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Coryciana: The Spaces of the Collection

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Résumé de l'article

Cet article explore la relation entre la poésie, le lieu et le concept d'épigramme comme « écriture propre au lieu » dans les Coryciana. Publié en 1524 dans une édition préparée par Blosius Palladius, ce recueil collectif principalement composé d'épigrammes et préparé en l'honneur de l'humaniste et protonotaire apostolique Johann Goritz se concentre sur deux sites majeurs de la Rome renaissante : la chapelle de Goritz à Sant'Agostino et sa villa-vignoble près du forum de Trajan. Les poètes et les éditeurs des Coryciana participent à un projet collectif d'aménagement de l'espace, déterminant les nouveaux sites de piété et de culture de Goritz en relation avec les lieux de l'Antiquité gréco-romaine et de la cité moderne. Ils représentent en même temps le recueil lui-même comme un espace textuel, imprégné des capacités commémoratives et encyclopédiques ainsi que de la faculté de canonisation des sites et des bâtiments de la Rome ancienne et contemporaine.

Coryciana: The Spaces of the Collection

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This article explores the relation between poetry, place, and the concept of epigram as site-specific writing in the Coryciana. *Published in 1524 in an edition assembled by Blosius Palladius, this multi-author, predominantly epigrammatic collection in honour of the humanist and apostolic protonotary Johann Goritz focuses on two prime sites within the city of Renaissance Rome: Goritz's column chapel in Sant'Agostino, and his vineyard-villa near Trajan's Forum. The poets and editors of the* Coryciana *participate in a collaborative placemaking project, plotting Goritz's new sites of piety and culture in relation to the places of Greco-Roman antiquity and the modern city. At the same time, they represent the collection itself as a textual space, imbued with the commemorative, encyclopedic, and canonizing capacities of sites and built structures in ancient and contemporary Rome.*

Cet article explore la relation entre la poésie, le lieu et le concept d'épigramme comme « écriture propre au lieu » dans les Coryciana. *Publié en 1524 dans une édition préparée par Blosius Palladius, ce recueil collectif principalement composé d'épigrammes et préparé en l'honneur de l'humaniste et protonotaire apostolique Johann Goritz se concentre sur deux sites majeurs de la Rome renaissante : la chapelle de Goritz à Sant'Agostino et sa villa-vignoble près du forum de Trajan. Les poètes et les éditeurs des* Coryciana *participent à un projet collectif d'aménagement de l'espace, déterminant les nouveaux sites de piété et de culture de Goritz en relation avec les lieux de l'Antiquité gréco-romaine et de la cité moderne. Ils représentent en même temps le recueil lui-même comme un espace textuel, imprégné des capacités commémoratives et encyclopédiques ainsi que de la faculté de canonisation des sites et des bâtiments de la Rome ancienne et contemporaine.*

The Italian Renaissance was in many respects a renaissance of places. The humanist rediscovery of antiquity drew inspiration both from classical ruins and from the lost sites of the ancient world that, even in the absence of visible ruins, persisted as palimpsestic places of the mind.[1] The humanist attention to such classical places combined aspects of antiquarian study and creative reanimation. This was perhaps especially the case in Rome, where the ancient city's ruins formed a conspicuous part of the early modern city's lived fabric.

1. On the study of ancient Roman sites and ruins, see, for example, Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery*; McCahill, "Rewriting Vergil, Rereading Rome"; Muecke, "Humanists in the Roman Forum"; Mazzocco, "Petrarca, Poggio, and Biondo." For spaces of collecting and antiquities, see Christian, *Empire without End*. On broader aspects of Roman humanism and its intersections with antiquarianism, see Jacks, *Antiquarian*; Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*; Rowland, *Culture of the High Renaissance*; Greene, "Resurrecting Rome"; Galbraith, "Petrarch and the Broken City"; Hui, *Poetics of Ruins*; De Caprio, "*Sub tanta diruta mole*."

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The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw highly sophisticated topographical reconstructions of the ancient city, even as humanists and wealthy patrons engaged in new placemaking projects that incorporated the sites and remnants of antiquity. This intersection of the scholarly study and the creative reimagining of ancient sites is one reason why the *poetic* representation of place contributed a crucial facet to the humanist project. Poetic paradigms inherited from antiquity such as the epic journey, the urban walking tour, the *locus amoenus* (pleasant place), the villa as a site of *otium* (leisure), and the fonts, groves, and hills of the Muses informed not only humanist poetry but also antiquarian scholarship and the architectural projects of popes and princes. Humanist Latin poetry was of crucial importance in transmitting these conceptual paradigms and in mediating between antiquity and the present day.

This poetic contribution to the shaping of places in Renaissance Rome was long underappreciated due to the influential view of humanist antiquarianism as a stage in the progress towards modern scientific archaeology. Such narratives tended to privilege the study of antiquarian prose treatises at the expense of poetry.[2] A growing body of scholarship, however, has begun to explore the ways in which the classical poetic tradition informed antiquarian discourses, and more broadly, how poetry, antiquarianism, academic sodalities, and *all'antica* building practices overlapped and intersected with each other.[3] This paper seeks to contribute to this emerging appreciation of the Roman poetics of place by examining the spatial aspects of the *Coryciana* (1524), a major collection of humanist Latin poetry that has received relatively little sustained interpretative attention.[4]

2. See, for example, the informative but progressivist account of Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery*. For a critique of such presuppositions, see McCahill, "Rewriting Vergil, Rereading Rome."

3. See, for example, Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*; Hui, *Poetics of Ruins*; Christian, *Empire without End*; De Caprio, "*Sub tanta diruta mole*"; Brummer, *Statue Court*; Rijser, *Raphael's Poetics*; Caruso, "Poesia umanistica di villa"; Quinlan-McGrath, "Aegidius Gallus"; "Blosius Palladius"; Beer, "Footsteps of Aeneas"; Cannata, "Son come i cigni."

4. In this paper, I will cite from the edition of Jozef IJsewijn, ed., *Coryciana* (Rome: Herder, 1997). See also IJsewijn, "Poetry in a Roman Garden." On Johann Goritz and his sodality, see Gaisser, "Rise and Fall." For an edition of book 1 only, see Keilen, *Coryciana*. For an interpretative discussion, see Rijser, *Raphael's Poetics*, 177–242. On the history of the edition, see Ruysschaert, "Les péripéties." On the collection's representation of the artworks, see Pettinelli, "Punti di vista"; Pellegrino, "Elaborazioni"; Charbonnier, "Rhétorique et poétique"; Testi, "*Sic Coriti aeternas*." On the political context, see Sodano, "Intorno ai *Coryciana*."

A further reason for the insufficient appreciation of humanist poetry's distinctive capacity to shape the profile of Roman places is the simple fact that Rome could boast very few major authors of humanist Latin poetry.[5] The majority of the Latin humanist poetry written in and about the city of Rome and its places is found not in monumental works of renowned individual poets but in collaborative collections, such as the *Coryciana*, made up of compositions by a large number of poets, of whom a few are well known but most are of minor status.[6] These collections are best considered not as repositories of poems whose qualities and success should be scrutinized only on a poem-by-poem basis, but rather as elements that contribute to a multimedial performative fabric. This fabric includes architectural and artistic components, the social rituals of humanist sodalities, the inscriptional act of affixing poems to structures and objects, and finally, the publication of printed volumes that reinscribe on the textual plane the humanist activities surrounding the poems' composition. Read within the context of this broader set of activities, poems that are underwhelming in isolation assume something closer to the vitality and richness of signification that animated their earliest Renaissance reception.[7]

Epigrammata: writing on the city

The collaborative, layered dimension of Roman humanism makes it difficult both to characterize its broader tendencies and to isolate individual objects of study. Thomas Greene has written that humanism is "an untidy object of knowledge because its activities arrange themselves on a spectrum."[8] This

5. Pietro Bembo and Jacopo Sadoleto are often cited as the leading Roman humanist poets. Yet Pietro Bembo was not exclusively located in Rome, and his Latin poetry does not focus substantially on the city and its places. Sadoleto, whose Latin poetry *did* explore the city's places, later repented of his youthful poetic enthusiasm. Accordingly, only a few of his poems have survived: see Lucioli, *Jacopo Sadoleto*.

6. In addition to the *Coryciana*, key examples include the *Carmina Apposita Pasquillo* (Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1509–); and Blosius Palladius's *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii*, on which see Quinlan-McGrath, "Blosius Palladius."

7. For a striking parallel to Goritz's sodality and their activities, see Christian, *Empire without End*, 193: Pietro Matuzzi's humanist burial club, the *Sodalitas Parionis*, celebrated the *Parionalia* (festival of the Parione district) on 19 April in the chapel of the Matuzzi in San Lorenzo in Damaso; this was followed by poetic contests and banquets that probably took place at his house in the Piazza di Pasquino.

8. Greene, "Resurrecting Rome," 38.

paper seeks to gain some insight into this untidy spectrum by examining the *Coryciana* in terms of a nexus of themes relating to place, ritual, antiquity, and epigrammatic writing. Epigram is intrinsically connected to the idea of place. The words *epi-gramma* and *in-scriptio* join script with locality, denoting writing that is inscribed or affixed onto a site, object, or structure. This site-specific orientation, along with epigram's materialist modes of description and encyclopedic scope, attracted scholars such as Poggio Bracciolini, Pomponio Leto, and Flavio Biondo, who were interested in studying the ancient city's places, buildings, and material culture. Both Martial's *Epigrams* and his contemporary Statius's *Silvae* were exemplary texts for mediating patronage relations in humanist Rome.[9] Both praised the elegant residences and luxurious possessions of their patrons, including statue collections. This model could be adapted, *mutatis mutandis*, to the contemporary vineyard-villas and antiquities collections owned by Renaissance patrons. In the new spaces of humanist culture, written texts and art objects were often set in close proximity. The humanist scholar's study typically included a collection of books, portraits busts, and, in some cases, epigrammatic texts or *elogia* accompanying the busts in imitation of ancient libraries.[10] Such collocations accord with the broader interest in juxtaposition of and interplay between verbal and visual media in this period. The intimate link between object and script implicit in the epigrammatic genre produces an especially pointed instance of the *paragone* of verbal and visual art: a written text physically attached to or engraved on an object.

