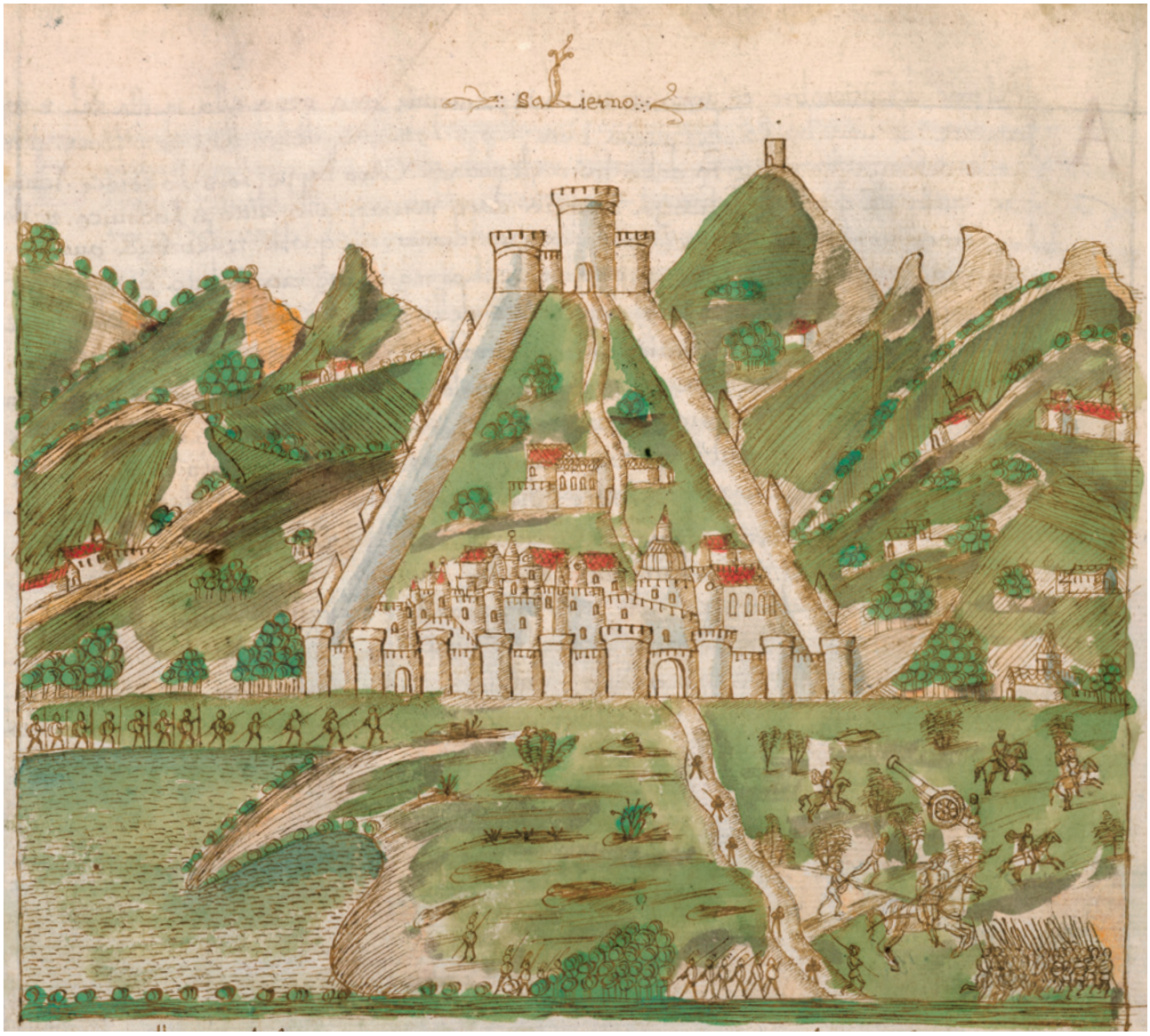


1 View of Salerno, in: Domenico Antonio Ferraiolo, *Cronaca della Napoli aragonese.* New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. M.801, fol. 125v

A RENAISSANCE STORY OF ANTIQUARIANISM AND IDENTITY
THE "TEMPLE OF POMONA" FROM ROME TO SALERNO

Bianca de Divitiis

In the fifteenth century Salerno (Fig. 1) boasted of many antiquities: columns, urns, sarcophagi, and inscriptions all evoked the city's ancient past as a Roman colony.[1] Recent studies, however, have demonstrated that most of the *spolia* displayed since early medieval times were not of local origin, but rather imported from other sites: Paestum, Pozzuoli, Rome, and Ostia. Some of them may have already been redeployed in the cathedral during the Lombard era, when Prince Gisulfus (r. 952–977/78) translated the relics of the apostle Matthew discovered south of Paestum to Salerno;[2] but it is certainly the case that most were specifically imported in the eleventh century by the Norman duke Robert Guiscard (1076–1085), either through trade or plunder, in order to adorn the new cathedral constructed on the site of the previous structure (Fig. 2).[3] As a result of the collaboration between Duke Robert and the Archbishop of Salerno, Alfanus (r. 1058–1085), the new cathedral was the perfect expression of the rebirth of antiquity in southern Italy during Norman rule. Following the model of the new abbey church of Montecassino (1071), this

[1] Venturino Panebianco, "La colonia romana di Salernum", in: *Rassegna storica salernitana*, VI (1945), pp. 3–38; Vittorio Bracco, *Salerno romana*, Salerno 1979; Arcangelo Raffaele Amarotta, *Salerno romana e medievale: dinamica di un insediamento*, Salerno 1989; Matilde Romito, *I reperti di età romana da Salerno nel Museo Archeologico Provinciale della città*, Naples 1996; Luigi Gallo/Maria Antonietta Iannelli, "Salerno", in: *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche*, XVII, Pisa 2001, pp. 206–225.

[2] Andrea Bedina, *s.v.* Gisulfo, in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, LVI, Rome 2001, pp. 629–633. On the Lombard cathedral see Antonio Braca, *Il duomo di Salerno: architettura e culture artistiche del medioevo e dell'età moderna*, Salerno 2003, pp. 95–114.

[3] On the *spolia* in Salerno see Daniele Manacorda, "Le urne di Amalfi non sono amalfitane", in: *Archeologia Classica*, XXXI (1979), pp. 318–337; *idem*, "Amalfi: urne romane e commerci medievali", in: *Aparchai: nuove ricerche e studi sulla Magna Grecia e sulla Sicilia in onore di Paolo Enrico Arias*, Pisa 1982, pp. 713–752; Braca (note 2); Marianna Pollio, "Il reimpiego del materiale architettonico in marmo nella Salerno medievale", in: *Apollo*, XIX (2003), pp. 29–101; Antonio Milone, "Memoria dell'antico nella Costa d'Amal-

2 Salerno, cathedral, view of the atrium with ancient *spolia* and sarcophagi

consisted of the pervasive reuse of both classicising forms and ancient materials.[4] In Salerno *spolia* were used to construct and adorn most of the episcopal complex: the bell tower (1137–1152) was erected entirely with regular blocks of ancient limestone originating from Paestum, while most of the cinerary urns and sarcophagi used as sepulchres for the local élite, now displayed in the colonnaded atrium of the cathedral, were imported from Ostia and Rome.[5] In the archbishop's palace two porticoes constructed between the eleventh and twelfth centuries can still be recognised: one runs along the side of the building and is made of coloured marble columns (Fig. 3), while the other, more monumental one, now on the inside of the palace, was executed with large blocks of Doric columns and Corinthian capitals decorated on four sides with human heads (Figs. 4, 5), now known to have originated from the temple dedicated to the *Bona Mens*, also known as the Tempio della Pace, on the northern side of the forum at Paestum.[6] Such a massive importation of antiquities, most of which were arranged to recreate classical forms, compensated for Salerno's lack of monumental and sculptural remains and served to create a pseudo-antique past.

In the late fifteenth century, a further single piece was added to the conspicuous quantity of *spolia* that

fi", in: *Le culture artistiche del Medioevo in Costa d'Amalfi*, ed. by Antonio Braca, Amalfi 2003, pp. 315–349: 315–334; Angela Palmentieri, *"Civitates spoliatae": recupero e riuso dell'antico in Campania tra l'età post-classica e il medioevo (IV–XV sec.)*, Ph.D. thesis, Università di Napoli, Naples 2010.

[4] Valentino Pace, "La cattedrale di Salerno: committenza programma e valenze ideologiche di un monumento di fine XI secolo nell'Italia meridionale", in: *Desiderio da Montecassino e l'arte della riforma gregoriana*, ed. by Faustino Avagliano, Montecassino 1997, pp. 189–230; Mario D'Onofrio, "La basilica di Desiderio a Montecassino e la cattedrale di Alfano a Salerno: nuovi spunti di riflessione", *ibidem*, pp. 231–246.

[5] On the bell tower see Braca (note 2), pp. 75f. On the cinerary urns see Manacorda 1979 and *idem* 1982 (note 3).

[6] For the capitals see Eugen von Mercklin, *Antike Figuralkapitelle*, Berlin 1962, p. 66, no. 175, pls. 311–320. For an updated discussion of the same

3 Salerno, archbishop´s palace,
view of the outside portico

4, 5 Salerno, archbishop´s palace,
portico at the entrance, details
of the *spolia* columns and capitals

6 Salerno, archbishop's palace, inscription of the "temple of Pomona" (*CIL*, X, 531)

had arrived during medieval times. This was a large marble dedicatory inscription, now displayed in the atrium of the archbishop's palace (Fig. 6).[7] Measuring 1.5 m wide and 0.64 m high, the inscription commemorates the restoration of the temple of Pomona by the *augustalis* Tettienus Felix who, with a legacy of 50,000 sesterces, had sponsored the construction of a *fastigium*, marble pavements, and a podium, as well as works on the roof.

