

REVIEW

TAKING ANTIQUARIANISM SERIOUSLY:
THE WORLD OF GAETANO MARINI

M. Buonocore, ed., *Gaetano Marini (1742–1815) protagonista della cultura europea. Scritti per il bicentenario della morte*, 2 vols. Studi e testi 492 and 493. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2015. Pp. 1,767 + ill. Paperback, €200.00. ISBN 978-88-210-0930-3.

2015 has been a year of many bicentenaries. These two tomes mark one that even most classicists will have overlooked: that of the death of Gaetano Marini (b. 1742), longtime Prefect of the Vatican Library and Curator of the Vatican Museums, antiquarian and scholar of great distinction, and one of the most learned men of his time. Marco Buonocore, who is now in charge of the Vatican Archives and *scriptor Latinus* at the Vatican Library, has gathered a formidable line-up of scholars to provide a comprehensive exploration of the life and work of a figure of tremendous complexity and liveliness. The collection as a whole is an invaluable contribution to our understanding of the intellectual history of the city of Rome in the late 1700s, as well as to the history of epigraphy and palaeography; users of the Vatican Library will find inventories of manuscripts by Marini and other contemporaries of his that will greatly facilitate their work. The endeavour is international, and truly interdisciplinary: the list of contributors includes early modern historians, librarians, archivists, palaeographers, and some of the most distinguished Latin epigraphists of our time. First and foremost, however, this book is a multifaceted reflection on the development of knowledge, historical and otherwise.

There is also much that will be attractive to anyone with an interest in empires and their demise. The final years of Marini's life were tightly connected to the historical process that has been at the centre of the recent bicentenary celebrations. He died in Paris, where he had been based since 1810, when a sizeable section of the Papal Archive was transferred there by Napoleon:¹ he had moved to France with the archive that was under his

¹ In her contribution to this collection (in which Marini plays a tangential role), Barbara Frale focuses on a notable exception: the records of the trial of the Templars did not make it to Paris, like those of Galileo's trial: in her view, Napoleon was persuaded by his advisors that they would not yield any damning evidence against the Church, and could safely be handed back to the Pope.

watch, with the brief of overseeing its new arrangement. Far from being a symptom of allegiance to France, it was a choice dictated by the need to secure the survival of the archive, and Marini's ties with Rome and his interest in the welfare of the Library and Archive at the Vatican remained intense, as Antonio Manfredi and Andreina Rita show in their contribution. Marini did not live to see the return of the Archive to Rome: had he been able to direct it, some valuable material would probably not have gone lost in transit. His staunch commitment to the Archive should not lead to the hasty conclusion that Marini was not aware of, or implicated with, the political developments and tensions of his time. As Buonocore's introduction and Arnaldo Marcone's opening essay stress, he was carefully up to speed with the developments within the papal court and across Rome, with the attention and insight that his position of outsider afforded (he was from Santarcangelo, in Romagna, on the northern fringes of the papal dominions; Angela Donati offers a brief discussion of that background). Moreover, he had significant and long-standing connections with members of the European aristocracies, most notably Duke Karl Eugen from Württemberg. Their extensive correspondence is dealt with by Irene Fosi, who has studied it elsewhere at greater length; Sergio Pagano and Domenico Rocciolo discuss Marini's involvement as Superintendent General for the Pope in the Republic of San Marino, and his reaction to the revolution in Rome in 1799, where his loyalty to the Pope and the commitment to protecting the Library holdings in unprecedented political circumstances went hand in hand, and should not be disjointed from his intellectual profile. A major aspect of Marini's work at that time was his involvement with the move to the Vatican of the Archive preserved at Castel Sant'Angelo in May 1798, forming a new *Archivio Segreto*. Marco Maiorino provides a wonderfully detailed survey of the large body of correspondence (chiefly with Callisto Marini and Ennio Quirino Visconti) that was produced as the move was being prepared and eventually carried out.²

These case studies serve as a helpful introduction to a wider problem: the thousands of letters to and from Marini that survive in Marini's extensive archive and across Europe are the main cluster of evidence that one must resort to in order to understand his life and work. Buonocore develops this point to its full potential by providing a masterful *catalogue raisonné* of Marini's correspondence, based on the inventory of the codices *Vat. Lat.* 9042–60: 6,180 sheets, 3,118 letters, and 211 addressees. The interest of that material, and the focus of this collection of essays, is not just on the life of Marini (several papers in this collection restate in very similar form the same body of bi-

² Callisto Marini (no relation of his close contemporary Gaetano, and himself of provincial origin) was also a major figure in the administration of the Vatican Library and Archive: see the long discussions by Luca Carboni and Riccardo Bianchi in this volume (the latter focusing on his important work on the local history of Terracina).