At the same time, the sheer variety of specific material components contained within epigram's textual spaces lends it an encyclopedic quality. Martial's early epigrammatic collections in particular, the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, recall the massive object repertory and materialist history comprised by Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*.[11] Here, too, epigram coheres well with the concerns of Roman humanist antiquarianism. Encyclopedism as a discursive mode had special interest for humanist scholars devoted to accumulating and disseminating repositories of knowledge about every aspect of antiquity, including rarely

9. On *epigrammata* in Renaissance Rome, see Christian, *Empire without End*, 45–61; note also Beer, Enenkel, and Rijser, *Neo-Latin Epigram*; Bradner, "Neo-Latin Epigram"; Hausmann, "Untersuchungen."

10. On author portraits in ancient libraries, see Petrain, "Visual Supplementation." On the space of the scholar's study in the Renaissance, see Findlen, "Museum."

11. See Blake, "Martial's Natural History."

attested Latin words for quotidian objects.[12] The fact that epigram had such encyclopedic associations for the Roman humanists is suggested, for example, by Niccolò Perotti's monumental, encyclopedic reference work on the Latin language in the form of a commentary on the opening books in Martial's corpus of epigrams.[13] *Epigrammata* (epigrams, inscriptions), because of their simultaneous association with patronage, materiality, ekphrasis, encyclopedism, and the *paragone* of text and artwork, were very well adapted to insinuate themselves into the flourishing cultures of antiquarianism, collecting, architectural restoration, and the visual arts in Renaissance Rome.

Literary epigrams and inscriptions were not viewed as fundamentally different modes of writing; nor were ancient and modern *epigrammata* (in both senses of the term) necessarily kept in separate categories. Modern *all'antica* inscriptions imitated antique remnants, while ancient inscriptions were adapted to adorn modern architectural settings. Here, too, it is helpful to think in terms of a spectrum of texts, practices, and artefacts interacting with each other on multiple levels. This is vividly illustrated by one of the better-known instances of the humanist use of epigram in the Renaissance city: the erudite simulation of ancient inscriptions in garden installations. The phenomenon of Rome's "sleeping nymph" epigrams, while the object of numerous studies, merits brief consideration in this context to further illuminate the connection between *epigrammata* and the classical sense of place in Renaissance villas.[14] Those in question were owned, respectively, by Angelo Colocci and Johann Goritz, two prominent Roman humanists and curial officials.[15] Angelo Colocci

12. On Renaissance encyclopedism, see König and Woolf, *Encyclopaedism*; Blanchard and Severi, *Renaissance Encyclopaedism*; Blair, *Too Much to Know*.

13. Perotti, *Cornucopiae*. See Pade, "Material Fortune." Perotti viewed Martial's *De Spectaculis* and book 1 of his *Epigrams* as together comprising the first book of the epigrammatist's oeuvre.

14. See MacDougall, "Sleeping Nymph"; Bober, "*Coryciana* and the Nymph." An important model for these was the fountain installation featuring the so-called Cleopatra statue in the Vatican sculpture garden, which, while not adorned with an on-site poetic inscription, was the subject of numerous humanist *epigrammata*: see Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 233–46; Brummer, *Statue Court*, 154–84. Kathleen Christian points out that the phenomenon did not originate with the Vatican fountain installation, but goes back to the 1460s (Christian, *Empire without End*, 136–40): precedents for the combination of antique statues and humanist epigrams include Cardinal Prospero Colonna's Three Graces statue and Alfonso's Parthenope statue in Naples. On the Parthenope statue, see Beyer, *Parthenope*, 13–15.

15. On these two curial humanists and their sometimes-fraught relations, see Gaisser, "Rise and Fall"; *Pierio Valeriano*, 26–30; Rowland, *Culture of the High Renaissance*; Gouwens, *Remembering in the*

owned a *vigna* (vineyard-villa) near the Trevi Fountain that incorporated ruins of the Acqua Vergine and housed a substantial collection of antiquities. Located at one end of the ancient Gardens of Sallust, the *vigna* served as a meeting place of the Roman Academy.[16] The garden's centrepiece was a fountain grotto with the sculpture of a sleeping nymph, to which was attached a Latin inscription spoken in the voice of the tutelary "nymph of this place" (huius nympha loci).[17]

> HUIUS NYMPHA LOCI, SACRI CUSTODIA FONTIS,
> DORMIO, DUM BLANDAE SENTIO MURMUR AQUAE.
> PARCE MEUM, QUISQUIS TANGIS CAVA MARMORA, SOMNUM
> RUMPERE. SIVE BIBAS SIVE LAVERE TACE.
>
> (Here I sleep, the nymph of this place, the guardian of the sacred font, listening to the gentle water's murmur. Whoever touches the hollow marble, do not disturb my sleep. Whether you would drink or bathe, be silent.)

This inscription, once thought to be classical, was in fact a composition by the humanist Giannantonio Campano.[18] The combination of statue, fountain, aqueduct, and inscription evoke the classical past and, in particular, the classical conception of sacred fonts as sites of poetic inspiration. Another Latin inscription was located at the entrance to Colocci's garden.[19]

Renaissance, 14–20. On Colocci, see Rowland, "Raphael."

16. On Roman *vigne*, see Rowland, *Culture of the High Renaissance*, 9–10, and on Colocci's *vigna*, 183–85; note also Gnoli, "Orti letterari."

17. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

18. See Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 388n46; MacDougall, "Sleeping Nymph," 358; Bober, "*Coryciana* and the Nymph," 224; Christian, *Empire without End*, 134–35. I cite the Latin text as given in Bober, "*Coryciana* and the Nymph," 224. As Elizabeth MacDougall explains, the inscription first appeared in a compilation by Michael Fabricius Ferrarinus "in a manuscript dated between 1477 and 1484" (MacDougall, "Sleeping Nymph," 357), and it was introduced by these words: "super ripam Danuvii in quo est sculpta nympha ad amoenum fontem dormiens, sub figura est hoc epigramma" (on the bank of the Danube on which there is a sculpture of a sleeping nymph by a delightful fountain, there is this epigram beneath the figure); see also *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*) 6.5.3*e. There is an engraving of the nymph, inscription, and fountain setting in Boissard, *Romanae Urbis*, 25.

19. The Latin text is based on Bober, "*Coryciana* and the Nymph," 239; see also Gnoli, "Orti letterari," 147.

HIC GENII LOCUS EST; GENII UNA CURA VOLUPTAS.
AUT GENII VIVAS LEGIBUS, AUT ABEAS.
HIC IOCUS, HIC FELIX HABITAT SINE LITE VOLUPTAS,
ET GENIUS; CEDANT IURGIA, CURA, LABOR.

(Here is the place of the Genius, the only concern of the Genius is pleasure. Either live by the Genius's laws or go away. Here dwells jest, here dwells happy pleasure without strife, here the Genius dwells; let quarrels, anxiety, and toil withdraw.)

The two inscriptions mirror and invert each other in their complementary thematization of place: the fountain statue is the *nympha loci*, the tutelary deity of the place; the villa itself is the *locus genii*, the place of a tutelary deity. Not only did Colocci mark the place of his villa with an *all'antica* inscription, but he was also a collector of both ancient inscriptions and epigrammatic poetry. As several studies show, Colocci was assembling an ambitious anthology of Latin epigrams and inscriptions from antiquity to the present day.[20] Colocci's villa was thus a site for studying, displaying, and collecting *epigrammata* on multiple levels—as a canonical anthology of texts, as material remnants of the past, and as modern inscriptions reinvoking an ancient sense of place.[21]

Johann Goritz owned a comparable garden installation. His vineyard-villa near the ruins of Trajan's Forum included a fountain grotto inscribed with a shorter version of Campano's epigram: "To the Nymphs of the Place. Drink, Bathe, Be Silent. Goritz" (NYMPHIS LOCI. BIBE LAVE TACE. CORITIUS).[22] In 1512, Goritz dedicated a column chapel, called the Saint Anne altar, in the Church of Sant'Agostino near the Piazza Navona, featuring a fresco of the prophet Isaiah by Raphael and a sculpture group of St. Anne and the Virgin and Child by Andrea Sansovino.[23] On the festival of St. Anne on

20. See Cannata, "Editing Colocci's Collection"; Gahtan, "Angelo Colocci." For a varied account of Colocci's book collection, antiquarianism, philological pursuits, literary criticism, and original compositions, see Rowland, "Angelo Colocci's Collections."

21. On Colocci's various antiquarian projects and his underlying concern with orders (*ordines*) and canonical forms, see Rowland, "Raphael." For his antiquarian obsession with weights and measures, see Rowland, *Culture of the High Renaissance*, 116–39.

