NOT SET IN STONE: EPIGRAPHY BETWEEN MANUSCRIPT AND PRINT IN RENAISSANCE EUROPE, 1521-1603

BY

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Declaration

This thesis is submitted to the University of Warwick in support of my application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It has been composed by myself and has not been submitted in any previous application for any degree. The work presented was carried out by myself.

The following publications contain materials that partly arise from work on this thesis:

Pérez Galván, Paloma, 'Pirro Ligorio's Role in the Emergence of Epigraphy as a Discipline', *Lias*, 45 (2018), 203-21

Pérez Galván, Paloma, 'Epigraphy between Print and Manuscript: Giacomo Mazzocchi's *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, BnF MS. Lat. 17575 and Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. S. 10 25', in *The Epigrammata antiquae urbis (1521) and Its Influence on European Antiquarianism*, ed. by Joan Carbonell Manils and Gerard González Germain (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2020), pp. 131-39

Thesis Abstract

The present thesis, ‘Not Set in Stone: Epigraphy between Manuscript and Print in Southern Europe, 1521-1603’, examines how a group of sixteenth-century scholars, all from Europe, laid the foundations for the ‘science’ of epigraphy as we understand it, and how these foundations have come to shape our study and understanding of ancient inscriptions. The research focuses on a precise timeframe in the Cinquecento (1521-1603), which saw a massive production of epigraphic manuscripts and the first attempts at the creation of printed epigraphic compilations. By drawing upon a broad range of printed and manuscript sources in different languages, including *corpora* of epigraphic texts, annotated copies of publications, topographical guides to the city of Rome and correspondence, I investigate how scholars transcribed inscriptions, how they organized their material within the compilations (with the creation of categories and indices) and how they were in constant exchange not only of epigraphic information, but also of approaches and methods of interpretation. During the Renaissance, and more particularly during the Cinquecento, inscriptions were an essential part of the reconstruction of the classical past: combined with literary texts and with other material remains, they allowed scholars to achieve an almost complete picture of antiquity. The sixteenth-century *corpora* I am concerned with in this thesis all represent, in their own way, a turning-point in the history of the epigraphic discipline and allow us to question what epigraphers still consider the landmark epigraphic catalogue, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

List of Abbreviations

BAV: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

BnF: Bibliothèque nationale de France

CIG: *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum*

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

DBI: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*

EDB: Epigraphic Database Bari

EDR : Epigraphic Database Roma

IG: *Inscriptiones Graecae*

IGUR: *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*

KBR: Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België/ Bibliothèque royale de Belgique

UB Heidelberg: Universitäts-Bibliothek Heidelberg

Editorial Note

Transcriptions from archival documents, manuscripts and early modern publications have been reproduced with the author's original spelling; however, punctuation, diacritics, and capitalization have been adapted to modern usage and abbreviations have been transcribed in full (including the ampersand &). Most abbreviations have been expanded silently, except for abbreviated names or when the abbreviated word could lead to different interpretations. Furthermore, the spellings *u/v* and *i/j* (in some cases *c/t*) have been standardized. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are mine. The English translations are to be found in the main text, with the original text appearing in the footnote apparatus. I have used square brackets to expand on, or to clarify, certain words in the quotations. Note that when the text of the quotation is paraphrased in English in the main text, only the quotation in Latin (without an English translation) is to be found in the footnote.

Regarding the names of humanists, I have provided the vernacular form (when it is known), but in many cases I have opted to use the Latinized version of the name, by which the author is best known to readers. I have adopted similar principles for the names of printers: if known, I have included the vernacular form; if there is no official vernacular form, I have deemed it preferable to retain the Latin reference to the printer's shop ('ex officina' or 'typis').

The second set of editorial principles concerns epigraphic texts. Although no standardized way to present a version of an inscription on paper exists, I have opted for the following system: texts of inscriptions are presented in minuscule lettering with line divisions indicated by a slash, alongside a photograph of the monument, if still extant, in its current state of preservation. All the abbreviations are expanded (between brackets), and damage is portrayed by enclosing the missing letters or words between square brackets [*abc*]. Letters inscribed on top of other erased letters, but which can be read clearly, are enclosed between double angle brackets <<*abc*>>. The *I longa* (taller than other letters around it) has been

transcribed as *ì*/*Ì*. In some cases, in order to be as precise as possible, I have stated between single angle brackets the location of the inscription on the monument (see the example of the inscriptions on the Pyramid of Cestius in Chapter One). Furthermore, I have provided English translations of the epigraphic texts only where this is particularly relevant to the argument; otherwise, when the meaning is sufficiently clear, I have simply quoted the Latin text.

Introduction

The rediscovery of the classical past in the Renaissance was accompanied by a vigorous enthusiasm for ancient inscriptions. Interest in epigraphic texts was not completely absent during the Middle Ages, but it assumed unprecedented proportions from the fourteenth to seventeenth century: inscribed monuments were indeed considered direct witnesses of the ancient world and represented a tangible connection to the much-admired past.[1] Inscribed on a durable support, the *titulus* represents better historical evidence than a text on perishable paper, which has been copied, emended and corrupted over time. In his posthumously-published *Diálogos de medallas, inscriciones y otras antigüedades* (Tarragona: Felipe Mey, 1587), the Spanish jurist and archbishop Antonio Agustín (1517-1586) notes this distinctive characteristic of epigraphic texts: 'Time has consumed the papers or parchments or wax tablets with the words of the ancients; whereas stones and bronze tablets, and silver or copper medals are still standing.'[2] In the same work, Agustín later adds that: 'I trust medals and stone tablets more than I could ever trust anything written by [classical] authors.'[3] The very nature of the

[1] For a study of the extensive reuse of classical inscriptions in buildings of the early Middle Ages, see Bryan Ward-Perkins, 'Re-Using the Architectural Legacy of the Past, *entre idéologie et pragmatisme*', in *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Gian Pietro Brogiolo and Bryan Ward-Perkins (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 225-44. See also Robert Coates-Stephens, 'Epigraphy as Spolia: The Reuse of Inscriptions in Early Medieval Buildings', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 70 (2002), 275-96, and Marco Petoletti, 'Appunti sulla fortuna delle epigrafi classiche nel Medioevo', *Aevum*, 76 (2002), 309-23, both of which explore whether scholars in the Medieval period had the same fascination with inscriptions as in the Renaissance. The following works offer overviews of Medieval epigraphy from different perspectives: Robert Favreau, 'L'Épigraphie médiévale: naissance et développement d'une discipline', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 2 (1989), 328-63; Vincent Debiais, *Messages de pierre: la lecture des inscriptions dans la communication médiévale (XIIIe-XIVe siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); María Encarnación Martín López, 'La huella de la antigüedad clásica en las inscripciones medievales', in *El mundo antiguo visto por el hombre medieval*, ed. by Etelvina Fernández González (León: Universidad de León, Instituto de Estudios Medievales, 2013), pp. 11-34.

[2] 'Los papeles, o pergaminos, o ceras donde sus palabras se escrivieron, las consumió el tiempo. Las piedras y tablas de bronze, y las medallas de plata o de cobre están en pie' (Antonio Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas, inscriciones y otras antigüedades* (Tarragona: Felipe Mey, 1587), p. 342). Agustín is a compelling figure in the history of epigraphic scholarship and I shall discuss his contributions in more detail throughout the thesis.

[3] 'Yo más fe doi a las medallas y tablas piedras que a todo lo que escriven los escritores' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 377).

inscription as a physical object handed down directly from the past explains why scholars made use of *tituli* for a variety of artistic, historical, grammatical and political purposes.[4]

Already in the fourteenth century, individuals commonly (ab)used inscriptions in political and religious contexts: the famous episode of the Italian politician Cola di Rienzo (1313-1354) is a good case in point. Cola displayed and manipulated the text of the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* (*CIL* VI 930) before the Roman people for his own political goals.[5] The bronze tablet offers the concession of sovereign powers by the Senate and people of Rome to their emperor: Cola discovered, re-erected and illustrated the tablet in a public ceremony in the Lateran basilica, thus associating himself on a number of levels with the popular mandate and the monarchical authority.[6] Some humanists also turned to inscriptions when writing local histories (often requested by patrons) in order to demonstrate the illustrious origins and enhance the grandeur of their hometowns: since ancient historians had focused mostly on the city of Rome, *tituli* were the most convenient way of proving the old age of towns other than Rome.[7] Thus, in his *Chronica de rebus Brixianorum* (Brescia: Francesco Bragadino, 1505), the Italian lawyer and historian Elia Capriolo (died *c.* 1523) claimed that, since so many ancient monuments could be seen in Brescia, it could almost be regarded as the sister of Rome.[8] We

[4] Inscriptions provided an 'essential direct acquaintance' with ancient society: see Fergus Millar, 'Epigraphy', in *Sources for Ancient History*, ed. by Michael H. Crawford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 80-136 (p. 82).

[5] Fritz Saxl, 'The Classical Inscription in Renaissance Art and Politics: Bartolomaeus Fontius: *Liber monumentorum Romanae urbis et aliorum locorum*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 4 (1940), 19-46 (p. 19); Peter Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969), p. 24; Armando Petrucci, *Public Lettering: Script, Power, and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 14. The episode of Cola di Rienzo has been noted by most historians of post-classical Rome: for an account of how it was a significant moment in Cola's run-up to the tribunate of 1347, see Amanda Collins, 'Cola di Rienzo, the Lateran Basilica, and the *Lex de Imperio* of Vespasian', *Mediaeval Studies*, 60 (1998), 159-83.

[6] Collins, 'Cola di Rienzo', p. 159; Daniela Gionta, 'Epigrafia antica e ideologia politica nell'Italia del Quattrocento', *Studi medievali e umanistici*, 13 (2015), 115-56 (p. 116). For an analysis of how the Church stopped demonizing ancient remains (particularly *spolia*) and started to integrate them as part of its ideology, see Arnold Esch, 'L'uso dell'antico nell'ideologia papale, imperiale e comunale', in *Roma antica nel Medioevo. Mito, rappresentazioni, sopravvivenze nella 'Respublica Christiana' nei secoli IX-XIII* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2001), pp. 3-25.

[7] William Stenhouse, 'Georg Fabricius and Inscriptions as a Source of Law', *Renaissance Studies*, 17 (2003), 96-107 (p. 98).

[8] 'Huiusmodi quippe tot Brixiae et in locis ubique nostris monumenta visuntur ut Romae soror ea videatur' (Elia Capriolo, *Chronica de rebus Brixianorum ad senatum populumque Brixianum* (Brescia: Francesco Bragadino,

find similar ambitions in France and Spain, where epigraphic texts became an indisputable proof of the region's ancient origins.[9] In this way, scholars driven by genealogical motivations turned to ancient objects to confirm their own history and to reaffirm ancient privileges: the search for relics of the past allowed for a deeper understanding of one's origins.[10] Other individuals, such as the German poet and archaeologist Georg Fabricius (1516-1571), were intrigued by epigraphic texts for their application in the field of Roman law. Fabricius produced a collection of seventeen legal inscriptions, providing a tangible link between the epigraphic tradition and the humanist interest in the text of law.[11] *Tituli* also attracted the attention of painters, sculptors, architects and designers of monuments, who copied and integrated inscriptions into their work.[12]

Closely connected to the use of *tituli* for artistic purposes was the revival of the classical Roman inscription letter: between 1453 and 1460, the Italian painter Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506) copied inscriptions from buildings and tombstones, emulating Roman letters in signatures.[13] The Veronese calligrapher Felice Feliciano (1433-1479), a friend of Mantegna who was also deeply interested in the study of Roman inscriptions, was determined to make a

1505), fol. 6r). On Capriolo's *Chronica*, see Mirella Giansante, 'Capriolo, Elia', in *DBI*, vol. 19 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1976), pp. 218-19.

[9] See, for instance, Joan Carbonell Manils and Helena Gimeno Pascual, 'La epigrafía y el origen de las ciudades de Hispania. Verdad, mentira y verdad a medias', *Revista de Historiografía*, 15 (2011), 111-21.

[10] Hans-Rudolf Meier, 'The Medieval and Early Modern World and the Material Past', in *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by Alain Schnapp (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013), pp. 249-72 (p. 256). For an overview of 'fabulous genealogies' and of how individuals associated themselves with the *gens* of antiquity, see William Stenhouse, 'Imagination and the Remains of Roman Antiquity', in *The Routledge History of the Renaissance*, ed. by William Caferro (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 125-39 (pp. 130-32).

[11] For a complete analysis of the importance of Fabricius's collection in the understanding of Roman law, see Stenhouse, 'Georg Fabricius and Inscriptions as a Source of Law', especially pp. 101-07.

[12] For an examination of the use of epigraphic texts in architecture, painting and monumental art, see John Sparrow, *Visible Words: A Study of Inscriptions in and as Books and Works of Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

[13] Felice Feliciano, *Alphabetum Romanum [Codex Vaticanus 6852]*, ed. by Giovanni Mardersteig (Verona: Editiones Officinae Bodoni, 1960), p. 13.

thorough study of their shapes by going back to the principles of geometrical construction: in this way, he wrote the *Alphabetum Romanun*, dated to *c.* 1460 (BAV, Vat. Lat. 6852; Fig. 1).[14]

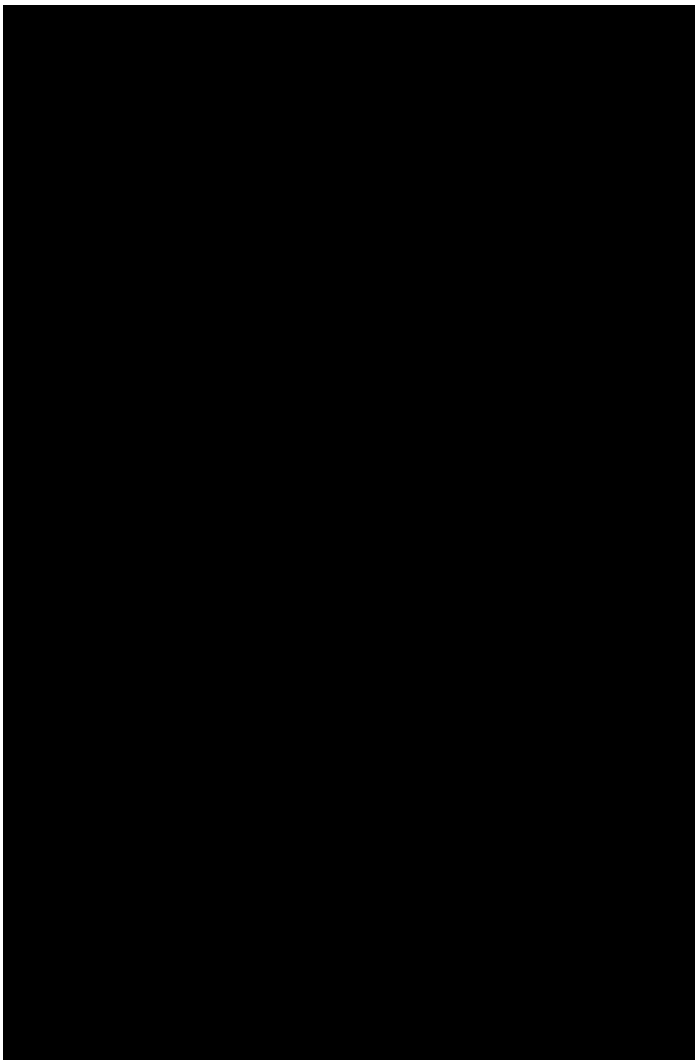

Figure 1: The *Alphabetum Romanum* by Felice Feliciano (BAV, Vat. Lat. 6852), fol. 1^{v}.

