Kathleen W. Christian

TRANSLATIO AND *RESTAURATIO*

Text and Image in Renaissance Rome

The first establishment of an antiquities collection in the Belvedere might be traced not to the discovery of the *Laocoön*, or the transfer of the *Apollo Belvedere* and other famous statues to the Vatican, but to the movement in 1504 of an enormous granite basin (fig. 1). Today, this *vasca* is rather unceremoniously displayed in the middle of the parking lot familiar to those who cross it to visit the Vatican library and archives. It stands on the now-abraded marble base that Pope Paul V provided for it in the 17th century. In the time of Pope Julius II, when the basin was the centerpiece of Bramante's lower Belvedere court, its display was commemorated by an inscription, which has since been lost: "Pope Julius II brought to the Vatican gardens this basin, twenty-three feet wide, from the Baths of Titus and Vespasian, broken by the injustices of time, adorning and restoring it to its original condition, in the first year of his papacy, 1504."[1]

Julius's engineers had dragged this massive object, one of the largest basins to survive from antiquity, across four kilometers of difficult terrain, through the narrow streets of Rome, across the Tiber until it reached its final destination at the Belvedere. A drawing by Giovannantonio Dosio shows it installed in the lower garden (fig. 2). It comes as no surprise that the dedicatory inscription gives Julius credit for moving such an enormous basin from a *vigna* near the Colosseum. More difficult to explain, however, is the emphasis the inscription places on the basin's repair: not only did the pope have this vessel transported across Rome, but he also had it restored to its original condition, having found it "broken by the injustices of time." While the basin's *translatio* is obviously praiseworthy, its history of *restauratio* remains uncertain. Today, the vessel reveals rather modest signs of restoration, and descriptions of the object in its Quattrocento state suggest that before its move to the Belvedere it was not extensively broken, but intact.[2]

1 The inscription was recorded by Giacomo Grimaldi in 1616, then reproduced in Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma*, Rome, Tipografia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche [and other publishers], 1869–84, 6, p. 55, n. 122. For the vessel, see Annarena Ambrogi, *Labra di età romana in marmi bianchi e colorati*, Rome, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2005, L. 35, pp. 224–31.

2 See Giovanni Rucellai's description in his *Zibaldone Quaresimale*: "di giro da torno di braccia 40 et il diamitro suo di braccia 12, ritratto a modo d'uno piattello." He located it in a "vigna appresso al Co-

Open Access. © 2023 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License. 10.1515/9783111072739-002

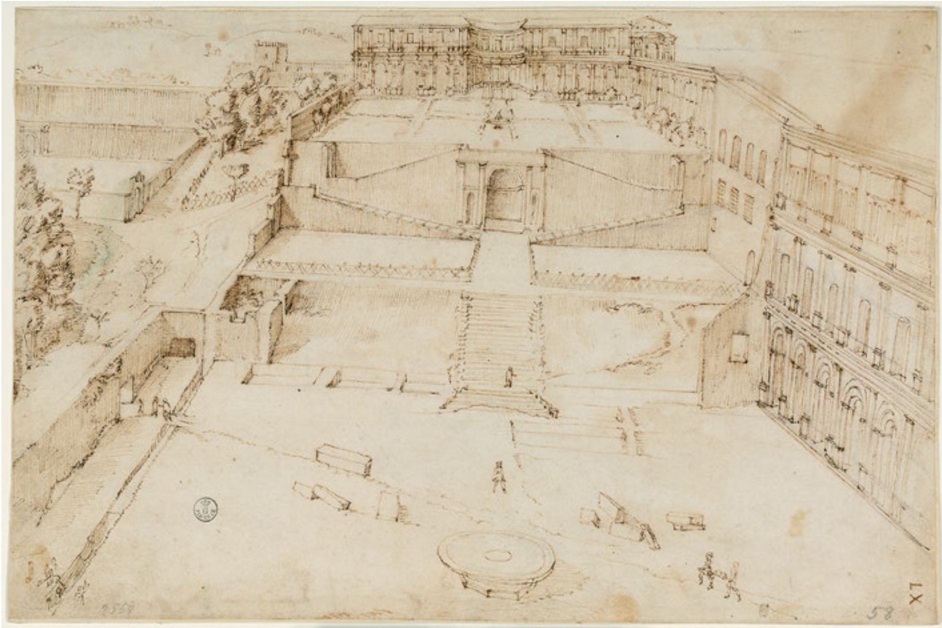
1 Basin on a 17th-century pedestal, 2nd century CE, granite, 680 × 75 cm, Vatican City, Cortile del Belvedere

Arguably, Julius II's inscription takes pains to emphasize the concept of restoration. By Julius II's day, while *translatio* was already an age-old concept, *restauratio* had more recently come into fashion as a desirable type of antiquarian intervention. By the 16th century, it appeared alongside *translatio* as a practice underpinning the early history of collecting amongst private individuals, and as an important point of emphasis in the patronage of popes.

Translatio (from *transferre*, to carry over or transfer), a symbolic or literal movement from one place to a supposedly better one, has been closely associated with the concept of *spolia*, notably in Maria Fabricius Hansen's book *The Eloquence of Appropriation*. "The use of spolia," she writes, was "a practice consisting of a transference of power from the past through a taking over of its cultural expressions and incorporating them into one's own."[3] Hansen analyses *spolia* as a *translatio* of materials, of meaning, and of time. She understands *trans-*

liseo, dove si vede molte anticaglie, dove si mostra esservi stato una terme." Cited in Alessandro Perosa, *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone, I: Il Zibaldone Quaresimale*, London, The Warburg Institute, 1960, p. 77. The vase is represented schematically on the "Pianta Strozzi" in the 1470s, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Codice Rediano 77, fols 7v–8r. See Ambrogi, *Labra…*

3 Maria Fabricius Hansen, *The Eloquence of Appropriation: Prolegomena to an Understanding of Spolia in Early Christian Rome*, Rome, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2003, p. 263.