22. The Latin text is based on Bober, "*Coryciana* and the Nymph," 226; see also *CIL* 6.5.4*c.

23. On the chapel, see Bonito, "Saint Anne Altar."

26 July, Goritz and his humanist circle held an annual celebration. The poets composed epigrams and affixed them onto wooden panels attached to the sides of the column. The assembled humanists then went to Goritz's vineyard-villa, hung poems from trees and statues in the garden, and enjoyed a banquet.[24] Blosius Palladius, one of the Roman humanists who participated in Goritz's sodality, later assembled these poems and published them in the 1524 printed edition of the *Coryciana*. The collection is divided into three books: a first book entitled *Epigrammata*, focusing on the statue group and featuring a sequence subtitled *ICONES* (images, likenesses); a second book entitled *Hymni*; and a final book on St. Anne's festival entitled *Annales Dies*. While the first two books largely concern Sansovino's sculpture group in the column chapel, the final book focuses on the banquet in Goritz's vineyard-villa in the *desabitato*, the city's sparsely inhabited district filled with ancient ruins. The collection's title celebrates Goritz through reference to his Latinized name *Corycius* (*Coryciana*: loosely, "[poems] in honour of Goritz"). This name, as Blosius Palladius elaborates in his preface, has two significant connections with the poetic topography of Greco-Roman antiquity: the Corycian cave on Mt. Parnassus and its Corycian nymphs; and the Corycian gardener in the horticultural digression of Virgil's *Fourth Georgic*, a paradigmatic passage for the humanist poetics of gardens (4.116–48).[25] Palladius further emphasizes this theme of spatial transfer by presenting Goritz's *vigna* as a resplendent new site of culture to which the entire "emporium" of classical Athens's learned disciplines have migrated.[26]

Both Goritz and Colocci were associated with major anthologies of Latin epigrams, and both owned *all'antica* fountain installations adorned with classicizing Latin inscriptions. In Colocci's garden, the inscription ventriloquizes the voiceless sleeping nymph, while in Goritz's garden villa and chapel, the humanists' affixed epigrams animate Sansovino's sculpture group by apostrophizing its figures as living, breathing beings. Leonard Barkan has called attention to the importance in Roman humanist poetry of prosopopoeia and

24. See Gaisser, "Rise and Fall." All the surviving poems are in Latin, but there were plans to include Greek poems as well in the collection: see Ruysschaert, "Les péripéties," 55, as well as *Coryciana* 284, discussed below.

25. For the Virgilian connection, see the first sentence of Blosius Palladius's prefatory letter (IJsewijn, *Coryciana*, 29), and for the cave of the Corycian nymphs on Mt. Parnassus, the second paragraph (IJsewijn, *Coryciana*, 29–30).

26. See IJsewijn, *Coryciana*, 31, section 8 of the preface.

apostrophe—respectively, the figure of making an object speak for itself, and the figure of speaking to an object—both of which are prominent in epigram.[27] In either instance, the object assumes figurative sentience, the capacity to tell its own story or to be the recipient of discourse. In a context where ruins and remnants of antiquity were regularly conceptualized in anthropomorphic terms (mutilated bodies, resuscitated cadavers), such rhetorical figures provided a basis for what might be termed a poetics of antiquarianism.[28] The genre of epigram was thus uniquely responsive to the contemporary need to celebrate and poetically reanimate the remnants of the city's past.

Another prominent example of such epigrammatic reanimation of antique sculpture is the Pasquino. The foremost of Rome's "talking statues," the Pasquino was a sculptural fragment that came to be associated with affixed poems speaking in its voice. Following Cardinal Carafa's installation of the fragment outside his palazzo in 1501, first local students in the *Studium*, then anonymous poets began posting on the statue invective epigrams in Latin and the vernacular during the festival of St. Mark.[29] Starting in 1509, these poems appeared in printed collections entitled *Carmina Apposita Pasquillo* (Poems affixed to Pasquino). Both the concept of affixed writing and the invective aspect are coherent with the genre of epigram. The inscription on the statue fragment's base reads: "Oliverij Carafae beneficio hic sum" (I am here by the benefaction of Olivero Carafa). The deictic "hic" (here) grounds the inscription and the statue emphatically in the current site. At the same time, this inscribed, first-person statement notionally functions as the Pasquino's originating, prosopopoeic *epigramma*. The Pasquino festivities and their associated publications thus enact a relation between site-specific inscription and literary collection, between a place in the city and the textual recreation of that place in a printed book.

27. Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, xxiv; cf. Christian, *Empire without End*, 46; Rijser, *Raphael's Poetics*, 206.

28. At the opening of Poggio Bracciolini's dialogue *De Varietate Fortunae*, Antonio Loschi characterizes Rome as resembling "a gigantic cadaver [*gigantei cadaveri*], decomposed and eaten away on all sides." See Boriaud, *Les Ruines*, 12–13. See also Gessert, "Giant Corrupt Body."

29. See Reynolds, "Cardinal Oliviero Carafa." On connections with Martial and epigram, see Spaeth, "Martial and the Pasquinade." See also Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 211–33; Christian, *Empire without End*, 187–89.

Goritz's column: a new site of inscription in Renaissance Rome

Goritz's column chapel features a highly comparable layering and interplay of inscriptional media (see Fig. 1). Two putti in the upper corners of Raphael's fresco hold a painted representation of a Greek inscription of dedication to St. Anne, the Virgin, and Christ the Redeemer, while the figure of Isaiah presents a scroll with a citation in Hebrew (Isaiah 26:2–3).[30] Underneath Sansovino's statue group is a somewhat longer Latin inscription of dedication, which ends with Goritz's hope for salvation: "So that your dutifulness may afterward give [him] a place [*locum*] in the stars, Goritz has given these statues on earth" (VESTRA LOCUM UT PIETAS POST REDDAT IN ASTRIS / HAS DEDIT IN TERRIS CORYCIUS STATUAS). This inscription, like the one located beneath the Pasquino, might be read in retrospect as the originary *epigramma* of the *Coryciana*. Its closing words emphasize two key themes: (1) place (*locum*), both celestial and terrestrial, and (2) life after death, both as salvation and posthumous reputation.[31] As David Rijser points out, the epigrammatic poems affixed to the column's panels by the humanist poets would have offered a textual counterpoint to these painted and engraved *epigrammata*.[32] Moreover, in the case of both Goritz's chapel and the Pasquino, these epigrammatic poems were reinscribed within printed collections, the *Coryciana* and *Carmina Apposita Pasquillo*, respectively. This multimedial orchestration, from engraved and painted words to affixed poems to published epigrammatic collections, complicates and expands the concept of inscription. The similarity of these installations also puts them into competition. Gaspar Ursinus Germanus, in *Coryciana* 148, denigrates the antique Pasquino, which was identified with Hercules, as "misshapen" by comparison with Sansovino's sleek masterpiece:

> Nemo iam lacerum scribat in Herculem,
> Informisque Dei nemo oneret caput
> Multo carmine; nemo
> Detritam statuam ambiat!
> Vobis Corycius, candida pectora

30. See the discussion of Rijser, *Raphael's Poetics*, 175–79.

31. See Rijser, *Raphael's Poetics*, 182.

32. Rijser, *Raphael's Poetics*, 175.

Vatum, nunc statuas hic posuit novas,
    Quales Daedala scalpsit
Scite Sansovii manus.
Tanto nunc igitur grandius intonet
Carmen Corycio quilibet auspice,
    Quantum haec Numina divum
Vicerunt meritis vagum. (*Coryciana* 148.1–12)

(May no one now write on mutilated Hercules; no one burden the head of the misshapen god with abundant song; no one strut around the effaced statue! For you, O pure-spirited bards, Goritz has now installed new statues here, skillfully chiselled by the Daedalean hand of Sansovino. Now, therefore, under Goritz's auspices, may any poet who wishes thunder forth a far grander song, just as these Deities have far surpassed with their merits the wandering god.)

Hercules was the "wandering god" because his labours took him to faraway lands across the Mediterranean.[33] By contrast with the wandering and thus also topographically "unfixed" (*vagus*) Hercules, Goritz installed (*posuit*) the deities of the Sansovino group at a specific, permanent site, with deictic emphasis (*hic*, "here")—the column chapel where the *Coryciana* epigrams were also affixed. The theme of *in-scriptio* is foregrounded by the idiom employed in the poem's opening line: "nemo iam lacerum *scribat in* Herculem" (may no one now *write on* Hercules; my emphasis). Like the sleeping nymph installations, Goritz's chapel hosts a placemaking project in which multiple media—statuary, painting, architecture, epigrammatic poetry, performative festivity—collaborate in both building the meaning of the site and commenting on its very status as a newly created place. Such newness is the source of another advantageous comparison: the repeated references to the present moment ("iam […] nunc […] nunc") emphasize the fact that the Pasquino is old and misshapen. Sansovino's magnificent modern sculpture with a classicizing style and Christian iconography has thus defeated (*vicerunt*) the Pasquino, a pagan remnant of antiquity.

33. IJsewijn, *Coyrciana*, 123 on line 12. Compare *Coryciana* 388 by Caius Silvanus Germanicus, whose contribution opens with a contrast between old, decaying statues and the modern sculptural triad of Sansovino.

Fig. 1. Johann Goritz's column chapel for St. Anne in Sant'Agostino, Rome. Photo, entitled *Sant'agostino (roma), isaia di raffaello*, by Sailko under CC BY-SA 3.0 license.