ographical information). They are essential to the understanding of Marini's work, of the directions that his research took, and the impact it made beyond the Vatican. They also shed invaluable light on the intellectual trajectories of some of his correspondents and the local contexts in which they worked: Isidoro Bianchi and Giovanni Fantuzzi in Bologna (studied by Federico Gallo and Andrea Bartocci respectively), Ireneo Affé in Parma (by Maria Giovanna Arrigoni Bertini), Gaetano Bugati in Milan (by Antonio Sartori), Gabriele Torremuzza and Antonino Astuto in Sicily (by Francesco Muscolino), and especially Giuseppe Garampi, a major figure in the history of the Vatican Archives, who corresponded with Marini from his diplomatic missions at Vienna and Warsaw well after his departure from Rome. One of the areas of shared interest between Garampi and Marini was the administrative history of the Papal States and more generally of the clergy. Garampi's unfinished project of a compilation on *Orbis Christianus*, 'a history of all the bishoprics and churches in the world', is especially significant, and Marini entertained the possibility of continuing it: a full systematic inventory of the Secret Archive was a necessary preliminary to that operation. Pier Paolo Piergentili provides a full edition of Garampi's letters to Marini, including the tight web of marginalia in which Marini commented on the fine detail of his friend's messages. Marini expressed a willingness to continue the *Orbis Christianus*, but took on a more limited undertaking by publishing in 1782 a full account of the papal doctors, with a view to providing not just a compilation, but a more critical historical overview of the problem, based on a thorough scrutiny of the documentary and archival evidence. As Gianni Venditti shows, Marini's papers show that he retained an interest in the topic well after the publication of his work, annotating and revisiting sections of his published text. Other chapters focus on important figures in Marini's time. Marini's closest aide in the final years of his life, and in the crucial work that he did at Paris, was his nephew Marino. Although he was no match to his uncle's scholarship and intellectual range, Christine Maria Grafinger takes a less negative view of the impact of his work on the collections than has often been recognised, and acknowledges his loyalty to the scholarly legacy of his uncle, especially in matters epigraphical.

When Marini arrived at Rome, in late 1764, the chief superintendent of Antiquities was Johann Joachim Winckelmann. More widely around him, art collecting was on the rise as a paramount form of engagement with the past, especially in aristocratic contexts. Those collections did not just consist of artworks, but included a wide range of documentary material: coins, inscriptions, tile stamps—and that trend was further compounded by the emergence of a publishing market of collections of reproductions of artworks, with which Marini was, as shown by Serenella Rolfi Ozvad's paper, thoroughly

conversant, and for which he sometimes acted as advisor.³ Silvana Balbi De Caro explores the impact that ready access to large collections of coins had on Marini and his scholarly interests, and is quick to see traces of Marini's openness to wider historical questions than the interpretation of a specific document in isolation. There is, as is the case in other areas of his work, a willingness to elide the boundaries between the study of classical antiquity and that of later periods: Marini contemplated producing a study of Italian mints throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period. However, epigraphy soon became his central interest. Even though at the time the two disciplines were widely regarded as coterminous, his correspondence with the Austrian numismatist Joseph Eckhel shows that Marini did not regard himself as primarily a numismatist. As Daniela Williams points out, however, this correspondence shows how intense the ties between the two disciplines could be, and how profitable the exchange between the two sets of practitioners could be. Again, the functioning of public administrations and government structures emerges as a central strand in Marini's interests. A further symptom of this long-term trend is confirmed by the edition of late antique diplomatic papyri produced outside Egypt, published in 1805. Lucio Del Corso and Rosario Pintaudi revisit that material, trace the later destiny of some pieces, and conclude that the edition provided by Marini retains its value as a fundamental reference tool. In that project Marini's philological acumen and the legal training he had received before his move to Rome found equal application; the same holds true for his work on the records of business transactions from the fifth and sixth centuries preserved at Ravenna, studied here by Laura Migliardi Zingale.

The first volume is a remarkable testimony to the range and diversity of Marini's interests. The second one has a much stronger epigraphical focus, hence putting at the forefront the main aspect of Marini's interests. Even within the ostensibly specialised focus of one particular field, though, there is a breath-taking range of expertise and contributions. Maria Letizia Caldelli and Silvia Orlandi explore aspects of Marini's work as a transcriber of inscriptions, widely attested in his papers at the Vatican Archive. Ginette Vagenheim offers an illuminating discussion of Marini's engagement with the inscriptions transmitted by the notorious forger Pirro Ligorio, and of the methodological rigour that he displayed in that undertaking. Lucio Benedetti takes us back to Marini the reader, and provides a detailed study of the notes that he wrote in the margins of his copy of Jan Gruter's *Inscriptiones antiquae totius*