2 Giovannantonio Dosio, *The Cortile del Belvedere*, ca. 1561, pen and ink on paper, 22.1 × 33.3 cm, Florence, Uffizi (GDSU, inv. 2559 A r)

latio as a form of appropriation, a process that involves finding suitable cultural expressions, transferring them to a new setting, and translating them so that they fit a new, Christian context and create new meanings. In the setting of Renaissance Rome, *translatio* had special significance. The large size of so many of the remains of antiquity meant that movement was difficult, richly symbolic, and easily exploited by the popes and powerful cardinals in possession of the required means. Examples of difficult movements abound long before the Belvedere granite basin: the bronze *pigna* brought sometime before the 12th century to the forecourt of St. Peter's for re-use as a fountain, the colossal *krater* moved to the front of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, or other, massive antique basins and urns sculpted in granite or marble dragged to the fronts of basilicas or curial residences. The granite basin moved by Cardinal Pietro Barbo (the future Pope Paul II) to the front of Palazzo Venezia was so large its transfer required the destruction of two houses, while Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, Sixtus IV, Leo X, Paul III, and Sixtus V are also known for ambitious *translationes*, most impressively that of the Vatican obelisk (fig. 3). The technical and logistical prowess, and political and military might required for such moves draws comparison with the powers of the ancient Roman emperors and their superhuman capacity to transport objects on the scale of the Egyptian obelisks. Papal *translationes* were rich with symbolic, religious, and political meaning, achieving the goal of self-celebration and adding splendor to the Christian *caput mundi*.

3 Obelisk from Heliopolis, 1835 BCE, red granite, 25.5 m, Vatican City, St. Peter's Square

By the time Julius II transferred the massive granite basin, *restauratio* had become another, much more widely practiced form of antiquarianism. *Restauratio* came into focus particularly during the 15th century, when attention shifted towards smaller, fragmented antiquities in white marble gathered in private collections. Arguably, a concept of *restauratio* first took shape in the Trecento, in connection with cultural phenomena outlined in Tilmann Buddensieg's classic article "Gregory the Great, the Destroyer of Pagan Idols."[4] While Gregory had been praised in the medieval era for eradicating antique texts and

4 Tilmann Buddensieg, "Gregory the Great, the Destroyer of Pagan Idols. The History of a Medieval Legend concerning the Decline of Ancient Art and Literature," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 28, 1965, pp. 44–65.

smashing statues of pagan idols, as Buddensieg discusses, a pronounced shift occurred when *literati* in the circle of Petrarch began to condemn the pope's wanton destruction of ancient texts. The discussion soon broadened to include the condemnation of the purposeful destruction of ancient statues and images by former popes as well, as is seen in the second book of Lorenzo Ghiberti's *Commentarii*. Ghiberti opens this part of his treatise with a condemnation of Constantine and Pope Sylvester (*reg.* 314–35) for forbidding the practices of sculpture and painting and for having "destroyed" statues and paintings and "rent them of their nobility and antique and perfect dignity."[5]

Buddensieg's article and other important studies have considered the theme of Rome's dramatic fall from glorious capital to cadaver, a miserable, pitiable landscape of ruins created by ignorance and neglect. The complex symbolism of the Roman ruins in the Tre- and Quattrocento, and the emergence of calls for rebirth and restoration are topics that have been explored extensively elsewhere, and remain beyond the scope of this essay.[6] It should be noted however that the acceleration of the *calca* trade—the practice of melting down ancient marbles in kilns to make mortar—with the resurgence of the papal capital in the early 15th century played a particularly important part in the emerging discourse of *restauratio*. At a time when ancient inscriptions, statues, and architectural ruins were disappearing at an alarming rate, an antiquarian ethos emerged to call for the rescue of every fragment of inscribed or carved marble from the *calca* kilns. The polemic previously directed towards Sylvester and Gregory the Great shifted towards the *calca* burners, their crimes, and the authorities who allowed the practice to continue. In this context, as has often been noted, the antiquarian goal of rescuing and restoring the ancient past focused on both texts and material culture—works of art, architecture, and inscriptions. What I would like to highlight is a particular aspect of this history that has received less attention: the overlap between regret at the fragmentation of antique marbles and dismay at the disappearance of the literary corpus of ancient authors among the humanist "book hunters." Arguably, the discovery of texts by revered ancient authors, the rescue of manuscripts left to decay in the dark corners of monastic libraries, their discovery in a state of fragmentation, and subsequent efforts to restore these texts would inform in important and enduring ways the practices of excavating, collecting, and restoring antique works of art.

5 "[A]dunche al tempo di Constantino imperadore e di Silvestro papa sormontò su la fede christiana. Ebbe la ydolatria grandissima persecutione, in modo tale, tutte le statue e le picture furon disfatte e lacerate di tanta nobiltà et anticha e perfetta dignità, e così si consumaron colle statue e picture, e vilumi, e comentarii, e liniamenti, e regole davano amaestramento a tanta et egregia e gentile arte." L. Bartoli (ed.), L. Ghiberti, *I commentarii*, Florence, Giunti, 1998, p. 82.

6 See, for example, Giuseppe Lombardi, "La città, libro di pietra: immagini umanistiche di Roma prima e dopo Costanza," in M. Chiabò, G. D'Alessandro, P. Piacentini, and C. Ranieri (eds.), *Alle origini della nuova Roma, Martino V (1417–1431)*, conference proceedings (Rome, 1992), Rome, Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 1992, pp. 17–45; Sabine Forero-Mendoza, *Le temps des ruines. Le goût des ruines et les formes de la conscience historique à la Renaissance*, Seyssel, Champ Vallon, 2002; Kathleen W. Christian, *Empire without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350–1527*, New Haven/London, Yale University Press, 2010.