> T(itus) Tettienus Felix, Augustalis,
> scriba librar(ius) aedil(ium) curull(ium),
> viator aedil(ium) plebis, accensus
> consuli, ((sestertia)) $\overline{L}$ m(ilia) n(ummum) legavit
> ad exornandam aedem Pomonis;
> ex qua summa factum est fastigium
> inauratum, podium, pavimenta marm(orea), opus tectorium.[8]

Although it is still considered to be one of the most important local ancient remains, the inscription is not from Salerno. Instead it probably originates from Ostia,[9] and in around 1470 it could be found in the Vatican, where it was recorded by the humanist Pomponio Leto (1428–1498). The inscription with the annotation "In Vaticano" is transcribed in the centre of fol. 1r of manuscript Vat. Lat. 3233 (Fig. 7), significantly placed between two notations relating to other minor divinities and daemons, namely a passage from Lucilius on the Lamia and fauns who scared children and the text of an inscription relating to the cult of Cybele at the time

type of capital and a bibliography see Stefania Tuccinardi, "Teggiano, Sant'Andrea, capitello corinzio figurato", http://db.histantartsi.eu/web/rest/Reperto Archeologico/260 (accessed on 12 June 2017). On the Salernitan capitals see also Angela Palmentieri, "Il riuso in Campania: pratiche e ideologia nelle architetture medievali di Salerno e della costa d'Amalfi", in: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge*, CXXIX (2017), 1, pp. 15–17.

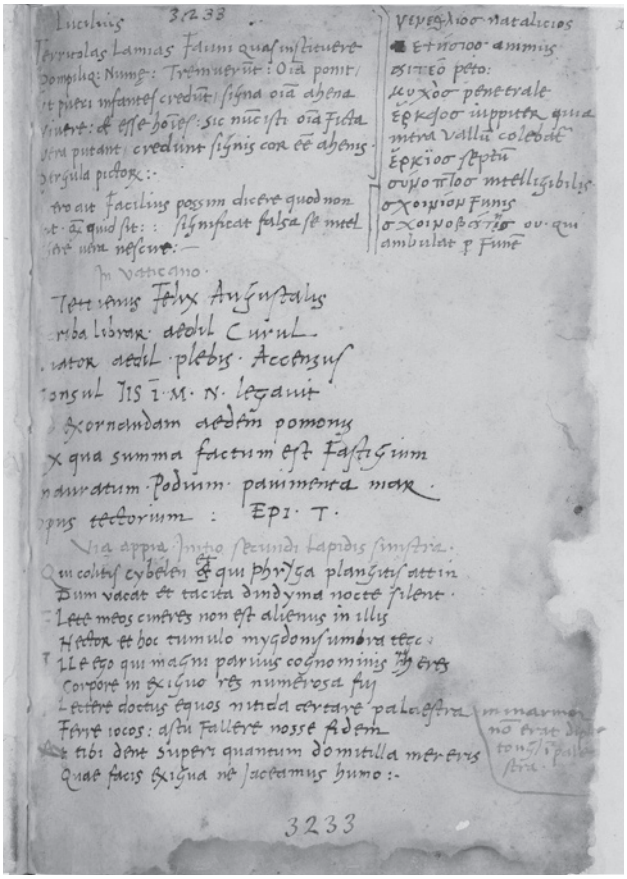
[7] *CIL*, X, 531; Giuseppe Camodeca, in: EDR, no. 105782, dated 4 November 2010; Manacorda 1982 (note 3), p. 737; Heikki Solin, "Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum X: passato, presente, futuro", in: *Epigrafi e studi epigrafici in Finlandia*, ed. by *idem*, Rome 1998, pp. 81–117: 104f.; *idem*, "Campania: inscriptions nouvelles ou révisées. 349 = CIL, X, 531", in: *L'année épigraphique*, 1998, pp. 133f., no. 349.

[8] Cit. from Camodeca (note 7).

[9] See Manacorda 1982 (note 3), who connected it to the *Pomonal* recalled by Festus (Fest., p. 250 M = p. 296 L) located at mile twelve of Via Ostiense.

located on the Via Appia; the folio also includes a passage from Cicero's *Orationes* and a short glossary of Greek-Latin terms.[10] The epigraphic collections compiled by Fra Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini (between 1477 and 1486) and by Fra Giovanni Giocondo da Verona (between 1488 and 1494) both report the inscription as "Salerni, in archiepiscopatu".[11] Thus in a limited timeframe, approximately between 1470 and 1486, the dedicatory inscription was transferred from Rome to Salerno to be displayed in the episcopal complex. From that time on it became a central element of the city's identity and was used as one of the main proofs of its ancient origins. The memory of the ancient marble's original provenance and its transfer from Rome to Salerno seems to have been rapidly lost, giving way to the idea, still widespread today, that a temple dedicated to Pomona had existed in the city; its remains were recognised in the portico at the entrance of the archbishop's palace made of Doric columns and Corinthian capitals decorated with human heads, which was actually a medieval construction erected with imported *spolia*.[12]

This article will discuss the transfer of the ancient inscription from Rome to Salerno as a creative humanist undertaking capable of generating a new antiquarian tradition and providing a new identity for the *spolia* already on-site. By analysing Salerno's



7 Pomponio Leto, Miscellany, fol. 1r.
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,
ms. Vat. Lat. 3233

[10] Lucilius' passage is quoted by Lactantius (*Institutiones*, I.22.13). For the inscription on Cybele see *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI: *Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae*, pars 2, ed. by Eugen Bormann/Wilhelm Henzen/Christian Hülsen, Berlin 1882, pars II, 10098 (1); EDR109247. On the manuscript Vat. Lat. 3233 see Vladimiro Zabughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto: saggio critico, Libri I e II*, Rome 1909–1912, I, pp. 146–148; Marco Buonocore, *Bibliografia retrospettiva dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City 1994, I, p. 460; Paul Gwynne, "A Renaissance Image of Jupiter Stator", in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, LVIII (1995), pp. 249–252; Elisabetta Caldelli, *Copisti a Roma nel Quattrocento*, Rome 2006, pp. 124f.; Anne-Véronique Gilles-Raynal *et al.*, *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane (Fonds Vatican latin, 2901–14740)*, III.2, Vatican City/Paris 2010, pp. 89–110. Solin 1998 (note 7) first discovered Leto's transcription, thus confirming that the inscription was not of Salernitan origin, as had been claimed by Theodor Mommsen (*CIL*, X, 531) and later by Vittorio Bracco (*Inscriptiones Italiae*, vol. I, regio I, fasc. I: *Salernum*, Rome 1981, no. 11) on the basis of later testimonies. See also Heikki Solin/Pekka Tuomisto, "Appunti su Battista Brunelleschi epigrafista", in: *Ad itum liberum: Essays in Honour of Anne Helttula*, ed. by Outi Merisalo *et al.*, Jyväskylä 2007, pp. 79–92.

[11] *F. Michaelis Ferrarini Regiensis Antiquarium sive Divae Sacrarium (Inscriptiones graecae et latinae undique collectae)*, Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca A. Panizzi, ms. Regg. C 398, fol. C *verso*; *Fr. Jo. Jocundi Veronensis Sylloge Inscriptionum*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. Marciano lat. XIV 171 (= 4665), fol. 135v. On Ferrarini see, most recently, Xavier Espluga, "Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini", in: *Epigraphica*, LXX (2008), pp. 255–267. On Fra Giocondo's stay in Naples between July 1488 and 1494 see Bianca de Divitiis, "Fra Giocondo nel regno di Napoli: dallo studio antiquario al progetto all'antica", in *Giovanni Giocondo architetto, umanista e antiquario*, ed. by Pierre Gros/Pier Nicola Pagliara, Venice 2014, pp. 263–277.

[12] Antonio Mazza, *Urbis Salernitanæ historia et antiquitates*, Naples 1681, p. 8; Michele De Angelis, "Un tempio ed un'ara: antiche civiltà nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia", in: *Archivio storico della provincia di Salerno*, V (1926), pp. 99–122.

fifteenth-century cultural milieu and the international contacts of the local élite, I will try to ascertain the possible reasons for and the protagonists involved in this antiquarian episode, which may have included major humanist figures, furnishing the city with critical 'proof' of its antiquity and enabling it to rewrite its history. The ramifications of local identity and local antiquarian culture will also be investigated by considering the works commissioned by the Sanseverino family, princes of Salerno, in the very years the inscription was transferred.

The Inscription of Pomona: Displacement and Display

The idea that a temple of Pomona had existed in Salerno in ancient times was already consolidated by the mid-sixteenth century, when the inscription inspired a series of forgeries testifying the presence in the city of other, similar monuments. The antiquarian Pirro Ligorio, for example, recorded a false inscription carved on an altar in which the son of Tettienus Felix was said to have dedicated a temple to Bacchus.[13]

It is unclear where exactly in the archbishop's palace the Pomona inscription was placed immediately after its arrival from Rome. The wording of Fra Giocondo and Ferrarini, who describe it "in archiepiscopatu", might indicate any part of the archiepiscopal area, given that the church, the atrium, the cemetery at the foot of the bell tower, and the palace formed a compact and unitary complex. When transcribing the epigraphic text in the first half of the sixteenth century, the humanist Mariangelo Accursio described it as "in the bishopric, which is the church of San Matteo", adding that it was "above an ancient sepulchre, which serves as an altar".[14] It is thus not clear whether Accursio was referring to the cathedral or to the bishopric in general.

From the notable collection of local memorabilia and documents compiled in the mid-seventeenth century by the Salernitan antiquarian Giulio Ruggi (ca. 1596–post 1691) we know that between 1574 and 1589 the archbishop Marco Antonio Marsili Colonna had the ancient marble "preserved with care" and "built into a wall", apparently the side of the archbishop's palace adjacent to the covered passage that still connects the palace to the cathedral today (see Fig. 3), and the inscription was most probably located at street level, in close proximity to the two porticoes made out of *spolia*.[15] Ruggi also added that the inscription had remained visible from the street until the erection of a new building obstructed its view.[16] It is interesting that Marsili Colonna himself in his *De vita et gestis beati Matthaei apostoli et evangelistae*, published in 1580, while giving a detailed description of the episcopal complex, refers to the entrance of the archbishop's palace as "very magnificent and

[13] BNN, ms. XIII.B.7, fol. 260r; *CIL*, X, 126*. Cf. Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Novus Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum*, Milan 1740, II, p. DCXIX; Francesco Antonio Ventimiglia, *Prodromo [...] alla sua opera Memorie del Principato di Salerno*, Naples 1795, pp. 153–156.

