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POETRY ON ROME FROM THE AMBIENCE OF POMPONIO LETO:
TOPOGRAPHY, HISTORY, ENCOMIUM

«The challenge of ancient Rome, its poets and its monuments was a stimulant to the culture of Medicean Rome». So concluded Josef IJsewijn in a study of the *Coryciana* as a document of its age¹. Of no poem of the period is this dictum more true in a literal sense than of the neglected *Antiquaria urbis* of Andrea Fulvio, dedicated to Leo X in the year of his accession (1513)². *Antiquaria urbis* is the most complete expression of the passion for the topography, history and supremacy of ancient Rome that generations of students, Fulvio amongst them, absorbed from the writings, lectures and guided tours of Rome of their charismatic teacher,

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¹ J. IJSEWIJN, *Poetry in a Roman Garden: The Coryciana*, in *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition. Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ed. P. GODMAN – O. MURRAY, Oxford-Warburg Studies, Clarendon, Oxford 1990, pp. 211-231: p. 231.

² *Antiquaria urbis* is often mentioned but has rarely been studied in its own right. It was not included in R. VALENTINI – G. ZUCCHETTI, *Codice topografico della Città di Roma*, vol. IV, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 91, Tipografia del Senato, Roma 1946, but extracts were printed in E. MÜNTZ, *Les arts à la cour des papes pendant le XV^e et le XVI^e siècle: recueil de documents inédits tirés des archives et des bibliothèques romaines*. 3. *Sixte IV - Léon X, 1471-1521*, Thorin, Paris 1882. The fundamental study of Fulvio's life and works remains R. WEISS, *Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano (c. 1470-1527)*, in «Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa», 28, 1959, pp. 1-44. See also R. W. GASTON, s. v. in *An Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology*, ed. N. THOMSON DE GRUMMOND, Fitzroy Dearborn, London - Chicago 1996, vol. I, pp. 471-473; M. CERESA, s. v. in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. I, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma 1998, pp. 709-712; ID., *Andrea Fulvio erudito, antiquario e classicista*, in *Roma nella svolta tra Quattro e Cinquecento. La rivisitazione pagana di artisti e umanisti. Cultura antiquaria tra filologia e simbolo. Il problema del Polifilo*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, a c. di S. COLONNA, De Luca, Roma 2004, pp. 143-149, and M. LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom in Andreas Fulvius Antiquaria urbis*, in *Das alte Rom und die neue Zeit. Varianten des Rom-Mythos zwischen Petrarca und dem Barock*, hrsg. von M. DISSELKAMP, P. IHRING, F. WOLFFZETTEL, Narr, Tübingen 2006, pp. 201-220.

Pomponio Leto³. If it is the only poem of the early 16th century entirely devoted to topography⁴, it is not the only one to exploit what was clearly a theme of great appeal. In this paper my aim is not to rewrite «Roman Humanist Images of Rome»⁵, but to set *Antiquaria urbis* in its context and compare its handling of Roman history and topography with that of other works in Latin from the time of Paul II to Leo X.

Antiquaria urbis is a hexameter poem of c. 3,100 lines, in two books. In its main, topographical part, it is a grandchild of Biondo Flavio's *Roma instaurata*, using a similar mode of organisation (that is, lists by categories), and similar sources, including *Roma instaurata* itself⁶. Book I begins with *portae et viae*, and then surveys each of the hills of Rome. Book II describes the bridges, the aqueducts, the baths, the triumphal arches, the theatres, the fora, the basilicas and temples and so on, ending with the most recent developments. At the beginning, after the letter of dedication to Leo X, there is a 97-line panegyric of the newly enthroned pope as lover of peace and supporter of the arts. Book I of the poem proper begins with a section of c. 425 lines on the city of Rome, after a brief request to the deities now inhabiting Rome, pos-

³ On Fulvio's connection with Pomponio Leto see F. ALBERTINI, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris Urbis Romae* [...], Romae, per I. Mazochium, 1510, f. Piv: «vir doctissimus Pomponiique amicissimus auditor»; WEISS, *Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano*, cit., p. 2. On Pomponio Leto and topography, see below.

⁴ A. FULVIUS, *Antiquaria urbis*, Romae, per I. Mazochium, 1513, «Quod nemo ante me adhuc (ut video) versibus attentavit» (f. Aiv). His only direct poetic follower is Germanus ADAUBERTUS, *Roma*, ed. E. MARINOVA, *Hamburger Beiträge zur neulateinischen Philologie* 2, LIT-Verl., Münster – Hamburg – London 2000. For a survey of comparable poems from the period, in Latin or the vernacular, see LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom*, cit., pp. 206-209. A type that goes back to antiquity itself is the “guided visit”, Virg. *Aen.* 8, 306-361 (Aeneas at Rome) and Luc. 9, 964-999 (Caesar at Troy), Prop. 4, 1, cf. Francesco Petrarca, *Africa* (8, 853-955; see P. P. TROMPEO, *Piazza Margana: con altri itinerari romani*, Bulzoni, Roma 1969, pp. 181-197: «Cartaginesi a Roma»), Ugolino Verino, *Carlias* (15, 241-272). From the first half of the 15th century there is an account of a real tour round the monuments of Rome with his teacher Francesco da Fiano in Bartolomeo Bayguera's unpublished *Itinerarium* (see M. MIGLIO, *Roma dopo Avignone. La rinascita politica dell'antico*, in *Memoria dall'antico nell'arte italiana*. I. *L'uso dei classici*, a c. di S. SETTIS, Einaudi, Torino 1984, pp. 72-111, at pp. 83-84). Rutilius Namatianus' *De reditu suo*, with its excursus in praise of Rome (1, 47-166), was rediscovered in 1493, and known in Rome to literary figures before the *editio princeps*, edited by Giambattista Pio (Bologna 1520) and dedicated to Leo X (see Rutilius Claudius Namatianus, *De reditu suo sive Iter Gallicanum I & II*, ed. E. DOBLHOFER, Winter, Heidelberg 1972-1977, vol. I, pp. 57-68). It was reprinted in *De Roma prisca et nova varii auctores*, Romae, ex Aedibus J. Mazochii, 1523.

⁵ The title of Charles L. Stinger's wide-ranging treatment in *Roma Capitale (1447-1527)*, a c. di S. GENSINI, Pacini, Pisa 1994, pp. 15-38. Stinger, however, mentions neither Fulvio nor the role of Pomponio Leto in the development of the cult and myth of Rome in our period.

⁶ I will investigate the ancient and more recent sources more thoroughly in the critical edition that I am currently preparing. In the ms. copy, Laur. 33.37, in a passage at the end of the dedicatory letter, not included in the printed edition, Fulvio lists as his sources Varro, Pliny, Strabo, Livy, Ovid, Suetonius, Tacitus and Julius Capitolinus. See WEISS, *Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano*, cit., p. 20; LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom*, cit., pp. 211-213.

sibly Peter and Paul⁷, to act as Fulvio's Muses⁸. This section is mainly a history, from the arrival of Saturn in Latium up to the fall of Rome to the barbarians and the transition to the rule of the popes (1, 400-403, f. Civ):

Omnia barbaricis direpta furoribus, unde
Res ad Pontifices summos Romana redacta est,
Qui regnaverunt stabuntque diutius illis,
Quos modo narraui, variis rectoribus urbis.

Within this section, after highlighting the moment of Rome's foundation on 21 April during the festival of the *Parilia* (24-37)⁹, Fulvio inserts an excursus in praise of Rome (38-104) that was considerably lengthened in the revised printed version of the poem¹⁰. This excursus stresses Christian Rome's continuity with ancient Rome as a world leader. Here the ideology is that of the late Republican and Augustan writers, such as Cicero, Livy and Virgil; Rome's values of *pietas*, *iustitia*, *fides* and *gloria* are spread to the world (1, 56-62, f. Avr):

Imperium sine fine datum, sine fine futurum,
Ius tamen sceptri mutatum saepius urbis,
Quae fuit, est et erit semper celeberrima rerum.
Nunc ubi divino fundata Ecclesia nutu
Maiestatis adhuc retinet vestigia priscae,
Summi ubi Pontifices Romanaque curia floret,
Divini cultus praecepta datura per orbem [...] ¹¹.

Fulvio's account of Roman history from Romulus on depends heavily on the early books of Livy and gives most space to the early period. Republican history, the

⁷ They are not named, but Pierio Valeriano calls them «Dii tutelares Romae», in *Hexametris, Odae et Epigrammata*, Vinetia, G. Giolito de' Ferrarii, 1550, p. 23.

⁸ LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom*, cit., p. 214.

⁹ The celebration of which had importantly been revived by Pomponio Leto, F. CRUCIANI, *Il Teatro del Campidoglio e le feste romane del 1513*, Il Polifilo, Milano 1969, p. XXII; G. TOURNOY-THOEN, *La laurea poetica del 1484 all'Accademia romana*, in «Bulletin de l'Institut historique Belge de Rome», 42, 1972, pp. 212-235. E. SCHRÖTER, *Der Vatikan als Hügel Apollons und der Musen. Kunst und Panegyrik von Nikolaus V. bis Julius II.*, in «Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte», 75, 1980, pp. 208-240, at pp. 237-239 discusses a poet laureate ceremony held by Julius II in the Garden of the Belvedere on 10 November 1512.

¹⁰ F. Albertini also has praise of Rome at end of Book II of his topographical work in prose (*Opusculum*, 1510). See Fulvio's speech and poem (in elegiac couplets) in praise of Rome (published with his *Antiquitates urbis, Romae* 1527, ff. Siir-viv, Tir-iiiv). WEISS, *Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano*, cit., pp. 29-30 suggests that these were written for the *Palilie* of 1525. For more on such speeches, with further references, see STINGER, *Roman Humanist Images of Rome*, cit., pp. 27-28.

¹¹ Cf. *Antiquitates urbis*, ff. Sviv, Tiir.

winning and losing of *libertas*, is crammed into a page and a half. With the assassination of Caesar and the coming of the empire, represented as a return to tyranny (1, 380-382, f. Cir: «Res Romana quibus periit compressa tyrannis. / Primus ad imperium patefecit limina Caesar / Dictator, veterum repetens vestigia regum [...]»), the account speeds up even more¹². Finally a passage on Rome's decline into luxury and the massive size of ancient Rome at its height leads to the topic of the walls and gates, and the beginning of the topographical description. That history, encomium and description were felt to be combined in the enterprise is shown by the first of Fulvio's introductory epigrams, *Ad lectorem* (f. Air):

Candide si lector magnae primordia Romae
Quantaque iam fuerint moenia nosse cupis,
Haec tibi designat veterum antiquaria¹³ rerum
Pagina, distinguens ordine quaeque suo¹⁴.

If Biondo is the grandfather of *Antiquaria urbis*, Pomponio Leto is its father. Practically all of Leto's multifarious activities impinge on my topic, but first and foremost is his passion for ancient Rome. In no other figure of the period was admiration for Rome as a high-point of culture and civilisation so fused with understanding of the material remains¹⁵. A delightful account of a walk with friends to the Via Appia, perhaps dated as early as 1466-1467, gives a glimpse of this:

Coepimus statim confabulari de aetate illa felicissima quae innumeros in omni
doctrinarum genere praestantes viros peperit eripuitque nepotibus omnibus ipsam
illam generosam stirpem, praescia quidem tot calamitatum, tot aerumnarum, tot

¹² The whole section on the emperors was added to the revised version.