Before collecting and restoring antique statuary were widespread, the book hunters practiced textual *restauratio*. For the early humanists, texts were by far the most pitiable victims of time's cruel passage and humanity's ignorance. They had been damaged by those who had not preserved them carefully, or who had copied them incorrectly: with each misunderstanding by an ignorant scribe, the original had become more fractured and damaged. The solution, however, was for enlightened men—equipped with the necessary linguistic skills—to discover the missing pieces, searching for fragments in libraries near and far, then return texts to their original condition by reassembling them and correcting their errors. Eventually, texts could be disseminated widely through publication, a method of transmission that would protect them from the risk of being lost, or damaged by scribal errors.

The long-lived sense of continuity between the fragmentation of texts and images can be seen in the language of the 14th- and 15th-century book hunters. While Petrarch, in his letters to friends, describes his grief at the mutilated and fragmented state of revered classical authors, such metaphors expanded and intensified in the Quattrocento.[7] In a letter to Guarino Veronese dated 1416, Poggio Bracciolini, for example, used the imagery of wounded bodies and broken statues to describe the condition of the orator Quintilian, as if his damaged literary corpus were his own, injured body: "among us Italians, he so far has been so fragmentary, so cut down by the action of time, I think, that the shape and style of the man has become unrecognizable." Quoting Virgil's description of the mutilated body of Deiphobus, son of Priam, Poggio tells Guarino he has so far only seen Quintilian with "his face cruelly lacerated—his face and both hands—his ears torn from his ravaged temples, and his nostrils cut off by an appalling wound."[8] He then goes on to describe the famous re-discovery by himself, Cencio de' Rustici, and Bartolomeo Aragazzi of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* in 1416 at the library of St. Gallen. Although "cut to pieces and scattered," Quintilian had been "through our efforts called back not only from exile but from almost complete destruction."[9] Poggio and his companions had found Quintilian's missing parts far from Italy, in a sort of barbarian prison, "a foul and gloomy dungeon at the bottom of one of the towers."[10] Through this discovery they were able to put him back together, returning him intact to his homeland: "the more we regret and blame ourselves for the damage that was formerly done to him, the more we should congratulate ourselves that by

7 Petrarch, *Familiares*, 24.4, 24.7, and 24.8, discussed in Hester Schadee, "Ancient Texts and Holy Bodies: Humanist Hermeneutics and the Language of Relics," in A. Blair and A.-S. Goeing (eds.), *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton*, 2, Leiden, Brill, pp. 675–91.

8 Poggio to Guarino da Verona, December 15, 1416, in Tommaso Tonelli (ed.), *Poggii epistolae*, Florence, Typis L. Marchini, 1832, I, letter 5, pp. 25–9, translation adapted from Phyllis W. G. Gordan, *Two Renaissance Book Hunters: The Letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1992, p. 193, quote from Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI.495–7. See also Julia H. Gaisser, "Poggio and Other Book Hunters," in R. Ricci (ed.), *Poggio Bracciolini and the Re(dis)covery of Antiquity: Textual and Material Traditions*, Florence, Firenze University Press, 2020, pp. 173–88.

9 Gordan, *Two Renaissance…*, p. 194.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 195.

our energetic search he has now been restored to us in his original appearance and grandeur, whole and in perfect condition."[11] Cencio de' Rustici's account of the discovery of the manuscript, similarly, emphasizes the indignity of the place where it had been found "neglected and infested with dust, worms, soot and all the things associated with the destruction of books."[12] This rescue and restoration of Quintilian was praised by many, including Leonardo Bruni, who congratulated Poggio with the words: "Quintilian, who used to be mangled and in pieces, will recover all his parts thanks to you."[13] The metaphor of the broken body is striking, and has been considered in relation to Christian relics, the holy fragments of the bodies of Christian saints.[14] Marble fragments of antique statues and other artistic works are, however, another form of *reliquiae* that shared a close and profound conceptual affinity with neglected and fragmented literary remains. Like the "corpus" of a particular author or like a particular manuscript, they seemed to be fragmented bodies that Rome's barbarian enemies had attacked and mutilated.

In practice, the restoration of texts and the restoration of sculpture would follow different paths: one involved a precise type of philological skill, the other a more fluid artistic response to, and *paragone* with, antique works of art. Within the broader context of curial Rome, the problem of textual ruination long remained a more urgent, more serious issue. The restoration of antique statues emerged as an ideal that was often articulated but—in contrast to the editing of texts—not consistently prioritized, and carried out relatively rarely; before the second half of the 16th century, restoration was generally reserved for select, highly prized works of antique statuary.[15] *Restauratio* as a point of view, however, embraced both texts and images and resonated across both spheres. Arguably, any display of antique statues and reliefs, from the Trecento onwards, offered rich symbolic ground for artists, *literati*, and others to call attention to a problem of fragmentation first articulated by writers and humanists, or to compare the loss of texts to the loss of artistic works. Rather than emphasizing the massive size of antique objects dragged from one place to another, as is often seen in papal *translationes*, *restauratio* exploited the opposite qualities of vulnerability and fragmentation. As a result, it opened up opportunities to "appropriate"

11 *Ibid.*, p. 194.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 189, translation of a letter from Cencio de' Rustici to Francesco da Fiano, dated by Bertalot to summer 1416 (Ludwig Bertalot, "Cincius Romanus und seine Briefe," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken,* 21, 1929–30, pp. 222–5).