[14] Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Manoscritti, Codice D 420 inf., fol. 162v: "nel vescovato ch'è la chiesa di San Matteo, sopra un sepolcro antico, che serve per altare". The codex is dated between 1520 and 1546. On Mariangelo Accursio see Augusto Campana, *s.v.* Accursio, Mariangelo, in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, I, Rome 1960, pp. 126–132; *idem*, *Ricerche medievali e umanistiche*, ed. by Rino Avesani/Michele Feo/Enzo Pruccoli, Rome 2008, pp. 585–596; Arianna Petraccia, *s.v.* Accursio, Mariangelo, in: *Dizionario biografico gente d'Abruzzo*, ed. by Enrico Di Carlo, Castelli 2006, I, pp. 15–26.

[15] For Ruggi's witness see *Brani di un manoscritto col seguente titolo Historia de la fedelissima città di Salerno scritta per Giulio Ruggio divisa in tre parti*, transcribed in Luigi Staibano, *Appendice II alla Raccolta delle Memorie Storiche di Maiori: notizie di Salerno e di altri Comuni della Provincia per servire alla Salerno Diplomatica-Lapidaria di Luigi Staibano*, SNSP, ms. XX.D.24, fols. 1r–67r: 21r: "Questo tempio [di Pomona] fu assai magnifico. Hogi n'habiamo il titolo fatto servare con diligenza dall'arcivescovo Marco Antonio Marsilio Colonna, che lo fece fabbricare ad un muro che colle stanze attaccano il palagio arcivescovile con la chiesa. Hogi non si vede dalla strada, atteso vi è nuova fabrica che occupa la vista. Il marmo è di IX palmi lungo per 4½ con coronide intorno con lettere tonne romanesche, alta ogni lettera un quarto di palmo." On Ruggi's work see Niccolò Toppi, *Biblioteca napoletana, et apparato a gli huomini illustri in lettere di Napoli e del Regno*, Naples 1678, p. 165.

[16] See note 15 above.

commodious" and made of the "same structure as the cathedral", which he defines as a temple, probably in order to emphasise that both the atrium of the church and the atrium of the entrance to the palace featured a sequence of arches resting on ancient columns.[17] Ruggi's account suggests that Archbishop Marsili Colonna not only preserved the inscription but also moved it from a previous position to a new one, making it visible from the street:[18] such public emphasis may have been intended to reinforce an already existing association between the *spolia* at the entrance to the palace and the idea of the temple recounted in the epigraphic text. The possibility that the inscription had already changed location over the course of the century since its arrival from Rome cannot be ruled out, but it seems likely that it had always remained within the perimeter of the archbishop's palace.[19]

Between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the two porticoes at the entrance and on the side of the palace were connected and may have also been included in the so-called Terrasanta, a cemetery accessible from one of the side doors of the cathedral, which extended between the atrium, the bell tower, and the archbishop's palace. Similar arrangements can still be observed today in the archbishop's complex in Amalfi (eleventh to twelfth centuries) and at the Camposanto in Pisa (late thirteenth century).[20] In particular, the Terrasanta and the cathedral atrium were crowded with ancient cinerary urns and sarcophagi which had been used uninterruptedly between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries for the burial of families belonging to the local élite. Rather than taking up the new trends in funerary sculpture, found in the cathedral of Salerno in the modern monuments of Queen Margherita di Durazzo (1412–1414) and Cardinal Piscicelli (ca. 1471),[21] the most important Salernitan families consciously preferred to continue the tradition of their ancestors whose origins dated back to the early medieval period. Some of these "bellissime cascie"[22] seem to have been originally housed under the monumental porch made of *spolia* from Paestum and the adjoining portico of the archbishop's palace, which remained partially open at least until the turn of the eighteenth century, as can be seen in one of the engravings of the Abbé de Saint-Non (1783; Fig. 8).[23]

In addition to the sarcophagi located between the ancient columns, funerary inscriptions were also displayed in the Terrasanta, such as an epitaph from an urn, wishing a deceased person "the lightness of the

[17] Marco Antonio Marsili Colonna, *De vita et gestis beati Matthaei apostoli et evangelistae*, Naples 1580, p. 78: "Ab eodem quoque latere patet ingressus quidam subsidiarius in ipsum Archiepiscopale palatium quod sane quam magnificum et quam commodum est, eademque qua et templum structura atque operis firmitate consistit."

[18] Cf. Ruggi (note 15), fol. 21r.

[19] The manuscript of the erudite Pietro del Pezzo, dated between 1700 and 1734, confirms that by the eighteenth century the inscription was already located inside the archiepiscopal palace: "Onde se la gente, che rimane dalla separazione della nobiltà si chiama plebe, affermo dobbiam credere che i nobili antichissimamente in Salerno sieno stati in essempio di Roma e lo scovriamo dall'iscrizione che si fé da' Salernitani in onor di Pomona, che stava allogata nel tempio di questa Dea e poi nell'istesso Palagio Arcivescovile collocata dall'Arcivescovo Marco Antonio Marsilio Colonna che si edificò su le ruine del medesimo tempio ch' al presente sta fabbricata dalla parte di occidente di sotto alla cappella che si fé dall'Arcivescovo Cardinal Lucio Sanseverino, dentro il muro racchiusa […]" (Pietro del Pezzo, *Contezza dell'origine, aggrandimento e stato dei Seggi della città di Salerno*, SNSP, ms. XXXIII.B.04.I, fol. 37v).

[20] Braca (note 2), pp. 51–77; Giuseppe Fiengo/Maria Russo, "Il chiostro del Paradiso in Amalfi", in: *Apollo: Bollettino dei Musei Provinciali del Salernitano*, XII (1996), pp. 105–123; *Il Camposanto di Pisa*, ed. by Clara Baracchini/Enrico Castelnuovo, Turin 1996.

[21] For these monuments see Helmut R. Leppien, *Die neapolitanische Skulptur des späteren Quattrocento*, Diss., Tübingen 1960, pp. 84–93; Nicolas Bock, *Kunst am Hofe der Anjou-Durazzo: Der Bildhauer Antonio Baboccio (1351–ca. 1423)*, Munich *et al.* 2001, pp. 223–328.

[22] Matteo Geronimo Mazza, *Dell'origine di Longobardi et di Normandi: parte prima. Nella quale si scrive brevemente del sito et cose notabili di Salerno*, BNN, ms. XV.C.17, fol. 10r, whose description dates from ca. 1618.

[23] At the end of the sixteenth century approximately forty sarcophagi were displayed in the archbishop's complex, most of which were located on the southern side of the cathedral, where the cemetery was, and it can be supposed that some were housed below the porticoes of the "temple of Pomona". This idea was suggested by Antonio Milone in the paper "Città e memoria dell'antico nel Mezzogiorno medievale" at the Workshop of HistAntArtSI organised by Tanja Michalsky, Elisabetta Scirocco, and Bianca de Divitiis at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome on 1 December

earth", significantly located on the door leading to the cemetery.[24] Upon its arrival in Salerno, the Pomona inscription was most probably displayed in this very area. It seems plausible that the deliberate intention was to associate it with the columns from Paestum, which more than any other part of the archbishop's complex evoked the image of an ancient temple. In the sixteenth century, such an association seems to have been intentionally relaunched and strengthened by placing the marble in a new, more prominent position, thus consolidating the invented tradition of a temple dedicated to Pomona in Salerno. This invention was further reinforced in the following centuries by adding more material evidence, such as the statue in the centre of a fountain in the archbishop's palace, which at the beginning of the eighteenth century was interpreted as representing Pomona.[25]

In contrast to Robert Guiscard's massive importations, the transfer of the Pomona inscription from the Vatican to Salerno involved the relocation of a single piece which seems to have corresponded to a precise antiquarian project. This appears all the more plausible if we consider that in both contexts, Roman and Salernitan, notable importance was attached to the display of epigraphical texts and to their evocative potential and if we take into account the multiple connections that linked the two humanist and political milieux between the 1470s and 1480s.

Humanism, Politics, and Urban Renewal between Rome and Salerno

The years in which the inscription was transferred to Salerno largely coincide with the pontificate of Sixtus IV della Rovere (1471–1484) and with the apogee of Pomponio Leto's literary and antiquarian activity. The *renovatio Urbis* and large-scale programme of displaying epigraphic texts, both ancient and modern, carried out by the pope in Rome in that period is well known, as is Pomponio's role in Sixtus' cultural propaganda of the 1471 transfer of ancient statues from the Lateran to the Capitol, which were thus symbolically 'returned' to the Roman people.[26]

It is less well known that in those same years Salerno was a highly receptive cultural environment, enjoying a notable urban and humanist revival. It was one of the main cities of the Kingdom of Naples and the capital of the fiefdom referred to as the Principality of Salerno, in memory of the Lombard Principality which had lasted from 839 until the Norman conquest in 1076, when the city became part of the Duchy of Apulia and Calabria, which later merged into the Kingdom of Naples.[27] Throughout the following centuries, Prince of Salerno was one of the most important titles within the kingdom's feudal hierarchy. Furthermore, the city was the see of one of the principal archdioceses of the southern territory, which had authority over eight dioceses and numerous fiefdoms and owned a large patrimony.[28]

2015. On the reuse of sarcophagi in Salerno see *I sarcofagi romani del Duomo di Salerno: dal riuso all'archeologia*, ed. by Antonio Braca, Salerno 2016.

[24] *CIL*, X, 633. For the cemetery see also Marsili Colonna (note 17), pp. 73–78, and Mazza (note 12), pp. 37f. *CIL*, X, 627 and *CIL*, X, 542 were also found in the cemetery, the latter "in aede Pomonae". See also Luigi Staibano, *Salerno epigrafica o raccolta delle iscrizioni salernitane* (1875), BNN, ms. XIV.H.39, fol. 42r.

[25] Del Pezzo (note 19), fols. 39v–40r.

[26] On Sixtus IV's relationship with antiquity and the transfer of ancient sculpture from the Lateran to the Capitol see Kathleen Wren Christian, *Empire without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome. C. 1350–1527*, New Haven/London 2010, pp. 103–119. For the epigraphy and architectural commissions of Sixtus IV see Paola Guerrini, "L'epigrafia sistina come momento della 'restauratio Urbis'", in: *Un pontificato ed una città: Sisto IV (1471–1484)*, conference proceedings Rome 1984, ed. by Massimo Miglio *et al.*, Vatican City 1986, pp. 453–468; James Mosley, "Giovan Francesco Cresci and the Baroque Letter in Rome", in: *Typography Papers*, VI (2005), pp. 115–155; Marco Buonocore, "Dal codice al monumento: l'epigrafia dell'Umanesimo e del Rinascimento", in: *Veleia*, 29 (2012), pp. 209–227; Flavia Cantatore, "Sisto IV committente di architettura a Roma tra magnificenza e conflitto", in: *Congiure e conflitti: l'affermazione della signoria pontificia su Roma nel Rinascimento. Politica, economia e cultura*, ed. by Maria Chiabò *et al.*, Rome 2014, pp. 313–338. On Pomponio Leto see below, pp. 46f.

