenhoven.¹⁴⁷ In Ten Kate's opinion, all big memories of the city are divided in four hills of Rome:

"Elke der grootsche herinneringen van deze Stad, die steeds en op verschillende wijze Koninginne der waereld was, zetelt als het ware in haar eigen kwartier: het Rome der Koningen throont op den Aventijn; het Rome der Republiek, op den Kapitolijn; dat der Keizers op den Palatijn; en het Christelijke Rome, eenzaam en afgezonderd, heerscht op het Vatikaan."¹⁴⁸

The Rome of Kings can be seen on the Aventine, the Republican Rome on the Capitoline. The Palatine was the hill of the emperors, and the Vatican, lonely and isolated, is now home of Christian Rome. According to Boer, the Capitoline Hill helped him getting knowledge of Rome's central and surrounding topography, which made a huge impression on him:

¹⁴¹ Schraag, 86.

¹⁴² Boer, 'Rome', *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 478-482; Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 104.

¹⁴³ Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 60.

¹⁴⁴ Boer, 'Rome', *De Gids* 35.1 (1871), 75.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, 78. Other hills of Rome were visited too, but did not make as much impression on the travellers as the Capitoline Hill did. Only Staats Evers seemed to have really enjoyed the Palatine Hill, a "thans zoo interessanten heuvel," from where he had "eene der meest imposante uitzigten op de trotsche ruïnes van het geheele, in de onmiddelijke nabijheid gelegen Forum Romanum met Kapitoel, de Basilica Constantina en het Colosseum; verder over de geheele uitgebreide stad en hare vele kerken en oude gebouwen, alsook op de omstreken, tot zelfs het Albanische gebergte, dat ik onder eene blaauwe lucht met een sneeuwtafijl bedekt zag." (Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 49.)

¹⁴⁶ Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 56.

¹⁴⁷ Boer, 'Rome', *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 460, 473-474, 475; Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 99; Van Vollenhoven, *Rome's kracht en zwakheid*, 8.

¹⁴⁸ Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 99.

“Een overzigt van de geheele stad en hare meer- en minder verwijderde omgeving, schijnt men het best te genieten van den toren van het kapitoel. Wij kozen meer gedeeltelijke overzigten, (...). Een lang en kalm aanschouwen van deze en van andere punten maakt volkomen bekend met de topografie van stad en omtrek, en tovert [sic] voor het oog landschappen, die door de schoonheid hunner lijnen en omtrekken, door den gloed en de verscheidenheid hunner tinten en kleuren, zich onuitwischbaar in de ziel prenten.”¹⁴⁹

Travellers of Rome had the best view from the Capitoline Hill. It made the visitor of Rome completely familiar with the topography and surrounding area of the city.¹⁵⁰ Like Boer states, this view makes its visitors - here, both the travel writer and his reader - feel at home in the city. It is also a way to, on the one hand explore the entire city of Rome and its surrounding area, and on the other, to examine more specific features.¹⁵¹ This was well understood by several of these Dutch travel writers, who started their journey on the top of the Capitoline Hill, and after visiting the museum and the Senatorial Palace, explained their readers how they could oversee the entire city. From there on, they continued their trip through Rome.

The Forum Romanum: a cattle field with ruins

From the Capitol, one could easily reach the Forum Romanum, or at least, what was left of it. The Dutch travel writers saw the *Campo Vaccino* now: “het is thans eene koeweide.”¹⁵² What the old, famous forum used to be, was by then an almost empty field with some remains of earlier days: “Het forum Romanum met alles wat er achter volgt is vreeselijk verwoest.”¹⁵³ Over the centuries, the *idea* of the Forum Romanum had persisted, but specific knowledge of it had faded.¹⁵⁴ From the nineteenth century onwards, starting with the occupation of Rome by Napoleon, the interest in the former centre of the city increased again. This growing

¹⁴⁹ Boer, ‘Rome’, *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 460.

¹⁵⁰ According to Caroline Vout, “Rome has a heritage of being viewed from her hills,” for which Virgil was responsible, as he let Evander show the future of Rome to Aeneas, during their walk from the Ara Maxima, over the Forum Boarium to his house near the Palatine. (Vout, *The hills of Rome*, 211, 321.)

¹⁵¹ Vout, ‘Sizing up Rome’, 301-303.

¹⁵² Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 57.

¹⁵³ Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 132.

¹⁵⁴ Nathalie de Haan, ‘Forum Romanum’, *Lampas* 40. 4 (2007), 371-380, there: 375.

interest was followed by excavations at the west side of the forum, which uncovered some elements of what used to be the visualisation of the entire Roman past.¹⁵⁵

Even though the monuments at the great Forum Romanum were ruined and layers of sand had covered what was left of them, one did not need a guide to recognise the remains that were still visible, according to Van Vollenhoven. One could still see eight pillars of the Temple of Saturnus, three pillars of the Temple of Vespasian and Titus, the Arch of Septimius Severus and parts of the Rostra and the Via Sacra.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, the travel writers report about the Column of Phocas, some remains of the Basilica Julia, three Corinthian pillars of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, pillars of the former Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, now known as the Church of San Lorenzo in Minerva; the church of the SS. Cosmas and Damian, three huge arched vaults of the Basilica of Constantine, the church of S. Francesca Romana, and obviously the Arch of Titus.¹⁵⁷

Whereas Frits thinks that the forum is ruined, neglected and dead, the priest who is joining Lucia and Frits, *Monsieur l'Abbé* tries to convince him that this great and impressive graveyard is still important to its Christian visitors. It shows how powerful Christianity is by creating such a field: the religion was strong enough to overcome Rome's powerful, pagan monuments.¹⁵⁸ Even though Van der Chijs regards the monumental graveyard, even though it had nothing special to offer anymore, still as one of the most important site of Rome, he ascribes it a different function than *Monsieur l'Abbé* does:

“Ofschoon nu het Forum (thans Campo Vaccina [sic]) op zich zelven niets aantrekkelijks heeft, zoo is het toch de belangrijkste plaats van Rome, en kan men hier het begin der nieuwe en het einde der oude stad achten te zijn. De herinneringen aan het verledene worden door vele prachtige fragmenten van kunst verlevendigd, die zich aan alle zijden vertoonen (...).”¹⁵⁹

To Van der Chijs, the Campo Vaccino marks the end of the Old Rome and the beginning of the New Rome, characterised by its omnipresent fragments of art, which enliven the memories of the past. However, Boer states that these very memories have disappeared out of

¹⁵⁵ De Haan, 'Forum Romanum', 376-377.

¹⁵⁶ Van Vollenhoven, *Rome's kracht en zwakheid*, 8.

¹⁵⁷ Boer, 'Rome', *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 485-486; Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 57; Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 96-103; Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 132; Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 112-113; Klönne, *Eene reis*, 75; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 47; Van Vollenhoven, *Rome's kracht en zwakheid*, 8.

¹⁵⁸ Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 96-97.

¹⁵⁹ Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 57.

the Roman minds.¹⁶⁰ As over time churches replaced the pagan monuments at the forum, the knowledge about the temples of the Roman gods vanished.

“Zulke voorbeelden, die gestadig en dikwerf op veel grover en stuitender wijze zijn op te merken, geven eenig denkbeeld, hoe het nieuwe geloof zich van het oude, en van zijne schoonste gedenkteekenen vaak heeft bediend, daarvan gebruik en schromelijk misbruik heeft gemaakt, voor eigen doeleinden, gemak of sieraad.”¹⁶¹

According to Boer, Christians almost abused the old monuments for their own use. This makes the travel writer see the Church and popes from a different point of view:

“Het leert de geestelijke heerschappij, de Kerk en de Pausen, ten opzichte van de oudheid en hare overblijfselen uit een ander oogpunt beschouwen. Te vaak toch wil men hen alleen laten voorkomen als bewaarders en herstellers van het eerwaardige en schoone uit den voortijd; terwijl zij zich maar al te dikwerf de vijanden, de vernielers daarvan hebben getoond, (...).”¹⁶²

In Boer’s opinion, the Church and popes try to present themselves as protectors and renovators of the pagan past, something Ten Kate has described as an obvious symbol of the mingling of paganism and Christianity, “een sprekend zinnebeeld der Historische inéénsmelting of vermenging van Heidendom en Christendom.”¹⁶³ However, Boer states that the Church and popes precisely did the opposite: they are the enemies and destroyers of the pre-Christian era.

After the Papal States had fallen and Rome became the capital of the new, unified Italy, soon new excavations were realised on the Forum Romanum.¹⁶⁴ Until then, travellers could only see some remains of the monumental buildings, arches and temples from the past. And even though not much was to be seen for the Dutch travel writers, the terrain still meant

¹⁶⁰ “Maar de herinnering van dat alles is bij het volk geheel verdwenen. Vraagt men het naar oude namen, zoo wordt men niet begrepen, en de beste weg om eenig oud punt te vinden is naar een kerk of kapel te vragen, die zich meestal op of bij de oude plek verheft.” (Boer, ‘Rome’, *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 486.)

¹⁶¹ Ibidem, 485.

¹⁶² Ibidem.

¹⁶³ Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 101.

¹⁶⁴ De Haan, ‘Forum Romanum’, 378; Paolo Liverani, ‘Die neue Grossgrabungen im 18. Und 19. Jahrhundert: Forum Romanum und Kaiserforen’, in: Cain, Haug and Asisi (eds), *Das antike Rom und sein Bild*, 177-202, there:198-199. Famous archaeologists who did excavations at the forum at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, were Rosa, Lanciani, and Boni.

something to them. Remarkably enough, the non-publishing travel writers - De la Court, Weerts and Witte - do not report about the Forum Romanum, neither did Beijerman. Were they not affected by the famous cattle field?

The Colosseum: the ruin where Christians died

“Geen schooner ruïne ter wereld dan het Colosseum!”¹⁶⁵ states Klönne as he sees the huge amphitheatre. After visiting the Forum Romanum, the travellers would go under the Arch of Titus and gaze upon the rising giant. To these Dutch travel writers, there was no bigger, no more beautiful and no better preserved ruin of ancient Rome than the Colosseum.¹⁶⁶

Finally, the moment was there: the possibility to see the Colosseum in real life. To Boer, it was an overwhelming image, “En nu staat daar dat ontzagchelijke [sic] gevaarte voor ons!”¹⁶⁷ as it was too Van Vollenhoven as well,¹⁶⁸ who was repeatedly attracted by the building and visited it several times while he was in Rome.¹⁶⁹ Staats Evers calls it a beautiful ruin covered with greenery: greenery that was also seen by Boer.¹⁷⁰ And even though the building was somewhat in decline, one should still be able to imagine how it looked like centuries ago, according to the travel writers. Boer states: “Zoo als het daar staat, geeft het nog een denkbeeld van 't geheel en van zijn volkomen ovalen vorm.”¹⁷¹ Van der Chijs too beliefs in the consisting power of the ruin. He calls it a “reuzengevaarte”¹⁷² and “Ofschoon thans gedeeltelijk verwoest, kan men zich dezen kolossus (colosseum) nog zeer goed voorstellen, ovaal van vorm, en met vier hoog opgestapelde bogen.”¹⁷³

Both because of its construction as well as its history, the Colosseum belongs to the most peculiar that Rome has to offer, according to Ten Kate.¹⁷⁴ While standing under the Arch of Titus, the two monuments together made both Ten Kate and Klönne think about the thousands of Israelites that suffered to realise the huge building centuries ago. Furthermore,

¹⁶⁵ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 141.

¹⁶⁶ Some travel writers do mention that the Colosseum was built under the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, but not everybody had this knowledge. For example, Witte states that the Roman masterpiece was constructed during the reign of emperor Nero. (Schraag, *Texelaars*, 85).

¹⁶⁷ Boer, ‘Rome’, *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 486.

¹⁶⁸ “En eindelijk op den achtergrond, boven alle andere gebouwen zich hoog verheffende, nog als ruïne ontzagelijk stout en grootsch, dat reusachtige Colosseum.” (Van Vollenhoven, *Rome's kracht en zwakheid*, 9.)

¹⁶⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁰ Boer: “Het muurwerk is, vooral van buiten, vrij goed onderhouden, schoon hier en daar een welig weefsel van allerlei klimop en muurplanten in scheuren en spleten voortwoekert: (...).” (Boer, ‘Rome’, *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 486.); Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 48.