13 Leonardo Bruni, *Epistolarum Libri VIII*, L. Mehus (ed.), Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2007 (1724), 4.5; Gordan, *Two Renaissance …*, appendix 2; translation in Gaisser, "Poggio…," p. 182.

14 Schadee, "Ancient Texts…," pp. 675–91.

15 For examples of restorations, see Arnold Nesselrath, "Antico and Monte Cavallo," *The Burlington Magazine,* 124, 1982, pp. 353–7; Francesco Caglioti, "Due 'restauratori' per le antichità dei primi Medici: Mino da Fiesole, Andrea del Verrocchio e il 'Marsia rosso' degli Uffizi," *Prospettiva*, 72, 1993, pp. 17–42, and 73/4, 1994, pp. 74–96; Orietta Rossi Pinelli, "Chirurgia della memoria: scultura antica e restauri storici," in S. Settis (ed.), *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, Turin, Einaudi, 3, 1986, pp. 183–251; Matthias Winner, Bernard Andreae, and Carlo Pietrangeli (eds.), *Il Cortile delle Statue. Der Statuenhof des Belvedere im Vatikan*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 1998.

textual and visual fragments. *Restauratio* developed as a complement to *translatio*, allowing a wider range of actors—scholars, editors, artists, or aristocrats—to inherit the past legitimately and virtuously. The restoration of texts and eventually also statues became an ambition and a worthy cause, even if an often difficult one to achieve.

It is not possible to do justice in this essay to the question of how, why, and when concepts of *restauratio* developed, nor to expand further upon the complexities of the interplay between texts and images. A lengthier discussion would need to consider moments such as the publication of Flavio Biondo's *Roma instaurata*, or the role of key individuals such as Cencio de' Rustici, Pier Paolo Vergerio and Giulio Pomponio Leto, whose academic circles focused on both literary editions and antique remains. Suffice it to say that the rhetoric of *restauratio* was widespread by the reign of Sixtus IV, when Pomponio Leto and his followers won support from the pope and a number of wealthy cardinals. Sixtus IV's patronage plays an important part in this history, and it is clear that this pope was keen to set himself apart from his "bad" predecessors by emphasizing his role as restorer: whether it be the symbolic restoration of bronze sculptures to the Roman people on the Capitoline hill, or the physical restoration of ancient texts, Latin inscriptions and images.[16] His restoration of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius at the Lateran, probably in 1473 or 1474, is a case in point. A new, inscribed base commemorated his intervention with the words: "Sixtus IV restored this bronze horse and its rider, collapsed and damaged with age, with this large marble base."[17] The appearance of the marble base is suggested by Filippino Lippi's representation of the statue in the Carafa Chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (fig. 4). The base gave the statue a new, more monumental appearance, yet the dedicatory inscription exaggerates the improvement in the statue's condition through Sixtus's base. In reality the statue was not "collapsed" prior to Sixtus's intervention, but had actually been restored not long before by Sixtus's predecessor, Pope Paul II.[18] Just as with Julius II's granite *vasca*, exaggeration of the statue's former misery and poor condition stresses the damage or neglect it has suffered in the past, as well as its rescue by a benevolent and enlightened patron.

16 Paola Guerrini, "L'epigrafia sistina come momento della 'Restauratio Urbis,'" in M. Miglio, F. Niutta, D. Quaglioni, and C. Ranieri (eds.), *Un Pontificato ed una città: Sisto IV (1471–1484)*, conference proceedings (Rome, 1984), Rome, Roma nel Rinascimento, 1986, pp. 453–68.

17 According to Francesco Albertini, the inscription read: "Syxtus.iiii. Pont. max. equum hunc aeneum vetustate quassatum collabentem cum assessore restituit." *Opusculum de mirabilibus Novae & veteris Urbis Romae*, Rome, Mazzocchi, 1510, n.p. See Claudio Parisi Presicce, "I grandi bronzi di Sisto IV dal Laterano in Campidoglio," in F. Benzi (ed.), *Sisto IV: le arti a Roma nel primo rinascimento*, conference proceedings (Rome, 1997), Rome, Associazione culturale Shakespeare and Company, 2, 2000, pp. 189–200, here p. 189. Sixtus IV's base is also represented in Berlin, SMB-PK, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 7.D.2, fol. 71v.

18 For Paul II's involvement with the statue, see Anna Modigliani, "Paolo II e il sogno abbandonato di una piazza imperiale," in M. Miglio (ed.), *Antiquaria a Roma: intorno a Pomponio Leto e Paolo II*, Rome, Roma nel Rinascimento, 2003, pp. 125–61.

4 Filippino Lippi, *Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius*, 1492–93, fresco, Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Cappella Carafa

Collapsus is, indeed, an odd description for any statue, and it comes as no surprise that it is a rhetorical formula directly borrowed from antique inscriptions, particularly those honoring architectural restorations. The SPQR or the emperors had used it often to take credit for re-erecting buildings that had "collapsed" after an earthquake or a fire.[19] One canonical example was an inscription once found on the architrave of the Temple of

19 Edmund Thomas and Christian Witschel, "Constructing Reconstruction: Claim and Reality of Roman Rebuilding Inscriptions from the Latin West," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 60, 1992, pp. 135–77.