[27] Paolo Delogu, *Mito di una città meridionale: Salerno, secoli VIII–XI*, Naples 1977, pp. 179–184; Huguette Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté lombarde de Salerne (IXe–XIe siècle): pouvoir et société en Italie lombarde méridionale*, Rome 1991.

[28] Antonio Cestaro, "Per la storia del Principato di Salerno nel secolo XV", in: *Rivista di studi salernitani*, I (1968), pp. 135–160: 151.

8 View of the portico of the archbishop's palace in Salerno, engraving in: Jean-Claude-Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage pittoresque ou Description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, Paris 1781-1786, III, pl. 92

In the period the Pomona inscription was transferred, Salerno was governed by a new dynasty of princes belonging to the Sanseverino family, one of the most influential baronial dynasties in the kingdom, while the local church was governed by the Archbishop Pere Guillem Roca (r. 1471–1482). Both the Sanseverino family and Roca had very strong ties to Pope Sixtus IV as well as to the circle of Pomponio Leto.

A native of Xàtiva, near Valencia, Roca was one of the pope's most trusted men.[29] As the apostolic secretary Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra recounts, the archbishop was "primus pontificis referendarius, maxime auctoritatis, gravitatis et venerationis presul" and was so close to Sixtus IV that the pope remained at his side in the days leading up to his death on 28 October 1482.[30] As proof of his close connection to the pope's immediate entourage, Roca's up-to-date funerary monument (Fig. 9) is in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, the preferred church of the Della Rovere family, to which he also bequeathed his library.[31] Roca's full participation in Roman humanist and antiquarian circles is also demonstrated by the fact that he figures as one of the interlocutors in Paolo Pompilio's dialogue *De*

[29] The only modern biographical portrait on Roca (or Rocha) was compiled by Lorenzo Miletti for the HistAntArtSI database: http://db.histantartsi.eu/web/rest/Famiglie e Persone/160 (accessed on 12 June 2017). See also Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, Rome 1644–1662, VII, col. 435.

[30] Miletti (note 29). Roca's funerary oration was recited by the Dominican Giovan Battista dei Giudici, bishop of Ventimiglia, another protegé of Sixtus IV, and his ties with the Della Rovere family clan are also demonstrated by the fact that he celebrated the wedding between Basso della Rovere and Caterina Marzano in 1479. For the quotation see Jacopo Gherardi (*RIS*, new ed., XXIII, 3: *Il diario romano di Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra [...]*, ed. by Enrico Carusi, Città di Castello 1904–1911, pp. 8, 110).

[31] Miletti (note 29). For Roca's funerary monument see *15th & 16th Century Sculpture in Italy: Rome*, ed. by Constance Hill, London 1976, II (*S. Maria del Popolo, S. Maria di Monserrato*), no. 2/1/101-105. The epitaph is reported in Ughelli (note 29), VII, col. 435. On Roca's library see David Gutiérrez,

9 Rome, Santa Maria del Popolo, funerary monument of the Archbishop Pere Guillem Roca (ca. 1481)

vero et probabili amore (1487), which was dedicated to Pomponio Leto.[32] A letter written by Roca on 8 June 1476 to the rector of the capitol of Valencia, Pere de Vila-Rasa, documents the close relationship between the archbishop of Salerno and the pope, as well as the double political role Roca played through his involvement in the policies of both the papal state and the Kingdom of Naples in the very years in which the transfer of the inscription from the temple of Pomona took place.[33] In the same letter Roca referred to the costly works he was carrying out at that time in Salerno, where he planned to stay for a long period since, if he did not supervise them in person, "both the works and the money would end very badly".[34] Other sources confirm that Roca's refashioning of the cathedral included the reinforcement of the south-eastern apse and a new *cona* (altarpiece) for the main altar, most probably a tabernacle to host the thirteenth-century wooden statue of the *Virgin and angels*, which was still in place at the end of the sixteenth century, as proved by the report of the pastoral visit of Archbishop Marsili Colonna in 1575.[35] Roca's intervention is further recorded by his coat of arms, which is still visible on the building's southern buttress, just in front of the columnar porticoes of the archbishop's palace.

"De antiquis ordinis eremitarum S. Augustini bibliothecis", in: *Analecta Augustiniana*, XXIII (1954), pp. 164–372: 264–290; Anna Esposito, "Centri di aggregazione: la biblioteca agostiniana di S. Maria del Popolo", in: *Un pontificato ed una città* (note 26), pp. 569–597: 581.

[32] Miletti (note 29). The dialogue was written in 1487 but is set in Anguillara between 1476 and 1478. Patricia Osmond, "Pietro Paolo Pompilio", in: *Repertorium Pomponianum*, www.repertoriumpomponianum.it/pomponiani/pompilio.htm (accessed on 18 July 2017).

[33] "Yo me'n vaig a Salern. Partiré lo X del present, e lo dit jorn partirà [Sixt IV] de Salern. Provehiré per via de Nàpols, e hauré a tornar el setembre, hosevulla che sia lo papa, perchè axí ho he promès. Lo rey de França [Luis XI] va venejant ab son consili; ha tractat mal lo cardinal de Sant Pere ad Víncula [Giuliano della Rovere], et, sub umbra legationis archiepiscopi lugdunensis, té ocupada la Ciutat de Avignó e ha haüt Proença, vol Nitza, per forma che, mundo fluctuante, yo no stich bé for a la cort [de Roma]; mas per provehir a la obra de Salern, en chè fas excesiva despesa, e si no y só present les coses van mal, tan en la obra quant en lo traure de dines. E trametent dines de Nàpols, vos scriuré larch" (cit. from José Sanchis y Silvera, "Algunos documentos y cartas privadas que pertenecieron al segundo Duque de Gandía don Juan de Borja [Notas para la historia de Alejandro VI]", in: *Anales del Instituto general y técnico de Valencia*, 1919 [s.n.], pp. 5–147: 45f.). The letter is also published in: Miguel Batllori, *La família de los Borjas*, Madrid 1999, pp. 160–163.

[34] See note 33 above. The annotation that the pope would have left Salerno is an evident *lapsus calami*, as a few lines above Roca had announced the pope's imminent departure to Viterbo to escape the plague that was raging in Rome. The pope's presence in Viterbo is actually documented in mid-June 1476, while from 17 to 30 June Sixtus IV, together with six cardinals, stayed in Vetralla, near Viterbo. See Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, Venice 1840–1879, CII, p. 143.

[35] See Antonio Balducci, "Prima visita pastorale dell'arciv. Marsili Colonna a Salerno nel 1575", in: *Rassegna storica salernitana*, XXIV/XXV (1963/64), pp. 103–136: 112f. On Roca's works see Gaspare Mosca, *De Salernitanae ecclesiae episcopis, et archiepiscopis catalogus*, Naples 1594, p. 53. See also Ughelli (note 29), VII, col. 435; Antonio Balducci, "Il seminario

Further renovations across the city were sponsored by the new feudal lords of the Sanseverino family.[36] Roberto Sanseverino (1430–1474) had obtained the title of Prince of Salerno in 1462 from King Ferrante of Aragon (r. 1458–1494) as a reward for his shift from the Angevin to the Aragonese party during the war of succession following the death of Alfonso I of Aragon in 1458 and for having regained control over Salerno itself and over the city of Cosenza in Calabria.[37] In addition to being the capital of the Principato Citra (one of the provinces in the southern territory), under Roberto Salerno became the capital of the 'reign' of the Sanseverino family within the Kingdom of Naples, which included vast holdings to the south of the city, comprising most of present-day southern Campania and Basilicata.[38] Due to its many branches, in the fifteenth century the Sanseverino family controlled most of the territories to the north of Cosenza and also extended its influence beyond the kingdom, up to the Duchy of Milan through another Roberto Sanseverino (1418–1487), mentioned in the sources as "signor Roberto" to distinguish him from the prince; he was the nephew, on his mother's side, of Duke Francesco Sforza.[39]

Upon receiving the title of Prince of Salerno, Roberto issued new statutes for the city where, with princely magnanimity, he pardoned citizens who had fought on the side of the opposing Angevin party and also promised to rebuild the port, to give new impetus to the activities of the ancient Salernitan school of medicine and to reconfirm the Salernitan church in terms of its possessions, immunities, privileges, and jurisdictions that had been usurped during the war.[40] We know that he was buried in the cathedral of Salerno in a chapel dedicated to Saint John the Baptist to the left of the high altar, though there is no trace of his funerary monument.[41] While loyalty to the Aragonese royals remained intact under Roberto, with his son Antonello (1458–1499), who succeeded him in 1474, the family turned progressively against the monarchy. The tensions that arose after the War of Ferrara (1482–1484) resulted in the so-called second revolt of the barons in 1486, which involved the entire Sanseverino family, including Antonello's Milanese uncle "signor Roberto", as well as families of the Guelph and anti-Aragonese party outside the kingdom, in particular the Della Rovere clan in Rome.[42] It is no coincidence that, once the revolt had been suppressed, Antonello fled first to Rome and then to France to the court of Charles VIII.

But the situation can be better understood if we look beyond the question of fidelity and infidelity of

arcivescovile di Salerno", in: *Rassegna storica salernitana*, XXIII (1962), I, pp. 155–164; Braca (note 2), pp. 199–201, 210.

[36] On the Sanseverino see, with previous bibliography, Veronica Mele/Luigi Tufano, "Sanseverino, famiglia", http://db.histantartsi.eu/web/rest/Famiglie e Persone/158 (accessed on 13 June 2017). See also Pasquale Natella, *I Sanseverino di Marsico: una terra, un regno*, Mercato Sanseverino 1980.