The *Coryciana* poets repeatedly assert that Goritz's chapel is a new wonder of the world that improves on pagan cult-sites and eclipses antiquity. In doing so, they allude to the opening epigram of Martial's *De Spectaculis* (On the spectacles), in which he praises the Colosseum as a new wonder of the world. Previous wonders of the world, according to Martial, ought to "be silent" (sileat; 1.1) and "yield" (cedit; 1.7) before the splendour of Caesar's amphitheatre.[34] The Colosseum is the synecdochic replacement of all other monuments in the world: "unum pro cunctis fama loquetur opus" (fame shall speak of one work in the place of all; 1.8). The humanists apply this very rhetoric to promote Goritz's site to ecumenical predominance: the wonders of the ancient world must now "be silent" and "yield" to Goritz's chapel and Sansovino's sculpture.[35] The *Coryciana* poets employ Martial's rhetoric of surpassing and rendering obsolete past sites and structures in order to surpass and render obsolete both the object of Martial's praise and the Roman poet himself. His Colosseum, which displaced the previous wonders of the world, is itself supplanted by Goritz's chapel, just as his humanist poets overwrite (and notably, refuse to name[36]) their epigrammatic predecessor.

While the application of Martial's extravagant imperial panegyric of the Colosseum as emblem of Rome's worldwide dominance to a curial official's column chapel may seem like overkill, the presumed superiority of a Christian church to pagan sites of worship offers a theological justification for such turgid rhetoric. In his ode to Goritz's column, the editor Blosius Palladius praises the chapel as a modern site for votive offerings that surpasses pagan temples:

> Haec sunt, haec monumenta, O Veteres, bona!
> Haec sunt optima opima, haud ea sanguine
> Vestro atque hostium adepta, inque Feretrii
> Templo appensa Iovis; heic melior locus
> fingendis spoliis atque tabellulis

34. All citations of Martial are according to W. M. Lindsay, ed., *M. Val. Martialis Epigrammata* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929). Translations are my own. While I use the more widely known title *De Spectaculis* for Martial's earliest collection for the sake of clarity, Lindsay prefers *Epigrammaton Liber*.

35. See, for example, *Coryciana* 64, 83, 92, 130, 227, 286.

36. On the largely negative reception of Antonio Beccadelli's attempt to imitate Martial's poetic obscenity in his *Hermaphroditus*, see Gaisser, *Catullus*, 21, 228–29. Martial was frequently imitated by Renaissance Italian humanists but seldom overtly acknowledged as a model.

voti compotibus totque epigrammatis
doctorum, pia quae concinuit chelys […]
Sic tu, ut tu meritus, saecla perennia
Vivas incolumis […] (*Coryciana* 56.38–44, 49–50)

(These, O Ancients, these are good monuments! These are the optimal *spolia opima*, not acquired by your own or enemies' blood and hung up in the temple of Feretrian Jove; here is a better place for hanging up spoils and little panels that have their prayer fulfilled, and so many epigrams of learned men, sounded out on a pious lyre […] So, [Goritz], as you have merited, may you live for perennial ages unharmed.)

Explicitly addressing the inscriptional mode of site-specific writing, he compares the epigrammatic offerings of the poets affixed onto wooden panels with the "richest spoils" (spolia opima) traditionally "hung up" (appensa) in the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius in antiquity. Palladius converts the sense of the intrinsic power of a cultic place to the praises of Goritz's column, displacing Jupiter's ancient shrine: "*here* is a better place" (*heic* melior locus; my emphasis). These affixed offerings are not blood-stained battle spoils but rather pious epigrams dedicated in a "*good* monumental structure" (monumenta […] bona) that will ensure Goritz's immortality. The epigrams, moreover, represent a new kind of votive offering, as Palladius implies by using the formulaic Latin phrase "voti compotibus" (that have their vow fulfilled) to describe the panels onto which the epigrams are affixed. There is a play on words in Palladius's closing prayer for Goritz: "may you live for perennial ages unharmed." The word for "unharmed" (*incolumis*) puns on the ode's eponymous monument, the *columna* (column), which was meant both to guarantee its builder's fame and to serve as his tomb: "may you live unharmed / in-columned / unALTARed."[37] Palladius's ode to Goritz's column, like most of the poems in the *Coryciana*, is not a masterpiece of Latin verse. Yet it succeeds in its overt rhetorical aim of converting classical concepts of site and inscriptional text to modern, pious uses. Blosius Palladius points to the superior site of dedication—"heic melior locus"—as constituted both by the column altar and by the textual site of reinscription in the *Coryciana* collection he edited.

37. The column may also be punningly referenced in the poem's title: *Ad Corycii Columnam Ode Monocolos* (A monocolic ode to Goritz's column).

"What am I to write?": the textual chapel

Palladius's trope of epigram-as-textual-votive is itself a creative reapplication of a motif from antiquity. Classical literary epigrams often simulated the dedication of a significant object or votive along with an accompanying inscription at a cult site. In this subgenre, the speaking voice of the epigram offers up an object of dedication at a god's temple, often symbolizing the completion of a life-phase or career. At a metapoetic level, the poem itself constitutes both the dedicated object and its inscriptional commentary.[38] The *Coryciana* poets cash out the implications of this metapoetic scenario, at once literalizing it and reinscribing it as a textual metafiction. The poems are physically affixed as votive offerings at the column altar, then reinscribed within the space of the printed book as textual votives that will preserve Goritz's reputation perennially. This literalizing strategy—i.e., converting the metapoetic simulation of dedication in classical epigram into a recurring performative ritual of affixing epigrams at a cult site—does not exclude, and in fact exuberantly incorporates, a metapoetic reprise of the same acts of inscription and dedication within the textual domain. Conversely, the publication of the printed collection can itself be seen as part of a multi-layered performance, as one of the acts comprising the humanist ritual. Script and performance, text and rite, are not separate elements but complementary strands woven into a totalizing, multi-medial project.[39]

This same dynamic of at once literalizing a classical literary trope of inscription and reinscribing it as a textual figure can also be seen at work in the humanist poets' representation of the wooden panels to which they affixed their poems. These panels attached to the sides of Goritz's column are variously designated in Latin as *tabulae*, *tabellae*, and *codices*.[40] In classical Latin, these terms signified, among other things, the notebooks or writing tablets (*tabellae*, *codicilli*) used for composing notes and rough drafts of literary works. Catullus, a major model for the *Coryciana* poets, refers to his own writing tablets as

38. See, for example, Bing, *Well-Read Muse*; Fredrick, "Haptic Poetics."

39. On the relation between text and ritual, including the creation of fictive ceremonies in literary texts, see Greene, "Ritual and Text."

40. See IJsewijn, *Coryciana*, 21–22. Note also Ruysschaert, "Les péripéties," 48: "les tabellae désignent les cadres disposés autour de la colonne, voisine de la statue, sur lesquels étaient fixés les poèmes des amis de Goritz" (The *tabellae* refer to the frames arranged around the column, next to the statue, on which the poems of Goritz's friends were affixed).

tabellae, *pugillaria*, and *codicilli* (42.5, 11, 12, 19, 20, 24). In one instance, Catullus describes how he and his friend Calvus exchanged playful, improvised verses in various metres written "on my tablets" (in meis tabellis; 50.2). The literary conviviality, polymetric alternation, and playful improvisation of the Catullan scenario provide Goritz's colleagues with an attractive model for their own literary sodality. The humanist poets adapt Catullus's materialization of the writing process to their pious rite of inscription, resituating the site of writing to an altar within a Christian church.

At the same time, the *Coryciana* poets use the *tabellae* as a pivot between the physical space of the church and the textual spaces of the collection, playfully manipulating the material presence and physical location of the wooden panels. One prominent motif concerns their number. At first there appear to have been three panels ("treis […] tabulas"; *Coryciana* 127.8), this trinitarian quantity corresponding, as Blosius Palladius remarks, to the three deities ("Diis tribus"; 127.2), and the three media of the column altar—statuary, architecture, and painting (127.1).[41] Later, a fourth was added, as suggested in an epigram by Ianus Vitalis, corresponding, in this instance, to the four significant entities involved: the painter, the sculptor, the poets, and Goritz himself ("pictori […] sculptori et vatibus ipsis / Et sibi"; 187.1–2). A sub-motif of this numerical topos is the complaint that, since the tablets have been filled up with poems by previous contributors, there is no more space for further epigrams to be added—hence the need for yet another panel: "quartam versiculis suis tabellam / explevere viri disertiores" (very eloquent men have filled up the fourth panel with their epigrammatic verses; 271.1–2). And indeed, a fifth is added (297.6). The space of the tablets, in the poets' representation, thus alternates between their actual material presence in the column chapel and the rapidly filling space of the collection. The overflowing *copia* of contributions covers over the wooden boards, even as it lengthens the printed volume. At the same time, the figurative space for originality within an overcrowded field of competitors writing in a monomaniacal way on the same topic becomes even more drastically scarce.

This very scarcity opens up a modest space for invention. In *Coryciana* 229, Aurelius Fossa conjures the image of the column chapel completely covered in poems:

41. Compare Silvius Laurelius's poem on the same topic, omitted from the printed edition but included as poem 157A in IJsewijn, *Coryciana*, 128.

Marmora, templa, arae cum iam sint omnia plena
Carminibus, tabulis, vatibus et titulis,
Infelix quid agam vates? Num scribere quicquam
Debeo? Quid scribam? (*Coryciana* 229.1–4)

(Given that the marbles, shrines, and altars are already now completely full of poems, panels, bards, and inscriptions, what am I, an unlucky bard, to do? Oughtn't I to write something? What am I to write?)

The conceit is perhaps a facile one, but effective all the same: satiety produces a poem; not knowing what to write about affords a theme for writing. The only other poem by Fossa in the collection addresses the same theme.