¹³ «Antiquaria» (n. pl.) is used as a metrically possible equivalent of «Antiquitates», the word used in the book headings of the ms., and in the title of Fulvio's prose treatise, *Antiquitates urbis* (Romae 1527). I take the whole phrase «veterum antiquaria rerum» as a periphrasis for the concept of «Antiquitates». I am grateful to Prof. M. D. Reeve for alerting me to this issue.

¹⁴ Cf. Francesco ARSILLI, *De poetis urbanis* 241-242: «Fulvius a septem describit montibus Urbem / Reddit et antiquis nomina prisca locis», in *Coryciana*, ed. J. IJSEWIJN, Herder, Roma 1997, p. 353.

¹⁵ See M. FERNO, *Iulii Pomponii Laeti Elogium historicum*, as edited by A. Campana, cited by R. BIANCHI, *Bartolomeo Platina, Pomponio Leto e il "vitulus" di Menecmo*, in *Confini dell'umanesimo letterario. Studi in onore di Francesco Tateo*, a c. di M. DE NICHILO, G. DISTASO, A. IURILLI, Roma nel Rinascimento, Roma 2003, vol. I, p. 145: «Errabat crebro solus per veterum monumenta, vetustatis diligentissimus rimator. Nihil in Vrbe tam abstrusum tamque abditum ad quod ille non penetrarit. Situm, regiones, portas, colles, vias, vicos, aedes, templa, aras, domos, delubra, lacus, balnea, basilicas, hortos, horrea, pistrina, insulas, senatula, obeliscos, bibliothecas, campos, fora, pontes, thermas, ianos, aquas, capitolia, amphitheatra, colossos, columnas, macella, theatra, ludos, nymphaea, equos aeneos eburneos, tabula, signa, arcus, lupanaria, latrinas, vexilla, castra, cohortes, sacra prophana omnia tam perite quam proprios digitos perculluit discriminavitque».

miseriarum in quas casura erat posteritas. Inde quis potuisset se a lacrimis continere? Licet (neque enim ferrei sumus) tectorum ruinas deflere, quae passim in Palatio cernuntur. Res est profecto admiranda et quae veterem maiestatem et diligentiam testetur¹⁶.

The note of lament, which takes us back to Poggio's *De varietate fortunae*, is not one struck by Fulvio in *Antiquaria urbis*¹⁷. His attitude is closer to that of his contemporary and acquaintance, Sadoletto¹⁸.

Sadoletto, writing to Angelo Colocci from Carpentras in 1529, and recalling pleasurable meetings of the poetic *sodalitates* before the Sack, and walks around Rome, says that his love of the city then sprang both from «vetustatis admiratio» and «praesens civitatis maiestas»¹⁹.

Antiquaria urbis is written as a treatise²⁰. The poet's voice is dispassionate and impersonal. The poem contains very little narrative (hardly any myths, stories or legends of more than a few lines), and no Romantic descriptions of ruins or land-

¹⁶ Cited as edited by J. RUYSSCHAERT, *Les manuels de grammaire latine composés par Pomponio Leto*, in «Scriptorium», 8, 1954, pp. 105-106; cf. R. BIANCHI, *Paolo Spinoso e l'Umanesimo romano nel secondo Quattrocento*, Storia e Letteratura, Roma 2004, pp. 17-18 n. 11.

¹⁷ It is amusing to trace Leto's complaint in his next sentences («Post exsecrari coepimus illum ipsum olitorem, qui primus Circum Maximum fimo replevit [...] Ad spectaculum olim populus romanus conveniebat [...] in praesentia ranuncularum raucus et aquae praesagens garritus [...]») back to Poggio (*De varietate fortunae*, I 5, «nunc ortos oppleti») and Biondo (*Roma instaurata*, III 26, «in hortos mutatos, optimis habundantes oleribus»), and forward to Paolo Spinoso, *Oratio urne invectae ad Sanctum Marcum ex ede Beate Agnetis*: «Rusticitas ortos Magno colit impia Circo: / Dictatoris opus Caesaris illud erat. / Roma, ubi solennes spectabas, inclita, ludos, / conspicis, heu, putri nunc loca plena fimo [...]» (99-101, BIANCHI, *Paolo Spinoso*, cit., p. 170), and Fulvio: «Extat adhuc caevae species et forma vetustae, / Sola coaxantes ranas et oluscula fundens» (*Antiquaria urbis*, 2, 807-808, f. Oir).

¹⁸ WEISS, *Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano*, cit., p. 12 with n. 10.

¹⁹ J. SADOLETO, *Epistolarum libri sexdecim* [...], Gryphius, Lyon 1554, *Epist.* 5, 18, pp. 187-94, 188-90 (*sodalitates*), 192: «Nulli umquam sua patria solumque illud, in quo quisque natus et alitus gratam incunabulorum memoriam secum perpetuo fert, tam charum fuit tamque amabile, quam mihi urbs Roma et sancti illi penates tot clarissimorum fortissimorumque hominum, quorum pene in passus singulos, cum per vicus et plateas urbis vadebamus, aliquod in monumentum, aliquamque in historiam pedem ponebamus. Cur autem tantum amarem, et vetustatis admiratio faciebat et praesens civitatis maiestas». See F. UBALDINI, *Vita di Mons. Angelo Colocci*, ed. V. FANELLI, Città del Vaticano 1969, p. 69; J. HAIG GAISSER, *Pierio Valeriano on the Ill Fortune of Learned Men. A Renaissance Humanist and His World*, Univ. of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 1999, pp. 46-47. For other "Pomponian" walks see P. VALERIANI *Hieroglyphica*, Basileae, ex officina Th. Guarini, 1575, f. 193v; ALEXANDRI AB ALEXANDRO *Genialium Dierum Libri Sex* [...], Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Hackiana, 1673, vol. I, p. 16; G. SAVARESE, *Antico e moderno in umanisti romani del primo Cinquecento*, in *Roma e l'antico nell'arte e nella cultura del Cinquecento*, a. c. di M. FAGIOLO, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma 1985, pp. 23-31, at p. 23.

²⁰ To compare small things to great, its mosaic-like combination of ancient sources, poetic as well as prose, recalls that of Poliziano's *Silvae*. LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom*, cit., pp. 203-204, rightly comments that Fulvio's literary and scholarly aims cannot be separated.

scape²¹. The difference between then and now is noticed but not deplored²². Fulvio's business is to tell us what was where, to explain names, and to give some of the historical background, whether from antiquity or the Christian era²³. This sober and academic approach is meant, in its modernity, to be his work's selling point²⁴.

In his other poems on Rome Fulvio was fully capable of writing in a more imaginative vein. Particularly charming is a section in the *Egloga de expositione Romuli et Remi in Tiberi* where Faustulus, the shepherd who discovers the twins, gives Mopsus (an Arcadian) a little lecture about the site of Rome and its history:

Et quae nunc gregibus sunt pervia rura docebo
 [...]. Tu nunc circumspice cuncta:
 Regibus Albanis sunt haec subiecta, per omnes
 Quantum oculi possunt longe se extendere fines.
 Iste Palatinus mons, in quo condidit urbem
 Rex Evandrus, ubi superant vestigia rerum.
 Nunc ubi tecta vides iam collabentia, vestri

²¹ This is another vast topic that can only be touched on here: LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom*, cit., p. 220; BIANCHI, *Paolo Spinoso*, cit., pp. 17-18 n. 11; L. BARKAN, *Unearthing the Past. Archaeology and Aesthetics in the making of Renaissance Culture*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1999, pp. 26-42; V. DE CAPRIO (ed.), *Poesie e poetica delle rovine di Roma: momenti e problemi*, Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, Roma 1987; M. M. MCGOWAN, *The Vision of Rome in Late Renaissance France*, Yale University Press, New Haven - London 2000. Castiglione's sonnet «Superbi colli» uses the list of monuments familiar from the antiquarian poems: «Colossi, archi, teatri, opre divine, / trionfal pompe gloriose e liete / in poco cener [...]» (*Poesia del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento*, a c. di C. MUSCETTA – D. PONCHIROLI, Einaudi, Torino 1959, p. 1223); cf. the Latin version by Lazarus Bonamicus in J. GRUTER, *Delitiae CC Italarum Poetarum huiusque superiorisque aevi illustrium*, Ionae Rosae, Frankfurti 1608, vol. I, p. 475. There is a similar list in Capodiferro's poem on death of Raphael, Vat. lat. 3419, f. 63r: «[...] Reddebat te ipsum tibi tot Regionibus, Umber, / Dimensis, portis, moenibus atque viis; / templa, theatra, arcus, thermae, amphitheatra manebant, / Et tua si magni quid positura tulit. / Haec cum illo interiere [...]» (see J. SHEARMAN, *Raphael in early modern sources (1483-1602)*, Yale University Press, New Haven – London 2003, vol. I, pp. 648-50).

²² In the preface to *Antiquitates urbis* (ff. B [=A] iir-v), however, he has an interesting discussion of the destruction of Rome in different historical periods («cum saepius diruta, saepius instaurata sint omnia»), and he laments the ruin of Rome in his poem in its praise, f. Tiir, cf. CERESA, *Andrea Fulvio erudito, antiquario e classicista*, cit., p. 148.

²³ Cf. the preface to *Antiquitates urbis*, f. B [=A] iir: «non modo geographice, sed ethymologicæ cum rerum causis et argumentis, non ut architectus, sed historico more describere curavi; nam fabulas dicere non est consilium».

²⁴ LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom*, cit., pp. 215-216 compares Fulvio's mode of presentation of his material to that in Propertius' aetiological elegies (the whole of 4, 1 is based on a contrast between ancient and contemporary Rome), Ovid's *Fasti* and Prudentius' *Peristephanon*. On the by-passing of medieval culture see A. MARINO, *Idoli e colossi: la statuarica antica sulla piazza del Campidoglio da Sisto IV a Leone X*, in *Roma, centro ideale della cultura dell'Antico nei secoli XV e XVI. Da Martino V al Sacco di Roma, 1417-1527*, a c. di S. DANESI SQUARZINA, Electa, Milano 1989, pp. 365-370.

Regia Maenalii fuit haec Tegeatica regis.
 Post hunc quem cernis mons est Saturnius alter,
 Alter Aventinus qui Tibridis eminet alveo,
 Mons ubi semiferi domus imperterrita Caci.
 At qui reliqui circum hunc sunt sine nomine colles²⁵.

If at the time of Aeneas' visit to Evander the site of Rome already had a deep mythological past, at the moment of the Rome's foundation Evander's Pallanteum has been added to the visible archaeological layers.

An ancient poem that was a more immediate model, perhaps, than any that have been suggested so far, is Martial's epigram on the building of the Flavian amphitheatre, epigr. 2²⁶:

Hic ubi sidereus propius videt astra colossus
 Et crescunt media peggmata celsa via,
 Invidiosa feri radiabant atria regis
 Unaque iam tota stabat in urbe domus²⁷.
 Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis Amphitheatri
 Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant²⁸.
 Hic ubi miramur, velocia munera, thermas,
 Abstulerat miseris tecta superbus ager.
 Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras²⁹,
 Ultima pars aulae deficientis erat.
 Reddita Roma sibi est et sunt te praeside, Caesar,
 Deliciae populi, quae fuerant domini.