[37] Carlo De Frede, "Roberto Sanseverino principe di Salerno: per la storia della feudalità meridionale nel secolo XV", in: *Rassegna storica salernitana*, XII (1951), pp. 4–36; Natella (note 36), pp. 104–114; Magdala Pucci, "Città, territorio e potere nel Mezzogiorno aragonese: i capitoli concessi a Salerno da Ferrante d'Aragona e Roberto Sanseverino nel 1462", in: *Rassegna storica salernitana*, n. s., XIX (2002), I, pp. 327–361; Veronica Mele/Antonio Milone, "Sanseverino, Roberto I", http://db.histantartsi.eu/web/rest/Famiglie e Persone/152 (accessed on 13 June 2017).

[38] Sylvie Pollastri, "Les terres des feudataires rebelles", in: *Diano e l'assedio del 1497*, conference proceedings Teggiano 2007, ed. by Carmine Carlone, Battipaglia 2010, pp. 245–259.

[39] Luigi Volpicella, "Note biografiche", in appendix to: *Regis Ferdinandi primi instructionum liber (10 maggio 1486–10 maggio 1488)*, Naples 1916, pp. 213–463: 433–436. Francesco Senatore, "Il Principato di Salerno durante la guerra dei baroni: dai carteggi diplomatici al *De bello Neapolitano*", in: *Rassegna storica salernitana*, n. s., XI (1994), 2, pp. 29–114; Veronica Mele, "Sanseverino d'Aragona, Roberto", http://db.histantartsi.eu/web/rest/Famiglie e Persone/157 (accessed on 13 June 2017).

[40] Pucci (note 37).

[41] Antonello Sanseverino's 1483 book of expenses lists the celebration of funerals in Salerno in memory of his father Roberto. See Annamaria Silvestri, "Il 'liber rationum' del principe di Salerno Antonello Sanseverino alla vigilia della Congiura dei Baroni", in: *Rassegna storica salernitana*, n. s., III (1986), I, pp. 205–234. Roberto's burial in Salerno cathedral is confirmed by Mazza (note 12), p. 16.

[42] Volpicella (note 39), pp. 415–422; Raffaele Colapietra, *I Sanseverino di Salerno: mito e realtà del barone ribelle*, Salerno 1985; Michael E. Mallett, "Venice and the war of Ferrara: 1482–4", in: *War, Culture and Society in Renaissance Ven-*

Roberto and Antonello, which has dominated their modern biographies, and consider instead how contemporary sources celebrated them as perfect examples of humanist princes, dedicated to both the *humanae litterae* and their military careers.[43] They enjoyed the services of educated humanists who acted as their personal secretaries, such as Masuccio Salernitano, Bentivoglio Bentivogli, and Luigi Pulci, and they were also very close to figures such as Giovanni Pontano, who dedicated the treatise *De obedientia* (1470) to Roberto,[44] and the Greek poet Michele Marullo who celebrated Antonello in several epigrams and shared the prince's French sympathies.[45] Their deep culture and interest in art and architecture inspired by the antique emerge in the commissions of both Roberto and Antonello in the capital and in their territories. Their strong awareness of epigraphic texts is manifest in the magnificent palace erected by Roberto Sanseverino in Naples around 1470 (Fig. 10), where we can still see the marble tablet bearing the signature of the architect, Novello da Sanlucano, directly inspired by the signature of the ancient architect Cocceius on the so-called temple of Augustus in Pozzuoli.[46] Nor was "signor Roberto" unfamiliar with such a refined antiquarian culture: during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1458/59 in the company of the Pavian humanist Giovanni Maria Bottigella (1410–1486) he visited the pyramids of the pharaohs along the river Nile, describing them in his account as even grander than the so-called tomb of Romulus in Rome,[47] and two letters dated 1466 describe him surveying antiquities and inspecting the sulphurous fumes in the Phlegrean Fields.[48]

Thus there were multiple ties between the political and humanist milieux in Salerno and Rome, and both the Archbishop Pere Guillem Roca, on the one hand, and the Sanseverino princes, on the other, seem to have had strong humanist and artistic interests and a direct and privileged relationship with Pope Sixtus IV. Enlivened by a cultivated and active élite, Salerno seems to have enjoyed a certain humanist fervour in which architectural magnificence and the public display of antiquities played an important role. It should be recalled that there was a long epigraphic tradition in Salerno, demonstrated by the creation of new inscriptions in refined imperial capital letters from very early times: examples are the *tituli* composed in the eighth century by Paul the Deacon and displayed in the Lombard church of San Pietro a Corte, and the

ice: Essays in Honour of John Hale, ed. by David S. Chambers/Cecil H. Clough/Michael E. Mallett, London 1993, pp. 57–72; Lorenzo Miletti/Veronica Mele/Antonio Milone, "Sanseverino, Antonello", http://db.histantartsi.eu/web/rest/Famiglie e Persone/153 (accessed on 13 June 2017).

[43] Liliana Monti Sabia, *Pontano e la storia: dal De bello neapolitano all'Actius*, Rome 1995, p. 15.

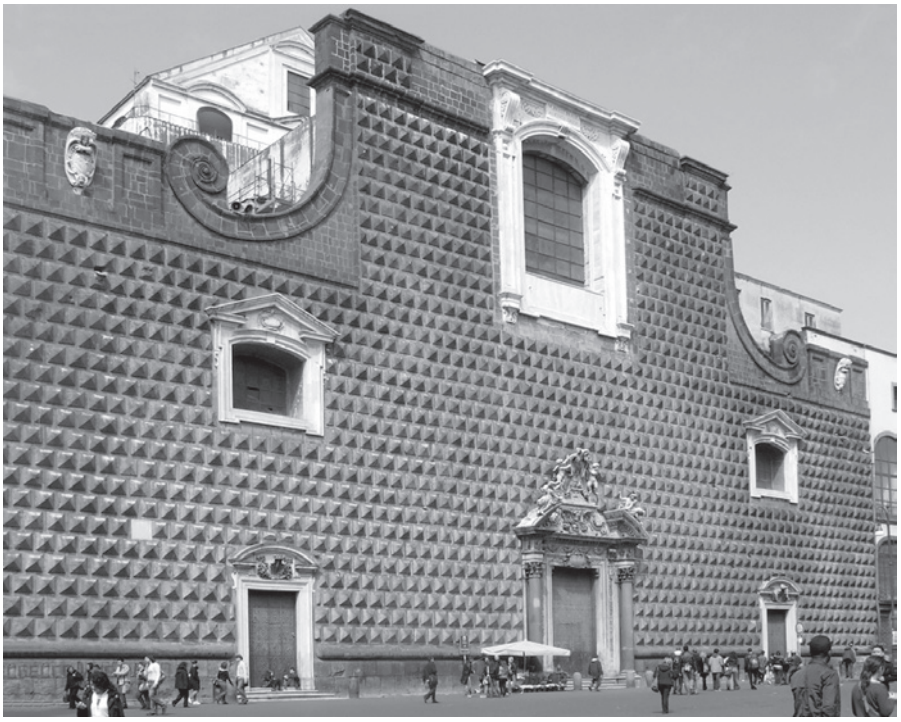
[44] Roberto and Antonello are mentioned in Pontano's *De magnificentia* and *De liberalitate* (Giovanni Pontano, *I libri delle virtù sociali*, ed. by Francesco Tateo, Rome 1999, ch. VII, pp. 178f.; ch. IX, pp. 180f.). On *De obedientia* see Guido Cappelli, "Umanesimo politico: la monarchia organicista nel IV libro del *De obedientia* di Giovanni Pontano", in: *California Italian Studies*, III (2012), I, pp. 1–20.

[45] On the relationship between Antonello Sanseverino and Marullo see Michele Marullo, *Carmina*, ed. by Alessandro Perosa, Zurich 1951, *Epigr.* I 7, 12, 29, 46; II 9; Lorenzo Miletti, "Marullo Tarcaniota, Michele", http://db.histantartsi.eu/web/rest/Famiglie e Persone/156 (accessed on 13 June 2017). In *Epigr.* IV 34, dedicated to Giovanni de' Medici, Marullo recalls how, despite being invited to celebrate the beauties of a member of the Della Rovere family, he was forced to decline because of a letter from the Sanseverino urging him to go to France (Donatella Coppini, *s.v.* Marullo Tarcaniota, Michele, in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, LXXI, Rome 2008, pp. 397–406).

[46] For the Sanseverino palace in Naples see Carlo De Frede, *Il principe di Salerno Roberto Sanseverino e il suo palazzo in Napoli a punte di diamante*, Naples 2000. On the signature see Guido Beltramini, "Architetture firmate nel Rinascimento italiano", in: *L'architetto: ruolo, volto, mito*, ed. by Guido Beltramini/Howard Burns, Venice 2009, pp. 49–66: 57; Bianca de Divitiis, "PONTANVS FECIT: Inscriptions and Artistic Authorship in the Pontano Chapel", in: *California Italian Studies*, III (2012), pp. 1–36: 22.

[47] *Viaggio in Terrasanta fatto e descritto per Roberto Sanseverino*, ed. by Gioacchino Maruffi, Bologna 1888, pp. 142–144; Bruno Figliuolo, "La 'pietas' del condottiero: il pellegrinaggio di Roberto Sanseverino in Terrasanta (30 aprile 1458–19 gennaio 1459)", in: *Condottieri e uomini d'arme nell'Italia del Rinascimento (1350–1550)*, ed. by Mario Del Treppo *et al.*, Naples 2001, pp. 243–278.

[48] See the letters from Ippolita Sforza to Bianca Maria Sforza from Naples, dated 6 January 1466, and from Giovanna Sanseverino to Bianca Maria Sforza from Pozzuoli, dated 10 January 1466 (Archivio di Stato di Milano, Sforzesco, 215, fols. 101, 105). I thank Veronica Mele for sharing these two documents with me.