Ast ego Corycii curam quo carmine laudem,
Cum materies omnis adempta mihi?
Aut quibus in tabulis, si scribam, carmina scribam,
In tabulis cum nec, nec sit in aede locus?
Omnia Corycio, statuis sunt omnia plena,
Coryciumque aedes vix satis una capit.
Attamen ante fores duo tantum haec carmina figam,
Ne vestrum, o vates, contemerem[42] ipse chorum:
"Has tibi Corycius statuas, Anna alma, dicavit
In terris; caelo tu modo redde vicem." (*Coryciana* 223.1–10)

(But with what song am I to praise Goritz's work, given that all material has been taken from me? Or, if I write, on what panels am I to write poems, given that there is no place either on the panels or in the chapel? Everything is full of Goritz, full of the statues;[43] one chapel is barely enough to contain Goritz. Nevertheless, I will affix only these two verses before the doors, lest,

42. The very rare classical verb *contemero*, *-are* (pollute, defile): see Ovid, *Amores* 2.7.18; Martial, *De Spectaculis* 10.2; and Keilen, *Coryciana*, 351, note to line 3.

43. I read "Corycio" and "statuis" as ablatives with "plena." Lydia Keilen interprets them as datives: "Pour Corycius, pour les statues, tout, tout est rempli" (Keilen, *Coryciana*, 150; For Corycius, for the statues, all, all is full). But the resulting sense is unclear. Most poems in the *Coryciana* have two main themes, the piety of Goritz and the excellence of Sansovino's statue group: hence all the available space on the altar is already "full" of (poems on) these two topics.

> O bards, I defile your troop: "These statues, blessed Anna, Goritz dedicated to you on earth; do you give something in return in heaven.")

The demand for a place (*locus*) becomes a new poetic *locus*, while the poet's complaint of exclusion becomes a means of assuring inclusion. For a poet coming 223rd in a collection devoted largely to praising one sculptural triad, new subject matter is clearly not easy to find. This nonetheless spurs Fossa to exercise his ingenuity in discovering new space for his poetry: if the statues, altar, boards, and entire church interior are already full, he will set his epigram before the doors on the exterior facade. This new space, however, is a textual one, as is the embedded epigram comprising the last two lines. Fossa seeks a place within a thematically saturated collection, a volume that he figuratively spatializes in architectonic terms as a church interior "full of Goritz" (Corycio […] plena). He therefore creates a fictive epigram-within-an-epigram that he textually affixes to an imagined site—an overflow space outside the church doors.[44] This very theme of overflow is effective as encomium, testifying to the sheer volume of Goritz's praises. At the same time, the content of this embedded epigram—the dedication of statues "on earth" (statuas […] dicavit / in terris) in return for a gift from Anna "in heaven" (caelo […] redde)—closely alludes to the sponsor's engraved stone inscription on the altar itself ("reddat in astris […] dedit in terris […] statuas"; see above, p. 104). By affixing to the church's exterior doors a fictive *epigramma* that echoes the actual inscription on the column inside, Fossa contributes an ingenious new twist to the ongoing dialogue between the inscriptional and architectonic features of Goritz's chapel and the textual architecture of the *Coryciana*.

Imagining the spatiality of the collection as an overflowing *copia* of epigrams pinned onto increasingly crowded panels enables the humanist poets to move between textual and terrestrial meanings of place, between a place in the printed volume and a spatial coordinate in the city. To this line of interpretation, it might be objected that the poets may not have originally conceived of their epigrams as contributions to the printed collection, which only appeared in 1524. Yet there were strong reasons for anticipating publication: first, the precedent of other similar projects such as the Pasquino volumes suggests that eventual print publication was integral to the conceptual template of such

44. The *duo carmina* Fossa contributes to those praises, translated here as "two verses," might equally refer to the two, and only two, poems Fossa managed to contribute to the collection.

humanist collaborations; second, as Ruysschaert has shown in his article on the editorial history of the *Coryciana*, the plans among several humanists in Goritz's sodality to produce a printed collection went back years, and a letter by Michael Hummelberg to Heinrich Bebel indicates that Goritz himself had such plans as early as 1515.[45] Indeed, a good number of the epigrams devoted to the metaliterary theme of the profusion of poems and *tabellae* were penned precisely by the humanists involved in assembling the poems for publication.[46] Prominent among these was Silvius Laurelius, whose hendecasyllabic contribution (*Coryciana* 269) similarly highlights the chapel's *tabellae*. Laurelius, surveying the immense accumulation of poems, poets, and tablets, proclaims the superiority of Goritz's column to the seven wonders of the world:

> Sunt hic carmina plura, sunt tabellae
> Plures, sunt quoque plurimi poetae.
> Verum si reputes quid hi merentur
> Et Divi et pietas Coryciana,
> Plus mirabere non fuisse plures
> Vates, carmina, codices; sed ipsum
> Ne mirere diu: sequentur hinc iam
> Hos vel millia mille plus poetae.
> Quin tu hanc spero vel ocyus videbis

45. See Ruysschaert, "Les péripéties," 60.

46. In addition to the epigrams discussed below, see, for example, *Coryciana* 271–72 by Caius Silvanus Germanicus, another of the humanists involved in editing and copying down the poems for eventual publication. These epigrams ingeniously allude to the already "full" panels and the need for yet more space. In general, the humanists participating in the various phases of editing the collection often contribute meta-editorial prose epistles or poems: Blosius Palladius wrote the prefatory letter to the entire anthology; Silvanus and Goritz himself wrote the epistles introducing Arsilio's *De Poetis Urbanis*; Iohannes Maria Cataneus wrote an epistle (subsequently deleted by Vigili) introducing the *ICONES* sequence; Silvius Laurelius contributed one and Ianus Vitalis two poems to the work's opening sequence entitled *De editione* (On the edition; *Coryciana* 1–8); a poem by Silvanus ends the *Hymns* (388); poems by Vigili both begin (389) and end (399) the *Annales Dies*; and Vigili penned *Coryciana* 34, a long, metaliterary poem preceded by the lemma *CRITICI*, which seems to both interrupt and reflect on the *ICONES* sequence. Other epigrams such as *Coryciana* 7, *Ad Vates* (To the poets) by Hieronymus Ferrarius Serianus, openly allude to the collection's published format. Consoling poets whose contributions are placed at the very end, Serianus observes that "any page whatsoever can be the beginning" (pagina principium quaelibet esse potest).

> Cinctam hinc inde tabellulis columnam,
> Ut miracula detonata septem
> Isti cedere iam queant columnae.
> Et iure et merito merentur ipsum hoc
> Et Divi, et pietas Coryciana. (*Coryciana* 269.1–14)
>
> (There are very many poems here, there are a good many panels, there are also very many poets. But if you should ponder what these divinities and Goritz's piety merit, you will wonder more that there were not more poets, more poems, more wooden tablets. But don't wonder too long at this very thing: soon, even a thousand thousand poets more shall follow these. Indeed, you will see, I hope, this column ringed round rather quickly with little panels on this side and that, so that the thunderously praised seven wonders shall thenceforth be able to yield to this column. Rightly and deservedly, both the divinities and Goritz's piety merit this very thing.)

Laurelius combines the theme of the collection's *copia* with explicit reference to media of dissemination, employing both "tabellae" (line 1) and "codices" (line 6) to indicate the wooden panels. Just as *tabellae* can refer both to wooden boards and to notebooks, so *codex* here might signify both a piece of wood and a book in codex format.[47] Laurelius, as Ruysschaert convincingly argues, was responsible for an earlier publication plan, later superseded by that of Blosius. Ruysschaert further suggests that *Coryciana* 269 was the closing poem of the first book of this earlier planned volume.[48] On this reading, Laurelius at once proclaims Goritz's triumph and wryly hints at his own fatigue from gathering so many compositions from the column's several *codices* into a *codex*. Appropriately, this (putatively) closural poem's final word, the feminine singular adjective modifying "pietas," is identical to the neuter plural title of the collection itself, *Coryciana* ("Goritz's piety").

Besides Blosius Palladius, the foremost figure in the editorial group was the humanist Fabio Vigili. Numerous interventions in his hand in Vat. Lat. 2754 anticipate the shape of the final printed edition.[49] Suitably, then, the first book's actual closing poem in the print edition, *Coryciana* 372, was penned not

47. Compare the remarks of Keilen, *Coryciana*, 366n2.

48. See Ruysschaert, "Les péripéties," 48.

49. See Ruysschaert, "Les péripéties," 54–57.

by Laurelius but by Vigili. In this epigram, which advertises its closural status with the opening word "tandem," Vigili ends the book with an editorial metacomment on the profusion of poets and *tabellae*.

> Tandem, Iane, oculis aufer miracula Divûm!
> Nam decet arcanis sacra latere locis.
> Ni facis, accurrent vario tot ab orbe poetae,
> Quot Persarum iniere agmina Thermopylas;
> Nec tibi, quot scitas populo statuere Quiritum,
> Bissenae ad versus sat fuerint tabulae […]
> Nec fuerit, quicquid vescum graditur, volat, aut nat,
> Nec quibus accumbant Quintia Prata satis. (*Coryciana* 372.1–6, 11–12)
>
> (At long last, Johann, remove the miracles of the Gods from sight! For holy objects ought to remain hidden in secret places. If you do not, poets from various regions of the world will come running here, as great in number as the Persian troops that descended on Thermopylae; nor, to contain their verses, would it suffice for you to have twelve tablets [*tabulae*], as many as the wise [tables of laws] they established for the Roman people […] Neither would every delicacy[50] that walks, flies, or swims be sufficient [to feed them], nor would the Quinctian Meadows be sufficient for them to recline at dinner.)

Playing on the fact that a word used to denote Goritz's wooden panels, *tabulae*, is also used for the Twelve Tables of Roman law (*duodecim tabulae*), and adding a reference to Persia's defeat by the Greeks at Thermopylae, Vigili hails Goritz's proliferating *tabellae* and poets as surpassing two of the greatest civic and military achievements of Greco-Roman antiquity. At the same time, in a fit of mock exasperation, he inverts a core message of the collection. Whereas numerous epigrams thus far have praised the statue group for making gods visible to mortal eyes, there is now the prospect of so many additional poems (what is an exhausted editor to do?) that Vigili begs Goritz to *remove* the statues from sight.