The *Alphabetum Romanum* was the first treatise on the construction of classic Roman inscription letters and it became a basis of the work of many type-designers in the Quattrocento, as Feliciano's shaded drawings were intended to serve as models for stone-cutters.[15] Feliciano's work was part of the movement to geometrize individual letters and to confine them into square

[14] For an analysis of Feliciano's work, including its impact in the history of lettering, see the 'Introduction' in Mardersteig's edition of the *Alphabetum Romanum*. For Feliciano's passion for the script and alphabet of classical inscriptions, see Evelyn Karet, 'The Origins of Northern Italian Collecting: Humanist Collections', in *The Antonio II Badile Album of Drawings: The Origins of Collecting Drawings in Early Modern Northern Italy*, ed. by Evelyn Karet (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 107-32 (p. 112).
[15] Feliciano, *Alphabetum Romanum*, ed. by Mardersteig, p. 31; p. 54.

geometric patterns according to classical standards regulating the spacing of letters in stone inscriptions.[16] The influence and success of the *Alphabetum* testifies, once again, to the fascination for the classical past in the Renaissance: Roman letters represent one of the most visible elements handed down from antiquity as they are unmistakably recognizable.[17] The use of such letters, just by their shape and form, conveyed a sense of grandeur —the grandeur that was Rome— even if their actual meaning was not always so clear to the passer-by.[18]

To the motives of patriotism, art and philology was then added ostentation, as inscribed fragments became trophies for dealers and collectors.[19] Humanists, therefore, claimed epigraphic texts for a variety of uses and, as Fritz Saxl rightly points out, 'hardly any inscription could exist which would not contain some good, useful and instructive maxim, or some piece of choice knowledge […]: every inscription might one day yield a vital truth'.[20] In his manuscript *Alveolus*, preserved in the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (S-II-18) and dated to approximately 1554, Agustín comments on this versatility of inscribed texts:[21]

> What use can we extract from the epitaphs or inscriptions? The letter-forms, the spelling, the language […], the knowledge of many things that are not mentioned in books, or, in very few of them, and if they are mentioned, they are poorly explained. We can also learn about magistrates, priests, colleges, ministries and offices, not only from Rome but also from the towns and colonies of Italy, and even from outside the

[16] Petrucci, *Public Lettering*, p. 18.
[17] Feliciano, *Alphabetum Romanum*, ed. by Mardersteig, p. 9.
[18] Sparrow, *Visible Words*, p. 40. See Petrucci, *Public Lettering*, for an account of how fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy witnessed the creation of a hierarchy of letter-forms, the resurrection of classical epigraphy capitals as monumental script and the introduction of this script into the realm of literature (pp. 16-20). Petrucci points out that Greek letters, just as monumental and solemn as Roman lettering, were also used in this movement. On the impact of Roman capitals in Renaissance manuscripts and publications, see also Marco Buonocore, 'Dal codice al monumento: l'epigrafia dell'Umanesimo e del Rinascimento', *Veleia*, 29 (2012), 209-27.
[19] Kevin McMahon, 'Michelangelo's Marble Blog: Epigraphic Walls as Pictures and Samples of Language', in *Ancient Documents and their Contexts*, ed. by John Bodel and Nora Dimitrova (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 283-305 (p. 288).
[20] Saxl, 'The Classical Inscription in Renaissance Art and Politics', p. 19.
[21] I shall come back to the *Alveolus* in Chapter 2.4.3.

> Italian territory. We can also gather information about Roman families, the matters of emperors and others; the rites and their traditions; tablets of the law, or the *Senatus consulta*, or the decrees, or letters or the *fasti*. Not to mention Greek and Latin verses. After all, these inscriptions are books of marble or copper, whereas the others are of highly deceitful paper. Therefore, we must combine these [inscriptions] with the other [texts] and with everything that has been said before in order to learn as much as possible from the classical world.[22]

In his *Diálogos de medallas*, Agustín reiterates similar ideas about antiquarian knowledge:

> There are countless other benefits [to using inscriptions] for our understanding of many things that are missing from books, or that are explained obscurely. We can learn more about the *nomina*, *praenomina*, and families of the Romans; about their tribes, legions, magistrates, priesthoods and their magistrates, public offices, the government of the provinces, the charge of men of war and many details about soldiers, and other countless things.[23]

At the end of the first quotation from the *Alveolus*, Agustín notes the durability of *tituli*, stating that paper, unlike the material of inscriptions, can be fallacious. In fact, inscriptions functioned so well as physical evidence because they had an aura of authenticity that other classical material did not necessarily possess; they worked as a 'bridge' between the Renaissance and the *aetas Romana*.[24]

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[22] 'Che utile si cava de li pitafii o inscritioni? La forma delle lettere, l'orthographia, la lingua […], la cognitione di molte cose che li libri non le dicano, o pochi le dicano, o non così bene, come magistrati, sacerdotii, collegii, ministerii, officii, tanto di Roma quanto de li municipii et colonie d'Italia, et fuor' di Italia. Le familie di Romani, le cose d'imperatori, et altri. Molti riti, et costumi di essi. Le tavole delle legi, o Senatusconsulti, o decreti, o pistole, o fasti. Belli versi greci o latini. Et in somma sono lì libri di marmo o rame dove li altri sono di charta molto fallace. Bisogna bene congiunger questi con quelli, et con le altre cose già dette per saper quel che si può delle cose antiche' (Antonio Agustín, *Alveolus: manuscrito escurialense S-II-18*, ed. by Cándido Flores Sellés (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1982), p. 152).

[23] 'Hai infinitos otros provechos para entender muchas cosas que en libros están faltas y oscuras, como son los nombres y prenombres y familias de los Romanos, las tribus, las legiones, los magistrados, los sacerdocios y sus ministros, los officios, el govierno de las provincias, el cargo de la gente de guerra, y muchas particularidades de los soldados, y otras cosas infinitas' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 343).

[24] McMahon, 'Michelangelo's Marble Blog', p. 287.

Spurred by these different motivations, humanists began to collect and transcribe inscriptions on a large scale for their own intrinsic interest. Very soon, in the second half of the fifteenth century, epigraphic *corpora* abounded in manuscript form. Then, in the sixteenth century, we observe the appearance of a number of printed collections. This thesis, then, investigates this period of emerging epigraphic scholarship. It will analyse humanist collections of classical Latin inscriptions from southern Europe, from the anonymous *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1521) to the *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani, in corpus absolutissimum redactae* (Heidelberg: Ex Officina Commeliniana, 1602-03) by the Flemish-born philologist and librarian Janus Gruterus (1560-1627). Sixteenth-century epigraphic manuscripts and publications represent the first attempts to classify, edit and transcribe carved texts on paper, and paved the way in the nineteenth century for the landmark epigraphic catalogue, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*).[25] The analysis of these *syllogai* can thus provide valuable insights into the different epigraphic approaches and practices of the Cinquecento, while also allowing us to retrace the textual transmission of an inscription and to see the evolution of its representations.

1 Parameters of the Research

My research concentrates on a specific chronological framework, starting in 1521, when the anonymous *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* was published in Rome by the Italian printer and bookseller Giacomo Mazzocchi (active in 1505-1527), and ending in 1603, when the second volume of Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae* appeared. The *Epigrammata* was the first extensive printed collection of Latin inscriptions from Rome, and its impact on subsequent *syllogai* is undeniable. The *Epigrammata* encompassed more than three thousand inscriptions found solely in the Eternal City and contained woodcut illustrations of the most prominent

[25] I shall discuss the relevance of the *CIL* later in the Introduction, as I shall explain how the study of sixteenth-century epigraphic *corpora* can lead us to question our use of the *CIL* as an epigraphic source.

inscribed monuments. Despite its numerous inaccuracies (such as *falsae*, texts transcribed incorrectly and inaccurate locations), the *Epigrammata* became a *vade mecum* for scholars interested in antiquities and inscriptions: there are more than three hundred surviving copies (spread across libraries in Europe and North America), several of which contain abundant *marginalia* by sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century readers.[26] Even though he was one of the most prolific printers of the first half of the sixteenth century, we know almost nothing about Mazzocchi: hailing from Bergamo, Mazzocchi came to Rome around 1505, where he started working as an editor and bookseller before beginning his career as a printer in 1509.[27] Mazzocchi was involved in the printing of several works, including *pasquinate*, Latin translations of Greek works and papal bulls: he printed, for instance, the papal bull *Exsurge Domine* by Pope Leo X (Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici; 1475-1521) against the German priest Martin Luther (1483-1546).[28] Despite this prolific output, Mazzocchi is mostly remembered as the printer of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*: Mazzocchi obtained a printing privilege from Leo X already in 1517, but the work only saw the light in 1521.[29] The compiler of the *Epigrammata* remains to this day unknown, although modern scholars have suggested some individuals of the *Accademia Romana* (which I shall discuss in Chapter 4.1.1). The *Epigrammata* opens with a dedication by Mazzocchi to the Italian humanist Mario Maffei (1463-1537), bishop of Aquino: Mazzocchi probably chose Maffei as dedicatee since he was becoming an increasingly powerful and prestigious figure in the political sphere of Rome and

[26] These annotated copies of the *Epigrammata* will be discussed in more detail later in the thesis, especially in Chapters 1.2.2 and 4.1.3.

[27] Fernanda Ascarelli, *Annali tipografici di Giacomo Mazzocchi* (Florence: Sanson Antiquariato, 1961), p. 15; Dennis E. Rhodes, 'Further Notes on the Publisher Giacomo Mazzocchi', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 40 (1972), 239-42 (p. 241); Massimiliano Albanese, 'Mazzocchi, Giacomo', in *DBI*, vol. 72 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2008), pp. 619-21 (p. 619). Both Ascarelli and Rhodes note that Giacomo Mazzocchi may or may not have been the brother of Giovanni Mazzocchi di Bondeno, who is especially remembered for the first edition of *Orlando Furioso* (1516) by the Italian poet Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533).

[28] Albanese, 'Mazzocchi, Giacomo', p. 620. For an overview of Mazzocchi's extensive publication production, see Ascarelli, *Annali tipografici di Giacomo Mazzocchi*.

[29] See Chapter 4.1.3 for a possible explanation of why the *Epigrammata* came out four years after the privilege was granted.

was also a fruitful book collector.[30] Furthermore, Maffei possessed various residences in Rome and we know that, in at least one of these, he had a physical collection of *tituli*: in the *Epigrammata*, we find indeed in fols 101^{r} to 102^{v} the transcriptions of fourteen inscriptions from Maffei's house in the Parione district (corresponding to *CIL* VI 21200, 2631, 29276, 14913, 25520, 15438, 8625, 13918, 23823, 9289, 28296, 26814, 23060 and 2423).

Given its status as the first printed edition of classical inscriptions, the *Epigrammata* works wonderfully as my starting point; in a similar way, no ending point is more fitting for my argument than Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae*.[31] Gruterus's *corpus* contains twelve thousand inscriptions, surpassing previous collections in size and content. The *Inscriptiones antiquae* was modelled after the *Inscriptionum antiquarum, quae passim per Europam, liber. Accessit Auctarium a Iusto Lipsio* (Leiden: Ex Officina Plantiniana, 1588), compiled by the Flemish scholar Martinus Smetius (*c.* 1525-1578) and posthumously edited by the Flemish philologist and philosopher Justus Lipsius (1547-1606). Smetius's work was not the only source of inspiration for the *Inscriptiones antiquae*: in the preface, Gruterus acknowledges various important humanists of the sixteenth century, including the physician and botanist Carolus Clusius (Charles de l'Écluse; 1526-1609) and Antonio Agustín. Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae* could be considered the culmination of sixteenth-century practices and developments to reach a more accurate understanding of inscriptions: it immediately earned praise and became the standard in subsequent epigraphic publications.[32] Gruterus's collection was so popular that in 1616 the two volumes were reprinted in a single volume, whilst a revised

[30] Concetta Bianca, 'Giacomo Mazzocchi e gli *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis*', in *Studi di antiquaria ed epigrafia per Ada Rita Gunnella*, ed. by Concetta Bianca, Gabriella Capecchi and Paolo Desideri (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2009), pp. 107-16 (p. 111). On Mario Maffei, see Stefano Benedetti, 'Maffei, Mario', in *DBI*, vol. 67 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2006), pp. 245-49.

[31] For an intellectual biography of Gruterus, see Gottfried Smend, *Jan Gruter, sein Leben und Wirken: Ein Niederländer auf deutschen Hochschulen, letzter Bibliothekar der alten Palatina zu Heidelberg* (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 1939). I shall explain later in the thesis the context of production of the *Inscriptiones antiquae*.

[32] William Stenhouse, 'Classical Inscriptions and Antiquarian Scholarship in Italy, 1600-1650', in *The Afterlife of Inscriptions: Reusing, Rediscovering, Reinventing and Revitalizing Ancient Inscriptions*, ed. by Alison E. Cooley (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2000), pp. 77-89 (p. 80).

and enlarged version was published in 1707. The *Inscriptiones antiquae* thus remained the main resource of Latin inscriptions until the middle of the nineteenth century.[33] Gruterus's collection showed to subsequent generations what could and what could not be done with inscribed monuments in print: to a great extent, the *Inscriptiones antiquae* encouraged students of inscriptions to treat them simply as texts and to ignore their materiality. Indeed, although Gruterus's *sylloge* embodies the epigraphic achievements of his century in terms of accuracy, it does not in terms of representation.[34]

The fact that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century epigraphic *corpora* built on the *Inscriptiones antiquae*, seeking to augment Gruterus's collection, rather than substituting it or creating a new and innovative *corpus*, testifies of its impact. For instance, the title of the posthumously-published *Syntagma inscriptionum antiquarum cumprimis Romae veteris, quarum omissa est recensio in vasto Iani Gruteri opera* (Leipzig: Johann Erich Hahn, 1682) by the German scholar Thomas Reinesius (1587-1667) clearly indicates that it was intended as an extension of Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae*. Like Gruterus, Reinesius privileged the textual aspect of the inscription over its visual appearance. Reinesius also divided the material into twenty categories, most of which closely resembled the sections in the *Inscriptiones antiquae*.[35] The seventeenth century, then, did not see any notable innovations in terms of epigraphic editorial principles.

In the eighteenth century, however, we observe a shift of expectation in scholarship: due to the increasing number of epigraphic discoveries, scholars strove to create a new *corpus* of inscriptions that would not be a simple extension of Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae*. Moreover, scholars felt the urge to produce a collection purged from the false inscriptions

[33] William Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History: Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2005), p. 158.
[34] I shall discuss the importance of the visuality and materiality of inscriptions further in the thesis, especially in Chapter One.
[35] For an explanation of Gruterus's organizational system in the *Inscriptiones antiquae*, see Chapter 2.2.4

present in the *Inscriptiones antiquae*.[36] The *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asservantur explicatio et additamentum una cum aliquot emendationibus Gruterianis* (Rome: Domenico Antonio Ercole, 1699) by the Italian antiquarian Raffaello Fabretti (1618-1700) opened the path to new epigraphic publications. Fabretti included more than four thousand inscriptions: most of the material in the *corpus* was either recently discovered or transcribed directly from the physical collection of inscriptions of the Italian Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679); four hundred of these *tituli* were taken from Fabretti's own personal collection of inscribed monuments.[37] Fabretti's main innovation lies in the detailed notes he provides for each *titulus*, which often take the form of didactic antiquarian comments: for many inscriptions, he includes the dimensions of the support, explains the nomenclature, the meaning of the text and, when relevant, links the inscription to ancient works.[38]

The next *corpus* of importance in the eighteenth century is the *Novus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum* (Milan: Ex aedibus Palatinis, 1739-1742) in four volumes by the Italian historian Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672-1750). Muratori started this project when he was working as librarian in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan: he had originally intended to gather in a single work the epigraphic material scattered in smaller compilations and that had been overlooked by his predecessors.[39] In the preface to the *Novus thesaurus*, Muratori recognizes that he would have preferred to view all the *tituli* in person, but ultimately could not do so for a work of such scale.[40]

In the same line as Muratori, his rival, the Italian art critic Scipione Maffei (1675-1755) praised the merits of seeing an inscription *de visu* in his *Museum Veronense, hoc est*

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[36] On Gruterus's approach to *falsae* in the *Inscriptiones antiquae*, see Chapter 5.3.2

[37] On Fabretti's epigraphic collection, see Massimo Ceresa, 'Fabretti, Raffaello', in *DBI*, vol. 43 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1993), pp. 739-42.

[38] For the development of comments in epigraphic *corpora* in the Cinquecento, see Chapter 2.4.

[39] Ida Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina*, 2nd edn (Milan: Istituto editoriale cisalpino, 1968), p. 54.

[40] For a complete list of epigraphic *corpora* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Calabi Limetani, *Epigrafia latina*, pp. 53-57; Marco Buonocore, 'Epigraphic Research from its Inception: The Contribution of Manuscripts', in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, ed. by Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 21-41.

antiquarum inscriptionum atque anaglyphorum collectio (Verona: Typis Seminarii, 1749), which included mostly texts from Verona and Turin. Maffei brought a radical change in epigraphic studies, especially with regards to the methodology employed in the study of inscriptions. I should add here that Maffei's methodology was strongly influenced by the French Benedictine monk Jean Mabillon (1632-1707), who laid down systematic rules for the evaluation of historical documents in his *De re diplomatica* (Paris: Ludovico Billaine, 1681) in six volumes.[41] Building on Mabillon's claim about scepticism towards ancient documents, Maffei was convinced (not wrongly) that false *tituli* abounded in previous epigraphic *syllogai*: he stressed the importance of the autopsy of the inscription and, at fifty-seven years old, he set out on a long trip across Europe to transcribe inscriptions.[42] In 1732, with the collaboration of the French botanist and astronomer Jean-François Séguier (1703-1784), Maffei started the project of a new *corpus*, in which he encouraged the participation of several international scholars. He sent to the potential collaborators a prospectus explaining the project in great detail.[43] The work, which ultimately never saw the light, was meant to consist of several volumes. The prospectus that Maffei sent to the scholars, however, includes some points of a surprising modernity, which anticipate some of the criteria adopted in the *CIL*.[44]

The vast majority of epigraphic *corpora* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, then, were building on innovations that we observe already in manuscripts and publications of the Cinquecento: scholars such as Muratori and Maffei were reinforcing certain approaches prioritized by sixteenth-century scholars in the study of inscriptions. This is one of the reasons why the study of sixteenth-century epigraphic *syllogai* is a vital step in the history of epigraphic

[41] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 159.
[42] Alfredo Buonopane, *Manuale di epigrafia latina* (Rome: Carocci, 2009), p. 25. On Maffei's epigraphic works, see Ida Calabi Limentani, 'Note su classificazione ed indici epigrafici dalla Smezio al Morcelli: antichità, retorica, critica', *Epigraphica*, 49 (1987), 177-202 (p. 200).
[43] Buonopane, *Manuale di epigrafia latina*, p. 25.
[44] On Maffei, see Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Gli studi classici di Scipione Maffei', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 133 (1956), 363-83; Gian Paolo Romagnani, ed., *Scipione Maffei nell'Europa del Settecento: atti del Convegno, Verona, 23-25 settembre 1996* (Verona: Consorzio Editori Veneti, 1998); Gian Paolo Romagnani, 'Maffei, Scipione', in *DBI*, vol. 67 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2006), pp. 256-63.

scholarship. It is nevertheless useful to continue the brief overview of the development of epigraphy to the birth of the *CIL*.