Not only does this have the same contrast of earlier and later buildings on the same site that is the basis of Fulvio's whole approach³⁰, but the threefold repetition of *hic ubi* at the beginning of lines 1, 5 and 7 furnishes a striking precedent for Fulvio's frequent use of this formula, with one exception always at the beginning of a line³¹.

²⁵ *Antiquitates urbis*, f. Tivr. The influence of Virg. *Aen.* 8, 306-361 is patent.

²⁶ See M. VALERII MARTIALIS *Liber spectaculorum*, ed. with introd., transl. and commentary by K. M. COLEMAN, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2006, pp. 14-36.

²⁷ Cf. *Antiquaria urbis*, 2, 705-706 (f. Niirr): «Romam pene omnem dum conditur occupat, unde / Tot privata urbis, tot publica tecta ruerunt».

²⁸ Cf. *Antiquaria urbis*, 2, 419-426 (f. Livr) (see LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom*, cit., p. 214 n. 57): «Extat adhuc ingens, media quod ceperat Urbe / Vespasianus, opus memorabilis amphiteatri / [...], sed illud / Coepum parte domus auratae stabat et amplac, / Qua prius extiterant immitis stagna Neronis, / Assurgebat ubi incomperta mole Colossus [...]». Cf. Paolo Spinoso, *Oratio urne ad urbem Romam*, 13-14, in BIANCHI, *Paolo Spinoso*, cit., p. 153.

²⁹ Cf. *Antiquaria urbis*, 2, 778 (f. Oir): «Claudia diffusas fundebat porticus umbras».

³⁰ LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom*, cit., pp. 214-215. For more classical examples, esp. Ov. *fast.* 5, 93-94, see COLEMAN, *Liber spectaculorum*, cit., p. 19.

³¹ Cf. LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom*, cit., p. 217.

This detail of style provides a link with Caspar Ursinus Velius' *Elegia iii ex Urbe Roma missa*, which begins:

Hic ubi facta patris nunc stant in colle Quirini
 Marmora Praxitelis Phidiacaque manu,
 Quos olim aurigas et equos e marmore vivo
 Cepit ab Armenio munera rege Nero,
 Ducit in Exquilias demisso tramite clivus;
 Area vimineum qua patet ante iugum,
 Vitigeros inter colles, Lenaia dona,
 Ostendit vernos quaelibet arbor opes³².

Here the famous statues on the Quirinal identify the beginning of a path into the *disabitato*, where among the vineyards and flowering trees of spring, Velius meditates on poetry's lack of material rewards and the consolations that come from it. In a later section too he contrasts the populated Campo Marzio with the greener hills where he likes to walk:

Atque haec dum meditor, ventum est ad proxima Claudii,
 Vsque ruinosae tecta vetusta domus.
 Martius hanc subter campus iacet, hic ubi³³ Roma
 Consulibus fascas et nova iura dedit.
 Candidus his olim civis descendit ab hortis.
 Pone iacent Clario templa dicata deo.
 Despicio tumulo Romana palatia ab alto
 Et septem colles urbis, et urbis opes³⁴.
 Alme Quirine, tuo quamvis ego colle libenter
 Ambulo, me quamvis grata vireta tenent [...] (f. r3v).

Velius (c. 1493-1539) was in Rome in 1512-1514³⁵. Though he does not mention Fulvio in his catalogue of poetic friends at Rome (in an elegy addressed to Johannes Cuspianus)³⁶, it would be surprising if he were not aware of *Antiquaria urbis*.

³² *Poematum libri quinque*, Basileae, apud I. Frobenium, 1522, f. r1v.

³³ Cf. *Antiquaria urbis*, 2, 64 (f. Kir).

³⁴ Reminiscent of Hor. *carm.* 3, 29, 12?

³⁵ A brief biography in *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*³, Francke, Bern - München 2005, vol. XXV, p. 271. See also *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A biographical register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, III, ed. P. G. BIETENHOLZ, Univ. of Toronto Press, Toronto - Buffalo 1985, pp. 356-357. On the antiquarian detail in the poem in relation to Pomponio Leto's views see U. SCHLEGELMILCH, *Die Romelegie des Ursinus Velius (el. 3): Spiegel der antiquarischen Forschung um 1500 — und Huldigung für Angelo Colocci?*, in *Mentis amore ligati. Lateinische Freundschaftsdichtung und Dichterefreundschaft in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, hrsg. von B. KÖRKELE, T. LICHT, J. WIENDLOCHA, Mattes Verl., Heidelberg 2001, pp. 435-459; LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom*, cit., p. 202 n. 8.

³⁶ Ff. s2v-3r. The list is long but includes Arsilli, Blossius Palladius, Goritz and Colocci. For Velius in F. ARSILLI, *De poetis urbanis* 223-6 see *Coryciana*, ed. IJSEWIJN, cit., p. 353.

Fulvio was the only one of Pomponio Leto's many students to develop his teacher's topographical interests as his own special field³⁷. For his later poem, *Saecularis sive Iobilaeus Annus* (1525), Fulvio felt entitled to adopt the title «antiquarius romanus»³⁸. The title «antiquarius» had already been attributed to Pomponio Leto as early as around 1470 in *dictata* (in ms. Laur. 52.8) from his lectures on Silius Italicus («antiquarii Iulii»³⁹) and it is how he is remembered in Giulio Simone Siculo, *Oratio de Poeticae et Musarum Triumpho* (Roma 1518, f. E 11r): «Coelitus inspiratus et missus occurrit Pomponius Laetus antiquarius, ex cuius ludo tamquam ex equo Troiano sescenti doctissimi exiere. Qui pulcherrima urbis loca monstravit et suam cuique domum assignavit».

In fact, a *Stationes quadragesimales* of Fulvio, printed with his *Saecularis*, was a rather blatant imitation of a poem by Leto on the Lenten Stations (*Stationes Romanae Quadragesimali ieiunio*⁴⁰), a work that must surely first have given Fulvio the idea of writing a topographical poem⁴¹. Two redactions survive of this shortish poem in elegiac couplets⁴², one from the time of Paul II, the other from after 1486. It is written as a guide (cf. 2, «me duce») in didactic style using second person singular address. The speaker leads the pilgrim from church to church, locating these on their ancient hills, or by reference to other ancient topographical features such as the Forum Boarium (8), Nero's lake (21), the Sacra via (36), «arcus Triphali» (38)⁴³, Pompey's theatre (44), the Trophies of Marius (49), Nerva's forum (54), the Porta Nevia (67)⁴⁴, the

³⁷ Especially in *Antiquitates urbis* (1527), cf. WEISS, *Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano*, cit., p. 39.

³⁸ Ivi, p. 27; A. FULVIUS, *Saecularis sive Iobilaeus Annus*, s. n. t., ff. Air, iir, iiir.

³⁹ E. L. BASSETT – J. DELZ – J. DUNSTON, *Silius Italicus*, in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries: annotated lists and guides*, III, ed. P. O. KRISTELLER, Catholic University of America Press, Washington D. C. 1976, p. 375.

⁴⁰ FULVIUS, *Saecularis*, ff. Dvr-vir; WEISS, *Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano*, cit., p. 29; V. ZABUGHIN, *Giulio Pomponio Leto. Saggio critico*, Roma - Grottaferrata, 1909-12, vol. I, pp. 52-55, vol. II/1, pp. 179-181; O. MARUCCHI, *Éléments d'archéologie chrétienne*, 2 éd., rev. et augm., vol. III, Desclée, Lefèbvre, Paris-Rome, 1909, pp. 63-66; G. MORIN, *Les distiques de Pomponio Leto sur les stations liturgiques de Carême*, in «Revue bénédictine», 35, 1923, pp. 20-23; M. ACCAME LANZILLOTTA, *Pomponio Leto e la topographia di Roma*, in «Journal of Ancient Topography», 7, 1997, pp. 187-194, at pp. 190-191.

⁴¹ My conclusion has been confirmed by LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom*, cit., pp. 209-211, at p. 209: «Die wichtigste Inspirationsquelle und das deutlichste Vorbild für seine Dichtung fand Fulvio aber ohne Zweifel bei seinem Lehrer Pomponio Leto selbst. Dieser hatte [...] ein Poem verfasst über die römischen Stationskirchen». He points out the similarity between *Stationes* 33, «Est quoque patricio veneranda Pudentia vico», and Fulvio's «Stat quoque patricio veneranda Pudentia clivo» (1, 1476, f. H ii).

⁴² I cite from the earlier version edited by Morin, which has 82 lines.

⁴³ The «arco di Portogallo», s.v. *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, I, ed. E. M. STEINBY, Quasar, Roma 1993, pp. 77-79.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Antiquaria urbis*, 1, 535-536, f. Ciiiv. Fulvio, following Biondo (RI, I 13), identifies this with Porta Maggiore; WEISS, *Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano*, cit., p. 36.

Pantheon (77). It is easy to see that Leto is exploiting the old genre of pilgrims' guide to display his up-to-date knowledge of the topography of ancient Rome⁴⁵, and incidentally to include encomiastic references to recent Papal building projects (31-32, S. Marco and the Palazzo di Venezia, being altered and enlarged by Paul II)⁴⁶. The method of juxtaposition of ancient sites with Christian churches is one that Fulvio adopts and explicitly explains at the beginning of his work (1, 5-8, f. Aivr):

Sed quia difficile est adeo confusa ruinis
Scire loca et signis vestigia nosse locorum,
His permixta magis placuit sacra templa notare
Quam quae saepe suos dominos confinia mutant.

If Leto's poem is a plausible precedent for Fulvio, another poem from the same period⁴⁷, the reign of Paul II, opens up another, more entertaining, approach to Roman topography. This is Paolo Spinoso's *Oratio urne invecit ad Sanctum Marcum ex ede Beate Agnetis*, c. 1467⁴⁸, a long epigram, or elegy, of 182 lines, prompted by Paul II's removal from S. Agnese to S. Marco of the porphyry sarcophagus in which Constantine's daughter had been buried (it is now in the Vatican Museums). The conceit is that since the time the sarcophagus arrived in the mausoleum of S. Costanza it has never been out, and the changes Rome has undergone in the meantime come as a terrible shock. When it gets to the Quirinal, it looks down on Rome and describes, or rather laments, what it sees. The survey of monuments is extensive, and occupies practically the whole composition: the baths of Constantine, the Dioscuri on the Quirinal, Castel S. Angelo, the Mausoleum of Augustus, the arches of Constantine, Titus, and Septimius Severus, the Colosseum, the columns of Trajan and Antoninus Pius, the stadium of Domitian, the circuses of Caligula and Nero at the Vatican, the Circus Maximus, porticoes, pyramids, obelisks, the cloaca, bridges, aqueducts, temples, and finally, as the "urn" arrives there, the new Palazzo di Venezia under construction. The "bird's-eye" view has ancient precedents⁴⁹, and contemporary parallels⁵⁰, as we will see, but I have found no other example of use of the typi-

⁴⁵ ZABUGHIN, *Giulio Pomponio Leto*, cit., vol. I, p. 54: «Il sito dei vari luoghi di devozione dei moderni viene spiegato colla scorta della pianta topographica della Roma che fu, di una Roma sparita e distrutta da lunghi secoli, e che pur sembra all'immaginazione del fervido classicista intensamente presente, tanto da poter guidare il pellegrino [...]».