³ In this context Marini also established personal ties with the great sculptor Antonio Canova, who is also the dedicatee of the edition of Dante's *Divina Commedia* published in 1817–19 by Marini, Antonio Renzi, and Gaetano Muzzi (on which see the paper by Rodney Lokaj, where the extent of Marini's contribution to that edition, which appeared two years after his death, is not sufficiently made clear).

orbis Romani—a body of work that serves as an unrivalled commentary on that major resource. As Andrea Carapellucci notes, Marini firmly believed in the importance of major editions and of timely publication of documents, based on close first-hand scrutiny of the material. These are the principles that underpin his great contribution to the study of epigraphy, the collection of *Inscriptiones Christianae Latinae et Graecae Aevi Miliarii*—that project never came to fruition, but the large body of Marini's manuscripts played a major role in shaping the later edition of *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae* produced by Giovanni Battista de Rossi between 1857 and 1861. Marini's endeavour was intended to reach all the way to AD 1000, and his manuscripts are also relevant to the study of mosaics and paintings in early medieval Rome, as Antonella Ballardini shows. In his quest for relevant material he had to deal with remains that were regarded as relics of Saints. Massimiliano Ghilardi discusses those instances in detail, and shows that Marini had no interest whatsoever in hagiography, or in corroborating the arguments for the authenticity of those relics: his own focus was on the epigraphical texts that accompanied the tombs in which they were found, which usually warranted inclusion in the comprehensive edition he had planned.

Those principles are already apparent in his early work on the epigraphical collection owned by his patron in the early years at Rome, Cardinal Alessandro Albani (on which Heikki Solin offers a number of specific observations, stemming from his ongoing project on the Latin inscriptions of Antium). Again, one is left with the impression that research had no end for Marini: his own copy of the edition was covered in annotations, now published by Carapellucci along with a full set of concordances to the later major corpora. Christer Bruun assesses Marini's contribution to the study of *fistulae aquariae*, in which the direct inspection of texts is less easy to assess than in other aspects of his work. Marc Mayer and Ivan Di Stefano Manzella draw further attention to Marini's first-rate contribution to the study of *instrumenta inscripta*; Claudia Lega discusses his work on inscriptions on glass. Matteo Massaro takes us on a detour by surveying an epigraphic manuscript by Francesco Ficoroni preserved among Marini's papers, probably dating between 1736 and 1739.

Although Christian epigraphy was at the centre of Marini's interests, his commitment to the effective publication of recent discoveries led him to taking on the edition of the new fragments of the Acts of the Arval Brethren, after a fortuitous discovery in 1778. John Scheid, who is the author of the standard edition of that text and has demonstrated its fundamental importance to the understanding of Roman religion, gives a warmly appreciative assessment of Marini's work on the inscription, and (perhaps more counterintuitively, but with sound arguments) also praises his discussion of the workings of Roman religion. Marini had a correct understanding of the terminology of ritual, and on several aspects of the development of the rite de-

scribed in the *commentarii*. In Scheid's view, his committed allegiance to the Catholic faith equipped him with the necessary tools to understand the ritualism that is central to Roman religion. One may also add that his great commitment to, and familiarity with, record-keeping made him an especially sympathetic reader of the detailed instructions and membership lists preserved in the *commentarii*.

As mentioned above, Marini's envisaged edition of the Christian inscriptions never saw the light of day. Danilo Mazzoleni and four of his pupils (Matteo Poddi, Eleonora Maiani, Karen Ilardi, and Alessandra Negroni) provide an inventory of the codices in which the manuscript of that edition—which remains to date unpublished—appeared (*Vat. lat.* 9071–4). Another aspect of Marini's work on Christian epigraphy, however, had a major impact, and has arguably played an important role in shaping modern idea of Rome. The task of arranging the epigraphical section of the Vatican Museums (the *Galleria Lapidaria*) befell upon him, and took up a considerable share of his efforts during his time in Rome. As Rosanna Barbera shows in her splendidly detailed and lavishly illustrated paper, the arrangement of the inscriptions was led by a clear didactic purpose, and reflected an even more ambitious taxonomic effort than had been the case in Marini's earlier edition of the Amati collection: most of the Latin captions that signposted the various sections of the collection are still visible today. The weight of the lesson of the great Veronese XVIII century epigraphist, Scipione Maffei, was apparent throughout Marini's choices, as well as the constant epistolary dialogue with Luigi Lanzi, who was then in charge of the arrangement of the collection of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The choice of firmly separating pagan and Christian inscriptions chimed well with Marini's ambition to produce a comprehensive collection of the latter. More generally, his arrangement of the epigraphical collection, which was accompanied by a careful refurbishment of the inscriptions, was also a distinctive strategy of monumentalising Rome and her past, and of asserting the role of the Vatican in preserving and showcasing that largely non-Christian heritage. Marini's legacy in that respect had a further important ramification: his formidable collection of *terra sigillata* was bequeathed to the Vatican upon his death, and scholars of the following generation, starting with Carlo Fea, undertook the difficult task of arranging its display in the Museum. As Giorgio Filippi makes clear, not all of them proved worthy of their predecessor: the work of Leonardo Adami in this area shows a number of major shortcomings, not least in the handling of the manuscripts of Marini in which crucial information on the collection was provided.