Concord in the Roman Forum, recorded in the anonymous 9th-century manuscript known as the *Einsiedeln Itinerary* (Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln, Cod. 326): the SPQR "restored the temple of Concord, which had collapsed because of its age, to a better state, by work and splendid attention."[20] This and other antique inscriptions provided rhetorical *topoi* for dedicatory inscriptions marking restorations in Rome, for example when Nicholas V hailed his restoration of the Acqua Vergine after it had "collapsed with age."[21]

The idea that a statue had collapsed in on itself, like an aqueduct, underscores not only the work of art's very poor condition, but also the indignity it suffered while lying on the ground. *Restauratio*, by contrast, emphasizes an intervention that returns ancient artefacts to their former state of splendor, often expressed by their elevation and their removal from squalid, dishonorable places. The idea is seen for example in the anonymous preface to the edition of poems from the Festa di Pasquino of 1509, where the statue's patron, Cardinal Oliviero Carafa, is praised for bringing the statue of Pasquino (fig. 5) to the corner of his house, after "it had lain abandoned covered over with dirt for many years."[22] One can also consider the inscription marking the display of a porphyry basin at the Pantheon under Pope Leo X: the pope is credited with saving the vulnerable antique object and ordering it "to be restored and embellished, lest it languish in squalor, dishonored by neglect."[23] The inscription is now immured in the forecourt of the Pantheon (fig. 6), yet is shown in its original position in a 16th-century drawing by Francisco de Holanda (fig. 7).

Restoration establishes a moral point of view, setting up a clear divide between the restorers and the work of art's enemies—foreign barbarians, ignorant men, or "bad" popes—who were targeted for their destruction of texts in the circle of Petrarch, and then for their destruction of images in Ghiberti's *Commentarii*, or in the "Letter to Leo X" by Raphael and Baldassare Castiglione.[24] The era of *restauratio* signaled the final defeat of these wrongdo-

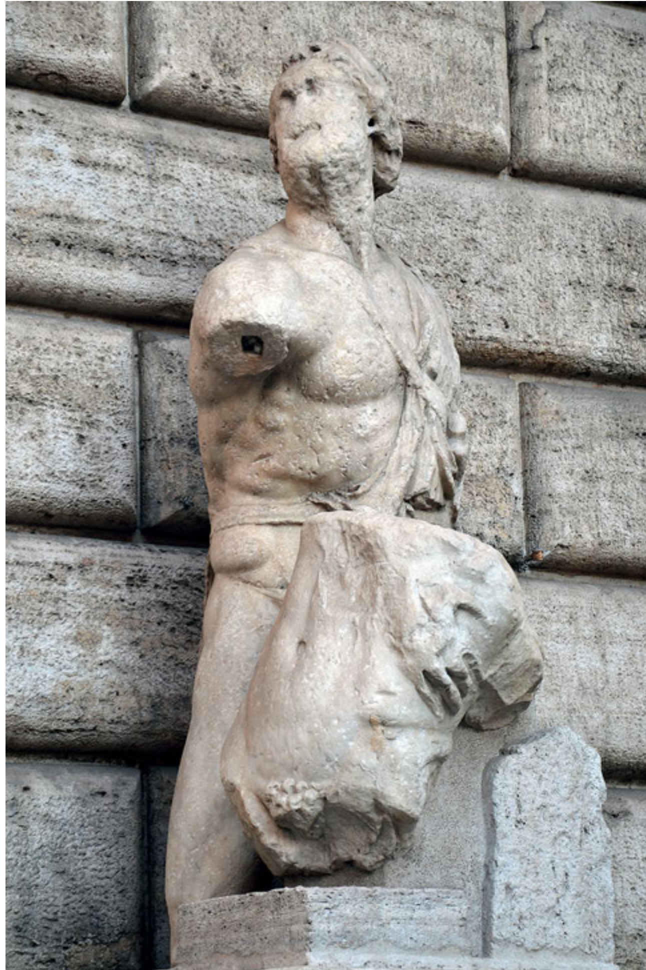
20 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI:89: "S[enatus] P[opulus] Q[ue] R[omanus] aedem Concordiae vetustate collapsam in meliorem faciem opere et cultu splendidiore restituit."

21 "Nicolaus V pontifex maximus post illustratam insignibus monumentis urbem ductum aquae Virginis vetustate collapsum sua impensa in splendidiorem cultum restitui ornariq[ue] mandavit anno Dom[ini] Iesu Christi MCCCCLIII pontificatus sui VII." Iiro Kajanto, *Papal Epigraphy in Renaissance Rome*, Helsinki, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1982, pp. 60–1.

22 "Ad angulum domus Cardinalis Neapolitani statue & quidem insignis, olim est Herculis, ut quidam congnectant, quae trunca mutilave cruribus brachiis ac naso in loco non multos pedes ab eo in quo Cardinalis inpensa nunc erecta conspicitur distante, abiecta iacuit ac sordibus obducta annos complures." *Carmina quae ad pasquillum fuerunt posita in anno M.CCCCC.IX*, s.l., 1509, n.p.

23 Forcella, *Iscrizioni…*, 1869–84, 1, p. 294; these types of dedicatory inscriptions are put in relation to decrees in the Theodosian Code on the purification of pagan images in Christian, *Empire without End…*, p. 196.

24 To cite only one passage in this letter, the authors ask the pope, "why do we lament the Goths, Vandals, Ostrogoths, and other such fierce enemies, if those who—as fathers and guardians with the duty of defending the poor relics of Rome—have themselves long destroyed them?" ("perché si è dolere noi de' Gotti, Vandali, Ostrogotti, et altre tai fiere inimici, se quelli che, come padri e tutori, deveano diffendere queste povere reliquie di Roma, essi medesimi hanno lungamente atteso a destruerle?"). Quoted from John Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 1, New Haven/London, Yale University Press, 2003, p. 502.