¹⁷¹ Boer, ‘Rome’, *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 486.

¹⁷² Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 55.

¹⁷³ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁴ Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 114.

they think that their offspring must still have a hard time seeing both objects of art. Ten Kate knows for sure what must be going on in the hearts of the Israelites while seeing “dit voortreffelijk monument.”¹⁷⁵ Besides, according to Klönne, Jews are afraid to pass the Arch of Titus, and “Zoo zijn dan het Colosseum en de eereboog van Titus twee schrikwekkende verkondigers van Gods wraak over de ongelukkige kinderen van Israël.”¹⁷⁶

But above all, the Colosseum will always remain the place where thousands of Christians had suffered too, “de martelplaats van honderd duizend Christenen.”¹⁷⁷ As the Dutch travel writers entered the Colosseum, a real historical sensation overcame them. In their writings, they take their readers back in time, when 87000 spectators saw battles between ships, fights between gladiators and animals, and the excessive bloodshed of the suffering Christian martyrs. Fortunately, those days are over. But still, the sand is drenched with blood and a big cross at the centre of the arena, which was removed in 1875,¹⁷⁸ made the travellers think about those who died for them,¹⁷⁹ making the Colosseum, at least in Klönne’s opinion, “de koningin der Christelijken ruïnen.”¹⁸⁰

The Colosseum was the best preserved and most beautiful ruin of Rome, according to these Dutch travel writers. Visiting the building made them experience a historical sensation, which made them see the crowds, emperors, fights and suffering Christians from centuries ago. Luckily enough, those days belong to the past, while the Colosseum just remains a reminder of that past.

The Pantheon: the best preserved monument of Rome

After introducing the Capitoline Hill, the Forum Romanum and the Colosseum, the most beautiful and best preserved *ruin* of Rome, the Dutch travel writers would at some point show their readers around in the Pantheon, according to them, the best preserved *monument* of the city. Most famous because of its circular shape, it had stood there in this capacity since the reign of Hadrian.¹⁸¹ The building lost its function as temple for all pagan gods, as it was

¹⁷⁵ Ibidem, 115.

¹⁷⁶ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 142.

¹⁷⁷ Ibidem, 61. The idea of the Colosseum as *the* place where Christians of the early days had suffered and died, is an idea that became widespread not earlier than the sixteenth or seventeenth century. (Stephan Mols, ‘Het Colosseum’, *Lampas* 40.4 (2007), 381-385, there: 380-381.) See also: Keith Hopkins and Mary Beard, *The Colosseum*, (Cambridge, 2005).

¹⁷⁸ A new cross was placed at a different place in 1926, namely next to the arena, where it still stands strong. (Mols, ‘Het Colosseum’, 384.)

¹⁷⁹ Appendix 2 shows these descriptions in more detail.

¹⁸⁰ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 159.

¹⁸¹ Even though its exact dating remains unsure, scholars in general think that the Pantheon was first built during the reign of Augustus, commissioned by Marcus Agrippa, and renovated during the reigns of Trajan and

turned into a church dedicated to St. Mary and the Martyrs in the early seventh century. Later on, it was used as a mausoleum: Raphael and Vittorio Emmanuel were buried there, for example.

The Pantheon can be found where no one expects it, according to Ten Kate: “bij wijze van verrassing, in een achterhoek.”¹⁸² After walking through a labyrinth of narrow streets, one reaches a quite small and dirty piazza: where carriages, vegetables and rotten fruits are omnipresent. There, then, rises the Pantheon, “het merkwaardigste en eerwaardigste misschien van alle overblijfselen der Oudheid, te Rome aanwezig.”¹⁸³ It is the best preserved monument of the Old Rome, as the Dutch travel writers state.¹⁸⁴ But it is not only (one of) the best preserved monuments of Rome, it is also the most remarkable one. Remarkable because of its age, its shape¹⁸⁵ and, according to Ten Kate, because of its striking transformation from pagan temple into a Christian church.¹⁸⁶ According to Boer, the monument is, like the Colosseum, capable of making an incredibly strong, everlasting impression on its visitors.¹⁸⁷ In Hirschig’s opinion, the building stands alone, as only surviving hero of times that have passed:

“Het Pantheon staat daar als een eenig overgebleven held, tot de knieën toe in het bloed van de om hem gesneuvelde helden. Alleen is het overgebleven. Het blik als

Hadrian. (Heiner Knell, ‘Das Pantheon in Rom und die Sprache seiner Architektur’, in: Gerd Graßhoff, Michael Heinzlmann, Markus Wäfler (eds.), *The Pantheon in Rome: contributions to the Conference Bern, November 9-12, 2006*, (Bern, 2009), 11-25, there: 11-12.)

¹⁸² Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 148.

¹⁸³ Ibidem.

¹⁸⁴ Boer: “het meest volledige bouwwerk der oudheid.” (Boer, ‘Rome’, *De Gids* 35.3 (1871), 564.); Frits: “Bijna midden in de stad vinden wij den ouden heidenschen tempel het Pantheon. Dat gebouw (...) heeft nu al achttien honderd jaren den schok der aardbevingen, de overstromingen van den Tiber, en het vuur en staal van dertien verwoestingen der barbaren weerstand geboden. Zoo hecht en sterk is het!” (Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 187.); Hirschig: “het best bewaarde monument der oudheid.” (Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 110.); Ten Kate: “Zoo hield het zich dan in al zijn glorie staande, te midden van de stormen der waereld en des tijds, alle naburige monumenten der oudheid overlevend.” (Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 151.); Staats Evers: “Tot eene der merkwaardigste kerken behoort het bekende, midden in de stad gelegen Panthéon, het eenige gebouw van het oude Rome, dat nog in zijn geheel overbleef.” (Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 61.); Van Vollenhoven: “het prachtigste en best bewaarde gedenkteeken van het oude Rome.” (Van Vollenhoven, *Rome’s kracht en zwakheid*, 10.)

¹⁸⁵ Weerts: “zij is merkwaardig door haare oudhed en haaren bouwstiel.” (Weerts, ‘Reisverslag’, 21.); Witte: “Dit is een heel vreemd gebouw.” (Schraag, *Texelaars*, 86.)

¹⁸⁶ Ten Kate: “(...) éénig om den onvergelykelijken bouwstijl, waarin het is opgetrokken; éénig, nogmaals, wegens den ongeschonden toestand, waarin het nog verkeert; éénig, ten derden male, als weêrgâloze proeve van de mogelijkheid, dat een oude Heidensche tempel, zonder eenige wezendlijke verandering te ondergaan, voor den R. Katholieken ritus ingericht blijve tot op den tegenwoordigen dag (...).” (Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 148.) See also: Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 208; Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 111; Schraag, *Texelaars*, 86; Weerts, ‘Reisverslag’, 21.

¹⁸⁷ Boer, ‘Rome’, *De Gids* 35.3 (1871), 564.

met godenblik om zich heen. Geen zijner medestrijders bestaat meer. Het is nog krachtig en onoverwonnen.”¹⁸⁸

Powerful and undefeated stands the Pantheon, according to Hirschig. Buried with its contemporaries are the stairs of the building, which now lay underneath the ground level, “die door het puin der eeuwen steeds werd opgehoogd.”¹⁸⁹

Still visible, however, was of course the circular building’s vestibule with sixteen enormous columns, from where Hirschig saw hundreds of swallows flying away and coming back, “alsof het de geesten der ouden waren.”¹⁹⁰ After entering the hall, the travel writers were amazed by the big open circle in the top of the building, through which the monument’s visitors can see the sky, and sunlight and rain can always enter the building.¹⁹¹ Its round shape, ingenious elements and physical appearance made the Pantheon a marvellous building, according to these Dutch travel writers.

A church a day: visiting the churches of Rome

“Er leeft een oud spreekwoord: *zooveel dagen in het jaar, zooveel kerken in Rome*; een niet overdreven gezegde, daar waarheen men zich ook wende, bijna altijd een koepel of voorgevel, soms zelfs eene gansche kerkengroep in het oog valt. Wie ook maar vlugtig de stad heeft doorloopen, hij zal moeten bekennen: Rome is eene ware tempelstad.”¹⁹²

According to Klönne, there is an old proverb that says there are as many churches in Rome as there are days in a year. Everywhere you go and look, you will see churches. Rome is a true

¹⁸⁸ Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 110.

¹⁸⁹ Boer, ‘Rome’, *De Gids* 35.3 (1871), 564. Hirschig remarks this phenomenon too, “Welk eene diepte! Het gebouw staat tot aan de pilaren in den grond. (...) de heele trap is bedolven,” as does Staats Evers: “Terwijl men vroeger langs vijf trappen opging, is ook hier de grondslag, door het verloop der eeuwen zóó opgehoogd, dat het gebouw thans eenigszins in de diepte ligt.” (Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 110; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 61.)

¹⁹⁰ Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 110.

¹⁹¹ Boer, ‘Rome’, *De Gids* 35.3 (1871), 564; Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 208-209; Schraag, *Texelaars*, 86; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 61. Whereas Staats Evers expects rainfall to cause problems within the Pantheon, Frits thinks one should not have to worry at all. The monument is big enough (from the inside), so that hiding for the rain is possible, and the altars are placed against the walls, so they will not get wet either. Moreover, the marble ground floor is slightly sloping to the centre of the building, “En daar laten roostervormige marmarplaten het water in den grond zakken.” (Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 208-209; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 61.)

¹⁹² Klönne, *Eene reis*, 164.

city of temples.¹⁹³ The most important one, is of course St. Peter's Church. The first thing Beijerman, Van der Chijs, Weerts and Witte did when they were in Rome, was visiting the colossal church that covered the grave of the apostle Peter. Other travellers would save the visit for later on during their trip. But there were, of course, so many more churches in Rome, as was acknowledged by the Dutch travel writers as well. Therefore, they would usually only describe their visits to the most important ones, namely, besides St. Peter's Church, the basilicas of St. Paul, Santa Maria Maggiore and St. John Lateran.

Ten Kate introduces his readers to the *Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano* as "een reuzenkind."¹⁹⁴ Standing in front of the huge building, he observes St. Peter's Square, which appears to him as an "ontzachelijk amphitheater," with its Egyptian obelisk, flanked by two fountains.¹⁹⁵ The square is surrounded by two great rows of columns with many statues,¹⁹⁶ which all together make the entire square, according to Klönne, "het schoonste ter wereld."¹⁹⁷ Witte was fascinated by the view he had,¹⁹⁸ Van der Chijs stood still of amazement.¹⁹⁹ Frits observed everything carefully. And wherever he looked, he always found "harmonie en alles als voor elkaâr geschapen!"²⁰⁰

According to the travel writers, the Vatican Palace and the St. Peter are among the biggest buildings in the world.²⁰¹ To Klönne and Hirschig, St. Peter's Church has something that appeals. It feels to them as if it is smiling, representing kindness.²⁰² Whereas De la Court suggests it is unnecessary to describe "dezen prachtige tempel,"²⁰³ Frits, who himself was

¹⁹³ The correct translation would have been 'churches' instead of 'temples', of course. However, I wanted to stay as close as possible to Klönne's Dutch here.

¹⁹⁴ "De Republikeinsche landhoeven en de knollentuinen der Cincinnatussen hebben er plaats gemaakt voor de paleizen en lusthoven en circussen der Germanicussen en Caesars, en deze hebben op hunne beurt een deel van hun vroeger terrein afgestaan voor de Kerk van Konstantijn, die, na velerlei lotgeval en gedaanteverwisseling, in de XVIe eeuw de moeder werd van de waereldberoemde *Sint-Pieter*: een reuzenkind, (...)." (Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 126.)

¹⁹⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁹⁶ Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 45; Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 189; Klönne, *Eene reis*, 130; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 52.

¹⁹⁷ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 129.

¹⁹⁸ Schraag, *Texelaars*, 71-72.

¹⁹⁹ Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 45.

²⁰⁰ Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 189.