50. The normal classical meaning of *vescus* is "small, feeble, poor," but in post-classical usage, it could refer to "delicate" or "luxurious" food. See *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, s.v. "vescus." Keilen ascribes the walking, flying, and swimming to the putative dinner guests (Keilen, *Coryciana*, 421), but this is hard to square with the Latin.

This notional act of removal neatly dovetails with the editorial closure of this book of *ICONES*. In the final six lines, Vigili turns to the feast of St. Anne, wondering how much food and wine could possibly suffice for such an assembly of poets, and how much space could accommodate them. The prospect of having to feed an army of literary pilgrims is apparently meant to terrify Goritz into hiding the statues, just as the beleaguered editor wishes. Even the "Quinctian Meadows" will not be "sufficient for them to recline at dinner." These meadows, corresponding to the modern Prati, were the four acres of the Vatican region ploughed by Quinctius Cincinnatus, according to Roman legend.[51] (Combined with the prior reference to the expanding number of *tabulae*, these *four* acres of the Quintia Prata may also play on the shift from the fourth to the "fifth" tablet, *quinta tabella*.) Vigili once again maps a physical demarcation of Roman space onto the textual domain of the *Coryciana*. The book's end might at first seem to mark this domain's outermost edge. Yet the epigram ends with the *negated* word "satis" (enough), at once signalling closure and the possibility of continuation. This expectation of continuation is fulfilled in the subsequent section of *Hymns*.

Paradigms of canonicity: Goritz's gallery of humanist heroes

The *Hymns* are longer than and different from the epigrammatic poems of the collection's opening section. Nonetheless, they remain strongly oriented towards the deities of Sansovino's statue group and thus also remain within the notional space of the chapel. It is only in the third and final book of the *Coryciana* that we come to the collection's other key symbolic space: Goritz's *vigna* near Trajan's Forum where the banquet was held. This book's title is *Annales Dies* (The feast days of Anne / Annual days), punningly combining a newly coined adjectival form of Anne's name and the Latin adjective *annalis* (yearly, annual). The poets also use the term *Annalia* in deference to the classical mode of naming festivals with a neuter plural substantive (e.g., Saturnalia, Robigalia, Parentalia).[52] This form parallels the title of the collection, *Coryciana*, meaning both "poems [*carmina*] in honour of Goritz" and "rites [*sacra*] in honour of Goritz." The poetic collection doubles as the performance of rites and their

51. See Livy 3.26.8–9; Pliny, *Natural History* 18.20.3; IJsewijn, *Coryciana*, 247 on line 12.

52. See, for example, *Coryciana* 397.58.

textual re-enactment, just as individual poems are both votive offerings at a cult site and textual offerings on the printed page.

The third book's introductory poem by Fabio Vigili, *Coryciana* 389, intertwines the simultaneously ritual, aesthetic, and temporal senses of the term *Annales*. He favourably compares the festival of St. Anne (*Annales*) with the musty old "Annals" (Annales) of early Roman history, written out on "tablets" (tabellis; 389.4)—clearly less elegant than those of the *Coryciana* poets. Vigili's poem alludes to Catullus 95, which draws a sharp comparison between the dreadful *Annals* of Volusius (*Annales Volusi*) and his friend Cinna's elegant *Zmyrna*. Whereas the *Zmyrna* will continue to be read for centuries (*saecula*) in far-away lands, Volusius's *Annales* are destined to perish ignominiously in the author's hometown of Padua (Catull. 95.5–8). Vigili repurposes this temporal trope (*saecula* / *anni*, "centuries" / "years") to suggest that Goritz's "witty and utterly elegant *Annales*" (Annales lepidi et perelegantes; 389.50), unlike the hoary annals of early Italian history, shall live on: "Sic victura diutius perennet / Vobis gloria" (so may your glory last perennially, destined to live a long time; 389.46–47), a phrase comprising both the perennial recurrence of Anne's rites and their perennial textual afterlife in the *Annales Dies*.

Even as the poets alternate between the ceremonies of St. Anne's festival and their literary re-enactment, they syncretically interweave pagan and Christian elements. The "perennial" recurrence of Anne's festival brings to mind the pagan Anna Perenna, goddess of the returning year,[53] a suitable figure for a humanist ritual focused on renewal and reiteration. At the same time, the space of Goritz's *vigna* combines the tutelary presences of the Christian saint and the emperor Trajan.

> Traiano haec quondam, nunc Annae sacra parenti;
> Caesaris hinc nomen, numen at inde Deae est.
> Quam bene utrunque! Putes vix haec potuissse sacrari
> Vel meliore viro, vel meliore Dea. (*Coryciana* 393)

53. See *Coryciana* 398 by Caius Silvanus Germanicus, entitled *In Annales Corycianos* (on Goritz's festival of St. Anne), which begins: "*Anni* curriculo *perenniore* / *Annae* iam rediit dies dicatus" (With the year's perennial course, the day dedicated to Anne has now come round again; my emphasis). Anna Perenna is not explicitly named, but the allusion seems reasonably clear. Compare Ovid, *Fasti* 3.654, where there is also an etymological play on her name.

> (This precinct was sacred to Trajan once, now to grandmother Anna; on one side, there is Caesar's name, on the other, the Saint's divinity. How good in each case! You would hardly think this place could have been sanctified either by a better man or by a better Saint.)

In this epigram by Silvius Laurelius, the deictic "haec" (these [spaces]) refers to Trajan's Forum. The site of utterance is not the forum proper, but the nearby space of Goritz's *vigna*, where the poets gather to dedicate their poems and where Anne presides as patron saint.[54] Goritz's villa is conceptualized as a property inhabited by Trajan and St. Anne as a pagan and Christian tutelary deity, respectively. One figure belongs to antiquity (*quondam*), the other to the present (*nunc*). In Laurelius's conceit, the former has renown (*nomen*), the latter, divine presence (*numen*). The two guardian deities of the garden villa thus syncretize Goritz's pursuit of classical fame and pious devotion within the bounds of a single emblematic space. We might compare the similar syncretism at work in Goritz's chapel, which is at once a Christian monument for St. Anne and Goritz's intended tomb monument.[55]

Antiquity provides a spatial paradigm that is retrofitted to accommodate both Christian piety and contemporary projects of posthumous commemoration. Significantly in this context, Trajan's Forum included statues of great men, with *elogia* inscribed on the bases, in the spaces between the columns of the porticoes.[56] Fabio Vigili, in *Coryciana* 390, entitled *Stemma* (Pedigree), reimagines Trajan's shattered forum as a *theatrum* of antiquity that is currently being revived by the assembled sodality of poets. Vigili opens by apostrophizing the very deities of Roman place, the Lares, Penates, and "Gods of the Native Land" (Di […] Indigetes), who, driven into exile from the Capitoline, have now found

54. On Goritz's *vigna*, see, in addition to the poems discussed here, *Coryciana* 276 by Baldassare Castiglione, 397 by Girolamo Vida, and 398 by Caius Silvanus Germanicus.

55. On the obsession with personal fame and commemoration in the *Coryciana*, see Christian, *Empire without End*, 147, which aptly compares the Neapolitan humanist Giovanni Pontano's combined family mausoleum and shrine to the Virgin, the Cappella dei Pontano. This monument to the humanist's posthumous reputation featured a collection of ancient and modern inscriptions on its interior walls. Pontano also created a parallel textual monument, the epigrammatic collection *De Tumulis* (On tombs). On this chapel, see De Divitiis, "*Pontanus Fecit*."

56. See Platner, *Topographical Dictionary*, 237–45.

refuge in Goritz's *vigna*.[57] There, the deities enjoy the blessed sight of Goritz's talented troop of humanists, a living symbol of the city's renewal (390.7–18). Indeed, if these exceptional men had been in charge of the Roman state in past centuries, Rome would have never suffered the humiliation of barbarian domination in the first place (37–48). Goritz's assembly of excellent men, the revived embodiment of past Roman virtues, are the ideal inheritors of the site of Trajan's Forum:

> O Traiane, quot uspiam fuerunt,
> Princeps optime, quale habes theatrum!
> Quanto foenore nunc Forum frequentas
> Disiectum statuasque dissipatas,
> Quo pensas ope, dum vigens rigenti
> pro saxo ac vegetum decus reponis!
> Vix priscos equidem rear, superbis
> Quorum stemmata sunt dicata signis,
> (Dictis invidia absit!) aut Myrone,
> Aut Charete Scopave digniores,
> Quam sunt hi, quibus esse non potest par
> Stemma ullum, neque laudis id quod usquam est.
> Amissum, Leo, si reposcis orbem,
> Caetu hoc utere. (*Coryciana* 390.19–32)

> (O Trajan, the best emperor, of all those who have existed anywhere, what a theatre you have! With how much interest [i.e., profit] you now frequent your shattered Forum and demolished statues, with what wealth you make compensation, as you restore flourishing, living glory in place of inert stone! Indeed, I'd barely deem the ancients, whose pedigrees are advertised on proud statues, worthier of Myron, Chares, or Scopas (may Envy stay far away from my words!) than these [humanists] are, for whom no pedigree

57. *Coryciana* 390.1–8; see IJsewijn, *Coryciana*, 318, note to line 6. Vigili alludes to a legend attested in Livy and Ovid: when the Romans were clearing the Capitoline for the construction of a new temple for Capitoline Jupiter, all the gods withdrew from the site in deference to Jupiter with the exception either of Terminus, the god of boundaries, alone (Ovid, *Fasti* 2.667–77), or of Terminus and Iuventas, goddess of youth (Livy 5.54.7). In an ironic twist, the divinities unceremoniously ejected from the Capitoline in Vigili's poem include the premier gods of Roman places themselves.