The final section of the second volume focuses our attention more closely on the intellectual tradition initiated by Marini, in the Vatican and beyond. Marini's hometown, Santarcangelo, was also the birthplace of another great figure in the history of the Vatican Library, who lived more than a century

and a half later: Augusto Campana (1906–95). Rino Avesani charts the many points that brought those two men together, and the various occasions on which Campana engaged directly with Marini's work, partly drawing on items from Campana's unpublished papers at the Vaticana. The two scholars also shared a methodological principle of major significance: their belief in the importance of open exchange of information among scholars, and in casting one's net of intellectual connections very broadly indeed. Campana's role in Italian high culture in the second half of the twentieth century can hardly be overstated. His Latin Palaeography weekend seminars at the Scuola Normale in Pisa in the 1950s made a deep impression on a cluster of young philologists and historians that would later reach great academic distinction. Carlo Ginzburg has spoken of it as a moment of seminal importance in his intellectual trajectory.⁴ David Rini takes further back in time, and provides a terse account of Marini's place within the wider picture of antiquarianism in late eighteenth century Rome (perhaps the single contribution to which a reader who is interested in a general introduction to Marini should be directed first), while Ilaria Miarelli Mariani and Simona Moretti discuss his long-standing connection with the French art historian Jean-Baptiste Seroux d'Agincourt, who was based at Rome.

Marini had hardly any interest at all in the literary evidence: his emphasis was entirely on documents. Yet, his command of the classical languages was beyond reproach, and his knowledge of the literary sources was presupposed in much of his work, as several examples discussed in this book show. In his preface to the work on the *Archiatri* he inserts a tacit reference to Cicero's *Brutus* (71) to excuse the incompleteness of his work; and even in his own notes he could feel the need for a casual quote from an ancient source (on the frontispiece of *Vat. lat.* 9149: Varro *Ling. Lat.* 6.7, *nemo reprehensus est qui e segete ad spicilegium reliquit stipulam*, 'no one is blamed who in the cornfield has left the stems for the gleaning'; see the paper by G. Venditti, p. 457 and 489). Ancient historiography makes a fleeting, if noteworthy appearance: in his notes on two inscriptions (respectively on the inscription recording Hadrian's restoration of the Palatine *auguratorium* and the *Tabula Lugdunensis*), M. added extensive quotations from Tacitus' *Annales*, which he read in Justus Lipsius' edition (references and brief discussion by L. Benedetti at 965). There is nothing, however, in the way of philological analysis, let alone of literary interpretation. Nowhere in this collection do we get a sense of who Marini's *auctores* were, and of which ancient writers had a discernible intellectual influence on him—if any.

These two extraordinary tomes, which are rounded off by a beautiful set of indexes (of names and manuscripts: there is none for inscriptions, regret-

⁴ See V. Foa and C. Ginzburg, *Un dialogo* (Milan, 2003) 89, with some illuminating comments on the role that boredom can play in life-changing learning experiences.

tably), are a great accomplishment that still bear the marks of a *Vorarbeit*. A comprehensive monographic account of Gaetano Marini's life and work remains a desideratum. This collection shows, on the one hand, that it would be a timely endeavour and, on the other, that it would be a tall order indeed. Its title makes the claim that Marini was a protagonist of the culture of his own time. That notion is always arbitrary, or indeed inescapably subjective. He was not a Gibbon, a D'Alembert, or a Herder—but he was a scholar of outstanding ability and range, who changed the terms of the practice of each discipline with which he engaged. Although much of the focus of his research was on the city of Rome, the range of his scholarly contacts was firmly international, and the final part of his life was intertwined with the rise and fall of an empire that he regarded with hostility and concern. At the end of the riveting *tour de force* through which Buonocore and his contributors lead us, we are left with a productive paradox. In spite of his politics, which one could safely label as openly conservative, or indeed reactionary, Marini emerges as a figure of extraordinary range and consuming curiosity: his political conservatism was matched by a tremendous eagerness to open up new fields of enquiry and to give new strength to existing ones. Those who have an interest in ancient historical writing have long been taught how to tell the historian from the antiquarian, and to give their respective briefs their due significance. This major collection has the merit of reminding us of the formidable potential for creativity that antiquarianism can lay claims to. It also stresses the importance of intellectual traditions and of the surprising turns that they can take. It is sobering and quite heart-warming, after all, to see that there is just one degree of separation between Gaetano Marini and microhistory.⁵

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