²⁰¹ Even though Boer attempts to do so, according to the travel writers, it is impossible to describe the Vatican Palace with all its art and more than 11000 rooms. According to De la Court and Staats Evers, it might be the biggest in the entire world. Frits regards the Vatican Palace's dimensions almost unbelievable; as does Klönne. To Hirschig, the Palace is "het prachtigste gebouw der gansche christenwereld," to Ten Kate "bijna eene stad op zich-zelve." (Boer, 'Rome', *De Gids* 35.3 (1871), 581-604; De la Court, 'Een Uitstapje', 10; Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 153-154; Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 145; Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 103; Klönne, *Eene reis*, 228; Schraag, *Texelaars*, 105; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 57; Van Vollenhoven, *Rome's kracht en zwakheid*, 18-19.)

²⁰² Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 140; and Klönne, *Eene reis*, 130.

²⁰³ De la Court, 'Een Uitstapje', 9.

not sure about what he had seen, and Hirschig even think it is impossible to give a proper image of the huge basilica to their readers.²⁰⁴

While entering the church itself, the travel writers were overwhelmed by its appearance. The church seemed never-ending, mainly due to its huge dome. Moreover, the altar of Peter filled the open space wonderfully and marble was to be found everywhere.²⁰⁵ But even though St. Peter's Church charmed its visitors, it was disliked by some of them as well, at least to Ten Kate and Hirschig. Ten Kate describes the church as a lavishly rich, but confused museum.²⁰⁶ It is clear to him, why in this type of churches the Word of God is replaced by practical, external gestures in the Roman-Catholic confession.²⁰⁷ Hirschig states that, even though St. Peter's Church is impressive, "hart- en zielverheffend," it has the same problem as almost all other Roman-Catholic churches: everything is *too much*, it invokes, again, a feeling of great lavishness, "grootte overladenheid," like it did to Ten Kate.²⁰⁸ The only thing Hirschig really likes in this overstrained church is the grave of the apostle Peter.²⁰⁹

But what about all other Christian temples in the Holy City? According to Klönne and De la Court, it is impossible to visit, let alone describe, all other churches of Rome.²¹⁰ Therefore, probably, the Dutch travel writers usually only described the most important ones more extensively. Besides St. Peter's, there were St. Paul's outside the Walls, the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore and, of course, St. John Lateran's Basilica: "samen de vier hoofdkerken van Rome."²¹¹ In St. Paul's Basilica, the travellers were impressed by its simple, external appearance and beautiful, overwhelming interior, with the images of all Roman Popes since Peter.²¹² Weerts states that everything in the church was decorated by marble: "Kolommen, vloer, muuren, alles is marmer, men kan geen vinger zetten of men zet hem op marmersteen."²¹³ According to Frits, the Notre Dame in Paris and the Cologne Cathedral are

²⁰⁴ Hirschig: "Het is onmogelijk, u eene beschrijving te geven van de kunstwerken en kostbaarheden, hier aanwezig." (Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 143.) Frits: "O heerlijke St. Pieter, voor de meesten, die over u zullen lezen, onbegrijpelijk, voor velen zelfs ongeloofbaar! En ik neem mijn lezer zijn ongeloof niet kwalijk. Ik zelf zou niet gelooven, als ik niet gezien had. En zelfs *nadat ik gezien had*, heb ik getwijfeld." (Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 196.)

²⁰⁵ Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 46; De la Court, 'Een Uitstapje', 14; Klönne, *Eene reis*, 129; Schraag, *Texelaars*, 72; Staats Evers, 54.

²⁰⁶ "Al wat gij in het eerst bemerkt is, dat gij u in een gróót kerkgebouw bevindt, dat er uitziet als een tot overladens toe rijk maar verward museum." (Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 128.)

²⁰⁷ Ibidem, 131. What follows in Ten Kate's work is a critical remark on the, according to him, exorbitant veneration of saints, supplemented by a digression on the Carnival. (Ibidem, 131-138.)

²⁰⁸ Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 143.

²⁰⁹ Ibidem, 141-142.

²¹⁰ De la Court, 'Een Uitstapje', 10-11; Klönne, *Eene reis*, 164.

²¹¹ Weerts, 'Reisverslag', 15. Another by the travellers visited church worth mentioning is the Basilica of St. Mary of the Altar of Heaven.

²¹² Klönne, *Eene reis*, 118-119, 121; Schraag, *Texelaars*, 72; Van Vollenhoven, *Rome's kracht en zwakheid*, 13.

²¹³ Weerts, 'Reisverslag', 13.

nothing compared to the Basilicas of Santa Maria Maggiore and St. John Lateran. Describing the beauty of these two basilicas, would be a desperate act, a “wanhoops-poging.”²¹⁴

Marble is to be found everywhere in the churches of Rome. “Wat pracht en kostbaarheden, vooral en overal in Rome in de kerken ten toon gespreid!” states Van Vollenhoven. However, watching these precious churches makes the Dutch Remonstrant tired:

“Men is verbaasd en wordt op het laatst vermoeid door het telkens en telkens aanschouwen van al die prachtige marmeren kolommen en platen, die keurige en kunstige mosaïken, welke soms geheele wanden en vloeren beslaan; die versieringen van goud en zilver en edelgesteenten, van kostbare tapijten en gordijnen, (...).”²¹⁵

Except for the marble columns, colourful mosaics and other, recurring, precious materials Van Vollenhoven recalls, Rome has more odd treasures, namely the indulgences and relics, which all together make Rome, and therefore the Roman-Catholic Church, so strong, according to the travel writer.²¹⁶ Frits identifies the richness of Rome as well, but more positively. “Rijk, enorm rijk zijn die kerken!” due to gifts that were offered to the city, according to Frits, voluntarily and by impulse of the heart.²¹⁷

Whereas the richness of the churches is both praised and criticised, no bad word is spoken about the Pope, Pius IX.²¹⁸ Even though Van Vollenhoven condemns the Pope’s function and veneration, he is positive about the man himself.²¹⁹ Like other travel writers, Van Vollenhoven describes him as an honourable man; old, but elegant, fatherly and kind.²²⁰ Many of the travellers had the privilege to see, or even meet the leader of the Catholic

²¹⁴ Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 135.

²¹⁵ Van Vollenhoven, *Rome’s kracht en zwakheid*, 31. According to Van Vollenhoven, this style is typical for the Italians, “die gaarne vele bonte en levendige kleuren zien,” – whereas he himself prefers the Dutch simplicity: ‘*simplex sigillum veri.*’ (Ibidem.)

²¹⁶ Ibidem, 32, 35, 38.

²¹⁷ Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 130.

²¹⁸ According to the Dutch scholar Hans de Valk, the worship of the Pope developed strong during the papacies of Popes Pius XI and Leo XIII. This might explain why these Dutch travellers appreciate His Holiness so much. (Hans de Valk, ‘Reis naar het middelpunt van de aarde. De beleving van Rome in katholieke reisgidsen en reisverhalen rond het Heilig Jaar 1950’, *Trajecta* 13 (2004), 184-211, there: 185-186.)

²¹⁹ “‘t Is als een groot krijgsheer, waarvan het hoofdkwartier in Rome gevestigd is, en der verschillende afdelingen meest blindelings volgen en werken naar de bevelen van den opperbevelhebber.” (Van Vollenhoven, *Rome’s kracht en zwakheid*, 20.)

²²⁰ Ibidem. See also: Beijerman, ‘Reisherinneringen’, *De Gids* 35.10 (1871), 128; De la Court, ‘Een Uitstapje’, 12; Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 149-150; Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 146; Klönne, *Eene reis*, 231, 233; Schraag, *Texelaars*, 73; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 51.

Church. Some of them only saw His Holiness shortly,²²¹ others were invited to go on papal audience. They all claimed to have received a gift,²²² namely a silver or bronze medal, and, of course, His Papal blessings.²²³

Visiting the churches of Rome could both be satisfying as well as tiresome, according to the Dutch travel writers. They were amazed by the power and richness of the holy places: indescribable, true temples of marble. Furthermore, meeting the pope was an exciting endeavour as well. Many of the travel writers had the great opportunity to meet His Holiness, and took it. Others just saw the good old man before, during or after his daily trip through the city in his carriage: maybe using his time partially to visit at least one of the many churches of Rome a day.

The streets of Rome

Wandering through the streets of Rome was not always an easy and enjoyable pastime. To the Dutch travel writers, the main street of Rome in the third quarter of the nineteenth century was the Corso, which goes “in een regte linie voortlopende van de Piazza del Popolo tot aan het Kapitoel.”²²⁴ In the straight, relatively small street with small sidewalks, one could find many boutiques, hotels and cafés.²²⁵ It is the street where the busy Roman life is located, “waar het geheele leven van deze belangrijke stad zamensmelt.”²²⁶ *Via del Corso* was also the focal point of the annual Carnival, a feast which cannot satisfy Klönne. According to the Catholic traveller, it is “een zeer luidruchtig en eigenaardig feest waaraan meestal ontelbare nieuwsgierige vreemdelingen deel nemen.”²²⁷

Beside the Corso, Rome had, and of course still has, some other straight and bigger streets. However, according to the travel writers, the city mainly consists of small, dirty, narrow, winding streets, with many ugly houses.²²⁸ It is “een doolhof van kromme, naauwe straatjes, stegen, sloppen en erven.”²²⁹ Staats Evers even asks himself, if he actually is in

²²¹ Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 145; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 51.

²²² Except for Beijerman, which is not remarkable, as he was not Roman-Catholic.

²²³ Beijerman ‘Reisherinneringen’, *De Gids* 35.10 (1871), 128; De la Court, ‘Een Uitstapje’, 12; Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 160-161; Klönne, *Eene reis*, 230-234; Schraag, *Texelaars*, 74; Weerts, ‘Reisverslag’, 34.

²²⁴ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 277. Nowadays, the *Via del Corso* of course ends at the Piazza Venezia, with its *Monumento Nazionale a Vittorio Emanuele II* on the northern side of the Capitoline Hill.

²²⁵ Boer, ‘Rome’, *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 464-465; Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 46; Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 118; Klönne, *Eene reis*, 227; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 44.

²²⁶ Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 46.

²²⁷ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 277.

²²⁸ Boer, ‘Rome’, *De Gids* 35.3 (1871), 564; Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 108; Van Vollenhoven, *Rome’s kracht en zwakheid*, 81.

²²⁹ Boer, ‘Rome’, *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 465.

Rome and states to be happy living in the Netherlands, where they do care about hygiene.²³⁰ Frits asks *Monsieur l'Abbé* why Rome has all these winding streets. The French priest answers that Rome's position on seven hills made it difficult to create proper streets. Moreover, *Monsieur l'Abbé* thinks that Rome prefers keeping her ancientness, her antiquity: "Alleen als men wilde opofferen konden de straten regt gemaakt worden."²³¹ Only Witte seems to have really enjoyed the street view, with its fountains, obelisks and churches.²³²

Like the paved streets, the famous water street of Rome, the Tiber, was regarded small and dirty as well: a total disappointment to some of the Dutch travel writers. According to both Boer and Staats Evers, the Tiber represents Rome as a filthy city.²³³ The river is small, "naauwelijks zoo breed als de Ijssel [sic] bij Zutphen in zomerdroogte,"²³⁴ and no matter from which side you approach it, it is never satisfying and no better than any Dutch river, according to Frits.²³⁵

Eventually, all these small streets would lead to the piazzas of Rome, which were plenty and more pleasant to visit. According to Frits, every piazza had its own fountain, that attracted both people and animals.²³⁶ On the piazzas, markets took place. Especially on the *Piazza Navona*, where merchants and country men and women produced loud sounds.²³⁷ Hirschig preferred visiting the *Piazza del Popolo*,²³⁸ which made Klönne think of two of the Christian Church's biggest enemies: Nero and Martin Luther.²³⁹ Van der Chijs liked the *Piazza di Spagna*:²⁴⁰ a piazza that, according to Boer, used to be filled with lots of men, women, kids, artists, models, and, especially, beggars.²⁴¹

But not anymore, states Boer. Nowadays, beggars can be found everywhere in Rome.²⁴² Staats Evers and Beijerman complain about them as well, but they both know many

²³⁰ Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 43-44.

²³¹ Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 148. Ironically enough, during the reign of Mussolini sacrifices were made to make Rome more accessible, with the construction of the *Via dell'Impero*, now called the *Via dei Fori Imperiali*, running from the Piazza Venezia to the Colosseum. See, for example: John Agnew, 'The impossible capital: monumental Rome under liberal and fascist regimes, 1870-1943', *Geografiska Annaler* 80.4 B (1998), 229-240.