> can be adequate, nor any praise, whatever there is of it anywhere. If you are demanding back the lost world, Leo, make use of this assembled company!)

Trajan as *genius loci* inhabits the site of the *vigna*, helping to restore it to new life, converting the dead stones to living presences. The language used by Vigili (*vigens* […] *vegetum*, "flourishing […] lively"), in addition to playing on the author's name, stresses the idea of the garden as a place of perennially fresh life and renewal by contrast with rigid statue fragments (*vigens* / *rigens*, "flourishing, thriving" / "rigid, inert"). At the same time, Vigili evokes the monumental paradigm of the portico of famous men in Trajan's Forum. Those statues are now destroyed, as is the forum itself (*disiectum* […] *dissipatas*, "shattered […] demolished"), yet Goritz and his circle reanimate the forum's topographical vicinity, constituting their own gallery of living heroes to supplant the ruined hero-gallery of antiquity. Later emperors installed statues of poets in Trajan's Forum, including the statue of Claudian attested by an inscription in the antiquarian collection of Pomponio Leto's house.[58] Goritz's *vigna* is thus not only spatially contiguous with, but also conceptually parallel to, the gallery of heroes in Trajan's Forum—both because his garden villa housed a classical statuary collection, and because it hosted an assembly of humanist poet-heroes commemorated in the textual gallery of the *Coryciana*. Moreover, just as the spirit of the dead Trajan restores (*reponis*) life and vigor to his forum's ruins, Pope Leo X is advised to make use of the glorious company of humanists if he wishes to reclaim (*reposcis*) Rome's lost world empire. The project of restoring Rome demands that Leo X and Goritz's humanists take the roles, respectively, of Trajan and his forum's illustrious heroes in a revived, present-day setting.

The poem's unusual title, *Stemma*, refers to a pedigree or genealogical tree, particularly of a noble family. In classical texts, the word *stemma* often denotes the genealogical chart that accompanied an aristocratic family's ancestor masks (*imagines*) stored in a cupboard in the house's *atrium*.[59] The term is sometimes used in a negative or satirical context emphasizing the superficiality of aristocratic lineage: as Juvenal concisely puts it, "stemmata quid faciunt?" (What's the use of pedigrees? Juv. 8.1). The illustrious men whose statues lined Trajan's Forum represent the archetypal pedigreed *nobiles* of antiquity: their

58. *CIL* 6.1710, currently located in the Naples Archaeological Museum. See IJsewijn, *Coryciana*, 318, note to lines 19–20; Christian, *Empire without End*, 132–33, 238–39nn46–50.

59. See Flower, *Ancestor Masks*.

statues included *elogia* on their bases that would have detailed, among other things, their aristocratic lineages. By contrast, the humanists of Goritz's sodality possess virtues that cannot be adequately represented by any *stemma*, and they are not inferior to the great men of antiquity "whose lineages are proclaimed on arrogant statues" (superbis / quorum stemmata sunt dicata signis; 26–27). The humanists in Goritz's circle adhere to the conceptual paradigm of Trajan's commemorative gallery of great men, even as they reanimate and surpass it. Theirs is an aristocracy of virtue,[60] not family pedigree, and they embody the gallery of heroes as a living, breathing assembly of contemporary men, not a ruined terrain of shattered stones.

Just as the column chapel as site of votive dedication affords a spatial figure for the epigrammatic collection, Trajan's gallery of heroes constitutes the spatial corollary of the *Coryciana*'s textual gallery of contemporary Roman humanists. The term *theatrum* used by Vigili to describe Trajan's Forum, and by synecdoche, Goritz's villa, is one of a set of terms identified by Paula Findlen as forming part of the language of both collecting and encyclopedism.[61] A theatre is a microcosm of the world that puts on display a cornucopia of representative items to be viewed and examined. Epigrammatic collections, as Nadia Cannata has argued, participate in this paradigmatic discourse of galleries and canons.[62] Not only is epigram generically affiliated with the *elogia* and *tituli* affixed onto the statues of illustrious men in a gallery such as Trajan's Forum, but the epigrammatic collection is itself a paradigm of canonicity, as exemplified by the newly rediscovered *Planudean Anthology* (first printed in 1494).[63] Collections of humanist epigrams such as the *Coryciana* can be seen in part as a response to the prestige and fascination of such a collection with its gallery of famous poets of antiquity. Appended to the end of the *Coryciana* is a longer composition by Francesco Arsilio entitled *De poetis urbanis*, which praises, in rapid succession,

60. I borrow this phrase from Habinek, "Aristocracy of Virtue." More broadly, see Hankins, *Virtue Politics*.

61. See Findlen, "Museum," 64. The figurative sense of *theatrum* as a site where some quality or value is put on maximum display, thus representing its culmination or epitome, occurs at *Coryciana* 379.97: Delius Hieronymus Alexandrinus wishes that the city of Rome, which has always been the *culmen* (pillar, peak, summit; 90–91) of religion, may once again govern its empire and become "the theatre of the world" (terrarumque orbis […] theatrum).

62. Cannata, "Timeless Galleries."

63. See Cannata, "Timeless Galleries," 291.

the contemporary poets of the city included in the *Coryciana*. The collection's culmination is thus a textual gallery of humanist poets of the age.

We may recall here Angelo Colocci's previously mentioned anthology of Latin epigrams, a project that was likewise intended for eventual print dissemination.[64] This anthology, too, represents a type of textual gallery, a space of canonicity and totalizing encyclopedism. Another publication project associated with Colocci is the 1521 collection of Roman inscriptions published by the Roman humanist printer Giacomo Mazzocchi, the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Inscriptions of the ancient city).[65] This volume presents a comprehensive collection of the city's inscriptions according to a series of topographical rubrics (gates, forums, bridges, arches). The book was the result of a collaboration among Roman humanists who traversed the city together on epigraphical study tours. In one manuscript, it is possible to recognize the hands of humanists who contributed to the Pasquino publications and the *Coryciana*.[66] The printer Giacomo Mazzocchi published a highly comparable collection in the same period, the antiquarian scholar Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium Imagines* (Portraits of famous people) of 1517. This beautifully illustrated volume, likewise the collaborative effort of several humanists in addition to Fulvio, reproduces a series of ancient coins and medallions representing famous men and women from Republican Rome to Charlemagne.[67] Brief *elogia*, reminiscent of the honorary inscriptions beneath ancient portrait statues, accompany the individual *imagines*. Fulvio's collection is at once scholarly (an early monument of numismatic studies) and creative (the *imagines* of important figures for whom no numismatic evidence was extant had to be invented).[68] Both these collaborative projects, like the *Coryciana* and Colocci's anthology, function as textual galleries of illustrious individuals and *epigrammata*.

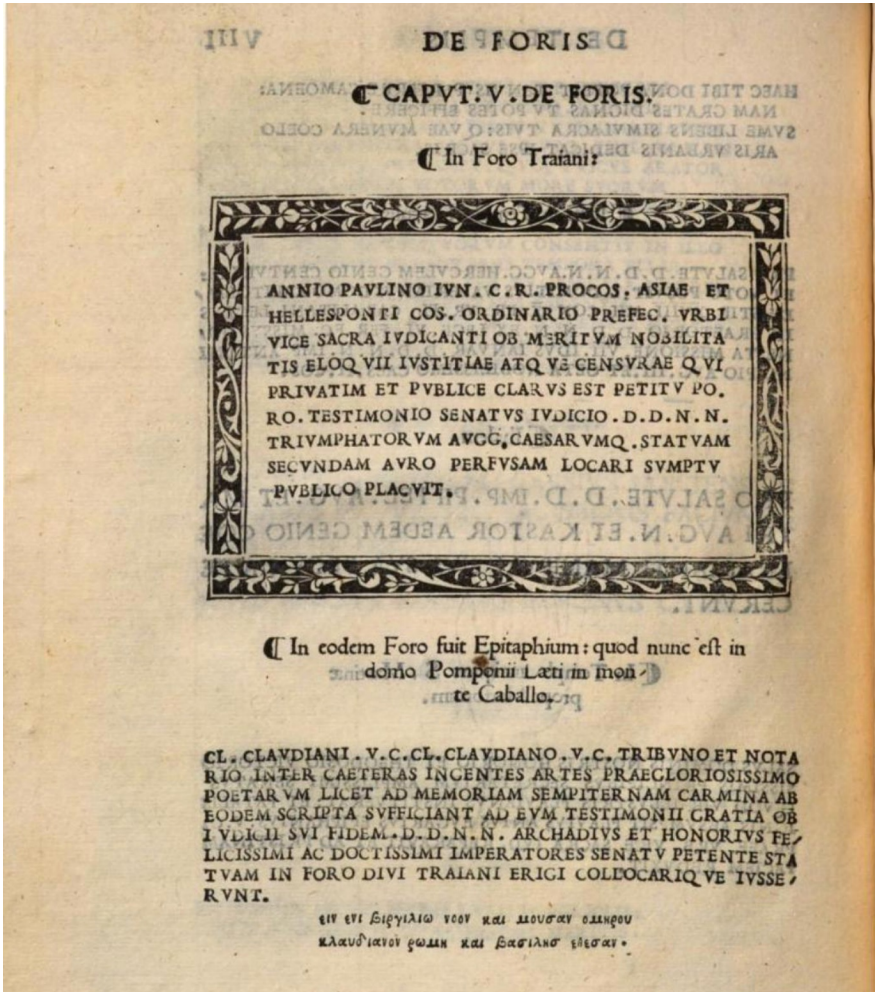
64. On the unfinished status of this publication project, see especially Cannata, "Editing Colocci's Collection."