At the end of the Settecento and in the first decades of the nineteenth century, scholars such as Johann Caspar von Orelli (1787-1849), Bartolomeo Borghesi (1781-1860), Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776-1831), Olaus Christian Kellermann (1805-1837) and Abel-François Villemain (1790-1870) contributed in diverse ways to the epigraphic field, whether with substantial publications or with innovative approaches. In January 1847, the German classical scholar Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903) picked up a project originally conceived by Niebuhr. Upon his return from a long journey in Italy, Mommsen presented a detailed plan for the creation of a *sylloge* that would contain all known ancient Latin inscriptions (from the sixth century BC to the early eighth century AD) to the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences.[45] The project of this *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* was founded on the model of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum*: initiated in 1815, the *CIG* aimed at publishing all Greek classical inscriptions; after the publication of four volumes in 1828-77, the project restarted under the title *Inscriptiones Graecae* (*IG*).[46] The *CIL* initiated with the collation of epigraphic texts, based on the reading of manuscripts and compilations, and from the autopsy of the texts that were still extant. Then came the question of the organization of the material: the volumes are arranged geographically, with the exception of volumes I (inscriptions up to the death of Caesar), IV (wall inscriptions of Pompeii and Herculaneum), XV (*instrumentum domesticum* of Rome), XVI (military diplomas), XVII (milestones) and XVIII (*carmina epigraphica*).[47] Within each volume, the epigraphic texts are organized topographically, and then by theme and

[45] In 1852, Mommsen published a *corpus* of Latin inscriptions of south-central Italy, the *Inscriptiones regni Neapolitani Latinae*: his editorial principles set the model for the *CIL*. See Christer Bruun, 'The Major Corpora and Epigraphic Publications', in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, ed. by Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 66-76 (p. 68).
[46] Alison E. Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 327; Bruun, 'The Major Corpora and Epigraphic Publications', p. 66.
[47] Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, p. 327; John Bodel, 'Appendix: A Brief Guide to Some Standard Collections', in *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions*, ed. by John Bodel (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 153-74 (p. 159).

chronology.[48] Most volumes of the *CIL* were published in the nineteenth century and have been updated by supplements.[49]

Another important aspect of the *CIL* is the critical edition of spurious inscriptions.[50] Modern epigraphers are very familiar with the treatment of *falsae* in the *CIL*: these are given their separate section and their entry number is followed by an asterisk. An entire fascicle is dedicated to the forgeries connected to Rome. The *CIL*, on which Mommsen and several of his colleagues spent all their life, remains the principal instrument for Latin epigraphers. The scholarly principle of autopsy was paramount in the compilation of the *CIL*: it became the golden rule for the scholars who contributed to the *Corpus* and for modern epigraphers alike. Here again, most of the parameters of the *CIL* were not innovative and were strongly rooted in approaches that we observe in sixteenth-century epigraphic *corpora*, as we shall discuss in more detail throughout this thesis.

1.1 Chronological Framework and *Corpus* of Chosen Texts

The chronological framework of eighty-two years I have chosen is essential for a better understanding of how epigraphy evolved as a discipline. This timeframe encompasses not only crucial innovations in the epigraphic field, but also revolutionary changes in the study of inscriptions. During these decades, we observe a surge of epigraphic compilations in print, which until 1521 had mainly circulated in manuscript. The printed *syllogai* that followed the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* are indicative of an evolution in sixteenth-century collections. Thus, the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis non illae quidem Romanae, sed totius fere orbis* (Ingolstadt: Petrus Apianus, 1534) by the Ingolstadt professors Petrus Apianus (Peter Bienewitz; 1495-1552) and Bartholomaeus Amantius (Bartholomäus Pelten; 1505-1555) had

[48] Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, p. 327.
[49] For an overview and explanation of the *CIL* supplements, see Bruun, 'The Major Corpora and Epigraphic Publications', pp. 70-72.
[50] On the *CIL* treatment of epigraphic forgeries, see Chapter 5.1.

an ambitious geographical scope, including inscriptions from various countries. The *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* by Martinus Smetius, on the other hand, represented a further decisive step forward in the epigraphic field, as the author's concerns for accuracy and organization are clearly visible, whilst the six volumes of the *Romanae urbis topographia et antiquitates* (Frankfurt: Johann Feyrabend, 1597-1602) by the French antiquarian Jean-Jacques Boissard (1528-1602) attached great importance to the visuality of inscriptions. Finally, Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae* was intended to surpass previous epigraphic compilations in size and accuracy; whether it truly managed to do so will be discussed throughout the thesis.

My *corpus* of texts is not only formed of printed *syllogai*: I shall also consider forty-one manuscript collections (including annotated copies of the *Epigrammata*), mostly preserved in the BAV and the BnF and which I have studied during periods of research in Rome and Paris.[51] In these epigraphic manuscripts, we find transcriptions by the Italian jurist Andrea Alciato (1492-1550), by the French scholar Jean Matal (1520-1597), by Jean-Jacques Boissard, by the Italian historian Onofrio Panvinio (1529-1568) and by the French antiquarian Jacques Sirmond (1559-1651), among many others.[52] Another important part of my *corpus* of primary sources is represented by sixteenth-century annotated copies of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*: these copies contain abundant marginalia and are valuable testimonies of how early modern epigraphers engaged with epigraphic publications. Although in this thesis I shall focus on the copies annotated by sixteenth-century humanists, it is worth mentioning that many of the surviving copies also bear comments by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars, a remarkable fact, given that, by then, more accurate and extensive epigraphic *corpora* had been published.

[51] For a complete list of these manuscripts, please refer to the Bibliography section in this thesis.
[52] Although it is far from being complete and contains some inaccuracies, the following work has greatly contributed to finding my manuscript sources: Paul O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries*, 6 vols (London: The Warburg Institute; Leiden: Brill, 1963-1992).

The study of these manuscript and printed sources, all products of European countries, will allow me to explore how these *syllogai* evolved over the course of the sixteenth century and how they shaped each other. Although the starting point of my thesis is 1521, I shall also, occasionally, take into account manuscript *corpora* compiled before this year, as they offer meaningful points of comparison with the later manuscripts and publications. As we shall see in this thesis, *corpora* of inscriptions in the sixteenth century were becoming gradually concerned with the establishment of a 'scientific' approach (that would gradually resemble the field of epigraphy as we know it today).

The components of my *corpus* of texts, moreover, clearly demonstrate how the transcription, organization and study of inscriptions were the product of a methodological and taxonomical approach. The relevance of most of the texts in my *corpus* was noted by the Dutch antiquarian Arnoldus Buchelius (Aernout van Buchel; 1565-1641) in his *Index librorum in quibus inscriptiones antiquae vel exhibentur vel explicantur*, a manuscript dated to 1627-30 (Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, HS. 1682). This handwritten catalogue of nine pages provides a list of works in which ancient inscriptions are illustrated or explained (it is not certain whether all these books were actually in Buchelius's possession). Already on fol. 2^{r}, Buchelius lists Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* and Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographia*. Although Buchelius's *Index* is not part of my timespan, it is an interesting witness to the importance of my choice of primary sources. As he was compiling the *CIL*, Mommsen noted the importance of the study of these sixteenth-century sources. Although the investigation of the epigraphic monument was paramount in Mommsen's approach to epigraphy, the examination of manuscripts and printed editions recording these *tituli* was just as imperative in the critical edition of ancient inscriptions.[53]

[53] See Marc Mayer-Olivé, 'Epigrafía hispánica y transmisión literaria con especial atención a la manuscrita', in *Épigraphie hispanique: problèmes de méthode et d'édition*, ed. by Robert Étienne (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1984), pp. 35-53; Alfredo Buonopane, Lorenzo Calvelli and Giovannella Cresci Marrone, 'La parte più difficile del mestiere di epigrafista', in *Altera pars laboris: studi sulla tradizione manoscritta delle iscrizioni antiche*, ed.

Indeed, in *CIL* III, Mommsen states that: 'Even more difficult than the examination of the stones themselves that are still extant was the other part of the work. By this, I mean the complete collation of the copies made of these [stones]'.[54]

Modern scholars have also noted how sixteenth-century compilations, whether in manuscript or print, have paved the way for the *CIL*. In recent years, we have become increasingly aware of the shortcomings of the *CIL*: although its usefulness for epigraphists remains undeniable, its criteria for the representation, classification and selection of material can be problematic and questionable.[55] By looking at sixteenth-century epigraphic collections, we are prompted to new understandings of the epigraphic material portrayed and are compelled to see inscriptions in a new light and consider certain of their aspects we might have overlooked before. Such an investigation also forces us to think more carefully about the standards of modern epigraphic publications: sixteenth-century epigraphic *corpora* start displaying consistent editorial principles (within the same collection) that would then be preserved in later centuries.

The question of editorial principles is even more relevant when we think about the digital age we have entered, where epigraphic databases are commonplace. In this digital environment, going back to the sources of the Cinquecento is fundamental to understand the editorial principles scholars have established over the centuries. Furthermore, collections of the Cinquecento also record inscriptions that have been lost or destroyed. These compilations are also witness to the different states of preservation of a great number of *tituli*, some of which were (almost) complete when they were discovered or unearthed but were handed down to us

by Lorenzo Calvelli, Giovannella Cresci Marrone and Alfredo Buonopane (Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2019), pp. 9-14 (p. 9).

[54] 'Difficilior longe quam ipsorum qui supersunt lapidum investigatio altera pars fuit laboris, dico exemplorum unde sumptorum plena comparatio' (*CIL* III, p. VI).

[55] See Patrick Le Roux, 'E. Hübner ou le métier d'épigraphiste', in *Épigraphie hispanique: problèmes de méthode et d'édition*, ed. by Robert Étienne (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1984), pp. 17-29; Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, p. 328.

in a fragmentary or damaged state. We should also bear in mind that there is a large variety of possible methods of approaching inscribed texts and, as such, there is not a single correct way to exploit epigraphic evidence.[56] In these sixteenth-century *corpora*, we can never find a description that is too detailed, or a drawing that is too precise: every piece of information represents valuable documentation for modern epigraphers. The study of this material can thus invite us to question, in a constructive manner, modern understandings and interpretations of antiquity.

1.2 Geographical Scope

This thesis will focus on *syllogai* of classical Latin inscriptions from Italy, Spain and Southern France: although the epigraphic *corpora* themselves can be the products of several European countries (including France, Italy, the Low Countries, Portugal and Spain), they must record predominantly inscriptions from Southern Europe. Italy, especially Rome, is one of the most fertile areas of study given its amount of epigraphic material. In addition, all scholars considered in this thesis spent a part of their life in Italy, as many of them travelled to Bologna and Padua to pursue their studies, whilst others lived and worked in Rome. Southern France will offer interesting points to collate the evolution of epigraphic scholarship: given its geographical position, Lyon in particular was influenced by Italian humanism and enjoyed many exchanges with Italy and the Netherlands.[57] It was in Lyon that the first collections of inscriptions appeared (probably linked to the emergence of Lyon as a printing centre) whilst

[56] John Bodel, 'Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian', in *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions*, ed. by John Bodel (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 1-56 (p. 5).

[57] For a brief overview of the influence of Italian humanist activities in France, especially in the fifteenth century, see Roberto Weiss, 'Italian Humanism in Western Europe', in *Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to the Late Cecilia M. Ady*, ed. by Ernest F. Jacob (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), pp. 69-93 (pp. 75-77 in particular). See also Franco Simone, *Il Rinascimento francese. Studi e ricerche* (Turin: Società editrice internazionale, 1961). For the importance of France in the revival of the classics in Italy, see Berthold L. Ullman, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1955), pp. 29-32. See also François Bérard, 'L'Apport du *Lugdunum priscum* de Claude Bellièvre à la connaissance de l'épigraphie lyonnaise', in *Altera pars laboris: studi sulla tradizione manoscritta delle iscrizioni antiche*, ed. by Lorenzo Calvelli, Giovannella Cresci Marrone and Alfredo Buonopane (Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2019), pp. 31-55.

new sciences such as topography and archaeology developed for the first time in France in Lyon.[58] Inscriptions from Lyon are also well attested in epigraphic manuscripts: Jean Matal's manuscripts and Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae* included many inscriptions from the French city. Besides, Southern France hosts some of the best-preserved Roman remains outside the Italian peninsula.[59] I have included Spain in my geographical scope given the recent scholarly interest in Renaissance Spanish epigraphy, which is still overlooked outside Hispanic academic circles.[60] For instance, the Spanish historian Ambrosio de Morales (1513-1591) had strikingly modern approaches to the study of inscriptions, creating interesting themes of comparison with Italian and French humanists.

2 Practices of Transcription of Inscriptions before 1521

2.1 The *Sylloge Signoriliana*

Although the starting point of my dissertation is the year 1521, *corpora* of inscriptions were in circulation already in the Quattrocento. A brief exploration of existing practices of compilation and representation of *tituli* before the publication of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* will allow us to have a better understanding of the evolution of transcription principles in the Cinquecento.[61] *Corpora* of the sixteenth century built on the legacy left by the Quattrocento: by reviewing the important works of that period, we shall reach a deeper knowledge of the major improvements of sixteenth-century *corpora* and of their innovations in the representation

[58] Richard Cooper, 'L'Antiquaire Guillaume du Choul et son cercle lyonnais', in *Lyon et l'illustration de la langue française à la Renaissance*, ed. by Gérard Defaux and Bernard Colombat (Lyon: ENS, 2003), pp. 261-86 (p. 261). On the importance of connections between historians from Lyon and antiquarians from Italy, see François Bérard, 'Le Projet des inscriptions de Lyon', in *Inscriptions latines de Gaule lyonnaise*, ed. by François Bérard and Yann Le Bohec (Lyon: Éditions de Boccard, 1992), pp. 7-20.

[59] See William Stenhouse, 'Reusing and Redisplaying Antiquities in Early Modern France', in *Local Antiquities, Local Identities: Art, Literature and Antiquarianism in Europe, c. 1400-1700*, ed. by Kathleen W. Christian and Bianca De Divitiis (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), pp. 121-41 (p. 121).

[60] See 'Literature Review' in the Introduction for a survey of modern scholarship's interest in sixteenth-century Spanish epigraphy.

[61] With her monograph *Epigrafia umanistica a Roma* (Messina: Centro interdipartimentale di studi umanistici, Università degli studi di Messina, 2005), Daniela Gionta has greatly contributed to the knowledge of the most significant compilations of *tituli* in the fifteenth century; however, a consistent and thorough account of the history of epigraphic *corpora* in the Quattrocento is yet to be undertaken.

and treatment of epigraphic texts. The oldest known collection of inscriptions from Rome is the *Codex Einsidlensis*, written in the ninth century and discovered by Mabillon in 1683 in the monastery of Einsiedeln in Switzerland, where it is currently preserved (Stiftsbibliothek 326): the manuscript was then edited in print for the first time by Mabillon in 1685.[62] The *Codex* contains pagan and Christian *tituli* from public monuments, all dating from antiquity, late antiquity and the Middle Ages.[63] More than half of these inscriptions are lost today and, already in the Renaissance, most of them were missing.[64]

The so-called *Sylloge Signoriliana*, which is dated to 1409, is the second oldest surviving compilation of inscriptions.[65] Out of the three surviving recensions of this *sylloge*, the third one is attributed to the Roman civic official Niccolò Signorili (died in 1427), a secretary of the senate.[66] The *Sylloge Signoriliana* records Latin classical texts and some Greek and medieval inscriptions: in all three recensions the author provides a brief note on the location. He ignores, however, line divisions and the original layout of the *titulus* and does not follow a particular structure when arranging the material.