²³² "Vol bewondering bekeken wij de mooie straten, fonteinen, gedenknaalden en prachtige kerken die men overal aantreft." (Schraag, *Texelaars*, 71.)

²³³ Boer, 'Rome', *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 460; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 52.

²³⁴ Boer, 'Rome', *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 460.

²³⁵ "Van welken kant toch men ook den Tiber beschouwe, een trotsch, een verheven gezigt, dat uwe oogen boeit en indruk maakt, levert hij nergens op. Dan zijn de eigen vaderlandsche rivieren hondermaal beter." (Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 182.)

²³⁶ *Ibidem*, 143.

²³⁷ Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 117; Klönne, *Eene reis*, 253-254.

²³⁸ Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 126.

²³⁹ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 267.

²⁴⁰ Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 58.

²⁴¹ Boer, 'Rome', *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 470.

²⁴² *Ibidem*.

of them are ‘professionals’ and officially registered.²⁴³ Whereas Beijerman does not really feel bothered by them,²⁴⁴ Van Vollenhoven thinks that they ruin his sightseeing.²⁴⁵ Both Klönne and Heeres acknowledge this problem as well. Whereas Heeres spends a couple of pages to the problem, Klönne uses an entire chapter in his travel book to describe how Christian associations and commissions help the poor and miserable.²⁴⁶

Not only did beggars ruin the street view of the Dutch Rome travellers, the streets themselves did so as well. Aside from her many ruins, monuments and churches, Rome’s street view was regarded disappointing. Even the great and famous Tiber could not satisfy the expectations of the travellers. Only the piazzas could, more or less, make the crossover between the attractions of Rome more bearable, if they were not already attractions on themselves.

A second Rome: the catacombs

Below the city of Rome, there was a second, different Rome: the catacombs, the residence of the first Christians.²⁴⁷ Like St. Peter’s Church, visiting Rome would not be complete if one had not visited at least one of the catacombs.²⁴⁸ The impressive underground city was, in general, one of the last noteworthy activities before leaving the city of Seven Hills. One could, for example, go to the Mamertine Prison, or visit the catacombs underneath the church of St. Sebastian or St. Peter’s Church. Overall, it was a popular experience to revive the past days of the early Christians.

Witte saw the catacombs of St. Peter’s Church, where he witnessed beautiful hallways and many tombs of the first Popes and other prominent saints.²⁴⁹ Van der Chijs states to have seen many hallways (“een onnoemelijk aantal gangen”) and tombs as well, after he went down the stairs of the church of St. Pancras.²⁵⁰ According to Van der Chijs, it was highly

²⁴³ Beijerman, ‘Reisherinneringen’, *De Gids* 35.10 (1871), 131; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 44.

²⁴⁴ “(...) lastig waren ze niet, en daarentegen ontmoetten wij te Rome weinig of geene kleine bedelende jongens of meisjes, die u als klissen aan de kleederen hangen, en het verblijf in het overige Italië dikwijls ondraaglijk maken.” (Beijerman, ‘Reisherinneringen’, *De Gids* 35.10 (1871), 131.)

²⁴⁵ “Bij al de heerlijke ruïnen der oudheid, bij alle belangrijke en bezochte plaatsen, kunt gij er zeker van zijn, dat de bedelaars op u wachten, in uwe overpeinzingen u telkens storen en uw kunstgenot vergallen.” (Van Vollenhoven, *Rome’s kracht en zwakheid*, 64.)

²⁴⁶ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 284-305.

²⁴⁷ Frits: “Onder deze stad, die wij nu bezocht hebben, ligt eene tweede stad. Onder den grond, in het inwendige der aarde!” (Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 219.); Klönne: “Diep in den grond waarop de Eeuwige Stad rust, ligt een ander Rome, het verblijf der eerste Christenen, de katacomben.” (Klönne, *Eene reis*, 306.)

²⁴⁸ Only Beijerman, Hirschig and van Vollenhoven do not visit, or do not mention visiting one of the many catacombs of Rome.

²⁴⁹ Schraag, *Texelaars*, 104.

²⁵⁰ Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 50.

remarkable to walk around there, “tusschen die aloude overblijfselen der eerste Christenen,”²⁵¹ like it was to Ten Kate. When he made his trip to the catacombs of St. Callixtus, he experienced a historical sensation: “En nu, welk een reeks van historische herinneringen, welk een macht van gemengde gewaarwordingen overstelpt u, wanneer uw voet dezen gewijden bodem ten eersten male betreedt!”²⁵² Even though Ten Kate states that the graves were empty,²⁵³ Staats Evers claims that there were still some coffins visible, while walking in the narrow hallways: “Geruime tijd wandelt men daar met den gids in zeer nauwe spelonken of gangen, waar de begraafplaatsen ter weerszijden in opeengestapelde groeven liggen. Er zijn hier nog kisten met tamelijk goed bewaarde lijken.”²⁵⁴ These remains were also perceived by Klönne, who considers the catacombs of St. Callixtus to be the most prominent and spacious.²⁵⁵

Klönne visited the Mamertine Prison as well, “den onderaardschen kerker, waarin Petrus en Paulus hunne laatste levensdagen hadden doorgebracht en zich tot den dood voorbereidden,”²⁵⁶ just like Frits did. Though he thought the church was beautiful, Frits was horrified and caught by emotion as he entered the *carcer* downstairs:

“Geheel door mijn gevoel overmeesterd knielde ik neer; ik kuste den grond: ’t was hier waar Petrus op bevel van den wreeden Nero had gezocht, ’t was uit dit hol, dat men den Apostel met een touw omhoog trok om hem vandaar naar den berg Janiculus te voeren, waar hij gekruisigd werd.”²⁵⁷

In the Mamertine Prison, Frits experienced how the apostle Peter must have felt before he was crucified. When Klönne visited the catacombs St. Sebastian, he too felt as if he was a persecuted Christian. While he and some others descended into the catacombs, Klönne felt as if they were “vervolgde Christenen, die in het hart der aarde een toevlugtsoord zochten tegen de wreedheid des keizers.”²⁵⁸

²⁵¹ Ibidem.

²⁵² Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 160.

²⁵³ Ibidem, 165.

²⁵⁴ Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 50.

²⁵⁵ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 306. Klönne was impressed by the appearance remains: “Hoe treffend zijn niet die overblijfselen van de allereerste tijden der Katholieke Kerk! Hoe krachtig spreken zij tot de zwakken van geloof; hoe zielsverheffend en aandoenlijk tot hen, die in het geloof een hooger leven putten!” (Ibidem, 340.)

²⁵⁶ Ibidem, 83.

²⁵⁷ Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 75.

²⁵⁸ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 126. Boer, Frits, Weerts and Witte visited the catacombs of St. Sebastian as well.

Visiting the catacombs of Rome was in general the last or one of the last things the Dutch travel writers did. Klönne's travel book even ends in one of the many catacombs of Rome. Going below the lively city of Rome into the catacombs, made the travel writers experience the life the early Christians used to have, hiding for the cruelties of the pagan emperors of Rome. Whether the traveller was Roman-Catholic or Protestant, the lives and sufferings of the first Christians connected them as confessors of the Christian religion.

Conclusion

By ways of their writings, these Dutch travellers created all kinds of similar as well as different images of Rome, which was also called the Eternal City, City of Seven Hills and Holy City. Some of these travellers stated to have seen a city in decline, others, mostly the Roman-Catholic writers, saw a city that was still rich of monuments and buildings, and the capital of the (Christian) world.

Remarkable is the quite standard route several of these Dutch travellers - who published their travel writings(!) - taken at the beginning of their trip through Rome. If one did not start with visiting St. Peter's Church, one went to the Capitoline hill – from where one had the best view of the city -, subsequently descend to the Forum Romanum and then pass through the Arch of Titus to see the Colosseum rise. To the travel writers, the Forum Romanum was not what it used to be. Beijerman, De la Court, Weerts and Witte did not even write about it. To most of these Dutch travel writers, the Forum Romanum marked a connection between Old and New, pagan and Christian Rome. Whereas the Protestant travellers regarded the decay of the cattle field's monuments as an error caused by the Catholic Church, the Roman-Catholic travellers saw the ruins as reminders of the conquering Christian Church.

The Colosseum connected the travel writers because of their shared past: it was the place where the first Christians had suffered due to pagan atrocities. Whereas this monument was regarded as the best preserved ruin, the Pantheon, on the contrary, was seen as the best preserved monument of Rome. Aside from the ruins and monuments of Rome, piazzas brought some amusement to these Dutch travel writers. However, in general, Rome was seen as a filthy city because of its many narrow streets, the dirty Tiber and beggars.

One could not visit Rome and pass by her many churches, especially the basilicas of St. Peter, St. Paul, Santa Maria Maggiore and St. John Lateran. All travellers were overwhelmed by the richness of the churches, mainly represented by the use of marble. This

richness could on the one hand be pleasurable, on the other bothersome. The catacombs of Rome, where the first Christians had hidden from the cruel, pagan emperors of Rome, connected these Dutch travel writers again. There, as they did in the Colosseum, they were connected by experiencing how the first Christians had felt back in the days.

Several similar kinds of images can be traced in the travel writings of these Dutch travellers. A closer look reveals more differences within the images of Rome. The next chapter explains these similarities and differences. It will show that the travel writers' personal backgrounds, reasons to travel and write, and reasons to publish or not about it on the one hand, and travel writings from earlier days and different writers on the other, had a huge impact on the creation of the images of Rome.

Chapter 4: Explaining the images

Introduction

The images of Rome which are brought to light in the previous chapter are those of recurrent themes in the travel writings of the Dutch travellers I am concerned with. Within these images, similarities and differences can be traced. It is remarkable that, when in Rome, almost all of these Dutch travel writers would first visit the Capitoline Hill, Forum Romanum and Colosseum, or St. Peter's Church. Moreover, the similar ideas about the Colosseum, as best preserved ruin of Rome, and the Pantheon, as best preserved monument of Rome, are striking. Visiting one or more of the many catacombs of Rome seemed a mandatory element during the trip. Furthermore, a trip through the Campagna resulted in an enjoyable time for these Dutch travellers.

However, different ideas about Rome can be traced as well. Whereas Frits and Klönne believed in the eternity of Rome as capital of the world, Boer and Van Vollenhoven stated to have seen a city in decline. Further, the Dutch visitor of the Forum Romanum disagreed about the current function and meaning of the cattle field: are the ruins a marker of Christian demolition or power? In the churches of Rome, marble was to be found everywhere, but due to kindness or avarice? Some suggested it would be better to spend the money on all the poor people in the Eternal City, others thought Rome was already a caretaking place. So, both similarities as well as differences between the images of Rome can be found. How can these different images be explained?

Similarities: trusting authorities

I will start by explaining where the similar images of Rome within the travel writings may derive from. According to some of these Dutch travel writers, like De la Court and Van Vollenhoven, much had been written about Rome in the years before them already. They point at travel books written by, for example, John Murray and his son (1843) and Ten Kate (1857), to whom Van der Chijs refers multiple times in his travel account.²⁵⁹ Especially Murray's handbooks, together with Baedeker's editions, were popular in Europe during the nineteenth century.²⁶⁰ Boer even states to have noticed many foreign travellers with these

²⁵⁹ For example, Van der Chijs states that he will not give a description of the Pantheon, because Ten Kate had already given a good one, several years ago – i.e. in 1857. (Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 63.)

²⁶⁰ Buzard, *The beaten track*, 77. Buzard states that Murray's and Baedeker's handbooks caused changes in the accounts of travel writers. As these handbooks functioned as guidebooks which introduced their readers to all the information required while visiting a country, travel writers could now amuse their readers with more personal

guidebooks.²⁶¹ Last but not least, one should not forget Goethe's *Italienische Reise*, a work that, according to the Dutch scholar Rietbergen, influenced many nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers.²⁶² However, Murray's influences are discussed first.