⁴⁶ The greater number of these in the second redaction constitutes its main difference from the first.

⁴⁷ And the same ambience: Bianchi views Spinoso as in contact with Pomponio Leto's circle and fully participating in Roman learned society, *Paolo Spinoso*, cit., pp. 114 n. 112, 181, to which my discussion is much indebted. I am grateful to Prof. Silvia Rizzo for alerting me to this book.

⁴⁸ Ed. BIANCHI, *Paolo Spinoso*, cit., pp. 163-175.

⁴⁹ E. g. Mart. 4, 64, 11-12 (the view from Villa of Julius Martialis on the Ianiculum), Prop. 4, 1.

⁵⁰ Petrus Burrus' first glimpse of Rome from a high point is much more enthusiastic, *Carmen V* 5, 20-25 (1465?): «Quantam te specto summi de vertice montis! / O qualis iam visa pates, quae moe-

cally epigrammatic personification in a topographical context. There seems to have been disapprobation in Rome for Venetian Paul II's appropriation of an important bit of the past. In another epigram, *Oratio urne ad Urbem Romam*, Spinoso expresses concern over the Pope's plan to be buried in the sarcophagus in the basilica of S. Pietro⁵¹. Eventually it was returned to S. Agnese.

The problem of the ruins of Rome and the degradation of the city was alive all through the Renaissance⁵². Tensions between the need for urban renewal, the popes' desires to make Rome a worthy setting for themselves and the church, and the wishes of some Romans to preserve the monuments of the past became more acute in the time of Sixtus IV⁵³. He was hailed as a second founder of Rome, who turned Rome from mud to brick, as Augustus had turned it from brick to marble. His building operations were celebrated in a collection of encomiastic epigrams by Aurelio Lippo Brandolini (died 1497), a Florentine who came to Rome in 1480, and joined the group of scholars and poets around Pomponio Leto⁵⁴. In his collections, *De laudibus et rebus gestis Sixti III Pontificis Maximi* and, especially, *De Urbe*

nia, quantis / Te speculor Phanis opulentam; quot mihi tures, / Quae tribuis cernenda palatia! Quanta videris / Iugera complecti, quot in altis collibus arces! / Urbem Romuleam te dicunt carmina vatum, / Ast ego te potius nunc censeo dicier orbem»; J. IJSEWIJN, *Rome en de humanistische Literatuur*, in «Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Akademie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren», 47, 1985, Nr. 1, pp. 27-73: pp. 50-51. Similarly in his poem for the jubilee year of 1525 (see WEISS, *Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano*, cit., pp. 36-38) Fulvio describes the feelings of amazement of the pilgrims for the first jubilee in 1300 when they caught their first glimpse of Rome as they sailed up the Tiber, and then began to explore the city (ff. Biiir-v): «Miratur septem felicia culmina montes, / Miratur Caci dextris in rupibus antrum, / Ianiculum Ianique larem et Saturnia quondam / Tecta Palatinasque vicino in vertice tures / Et Capitolinas Tarpei culminis arces. / Navibus egressus primum et navalia linquens / Progreditur, pergitque mora novus advena lenta; / Miratur veteres urbis magnasque ruinas [...]».

⁵¹ BIANCHI, *Paolo Spinoso*, cit., pp. 153-155.

⁵² See MIGLIO, *Roma dopo Avignone. La rinascita politica dell'antico*, cit., pp. 72-111; L. PELLECCIA, *The Contested City: Urban Form in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome*, in *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael*, ed. M. B. HALL, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005, pp. 59-94.

⁵³ On Sixtus IV and the city see, e. g., F. BENZI, *Sisto IV renovator urbis: architettura a Roma, 1471-1484*, *Ars fingendi* 2, Officina Ed., Roma 1990; A. BRENTA, *Discorso sulle discipline per l'inaugurazione dell'anno accademico nello Studium Urbis*, a c. di M. CAMPANELLI, *Roma nel Rinascimento*, Roma 1995, pp. 128-130; L. VATTUONE, *Esaltazione e distruzione di Roma antica nella città di Sisto IV*, in *Sisto IV. Le arti a Roma nel Primo Rinascimento*. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, a c. di F. BENZI, Associazione culturale Shakespeare and company 2, Roma 2000, pp. 174-187. A poem by Paolo Spinoso on Sixtus IV's building is discussed by BIANCHI, *Paolo Spinoso*, cit., pp. 141-149. See also, for a list of literary sources, T. BUDDENSIEG, *Die Statuenstiftung Sixtus' IV im Jahre 1471*, in «Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte», 20, 1983, pp. 33-73, at pp. 62-72.

⁵⁴ G. DE LUCA, *Un umanista fiorentino e la Roma rinnovata di Sisto IV*, in «La Rinascita», 1, 1938, pp. 74-90; A. ROTONDÒ, s. v. in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. XIV, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma 1972, pp. 26-28; SCHRÖTER, *Der Vatikan als Hügel Apollons*, cit., pp. 208-240, at pp. 215-218.

ab eo instaurata et aliis eius laudibus, he gave practically every new building or restoration its own epigram, but there is one, Ep. XVIII *De urbe Roma a Sixto iterum condita*, that sums them all up⁵⁵:

Sed quid non caries, quid non vis improba vincit?
 Supremum infelix sensit et illa diem:
 Tot clades, tot passa manus, tot tela, tot ignes,
 Squalore ac turpi mersa erat illa situ.
 Vix ibi crediderit quisquam Romana fuisse
 Moenia: non urbs, iam Roma cadaver erat.
 Hinc coenum, hinc crebrae tectorum altaeque ruinae,
 Inde super structae Phoebe⁵⁶ habitante casae.
 Quis foret unquam ausus prostratam tollere Romam?
 Prostratam attolli quis potuisse putet?
 Audeat hoc si quis, quo cuncta peregerit aevo?
 Qui peragat quonam nomine dignus erit?
 Ausus at est Sixtus veteremque resurgere solus
 Jussit Romam, immo condidit ipse novam;
 Reddidit hic urbi formam veteresque ruinas
 Substulit et passim coctile fecit iter
 [...].
 Romule cede pater, veteres concedite cuncti:
 Hic urbis pater est, hic deus, hic dominus.

In contrast, there are the famous epigrams of Evangelista Fausto Maddaleni Capodiferro against the well-established practice of reuse of stone from ancient buildings, in the case I quote, from the Colosseum for the Ponte Sisto⁵⁷:

Quis tibi Caesareum suasit furor amphitheatrum
 Vilior⁵⁸ Illirico vertere, Sixte, solo?
 Scilicet, ut parvi starent fundamina pontis,

⁵⁵ Lines 58 ff. I have compared the version at MÜNTZ, *Les arts à la cour des papes*, cit., III, pp. 58-59, with Vat. lat. 5008, ff. 62v-63r; for other manuscripts see BRENTA, *Discorso sulle discipline*, cit., p. 15 n. 13.

⁵⁶ MÜNTZ has *Phoebo*, but the ms. reading is *Phoebe*, neither of which are convincing. Perhaps *plebe* (Muecke) or *Phebre* (Campanelli) should be read.

⁵⁷ Vat. lat. 3351, f. 76r. On Capodiferro see G. BALLISTRERI, s. v. in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. XVIII, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma 1975, pp. 621-625; C. FALCONI, *Leone X. Giovanni de' Medici*, Rusconi, Milano 1987, p. 484. For his later epigrams, under Julius II, on *Cleopatra*, and his longer hexameter poem on the *Belvedere Apollo*, see H. H. BRUMMER, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere*, Stockholm studies in history of art 20, Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm 1970, pp. 221-222, 225-226, and SCHRÖTER, *Der Vatikan als Hügel Apollons*, cit., pp. 232-235.

⁵⁸ This is the reading in MÜNTZ, *Les arts à la cour des papes*, cit., vol. III, p. 177, and of ms. Vat. lat. 3351. Read *vilius*?

Ampla tuae quatiunt⁵⁹ amphitheatra manus?
 Quae neque vis coeli, neque fulmine Juppiter ullo
 Obruit, et fuerant religiosa deis,
 Aequat humi Lygurum natus, proh Juppiter, arvis,
 Substinet et tantum Martia Roma nefas⁶⁰.

The flavour of Brandolini's epigrams is given by their repeated use of the verb *mirari*. Sixtus IV's transformation of Rome dazzles even the Tiber, which has seen it all:

Miraris, Tyberine, tuam dum labere Romam
 Atque ais: haec nullo principe tanta fuit⁶¹.

Robert Flemming praised Sixtus' works from a different perspective (1, 711-720), certainly not as a return to the golden age of antiquity:

[...] sed Romam prae omnibus ille
 Ornatam reddit, non arcubus et obeliscis,
 Thermis, naumachiis, circis, theatris aliisque
 Id genus, instituit quae quondam insana voluptas
 Ambitiove magis quam rerum exegerat usus;
 Verum sanctorum templis pulchrisque sacellis
 Atque monasteriis, et (ut uno plurima verbo
 Comprehendam) innumeris praestantibus aedibus iis, quas
 Utilitas, pietas vel honestas denique poscit,
 Non pompa aut fastus [...]⁶².

⁵⁹ *Quatinant* is the reading in MÜNTZ, *Les arts à la cour des papes*, cit., vol. III, p. 177. There is no verb *quatinare*, of course. In Vat. lat. 3351 the line reads: *Ampla tuas tulerunt amphitheatra manus*. I was not able to consult Vat. lat. 10377.

⁶⁰ E.g., but without the polemic, Fulvio, *Antiquaria urbis*, 2, 338-342, f. Liiv: «Haud procul Odrisii gelidos Aquilonis ad axes / Inclutus arcus erat clypeatis undique signis / E regione situs portae super aggere Tulli / Exquilio in campo, cuius Marpesia saxa / Exornant Damasi instaurata palatia templi».

⁶¹ Vat. lat. 5008, f. 32v; MÜNTZ, *Les arts à la cour des papes*, cit., III, p. 57. We can set beside this Virgil's more sombre apostrophe to the Tiber as it flows past Augustus' new mausoleum at the time of the burial of Marcellus (*Aen.* 6, 878-879). Brandolini also celebrated the Pope's sanctioning of the reestablishment of Pomponio Leto's academy in 1478, and the inauguration of the Vatican Library (Vat. lat. 5008, f. 60r-v; SCHRÖTER, *Der Vatikan als Hügel Apollons*, cit., p. 215). See also BIANCHI, *Paolo Spinoso*, cit., pp. 147-149 with n. 179; A. DE THOMEIS, *Rime, Convivium scientiarum – In laudem Sixti Quarti pont. Max.*, a c. di F. CARBONI – A. MANFREDI, Studi e testi 394, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 1999; F. CARBONI, *Un capitolino ternario di Antonio de Thomeis in onore di Sisto IV*, in *Roma Humanistica*, ed. J. IJSEWIJN = «Humanistica Lovaniensia», 34a, 1985, pp. 273-285; J. RUYSSCHAERT, *Sixte IV fondateur de la Bibliothèque Vaticane et la fresque restaurée de Melozzo da Forlì*, in *Sisto IV e Giulio II mecenati e promotori di cultura*, a c. di S. BOITTARO, A. DAGNINO, G. ROTUNDI TERMINIELLO, Coop Tipograf, Savona 1989, pp. 27-44, at pp. 31-32, 36-37.