2.2 Poggio Bracciolini and *De varietate fortunae*

After the *Sylloge Signoriliana*, the methods of gathering and transcribing epigraphic material of the Italian humanist Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) were the most impactful. Hailing from Florence, Poggio came to Rome in 1403 and started working as papal

[62] Augusto Campana, *Studi epigrafici ed epigrafia nuova nel Rinascimento umanistico* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2005), p. 8. For an extensive description of the Einsiedeln manuscript, with an analysis of the functions and aims of the text, see Anna Blennow, 'Wanderers and Wonders. The Medieval Guidebooks to Rome', in *Rome and the Guidebook Tradition: From the Middle Ages to the 20th Century*, ed. by Anna Blennow and Stefano Fogelberg Rota (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019), pp. 33-88.
[63] Buonopane, *Manuale di epigrafia latina*, p. 19; Buonocore, 'Epigraphic Research from its Inception', p. 23.
[64] Blennow, 'Wanderers and Wonders', p. 38. For a list of the inscriptions preserved in the *Codex Einsidlensis*, see *CIL* VI, pp. IX-XXVI.
[65] Buonocore, 'Epigraphic Research from its Inception', p. 26. On the *Sylloge Signoriliana*, see Martin Ott, *Die Entdeckung des Altertums. Der Umgang mit der römischen Vergangenheit Süddeutschlands im 16. Jahrhundert* (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 2002), pp. 151-55.
[66] Ida Calabi Limentani, 'Primi orientamenti per una storia dell'epigrafia classica', *Acme*, 19 (1966), 155-220 (p. 157).

secretary for Pope Boniface IX (Pietro Tomacelli; *c*. 1350-1404).[67] At the request of his mentor in Florence, the Italian chancellor Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406), Poggio started recording inscriptions.[68] Poggio's most famous and most ambitious work, *De varietate fortunae* (completed around 1450), laments the destruction of Rome and takes the form of a dialogue with his friend and colleague, his fellow papal bureaucrat, Antonio Loschi (1368-1441).[69] In this work, inscriptions play an important role in Poggio's reflections, as he quotes them to emphasize the distance between antiquity and his own times.[70] Poggio's efforts in the epigraphic field did not end with *De varietate fortunae*, which he started writing when he was already in his fifties: he was also the author of a manuscript containing eighty-six *tituli*, which he compiled by gathering texts from the actual stones and from other scholars' transcriptions.[71] Although the original manuscript is lost, it can be partially reconstructed with BAV, Vat. Lat. 9152 and Biblioteca Angelica, MS. 430. Unlike many of his predecessors, Poggio was not satisfied with only describing the inscribed monuments, but he thought about the meaning of the abbreviations, about the layout and the structure, and about what epigraphic texts could teach us about the ancient past.[72] As we shall see in this thesis, many sixteenth-century scholars

[67] Ott, *Die Entdeckung des Altertums*, p. 135.
[68] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 21.
[69] For a detailed introduction to the work, its structure and the sources used by Poggio, see Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini, *Poggio Bracciolini: De varietate fortunae*, ed. by Outi Merisalo (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1993), pp. 9-24. For an overview of the context in which *De varietate fortunae* was written, see Peter Spring, 'The Topographical and Archaeological Study of the Antiquities of the City of Rome, 1420-1447' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 242-49.
[70] I shall come back to *De varietate fortunae* and the theme of the destruction of Rome briefly in Chapter Five.
[71] Iiro Kajanto, 'Poggio Bracciolini and Classical Epigraphy', *Arctos*, 19 (1985), 19-40 (p. 19).
[72] In 'Poggio Bracciolini and Classical Epigraphy', p. 25, Kajanto notes, however, that Poggio surprisingly neglected epigraphical evidence for orthographic matters (especially for the restoration of the diphthongs *ae* and *oe*), despite the fact that his closest colleagues used epigraphs to support their arguments about Latin spelling.

aimed for a similar approach towards inscriptions, an attitude which Poggio was already displaying in the fifteenth century.[73]

2.3 Cyriac of Ancona and the Importance of the Epigraphic Support

The influence of the Italian merchant Ciriaco de' Pizzicolli, more commonly known as Cyriac of Ancona (1391-1453), should also be emphasized in this section, as he was one of the first scholars to represent the support of the inscription.[74] Cyriac was also among the first scholars to copy non-monumental inscriptions: his transcriptions not only saved countless texts from oblivion but his drawings and descriptions also contributed to archaeological science.[75] Cyriac's recordings are indeed relatively accurate, as he includes details about the location of the monument, the condition of the stone (whether it was damaged or fragmented) and in some occasions, even the measurements.[76] Cyriac, however, does not provide such details for all his transcriptions and he also invented some false inscriptions: Antonio Agustín and Ambrosio de Morales will later characterize Cyriac as a forger and will criticize him for the creation of

[73] There is no scope here to discuss Poggio Braciolini's broader importance for the development of the Italian Renaissance.

[74] The literature on Cyriac is extensive: for a good starting point, see Erich Ziebarth, 'Cyriacus von Ancona als Begründer der Inschriftenforschung', *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, 9 (1902), 214-26; Gianfranco Paci and Sergio Sconocchia, eds, *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'Umanesimo* (Reggio Emilia: Edizioni Diabasis, 1998). For the fragmentary remnants of Cyriac's diaries, see Cyriac of Ancona, *Later Travels*, ed. and trans. by Edward W. Bodnar and Clive Foss (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003) and Cyriac of Ancona, *Life and Early Travels*, ed. and trans. by Edward W. Bodnar and Clive Foss (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015).

[75] Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969), p. 139.

[76] For a fascinating account of Cyriac's approach to ancient monuments (in this case, the Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus, ancient town of Mysia in Anatolia, now in Turkey), see Bernard Ashmole, 'Cyriac of Ancona and the Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 19 (1956), 179-91.

Spanish *tituli*.[77] Nonetheless, the concern for the support of the epigraphic text was particularly prominent in the Cinquecento, as we shall see later in this thesis.[78]

2.4 Giovanni Giocondo and the Importance of the Autopsy of the Monument

The Italian friar Giovanni Giocondo (*c.* 1433-1515) was another figure who greatly influenced practices of transcription of epigraphic texts at the end of the fifteenth century.[79] Multiple scholars assembled their epigraphic manuscripts by copying material that had been gathered in previous *corpora*: although these 'borrowings' were an immense aid for the transmission of epigraphic material in the Renaissance, they could become very problematic if they were inaccurate or even invented.[80] Giocondo's pioneering method consisted in creating two separate sections in his epigraphic manuscript: one for the texts copied directly by him from the original stones, another for texts he had found in other collections or that had been communicated to him by friends.[81] This approach allowed him to include the 'borrowed' material in his manuscript while signalling to the reader that he had not personally seen the inscribed monument.[82] Giocondo's epigraphic manuscript, which displays a clear change in the methodological approaches of collecting and recording inscriptions, differed greatly from

[77] Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 450. On Cyriac's Spanish *falsae*, see Helena Gimeno Pascual, 'El despertar de la ciencia epigráfica en España. ¿Ciríaco de Ancona: un modelo para los primeros epigrafistas españoles?', in *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'Umanesimo*, ed. by Gianfranco Paci and Sergio Sconocchia (Reggio Emilia: Edizioni Diabasis, 1998), pp. 373-82. For an explanation of Antonio Agustín's take on false inscriptions, including Cyriac's creations, see Chapter 5.2.3.

[78] For more information on Cyriac, see Section 4.3 in the Introduction.

[79] For a biographical account on Giocondo, see Lucia A. Ciapponi, 'Appunti per una biografia di Giovanni Giocondo da Verona', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 4 (1961), 131-58; Pier Nicola Pagliara, 'Giovanni Giocondo da Verona', in *DBI*, vol. 56 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2001), pp. 326-38.

[80] I shall address some of the problems posed by these 'borrowings' in Chapter One.

[81] Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, p. 150; Koortbojian, 'A Collection of Inscriptions for Lorenzo De' Medici', p. 303; Buonocore, 'Epigraphic Research from its Inception', p. 30. On Giocondo's methods of transcription, see Michael Koortbojian, 'Fra Giovanni Giocondo and his Epigraphic Methods: Notes on Biblioteca Marciana, MS Lat. XIV, 171', *Kölner Jahrbuch*, 26 (1993), 49-55. There are three known redactions of Giocondo's epigraphic *sylloge*, entitled *Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum et Graecarum*. The manuscripts BAV, Vat. Lat. 10228 and BAV, Vat. Lat. 5326 correspond to the first and third redactions respectively and were written by the Italian scribe Bartolomeo Sanvito (1433-1511). For a table of these redactions, see Buonocore, 'Epigraphic Research from its Inception', p. 31.

[82] Karet, 'The Origins of Northern Italian Collecting', p. 121; Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina*, p. 44; Calabi Limentani, 'Primi orientamenti per una storia dell'epigrafia classica', p. 159.

previous compilations of the early Quattrocento, which were based on the research of Cyriac of Ancona. Giocondo's collection can indeed be linked to the philological innovations that we observe in scholarship in the 1470s and 1480s.[83] We shall see in the course of this thesis how the importance of autopsy and of acknowledging one's sources will become especially imperative in *corpora* of the second half of the sixteenth century.

2.5 Epigraphic Publications before the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*

The *Sylloge Signoriliana*, and the manuscripts of Poggio, Cyriac and Giocondo were never reproduced in print. Three early printed collections, however, deserve attention, as they paved the way for Mazzocchi's seminal *Epigrammata* and subsequent printed *syllogai*. In effect, the only printed work in the Quattrocento containing epigraphic material was the posthumously-published *De amplitudine, de vastatione et de instauratione urbis Ravennae* (Venice: Matteo Capcasa, 1489) by the Italian humanist Desiderio Spreti (1414- *c.* 1474). Spreti prepared this collection as early as the 1450s as a supplement to a history of Ravenna and the work circulated for several years in manuscript form: after Spreti's death, his son, Giambattista Spreti, wished for the work to be printed.[84] According to Spreti, inscriptions provided absolute proof of Ravenna's Roman roots and heritage.[85] Spreti's work differed from other works of local history: Spreti used the inscriptions in the body of the work and expanded the abbreviations; then, in the appendix he included the texts with their abbreviations intact and with indications of their location. The fifty-five inscriptions, which are listed on the last eight pages of the volume, were mostly copied from stones found in local churches; all the texts are printed in a

[83] Koortbojian, 'A Collection of Inscriptions for Lorenzo De' Medici', p. 301. On these philological innovations, see Anthony Grafton, 'On the Scholarship of Politian and Its Context', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 40 (1977), 150-88.
[84] Leonardo Mascanzoni, 'Spreti, Desiderio', in *DBI*, vol. 93 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2018), pp. 778-80.
[85] Margaret Daly Davis, *Archäologie der Antike: Aus den Beständen der Herzog August Bibliothek 1500-1700* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994), p. 84; Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 30; Christopher S. Wood, 'Notation of Visual Information in the Earliest Archaeological Scholarship', *Word & Image*, 17 (2001), 94-118 (p. 103). For an overview of the structure of Spreti's work, see Mascanzoni, 'Spreti, Desiderio', p. 779.

lower-case font. Spreti's vivid descriptions of the supports' reliefs indicate that he saw these inscribed monuments *de visu*. Despite the abundance of epigraphic manuscripts in the fifteenth century, Spreti's work was the only Italian publication of inscriptions for thirty years: it was then reissued at the end of the eighteenth century by a descendant of Spreti, Camillo Spreti, with an Italian translation and a new *corpus* of inscriptions.[86]

After Spreti's *De amplitudine urbis Ravennae*, the German scholar Nicholas Marschalk (1470-1525) compiled his *Epitaphia quaedam mirae vetustatis* (Erfurt: Nicholas Marschalk, 1502), which contained eight pages of inscriptions recorded from a variety of sites.[87] Far more striking in its accurate representation of *tituli* was the *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et eius dioecesi* (Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1505) by the German diplomat and economist Conrad Peutinger (1465-1547).[88] Peutinger's *corpus*, called 'a highly innovative experiment in printing' by Christopher Wood, consisted of sixteen pages with twenty-three inscriptions from Augsburg.[89] Peutinger had studied law at Bologna and Padua between 1482 and 1486; he then returned to Rome in the summer of 1491 where he started transcribing inscriptions.[90] Peutinger asked the German printer Erhard Ratdolt (1442-1528) to design a new typeface for his collection, a Roman majuscule so large (eight millimetres) that it almost simulated the lettering of the *tituli* themselves.[91] Although Peutinger is remembered for his

[86] Daly Davis, *Archäologie der Antike*, p. 84.
[87] On Marschalk's *sylloge*, see Christian Hülsen, 'Die Inschriftensammlung des Erfurter Humanisten Nicolaus Marschalk', *Jahrbücher der Königlichen Akademie gemeinnütziger Wissenschaften zu Erfurt*, 38 (1912), 161-85; Meier, 'The Medieval and Early Modern World and the Material Past', p. 253.
[88] I shall return briefly to Peutinger's *corpus* in Chapter 3.2.4.
[89] Christopher S. Wood, 'Early Archaeology and the Book Trade: The Case of Peutinger's *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta* (1505)', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 28 (1998), 83-118 (p. 83). On Peutinger's *corpus* of inscriptions, see also Martin Ott, 'Konrad Peutinger und die Inschriften des römischen Augsburg: Die *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta* von 1505 im Kontext', in *Humanismus und Renaissance in Augsburg: Kulturgeschichte einer Stadt zwischen Spätmittelalter und Dreissigjährigem Krieg*, ed. by Gernot Michael Müller (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), pp. 275-89. For a critical edition of Peutinger's printed compilation, see Conrad Peutinger, *Ein Augsburger Humanist und seine römischen Inschriften: Konrad Peutingers Romanae vetustatis fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et eius dioecesi*, ed. by Matthias Ferber and Gernot Michael Müller (Lindenberg: Kunstverlag Josef Fink, 2014).
[90] Wood, 'Early Archaeology and the Book Trade', p. 90.
[91] Wood, 'Early Archaeology and the Book Trade', p. 84; Buonocore, 'Dal codice al monumento', p. 221.

printed *corpus* of 1505, he also compiled manuscripts of inscriptions.[92] Peutinger's publication certainly brought innovations to the representation of *tituli* on the printed page, but it was still part of the humanistic movement to legitimize the glorious past of a certain city by referring to *tituli*. The *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta* was indeed created to emphasize Augsburg's Roman roots and the inscriptions, once again, confirmed the antiquity of the city.[93]

Although the publications of Spreti, Marschalk and Peutinger were innovative to lesser or greater extents, it is not difficult to see why the *Epigrammata* represented a turning point in the history of epigraphic scholarship: despite its inaccuracies, it surpassed previous epigraphic publications in content (with more than three thousand texts) and did not need to append the transcriptions to a history of the city, given that it depicted inscriptions from the Eternal City itself.

3 Definition of Terms

3.1 *Inscriptiones, Epigramma* and *Tituli*

The meaning of 'inscription', even by modern standards, is not unproblematic: in this thesis, I shall use 'inscription', *titulus*, 'inscribed monument' and 'epigraphic text' to refer to a 'piece of writing or lettering engraved, etched, incised, traced, stamped, or otherwise imprinted into or onto a durable surface'.[94] Although this definition could also apply to legends on coins or engraved gems, these kinds of writings have since developed their own disciplines and will not

[92] On Peutinger's epigraphic manuscripts, see Gerard González Germain, 'Una aproximación a los "studia epigraphica" de Conrad Peutinger: el testimonio de las inscripciones hispanas', *Euphrosyne*, 42 (2014), 119-34.
[93] Roland Béhar, 'Die *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (1534)', in *Figuren des Transformativen: Rezeption, Transfer, Austausch in den spanisch-deutschen kulturellen Beziehungen vom Mittelalter bis in die Gegenwart*, ed. by Johannes Helmrath, María Ocón Fernández and Stefan Schlelein (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2020), pp. 57-74 (p. 60).
[94] Bodel, 'Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian', p. 2.

be treated in this thesis (see Section 4.1 in this Introduction for the exclusion of numismatic material).