10 Naples, palace of Roberto Sanseverino, now church of the Gesù Nuovo, ca. 1470

eleventh-century monumental inscription on the cathedral façade, evoking the construction of the new building by Robert Guiscard.[49]

Aware of the impact of epigraphic texts on public display, the Sanseverino princes and Archbishop Roca would have shared a common desire to magnify the seat of their power by providing it with a new monumental inscription at a time when the city and cathedral were undergoing renovation. Such a convergence of interest might suggest that the inscription's date of transfer should be restricted to the years between 1470, when Pomponio Leto transcribed the epigraphic text in the Vatican, and 1482, when Roca died and hostility between the Sanseverino and the Aragonese royals broke out. It also seems that, during their stays in Salerno, the princes tended to use the archbishop's palace as a temporary residence, preferring it to the uncomfortable medieval castle erected on the summit of Mount Bonadies, which was far from the city centre (Fig. 1). This is explicitly stated in a letter from the Ferrarese ambassador Battista Bendedei († 1487), dated 4 August 1485. He recounts how Cardinal Giovanni of Aragon, son of King Ferrante and archbishop of Salerno after Roca's death, had expelled Antonello Sanseverino from the archbishop's palace, where he was living with his wife Costanza da Montefeltro and his court, claiming that it was indecent that women should live in a holy place.[50] The diplomatic incident was aggravated by the cardinal's public accusation that the prince had not completed the port of Salerno. This

[49] Chiara Lambert, "Testimonianze epigrafiche tardoantiche e altomedievali in Campania: alcuni esempi a confronto", in: *III Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, conference proceedings Salerno 2003, ed. by Rosa Fiorillo/Paolo Peduto, Florence 2003, I, pp. 122–126; Braca (note 2), pp. 21–28.

[50] Giuseppe Paladino, "Per la storia della congiura dei Baroni: documenti inediti dell'Archivio Estense (1485–1487)", in: *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, XLIV (1919), pp. 336–367: 357f.; Colapietra (note 42), p. 53. See also a letter from the Florentine ambassador Giovanni Lanfredini dated 22 August 1485 (*Corrispondenza di Giovanni Lanfredini, 1485–1486*, ed. by Elisabetta Scarton, Salerno 2002, pp. 245–247).

unforgivable insult proved to be a point of no return in the hostility between the Sanseverino and Aragonese royal families, which would result in Antonello leading the revolt of the barons against the king.[51]

The triangular relationship between Roca, the Sanseverino, and Sixtus IV thus provides a plausible scenario for the transfer of the Pomona inscription. Another element, however, which reinforces the connections between the papal and Salernitan contexts, should be considered: the possible role played by Pomponio Leto, who was the first to register the inscription and the only one to document its location in the Vatican.

It is important to note that, in addition to being a major figure in the Roman humanist milieu, Pomponio was a member of the Sanseverino family, since he was the stepbrother of Prince Roberto and the uncle of Antonello Sanseverino. Pomponio's precise ancestry is still somewhat controversial, but sources describe him as the natural son of Giovanni Sanseverino, count of Teggiano and Marsico, and he is known to have been educated in his early years in the Sanseverino territories, possibly in the family stronghold of Teggiano, the ancient Diano.[52] Such a provenance is evoked in some of his manuscripts and in biographical portraits written by his pupils where he is described as *Dianensis*.[53] Some sources refer to Pomponio's bad relationship with his family, and in particular with his stepmother, the "contessa vecchia" Giovanna Sanseverino, but in humanist milieux across the peninsula his origins and ties with the princes of Salerno were well known.[54] Furthermore, his close contacts with the Sanseverino are demonstrated by "litteras et nuntios" which, according to a letter by Marcantonio Sabellico, were sent to Pomponio around 1486, asking him to intercede in favour of his nephew Antonello and other members of the family who were involved in the second barons' revolt.[55] The fact that the Sanseverino family asked Pomponio to help Antonello as – in Sabellico's words – a *cognatus* and *propinquus* indicates the close kinship between them and, despite the allegedly negative response to the request, evidence of the connections between Pomponio and the Sanseverino princes and dukes is too strong to disregard.

By the time Pomponio transcribed the Pomona inscription in the Vatican, he had been fully rehabilitated thanks to Sixtus IV after years of prosecution and imprisonment during the papacy of Paul II (1464–1471), who had charged him for conspiracy and immorality. He had recreated his academy inspired by antiquarian interests and was ideologically supportive of the pope's cultural propaganda and *renovatio Urbis*.[56] Around 1470 he had also begun to create his own collection of inscriptions in his house on the Quirinal hill, giving rise to a new form of antiquarian collecting.[57] Quite apart

[51] Paladino (note 50), pp. 357f.

[52] Carlo De Frede, "Il concetto umanistico di nobiltà: Pomponio Leto e la sua famiglia", in: *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*, II (1952), pp. 205–226; Maria Accame, *Pomponio Leto: vita e insegnamento*, Tivoli 2008; Patricia Osmond, "Pomponio Leto e Diano: un'eredità ambivalente", in *Diano e l'assedio del 1497* (note 38), pp. 187–201; Helen Dixon, "Where Was the Birthplace of Pomponio Leto?", in: *Aevum*, LXXXIV (2010), pp. 1–18; Arturo Didier, "La patria di Pomponio Leto: cultura e società a Diano nella prima metà del Quattrocento", in: *Pomponio Leto tra identità locale e cultura internazionale*, conference proceedings Teggiano 2008, ed. by Anna Modigliani *et al.*, Rome 2011, pp. 27–38.

[53] Dixon (note 52), p. 3.

[54] In the lives and funerary orations written by three of Pomponio's friends and disciples – Pietro Marso, Michele Ferno, and Marcantonio Sabellico – there is consensus on his noble pedigree. Both Marso and Ferno refer to his origin from the Sanseverino family, and Marso explicitly names Giovanni Sanseverino as his father. Pontano, in his *De sermone*, also acknowledges that Pomponio belonged to the Sanseverino family (*ibidem*, pp. 13–18).

[55] "Lettera di Marcantonio Sabellico a Marcantonio Morosini", ed. by Erminia Dell'Oro, in: Accame (note 52), p. 206. See De Frede (note 52), pp. 205–226; Dixon (note 52), pp. 16f.

[56] Wren Christian (note 26). On Pomponio's academy see also Concetta Bianca, "Pomponio Leto e l'invenzione dell'Accademia Romana", in: *Les Académies dans l'Europe humaniste: idéaux et pratiques*, ed. by Marc Deramaix *et al.*, Geneva 2008, pp. 25–56. On the relationship between Pomponio's project and that of Paul II see *Antiquaria a Roma: intorno a Pomponio Leto e Paolo II*, Rome 2003.

[57] On Pomponio Leto as a collector of inscriptions and his academy see Wren Christian (note 26), pp. 121–149. See also Sara Magister, "Collezio-

from his family connections, several other sophisticated humanist undertakings, similar to that of the Pomona inscription, show Pomponio's connections to the antiquarian milieu of the kingdom. In 1488 he sent Angelo Poliziano a letter with a copy of fragments of the ancient marble calendar and *fasti* in Venosa which he had obtained through an unidentified contact on site, presumably a humanist capable of transcribing such a complex epigraphic text.[58] Pomponio is also the alleged author of an antiquarian epigram celebrating the bones of giants in Pozzuoli, probably composed in the same years.[59] His involvement in these episodes of antiquarianism, together with his close relations to the Sanseverino family, Archbishop Roca, and Sixtus IV, point to Pomponio's participation in the transfer of the inscription from Rome to Salerno. The nature of the object, as well as the cultural and political context of its displacement, suggest that it would be worthwhile investigating the purpose of the undertaking and the possible reasons behind the choice of this particular epigraphic text, which surely was not casual.

A Diplomatic Gift for the "opulenta Salerno"?

As we have seen, Pomponio recorded the inscription as "in Vaticano". Although generic, this suggests a reference to the papal residence rather than other parts of the Vatican, such as Saint Peter's basilica or the Borgo Vaticano, which presumably would have been indicated as such. We do not know if the ancient marble from Ostia had been previously reused as a building material and rediscovered around 1470 or if it was already on display somewhere in the Vatican, or if it had even lain abandoned in the papal holdings. Whatever the case, it is hard to imagine that with such a provenance the inscription would have left Rome without some direct or indirect involvement of the pope, who may have simply approved the transfer or explicitly donated the ancient piece to the city of Salerno, addressing it to figures of international prestige such as Archbishop Roca and the Sanseverino princes with whom he shared political contacts and cultural interests. There is not enough evidence to argue that the inscription was intended as a diplomatic gift, but its arrival in the city must have been regarded as a highly significant acquisition on various levels and must have satisfied the converging interests of different parties. As a matter of fact, a closer examination of the Salernitan context suggests that the inscription would have magnified the new capital of the 'Sanseverino state', the archdiocese, and the local élite at one and the same time.

Despite its many antiquities, compared to other major cities in the Kingdom of Naples in the fifteenth century Salerno had a rather small corpus of inscriptions. In particular, none of the few examples known at the time record the existence of a temple.[60] Nor do the very few literary sources that cite Salerno mention a monument of this type, which was present in the landscape of many other South Italian cities: famous examples are the temple of the Dioscuri, which dominated the centre of Naples, or the so-called temple of Augustus, which was visible from the entire gulf of Pozzuoli.[61] This might well have been felt as a gap

nismo di antichità nella Roma sistina: le raccolte di Giuliano della Rovere e Pomponio Leto", in: *Sisto IV: le arti a Roma nel primo Rinascimento*, conference proceedings Rome 1997, ed. by Fabio Benzi/Claudio Crescentini, Rome 2000, pp. 155–165*; eadem*, "Pomponio Leto collezionista di antichità: addenda", in: *Antiquaria a Roma* (note 56), pp. 51–121; William Stenhouse, "Pomponio Leto and Inscriptions: New Evidence from the Folger Shakespeare Library", in: *Mantova e il Rinascimento italiano: studi in onore di David S. Chambers*, ed. by Philippa Jackson/Guido Rebecchini, Mantua 2011, pp. 239–250.

[58] Giovanni Battista De Rossi, *I Fasti municipali di Venosa [...]*, Rome 1853, pp. 10–12; Bianca de Divitiis, *Il Rinascimento e il Regno* (forthcoming).

[59] Francesco Pisano, *Le Ossa dei Giganti della Rocca di Pozzuoli*, Bacoli 2003; Johann Ramminger, "Pomponio Leto's *Nachleben*: A Phantom in Need of Research?", in: *Pomponio Leto* (note 52), pp. 237–250: 241–245.

[60] Antonio Varone, "Fonti storiche e documenti epigrafici", in: *Guida alla storia di Salerno e della sua provincia*, ed. by Alfonso Leone/Giovanni Vitolo, Salerno 1982, I, pp. 3–32. See also note 1.

[61] Fulvio Lenzo, *Architettura e antichità a Napoli dal XV al XVIII secolo: le colonne del Tempio dei Dioscuri e la chiesa di San Paolo Maggiore*, Rome 2011; Fausto Zevi/Giuliana Cavalieri Manasse, "Il tempio cosiddetto di Augusto a Pozzuoli", in: *Théorie et pratique de l'architecture romaine: la norme et l'expérimenta-*

that the arrival of the inscription from the Vatican could help to fill by identifying the very conspicuous medieval portico of the archbishop's palace as the remains of an antique temple of Pomona.