⁶² *Lacubratiumculae Tiburtinae*, ed. V. PACIFICI, *Un carne biografico di Sisto IV del 1477*, Società Tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte, Tivoli [c. 1922]. Cf. S. DANESI SQUARZINA, *Pauperismo francescano e magnificenza antiquaria nel programma architettonico di Sisto IV*, in *Sisto IV e Giulio II mecenati e promotori di cultura*, cit., pp. 7-26, at p. 10.

So far we have traced the background to Fulvio's description in poetry of the city's monuments, both ancient and modern, for Fulvio, like Francesco Albertini, had a particular interest in recent changes to the urban fabric⁶³. If the popes' building programmes were not motivated, or even tempered, by strictly antiquarian considerations, antiquarian learning could be drawn on in praising or condemning them.

At the same time, from 1483, Rome and its history were celebrated in Pomponio Leto's academy at the commemorations of Rome's birthday, and, later on, in civic festivities in honour of the pope modelled on the *Palilie*, that is, the *Theatrum Capitolinum* (1513)⁶⁴ and the projected inauguration of the statue of Leo X on the Capitol (1521). A group of "history" poems can be associated with the *Palilie*, and the celebration of Romulus' foundation of Rome: Paolo Marsi's *Natalis* (c. 1482)⁶⁵, Raffaele Maffei's *De origine urbis* (before 1506) and Lorenzo Vallati's *Carmen de natali patriae suae* (active 1513)⁶⁶. These are more relevant to Fulvio's historical introduction to his poem than the other surviving poems connected with the *Palilie*⁶⁷. The participation of Paolo Marsi in this celebration is attested (1483)⁶⁸. The first line of his *Natalis* (*Roma, genethliacam tibi nunc libatur ad aram*) also points to it, but we do not know if the poem, or parts of it, were included in his «oration».

Paolo Marsi planned to take his unfinished poem from the Trojan origins of Rome to the time of Augustus (7-8), but the surviving fragments (c. 330 lines) arrive only at the career of Romulus. Marsi's undoubtedly elegantly written lines were praised, as a «carmen [...] non illepidum», by L. G. Giraldi in his *De poetis nostrorum temporum dialogi*. This was published in Florence in 1551, but begun during the

⁶³ WEISS, *Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano*, cit., pp. 21-22. Albertini put together in Book III of his new guidebook, which honoured Julius II, the kind of material on new building exploited by Brandolini, see F. ALBERTINI *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae Urbis Romae*, ed. A. SCHMARSOW, Henninger, Heilbronn 1886; VALENTINI – ZUCCHETTI, *Codice topografico della Città di Roma*, cit., pp. 499-546.

⁶⁴ D. GNOLI, *La Roma di Leon X*, Hoepli, Milano 1938, pp. 95-100; CRUCIANI, *Il Teatro del Campidoglio*, cit.; ID., *Teatro nel rinascimento. Roma 1450 – 1550*, Bulzoni, Roma 1983, pp. 145, 184-189, 279-285.

⁶⁵ R. BIANCHI, *Il commento a Lucano e il Natalis di Paolo Marsi*, in *Miscellanea Augusto Campana*, Medioevo e umanesimo 44-45, Antenore, Padova 1981, vol. I, pp. 71-100.

⁶⁶ The last two are printed in *De Roma prisca et nova varii auctores*, cit.; see WEISS, *Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano*, cit., p. 29.

⁶⁷ They are more hymnic. See Palladius of Sora, *Genethliacon urbis Romae*, in A. DELLA TORRE, *Paolo Marsi da Pescara: contributo alla storia dell'Accademia Pomponiana*, Cappelli, Rocca S. Casciano 1903, pp. 259-261; cf. M. MARTINI, *Domitius Palladius Soranus, poeta (Contributo alla storia dell'umanesimo)*, Editrice Tipografica, Casamari 1969, and the poems in Vat. lat. 2836, by Fazini, Tamira and Bernadino Capella, published by TOURNOY-THOEN, *La laurea poetica del 1484*, cit.

⁶⁸ «Paulus Marsus orationem habuit: *Il Diario romano di Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra dal VII settembre MCCCCLXXIX al XII agosto MCCCCLXXXIV*, a cura di E. CARUSI, Zanichelli, Città di Castello 1904-1906 (RIS² 23/3), pp. 117.

author's stay in Medicean Rome (1513-1527)⁶⁹. What is interesting to note is that Giraldi mentions Marsi's poem in the same breath as his «commentaria multa eruditione referta in P. Nasonis Fastos et alia»⁷⁰. This is perhaps not surprising, given that large portions of the *Natalis* were printed in Marsi's *Fasti* commentary (1482) in the sections of Book 4 (720-862) where Ovid talks about the *Parilia* and the foundation of Rome by Romulus and Remus. Yet it reminds us of the crucial importance, for the poets who wrote on Rome, of antiquarian readings of the *Fasti* and other classical texts such as Statius' *Silvae*, first in Pomponio Leto's lectures and commentaries, and then in the lectures and printed commentaries of his successors⁷¹.

Raffaele Maffei's 245-line hexameter poem is like Marsi's, a historical compendium, but something more as well. It opens with a general eulogy of Romulus, then goes back to the earlier arrivals at the site of Rome, of Evander, Hercules, and Aeneas, returning to Romulus. As Romulus traces the first walls, Mars looks down from above, strokes his long beard three times and speaks⁷². His speech takes up almost all the rest of the poem. Like Jupiter's speech to Venus in *Aeneid* 1, it is a prophecy of Rome's greatness, which will be won at the cost of many wars, beginning with the rape of the Sabine women. After Romulus will come Numa, who will close the ivory gates of Janus, Ancus, the Etruscan kings, and so on. Wars of expansion are followed by civil wars, in which Caesar's victories constitute the greatest military triumph of all⁷³, until Augustus brings peace and spreads justice through the world. Mars himself will be shackled and the doors of the temple of Janus closed again. The golden age and *Astraea* will return and Jupiter will send to earth «nova progenies», one who will win a new kind of empire and glory. Foreseeing all this, prophesied not by any of the famous prophets of antiquity, but by the holy fathers and the Sibyl of Cumae, Mars recognises the mistakes of pagan religion, doomed to be swept away. Its temples will be burnt and ruined and replaced at last by S. Pietro in the Vatican circus, S. Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline in the place of *Lucina*, S. Sabina on the Aventine displacing *Diana*, and so on:

Qua Vaticanas spectabit circus arenas,
 Sancta refulgebunt divina numinis Petri,
 Atrique in medio Pariis suffulta columnis
 Pontificis stabunt sacri, cui summa potestas

⁶⁹ S. FOÀ, s. v. in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. LVI, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma 2001, pp. 452-455.

⁷⁰ L. G. GIRALDI, *Due dialoghi sui poeti dei nostri tempi*, ed. C. PANDOLFI, Corbo, Ferrara 1999, I 549 ff.

⁷¹ LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom*, cit., p. 212 on Fulvio's knowledge of the *Fasti* commentaries of Leto and his pupils. There was a flowering of *silvae* in the period.

⁷² Cf. the epiphany of Mars Ultor in *Ov. fast.*, 5, 549-568 and his speech at 6, 355-374.

⁷³ Homage to Julius II?

In terris a rege fluet, qui temperat orbem.
 Exquiliis Mariae Molem mirabitur altam
 Lucina, ereptosque sibi lugebit honores.
 Sabinam abiecta Phoebe venerabitur ara.
 Ad vastum propere ducit qua semita pontum,
 Ensifer excelsa Paulus radiabit in aede.
 At Iovis ultoris templum⁷⁴ meliore feretur
 Cultu; Matri namque Dei sacrabitur altae.
 Celius a tergo Laterana sacraria laeto
 Respiciet vultu, supplexque in vota vocabit⁷⁵.

In this passage, probably written after he had married and gone back to Volterra, where he died «in odore di santità»⁷⁶, a younger Maffei, student of Pomponio Leto, and part of a circle of poets around Alessandro Farnese⁷⁷, can be discerned, as well as the author later devoted to religion. The information is that typical of contemporary topography but the strong satisfaction in the triumph of Christian Rome is less so⁷⁸. Likewise his view of the meetings of friends in Leto's house on the Quirinal⁷⁹, «ubi sodalitatem literatorum, ut ipse appellabat, instituit; in qua Urbis Natalem ac Romulum coluit, initium quidem abolendae fidei», was coloured by his religious convictions. These gave him an interpretation of Roman history diametrically opposed to that of Pomponio Leto, for whom the modern world was a drastic falling away from the ancient.

Maffei was a recognised expert on Roman topography in his own right⁸⁰. In his encyclopedic, 38-book *Commentarii urbani* (1506, dedicated to Julius II) that Dionisotti selected as one of the greatest works of Roman humanism in the early

⁷⁴ A reference to the Pantheon.

⁷⁵ *De Roma prisca et nova varii auctores*, cit., ff. kkiiv-kkiiir.

⁷⁶ C. DIONISOTTI, *Gli umanisti e il volgare fra Quattro e Cinquecento*, Le Monnier, Florence 1968 (reprint: 5 Continents, Milano 2003), p. 40, and p. 41 on «il fervore nuovo della grandezza che per la Chiesa e per Roma si annunciava durante il pontificato di Giulio II».

⁷⁷ CRUCIANI, *Il Teatro del Campidoglio*, cit., pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.

⁷⁸ See further STINGER, *Roman Humanist Images of Rome*, cit., p. 34.

⁷⁹ R. VOLATERRANI *Commentariorum urbanorum libri octo et triginta, accuratius quam antebac excusi [...]*, [Frankfurt], apud C. Marnium et haeredes I. Aubrij, 1603, col. 777, cited by DIONISOTTI, *Gli umanisti e il volgare*, cit., p. 48. See also SAVARESE, *Antico e moderno in umanisti romani*, cit., pp. 23-31, and for Maffei, S. BENEDETTI, s. v. in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. LXVII, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma 2006, pp. 252-256; M. DE NICHILO, *I viri illustres del cod. Vat. Lat. 3920*, Roma nel Rinascimento, Roma 1997, pp. 123-126.

⁸⁰ See R. WEISS, *The Renaissance discovery of classical antiquity*, 2nd. ed., Blackwell, Oxford 1988 (first ed. 1968), and for a more recent study of antiquarianism, G. CANTINO WATAGHIN, *Archeologia e «archeologies». Il rapporto con l'antico fra mito, arte e ricerca*, in *Memoria dall'antico nell'arte italiana*, cit., pp. 171-217; C. L. STINGER, *The Renaissance in Rome*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1985, pp. 14-82 («Urbs Roma»).