It is fruitful at this point to consider what terms sixteenth-century scholars employed to refer to inscriptions and whether they had a specific definition. My consultation of manuscripts and early printed *corpora* indicates that humanists employed *inscriptio* and *epigramma* interchangeably for epigraphic texts.[95] In his *Dictionarium latinogallicum* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1538), the French printer Robert Estienne (1503-1559) gives a very vague definition of *inscriptio*: 'Writing that we do on something'.[96] In his *Diálogos de medallas* of 1587, Agustín provides the earliest discussion of the word 'inscription'. Agustín was born at Saragossa in 1517 and after completing his doctorate in Civil Law at Salamanca in 1534, he continued his studies at the Collegio di Spagna in Bologna.[97] During his student days in Bologna, Agustín attended the lectures of Andrea Alciato, who applied humanistic methods to the interpretation of legal texts, a new approach that Agustín found most stimulating.[98] In 1544, Agustín was appointed as one of the auditors of the Rota, the papal tribunal, and thus spent the next ten years in Rome.[99] There, his house became a meeting-place for renowned antiquarians,

[95] According to Debiais in *Messages de pierre*, the Middle Ages presented a different picture, where the term *titulus* was used more frequently than *inscriptio* (p. 31).
[96] 'Inscriptio. Escripture qu'on fait sur quelque chose' (Robert Estienne, *Dictionarium latinogallicum* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1538), p. 377).
[97] Charles Mitchell, 'Archaeology and Romance in Renaissance Italy', in *Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to the Late Cecilia M. Ady*, ed. by Ernest F. Jacob (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), pp. 455-83 (p. 455). The bibliography on Agustín and his activities in the epigraphic field is vast, but I refer to the influential multi-authored volume edited by Michael H. Crawford, ed., *Antonio Agustín between Renaissance and Counter-Reform* (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1993), and to a more recent contribution by Joan Carbonell Manils and Helena Gimeno Pascual, 'Juan Fernández Franco, Antonio Agustín y la epigrafía bética. Nuevos datos para una monografía', in *A Baete ad fluvium Anam: cultura epigráfica en la Bética Occidental y territorios fronterizos*, ed. by Joan Carbonell Manils and Helena Gimeno Pascual (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2016), pp. 267-88. For (part of) Agustín's correspondence, see Antonio Agustín, *Epistolario de Antonio Agustín*, ed. by Cándido Flores Sellés (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1980); Lelio Torelli, *Correspondance de Lelio Torelli avec Antonio Agustín et Jean Matal (1542-1553)*, ed. by Jean-Louis Ferrary (Como: Edizioni New Press, 1992); Joan Carbonell Manils, 'Latini Latinii epistulae ad Antonium Augustinum missae cum quibusdam comentariis [*sic*] auctae nunc primum editae', *Faventia*, 19 (1997), 149-74.
[98] Mitchell, 'Archaeology and Romance in Renaissance Italy', p. 455. For Agustín's contributions to the legal sphere, see Stephan Kuttner, 'Antonio Agustín's Edition of the *Compilationes antiquae*', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, 7 (1977), 1-14. The introduction in *Correspondance de Lelio Torelli avec Antonio Agustín et Jean Matal*, ed. by Ferrary, also offers an overview of Agustín's juridical work.
[99] Mitchell, 'Archaeology and Romance in Renaissance Italy', p. 456.

including the Italian humanist Ottavio Pantagato (1494-1567), the Italian scholar Basilio Zanchi (1501-1558), the Neapolitan architect and painter Pirro Ligorio (*c.* 1513-1583) and Onofrio Panvinio.[100] Agustín returned to Spain in 1564, and from 1576 he was Archbishop of Tarragona. He remained in Spain until his death in 1586. Modern scholarship considers Agustín a very reliable figure for the study of consistent aims and methods of antiquarian scholarship in the later Renaissance. Even in the sixteenth century, Agustín had already established a reputation as a learned man and his *Diálogos de medallas* was held in high esteem. In a letter to the Dutch cartographer and geographer Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) of 1586, for example, the linguist Andreas Schottus (André Schott; 1552-1629) laments Agustín's death and passes on a copy of the *Diálogos* to his friend:[101]

> I also include the eleven *Diálogos* of Antonio Agustín, Archbishop of Tarragona, a very learned book about ancient coins […], and, believe me, a rare one at that, since the author had wanted only a hundred copies to be printed. He gave me this [copy], which I gladly send to you as a gift.[102]

The *Diálogos de medallas*, like its title indicates, presents itself as a conversation between Agustín and an interlocutor: despite the final three sections on epigraphic texts, its

[100] Mitchell, 'Archaeology and Romance in Renaissance Italy', p. 456; Marc Mayer-Olivé, 'Antonio Agustín entre política y humanismo: reflexiones sobre su aportación a la epigrafía', in *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico: homenaje al profesor Antonio Fontán*, ed. by José María Maestre Maestre, Joaquí Pascual Barea and Luis Charlo Brea, 5 vols (Alcañiz: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos, 2002), I, pp. 359-73 (p. 360).

[101] Abraham Ortelius will be of paramount importance in Chapter 3.1. Andreas Schottus published a praise for Agustín after his friend's death.

[102] A. Schottus to A. Ortelius, 24 June 1586: 'Adieci Dialogos XI Ant(onii) Augustini Archiepiscopi Tarraconensis, de veterum numismatis librum doctissimum […] et, mihi crede, rarum, quod vix centum edi auctor voluerit. Quod mihi donaverat, tibi libens merito dono misi' (Abraham Ortelius, *Abrahami Ortelii (geographi Antverpiensis) et virorum eruditorum epistulae*, ed. by John Henry Hessels (Cambridge: Cantabrigiae Typis Academiae, 1887), p. 337). After the sack of Antwerp of 1576, Schottus travelled to Paris and then to Spain, where he met and befriended Agustín. On Schottus's importance as a scholar in the sixteenth century, especially with regards to his publication of the Ankara version of the *Monumentum Ancyracum* of Augustus's *Res gestae*, see Paul Nelles, 'The Measure of Rome: André Schott, Justus Lipsius and the Early Reception of the *Res gestae divi Augusti*', in *History of Scholarship: A Selection of Papers from the Seminar on the History of Scholarship Held Annually at the Warburg Institute*, ed. by Christopher R. Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 113-34.

primary concern is medals and coins.[103] Agustín wrote his work in Spanish, yet it enjoyed such immense success that it was later translated into Italian and Latin.[104] In a letter to the Italian historian Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600) from 1583, Agustín explains his three reasons for writing the *Diálogos de medallas* in Spanish:

> Regarding my *Dialoghi spagnoli di medaglie et inscrittioni*, you wanted to know why I did not write them in Latin: the first reason is that they cover numerous things that are well known in Italy, but little known in Spain; the second reason is that three [out of eleven] chapters discuss Spanish medals; and the third reason is that, by using the vernacular, I can express in detail ideas that I cannot in Latin.[105]

In the ninth dialogue 'De las Inscriciones, y particularmente de la inscrición de S. Iuste de Barcelona', Agustín's interlocutor wishes to learn more about inscriptions and how the ancients called them, which leads Agustín to explain the etymology of the term:

> Usually, we call them 'inscriptions', a term derived from the Latin but translated from the Greek *epigramma*, which is also used […] And since some form of writing was placed on buildings, statues or tombs stating for whom and who had done it, they were called inscriptions, because the letters were inscribed on a surface.[106]

Agustín also adds that using the (Spanish) terms *letrero* or *retulo* would not be incorrect but would be overly general and imprecise: although the ancient Romans called inscriptions *tituli*,

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[103] For additional information on Agustín's *Diálogos de medallas*, see Juan Francisco Alcina Rovira, 'Notas sobre la imprenta de Felipe Mey en Tarragona', in *Humanae litterae: estudios de humanismo y tradición clásica en homenaje al profesor Gaspar Morocho Gayo*, ed. by Juan Francisco Domínguez (León: Universidad de León, 2004), pp. 19-54 (p. 26).

[104] Ida Calabi Limentani, 'Linee per una storia del manuale di epigrafia latina (dall'Agustín al Cagnat)', *Epigraphica*, 58 (1996), 9-34 (p. 10).

[105] A. Agustín to F. Orsini, 12 January 1583: 'Vengo alli miei *Dialoghi Spagnoli di Medaglie et Inscrittioni*, desiderate saper la causa, perché non li feci latini. La prima è perché trattano di molte cose note in Italia e poco sapute in Hispagna. La seconda perché trattano di tre libri di medaglie spagnole. La terza per dichiarar minutamente molte cose che al vulgare si permette, ma non in latino' (Antonio Agustín, *Antonii Augustini archiepiscopi Tarraconensis opera omnia*, 8 vols (Lucca: Josephus Rocchius, 1765-74), VII (1972), p. 262).

[106] 'Comúnmente a cada una llamamos inscrición, y es palabra latina, pero traduzida desta griega *epigramma* que también está en uso […] Y como en los edificios, o estatuas, o sepulturas se ponía algún letrero que declarava en honra de quien, y por quien se hizo aquello, assí se llama inscripción, porque se inscriven aquellas letras' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, pp. 337-38).

the Spanish *títulos* could lead to confusion, as the same word is used for book titles.[107] Agustín further specifies that 'When the inscription is dedicated to the dead, it is called an epitaph, and any person who calls any inscription an epitaph is clearly misusing the word'.[108] The Spanish scholar also lists the different types of supports of inscriptions as well as their possible dedicatees:

> They are made for the living or the dead, and they can be placed on buildings such as temples, houses, arches, bridges and other similar infrastructures, or statues [...] We find the same pattern with epitaphs for the dead: they can be dedicated to men, women, freemen and slaves; we even find some dedications to horses, dogs and other animals. Another way of categorizing them [the inscriptions] is according to the language used, whether it is in Latin, Greek or Hebrew, or whether the inscription is in verse or in prose.[109]

Agustín, therefore, had established a special terminology for the different kinds of inscriptions and had a precise idea of what should be considered a *titulus*. We also observe this trend in epigraphic *corpora* of the second-half of the Cinquecento, where humanists have a clear sense of what should be recorded in an epigraphic *corpus*. With Agustín's definitions in mind, we should also consider what exactly was considered an epigraphic *corpus* and how compilations of inscriptions differed from similar sixteenth-century productions.

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[107] 'Llamavan también los antiguos títulos a estas inscriciones, ahunque también se dize el título del libro y del capítulo […] y los títulos de los Cardenales' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 338).

[108] 'Quando la inscrición se haze a muertos se dize epitaphio, y assí abusan del nombre los que a qualquier letrero llaman epitaphio' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, pp. 338-39).

[109] 'Se hazen por bivos o por muertos, y se ponen en edificios como templos, casas, arcos, puentes y otras cosas tales, o en estatuas […] Lo mismo quanto a los epitaphios de muertos variando por las personas varones, y mugeres, libres, y esclavos, y si hai algunos de cavallos, y perros, y de otros animales. Otra división hai por la manera de escritura, como es de lenguas latina, griega, hebrea, o en verso o en prosa' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, pp. 339-40).

3.2 Use of Inscriptions in Sixteenth-Century Works

My thesis aims to establish a consistent survey of manuscript and printed *syllogai* in the Cinquecento, a necessary study given the number of influential sixteenth-century works that used inscriptions to compile topographical guides of ancient Rome or as evidence for the correct use of Latin spelling and grammar, or for the understanding of Roman onomastics, or to prove the distinguished origins of a city (as I have briefly shown in the first section of this Introduction). By modern standards, such works would not be considered epigraphic *syllogai*. Even in the sixteenth century, there were some clear distinctions between them. These works differed from epigraphic collections insofar as their main focus was not on inscriptions; rather, they used *tituli* as evidence to lend more credibility to their affirmations. A brief overview of the types of works that used epigraphic material as proof for other arguments will allow us to have a sense of the variety of information that scholars could gather from inscriptions while also allowing us to see the differences between these kinds of works and collections of inscriptions.

Guides to the ancient city of Rome were abundant in sixteenth-century Rome. In medieval times, the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, commonly attributed to Benedict, a canon of St Peter's, was the most popular guidebook to the Eternal City.[110] The original version of the *Mirabilia*, which dates to the twelfth century, was then transformed and adapted into multiple forms and languages throughout Europe in the fifteenth century.[111] Although, the *Mirabilia* dominated studies of Roman topography until the Renaissance, they contained a high number of inaccuracies, as they very often combined —and mixed up— Rome's pagan and Christian

[110] Stefano Riccioni, 'Rewriting Antiquity, Renewing Rome. The Identity of the Eternal City through Visual Art, Monumental Inscriptions and the *Mirabilia*', *Medieval Encounters*, 17 (2011), 439-63 (p. 441). For additional bibliography on the *Mirabilia*, see Dale Kinney, 'Fact and Fiction in the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*', in *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. by Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol Neuman De Vegvar (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 235-52.

[111] David Benson, 'The Dead and the Living: Some Medieval Descriptions of the Ruins and Relics of Rome Known to the English', in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), pp. 147-82.

history.[112] In addition, the *Mirabilia* acted as a mirror and political manifesto of church ideology: they inspired viewers to meditate on the superiority of Christianity over ancient Rome.[113]

Although the *Mirabilia* and guides for pilgrims and travellers were still being written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there was also an increasing number of humanistic guides examining Roman topography and antiquarian questions. One of these, the *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1510), appeared because the Italian topographer Francesco Albertini (1469-1510) wished to produce a new *Mirabilia* without errors. Compiled between 1506 and 1509, the *Opusculum* describes in its first section the ancient monuments of the Eternal City, adopting the same structure as the *Mirabilia*.[114] Albertini's innovation comes in the second section, where he mentions the architectural improvements of contemporary Rome and reports recent excavations and discoveries. In this part, Albertini employs a variety of sources: apart from classical texts (written both by famous and lesser-known authors), he makes extensive use of inscriptions, relying on both personal observation and the manuscripts of his predecessors.[115] Despite Albertini's ambition to adopt a more scholarly approach than the *Mirabilia*, he did not possess the necessary knowledge to analyse the epigraphic texts correctly and his work contained conspicuous errors: in fact, Albertini required the help of the Italian poet and antiquarian Andrea Fulvio (1470-1527; see below for more information on this scholar) to identify many

[112] Roberto Weiss, 'Lineamenti per una storia degli studi antiquari in Italia dal dodicesimo secolo al sacco di Roma del 1527', *Rinascimento*, 9 (1958), 141-201 (p. 144).
[113] Riccioni, 'Rewriting Antiquity, Renewing Rome', p. 443. For a brief overview of the structure of the *Mirabilia*, see Chapter 2.2.1.
[114] For a biographical account of Albertini, see Cesare Olschki, 'Francesco Albertini', *Roma: Rivista di studi e di vita romana*, 2 (1924), 483-90; José Ruysschaert, 'Albertini, Francesco', in *DBI*, vol. 1 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960), pp. 724-25.
[115] Albertini wished to publish a *sylloge* of inscriptions, which never materialized. Some modern scholars have suggested, however, that he might have contributed to the compilation of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* of 1521 (I shall come back to this possibility in Chapter 4.1.1).

of Rome's ancient monuments.[116] Although Albertini's work remains important to us, it was not exceptionally impactful on contemporary antiquarian and epigraphic scholarship: Albertini's description of ancient Rome is never characterized by a sense of nostalgia for the past; instead, the text presents ancient Rome as a city to be surpassed by the current one.[117]

Three years after Albertini's *Opusculum*, Andrea Fulvio published his first archaeological work, the *Antiquaria urbis* (Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1513). Fulvio had helped Albertini in culling epigraphic material and decided to compose his own poetic encomium. The *Antiquaria*, dedicated to the newly elected Pope Leo X, thus offered a survey of ancient Roman monuments written in Latin hexameters and included the major churches, recent papal tombs and notable contemporary buildings.[118] Just before the Sack of Rome of 1527, Fulvio published an expanded version of the *Antiquaria*, his *Antiquitates urbis* (Rome: Marcello Silber, 1527).[119] As Fulvio admits in the long preface to Pope Clement VII (Giulio di Giuliano de' Medici; 1478-1534), he intended his work to preserve on paper the ancient remains of Rome that, despite the efforts of some popes and humanists, were still being destroyed. Unlike previous scholars, in his *Antiquitates urbis* Fulvio adopts a historical and philological approach to describe the city. Fulvio's description of the Eternal City is then based on its remains and is completed by information from other sources, including literary texts, classical, medieval and contemporary inscriptions, and, for the first time in a guidebook,

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[116] Victor P. Tschudi, 'Two Sixteenth-Century Guidebooks and the *Bibliotopography* of Rome', in *Rome and the Guidebook Tradition: From the Middle Ages to the 20th Century*, ed. by Anna Blennow and Stefano Fogelberg Rota (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019), pp. 89-114 (p. 90). Albertini's indebtedness to Fulvio appears clearly in the celebratory verse on the title page of the *Opusculum*. See Chapter 4.1.1 for more information on Albertini and Fulvio's friendship.

[117] Tschudi, 'Two Sixteenth-Century Guidebooks', p. 92. On Albertini's *Opusculum*, see also Concetta Bianca, 'Da Firenze a Roma: Francesco Albertini', *Letteratura & Arte*, 9 (2011), 59-70; Matthew Sturgis, *When in Rome: 2000 Years of Roman Sightseeing* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2011), pp. 122-33.

[118] Massimo Ceresa, 'Fulvio, Andrea', in *DBI*, vol. 50 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1998), pp. 709-12 (p. 710).