5 *Pasquino group*, Roman copy of Late Hellenistic original, 192 cm high, Rome, Piazza di Pasquino

ers, offering a resolution to the problems of fragility and disorder, ignorance and greed. Restoration of texts and images complements the benefits of *translatio* by emphasizing other types of improvements: illumination, elevation, repatriation, the restoration of wholeness, protection from the enemies of the Romans, the imposition of order, and the arrival of justice. Through virtuous acts of restoration, ancient texts, and equally ancient images, were brought back to a complete and original state, their missing parts re-discovered and replaced, and their future protection in their native homeland ensured by their safekeeping to collections and libraries. The next step, the eventual publication of texts and images in print (often described as an act of bringing them "into the light") can be considered yet another cultural expression of *restauratio*. In this manner, finding, editing, restoring, displaying, or publishing the damaged remains of the ancient past signals one's par-

6 Sculpted relief and dedicatory inscription from the time of Leo X, marble, Rome, Pantheon pronaos

ticipation in a common enterprise. In both the antiquities collection and in the library, cultural artefacts that were previously "buried," hidden from sight, kept in darkness, or exiled in wretched conditions outside of Italy are permanently rescued and given new life. As has been pointed out, the antiquarian trope of rebirth draws meaning from the Christian concept of resurrection, when the body is made whole again, purified, and given eternal life—what Thomas M. Greene has described as "the archaeological impulse downward into the earth, into the past, the unknown and recondite, and then the upward impulse to bring forth a corpse whole and newly restored, re-illuminated, and made harmonious."[25]

25 Thomas M. Greene, "Resurrecting Rome: The Double Task of the Humanist Imagination," in P. A. Ramsay (ed.), *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth*, conference proceedings (Binghamton, N. Y., 1979), Binghamton N. Y., Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982, pp. 41–54.

7 Francisco de Holanda, *Basin and Lions in front of the Pantheon* (detail, upper half of folio), post 1538–ante 1571, pen and ink wash on paper, 39 × 27 cm, Real Monasterio El Escorial (MS. inv. 28-1-20, fol. 16v, detail)

The fragmentation of statues was comparable to crimes against the Latin tongue, or the "bodies" of antique manuscripts; in this sense, foreigners such as the monks of Constance who did not recognize the treasures in their library were comparable to the Gauls who had invaded Rome and wantonly destroyed ancient monuments, setting up a paradigm for "barbaric" behavior towards images. When writers and humanists drew comparisons, however, between the destruction of images and the destruction of texts or the Latin language generally, it was the latter which was judged a greater tragedy. Here one can consider Pietro Bembo's discussion of two of the most famous classical manuscripts of the Renaissance, a 5th- or 6th- century manuscript of Terence's comedies and a Carolingian compilation of works by Virgil, including the *Culex* then attributed to the Augustan poet. Now both manuscripts number among the treasures of the Vatican library.[26] In the Quattrocento, they were such prized possessions of the Bembo family that Pietro Bembo wrote a dialogue in tribute to them, his *De Virgilii Culice et Terentii fabulis liber*. Bembo's dialogue takes place

26 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat. 3226 and 3252.

in the antiquarian circles of Rome that its author knew and greatly admired, and unfolds as a discussion between the Venetian humanist Ermolao Barbaro and his teacher Giulio Pomponio Leto in the presence of Tommaso Inghirami.[27]

Bembo set this dialogue in an evocative antiquarian garden owned by Barbaro, which he locates near Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Pomponio Leto visits this garden and finds Barbaro there contemplating an antique statue. Barbaro gazes upon a marble figure of a man "lying in a casual and indecorous manner on the ground [...] without a head, without feet and even without hands, but with his left arm folded in a garment."[28] The pair then reflect together on the fate of Rome's antique monuments, comparing the ruination of figures in marble to the tragic loss of literary works. Leto and Barbaro consider that statues which were once "another population in stone" are now broken into pieces and scattered. The Pantheon or the Vatican Obelisk (fig. 3) are ancient treasures that are now, sadly, hidden and obscured by the modern shops and markets built up around them. Ancient literature shares a similar fate: the works of Catullus, Ovid, Horace, and Virgil have survived to the present day, but are now fragmented, corrupted, and obscured by modern accretions. Just as the beauty of the Pantheon is now hidden by the unattractive shops, ancient texts as well have become hidden by clumsy, post-classical errors. In Bembo's dialogue, the comparison between texts, statues, and built monuments is far from equal. While images are merely delights for the eyes, texts are the food and medicine of the soul, and the damage done to them is far more tragic. The works of Greek and Latin authors, especially poets, have perished. "Does their loss not seem much greater to you, Pomponius," Barbaro asks, "than that of stones and walls?" Pomponio Leto agrees, admitting that "writings are like statues: much more has been lost than has been preserved," and that the poets have been particularly "mutilated and diminished."[29]

27 Pietro Bembo, *De Virgilii Culice et Terentii fabulis liber*, Venice, Per Io. Ant. eiusque fratres Sabios, 1530, dedicated to Ercole Strozzi. It was published only in 1530 but is thought to have been substantially completed by 1505, when the Aldine press received a *privilegium* to print it. For the text, see John N. Grant, "Pietro Bembo and Vat. Lat. 3226," *Humanistica Lovaiensia*, 37, 1988, pp. 211–43; *Id.*, "Pietro Bembo as a Textual Critic of Classical Latin Poetry: *Variae lectiones* and the Text of the *Culex*," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 35, 1992, pp. 253–303; Maurizio Campanelli, "Pietro Bembo, Roma e la filologia del tardo Quattrocento: per una lettura del dialogo *De Virgilii Culice et Terentii fabulis*," *Rinascimento*, ser. 2, 37, 1997, pp. 283–319.

28 "Nam cum ad Hermolaum Pomponius, ut solebat, ex Quirinali ad Minervae venisset; essetque ipse una cum Pomponio; atque illum in hortis sedentem offendisset (erat autem meridie fere tempus), consedissetque ibi, tum cum illo, viso hominis marmoreo trunco, qui ante illorum pedes humi temere, atque indecore iacebat, sine capite, sine pedibus, sine etiam manibus, pallio tantum laevo brachio involuto, ita coepisse Pomponium dicebat." Bembo, *De Virgilii Culice*..., n. p.