16th century, the section on «Geography» (of the whole world) includes an account of ancient Rome⁸¹. This is succinct but thorough, and is based partly on the so-called Publius Victor (a regional catalogue), partly on what Biondo and others had gleaned from the *auctores*. Giambattista Pio published a version of this, together with an edition of Publius Victor, Pomponius Leto's *De Romanae urbis vetustate*, Fabricius Camers' *De urbe Roma collectanea* and other works (*P. Victor. Pomponius Laetus. Fabricius Camers. R. Volaterranus. De urbe Roma scribentes [...]*, Bologna 1520). Maffei died in 1522 and it may have partly been this that prompted Giacomo Mazzocchi to include his poem as well as Vallati's and Rutilius Namatianus' in a composite volume based on Pio's: *De Roma prisca et nova varii auctores* (Roma 1523). In this, amongst other additions, Albertini's treatise rather than Fulvio's *Antiquaria urbis* was given pride of place⁸².

If Maffei's poem has a Virgilian seriousness, its companion by the little-known Lorenzo Vallati⁸³, *Carmen de natali patriae suae*, has an Ovidian fluency. It is in elegiac couplets (266 lines). The narrative pace is rapid at first (two lines for the fall of Troy, two to get Aeneas to Italy) but slows down to give the background to Romulus and Remus. Most of the poem is taken up by their story: Amulius' usurpation, the problem of Rhea Silvia, the birth and exposure of the twins⁸⁴, the reinstatement of Numitor. Then comes the foundation story, the building of the walls and Remus' death. After this the pace speeds up again to bring us to the (false) deification of Caesar («vana fides»), and the advent of Christ: «eris pastor et deus alter eris».

Lorenzo Vallati gave the first oration at the Capitoline ceremony for the conferral of citizenship on Pope Leo X's brother and nephew in September 1513. Several of the contemporary sources record this: for example, Paolo Palliolo (*Narratione delli spettacoli celebrati in Campidoglio [...]*⁸⁵), and Aurelio Sereni («In quo Vallati patuit facundia linguae, / Pontificis laudes narrantis et inde Quiritum / Atque novo civi praeconia summa canentis»⁸⁶). Marcantonio Altieri, a loyal former

⁸¹ R. VOLATERRANI *Commentariorum urbanorum libri*, cit., Book VI, cols. 183-93; DIONISOTTI, *Gli umanisti e il volgare*, cit., p. 39.

⁸² WEISS, *Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano*, cit., p. 12 and n. 3.

⁸³ He is documented as part of the Roman literary scene c. 1512-1524, participated in Goritz's feasts, is mentioned in Arsilli's *De poetis urbanis* 169-172 (IJSEWIJN, *Coryciana*, cit., p. 351), and is one of the participants in the attack on Giulio Simone Siculo for his poem *Epulum Populi Romani Eucharisticon* (Vat. lat. 5356). On this episode see GAISSER, *Pierio Valeriano on the Ill Fortune of Learned Men*, cit., pp. 27-28.

⁸⁴ *De Roma prisca et nova varii auctores*, cit., ff. PPiiiv.

⁸⁵ CRUCIANI, *Il Teatro del Campidoglio*, cit., p. 36; ID., *Teatro nel rinascimento. Roma 1450 – 1550*, cit., p. 417; F. CHIERIGATI, *Descrizione de la pompa et solennità [...]*, «un patricio romano molto dotto».

⁸⁶ *Theatrum capitolinum Magnifico Iuliano institutum per Aurelium Serenum Monopolitanum. Et De elephante carmen eiusdem*, Romae, in aedibus Mazochianis, 1514, f. 9v.

student of Pomponio Leto⁸⁷, now one of the Conservatori who organised the ceremony, recalled him in his *Avviso* as «giovane Romano e di laudata letteratura»⁸⁸.

It is worth noting here briefly the second “Theatrum Capitolinum” planned for 1521, but apparently abandoned because of Pope Leo X’s death⁸⁹. Just as Altieri had been involved in conceiving the first event as a version of Pomponius’ *Palilie* («[...] applicando tal solennità alli Natali di Roma et intitolarla le PALILIE, per esser, se dir si puote, rinata Roma, cioè liberata da Sua Santità d’affanno e di miseria, e dato principio e modo di più felice vita con grandissima speranza di migliore conditione»), so he too, one of the organisers chosen by the Conservatori to superintend the installation of Leo X’s statue on the Capitol⁹⁰, may have passed on this idea to the younger author of an oration on Roman history composed for the occasion: «accedit quod vos Palilia, natalem Urbis diem, in hunc simul diem transtulistis; jure ac merito quidem, quum sub Romulo haec Urbs nata, sub hoc principe renata videatur»⁹¹. The statue was placed in the room in the Palazzo dei Conservatori decorated with scenes from «tenerae primordia Romae»⁹². An ecphrastic hexameter poem (630 lines), a *Sylva*⁹³, was written to commemorate the occasion by C. Silvanus Germanicus. This was first published in 1524⁹⁴. The main part of the poem is a description, based on literary sources (predominantly Livy), of the sequence of paintings depicting Roman history in the Palazzo dei Conservatori⁹⁵. The poem also provides evidence for Leo X’s personal interest in the monuments of ancient Rome, and his initiative in sup-

⁸⁷ M. A. ALTIERI, *Li Nuptiali*, pubblicati da E. NARDUCCI, Roma nel Rinascimento, Roma 1995 (fac-simile reprint of the first ed.: C. Bartoldi, Roma 1873), p. 30 and XLV. He was one of the dedicators of his epitaph (*CIL* VI⁵, 3477*; ZABUGHIN, *Giulio Pomponio Leto*, cit., II, p. 194; R. FRIGGERI, *La collezione epigrafica del Museo Nazionale Romano alle Terme di Diocleziano*, Electa, Milano 2001, pp. 194-195), composed a poem in his honour, see R. BERNADINI, *Ventuno falecii di Marco Antonio Altieri in onore di Pomponio Leto nell’Oliveriano 958*, in «Studia Oliveriana», 19, 1971-1972, pp. 47-59, and remembered him in his will, GNOLI, *La Roma di Leon X*, cit., p. 36.

⁸⁸ CRUCIANI, *Il Teatro del Campidoglio*, cit., p. 11. Altieri himself wrote a poem on Romulus. It is included in an edition of Columella, [Padua?], D[ominicus] S[iliprandus], about 1480? (ISTC ic00763250).

⁸⁹ Cf. *Antiquitates urbis*, f. E3r. My information here depends on H. H. BRUMMER – T. JANSON, *Art, literature and politics: An episode in the Roman Renaissance*, in «Konsthistorisk Tidskrift», 45, 1976, pp. 79-93.

⁹⁰ ALTIERI, *Li Nuptiali*, cit., p. VII.

⁹¹ ALTIERI, *Li Nuptiali*, cit., p. 4; BRUMMER – JANSON, *Art, literature and politics*, cit., p. 80.

⁹² C. SILVANI GERMANICI *In Statuam Leonis Decimi Pont. Opt. Max. Sylva*, 232-233, in S. EBERT-SCHIFFERER, *Ripandas Kapitölinischer Freskenzyklus und die Selbstdarstellung der Konservatoren um 1500*, in «Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte», 23-24, 1988, pp. 75-218, at p. 198; cf. *Antiquaria urbis*, 1, 870, f. Eiiir: «In qua picta nitent prisorum gesta Quiritum».

⁹³ See BRUMMER – JANSON, *Art, literature and politics*, cit., p. 86 n. 19, on connections with *silv.* 1.1. I am indebted to LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom*, cit., p. 214 n. 58, for bibliographical references.

⁹⁴ The first edition is extremely rare and I thank Jeff Glodzik for sending me the text. See also ARSILLI, *De poetis urbanis*, 227-234 in *Coryciana*, ed. IJSEWIJN, cit., p. 353.

⁹⁵ For a suggestion that Altieri and his circle were responsible for the programme of the fresco cycle see EBERT-SCHIFFERER, *Ripandas Kapitölinischer Freskenzyklus*, cit., p. 172.

porting Raphael's antiquarian project of a paper reconstruction of the ancient city (42-54)⁹⁶, a project in which Fulvio was involved as an adviser⁹⁷.

Silvanus' poem, which combines two currents, the encomiastic-ecphrastic and the historical, is the latest we will notice. I now return to the years just before *Antiquaria Urbis* itself to pick up some earlier examples that contain topographical passages⁹⁸. Two are predominantly encomiastic-ecphrastic. The third, which blends topography and panegyric with Roman historical mythology, occurs in a curious piece, a three-book panegyric and prophetic epic on the the liberation of Jerusalem (dated between 1503 and 1505), in *Johannis Michaelis Nagonii ad Divum Julium II et Franciscum Marium Nepotem Carminum Libri I-VIII*⁹⁹. At the beginning of Book 3 ambassadors of foreign kings («egregios doctosque viros») come to Rome to learn more about the destinies of Julius II, Francesco Maria della Rovere and Gian Giordano Orsini. After they have been welcomed with a banquet they set out on a tour of Rome (f. 67v):

Ut depulsa fames, circum lustrare vetustum
Hos iuvat et veteris Romae spectare ruinas.

First comes a temple on the doors of which is an extensive catalogue of Hercules' labours (ff. 67v-68r). Next the temple of Mars Ultor (ff. 68r-68v):

Parte alia Martem quem struxit victor in orbe
Caesar et Ultoris iussit delubra vocari,
Iuncta foro triplici, sedet unde peritus Apollo.

An invocation to Evander follows (ff. 68v-69r). While searching for the traces of the Ara Maxima of Hercules and his temple, the group is surprised by a vision of Hercules himself who utters a long speech (ff. 69r-69v). The tour continues, to the circus, the Quirinal and Esquiline (f. 70r), the arch of Constantine, Colosseum, aqueduct of the

⁹⁶ SHEARMAN, *Raphael in early modern sources*, cit., I, pp. 761-762 (e. g. «Ut saltem veteris vestigia certa figurae / Nota forent, reserare latentia iussit ab imo / Fundamenta solo et pictis mandare tabellis»). Cf. Girolamo Leandro's poem addressed to Leo X and Raphael, esp. vv. 18-21: «Quis, rogo, te docuit formas tellure sepultas / Exprimere et nostris subdere luminibus, / Metiri et longo loca subterranea tractu / Nec super extructas contemnerare domos?» (cited from SHEARMAN, I, p. 257-259).

⁹⁷ WEISS, *Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano*, cit., pp. 13-14. For recent discussion see P. J. JACKS, *The Simulacrum of Fabio Calvo: A View of Roman Architecture all'antica in 1527*, in «The Art Bulletin», LXII/3, 1990, pp. 453-481; I. D. ROWLAND, *The culture of the high Renaissance: ancients and moderns in sixteenth-century Rome*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000; SHEARMAN, *Raphael in early modern sources*, cit., I, pp. 500-545, 819-820; P. PRAY BOBER, *The Legacy of Pomponius Laetus*, in *Roma nella svolta tra Quattro e Cinquecento*, cit., pp. 455-464. Neither Rowland nor Bober mention Fulvio's role.

⁹⁸ I cannot be confident that I have tracked down all the relevant material from the time of Julius II.