[119] Stenhouse, 'Georg Fabricius and Inscriptions as a Source of Law', p. 99; Philip J. Jacks, 'The *Simulachrum* of Fabio Calvo: A View of Roman Architecture *all'antica* in 1527', *The Art Bulletin*, 72 (1990), 453-81 (p. 453).

coins.[120] Fulvio belonged to the circle of the Italian humanist Giulio Pomponio Leto (1428-1498); the difference in erudition between him and Albertini is visible in the *Antiquitates urbis*.[121]

The *Topographia antiquae Romae* (Lyon: Sébastien Gryphius, 1534), later revised and enlarged as the *Urbis Romae topographia* (Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico, 1544) by the Italian archaeologist and topographer Bartolomeo Marliano (1488-1566), was the third and most famous topographical guide to the ancient city of Rome in the sixteenth century. Marliano's work was published in Rome and Lyon in 1534. Although the first edition met with great success (it was reprinted several times and translated into Italian), it was full of mistakes, which Marliano then corrected in the version of 1544.[122] Furthermore, the *Topographia* came out in *octavo* format that facilitated its carrying around.[123] In order to identify buildings and sites, Marliano uses Latin classical texts and inscriptions, quoting these at length and thus reinforcing the idea that any study of the ancient city should involve the study of epigraphic texts. Marliano describes the regions and zones of ancient Rome, from the Capitoline to the Quirinal: he highlights important structures and supplements what he has drawn from textual sources with personal observations.[124] Nevertheless, just like the majority of guidebooks to Rome, Marliano's work identifies the location of the ancient structures and buildings but provides little guidance to their original appearance.[125]

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[120] Roberto Weiss, 'Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano (*c*. 1470-1527)', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, Storia e Filosofia*, 28 (1959), 1-44 (p. 31).
[121] Weiss, 'Lineamenti per una storia degli studi antiquari in Italia', p. 170.
[122] On Marliano and his work, see Marc Laureys, 'Bartolomeo Marliano (1488-1566): Ein Antiquar des 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Antiquarische Gelehrsamkeit und Bildende Kunst: Die Gegenwart der Antike in der Renaissance*, ed. by Gunter Schweikhart (Cologne: Walther König, 1996), pp. 151-67.
[123] Tschudi, 'Two Sixteenth-Century Guidebooks', p. 107.
[124] Jessica Maier, 'Mapping Past and Present: Leonardo Bufalini's Plan of Rome (1551)', *Imago Mundi*, 59 (2007), 1-23 (p. 13).
[125] Maier, 'Mapping Past and Present', p. 13. For an overview of significant topographical guides to the city of Rome in the Cinquecento and of how each created the vision of an ideal, everlasting city, see Ruth E. Kritzer, 'Renaissance Rome Descriptions in Comparison', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 72 (2010), 113-25.

Besides using inscriptions for the compilation of guidebooks to ancient Rome, humanists also employed them for their orthographical and grammatical value: epigraphic texts, after all, represented the best —uncorrupted— evidence when a Latin word or phrase was contested. In his *Orthographiae ratio collecta ex libris antiquis, grammaticis, etymologia, Graeca consuetudine, nummis veteribus, tabulis aereis, lapidibus amplius MD* (Venice: Paolo Manuzio, 1566), the Italian humanist Aldo Manuzio the Younger (1547-1597) uses around 1,500 inscriptions as a means to spell Latin words in the correct classical manner.[126] Manuzio proves, for instance, that *accensus* is the correct form in Latin and not *adcensus*: this argument is followed by the transcription of a *titulus* where the form *accensus* is recorded. Manuzio's work of 1566 was a much-improved version of a brief volume he had compiled in 1561 when he was fourteen years old, under the name *Orthographiae ratio*: the compilation of 1561 was full of mistakes and false inscriptions and, for many entries, Manuzio did not transcribe the inscription. The edition of 1566, on the other hand, bears carefully transcribed *tituli*, all accompanied by a note on their respective locations. Furthermore, Manuzio excludes many of the *falsae* that abounded in the 1561 version. For most entries, Manuzio reproduces more than one inscription to prove the correct spelling of the word: for instance, the entry *coniux* (which should not be spelt *coniunx*) has no less than 123 inscriptions. Manuzio's work enjoyed great success in the sixteenth century and was often quoted by other scholars. In his *Diálogos de medallas*, for instance, Agustín mentions the *Orthographiae ratio* to his interlocutor: 'You have probably seen already how Paolo Manuzio and his son compiled a whole book of inscriptions only to prove the correct way of spelling'.[127] The *Orthographiae ratio* continued to be used as a work of reference up to Scipione Maffei.[128] Even so, Manuzio's work remained a simple list of spellings found in inscriptions, and the author showed no attempt at

[126] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 150.
[127] 'Ya havrá visto como Paulo Manucio y su hijo juntaron un libro entero de inscriciones para sólo el provecho de la orthographía' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 340).
[128] Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina*, p. 95.

understanding why certain words were written in that peculiar way. Manuzio's *Orthographiae ratio*, however, should be understood as a work taking its place in a long-standing debate about proper Latinity.[129]

These various accounts show that inscriptions were widely used in sixteenth-century works, even when the purpose of the work was not purely intended as epigraphic. The guides of Albertini, Fulvio and Marliano, which strove to produce a topographical reconstruction of ancient Rome, and Manuzio's handbook to correct Latin spelling, demonstrate the strength of the inscription as a testimony from the classical past.[130] These sources also reinforce the kind of change that becomes predominant in the sixteenth century: scholars stop relying on ancient literary texts alone and decide to combine textual and visual information to achieve a better representation of the ancient past. In the Cinquecento, we clearly observe a growing desire to represent the inscription in its most complete and accurate manner (which took different forms depending on the scholar). Since the works that we have discussed so far, whether they are strictly epigraphical or broader in scope, are often described as 'antiquarian', this concept too must now take a moment of our attention.

3.3 The Activities of the *Antiquarius*

The term 'antiquarianism' is not without its problems: in his seminal article of 1950 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', Arnaldo Momigliano compares the diachronic method favoured by historians to the more synchronic approach taken by antiquarians, who write in systematic order, according to topics or categories and collect unselectively.[131] On the contrary, the historian uses facts that help him illustrate or explain specific situations. According to

[129] Michael Koortbojian, 'A Little-Known Manuscript, an Unpublished Letter to Aldo Manuzio il Giovane, and a Long-Forgotten Humanist-Antiquarian: Antonio Casario', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 46 (2001), 133-52 (p. 142).
[130] I have also described Albertini, Fulvio, Marliano and Manuzio's works because, as we shall see, sixteenth-century epigraphic *corpora* often made references to them (especially to Marliano and Manuzio's books).
[131] Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 13 (1950), 285-315.

Momigliano, antiquarians were interested in collecting relics of the past without any clear purpose or system, threatening the 'proper' historian: this view has deeply affected modern connotations of the 'antiquarian'.[132] Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Rome saw the rise of the *antiquarius* (*antiquario* in Italian, *antiquaire* in French), an expert in the practical interpretation of the models of antiquity for contemporary, architectural and sculptural purposes.[133] Used as a noun or adjective, *antiquarius* described humanists with an appropriate knowledge of classical objects: the ways in which the *antiquarii* could put their knowledge into practice varied, so that they could be dealers, artists, topographical scholars or surveyors.[134] The *antiquarius*, therefore, was capable of advising on the quality, rarity and value of ancient works of art and other collectors' items.[135] More generally, *antiquarius* primarily denoted someone engaged with Greek or Roman objects, who collected, classified and analysed *antiquitates*; what united antiquarians was their interest in the past.[136] In his *Dictionarium latinogallicum*, Robert Estienne simply characterizes the *antiquarius* as: 'a man curious of possessing or knowing ancient matters'.[137] After Momigliano's article, scholars have however

[132] For an insightful discussion of Momigliano's article, see also Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, pp. 16-19.
[133] Amanda Claridge, 'Archaeologies, Antiquaries and the *Memorie* of Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Rome', in *Archives and Excavations: Essays on the History of Archaeological Excavations in Rome and Southern Italy, from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Ilaria Bignamini (London: British School at Rome, 2004), pp. 33-53 (p. 34). See also Ingo Herklotz, *La Roma degli antiquari: cultura e erudizione tra Cinquecento e Settecento* (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2012), pp. 7-9. The following book represents a towering study on the developments of antiquarianism in the Renaissance: Maren Elisabeth Schwab, *Antike begreifen: Antiquarische Texte und Praktiken in Rom von Francesco Petrarca bis Bartolomeo Marliano* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2019). Unfortunately, due to the current pandemic, I have not been able to consult the book myself, but I believe that it would highly contribute to the discussion on the *antiquarius*.
[134] William Stenhouse, 'The Renaissance Foundations of European Antiquarianism', in *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by Alain Schnapp (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013), pp. 295-316 (p. 296).
[135] Claridge, 'Archaeologies, Antiquaries and the *Memorie*', p. 35.
[136] Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past*, p. 23; Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 16; Stenhouse, 'The Renaissance Foundations of European Antiquarianism', p. 296.
[137] 'Un homme curieux d'avoir ou sçavoir choses antiques' (Estienne, *Dictionarium latinogallicum*, p. 57).

argued that it would be deceptive to limit the significance of antiquarians to their roles as collectors and advisers to the powerful.[138]

Another characteristic of the *antiquarius* of the Renaissance is his veneration for antiquity: as he studied both textual and material remains of the classical past, the difference between philology and antiquarianism becomes harder to make.[139] Even more important is the fact that the antiquarian's endeavour was characterized by reconstruction, whether it was reassembling a building, a landscape, a text or a sculpture, the antiquarian was driven by a desire to reconstruct a lost whole.[140] The Italian Renaissance historian Flavio Biondo (1392-1463) is rightly considered a pioneer in antiquarianism by modern scholarship.[141] Biondo made significant contributions to historiography, historical geography and antiquarianism.[142]

I am aware of the pejorative connotations of the term 'antiquarian' and, given the still ongoing debate that surrounds the use of the term, I shall use it in a neutral sense in this thesis. When I use the term 'antiquarian', therefore, it is to refer to individuals involved with the material remains of Classical antiquity.

3.4 Epigraphy

By 'epigraphy', I refer to the science or discipline that studies inscriptions: the epigrapher must possess the necessary knowledge to decipher the text and must have all the required competences to be able to interpret what is written (and what is carved) and extract the

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[138] Alain Schnapp, 'Introduction: The Roots of Antiquarianism', in *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by Alain Schnapp (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013), pp. 1-10 (p. 2).
[139] Peter N. Miller, 'A Tentative Morphology of European Antiquarianism, 1500-2000', in *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by Alain Schnapp (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013), pp. 67-87 (p. 69).
[140] Miller, 'A Tentative Morphology of European Antiquarianism', p. 69; Angelo Mazzocco, 'A Reconsideration of Renaissance Antiquarianism in Light of Biondo Flavio's *Ars Antiquaria*', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 59 (2014), 121-59 (p. 128). The desire to reconstruct the fragmented past is tightly linked with the question of forgeries: see Chapter Five.
[141] On Biondo, see Stenhouse, 'The Renaissance Foundations of European Antiquarianism', pp. 297-98; Mazzocco, 'A Reconsideration of Renaissance Antiquarianism', pp. 129-53; William Stenhouse, 'Flavio Biondo and Later Renaissance Antiquarianism', in *The Invention of Rome: Biondo Flavio's Roma Triumphans and its Worlds*, ed. by Frances Muecke and Maurizio Campanelli (Geneva: Droz, 2017), pp. 259-73.
[142] Mazzocco, 'A Reconsideration of Renaissance Antiquarianism', p. 129. For the importance of Biondo's works, see Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past*, pp. 25-27.

information. The epigrapher should not only be concerned with producing an accurate rendition of the inscribed monument, he should also seek to insert the text and the support in its chronological and social context.

We should not project our modern definition of epigraphy onto sixteenth-century approaches to the study of inscriptions. We should not expect to see in compilations from the Cinquecento the same standards we have in our present age.[143] Nevertheless, in the sixteenth century, we observe a very definite change in how inscriptions are examined and considered: scholars think of inscriptions as having a strong, concrete link to the ancient past. Inscriptions are physical objects: by modern standards, the *editio princeps* of an epigraphic text should include as much information as possible for the benefit of future generations of scholars. Many of the first editions of Latin inscriptions are to be found in manuscripts and publications of the early modern period.

In the Cinquecento we also start observing the appearance, or at least the predominance, of some epigraphic approaches that would then prevail for centuries, and that modern epigraphers still use and adopt. For instance, fifteenth-century scholars (apart from Giovanni Giocondo) rarely acknowledged their source and the concept of autopsy was not necessarily the norm when compiling manuscripts of inscriptions. Furthermore, scholars in the Quattrocento barely respected the original lineation of epigraphic texts. Sixteenth-century antiquarians, however, show concern about all these aspects when transcribing *tituli*. Epigraphic *corpora* of the Cinquecento, especially in the last decades of the century, are a reflection of the changes we observe in sixteenth-century scholarship: the reconstruction of ancient Rome and of its cultural background was becoming more thorough and the methods

[143] Note that in this thesis, for the sake of simplicity, I use expressions such as 'epigraphic field' and 'epigraphic discipline': I am aware that such concepts did not exist in the sixteenth century; in fact the word 'epigraphy' was not created until much later.

used were more sophisticated; as such, the recording of material remains (including inscriptions) had to match this change and become more meticulous and exhaustive.

4 Exclusion of Material in the Thesis

4.1 Numismatics in the Renaissance

Even though the development of numismatics in the Renaissance bears numerous parallels with that of epigraphy, this thesis will exclude the analysis of coins and medals. Scholars might have employed coins and inscriptions in a similar fashion, but the history of their study and their publications differs quite substantially. Sixteenth-century humanists were as fascinated by inscriptions as they were by coins: we observe this aspect very frequently in scholars' correspondences, where illustrations of *tituli* are often accompanied by drawings of ancient coins, or where both the evidence from epigraphic texts and coins is used to prove the correct spelling of a Latin word. The correspondence of Antonio Agustín is filled with instances where the Spanish scholars discusses the iconography of ancient coins with his colleagues.[144] Despite this common interest, however, *corpora* of coins and of inscriptions represented very distinct types of works: we do not find coins in epigraphic *corpora* and similarly, we do not find inscriptions in coin catalogues. Even in his *Diálogos de medallas*, which provides a discourse on coins and inscriptions, Agustín treats this material separately (except in his eleventh dialogue, which addresses forgeries).[145] Despite this clear differentiation, the following discussion on the relation between numismatics and epigraphy will allow me to circumscribe my own field of research.

In his *Alveolus*, Agustín's explanation of the use of ancient coins reminds us of his statement regarding inscriptions:

[144] For several examples of letters discussing numismatic matters, see Agustín, *Epistolario de Antonio Agustín*, ed. by Flores Sellés. For instance, on p. 244, we find a letter to Onofrio Panvinio that discusses the iconography on a medal.
[145] On Agustín's approach to *falsae* in his *Diálogos de medallas*, see Chapter 5.2.3.

> What use can we extract from golden, silver or bronze medals in Greek or Latin or from other countries? [We can see] the portrait of so many illustrious men and women, their clothing, their buildings, their vases and other ancient things. We can also see how they represented virtues, vices, emotions, deities, provinces and rivers. We can learn more about their history, myths, rare animals, and spelling. [We can also understand] the variety of ancient coins, their weight and the material used in each time period. In short, we can learn about antiquity as much from coins as from books, statues, columns and buildings. Nevertheless, in order to do so, we must combine this information together with other things.[146]

Coins, like inscriptions, then, represented tangible evidence from the classical past; as material remains, scholars used them in conjunction with literary texts to learn more about the classical past. Unlike *tituli*, however, coins were easy to transport: they travelled frequently from city to city, inserted in letters or passed from hand to hand as gifts.[147] Interest in ancient Roman coins was not completely absent during the later Middle Ages and in the thirteenth century they often inspired the pattern of medieval coins.[148] In the fourteenth century, coins became objects of examination and collecting: one of the leading figures in numismatic study, the Italian poet Francesco Petrarca (Petrarch; 1304-1374), recounted how he found and bought Roman coins and even presented some of them to Emperor Charles IV (1316-1378), in an

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[146] 'Che utile si cava delle medaglie di oro, argento overo bronzo Greche o Latine o d'altre nationi? […] Il ritrato di tanti huomini et donne celebrate, l'habito, li edificii, vasi, et altre cose di antichi. Come facevano le virtù, li vitii, li affeti, li dei, le provincie, li fiumi. La historia, le fabule, li animali rari, la orthographia. La varietà delle monete di antichi, il peso, et la materia in ciascun tempo. In somma, la antichità si impara così bene come da i libri, et come dalle tavole, statue, colonne, et edificii. Ma bisogna congiunger queste alle altre cose' (Agustín, *Alveolus*, ed. by Flores Sellés, p. 151).

[147] John Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious: The Numismatic Presence in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 4. For the transportable and exchangeable nature of coins, see John Cunnally, 'Ancient Coins as Gifts and Tokens of Friendship during the Renaissance', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 6 (1994), 129-43.