Usually, travel writers would work out their notes into a complete travel account, but not before ending their trip. Information that was not available during their long walks, would be added to the writings afterwards. It seems as if these Dutch travel writers also used other travel guides to accomplish their own writings. Let us start with the view from the Capitoline Hill. In Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy* is stated that:

“Whoever would appreciate and enjoy the ruins of Rome will find it absolutely necessary, before he enters into an examination of particular monuments, to make himself acquainted with their relative position, and classify them in such a manner as many enable him to understand their history. There is no sport so peculiarly adapted for this purpose as the *Tower of the Capitol*; and we do not hesitate to say that a stranger who is really desirous to understand these antiquities, to study them with the least difficulty to himself, and to avoid the vexation arising from a constant recurrence to authorities, must proceed, in the first place, to the Capitol, and there learn the topography of the ancient city.”²⁶³

So, according to Murray's handbook, a view from the tower of the Capitoline Hill makes the traveller of Rome completely familiar with the topography of the city. It seems as if Boer, Ten Kate and Van Vollenhoven followed Murray's here,²⁶⁴ as did Frits and Staats Evers, who both started their trip through Rome at the Capitoline Hill too.²⁶⁵ Consequently, they all followed Murray's handbook by visiting the Forum Romanum. From there on, the Dutch travellers were more creative. Whereas John Murray and his son describe many forums, palaces and temples first, the Dutch travellers immediately visit the Colosseum.

information, for example, about what they experienced during their trip through a city. (Buzard, 'The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)', in: Hulme and Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge companion to travel writing*, 37-52, there: 49.)

²⁶¹ “Groepen van Engelsche, Duitsche en Amerikaansche reizigers, de dames in de meest elegante of vreemde reiscostumen, zwerven hier rond, raadplegen hunne Murray's en Baedekers, (...).” (Boer, 'Rome', *De Gids* 35.1 (1871), 73.)

²⁶² Goethe made his trip to and through Italy in 1786. The first edition of his travel report on that journey, called *Italienische Reise*, was published in 1816-1817. (Rietbergen, *De retoriek*, 16-17.)

²⁶³ John Murray and son, *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy*, (London, 1843), 263.

²⁶⁴ Boer, 'Rome', *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 460, 473-475; Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 99; Van Vollenhoven, *Rome's kracht en zwakheid*, 8.

²⁶⁵ Heeres, *Vijf weken*, 56; Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 46.

Talking about the Colosseum, Murray's only supplies the traveller "with such facts as may be useful in his examination of the ruin,"²⁶⁶ for example, about the day the monument was dedicated - information that is also given to us by Van der Chijs.²⁶⁷ The historical sensation the Dutch travellers experienced and wrote down for their readers seems to have not been initiated by Murray's handbook.²⁶⁸ This phenomenon can already be traced back to the early nineteenth century, according to the modern scholar Koch.²⁶⁹

However, the Dutch travel writers seem to have been inspired by Murray's in several other ways as well. The English handbook and the Dutch travellers agreed on the Pantheon being the best preserved monument of Rome.²⁷⁰ And what about the churches of Rome? Innumerable, according to Klönne – innumerable according to the authors of Murray's guide.²⁷¹ And then the overwhelming St. Peter's Church, which seemed to be never-ending, according to the Dutch travel writers. What did Murray and his son say about the beautiful basilica?

"*The Interior*, in spite of all the criticisms of architects, is worthy of the most majestic temple of the Christian world. (...) we believe that the minds of most persons who enter it for the first time are too much absorbed by the unrivalled unity of its proportions to listen to any kind of criticism. The one great defect is the apparent want of magnitude which strikes every one at first sight. The minds does not at once become conscious of its immensity, (...)." ²⁷²

The indescribable power of the church is acknowledged in Murray's handbook as well. Likewise the emptiness of the Campagna with its beautiful aqueducts.²⁷³ And though it is not

²⁶⁶ Murray and son, *Handbook*, 294.

²⁶⁷ Murray's handbook: "(...) 5000 wild beasts were slain in the arena, and the games in honour of the event lasted for nearly 100 days." (Murray and son, *Handbook*, 294.) Even though Van der Chijs adds 2000 thousand fighters to the story, he might have copied Murray here: "Alleen bij het inwijdingsfeest, dat 100 dagen duurde, werden 5000 wilde beesten en 2000 zwaardvechters omgebragt." (Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 50.)

²⁶⁸ "We shall not attempt to anticipate the feelings of the traveller, or obtrude upon him a single word which might interfere with his own impressions, (...)." (Murray and son, *Handbook*, 294.)

²⁶⁹ Koch, 'De ketting', 11.

²⁷⁰ Murray's handbook: "The ancients described it with admiration eighteen centuries ago, and it still remains the best-preserved monument of modern Rome." (Murray and son, *Handbook*, 286). For the Dutch travel writers' opinion, see pages 38-40.

²⁷¹ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 164; Murray's handbook: "We can scarcely pass through three streets in succession without meeting with at least one church; (...)." (Murray and son, *Handbook*, 357.)

²⁷² Murray and son, *Handbook*, 338.

²⁷³ *Ibidem*, 247, 319. According to modern scholar Nicholas Purcell, however, Goethe was an influential figure behind the change of view towards the Campagna in the literary field. (Nicholas Purcell, 'The city of Rome', in: Jenkyns (ed.), *The legacy of Rome*, 421-453, there: 446.)

as elaborate as Murray's, Boer's description of the ports of Rome is rather similar to that of the English handbook.²⁷⁴

Of the four travel writers who could have made use of Baedeker's travel guide, Staats Evers seems to have been the only one who actually did this. No obvious similarities between Heeres', Boer's and Beijerman's works on the one hand, and Baedeker's travel guide on the other, can be traced. On the contrary, Staats Evers even mentions Baedeker's authority as he visits Tivoli - one of the many suggestions given by Baedeker's, as well as by Murray's handbook, to go for a short excursion outside of Rome.²⁷⁵

So, only in the case of Staats Evers it is clear that he trusted Baedeker's guide. In my opinion, it is also obvious that some of the other publishing Dutch travel writers used Murray's handbook to supplement their own writings. For the non-publishing travel writers it is more difficult to decide if they made use of these guidebooks - i.e. to supplement their own writings with them. The Zouaves Weerts and Witte mostly visited churches and do not have much more to tell about them rather than plain descriptions, neither does De la Court. However, it would not surprise me if these travellers actually did use a handbook during their trip through Rome - I cannot prove De la Court, Witte and Weerts did *not* do it, as is the case with all other travel writers from whom evidence is less apparent as well. Because of Murray's popularity within Europe, this handbook makes the biggest chance of being trusted by the Dutch travellers.

Furthermore, I argue that not only Murray's and Baedeker's travel guides (could have) influenced these Dutch travel writers, but that these travellers also influenced each other. Some travellers were, for example, familiar with an earlier travel book published by Ten Kate in 1857. Whereas Hirschig and Van Vollenhoven only refer to the author, both Boer and Van der Chijs even quote Ten Kate. Boer only does this when he visits Florence, Van der Chijs refers to Ten Kate repeatedly in Italy.²⁷⁶ Another example of interaction between writers is Klönne, who refers to Hirschig's work as he does not understand the fear Hirschig had experienced in Rome.²⁷⁷ Finally, there were Boer and Beijerman, who do not refer to each other, but both worked for the same magazine (*De Gids*) and even published parts of their

²⁷⁴ Boer, 'Rome', *De Gids* 34.12 (1870), 461-464; Murray and son, *Handbook*, 258-261.

²⁷⁵ "Welk een gezag een reisgids als Baedeker soms heeft, kon ik hier duidelijk zien." (Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 68.) See also: Karl Baedeker, *Italy. Handbook for travellers. Second part: Central Italy and Rome* (Coblenz, 1867; second edition, 1869), 273-306; Murray and son, *Handbook*, 477-543.

²⁷⁶ Boer, 'Herinneringen', *De Gids* 34.5 (1870), 238; Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 21, 24, 29, 40, 44, 63, 67, 81.

²⁷⁷ Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 131-133; Klönne, *Eene reis*, 81-82. See Appendix 3.

writings in the same year (1871). These are some examples that show the familiarity between the publishing travel writers and the possibility of affecting each other's works.

Last but not least, there is Goethe, whose authority and writings on Rome echo through the entire nineteenth century in the writings of travellers, according to Rietbergen.²⁷⁸ Boer quotes Goethe ones, Hirschig several times.²⁷⁹ Moreover, in imitation of Goethe, Van Vollenhoven and Hirschig enjoy the Colosseum (and the Forum Romanum) at night.²⁸⁰ These are the only travel writers who openly refer to Goethe. However, Goethe's echo Rietbergen speaks of, might be found in the Dutch travel writers' style of writing on Rome. Especially the publishing travel writers know how to express their feelings when they visit a monument or ruin. The ever-longing eager, one could say, to visit Italy and Rome, which is characteristic for Goethe's argumentation to visit the land, can be found in most of the Dutch travel writings as well.²⁸¹ Similarities can be found within almost all travel reports from these Dutch travellers, who most probably trusted the authority of Murray's and Baedeker's travel guides and each other's writings as well.

Differences: conflicting interests

The differences within the images of Rome can almost be described as a twist between Dutch Protestants, whether they were Dutch Reformed or Remonstrant, and Roman-Catholics. To the Roman-Catholics, Rome was the capital of the Christian, and more specific, Catholic world. The Protestant travellers had obvious problems with this denomination, and furthermore regarded Rome as a city in decline. Tensions within Dutch, and maybe even European religious life seemed to have lingered in the travel accounts of these Dutch travel writers. Within the travel writings on Rome, contrasting images and ideas on the city can be traced back to the Dutch travellers' personal backgrounds, especially concerning their religion.

²⁷⁸ Rietbergen, *De retoriek*, 21.

²⁷⁹ Boer starts his travel report on Italy with quoting Goethe: "Kenn'st du das Land, wo die Citronen blüh'n, Im dunkeln Laub' die Gold Orangen glüh'n? Dahin, dahin!" (Boer, 'Herinneringen', *De Gids* 34.5 (1870), 227.) Hirschig refers to Goethe several times (Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 3, 19, 33-34, 81, 84, 90, 119, 179).

²⁸⁰ Goethe: "Von der Schönheit, im vollen Mondschein Rom zu durchgehen, hat man, ohne es gesehen zu haben, keinen Begriff. (...) Einen vorzüglich schönen Anblick gewährt das Coliseo." (Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Italienische Reise*, 2 (Gutenberg Projekt-DE, 2000), I, 84.) Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 133; Van Vollenhoven, *Rome's kracht en zwakheid*, 9-10.

²⁸¹ Rietbergen, *De retoriek*, 18, 21. See pages 25-28 for the Dutch travel writers' reasons to travel to Italy and Rome more specific. Of course, Goethe deserves more attention when one discusses travel writing on Rome in the nineteenth century. However, typically Goethe-like images are difficult to trace in these Dutch travel writings. The research on similarities and differences between nineteenth-century Dutch travel writings and Goethe's *Italienische Reise* would deserve a full research on itself, and might become a more literary, or stylistic kind of research, which is far beyond the scope of this thesis.

Whereas all these Dutch Rome travellers acknowledge the ruins in Rome, the value they place on them differs from each other. To the Roman-Catholic travellers, Frits (i.e. Heeres), Klönne, De la Court, Weerts and Witte, Rome is still the capital of the (Christian or Catholic) world, and will always be so. On the contrary, Van Vollenhoven and Boer regard Rome as a fallen capital: a city in decline. Ten Kate even regards the entire land of Italy as a land of ruins. While describing the different monuments and ruins of Rome, the tensions between a city that is still 'alive' or a city that is in decline, appear more clearly.

A good example of this is the Forum Romanum, to the Dutch travel writers who reported about it, it was just a field of ruins, where oxen and cows resided. Whereas both Van der Chijs and Ten Kate explain that the field is a perfect example of how the new religion – Christianity - made good use of the buildings of the old religion, that of the Romans, Boer's and Heeres' writings show different images. Boer simply rejects a positive image of Christians who present themselves as preservers of the pagan past. Instead, he regards them as the enemies and destroyers of the pre-Christian era. On the contrary, Heeres presents the Forum Romanum as a great and impressive graveyard. Because the pagan monuments are buried or have been replaced by churches, they show how powerful the Christian church is by overcoming the pagan past. So, whereas Van der Chijs and Ten Kate see a marker of continuity between the Old and New Rome within the Forum Romanum, Boer and Heeres see a victorious Christian Church in relation to the pagan past: to one of them a shameful observation, to the other, a positive one.