⁹⁹ Vat. lat. 1682; B. NOGARA, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, III, Typ. Polyglottis Vaticanis, Romae 1912, pp. 174-181. On Nagonius see P. GWYNNE, *The Life and Works of Johannes Michael Nagonius, Poeta laureatus (c. 1450-c. 1510)*, Diss. Warburg Institute, University of London, 1990; STINGER, *The Renaissance in Rome*, cit., p. 105 with n. 72.

Aqua Virgo, the golden house of Nero, the Aventine (f. 70v), and finally to the palace of Julius, with a long description of the Vatican palace and adjacent temple (ff. 71v-74r). A later passage gives an account of Julius' repairs to the Mausoleum of Hadrian in 1503-1504 (ff. 91r-92v). The mingling of past, present and future in this account, obviously based on Aeneas' tour in *Aeneid* 8, can only be described as surrealistic.

Aegidius Gallus and Blossius Palladius wrote their poems for the immensely wealthy Sieneese banker Agostino Chigi, who from 1505 was building a magnificent new villa on the Tiber¹⁰⁰. Aegidius Gallus' *De viridario Augustini Chigii* (1511) is in five books, while Blossius Palladius' *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii* (1512) has 466 lines¹⁰¹. With Fulvio, both authors were members of Angelo Colocci's Academy and took part in Johannes Goritz's literary feasts.

As both Quinlan-McGrath and Michael Dewar¹⁰² have independently observed, Blossius Palladius' poem is a very self-conscious and quite successful attempt to write a "silva" in the style of Statius' *Silvae*¹⁰³. These largely encomiastic pieces, in various metres including the hexameter, with their descriptions of statues, villas, a road and other buildings, were useful models for budding encomiastic poets. Pomponio Leto had been particularly interested in *silv.* 1, 1, a description of an equestrian statue of Domitian in the forum¹⁰⁴. In the second half of the fifteenth century much scholarly work on the *Silvae* had made them accessible¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰⁰ *Antiquaria urbis*, 1, 645-648, f. Dür: «Latior unde via et longo rectissima tractu / Littoribus Tyberis protenditur auspice Iulo / Pontifice, immensas moles qui coepit in Urbe, / Nunc ubi magnificas erexit Chisius aedes / Augustinus, opes ostentans divitis Hermi / Lydorum et vires, illi genus unde vetustum».

¹⁰¹ Both have been edited by M. QUINLAN-MCGRATH, to whom my discussion is much indebted: *Aegidius Gallus, De Viridario Augustini Chigii Vera libellus. Introduction, Latin Text and English Translation*, in «Humanistica Lovaniensia», 38, 1989, pp. 1-99; *Blossius Palladius, Suburbanum Augustini Chisii. Introduction, Latin Text and English Translation*, in «Humanistica Lovaniensia», 39, 1990, pp. 93-156. On Palladius see further (with earlier bibliography) D. PAGLIAI, *Natura e mitologia nella villa di Blossio Palladio*, in *Roma, centro ideale della cultura dell'Antico*, cit., pp. 347-355; I. D. ROWLAND, *Some Panegyrics to Agostino Chigi*, in «The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», 47, 1984, pp. 194-199, and EAD., *Render Unto Caesar the Things Which are Caesar's: Humanism and the Arts in the Patronage of Agostino Chigi*, in «Renaissance Quarterly», 39/4, 1986, pp. 673-730.

¹⁰² *Blossio Palladio and the Silvae of Statius*, in «Res Publica Litterarum», 10, 1990, pp. 59-64.

¹⁰³ QUINLAN-MCGRATH, *Aegidius Gallus*, cit., p. 5 n. 19: «Statius was a favourite poet of the Chigi circle».

¹⁰⁴ F. MUECKE, *Humanists in the Roman Forum*, in «Papers of the British School at Rome», 71, 2003, pp. 207-233, at pp. 226-227. On Vat. lat. 3595 (a ms. of Statius's *Silvae* with a version of Domizio Calderini's printed commentary and with an illustration of an equestrian statue on f. 4r) see S. MADDALO in *Vedere i Classici. L'illustrazione libraria dei testi antichi dall'età romana al tardo medioevo*, a c. di M. BUONOCORE, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana - Ministero per i Beni culturali, Roma 1996, no. 139, fig. 502, pp. 478-481. Cf. *Antiquaria urbis*, 2, 850-858, f. Oirr: «Nunc ubi tres extant una compage columnae / Romanique fori postrema in parte locatae, / Tres prius atque decem surgebant ordine iunctae, / Quas super illustris statua effulgebat equestris / Aurea, sacra tibi, victor, Germanice, Rheni, / Romanum complexa forum sublimis et ingens / Ac Germanorum domitrix victricibus armis, / Sub cuius pedibus Rhenus demissior ibat [...]».

¹⁰⁵ See M. D. REEVE, *Statius' Silvae in the fifteenth century*, in «Classical Quarterly», 27, 1977, pp. 202-225; C. DIONISOTTI, *Calderini, Poliziano e altri*, in «Italia medioevale e umanistica» XI, 1968, pp. 151-179, at

The mythological figures in both of the poems on the Farnesina recall Statius' practice in his *Silvae*¹⁰⁶. In Gallus' poem a very Virgilian «Venus comes down from Olympus to admire the Chigi estate and bless it with eternal Springs»¹⁰⁷. At 4, 330-353 she surveys the ruins on her arrival at Rome, then flies over Rome, finally landing at the temple of Fortuna Virilis¹⁰⁸ near the Circus Maximus (335-342). Like the «urn» she is moved to grief by the ruins of Rome:

Illa per antiquas volitans supereminet arces,
Laetaque turriferos montes, sed maesta ruinas,
Tam varios cecidisse operumque hominumque labores
Conspicit: hinc collem, cui Vimina nomen ab ipsis
Indiderant, hinc Exquilias, inde obruta magni
Signa Quirinalis desertaque tecta Palati,
Summaque Aventini, et quae habuit iuga Caelius olim.
Vix potuit praemere ex alto suspuria corde.

After this general survey of the hills Gallus adds some topographical detail: Trajan's market and column, the Roman forum, the triumphal arches, the Colosseum, the temple of Peace, the three columns in the forum (where Domitian's equestrian statue once was), the temple of Jupiter Stator, the two «Iani», the place in the Velabrum where the ferry to the Aventine had been¹⁰⁹, and finally the Circus Maximus (343-360). Some details in this account depend on contemporary scholarship, in particular the Pomponian connection of the three columns with the equestrian statue of Domitian, an idea that he developed in connection with Stat. *Silv.* 1, 1, as we have seen. It could have come to Gallus from Pomponio's students, but was also available in print in *De Romanae Urbis vetustate* (Romae 1510)¹¹⁰.

pp. 167-170; M. CAMPANELLI, *Polemiche e filologia ai primordi della stampa. Le Observationes di Domizio Calderini*, Storia e letteratura, Roma 2001, *passim*.

¹⁰⁶ See K. M. COLEMAN, *Mythological Figures as Spokespersons in Statius' Silvae*, in *Im Spiegel des Mythos: Bilderwelt und Lebenswelt. Lo specchio del mito: Immaginario e realtà*, ed. F. DE ANGELIS – S. MUTH, Palilia 6, Reichert Verl., Wiesbaden 1999, pp. 67-80; DEWAR, *Blosio Palladio and the Silvae of Statius*, cit., p. 60. J. Sadoletto may have got the idea for his early hexameter poem *De Quinto Curtio* (GRUTER, *Deliciae*, cit., I, pp. 583-594) from Stat. *silv.* 1, 1.

¹⁰⁷ QUINLAN-MCGRATH, *Aegidius Gallus*, cit., p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Ov. *fast.* 4, 133-162; QUINLAN-MCGRATH, *Aegidius Gallus*, cit., p. 5.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *Antiquaria urbis*, 2, 584-591, f. Miiiv: «Haec loca saepe prius restagnans vallibus imis / Albula turbabat, refluus non pervius undis, / Vnde locus veteris Velabri nomen adeptus, / Quadrantis precio quod velatura daretur, / Insudata seni sulcanti stagna Charonti, / Qui rate susceptos rupe ulteriore locabat / Montis Aventini [...]».

¹¹⁰ Cf. QUINLAN-MCGRATH, *Aegidius Gallus*, cit., p. 5 n. 20. It was also published under the title *De antiquitatibus urbis Romae libellus*, see S. ROSSETTI, *Rome: a bibliography from the invention of printing through 1899*. I. *The guide books*, Olschki, Firenze 2000, G 185, G 186, G 220 etc. Another possible source is R. VOLATERRANI *Commentariorum urbanorum libri*, cit., Book VI, cols. 183-193.

In Book 5 there is another topographical snippet (57-76), when Venus and Spring leave the area of the Circus Maximus and make for Chigi's villa by way of the Aventine, the Naumachia and the Sublician / Aemilian bridge¹¹¹ to the campi Vaticani. Here there are a few references to early legends connected with places in Rome — the taking of the auspices on the Aventine, Horatius' defence of the bridge, the site of the Etruscan king Porsenna's camp; this last, with the implication that Chigi's villa is in the same place, is a complimentary allusion to his tracing his descent from the ancient Etruscans¹¹².

The chief divinity of Palladius' poem is the Tiber, as the villa is situated on his bank¹¹³. Less use is made of him to transmit topographical detail, however. He is exploited for encomium at 32-33, where he is amazed at the crowds which have come to gawp at the construction of the villa:

[...] stupet ipse tumultus
Tybris, et alternas quatiant nova murmura ripas.

At 270 the Tiber returns. As it passes the villa it is calm, but below and above it, it rushes impetuously. This section provides an opportunity to mention some of the new and old bridges and the Tiber island. The river god himself appears at 321, wearing a wreath and carrying a cornucopia. He speaks of how the splendour of Chigi's villa has restored his lost nobility, lost when Rome fell to the barbarians, was ruined and burnt. Now at last he has been vindicated because on his right bank he has a villa as famous as Vopiscus' on the Anio (Stat. *silv.* 1, 3). Finally he describes the rejoicing of his waters and promises to serve Chigi with them (398-406).

The device used to introduce the (almost) obligatory topographical passage is the view from a distance¹¹⁴:

Ergo loci nactum sedes, hinc rura deorum,
Hinc urbs, hinc Ianus, hinc plana, hinc alta decorant.
Quod si te veterum capiant monumenta Quiritum,
Aspicias hinc Iani collem, trans flumina templum,
Qua fora iuncta foris, et structo Ianus in arcu;
Hac Tarpeia micat rupes olim aucta tropeis,

¹¹¹ Assimilation of the two is an error of Pomponio Leto: WEISS, *Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano*, cit., p. 36 n. 7; QUINLAN-McGRATH, *Aegidius Gallus*, cit., p. 86. Cf. ALBERTINI, *Opusculum*, cit., f. C3r; *Antiquaria urbis*, 2, 40-48, f. Iivv.

¹¹² QUINLAN-McGRATH, *Blosius Palladius*, cit., p. 105; cf. *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii*, 289-294.

¹¹³ QUINLAN-McGRATH, *Blosius Palladius*, cit., p. 105.