29 After describing the state of the Pantheon and the Vatican obelisk, Barbaro writes: "Sed haec tamen, quoniam tantummodo oculorum oblectamenta sunt, ferenda sunt aequius. Quid illa vero Pomponi, quae non oblectamenta modo et delectamenta, sed levatio etiam et medicina et quasi potus aliquis cibusque animorum sunt, scripta videlicet illa tot in omni quidem doctrinarum genere antiquorum hominum, vel Graecorum vel nostrorum, maxime autem poetarum, quae perierunt; quomodo sunt ferenda? An non tibi longe maior iactura haec, quam illa lapidum et murorum videtur?" In Pomponius's reply, he states: "Nam prope ut signorum, ita scriptorum non parum plura amissa, quam retenta

Ancient statues and classical texts are objects in need of rescue and rehabilitation; for *literati*, however, the abundance and devastation of marble ruins in Rome serves a broader purpose as a reminder of the much more appalling loss and corruption of literary works. For the book hunters, the broken bodies of ancient statues, the memory of their destruction by foreign enemies, and their burial underground served as a metaphor for the more calamitous devastation of literature: as was seen, the manuscripts personify the abused and fractured bodies of the authors themselves.[30] When Antonio Agustín published his edition of Sextus Pompeius Festus in 1559, he described the chance survival of one copy of the text in such terms. "While the whole book was still extant in the time of Charlemagne," he wrote, "one Paulus thought it would be useful if he made a sort of epitome of the parts he liked best." Then came a period of barbarous destruction, which only fragmented parts of the text's original "corpus" survived. "One codex survived the slaughter. But that was like a soldier whose comrades have been defeated and massacred, and who creeps along at random with his legs broken, his nose mutilated, one eye gouged out, and one arm broken [...]. The remains of the codex passed to Aldo Manuzio, who tried to combine them with the epitome of Paulus, thus making one body from two sets of parts."[31] The task of the humanists was to find and piece together the remaining fragments of literary bodies, rescuing them from darkness, exile and imprisonment and putting together their scattered pieces. A similar sense of personification is often found in the case of the bodies of antique statuary: they are also objects of chance survival now in mutilated form and their pitiable fate calls out for their removal from the ground, the discovery and restoration of their missing pieces, and their return to a state of wholeness. Latin poetry often dwells on these themes, personifying the fragmented object and giving statues a voice in which to lament their own destruction and neglect. One example is a poem composed by Paolo Spinoso, sometime before 1479, on the subject of the famous Capitoline *Pans* (fig. 8). These twin statues had, according to Spinoso's poem, only recently been discovered in a mutilated state, with their arms missing, in the countryside outside Rome. Sometime before 1490, the statues would be brought to the house of the Della Valle, where Maarten van Heemskerck drew them in the 1530s. Spinoso's poem focuses on their destruction by an "enemy" (who is unnamed but who is implicitly a foreign invader, rather than a descendant of Aeneas and Romulus) and on the moment of their discovery, which brings an end to long centuries of burial and neglect:

> *The Discovered Fauns to One who Looks Upon Them*: [...] We were a spectacle for the people, and were the whole glory of Rome, when its name reached up to the highest

sunt. Sed utinam illa tantummodo periissent, ac non ii etiam Poetae nostri, qui habentur qui que permanent, mutilati decurtatique haberentur." Bembo, *De Virgilii Culice*..., n.p.

30 See Schadee, "Ancient Texts...," pp. 683–5.

31 Quotation and translation from Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship: I. Textual Criticism and Exegesis*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1983, pp. 134–5. Kind reference of Cesare Pastorino.

8 One of the twin Capitoline *Pans*, Rome, Capitoline Museums

stars. But after the house of the descendants of Aeneas had been subjected to ruin, and the kingdom of the descendants from Romulus had been laid low, we too were cast out by the enemy with our limbs damaged, so that this adornment should not survive in the fields of Latium. The rotting earth covered us first for many centuries, and many a rock buried our faces. But envious daylight seized us from the shadows, suffering neither the shadows nor for us to live as more obscure *Lares*.[32]

32 "Fauni inventi ad inspicientem ipsos. […] Spectaclum populis fuimus decor omnis et Urbis, / cum penetrat summa nomen in astra suum. / Sed postquam Aeneadum domus est subiecta ruinis / strataque Romulidum regna fuere patrum, / nos quoque deiecti laceris prius arctubus hoste, / ne decus

The Pans were eventually brought to collections that would take shape over the following decades in several adjacent palaces of the Della Valle, which would number among the largest and most celebrated in Rome. In the 1520s, Cardinal Andrea della Valle expanded the family's statue collections with a new "hanging garden" constructed as a glorious, open-air statue court and garden on the top levels of his palace, above the stables (fig. 9). In the second edition of his *Lives of the Artists*, Giorgio Vasari paid tribute to the cardinal and the architect and sculptor responsible for the installation of the statue collection, Lorenzetto, for starting the practice of sculpture restoration in Rome. According to Vasari, Lorenzetto installed antique sculptures in the Della Valle statue court, some with missing pieces that he had "restored by good sculptors. [...] This was the reason that other lords have since done the same thing and have restored many ancient works."[33]