65. A now lost inscription recorded in the nineteenth century indicated that the book was published at the expense of Angelo Colocci (*A. Colotii impensa*): see Ceresa, "Andrea Fulvio," 146. Colocci also participated in a range of other projects related to Roman places and antiquity. As outlined by Ingrid Rowland, Colocci, along with Castiglione, was involved in drafting the letter of presentation for the map of Rome to be made by Raphael at the behest of Leo X (Rowland, "Raphael," 83–94). Colocci also worked with Fabio Calvio to create a vernacular translation of Vitruvius for Raphael (91).

66. Vatican RG storia III 3350: see Rhodes, "Further Notes." Note also Bianca, "Giacomo Mazzocchi."

67. See Ceresa, "Andrea Fulvio," 147–48.

68. Ceresa, "Andrea Fulvio," 147.



DE FORIS

CAPVT. V. DE FORIS.

In Foro Traiani:

ANNIO PAVLINO IVN. C. R. PROCOS. ASIAE ET HELLESPONTI COS. ORDINARIO PREFEC. VRBI VICE SACRA IVDICANTI OB MERITVM NOBILITATIS ELOQVII IVSTITIAE ATQVE CENSVRAE QVI PRIVATIM ET PVBLICE CLARVS EST PETITV PO. RO. TESTIMONIO SENATVS IVDICIO. D. D. N. N. TRIVMPHATORVM AVGG. CAESARVMQ. STATVAM SECVNDAM AVRO PERFVSAM LOCARI SVMPTV PVBLICO PLACVIT.

In eodem Foro fuit Epitaphium: quod nunc est in domo Pomponii Læti in monte Caballo.

CL. CLAVDIANI. V. C. CL. CLAVDIANO. V. C. TRIBVNO ET NOTARIO INTER CAETERAS INGENTES ARTES PRAEGLORIOSISSIMO POETARVM LICET AD MEMORIAM SEMPITERNAM CARMINA AB EODEM SCRIPTA SVFFICIANT AD EVM TESTIMONII GRATIA OB IVDICII SVI FIDEM. D. D. N. N. ARCHADIVS ET HONORIVS FELICISSIMI AC DOCTISSIMI IMPERATORES SENATV PETENTE STATVAM IN FORO DIVI TRAIANI ERIGI COLLOCARIQVE IVSSERVNT.

εἰν ἐνὶ βιργιλίω νοον καὶ μουσαν ὁμηρου
κλαυδιανον ῥωμη καὶ βασιλης ἐθεσαν.

Fig. 2. The inscription honouring Claudian in the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (1521), VIIIv. From a copy in the K. K. Hofbibliothek, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (shelfmark 44.D.3), digitized by Google Books.

Each collaboratively produced collection—Colocci's anthology of Latin epigrams, the *Coryciana*, the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*, and Fulvio's *Illustrium Imagines*—foregrounds inscription, the encyclopedic assemblage of classical remnants and/or modern paragons, and textual simulacra of urban

sites and structures. In the latter three instances, the collaborative, site-specific activities of a group of humanists result in a printed volume that makes available a "textual city" for a wider readership. A volume such as the *Coryciana* thus presents a Janus-like profile: on the one hand, it emphasizes the singularity of places and site-specific rituals; on the other hand, through its very status as printed text, it enables the reproduction and dispersal of those singular rites and places over space and time. Perhaps the most vivid example of this dynamic of textualization concerns the inscription from Trajan's Forum honouring the poet Claudian, mentioned above (see Fig. 2). Originally installed under Claudian's statue in the forum's gallery of heroes, the inscription later formed part of the antiquarian collection in the house of Pomponio Leto. Finally, it was reproduced in the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*, prefaced by a brief contextualizing note: "in eodem Foro fuit Epitaphium quod nunc est in domo Pomponii Laeti in monte Caballo" (in the same Forum was the epitaphic inscription which is now in the house of Pomponio Leto on Monte Caballo). Claudian's inscription thus moves from Trajan's ancient gallery of heroes to a humanist's house-academy to the permanent display space of the textual gallery comprised by the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*. By a similar medial shift, Goritz's humanist poets inscribed their patron's and their own *elogia* within the *Coryciana* collection, a printed gallery explicitly figured as the textual corollary to Trajan's Forum.

The divine artistry of print

The print medium was central to such developments. The poets and editors of the *Coryciana* were keenly attentive to the textual dissemination of posthumous reputation and, more broadly, to the role of printed books in shaping and circulating representations of the ancient and modern city. *Coryciana* 284, by Ludovico Faber Phanensis, honours Luduvico degli Arrighi Vicentino for the "Daedalean gift" of printing the volume in a highly refined italic type.

Ut Superis reddat pro donis dona receptis,
    Gratus Corytius tres statuit statuas.
Tales Sansovius, quales a corde Coryti
    Christi, Annae et Mariae fluxerat effigies.
Tales a Coryto, tales scalptore, poetae
    Concelebrant Graio carmine et Ausonio.

A Coryto et tales, simul a scalptore, poetis,
Dat Vicentinus munere Daedaleo.
Ergo quis Luther Corytum neget esse beatum
Quattuor his: arte, et carmine, et arte, deo. (*Coryciana* 284)

(Goritz, in order to give the Gods gifts in return for gifts received, set up three statues in gratitude. Sansovino made the likenesses of Christ, Anne, and Mary just as they had flowed from the heart of Goritz. And just as they had flowed from Goritz and the sculptor, the poets celebrated them in Greek and Ausonian song. And just as they had flowed from Goritz, the sculptor, and the poets, so Vicentino makes them available by a Daedalean gift.[69] What sort of Luther, then, would deny that Goritz is blessed in these four things: [typographical] art and poetry, [sculptural] art and God?)

Much of the collection concerns the *paragone* of and interplay among different media: architecture, statuary, painting, and poetry. These media, in turn, entail networks of collaborative participants: patron, sculptor, painter, and poet. In this epigram, we follow the emergence of the chapel from the spark of thought that "flowed" from Goritz's mind to the sculptor's chisel and the poets' pens. The original source of Goritz's conception is divinity itself (*deo*). In this chart tracing the flow of an idea from divine origin to dissemination among terrestrial media of representation, the printer now holds his own pride of place: his too is an "art" (*ars*) that helps bring into being the chapel's textual architecture.

In these closing lines, Martin Luther is presented as a reviled adversary, someone capable of denying that Goritz was "blessed" in the four *artes* that adorn and disseminate his chapel's fame.[70] Luther also disseminated his ideas by means of the print medium but took a somewhat different attitude than

69. The adjective *Daedaleus*, exceedingly rare in classical Latin, occurs in a passage in Horace's *Odes* on the (attempted) imitation of Pindar (*ope daedalea*, "by Daedalus's ability"; 4.2.2): see Keilen, *Coryciana*, 374. Since the skill of Daedalus in this instance created Icarus's wings, the allusion (despite the tragic outcome in Icarus's case) underlines the capacity of mimetic artistry and technologies of dissemination to create lifelike simulacra and overcome geographical distances—i.e., the very technological capacities of the printing press.

70. Compare *Coryciana* 277 by Petrus Mellinus with a similarly negative view of Luther. Note also an epigram by Angelo Colocci (poem 9 in IJsewijn, *Coryciana*, 398) entitled *In Coricium* (Against Goritz). Alluding to Catullus 57, which depicts Caesar and Mamurra as well-matched twins (*pares* […] *gemelli*; 3, 6) marked with similar stains (*maculae*) of vice, Colocci pairs together the two northerners Luther

Goritz to religious statuary, the very *icones* that constitute both the artistic showpiece of the column chapel in Sant'Agostino and the epigrams of the *Coryciana*. While it is true that Luther opposed the more radical iconoclasm of his Wittenberg University colleague Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, who argued that "infinitude cannot be approached through the finite,"[71] Luther did not ascribe to statues an intrinsically positive religious value and was critical, more generally, of images of the divine as a basis for belief.[72] Luther argued that the sponsorship of images in churches by patrons in order to win salvation was based on the flawed doctrine of good works,[73] and that the kind of religious images considered acceptable would have been simple as opposed to artistically refined.[74] The *Coryciana* poets, by contrast, took it as their premise that Goritz's chapel was an act of piety that would be rewarded in heaven, and that its artistic magnificence was a manifestation of such piety. Goritz's sodality, rather than being suspicious of the artistic mimesis of divinity, inhabited a world saturated in layers of mediality and representation. It was in and through this very fabric of mediated representations that human beings sought to comprehend the divine. The printed book played a key role in this project of pious artistry: it was not merely an instrument for disseminating ideas but a work of art that expressed, through the beauty of its letter forms, the same ineffable conceptions that inspired sculptors and poets. Like Palladius, Laurelius, and Vigili, the printer Vicentino must be counted as one of the architects of the collection.

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and Goritz, accusing them of similar vices and terming them "Germanae maculae" (a play on words: both "fraternal stains / brothers in vice" and "Germanic stains"; 3).

71. Quoted in Van Asselt, "Prohibition," 302.

72. See Van Asselt, "Prohibition," 302: "[images] are entities that are morally indifferent, or *adiaphora*, a notion derived from the philosophy of the Stoics."

73. Van Asselt, "Prohibition," 302; Koerner, *Reformation of the Image*, 27–28.

74. Koerner, *Reformation of the Image*, 28.

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