[148] Roberto Weiss, 'The Study of Ancient Numismatics during the Renaissance (1313-1517)', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 8 (1968), 177-87 (p. 177).

attempt to encourage him to emulate his predecessors.[149] Physical coin collections were particularly prominent, assembled by the Medici at Florence, the Aragonese at Naples, the Este at Ferrara, the Gonzaga at Mantua, and by the Cardinal Pietro Barbo (later Pope Paul II; 1417-1471), whose treasury of gems, cameos, coins, tapestries and bronze statuettes was the most impressive of the century.[150] Barbo did not collect coins for aesthetic reasons only; he had a genuine interest in numismatics and could differentiate between a false and a genuine coin.[151] Nevertheless, practices of collecting did not necessarily imply a study of coins. During the fifteenth century, coins were utilised mainly for their iconographical attributes: enlarged versions of Roman coins were often carved on doorways or the fronts of churches, in order to supply a decorative motive.[152] Illuminators also reproduced Roman imperial coins on the borders of manuscripts, even when there was no evident connection with the text.

Despite a growing interest in numismatics, it was only in the sixteenth century that appeared the first collection of reproductions of ancient coins in print, the *Illustrium imagines* (Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1517), commonly attributed to Andrea Fulvio and reproducing the images of 207 Roman coins.[153] Since Fulvio's name does not appear on the title page and the colophon states that the work was 'emendatum correptumque [*sic*] per Andream Fulvium diligentissimum antiquarium Romae', modern scholars have expressed their doubts about Fulvio's single authorship.[154] The *Illustrium imagines* did not have a strictly numismatic aim,

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[149] Alan M. Stahl, 'Numismatics in the Renaissance', in *The Rebirth of Antiquity: Numismatics, Archaeology, and Classical Studies in the Culture of the Renaissance*, ed. by Alan M. Stahl (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 2009), pp. 3-26 (p. 3).

[150] Weiss, 'The Study of Ancient Numismatics', p. 179. For an overview of Barbo's immense collection (with more than a thousand coins), see Kathleen W. Christian, *Empire Without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350-1527* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 93-101.

[151] Weiss, 'The Study of Numismatics', p. 179.

[152] Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, p. 173.

[153] Weiss, 'The Study of Ancient Numismatics', p. 185; Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious*, p. 55; Jean-Louis Ferrary, *Onofrio Panvinio et les antiquités romaines* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1996), p. 94. The *Illustrium imagines* enjoyed great success in Europe: it was reprinted in Lyon in 1524 and imitated by the German historian Johann Huttich (1490-1544) in his *Imperatorum Romanorum libellus* (Rome: Caephalius, 1525).

[154] Note, however, that in 'Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano', Weiss reports a small number of copies of the *Illustrium imagines* with a substantially-changed and expanded colophon that credits Fulvio with the major part of the text as well as its editing. Weiss suggests that the new wording in the colophon was the result of Fulvio's and the other contributors' complaints (p. 26).

but set out to furnish an iconographic repertory of Roman emperors and illustrious men and their families: each individual has a medallion with his or her portrait (therefore, only the obverses are shown) and a short biographical account, which emphasizes their moral strengths and failings.[155] Although many of the illustrations in the *Illustrium imagines* were copied from coins, the grand majority was invented (only about eighty out of 207 were genuine).[156] Yet, Fulvio's work was hugely influential, especially in its representation of numismatic material: many books of the following decades adopted the distinctive white lettering and head against a black background that is present throughout the *Illustrium imagines*.[157] Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines* is particularly relevant to the argument of this thesis because of Fulvio's close collaboration with Mazzocchi, which might provide us with more information about the authorship of the *Epigrammata* (see Chapter 4.1.1).

After Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines*, numismatic publications took off with a series of lavishly illustrated studies of coins.[158] The *Epitome thesauri antiquitatum* (Lyon: Jacopo Strada and Thomas Guarin, 1553) by the Italian painter and architect Jacopo Strada (1507-1588) is another example of a numismatic treatise belonging to the *Bildnisvitenbuch* category. Strada was trained as a goldsmith before seeking fortune in Germany: his book is illustrated with small woodcuts representing portraits derived from ancient coins.[159] Like Fulvio in the *Illustrium*

[155] Weiss, 'The Study of Ancient Numismatics', p. 185; Weiss, 'Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano', p. 10; Stahl, 'Numismatics in the Renaissance', p. 9; Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious*, p. 57; Stephen Orgel, 'Textual Icons: Reading Early Modern Illustrations', in *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print*, ed. by Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 57-92 (p. 62).
[156] Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious*, p. 103. Stahl, 'Numismatics in the Renaissance', p. 9.
[157] Stahl, 'Numismatics in the Renaissance', p. 9. Note that the *Illustrium imagines* falls into the particular category of *Bildnisvitenbücher*: these are collections of portraits of famous men and women accompanied by biographical texts. This type of work stemmed from the Renaissance cult of hero, of *virtus* and *fama* (see Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious*, p. 95).
[158] William Stenhouse, 'Antonio Agustín and the Numismatics', in *The Rebirth of Antiquity: Numismatics, Archaeology, and Classical Studies in the Culture of the Renaissance*, ed. by Alan M. Stahl (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 2009), pp. 48-65 (p. 50).
[159] Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious*, p. 29; Dirk J. Jansen, 'Antonio Agustín and Jacopo Strada', in *Antonio Agustín between Renaissance and Counter-Reform*, ed. by Michael H. Crawford (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1993), pp. 211-38 (p. 212).

imagines, many of the coins Strada discusses in his *Epitome* are imaginary and their descriptions pure works of fiction.[160]

A few decades later, scholars started adopting a more evidence-based approach in the numismatic field. The *Omnium Caesarum verissimae imagines ex antiquis numismatis desumptae* (Venice: Paolo Manuzio, 1553) by the Italian engraver Enea Vico (1523-1567) was one of the first works to consider the historical value of numismatic material, as Vico discussed how to distinguish genuine from forged coins.

Although epigraphic and numismatic *corpora* represented two distinct types of work, the Dutch painter and engraver Hubert Goltz (Hubert Goltzius; 1526-1583) decided to combine information from coins and inscriptions in his *Thesaurus rei antiquariae huberrimus, ex antiquis tam numismatum quam marmorum inscriptionibus pari diligentia qua fide conquisitus ac descriptus, et in locos communes distributus* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1579).[161] In this work, we find twenty-four alphabetical lists (which work almost as indices), such as names and epithets of deities, Roman festivities, adjectives used for the city of Rome, names of Roman emperors and professional occupations of the ancients.[162] Goltz's work, however, remains fairly simplistic, as it does not reproduce coins or epigraphic texts: Goltz simply indicates next to the entries whether the information gathered was taken from an inscription or a coin.

Another similarity between the development of the epigraphic and numismatic fields in the Renaissance regards the difficulties scholars faced when interpreting epigraphic texts and coins, such as the iconography, as pointed out by the French scholar Antoine Le Pois (1525-1578) in his *Discours sur les medalles et graveures antiques, principalement romaines* (Paris:

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[160] Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious*, p. 33. See Stenhouse, 'Antonio Agustín and the Numismatics' for an overview of how a group of artists made explicit claims that it was their artistic background that allowed them to create coin books. They even claimed that competence in drawing was vital for the interpretation of coins and that philological knowledge was not enough (see pp. 55-58).
[161] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 72.
[162] In reality, many of Goltz's lists relied heavily on the indices we find in Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*: see Chapter 2.3.3.

Mamert Patisson, 1579): 'Thus the obverses of Imperial coins can provide information on the life, facts, customs and extravagances of the emperors. In some cases, there are also phrases and mottos engraved on these obverses, which, admittedly, are not as difficult to decipher as Egyptian hieroglyphs.'[163] The Dutch humanist Stephanus Winandus Pighius (Stefan Pigge; 1520-1604) also expressed similar remarks in his *Annales magistratuum et provinciarum S.P.Q.R. ab urbe condita* (Antwerp: Ex Officina Plantiniana, 1599), writing that coins surpassed hieroglyphs in their difficulty of interpretation.[164] Furthermore, false coins also circulated in the numismatic field: in the preface to his *Discours sur les medalles,* Le Pois mentions that he believed a medal he had acquired with an inscription of Scipio Africanus had been falsified and was not ancient.[165] Scholars were constantly exploring and extrapolating the meaning of coins: the field of numismatics, just as that of epigraphy, was in constant evolution in the sixteenth century and the general fascination for a physical object of the classical past gradually turned into an actual study and interpretation of the material concerned.

4.2 Christian Inscriptions

This thesis will not examine at Christian inscriptions as the interest in inscriptions in the sixteenth century concerned predominantly pagan texts. It is worth noting, however, that at the end of the fifteenth century, two scholars started paying attention to the Christian inscriptions and antiquities of Rome: Giovanni Giocondo included some Christian inscriptions in his *Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum et Graecarum* (BAV, Vat. Lat. 5326) and the Latin and Greek professor Pietro Sabino (fifteenth century), a student of Pomponio Leto, compiled for

[163] 'Ainsi appert que les revers des medalles impériales le plus souvent portent tesmoignage de la vie, faicts, moeurs, et folies des empereurs. Quelques dicts et devises aussi sont inscriptes sur lesdicts revers, non toutesfois si obscures que les hiéroglyphiques des Égyptiens' (Antoine Le Pois, *Discours sur les medalles et graveures antiques, principalement romaines* (Paris: Mamert Patisson, 1579), fol. 19^{v}).
[164] See Stephanus Winandus Pighius, *Annales magistratuum et provinciarum S.P.Q.R. ab urbe condita* (Antwerp: Ex Officina Plantiniana, 1599), p. 451.
[165] 'J'ai autresfois achetté une medalle de cuivre, à l'inscription de Scipion l'Africain […] : joint encore l'opinion que j'avoy qu'elle estoit falsifiée et non véritablement antique' (Le Pois, *Discours sur les medalles,* fol. 1^{v}).

the first time in 1495 a *sylloge* of Christian inscriptions found in Rome (BAV, Ott. Lat. 2015), which he dedicated to King Charles VIII (1470-1498).[166] The Italian archaeologist Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822-1894), who is considered the founder of the modern scholarly study of early Christian archaeology and epigraphy, identified Sabino as the founding figure of the study of Christian epigraphy.[167] Nevertheless, despite Sabino's efforts to spark interest in Christian *tituli*, sixteenth-century scholars still compiled collections of pagan inscriptions and neglected Christian antiquities.[168] At the beginning of the Seicento, humanists admittedly started including Christian inscriptions in their collections, sometimes displaying them next to pagan texts.[169] Even by then, most *syllogai* made a clear distinction between pagan and Christian inscriptions: for instance, the French scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) advised Gruterus to create a separate section for Christian inscriptions and to place it at the very end of his *Inscriptiones antiquae*.[170]

The enthusiasm for Christian inscriptions and antiquities in the seventeenth century was not a mere coincidence but was closely linked with the archaeological discoveries of the time: although there had been sporadic visits of the Roman catacombs in the medieval period (inspired more by religion than scholarly interest), by the end of the fifteenth century, the *Accademia Romana* started the frequent exploration of catacombs.[171] The accidental discovery

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[166] Ann Marie Yasin, 'Displaying the Sacred Past: Ancient Christian Inscriptions in Early Modern Rome', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 7 (2000), 39-57 (p. 43); Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, p. 157; Marco Buonocore, 'Dalla silloge di Timoteo Balbani a quella di Pietro Sabino. In margine ad un libro recente', *Epigraphica*, 69 (2007), 456-69 (p. 457). For an analysis of the importance of Pietro Sabino's *sylloge*, see Gerard González Germain, 'La silloge epigrafica di Pietro Sabino: un riesame della tradizione manoscritta', *Epigraphica*, 78 (2016), 315-35.

[167] Danilo Mazzoleni, 'The Rise of Christianity', in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, ed. by Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 445-68 (p. 448). For an overview of Pietro Sabino's profile as an epigrapher, see Gionta, *Epigrafia umanistica a Roma*, pp. 107-48.

[168] Orazio Marucchi, *Christian Epigraphy: An Elementary Treatise with a Collection of Ancient Christian Inscriptions Mainly of Roman Origin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), p. 43.

[169] Marucchi, *Christian Epigraphy*, p. 43.

[170] J. Scaliger to J. Gruterus, 17 July 1598: 'Praeterea, Christiana omnia in finem reiicienda, suis capitibus tam Graeca quam Latina tributa, ut tibi videbitur' (Joseph Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Joseph Justus Scaliger*, ed. by Paul Botley and Dirk van Miert, 8 vols (Geneva: Droz, 2012), III, p. 153).

[171] Yasin, 'Displaying the Sacred Past', p. 43; Jack Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto, the Roman Renaissance, and the Spanish Crown* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 142.

on 31 May 1578 of an ancient subterranean cemetery on the Via Salaria attracted general attention in Rome (this date is now regarded as the birthday of Christian archaeology): few, however, realized the importance of the discovery, and only two foreign scholars, the Spanish Dominican Alfonso Chacón (1530-1599) and the antiquarian Philips van Winghe (1560–1592) from Leuven thought of pursuing further investigations. Chacón, a student of Ambrosio de Morales, was known for his vast knowledge of classical and early Christian monuments; he stimulated, without a doubt, van Winghe's interest.[172] Van Winghe visited four catacombs in Rome. For two of these, the catacombs of Priscilla and Domitilla, he drew ground-plans that prove that his approach was more antiquarian-scientific than that of his colleagues.[173] Then, the archaeologist Antonio Bosio's (1575-1629) use of late antique and medieval literary evidence and his systematic investigation of Roman roads led to his discovery of catacombs on an unprecedented scale beginning in 1593.[174] Bosio and his contemporaries were innovative in treating the catacombs and their contents as subjects worthy of scientific investigation, becoming precursors in the science of Christian archaeology.[175]

4.3 Greek Epigraphic Material

For similar reasons as with Christian inscriptions and numismatic material, this thesis will leave out the study of Greek epigraphic texts: Greek *tituli* were rarely included in Latin epigraphic *corpora* of the Cinquecento, and when they were, they were usually translated into Latin (sometimes, the text was transliterated into Latin, without any attempt at reproducing the Greek

[172] Cornelis Schuddeboom, 'Research in the Roman Catacombs by the Louvain Antiquarian Philips van Winghe', in *Archives and Excavations: Essays on the History of Archaeological Excavations in Rome and Southern Italy, from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Ilaria Bignamini (London: British School at Rome, 2004), pp. 23-32 (p. 23); Thomas J. Dandelet, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 174.
[173] Schuddeboom, 'Research in the Roman Catacombs', p. 30.
[174] Yasin, 'Displaying the Sacred Past', p. 43; Mazzoleni, 'The Rise of Christianity', p. 448.
[175] Scholars would then have to wait up to the eighteenth century to see a new zeal for catacombs' exploration (see Yasin, 'Displaying the Sacred Past, p. 44).

lettering).[176] If Greek texts were included in sixteenth-century epigraphic compilations, they were usually placed in separate sections. Even the *CIL* and the *Inscriptiones Graecae* were two separate projects and online epigraphic databases are oriented either towards Latin inscriptions or Greek *tituli*. The only instances when Greek texts are included with Latin inscriptions, is in the case of bilingual inscriptions, such as *CIL* VI 1710 = *IGUR* I 63, for instance, in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (fol. 8^{v}).[177]

The archaeological study of the Greek world during the Renaissance could be said to have started and ended with Cyriac of Ancona: after his death, the Turkish conquest of Byzantium in 1453 put an end to antiquarian travel in Greek territories for about a century; consequently, little was known about the country's architectural remains and sculptures.[178] Coming from a family of merchants, Cyriac had the opportunity to travel in Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, the Middle East and Egypt, which allowed him to transcribe approximately a thousand Latin and Greek inscriptions.[179] Cyriac compiled this material in travel diaries, entitled the *Commentaria* (in which he also copied the collections of Poggio Bracciolini) and which consisted of six volumes; unfortunately, these were probably destroyed in the fire of the Sforza library in Pesaro in 1514.[180] However, before this loss, these volumes had already circulated among scholars who perused them extensively and who transmitted, indirectly, the epigraphic material.[181]

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[176] For an overview of how ancient Greek inscriptions were represented in some epigraphic *corpora* of the Cinquecento, see Marco Buonocore, 'Prime esplorazioni sulla tradizione manoscritta delle iscrizioni greche pagane di Roma antica attraverso i codici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana', *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 6 (1998), 19-91.

[177] For an overview of the use of Greek inscriptions in the sixteenth century, see William Stenhouse, 'The Greekness of Greek Inscriptions: Ancient Inscriptions in Early Modern Scholarship', in *Receptions of Hellenism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Natasha Constantinidou and Han Lamers (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 307-24.