Dedicatory inscriptions on the side walls lay out these pious intentions, invoking once again the trope of the "collapsed" statue: one solemnly dedicated the statue court to "the restoration of collapsing statues and the decoration of the hanging garden." It is certainly an exaggeration to claim that the Della Valle courtyard was "the first" instance of statue restoration in Rome, or that this collection was the inspiration for all future restorations. As drawings of the collection from the 1530s clarify, many of the statues, indeed, were left unrestored. Yet at the same time, the statue court successfully represented itself as the culmination of a long-lived ideal of *restauratio*. *Restauratio*, here and in other collections, meant more than adding lost arms and legs. Instead, it articulated a broader cultural notion of the recovery and rescue of the past, a demonstration of one's virtuous and pious attitude and the righting of past wrongs. A poem by Pietro Corsi praising Andrea della Valle as a collector, written soon after the Sack of Rome, frames the collection in these terms:

in Latiis hoc superesset agris. / Multa prius putris texit nos secula tellus / et sepelit nostra plurimus ora lapis. / Emula lux tenebris rapuit nos, passa nec umbras, / nec magis obscuros nos habitare lares." For the poem, see Rosella Bianchi, *Paolo Spinoso e l'Umanesimo romano nel secondo Quattrocento*, Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2004, pp. 137–40. Bianchi dates the Codex between the early 1460s and 1479. The *Pans* then moved to the collection of the Della Valle sometime before 1490, when Giovanni da Tolentino saw them there; see Richard Schofield, "Giovanni da Tolentino Goes to Rome: A Description of the Antiquities of Rome in 1490," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 43, 1980, pp. 246–56.

33 Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, et architettori*, Florence, Giunti, 1568, 2, p. 134: "buoni scultori. [...] La quale cosa fu cagione che altri signori hanno poi fatto il medesimo e restaurato molte cose antiche." English translation quoted from Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 5, trans. Gaston du C. de Vere, London, Macmillan and The Medici Society, 1913, p. 57. See also Giorgio Vasari, *I Ragionamenti di Giorgio Vasari pittore ed architetto aretino sopra le Invenzioni da lui dipinte in Firenze nel Palazzo di Loro Altezze Serenissime, con lo Illustrissimo ed Eccellentissimo Don Francesco de' Medici, Principe di Firenze*, Florence, Giunti, 1588, p. 129. For the Della Valle collection, see Maria Cristina Paoluzzi, "La famiglia della Valle e l'origine della collezione di antichità," in A. Cavallaro (ed.), *Collezioni di antichità a Roma fra '400 e '500*, Rome, De Luca, 2007, pp. 147–86; Kathleen W. Christian, "*Instauratio* and *Pietas*: The Della Valle Collections of Ancient Sculpture," in N. Penny and E. D. Schmidt (eds.), *Collecting Sculpture in Early Modern Europe*, Studies in the History of Art, 70, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, conference proceedings (Washington, D.C., 2003),Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 2008, pp. 33–65.

9 Maarten van Heemskerck, *Statue Court of Cardinal Andrea della Valle*, 1532–7, pen and ink, 28.4 × 42.5 cm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Estampes (Réserve B-12 (3)-BOITE FOL, inv. Ga 80, fol. 53r)

> Illustrious images of the gods and illustrious images of the ancient Quirites
> Father della Valle ordered them to be discovered and restored
> And then he hung his new gardens up high in his palace
> Where you see living marbles stand in perpetuity.
> At last the Ruler of Olympus beheld Latium
> And so he consoled the saddened breast of Venus
> You cried over her so many times, because she was hidden for so many centuries.[34]

In sum, the *restauratio* of statues came into its own between the era of Sixtus IV and the Della Valle, and thus became an established practice later than, yet in close dialogue with, concepts that had first developed in the context of the rediscovery and correction of classical texts. How the artistic practice of sculpture restoration itself fits into this history is a topic beyond the scope of this essay. So too is the topic of how both *translatio* and *restau-*

34 For this poem and the original Latin, see Christian, "*Instauratio* and *Pietas*…," pp. 52–3.

10 Raphael, *The School of Athens*, 1509–11, fresco, 500 × 770 cm, Vatican City, Stanza della Segnatura

ratio are concepts which impacted the visual arts generally, far beyond the practicalities of the movement of objects, or the repair of their missing parts.

As an example, one can refer to Raphael's canonical expression of the *translatio* and *restauratio* of the antique past in the present, *The School of Athens* (Fig. 10). The setting of the fresco was a library, in which the texts of classical philosophers that had been long neglected, their works damaged by the effects of time and human ignorance, had been brought out of obscurity, transferred, reassembled, corrected, and collected in a protective place. In response, Raphael's fresco evokes the classical gymnasium, depicting in the background statues of antique gods and goddesses that stand elevated and illuminated, the sheer height of their display emphasized by a view of vaults opening up onto clouds and sky. The fresco seems not only an expression of a glorious *translatio studii*: philosophers from different ages, from all corners of the Greco-Roman world, have moved their achievements and their intellects to the worthy shelter of Julius II's Rome. It is also a celebration of Julius's *restauratio* of classical texts and images, with statues set in a fictive gallery and represented in an ideal state of wholeness and order, reflecting the ideals embraced in the context of the Belvedere statue court. Restoration and reintegration bring about an ideal

expressed by the symmetrical composition of Raphael's fresco and by the ordered gallery of whole and unfragmented statues. This fictive philosophical school contrasts materially and intellectually with its implied alternatives: fragmentation, burial, exposure to barbarism, and disorder. There are thus parallels to be drawn between *The School of Athens* and the instance of the antiquarian patronage of Julius II described at the beginning of this essay, the movement, restoration, and re-dedication of the granite basin to the lower court of the Belvedere. Both celebrate transfers from an unsuitable place to a better one, the re-assemblage in Rome of what had previously been scattered and fragmented, and the successful return of cultural treasures to a state of dignity and wholeness, allowing for the rebirth of the "original splendor" of the antique. Such metaphors join together textual and visual aspects of humanism and resonate within the fields of philology, collecting, and sculpture restoration.