The epigraphic text may have also been selected for its potential to emphasise other significant aspects in the local context. For example, evoking a humanist parallel between the temple and the cathedral, the inscription commemorating the costly works carried out by Tettienus Felix on the temple of Pomona may have been intended as an indirect celebration of Roca's works on the cathedral of Salerno, of which both Sixtus IV and Pomponio Leto would have been aware. There was a very important tradition of memorialising architectural restorations with large inscriptions in antiquity, and epigraphic texts heralding different ancient works on buildings were collected and imitated by Sixtus IV in his own inscriptions.[62]

The reference to Pomona, goddess of fruits, gardens and medical herbs, was also not without relevance. This Italic divinity had acquired renewed importance in the fifteenth century, in Rome as in the Kingdom of Naples, and might have been considered particularly fitting for the Salerno area, which was renowned since antiquity for its fertility and numerous pleasant gardens full of fruit trees of every type and was inhabited by an élite imbued with medical culture.[63]

While these elements are sufficient to suggest that the monumental text was carefully selected, it is tantalising to consider that in erudite humanist contexts such as those of the Vatican and Salerno the choice of the inscription referring to Pomona might have also been inspired by the image of opulence that the city enjoyed in early medieval times, when it was the capital of the autonomous Lombard princedom, and by a desire to give this image an ancient grounding.[64]

In the late fifteenth century, antiquarian interest in the Middle Ages was only in its very early stages, but it could already benefit from the pioneering works of Biondo Flavio, whose interest in the past was not confined to the recovery of classical antiquity but also encompassed the long historical processes that extended from the late ancient and medieval periods to his own day.[65] As part of this growing attention to the Middle Ages, the medieval history of Salerno may have also begun to be researched within the same humanist milieux that had organised or endorsed the transfer of the inscription, that is, those of Archbishop Roca and the Pomponian entourage, the Sanseverino princes and the families of the Salernitan élite, many of which could trace their origins back to the Lombard and Norman reigns. It is difficult to ascertain to what extent new instruments, both conceptual and material, were used to investigate the city's medieval history, but certainly the sources available at the time which described Salerno as an 'opulent' city were

tion. Études offertes à Pierre Gros, ed. by Xavier Lafon/Gilles Sauron, Aix-en-Provence 2005, pp. 269–294.

[62] Guerrini (nota 26).

[63] See Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta Italia […]*, Venice 1568, pp. 195f. Pomona was recalled by Niccolò Perotti around the 1480s (Niccolò Perotti, *Cornu Copiae seu linguae Latinae commentarii*, ed. by Jean-Louis Charlet *et al.*, Sassoferrato 1991, p. 119). On the fortune of the goddess in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Silvia Orlandi, "Pomona epigrafica", in: *Colons et colonies dans le monde romain*, ed. by Ségolène Demougin/John Scheid, Rome 2012, pp. 409–420. It is also interesting to note that the transfer of the inscription to Salerno might have stimulated the revival of the figure of Pomona in Pontano's poem *Lepidina*, which can perhaps be dated to the same period. On the *Lepidina* see Carmela Vera Tufano, *Lingue tecniche e retorica dei generi letterari nelle* Eclogae *di G. Pontano*, Naples 2015: Pomone, pp. 148f; Pomona, pp. 31, 163, 168, 171, 437.

[64] On Salerno's medieval fame as a city of opulence, see Delogu (note 27), pp. 152–190.

[65] A modern edition of Biondo's main historiographical work, the *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romani imperii decades*, is still lacking; on the structure and content see Riccardo Fubini, *s.v.* Biondo Flavio, in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, X, Rome 1968; Nicoletta Pellegrino, "From the Roman Empire to Christian Imperialism: The Work of Flavio Biondo", in: *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. by Sharon Dale/Alison Williams Lewin/Duane J. Osheim, University Park, Pa., 2007, pp. 273–298; Fulvio Delle Donne, "Le fasi redazionali e le concezioni della storia nelle *Decadi* di Biondo: tra storia particolare e generale, tra

by no means negligible. Even before the discovery in the mid-sixteenth century of the *Historia cum chronica Salernitani* by Erchemperto (774–888), the opulence of the Lombard princedom was known through Paul the Deacon's ninth-century *Historia Langobardorum*,[66] and many texts circulated reporting key episodes of the Lombard reign, such as the foundation of the Salernitan medical school and the translation of the relics of the apostle Matthew and of the other martyrs preserved in the cathedral.[67] Proof of the antiquarian interest in this period of the city's past comes from Biondo Flavio himself, who referred in his *Italia illustrata* to the medieval phases of Salerno's history.[68] It is also significant that while outlining the history of Italy from the time of the Roman Empire at the beginning of his *De bello Neapolitano*, Giovanni Pontano shows particular appreciation for the role and prestige of the Lombards and devotes considerable space to the Normans and the establishment of their reign, providing a detailed description of their history up to the arrival of Emperor Frederick II.[69]

Alongside the literary evidence, the possible impact of the surviving material and visual evidence of the early medieval princedom should not be underestimated. It included impressive monuments such as the palace of Prince Arechi (774–787) and the palatine chapel of San Pietro a Corte bearing a *titulus* composed by Paul the Deacon, as well as works of the minor arts such as seals, coins, and medals.[70] The image of wealth

11 Seal of Gisulfus II, eleventh century, recto

associated with the high medieval period would have been particularly well known in the archbishopric and in the administrative ambience of Salerno through the survival of seals bearing the epithet "opulenta Salerno". Some of these examples also featured the earliest known view of the city, represented by its castle, its walls, the *Turris maior*, and the *Porta maris* (Fig. 11), with the triangular shape that would become standard in subsequent views.[71] The same image and epithet recurred on coins (*follari*) minted by the last Lombard

antica e moderna Roma", in: *A New Sense of the Past: The Scholarship of Biondo Flavio (1392–1463)*, ed. by Angelo Mazzocco/Marc Laureys, Leuven 2016, pp. 55–87.

[66] Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, V, 6.

[67] Erchemperto's text was discovered and transcribed by the erudite Marino Freccia in 1560. See Aurelio Cernigliaro, *s.v.* Freccia, Marino, in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, L, Rome 1998, pp. 346–349. On Pontano's interest in early medieval history and his use of medieval sources see Antonietta Iacono, "L'esordio del I libro del *De bello Neapolitano* di Giovanni Pontano: aspetti letterari, storici e ideologici", in: *Linguaggi e ideologie del Rinascimento monarchico aragonese (1442–1503): forme della legittimazione e sistemi di governo*, ed. by Fulvio Delle Donne/Antonietta Iacono, Naples (forthcoming); Lorenzo Miletti, "Il *De bello Neapolitano* di Pontano e le città del Regno di Napoli", *ibidem*.

[68] Biondo Flavio, *Italia illustrata*, ed. by Catherine J. Castner, New York 2005–2010, II, pp. 340–343.

[69] Pontano's further interest in early medieval history emerges in the portraits of the cities of the kingdom that he inserted between 1495 and 1503 into a revised version of *De bello Neapolitano*, where he relies on the twelfth-century *Chronicon* of Romualdo Salernitano and possibly also on the history of Paul the Deacon (Miletti [note 67]).

[70] For the monuments see Antonio Milone, "Salerno, palazzo di Arechi", http://db.histantartsi.eu/web/rest/Edificio/277 (accessed on 7 June 2017); *idem*, "Salerno, San Pietro a Corte", http://db.histantartsi.eu/web/rest/Edificio/273 (accessed on 7 June 2017); on seals and medals see Delogu (note 27), pp. 169–177.

[71] See Luca Becchetti, "Nota di sfragistica altomedievale salernitana:

12 Teggiano, church of the Santissima Pietà, outside portico, capital, ca. 1476

prince Gisulfus II (ca. 1030 – ca. 1090), which may have circulated among the South Italian élite, especially eager to hunt for treasures such as coins and soon to take up numismatic collecting.[72] It is probably no coincidence that the triangular scheme was reused at the turn of the fifteenth century in the view of Salerno in Domenico Antonio Ferraiolo's *Cronaca della Napoli aragonese* (Fig. 1).[73]

It is possible that interest in the early medieval history of Salerno was encouraged by the new Sanseverino princes, who might have been concerned with giving their title further historical substance by reinforcing its connection with the city's most splendid moment and with the history of their family, whose presence in southern Italy dated back to the very first phases of the Norman conquest of the Lombard territories. Such attention to the image of early medieval rulers of the city can be detected in Prince Roberto's adoption of the imperial honorary sobriquet of *serenissimo* used by the last Lombard princes instead of the more customary *illustrissimo*. It appears in official documents issued from 1463 onwards, that is, from the very moment he became prince of Salerno,[74] as well as in the collection of novels known as *Il Novellino*, produced by his personal secretary Masuccio Salernitano.[75] It is easy to imagine that the revival of the history of the autonomous princedom would have particularly appealed to Antonello Sanseverino, who, in order to confront the Aragonese royals, united all branches of the Sanseverino family.

In this context, the temple of Pomona inscription would have seemed particularly appropriate and meaningful as a way of tracing the medieval image of the "opulenta Salerno" back to ancient times, generating continuity between antiquity, the medieval past, and the present. This image would have been reinforced by the identification of the supposed vestiges of the temple in the portico made of *spolia* at the entrance to the archbishop's palace.

Indirect evidence of the importance attributed to the newly invented temple of Pomona comes from

il sigillo di Gisulfo II", in: *Rassegna storica salernitana*, n. s., XXVI (2008), 2, pp. 93–102.

[72] On the *follari* see Delogu (note 27), pp. 169–177. On treasure hunts and the search for coins see Mario Del Treppo, "Il Regno aragonese", in: *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, ed. by Giuseppe Galasso/Rosario Romeo, IV/I: *Il Regno dagli Angioini ai Borboni*, Naples 1986, pp. 88–201: 151–153.

[73] On the views of Salerno see the contribution of Maria Perone, "Salerno in epoca moderna: la lettura della città attraverso le sue rappresentazioni", in: *Iconografia delle città in Campania: le province di Avellino, Benevento, Caserta, Salerno*, ed. by Cesare De Seta/Alfredo Buccaro, Naples 2007, pp. 245–268: 257.