¹¹⁴ Peruzzi's frescoes of urban views (some containing identifiable Roman buildings) in the "Salone delle Prospettive" on the upper floor of the villa, were not executed until 1518-1519.

Inde Palatinus multo de Caesare fulget;
 Mox et Aventini radiant tibi culmina montis.
 Inde ad te rediens, Marcelli dona videbis,
 Et Pompeianum pene e regione Theatrum,
 Quintia cis Tybrim, trans Tybrim Martia prata.
 “Heic haec tum fuerant” dices, mediusque rotabis
 Luminibus subiecta tuis (305-317).

Quinlan-McGrath suggests that a classical model for this is Martial’s 35-line epigram on the villa of Julius Martialis on the Janiculum (4, 64), that «gives Blossius a classical precedent for dwelling at length on an overview of the ancient ruins which can be viewed from Chigi’s estates. This was a topic dear to his patron, and to members of the Roman academy»¹¹⁵.

The last of the “villa” poems that I will mention is that of Francesco Sperulo on Villa Julia Medica, better known as Villa Madama, a project of Raphael begun in 1518¹¹⁶. Sperulo was a minor curial officer, who wrote a poem on the discovery of the *Laocoön*¹¹⁷, and was included in the Corycian collection¹¹⁸. This poem is not only «shamelessly encomiastic» in Shearman’s words¹¹⁹, but also owes much to Blossius Palladius. The Tiber speaks most of the poem, partly commenting on the site and on the villa’s building materials (the “imported” marbles — Libyan, Taenarian and Numidian — this time come from no further than the Temple of Jupiter O. M., the gardens of Lucullus, the Temple of Venus Genetrix, and the Roman Forum)¹²⁰, and partly foreshadowing in an ephrasis the paintings that will adorn it. They of course celebrate the *res gestae* of Leo and Cardinal Giulio. An opportunity to introduce topographical description of Rome is provided (the loggia, or *specula*), but not developed at length:

At medio specula assurgens quae spectat ad eorum
 Ac boream, et quicquid circumque infraque supraque
 Pulchri Roma tenet, sublimi lumine lustrat:
 Haec tua sit sedes, Leo rex hominumque paterque¹²¹.

¹¹⁵ QUINLAN-MCGRATH, *Blossius Palladius*, cit., pp. 101-102.

¹¹⁶ The poem, of 410 hexameters, is dated 1 March 1519. I cite the transcription of Shearman from Vat. lat. 5812, f. 2r-16v (SHEARMAN, *Raphael in early modern sources*, cit., vol. I, pp. 414-438).

¹¹⁷ Vat. lat. 3351, f.150v; BRUMMER, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere*, cit., pp. 221-222.

¹¹⁸ SHEARMAN, *Raphael in early modern sources*, cit., vol. I, p. 433; ARSILLI, *De poetis urbanis*, 75-78, in *Coryciana*, ed. IJSEWIJN, cit., p. 347.

¹¹⁹ SHEARMAN, *Raphael in early modern sources*, cit., vol. I, p. 434.

¹²⁰ Fulvio includes many descriptions of marbles (cf. Stat. *silv.* 1, 5, 34 ff., 2, 2, 85 ff.).

¹²¹ F. 12r. SHEARMAN, *Raphael in early modern sources*, cit., vol. I, p. 421. Shearman (I, p. 437) comments: «an almost obligatory echo of Martial’s account of the view from the Janiculum villa: “Hinc septem dominos videre montes / et totam licet aestimare Romam”» [4, 64, 11-12].

Of these three “villa” poems, Gallus’ is the most interesting topographically, Palladius’ the most successful poetically, while Sperulo’s provides a useful comparison to Fulvio’s introductory panegyric of Leo X.

Panegyric of Leo is the prime purpose of Zaccaria Ferreri’s *Lugdunense somnium*, his *selva* CX of 1,300 lines, printed in Lyon in 1513¹²². In this extensive hexameter poem, written to excuse his participation in the schismatic council of Pisa and Milan in 1511-1512, the author is taken up to the skies in a dream, passing successively from the moon to Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars and Jupiter¹²³. Mention of Mars allows him to deplore the fate of Italy wracked by discords and civil wars, and rejoice that a new pope has been chosen who will bring peace on earth and within the church¹²⁴. The most interesting section for our purposes is the vision of Leo’s *possesso*, explained to the dreamer by Dante, who has earlier become his guide and interpreter¹²⁵. Stinger highlights this passage as typifying «the tendencies of humanists to evoke the sacral topography of Rome»¹²⁶:

Iam sumus in portis et limen habemus apertum.
 Ibamus celeres, et dum loqueremur eundo,
 En procul apparent excelsa palatia summis
 Fastigata iugis vallataque moenibus altis.
 Ardua sublimes attingunt sidera pyrgi
 Cuspidibus, rutuli lucent in turribus ignes,
 Et cava multisonis gaudent tinnitibus aera.
 Omnis ager gestit, fieri tuor undique plausum.
 “Quid, pater, haec signant? – dixi – Cur copia tanta
 Laetitiae? Cuius sunt haec amplissima tecta,
 Tam pulchra aspectu et pinnis turrita superbis?”
 “Pontifici dat festa novo nunc gaudia Roma –

¹²² Z. FERRERI VICENTINI *Lugdunense somnium de Leonis X Pont. Maximi ad Summum Pontificatum divina promotione ad Franciscum Soderinum S.R.E. Cardinalem* (Lugduni 1513), and in *Carmina Illustrium poetarum Italicorum*, typis Regiae Celsitudinis, Florentiae 1719, vol. IV, pp. 270-297 (for the passage I quote there are no major differences between the two texts); B. MORSOLIN, *Un latinista del Cinquecento imitatore di Dante*, in «Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere, ed Arti», ser. VII, 5, 1893-1894, pp. 1429-1446; STINGER, *Roman Humanist Images*, cit., pp. 15-16; E. STÖVE, s. v. in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. XLVI, Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma 1996, pp. 808-811; LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom*, cit., pp. 207-208 with n. 26, cf. *Antiquaria urbis*, 1, 58-78, ff. Aiiir-v.

¹²³ See MORSOLIN, *Un latinista del Cinquecento*, cit., p. 1435 for the inspiration provided by Dante’s *Paradiso* and Cicero’s *Somnium Scipionis*.

¹²⁴ See *Carmina Illustrium poetarum Italicorum*, cit., pp. 272, 276, and on p. 282: «O fortunatam tanto sub praeside Romam, / Quo duce schismaticus passim delebitur error, / Romanus apex solitos rehaebit honores».

¹²⁵ *Ivi*, p. 277: «Ille ego sum Dantes».

¹²⁶ STINGER, *Roman Humanist Images*, cit., p. 15.

Ille ait –, insignes ipse pater incolit aulas.
 Sunt Vaticani (si respicis) atria montis.
 Huc ascende parum, saxo spectabis ab alto.
 Ecce Leoninis circumdata limina muris,
 Quae Constantiades, ut Martia sceptrā recepit,
 Clavigero posuit levi de marmore Petro.
 Ecce super Tiberim quam pulchra Adrianica moles
 Et quantum Tarpea levent Capitolia frontem,
 Et iuga bifronti quondam gratissima Iano,
 Dorsaque Aventini phano celebrata Dianae,
 Coelum, et Exquilias, dictumque a vimine collem,
 Amphiteatrales circus, geminasque columnas,
 Et Pallanteum Evandri, memorabile prisco
 Herculis hospitio bobusque a Gadibus actis,
 Et mirum Agrippae magna testudine templum,
 Et loca Naumachiae, ductos per aera rivos,
 Metam atque a testis sortitum nomine montem
 Aspice. Tu ne viden pileatas ire catervas
 Pontificum, tot equos ardenti murice stratos,
 Aurea frena, superque sedere in vestibus amplis
 Longa togatorum seriatis agmina turmis?
 Tu ne audin clangore tubas, et tympana pulsu
 Reddere multiplices partito carmine cantus,
 Atque Quirinales sua post vexilla senatus
 Tendere sacratas magni Pastoris ad aedes?¹²⁷

Ferreri's Dante takes on the role of Virgil in the *Divine Comedy*, and of Anchises and Evander in *Aeneid* 6 and 8. The "bird's eye" view (Dante has invited the poet to look down from a rock on the Mons Vaticanus) begins at the Vatican, surveying the other hills (Capitol, Janiculum, Aventine, Caelian, Esquiline, Viminal, Palatine, Testaccio) and some of the famous monuments (Mausoleum of Hadrian, Pantheon, the two columns etc.), and ends at the Lateran, but does not follow the Pope's route exactly.

It is interesting that the only place where Fulvio addresses the general reader in a similar manner (note «aspice»)¹²⁸ and envisages him as actually looking at a building is in the case of the new Vatican basilica under construction. New Rome finally surpasses the old (*Antiquaria urbis*, 2, 1658-1665, f. Iiv)¹²⁹:

¹²⁷ *Carmina Illustrum poetarum Italicorum*, cit., pp. 285-286.

¹²⁸ Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6, 855 and 8, 190; *Aetna* 600; *Carm. epigr.* 63, 1. On other uses of apostrophe see LAUREYS, *Das alte und das neue Rom*, cit., p. 216.

¹²⁹ Cf. B. CASTIGLIONE, *Il Libro del Cortegiano* IV, xxxvi.

Desine mirari, spectator, Pantheon ingens,
 Quisquis es, et veterum delubra antiqua deorum,
 Atque huc verte oculos et suspice fornicis altas
 Absidas, atque lacus convexo in fornice pictos,
 Et caligantem curvae testudinis orbem.
 Aspice Tartareo nova fundamenta profundo
 Iacta [...].

Fulvio here redirects the feelings of wonder he usually reserves for the ancient city to the great enterprise of S. Pietro, embedding in his work a little panegyric epigram¹³⁰.

This survey of topographical poetry on Rome from Paul II to Leo X has demonstrated not only the popularity of the theme, but also some of its chronological and generic permutations. During this period the written celebration of ancient Rome initiated by earlier humanists in the Roman *Studium Urbis*, and importantly revived in practice by Pomponio Leto, acquired a new focus on the modern city and its rulers. In it we have seen refracted some of the contrasting positions in what Dionisotti identified as the most urgent debate of Roman humanism as opposed to that of other centres: «la questione del rapporto fra paganism e cristianismo, fra antichi e moderni, fra l'alta cultura e il potere, insomma fra l'una e l'altra Roma»¹³¹.

¹³⁰ See R. IRACINTI DE TERAMO, *Poema de gestis Julii II Pont. Max.*, Romae 1511, f. Biiiv: «Aspice quae pulchra surgunt palatia Romae, / Hospes, et ornatas aspice, quaeso, domos: / Maxima felici creverunt numine templa, / Nobilis aeternum possidet ara decus» (cf. ff. Bivr-v). The same epigrammatic motif introduces Ianus Vitalis Panormitanus' poem on the ruins of Rome: «Qui Romam in media quaeris, novus advena, Roma, / Et Romae in Roma nil reperis media, / Adspice murorum moles, praeruptaque saxa, / Obruta horrenti vasta theatra situ [...]», in GRUTER, *Delitiae*, cit., vol. II, p. 1443.

¹³¹ DIONISOTTI, *Gli umanisti e il volgare*, cit., p. 48.