Moreover, there are obvious contrasting opinions on poorness and beggars in Rome. Boer, Staats Evers, Beijerman and, especially, Van Vollenhoven complain about the many beggars and poor people they saw in Rome. On the contrary, Klönne and Heeres pay attention to the big amount of charity that, according to them, characterises Rome. Of course, this charity work was done by hospitals and Christian organisations, according to the two Catholic travellers.

But, Rome is not poor at all, according to all of these Dutch travel writers. They agree on the richness of the churches, for example characterised by the omnipresent marble, causing amazement all over in the Dutch travellers' minds. Though they all agree on the kindness and goodness of Pope Pius IX, the most clear contrasts within the images of Rome are related to the church. To be clear, the Dutch travellers were no pagans: they did visit churches, preferably St. Peter's and the basilicas of St. Paul, St. Maria Maggiore and St. John Lateran. For sure, these Dutch travellers were overwhelmed by them. However, they highly disagreed

on how to value the richness of these buildings. In the writings of the Roman-Catholic travellers, this richness is praised. It shows how strong the Christian religion is by being able to produce such beauty. On the contrary, the Protestant travellers criticise the lavishness within the Roman churches. It is tiresome and too much of everything. In my opinion, this tension between these images shows that the Dutch travellers did not only disagree on how the Christian religion was practised in Rome, but how the Christian religion should be practiced in general.

I argue that at least several of the publishing Dutch travel writers had these disagreements in mind when they decided to write a travel book. Klönne and Heeres obviously wanted to teach their readers about the history of Christianity. In general, they did so during the descriptions of monuments or ruins: the history of a church, for example, is of course closely related to important memories concerning the Christian past. Heeres stated to have written his book in order to teach his Roman-Catholic readers about Rome. Klönne did not state this, but his educative way of writing reveals his true intentions; for example, he refers to the Bible multiple times and is willing to introduce his readers to Biblical stories. His deeply Roman-Catholic stand obviously appears, for example, while describing the Arch of Titus and the Colosseum: two markers of God's revenge towards the Jews, the children of Israel, who, in the eyes of many Roman-Catholics, were responsible for Jesus' death. Moreover, the *Piazza del Popolo* made Klönne think of Martin Luther and Nero, according to him, the two biggest enemies of the Catholic Church.

On the contrary, there is Ten Kate and Van Vollenhoven, who both openly criticise Rome. Even though Van Vollenhoven only attends Rome and Ten Kate explores other cities within Italy as well, they both want to find out what the authors can expect from the city's and country's futures in religious fields. As true Protestants, they know how to criticise Catholic Rome. According to Van Vollenhoven, Rome is a city in decline and, due to the city's lack of both religious as well as political freedom, not capable of ruling the world like she did before. Therefore, Van Vollenhoven concludes his travel book by stating that he does not fear Rome as enemy of the gospel, simply because she is not able to be an enemy.²⁸² Ten Kate acknowledges the authoritarian position of the Roman-Catholic church in both Rome and Italy, which, according to him, brought the city and country in decline, but still sees possibilities for their inhabitants. The idea of the gospel is alive in Italy, but ruled over by the Roman-Catholic way of living. However, according to Ten Kate, the Italians will be capable

²⁸² Van Vollenhoven, *Rome's kracht en zwakheid*, 90-91, 95.

of conquering the Catholic Church. It will bring them freedom and make Italy one of the most important, of course Protestant, Christian nations of Europe.²⁸³

The image of Rome in decline is also clearly proclaimed by Boer. Whereas his colleague Beijerman is less clear about his opinion on Rome – he simply does not write a lot about the Eternal City -, Boer's vision on the city of Rome is evident. The author sees a city that, hopelessly, trusts upon a greatness that used to be. In the influential liberal magazine *De Gids*, Beijerman and Boer introduced Rome and Italy to their liberal readers, one more elaborate than the other. Boer's view of Rome, the capital of the Catholic Church, as a city in decline, is therefore easy to explain. Within Dutch society, liberals stood against Roman-Catholics. Writing for a true liberal audience, one can only expect Boer to be criticising Rome. His travel report seems to have been an excellent way to do this.

Contrary to Boer's travel account, Hirschig, Van der Chijs and Staats Evers are not clearly outspoken on Rome. Even though Hirschig and Staats Evers state to see a city in decline, they are not distinctly critical about Rome, neither is Van der Chijs. When one takes a look at their reasons to write and publish a travel account, one sees that Van der Chijs does not give a reason to do so. Hirschig and Staats Evers claim to have been asked by friends and family to write down their experiences. Regarding their writings on Rome, I suggest they might actually have been honest by stating that their writings did not serve a bigger goal than simple amusement and, maybe, in some way providing basic information about Rome and Italy. In the case of De la Court, Weerts and Witte, I argue that they also only wrote down their travel experiences to inform and amuse their family and friends - and whoever else that wanted to read about the city - or to keep the writings for their own purpose. This does not mean that they were not giving their opinions about Rome: these Roman-Catholic travellers clearly enjoyed the beautiful churches and monuments of the capital of the Christian world. In general, all these Dutch travellers show that, whatever their reasons were to (not) publish their travel books, they all experienced their trip to Italy and Rome in their own ways.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tried to explain the similarities and differences within the images of Rome that can be found in the travel writings of multiple Dutch Rome-travellers during the period 1859-1870. I have argued that similarities within these travel writings were mainly caused by inspiration from travel guides and travel books written by other (Dutch) travellers.

²⁸³ Ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen*, 255.

Most of all, Boer, Heeres, Ten Kate, Klönne, Staats Evers and Van Vollenhoven seem, more or less, to have been inspired by Murray's handbook. Staats Evers referred to Baedeker's authority, and is probably the only amongst the few travel writers who could have known the English book, who clearly made use of it. Whereas Hirschig quotes Goethe several times, Van der Chijs prefers trusting a travel book written by Ten Kate. It becomes clear that of those who published their works, Beijerman seems to be the only one who did not rely parts of his writings on other authorities. However, it is difficult to make a hard case for this, as his writing on Rome is minimal. Furthermore, it becomes clear that the non-publishing travel writers – De la Court, Weerts and Witte – probably did not make extensive use of any other travel guides or books to supplement their own writings. Of course, as they did not publish their works and did not have the intention to do so, they were in a different situation than their publishing counterparts; for example, regarding informing their audience.

The travellers' religious backgrounds could both be connecting as well as dividing, concerning the images of Rome. Visits to, for example, the Colosseum and Roman catacombs connected them; in other descriptions, divisions between Roman-Catholic and Protestant stands are clearly visible. Usually, this led to similar images at first sight, but differences can be found after taking a closer look. For example, these travel writers were amazed by the churches of Rome, but disagreed on the richness and beauty they displayed. Roman-Catholics admired the marbles of Rome, Protestants rejected this sin. Furthermore, the Protestant travellers saw a city in decline, which would never reach the greatness it had centuries ago; The Roman-Catholics, on the contrary, still regarded Rome as capital of the (Christian) world and could not mention being without it. So even though they sometimes based their information on the same authority or authorities, these Dutch travel writers created their very own images of Rome.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The focus of this thesis was the images of Rome constructed by nineteenth-century Dutch Rome-travellers between 1859-1870. Chapter 1 started with a quote from the Dutch scholar Peter Rietbergen, who stated that Rome is the most described city in the world, capable of constantly adapting different, reconfirming images and meanings; a city that got, and still gets, shape out of the words that have been written about it. In the second chapter, the Dutch Rome-travellers and their writings were introduced. The images of Rome they created were to a great extent presented in Chapter Three. In the previous chapter, an attempt was made to explain these images.

So what different kind of images of Rome can be found in the travel writings of Dutch Rome travellers between 1859-1870? Each paragraph in Chapter Three was centred around one place, monument or ruin, or several of these subjects with the same theme. These were recurring themes within the travel writings of the Dutch Rome-travellers that I based my research on. One has to keep in mind that because of the scope of this research and the (relatively small) amount of sources, far-reaching conclusions cannot be drawn. However, this research still led me to some further thoughts. It is striking to see that these Dutch Rome-travellers acknowledged the richness of monuments, ruins and churches in Rome – whether they regarded this richness as positive or negative – versus the poorness of the people and the city itself. Walking from site to site, the travellers went through narrow streets, filled with beggars and dirt. Yet, Rome was also the city of beauties. There was the peace-giving Campagna, and the Colosseum – the best preserved ruin of Rome – and the Pantheon – the best preserved monument of Rome. The amazing and rich churches could on the one hand, according to most Protestant travellers, show how the Roman-Catholic religion was focussed on material businesses, instead of the word of God. On the other, the Roman-Catholic travellers saw the greatness of their Church in its richness, donated out of goodness. Whereas the Roman-Catholic travellers saw the ruins of Rome as conquered relics of a profane past, most Protestant travellers saw a city that they thought was obviously in decline. As noted above, most differences within the images can be traced back to the travel writers' personal backgrounds. Similarities, on the other hand, might have derived from other authorities. It is interesting to see the apparent influence of travel guides or books from others, for example, Murray and Baedeker. Moreover, it seems as if the publishing travel writers made most use of these authoritative works.

Even though they ‘stole’ quite a lot of information from other authorities, it does not prove that the publishing Dutch travel writers had never been to Rome at all. However, the big amount of material about Rome that was available made it easier to write a travel book about the city. Though travel books were highly popular in the nineteenth century and the audience was eager to learn more about, for example, Italy, I argue that the publishing travel writers I am concerned with had different reasons in mind when writing their travel books than to simply inform their audience about the Italian peninsula. Contrary to the non-publishing traveller writers, namely, De la Court, Weerts and Witte – who just wanted to inform their family and friends, and keep their writings for their own memories -, it seems as if the publishing travel writers, aside from maybe amusing and informing friends and family as well, had other, underlying thoughts while writing their travel books. For some of them - Boer, Heeres, Ten Kate, Klönne and Van Vollenhoven in particular - these reasons are more clear than for others, namely Beijerman, Van der Chijs, Hirschig and Staats Evers.

In my opinion, the publishing travel writers clearly had existing tensions between Dutch liberals, Roman-Catholics and Protestants in mind while writing their travel books. They knew about the influence they could have on their Dutch readers by ways of their writings. With the images they created of Italy, or Rome in specific, and maybe other countries and cities as well, they could inform their readers about the country or place *they* saw. Hence, their clear ideas about religious and political circumstances in Rome could be translated within the images. It is interesting to see that most of these Dutch travellers did not write much or did not write at all about the political situation in Italy and the Papal States. In my opinion, this can be explained by the different political situations in both countries: whereas the Netherlands was already a unified country, Italy still had to evolve into one. The religious situation within Italy and the Papal States was, however, similar to that in the Netherlands, as Roman-Catholics, Protestants and liberals were in conflict with each other on what the role of (the Christian) religion should be in governing the country. In my opinion, the Dutch travel writers had those tensions in mind while writing their travel books. Italy, or Rome in specific, could function as an example of why or how the Christian religion should or should not be used within the Dutch religious and political fields. One should, however, keep in mind that this conclusion is based on the writings on Rome in specific. Even though I have focussed on the travellers’ writings in total, an elaborate analysis of them is far beyond the scope of this research.

Whereas some Dutch scholars mainly focussed on the writings of plural Rome-travellers during the entire nineteenth century, or on just one travel writer in specific, this thesis was based on a qualitative research on the images of Rome that can be found within the travel writings of Dutch travellers between a much shorter period, namely 1859-1870. Therefore, this thesis contributes to the currently increasing research on how Dutch travellers experienced and imagined other places abroad. Moreover, it contributes to the idea that Rome is capable of adapting lots of images at the same time, reshaping itself over and over again. Not only because of her marvellous buildings and ruins, Rome *is*, indeed, more than any other city, what her visitors over thousands of years made her to be.

Appendix 1 – Dutch travellers to Rome

This appendix gives more specific information on the travellers to Rome with whom I am concerned.²⁸⁴ Each writer has its own text box, in which information is given about their backgrounds - if possible, containing their origins and practised religion, jobs and writings, supplemented with the source(s) concerning their travel to Rome.