[74] Mazza (note 12), pp. 31f. See also Mario De Cunzo, "Note per una storia dei monumenti di Teggiano", in: *Il Vallo ritrovato: scoperte e restauri nel Vallo di Diano*, ed. by Vega De Martini/Mario De Cunzo, Naples 1989, pp. 15–29: 26. For the epithet of the Lombard princes see Delogu (note 27), p. 167.

[75] Masuccio Salernitano, *Il Novellino (1475)*, ed. by Salvatore Nigro, Bari 1975, Novel VI, p. 57.

one of the Sanseverino princes' most important commissions: between 1470 and 1476, around the same time the inscription was transferred from Rome to Salerno, Roberto first and then Antonello sponsored in Teggiano the construction of a new church of the Franciscan Friars Minor dedicated to the Santissima Pietà, with the consent of Pope Sixtus IV.[76] The church features a portico of three arches supported by columns on the façade, whose capitals are decorated with heads on all four sides (Fig. 12); an element that had only been used before in Renaissance art by Leon Battista Alberti in the so-called Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini (ca. 1450).[77] Although there are some differences, the Teggiano capitals recall local antique prototypes, datable to the third to second century B.C.E., of which four examples were monumentally displayed in the portico of the archbishop's palace in Salerno (Figs. 4, 5), which was to become the temple of Pomona. The revival of this particular kind of capital in the portico of Santissima Pietà in those very years seems to correspond to a deliberate intention on the part of the Sanseverino princes to create a visual connection between their historical stronghold of Teggiano and their still recent acquisition of Salerno. The reference to Salerno seems even closer if we bear in mind that the portico made of *spolia* in Salerno was at the time open on the exterior. It is worth noting that the existence of another example of the same type of ancient capital displayed on the exterior of the medieval church of Sant'Andrea in Teggiano would have reinforced such a visual connection (Fig. 13).[78]

It is worth noting that the entire site of Paestum, from which the ancient capitals redeployed in Salerno and Teggiano came, was located within the Sanseverino territories. It was from here that Antonello Sanseverino derived the ancient travertine blocks used to construct his suburban villa at Lago Piccolo.[79] Although access to the area could occasionally become difficult due to the marshy terrain, at the time Paestum was one of the major sites of antiquities in the kingdom, together with the Phlegrean Fields. It attracted the attention of learned visitors such as the

13 Teggiano, church of Sant'Andrea, ancient capital redeployed on the façade

[76] Antonio Braca, "Fondazione e patrimonio artistico del convento della SS. Pietà di Teggiano fra XV e XVI secolo", in: *Diano e l'assedio del 1497* (note 38), pp. 157–174; Marco Ambrogi, *La città delle cinquanta chiese: itinerario tra la storia e l'arte del patrimonio religioso di Teggiano*, Teggiano 2010, pp. 237–260; Fulvio Lenzo, "Teggiano, Santa Maria della Pietà", http://db.histantartsi.eu/web/rest/Edificio/100 (accessed on 8 June 2017).

[77] Howard Burns, "Leon Battista Alberti", in: *Storia dell'architettura italiana: il Quattrocento*, ed. by Francesco Paolo Fiore, Milan 1998, pp. 114–165: 126–129.

[78] Tuccinardi (note 6). On the church of Sant'Andrea see Fulvio Lenzo/Antonio Milone, "Teggiano, Sant'Andrea", http://db.histantartsi.eu/web/rest/Edificio/345 (accessed on 8 June 2017).

[79] Silvestri (note 41). Lago Piccolo was a closed basin situated 800 m from the present-day coast and it is represented in Aragonese parchment maps from the 1480s, now in the Bibliotèque nationale de France (Cartes

Dominican friar and humanist Pietro Ranzano, who in the 1480s recorded that he had seen the ancient remains with his own eyes.[80] The temples were also recorded in the famous letter sent in 1524 to Marcantonio Michiel by Pietro Summonte, in which the Neapolitan humanist explicitly recognised the temples as an example of the Doric order.[81] Pomponio Leto himself included in his works references to Paestum, which he would have been familiar with from his youth in Teggiano and in the Vallo di Diano.[82]

Thus the transfer of the inscription from the Vatican to Salerno would have given new prominence and a new authoritative identity to the group of *spolia* in the archbishop's palace, which were coherent with other ancient remains in the Sanseverino family's possession and were reflected in the new works Roberto and Antonello were commissioning at the time. In this context, the specific kind of capital with heads on four sides may have also been regarded as a trademark of the family's possessions, marking the existence of territorial continuity within the extensive Sanseverino state, whose origins dated back to the end of the Lombard princedom and which, after centuries, could finally boast of control over the opulent capital.

To summarise, the transfer of the Pomona inscription from the Vatican to Salerno between the 1470s and the early 1480s can be regarded as part of an inventive antiquarianism and the result of a creative, multivalent and meaningful historiographic and artistic programme. While many examples are known of the construction of the past using literary and material evidence, also due to a burgeoning interest in civic histories and local antiquarianism in general,[83] no similar instances of inscriptions moving from Rome to other contexts have hitherto emerged. The relocation and reuse of the inscription within a strategy of local identity not only guaranteed it new life, but also transformed its intrinsic meaning and that of the sites where the inscription was located, providing a precise identification for ancient pieces that had been imported and assembled in medieval times. Its reference to a temple dedicated to Pomona created the memory of an ancient monumental building, but also potentially activated many layers of significance which encourage us to consider this small but highly sophisticated antiquarian undertaking as far from casual. At the same time, the notion of a temple of Pomona would have seemed coherent with the multiplicity of evidence recounting an early medieval past rich in imperial connotations and summarised in the epithet of "opulenta Salerno". All these layers would have been apparent to cultivated rulers of the Church, such as Archbishop Roca, and of the city, such as the new Sanseverino princes, as well as to the cultured families of the Salernitan élite, who most probably favoured the process of rewriting local history. However, the act of selecting a highly evocative text and the potential role Pomponio Leto may have had in it should not be underestimated. Among humanists of that era, he was one of the most capable of choosing a text that could fit at one and the same time the ancient, medieval, and contemporary history of Salerno and meet multiple, yet partly

et Plans, GE AA 1305–7, T2.5, p. 92). See Fernando La Greca/Vladimiro Valerio, *Paesaggio antico e medioevale nelle mappe aragonesi di Giovanni Pontano: le terre del Principato Citra*, Acciaroli 2008; *La rappresentazione dello spazio nel Mezzogiorno aragonese: le mappe del Principato Citra*, ed. by Giovanni Vitolo, Battipaglia 2016.

[80] Pietro Ranzano, *Descriptio totius Italiae (Annales, XIV–XV)*, ed. by Adele di Lorenzo/Bruno Figliuolo/Paolo Pontari, Florence 2007, p. 171.

[81] Fausto Nicolini, *L'arte napoletana del Rinascimento e la lettera di Pietro Summonte a Marcantonio Michiel*, Naples 1923, p. 178.

[82] Giancarlo Abbamonte, "Il commento di Pomponio Leto alle opere di Virgilio: problemi ecdotici", in: *Pomponio Leto* (note 52), pp. 115–136; Fernando La Greca, "Prime testimonianze letterarie su Paestum nel XV e XVI secolo: Pontano, Alberti, Leto ed altri", in: *Annali storici di Principato Citra*, XI (2013), pp. 5–21.

[83] On similar instances of inventive antiquarianism, see Nicholas Temple, "Heritage and Forgery: Annio da Viterbo and the Quest for the Authentic", in: *Public Archaeology*, II (2002), pp. 151–162; Christopher Wood, "The Credulity Problem", in: *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China, 1500–1800*, ed. by Peter N. Miller/François Louis, Ann Arbor 2012, pp. 149–179; Kathleen Christian/Bianca de Divitiis, "Introduction", in: *Local Antiquities, Local Identities: Art, Literature and Antiquarianism in Europe c. 1400–1700*, ed. by *eaedem* (in print).

overlapping expectations of the different parties that were presumably involved, treading the subtle line between culture and politics. Leto would have also been an ideal middle man between the two contexts of his origins in southern Italy and of papal Rome. While we cannot completely rule out the possibility that a single person was responsible for the transfer, the undertaking appears rather to be the result of a particular humanist milieu which relied on a dense network of political, personal, and cultural ties between Rome and Salerno. Memories of the provenance and transfer of the epigraph were rapidly lost, but the effects of this one single piece on the history and identity of the city can still be recognised today, as is evident from the signpost where the *spolia* from Paestum continue to be identified as "Tempio di Pomona".

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Abbreviations

BAVR	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome
BNN	Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Naples
CIL, X	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, X: *Inscriptiones Bruttiorum, Lucaniae, Campaniae [...]*, ed. by Theodor Mommsen, Berlin 1883
EDR	EAGLE, Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, www.eagle-network.eu
RIS	*Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. by Ludovico Antonio Muratori, Milan 1723–1751
SNSP	Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, Naples

Abstract

Between 1470 and 1484 an ancient marble inscription relating to a temple of Pomona was transferred from Rome to Salerno and put on display in the Salernitan archiepiscopal complex. This article sheds new light on the motifs and protagonists of what can be regarded as a refined operation of creative antiquarianism, which provided Salerno with a new antiquarian tradition according to which in antiquity the city had a temple dedicated to Pomona. The origins of this transfer were rapidly lost and the remains of the temple were identified as the portico constructed of ancient Doric columns and Corinthian capitals decorated with human heads at the entrance to the archbishop's palace, which is actually a medieval construction erected with *spolia* imported from Paestum. Rather than the responsibility of a single person, the undertaking appears to be the result of a particular humanist milieu between Rome and Salerno which relied on a dense network of political, personal, and cultural ties. In this context the humanist Pomponio Leto, a member of the Sanseverino family and of the court of Sixtus IV, may have played a central role as he was the only person to register the inscription in the Vatican and would have been one of the few capable of selecting a highly evocative text that could fit at one and the same time the ancient, medieval, and contemporary history of Salerno and meet the many, yet partly overlapping, expectations of the different parties that were presumably involved, treading a subtle line between culture and politics.

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Umschlagbild | Copertina:
Santa Maria Capua Vetere, anfiteatro, dettaglio di una delle due chiavi d'arco ancora in situ
(Abb. 13, S. 79 | fig. 13, p. 79)

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