Hugo Beijerman (19-09-1836, Deventer – 07-04-1913, Den Haag)

Beijerman was a major general in the Dutch army and adjudant of Prince Alexander, son of Dutch King William III. With the pseudonym *Glanor*, he was active as writer, especially of theatre plays. In 1871, *De Gids* published his travel account of his trip to multiple cities and countries around the Mediterranean Sea during the winter of 1869-1870. In 1878 he wrote *Drie maanden in Algerië*. Beijerman was the only child of lawyer and teacher Hugo Beijerman (sr.) and his wife, Aleida Antonia Wijnveldt.²⁸⁵

Religious background: Remonstrant

·Hugo Beijerman, 'Reisherinneringen', *De Gids* 35 (1871).

Willem Richard Boer (04-04-1818, Rotterdam – 24-10-1894, Utrecht)

Boer became a lawyer in 1846 after studying Roman and contemporary law at the University of Utrecht. Boer was member of the city council of Utrecht between 1851-1878 and was mayor of the city between 1878-1891. During his political career, he wrote a few works about the state, work and school, and several articles in *De Gids* and *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen*, primarily travel accounts. Furthermore, Boer was co-editor of *Bijdragen tot de kennis van het staats-, provinciaal- en gemeentebestuur in Nederland* (1861-1883) and *Pantheon, Tijdschrift ter verspreiding van nuttige kennis* (1856-1858). Willem Richard was a son of Richard Boer and Wilhelmina Petronella van der Sprenkel.²⁸⁶

Religious background: Dutch Reformed Church

Political background: Liberal (and plain anti-socialist)

²⁸⁴ A good starting point for basic information on Dutch writers is the digital library called *DBNL: Digitale bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren*. There, one can find personal information on Dutch writers and their publications.

²⁸⁵ F. de Bas, 'Levensbericht van Hugo Beyerman', in: E.J. Brill (ed.), *Handelingen en mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden, over het jaar 1913-1914*, (Leiden 1914), 83-98; Genealogie Online, 'Stamboom Smits van Oyen» Hugo BEIJERMAN', <<https://www.genealogieonline.nl/stamboom-smits-van-oyen/13245.php>> [05-05-2015].

²⁸⁶ Aerts, *De Letterheren*, 187; J.G. Frederiks and F. Jos. van den Branden, *Biographisch woordenboek der Noord- en Zuidnederlandsche letterkunde*, (Amsterdam, 1888-1891), 80.

·Willem Richard Boer, ‘Herinneringen aan Italië’, *De Gids* 34 (1870); Rome. Herinneringen aan Italië’, *De Gids* 34 (1870); ‘Rome. Herinneringen aan Italië’, *De Gids* 35 (1871).

Jacobus Anne van der Chijs (01-06-1831, Leiden – 23-01-1905, Batavia)

Van der Chijs was a son of renowned numismatist Pieter Otto van der Chijs and Helena Catharina Maas. He studied arts and law in Leiden (1849-1856) and left the Netherlands in 1857 to live in Dutch East Indies, where he had several functions as civil servant. Later, he became inspector at the committee of domestic education, and received a job at the national archive of the country. Van der Chijs became member of the *Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen* and Honoured member of the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen*. He mainly wrote historical books on Batavia.²⁸⁷

Religious background: -*

·Jacobus Anne van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen 15 Julij-14 September 1864. Een reisje naar en door Italië in 1864*, (Tiel, 1865).

Josephus M. De la Court (16-02-1840, 's Hertogenbosch – 23-05-1907, Vught)

Josephus derived from the important De la Court-family, which had a central position within the old Roman-Catholic elites from 's Hertogenbosch. Their family's economical capacity was based on large landownership, lots of governmental experience and important (political and economic) relationships. Josephus himself was a Jonkheer, president of the political society *Noord-Brabant* and president of the *Algemene Bond* in 1886.²⁸⁸

Religious background: Roman-Catholic.

·Josephus M. De la Court, *Een Uitstapje naar Rome in Juny 1867*.

Joannes Gerardus Heeres (15-08-1835, Sappemeer – 28-10-1896, Bunnik)

Heeres was a teacher, studied philosophy and theology, and eventually became priest in 1862. He was chaplain and parson in several Dutch communities, and co-founder of the *Nieuwe IJselbode* and co-editor of *De Tijd*, in which he expressed his disagreement with the liberal legislation on schooling and argued for the necessity of Protestant say in the *Schoolstrijd*.

²⁸⁷ Biografisch portaal van Nederland, ‘Jacobus Anne van der Chijs’, <<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/96182901>> [05-05-2015]; Digitaal Wetenschapshistorisch Centrum, KNAW Historisch Ledenbestand, ‘Jacobus Anne van der Chijs (1831 - 1905)’ <<http://www.dwc.knaw.nl/biografie/pmknaw/?pagetype=authorDetail&aId=PE00004602>> [05-05-2015]; P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (eds), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, 10 (Leiden, 1937), X, 171-172.

²⁸⁸ Jos van Meeuwen, *Lijden aan eenheid: katholieke arbeiders op zoek naar hun politiek recht (1897-1929)*, (Hilversum, 1998), 80.

Except for some contributions to the archive of the archdiocese Utrecht and articles in *De Wachter*, Heeres wrote a biblical history.²⁸⁹

Religious background: Roman-Catholic

·Joannes Gerardus Heeres, *Vijf weken op reis naar Rome*. (Arnhem, 1869).

Antonius Hirschig (16-03-1802, Ginneken – 13-03-1871, Amsterdam)

Antonius Hirschig was a poet and translator of Seneca. After finishing the Latin School in Breda, Hirschig went to Leiden to study arts. Afterwards, he became (deputy) headmaster at several Latin Schools, namely in Franeker (1826-1827), Enkhuizen (1827-1834) and Alkmaar (1834-1856). From 1852 onwards, Hirschig was member of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde*. He was a son of vicar Christianus Jacobus Hirschig and Adriana Langelaan.²⁹⁰

Religious background: Dutch Reformed Church

·Antonius Hirschig, *Indrukken, avonturen, plaatsbeschrijvingen en karakterschilderingen op eene reis door Italië in 1861*, (Schoonhoven, 1863).

Jan Jakob Lodewijk ten Kate (23-12-1819, Den Haag – 24-12-1889, Amsterdam)

Ten Kate was a son of Marine Jan Herman ten Kate and Johanna Henrietta Adriana de Witte van Haamstede. Together with his parents and two brothers, Mari and Herman, who both would become famous painters, he grew up in The Hague. Jan Jakob Lodewijk ten Kate was a vicar and productive poet. Already at age fourteen, he was member of *Oefening kweekt kennis*, a literary society founded by Samuel Johannes van den Bergh and W.J. van Zeggelen, two Dutch poets. Ten Kate studied theology at the University of Utrecht between 1838-1843, and was co-founder of the literary magazine *Braga* together with A.W. Prins. Ten Kate's most famous work is *De Schepping* (1866), in which he tries to reconcile biblical and scientific points of view. Furthermore, he translated some foreign literature, like Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Goethe's *Faust*.²⁹¹

Religious background: Dutch Reformed Church

²⁸⁹ Biografisch portaal van Nederland, 'Joannes Gerardus Heeres', <<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/00370639>> [05-05-2015]; Molhuysen and Blok, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, I, 1050.

²⁹⁰ A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, (Haarlem, 1878), 288-289; Frederiks and Van den Branden, *Biographisch woordenboek*, 352-353; Molhuysen and Blok, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, I, 1116-1117.

²⁹¹ Frederiks and Van den Branden, *Biographisch woordenboek*, 409-410; Rick Honings and Olf Praamstra (eds), *Ellendige levens: Nederlandse schrijvers in de negentiende eeuw*, (Hilversum, 2013), 159-170; Anton Korteweg and Murk Salverda (eds), *'t Is vol van schatten hier...*, 2 (Amsterdam, Den Haag, 1986) I, 57-59.

·Jan Jakob Lodewijk ten Kate, *Italië. Nieuwe bladen uit het dagboek der reisherinneringen van J.J.L. ten Kate*, (Arnhem, 1865).

Bernardus Henricus Klönne (20-02-1834, Amsterdam - ?)

Unfortunately, not much is known about B.H. Klönne. He was born in Amsterdam, where he later became headmaster of the *Sint-Bernardusgesticht* and of the *Beggijnhof*, a kind of monastery. Between 1870 and 1882, Klönne was editor of *De Tijd*. Beside his travel account about Rome, he wrote *Onze voorouders, volgens de theorie van Darwin, en het Darwinisme van Winkler* (1869), *Marius en Vondel. Bekeerder en Bekeerling* (1885), *Marius gehandhaafd* (1885) and *Amstelodamensia: antwoord aan Dr. R. Fruin* (1896), as well as an article in the *Dietsche Warande*, among with J.A. Alberdingk Thijm, H.J.A.M. Schaepman and others.²⁹²

Religious background: Roman-Catholic

·Bernardus Henricus Klönne, *Eene reis naar Rome [18-]*, (Leiden, 1864).

Jan Willem Staats Evers (18-07-1828, Arnhem – 23-10-1894, Arnhem)

Jan Willem Staats Evers was historian and, like his father Willem Staats Evers – married to Geertruida Gerharda Weeninck - jurist. He worked as a lawyer, member of the city council and later as member of the States-Provincial of Gelderland. Beside his work as lawyer and his political functions, he wrote many books, primarily on the history of Arnhem and Gelderland.²⁹³

Religious background: -*

·Jan Willem Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen in Italië en Midden Europa. Reisherinneringen van J.W. Staats Evers*, (Arnhem, 1872).

Jan Jacob van Vollenhoven (01-09-1813, Rotterdam – 09-04-1894, Clarens, Zwitserland)

Jan Jacob van Vollenhoven was one of ten kids of salesman and vice-president of the Dutch Chamber of commerce, Francois van Vollenhoven and Maria Cornelia Costerman. He studied theologie in Amsterdam and worked as a vicar in Zwammerdam, Woerden, Friedrichstadt (Germany) and Utrecht. He dedicated his *Rome's kracht en zwakheid*, a popular treatise on Rome and the Catholic Church, to the *Evangelische Maatschappij*. He also wrote a short history of Friedrichstadt and a translation of a bundle by Arthur Thomson.²⁹⁴

²⁹² Frederiks and Van den Branden, *Biographisch woordenboek*, 427.

²⁹³ Ibidem, 241-242; Molhuysen and Blok, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, I, 175-176.

²⁹⁴ Doede Nauta, *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse protestantisme*, 6 (Kampen, 1978), I, 406-407.

Religious background: Remonstrant

·Jan Jacob van Vollenhoven, *Rome's kracht en zwakheid. Herinneringen uit Rome*, (Utrecht, 1860).

Henricus Weerts (25-11-1827, Berg en Terblijt – 18-03-1889, Schin op Geul)

Henricus Weerts served the army in Maastricht until 1846. Ten years later, he became a member of the third order of Saint Francis. In Schin op Geul, a place in the Dutch province of Limburg, Weerts lived as a hermit. In 1866, he left the Hermitage at Schaelsberg (*Kluis op de Schaelsberg*) to become a Zouave. Consequently, Weerts made a trip to the Holy Land. He wrote many letters and some travel accounts to his brother, Johannes, about his travels to the Papal States and the Holy Land. Henricus Weerts died in 1889 as a hermit in Schin op Geul.²⁹⁵

Religious background: Roman-Catholic.

·Henricus Weerts, *Ingekomen brieven van Henricus Weerts, geschreven tijdens zijn verblijf als pauselijk Zouaaf in Italië (1866-1870) en tijdens zijn bezoek aan het Heilige Land (1869)*.

Cornelis Witte (9 augustus 1837, Den Burg – 15 september 1925, Den Burg)

Cornelis Witte was the first Zouave from Texel and one of many that decided to protect the Papal States during the last decades of its existence. Witte was a son of Jacob Cornelisz. Witte, who was a cooper, and Trijntje Jansd. Bakker. After serving the Dutch army for several years, Cornelis Witte decided to serve the Pope and left his home country in February 1866, being the first inhabitant of the Dutch island Texel to serve as Zouaaf. He came back in March 1868 acquired with the silver *Fidei et Virtuti* medal. In 1891, Witte received the bronze *Bene Merenti* medal. After he was back in Texel, Witte started his own shop and, later, his own grocery store and liquor store. His travel account was published, in a slightly altered version, in *Texelaars in het leger van de paus* by Sjaak Schraage, Witte's greatgrandson.²⁹⁶

Religious background: Roman-Catholic.

·Cornelis Witte, *Reisverslag van Cornelis Witte, pauselijk zoeaaf van 17 februari 1866 tot 1 maart 1868*.

²⁹⁵ De Kluis op de Sjaasberg, 'Een bijzondere kluizenaar'

<http://www.dekluisvalkenburg.nl/WAT_IS_DE_KLUIS_PAGINA/Een_bijzondere_Kluizenaar.htm> [15-05-2015].

²⁹⁶ Schraage, *Texelaars in het leger van de paus*, 44-47.

** *From Van der Chijs and Staats Evers the religious backgrounds cannot be traced in any bibliographical or literary works. However, there are some indications that make it possible to make a well-educated guess. In my opinion, they are both no Roman-Catholics. There are no clear signs in their travel writings that show that they are true followers of the Pope. On the contrary, however, I suggest they are both Protestants.*

Van der Chijs shows that he is a Christian, as he reveals his eager to visit St. Peter's Church: it is the first thing he does when in Rome.²⁹⁷ However, in my opinion, Van der Chijs was not a Roman-Catholic. He, for example, praises the good deeds of Garibaldi and King Victor Emmanuel, something a Dutch Roman-Catholic would never do.²⁹⁸ Moreover, in his own travel book, he refers to Ten Kate's earlier work quite often.²⁹⁹ Writers had their own specific public, which in general consisted of readers with the same religious or political beliefs as the writer himself. Ten Kate was brought up in a Dutch Reformed family, which makes it most likely that Van der Chijs, who seems to have enjoyed Ten Kate's writings, was a Protestant as well. Though, I cannot prove he was Dutch Reformed. Small statements of Staats Evers reveal his most probably protestant background. For example, with short remarks he makes clear that he is not particularly happy with what he sees in the Papal States and Rome. Not Civita Vecchia itself, but simple peasants with remarkable clothes make Staats Evers aware of having arrived in the Papal States.³⁰⁰ Moreover, Staats Evers' clear rejection of beggars in Rome, suggesting the money was probably spent for the churches of the city, makes him the anti-figure of the Roman-Catholic travellers, who do care about those poor people.³⁰¹ Furthermore, the possibility of Staats Evers being an obvious liberal should be neglected, in my opinion, as he does visit catacombs and churches in Rome (and other places).

²⁹⁷ Van der Chijs, *Reisherinneringen*, 45-46.

²⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, 64

²⁹⁹ This is clarified in more detail in Chapter Four.

³⁰⁰ Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen*, 41.

³⁰¹ *Ibidem*, 44.

Appendix 2 – The Colosseum

Multiple travel writers express themselves unrestrained while visiting the Colosseum. This very monument seems to have made the past revive in the heads of these Dutch travel writers. Take, for example, Ten Kate, who before describing a fight between two gladiators, invites his readers to join him at the arena:

“Treed met mij de *arena* binnen, en blik rond! Uwe fantasie bouwt de fragmenten op en bevolkt de eenzaamheid.”³⁰²

In Heeres’ travel book, Frits tries to explain to his readers what all happened in the Colosseum hundreds of years ago.

“Op dit plein werden de groote schouwspelen aan het Romeinsche volk gegeven. Gewapende mannen – zwaardvechters – streden er tegen elkander. En niet in bloote spiegelgevechten. De heidensche toeschouwers wilden bloed zien stroomen. Verscheurende beesten werden er tegen elkander of tegen menschen – veelal tegen de Christenen – los gelaten.”³⁰³

The Christians that suffered due to pagan atrocities appear to his eyes. It makes him shiver:

“O hoe helder verrezen de edele figuren uit dien eersten christelijken tijd voor mijnen geest. (...), nu kon ik, dacht mij, de gebeurtenissen als tasten en voelen. Zij doemden als uit den grond voor mij op..... den eigen grond waarop thans mijne voeten rustten.”³⁰⁴

“Geheel zooals het voor zestien of zeventien honderd jaren was, lag het amphitheater voor mijn geest. Met al zijne afschuwelijkheden, met zijne goden en duivelendienst, met zijne godslasteringen, met zijne martelingen van de dienaren Gods. En geheel in die heidensche tijden verdiept, greep mij, ik weet niet welk, gevoel aan (sic), dat mij zacht deed huiveren... totdat ten laatste mijn oog viel midden op het plein. Daar staat een kruis wat mij tot zelve terugriep en mij getuigde dat de tijden veranderd waren en

³⁰² Ten Kate, 116.

³⁰³ Heeres, 82.

³⁰⁴ Heeres, 84-85.

het afgodendom had plaats gemaakt voor de dienst des waren Gods en diens eenigen medezelfstandigen Zoon Jesus Christus.”³⁰⁵

A true historical sensation overcomes Frits. But then, he realises that those terrible days for the Christians are over. He sees the big cross at the centre of the arena and knows that Christianity had survived.

Van Vollenhoven has a similar experience. He too sees and feels what happened there, at the Colosseum, centuries ago. While visiting the monument at night, as the moonlight illuminates the remains of the amphitheatre, Van Vollenhoven states:

“Toen had de verbeelding vrij spel, toen rezen op nieuw die dagen van ouds, van Rome’s grootheid en verval, voor de herinnering op. Het was, als werden de zitplaatsen weder bezet, en de vele duizenden staarden begeerig, bloedgierig den wilden kampstrijd aan, die daar beneden in de Arena plaats greep, ook door het bloed van Christen-belijders en martelaars gewijd; - en wij dankten God, dat wij het Colosseum slechts als ruïne mogten aanschouwen!”³⁰⁶

Van Vollenhoven thanks God that he is only capable of visiting the Colosseum, it being a ruin and not a place where Christians are still slaughtered. Indeed, those days are over in Rome, which is clear to Boer as well:

“Tot de geschiedenis van den Romeinschen Keizertijd, van de Romeinsche zeden en beschaving, behooren al de hier roekeloos verspilte schatten, al het hier schuldeloos vergoten bloed, al de martelingen en gruwelen van godsdiensthaat, waarvan deze arena getuige is geweest.”³⁰⁷

The thoughts of the horrible past run through Klönne’s mind too. After giving an elaborate description of what all had happened in the arena during the reigns of the Roman emperors,³⁰⁸ Klönne loses his apparently positive spirit, as he rethinks what he had just said. No, the Colosseum was not only the resident of malicious fights (“Barbaarsch heidendom!”),³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ Heeres, 93.

³⁰⁶ Van Vollenhoven, 10.

³⁰⁷ Boer, 487 (1870).

³⁰⁸ Klönne, 145-154.

³⁰⁹ Klönne, 155.

moreover, it was the place where the blood of thousands of Christian martyrs had drenched the sand.

“Het Colosseum, was niet ten allen tijde het strijdperk van het goddelooze heidendom. Honderd duizend martelaren hebben op dienzelfden grond de overwinning van het Kruis door hunnen dood bezegeld, en de aarde met hun bloed doorweekt en geheiligd. Geen wonder, dat het Kruis, het eenig wapen, waarmede die onverschrokken helden streden, als eene heilige trofée het middelpunt der Arena uitmaakt, en den geloovige eerbied en liefde jegens het Colosseum inboezemt.”³¹⁰

To Klönne, the Colosseum is now a precious shrine of the Christian Church, a:

“Kostbaar heiligdom der Kerk! waar het bloed der geloofsgetuigen, het zaad der Christenen, zoo overvloedig is vergoten!”³¹¹

What all a precious ruin can do to people.

³¹⁰ Klönne, 155.

³¹¹ Klönne, 155.

Appendix 3 – Rome is dangerous! – *No, it is not!*

This appendix shows the ‘interaction’ between the two Dutch travel writers Hirschig and Klönne. In his travel book, Klönne refers to Hirschig when he is talking about the safety of Rome. Whereas Klönne thinks Rome should not be seen as a place where murder is a daily happening, Hirschig is not so sure about that. During his first night in Rome, Hirschig wakes up in the middle of the night because of loud noises, and decides to take a look through his window:

“Ik ging vroeg te bed en sliep in, doch werd te middernacht wakker van een vreeselijk gebons op eene deur in de straat. Dit herhaalde zich van tijd tot tijd, hierbij kwam om het kwartier een gefluit, dat met een dergelijk werd beantwoord. Daarbij allerlei akelige geluiden, zoo als ik nooit gehoord had. Eindelijk sprong ik op, om uit te kijken; er was niets te zien in de donkere straat, die als een zwarte slang zich onder mijn raam kronkelde; hier en daar drong door hoeken en gaten het prachtig maanlicht heen, en lachte vriendelijk op de ruïnen eens ouden tempels. Wel een kwartier uurs boeide mij het treffend uitzigt. Men moet *Rome* ’s avonds zien, dan omzwachtelt de maan alle de opene wonden der stad, dan stoffeert de phantasie al de oude burgten en tempels als met de geesten der vroegere geslachten; dan brengt het meer wakkere geheugen zoo veel heerlijke gezegden van redenaars en dichters der oudheid voor den geest.”³¹²

After Hirschig woke up because of people knocking at doors, whistles and other eerie sounds, he decides to take a look at Rome at moonlight. He sees the Colosseum, the Forum Romanum and the Capitoline Hill. After a while, he wants to resume his sleep. However, the scary sounds do not leave him alone and make his imagination go wild:

“Doch ik brak het verhaal van het gefluit en geklop op deuren bij mijne eerste nachtrust te *Rome* af. Ik had uitgekeken. Naauwelijks was ik weer gelegen, of daar hoorde ik het weer, en daarbij het geluid van een opengaand venster in mijne nabijheid. Ik vloog weder op; ik zie vlak tegenover mijn raam een venster open. Voor dat venster staat eene armelijke legerstede, waarin ik eene gestalte zie opzitten. Wacht,

³¹² Hirschig, *Indrukken*, 131-132.

ik zal mijn venster sluiten; want als men uit dat raam eene ladder van zes sporten uitsteekt op mijne vensterbank, dan klimt men over, vermoordt mij, sleept mijne bagaadje over de ladder naar binnen, welligt ook mijn lijk, en ik – ben sporeloos verdwenen.”³¹³

Hirschig is frightened during his first night in Rome. What if someone takes a ladder, climbs through his window and kills him? Klönne, who wrote his travel book several years later, does not understand why Hirschig is so afraid. Before complaining about his colleague, Klönne gives his opinion on safety in Rome:

“Zoo wij evenwel (...) ons op het gebied der feiten begeven, en de lijst der misdaden, welke jaarlijks in Rome plaats grijpen, vergelijken met die van andere even bevolkte steden van het beschaafde Europa, dan steekt de hoofdstad der Christenen zóó gunstig bij allen af, dat wij niet kunnen begrijpen, hoe zoo velen, wij zouden bijna zeggen tegen beter weten in, haar voorstellen als één groot moordhol.”³¹⁴

According to Klönne, the ‘facts’ show that Rome is one of the safest, if not the safest, cities of civilised Europe. Therefore, he does not understand that many people think that Rome is the city of murders and murderers. That is why the Catholic priest regards it inexplicable that Hirschig was afraid of getting killed in Rome:

“Zoo vinden wij het onverklaarbaar, dat de schrijver van een onlangs ten onzent verschenen werkje, in de kamer van zijn Hotel in doodsangst geraakte, enkel en alleen omdat hij zich voorstelde, hoe zijne burens, aan de overzijde der straat, een ladder in zijn raam konden steken, hem vermoorden, zijn bagaadje met zijn lijk over de ladder slepen, en hem sporeloos doen verdwijnen.”³¹⁵

With this passage, Klönne shows that he knew Hirschig’s work. He also shows that he does not agree with the image of Rome – as a dangerous city – that Hirschig gives. This is just one example of how these Dutch travel writers could have known each other’s works and how they could have disagreed on the images of Rome presented by others.

³¹³ Ibidem, 133.

³¹⁴ Klönne, *Eene reis*, 81.

³¹⁵ Ibidem, 81.

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