[178] Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, p. 131. Before Cyriac, the Florentine priest Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1386- *c.* 1430) had moved to Rhodes in 1414 to explore the islands of Greece: after his odyssey, he wrote a Latin description of Crete and an itinerary of the islands with maps (Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, p. 136).

[179] Karet, 'The Origins of Northern Italian Collecting', p. 109.

[180] Karet, 'The Origins of Northern Italian Collecting', p. 109.

[181] Buonocore, 'Epigraphic Research from its Inception', p. 29. Several sixteenth-century copies of the *syllogai* of Cyriac of Ancona survive, such as BAV, Vat. Lat. 6875 (the transcriptions of *tituli* are to be found from fol. 62^{r} onwards).

The Italian humanist Benedetto Egio (died before 1517), who hailed from Spoleto, was another relevant figure in the development of Greek epigraphy in the Cinquecento. Although Egio attracted no funeral laudation after his death, he was valued by his colleagues for his knowledge of the Greek language; he was part of the circle of colleagues of Antonio Agustín and contributed to it greatly from a Hellenist perspective.[182] Egio was indeed often asked to provide Latin translations of Greek texts: important collections, such as *Delle antichità di Roma* by Pirro Ligorio, and the *syllogai* of Aldo Manuzio the Younger and Martinus Smetius, contain various translations of Greek inscriptions provided by Egio.[183]

Although the enthusiasm for inscriptions was mostly oriented towards Latin and Greek texts, certain scholars expressed interest in *tituli* in other languages as well, since efforts were made in Italy towards the mastery of Hebrew and even some oriental languages.[184] In a letter of 1595 to Scaliger, the German jurist Friedrich Lindenbrog (1573-1648) enclosed the epitaphs in runic script of the tenth-century Danish Kings Gorm the Old (ruled from *c.* 936 to *c.* 958) and Harald (reigned from *c.* 958 to *c.* 986) and noticed how the runes bore some resemblance to Gothic script.[185] Interest in hieroglyphs was also present in the Renaissance, although no scholar was able to decipher them confidently: the Italian humanist Pierio Valeriano (1477-1558) specialized in the study of Egyptian objects in Rome.[186]

4.4 Post-Classical Inscriptions

Finally, I shall not consider Neo-Latin or contemporary epigraphic texts in this thesis. Contemporary inscriptions were hardly included alongside ancient ones in epigraphic *corpora*

[182] For a biographical account on Egio, see Michael H. Crawford, 'Benedetto Egio and the Development of Greek Epigraphy', in *Antonio Agustín between Renaissance and Counter-Reform*, ed. by Michael H. Crawford (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1993), pp. 133-54. I come back to Egio in Chapter 4.4.1.
[183] Crawford, 'Benedetto Egio and the Development of Greek Epigraphy', p. 141.
[184] Weiss, 'Italian Humanism in Western Europe', p. 72.
[185] F. Lindenbrog to J. Scaliger, 13 December 1595: 'Verum ne nuda haec atque inanis ad te epistola iret, placuit epitaphium Gormonis et Haraldi Regum Daniae, qui vixerunt circa annum Christi 929, describere tibique transmittere' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, II, p. 574).
[186] On Piero Valeriano, see Margaret Daly Davis, 'I geroglifici in marmo di Pierio Valeriano', *Labyrinthos*, 9 (1990), 47-77.

and sixteenth-century scholars denounced the fact that some compilations of ancient *tituli* included —usually by mistake— modern ones.[187] Some *syllogai*, such as the anonymous MS Latin 6165 in the BnF, entitled *Epitaphia varia urbis Patavinae*, record both ancient and contemporary *tituli* from all the churches in Padua. Nevertheless, compilations such as the *Epitaphia varia urbis Patavinae* are the exception rather than the norm: we usually find either compilations of ancient inscriptions or *corpora* of 'modern' epigraphic texts. In manuscript, one of the most famous collections of contemporary *tituli* is the MS Vat. Lat. 6041 in the BAV, the *Epitaphia moderna urbis* by the Florentine scholar Battista di Pietro Brunelleschi (sixteenth century).[188] Brunelleschi's *corpus* reproduces the texts of humanistic inscriptions from Rome, Augsburg, Padua, Ravenna, Naples, Venice and other European cities.[189] In print, the German antiquarian Lorenz Schrader (Laurentius Schraderus; 1538-1606) showed a strong enthusiasm for Christian and modern inscriptions with the first comprehensive collection of Christian inscriptions covering the whole peninsula, the *Monumentorum Italiae, quae hoc nostro saeculo et a Christianis posita sunt, libri quattuor* (Helmstedt: Lucius Transylvanus, 1592).[190] Although significant publications of ancient inscriptions had seen the light as early as 1521, Schrader's *corpus* appeared only at the very end of the Cinquecento. The *Monumentorum Italiae libri quattuor* displays similar principles of accuracy to *corpora* of ancient *tituli* in the last decade of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, Schrader's *Monumentorum Italiae libri*

[187] Iiro Kajanto has written several works on Neo-Latin inscriptions and how they were influenced, in content and form, by ancient *tituli*: see Iiro Kajanto, *Classical and Christian: Studies in the Latin Epitaphs of Medieval and Renaissance Rome* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1980); Iiro Kajanto, 'Latin Verse Inscriptions in Medieval and Renaissance Rome', *Latomus*, 52 (1993), 42-57. For Neo-Latin inscriptions in Spain, see Manuel Ramírez Sánchez, 'La tradición de la epigrafía antigua en las inscripciones hispanas de los siglos XV y XVI', *Veleia*, 29 (2012), 255-77.
[188] On Brunelleschi and his activities in epigraphy, see Heikki Solin and Pekka Tuomisto, 'Appunti su Battista Brunelleschi epigrafista', in *Ad itum liberum: Essays in Honour of Anne Helttula*, ed. by Outi Merisalo and Raija Vainio (Jyväskylä: Kielten laitos, 2007), pp. 79-92.
[189] Solin and Tuomisto, 'Appunti su Battista Brunelleschi epigrafista', p. 80.
[190] Sparrow, *Visible Words*, p. 27.

quattuor, like Smetius and Gruterus's collections, did not make any attempts at reproducing the supports of the various inscriptions.

5 Literature Review

What then, we may ask, is the state of the question on the rediscovery and transmission of ancient Roman inscriptions in the Renaissance? As I have indicated earlier, Mommsen noted the importance of the study of sixteenth-century sources when compiling the *CIL*. In fact, *CIL* VI starts with an 'Index auctorum' in which some of the compilers of the *Corpus*, including the German philologist and epigraphist Wilhelm Henzen (1816-1887), the German-Austrian historian Eugen Ludwig Bormann (1842-1917) and Giovanni Battista de Rossi, provide relativly detailed accounts of various epigraphic compilations of the Cinquecento. Although these overviews are important starting points, the information they convey is not always accurate and must now be updated and complemented with new-found evidence.[191] After these nineteenth-century accounts, scholars have offered various narratives on the development of epigraphy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: Roberto Weiss's 'Lineamenti per una storia degli studi antiquari in Italia dal dodicesimo secolo al sacco di Roma del 1527' (1958) and *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (1969), and Ida Calabi Limentani's *Epigrafia latina* (1968) provide an extensive chronological overview of the most prominent epigraphic works (in both manuscript and print) and of scholarly innovations in the epigraphic field from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century in Italy. Calabi Limentani's studies of sixteenth-

[191] Chapter 4.4 gives a prime example of how the compilers of the *CIL* gave a rather inaccurate report of the manuscript BnF Latin 17575.

century epigraphy are particularly relevant, as she paved the way for modern contributions on the topic.[192]

Building on Calabi Limentani and Weiss's work, the most comprehensive survey to-date is William Stenhouse's *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History* (2005), which explores diverse aspects of sixteenth-century epigraphic scholarship (such as the collection and representation of epigraphic texts, the transmission of material, and forgeries). Stenhouse highlights the major developments in the evolution of epigraphic scholarship and how these humanists laid the foundations of modern epigraphy. Stenhouse's monograph represents a substantial contribution to the field. Stenhouse's most recent articles have dealt with antiquarian scholarship and the art of collecting in the Renaissance. My thesis builds on Stenhouse's research but goes further by extending several of the arguments he made in *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*: by analysing additional manuscript and printed sources, and sixteenth-century scholars who have have remained unexplored, I shall refine some of Stenhouse's claims.

Whilst Weiss, Calabi Limentani and Stenhouse have focused predominantly on the progression of the epigraphic discipline in Italy, Richard Cooper, whose background is in French studies, pursues the development of antiquarian taste in sixteenth-century France in his article 'Humanistes et antiquaires à Lyon' (1988) and book *Roman Antiquities in Renaissance France, 1515-65* (2013).[193] Cooper explains that, although many scholars have focused on the Renaissance discovery of classical antiquity in Italy, no studies have explored the same phenomenon in France.[194] Margaret McGowan's *The Vision of Rome in Late Renaissance France* (2000) offers some starting points on this topic, but focuses specifically on the later

[192] See Marco Buonocore, 'Ida Calabi Limentani e la storia degli studi epigrafici. Riflessioni su un metodo da seguire', *Acme*, 52 (1999), 45-86.
[193] See Richard Cooper, 'Humanistes et antiquaires à Lyon', in *Il Rinascimento a Lione*, ed. by Antonio Possenti and Giulia Mastrangelo (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1988), pp. 159-74.
[194] Richard Cooper, *Roman Antiquities in Renaissance France, 1515-65* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 1. See also Frédérique Lemerle, *La Renaissance et les antiquités de la Gaule* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

sixteenth century and on the perception of Rome in France in the Renaissance.[195] More recently, the activities of humanists who transcribed and compiled collections of Latin inscriptions in Lyon have attracted the attention of modern scholarship: Cooper and Alessandra Villa have researched the activities of the Florentine humanist Gabriele Simeoni (1509-1575), while François Bérard has written on the Lyonese scholar Claude Bellièvre (1487-1557).[196]

In a similar vein to Bérard, Cooper and Villa, Joan Carbonell Manils, Xavier Espluga, Gerard González Germain and Marc Mayer-Olivé (all from the Universitat de Barcelona) have demonstrated a keen interest in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spanish epigraphers: they have striven to portray the impact of Spanish scholars in the study of inscriptions and have shown their close ties with influential Italian humanists. In this way, Carbonell Manils and Mayer-Olivé have brought to attention Antonio Agustín's numerous contacts with prominent humanists in Italy and Spain, and have highlighted his interests in the epigraphic, legal and numismatic fields. Xavier Espluga has greatly contributed to our knowledge of the Catalan protestant Pere Galès (1537-1593), a largely unknow figure until recently.[197] Modern Spanish scholarship has also revealed the importance of Ambrosio de Morales, of the Spanish scholar Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598) and of the Spanish mathematician Pedro Chacón (1526-1581).

In the last decades, scholars have taken a keen interest in the legacy of manuscripts: in 'Epigraphic Research from its Inception: The Contribution of Manuscripts' (2015), Marco Buonocore reviews the most significant handwritten *syllogai*; starting in the ninth century with

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[195] See Margaret McGowan, *The Vision of Rome in Late Renaissance France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

[196] See Richard Cooper, 'Gabriele Simeoni et les antiquités de Lyon', in *Gabriele Simeoni (1509-1570?): un Florentin en France entre princes et libraires*, ed. by Silvia D'Amico and Catherine Magnien-Simonin (Geneva: Droz, 2016), pp. 297-322 ; Alessandra Villa, 'Gli studi antiquari di Gabriele Simeoni', in *Gabriele Simeoni (1509-1570?): un Florentin en France entre princes et libraires*, ed. by Silvia D'Amico and Catherine Magnien-Simonin (Geneva: Droz, 2016), pp. 323-46; Bérard, 'L'Apport du *Lugdunum priscum* de Claude Bellièvre à la connaissance de l'épigraphie lyonnaise', pp. 31-55.

[197] Even the *CIL* was not able to identify Pere Galès: see Chapter 4.4.2.

the oldest known *codex* and ending with a list of influential seventeenth-century collections.[198] Buonocore emphasizes the importance of taking a closer look at the textual variants of an epigraphic text across different collections and attempting to explain these gaps, which was the procedure adopted by the compilers of the *CIL*. Buonocore has also undertaken much work on epigraphic manuscripts from the BAV, including the annotated copies of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*.[199]

The study of Matal's activities have attracted much scholarly interest: Peter Heuser's monograph, *Jean Matal: Humanistischer Jurist und europäischer Friedensdenker* (2003) has drawn particular attention to the importance of the French scholar in the epigraphic field.[200] Heuser explains how Matal's work has remained unnoticed for several decades, as he was eclipsed by Agustín and Onofrio Panvinio.[201] After Heuser's study, the article 'Jean Matal and His Annotated Copy of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Vrbis* (Vat. Lat. 8495): The Use of Manuscript Sources' (2012) by Joan Carbonell Manils and Gerard González Germain reveals Matal's thoroughness and rigour in his corrections and annotations of the *Epigrammata*.[202] Heuser, Buonocore, Carbonell Manils and González Germain have thus emphasized the significance of Matal in establishing accurate and thorough bases for the study of inscription. Just as Matal's approaches had been overlooked for decades, so have been several sixteenth-century scholars, whose methods of transcribing, analysing and interpreting inscriptions should be studied in depth. Matal's annotated copy of the *Epigrammata* has been analysed from

[198] Buonocore, 'Epigraphic Research from its Inception', pp. 21-41.
[199] See the following works by Marco Buonocore: 'Miscellanea epigraphica e Codicibus Bibliothecae Vaticanae. XIII', *Epigraphica*, 61 (1999), 137-60; *Tra i codici epigrafici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Faenza: Stabilimento Grafico Lega, 2004); 'Sulle copie postillate vaticane degli *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis*', *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 13 (2006), 91-102.
[200] Peter A. Heuser, *Jean Matal: Humanistischer Jurist und europäischer Friedensdenker (um 1517-1597)* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2003).
[201] For instance, a decade before Heuser's interest in Matal, a whole edited volume had already been dedicated to the figure of Antonio Agustín: see Crawford, ed., *Antonio Agustín between Renaissance and Counter-Reform.*
[202] Joan Carbonell Manils and Gerard González Germain, 'Jean Matal and His Annotated Copy of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Vrbis* (Vat. Lat. 8495): The Use of Manuscript Sources', *Veleia*, 29 (2012), 149-68.

several perspectives, but many venues have been left unexplored, some of which I shall examine in this thesis.[203]

In contrast to the attention that is often paid to individual figures such as Matal, Ginette Vagenheim has focused on groups of scholars and their relationships: she has emphasized in her works the role of networks in the Cinquecento and her studies have brought to light how these humanists interacted and exchanged information.[204] At the same time, Vagenheim is primarily known for her extensive work on Pirro Ligorio (see Chapter Five), as she is one of the first scholars to have restored Ligorio's reputation and to explore the various facets and interests of his life, rather than just focusing on his spurious inscriptions.[205]

In terms of sixteenth-century epigraphic publications, Joan Carbonell Manils, Gerard González Germain, Xavier Espluga, Ginette Vagenheim, Marco Buonocore and William Stenhouse have shown a strong interest in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, an enthusiasm notably due to the many interrogations surrounding the compilation of the work, as well as to the existence of several surviving annotated copies.[206] Unlike the *Epigrammata*, the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* has tended to be dismissed because of its inaccurate representations of *tituli* and its inclusion of false material. Nevertheless, German-language

[203] See in particular Chapter 4.1.3.

[204] See for instance the following works by Ginette Vagenheim: 'Une amitié épigraphique: Martinus Smetius (Maarten de Smet), Carolus Clusius (Charles de l'Escluse) et Justus Lipsius (Juste Lipse)', in *La Société des amis à Rome et dans la littérature médiévale et humaniste*, ed. by Perrine Galand-Hallyn and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 305-15; 'La Critique épigraphique au XVIe siècle: Ottavio Pantagato, Paolo Manuzio, Onofrio Panvinio, Antonio Agustín et Pirro Ligorio: à propos des tribus romaines', *Aevum*, 86 (2012), 949-68.

[205] Vagenheim has also written extensively on the importance of the manuscript tradition: see, for instance, Ginette Vagenheim, 'Appunti sulla tradizione manoscritta delle epigrafi: esempi bresciani di Pirro Ligorio', *Epigraphica*, 53 (1991), 175-213.

[206] See Buonocore, 'Miscellanea epigraphica e Codicibus Bibliothecae Vaticanae. XIII', 137-60; Buonocore, 'Sulle copie postillate vaticane degli *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis*', 91-102; Bianca, 'Giacomo Mazzocchi e gli *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis*'; Joan Carbonell Manils, 'El corpus epigráfico de los *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (ed. Mazochius, 1521) a raíz del estudio del ejemplar anotado por Jean Matal (ms. Vat. lat. 8495)', in *Peregrinationes ad inscriptiones colligendas. Estudios sobre epigrafía de tradición manuscrita*, ed. by Gerard González Germain (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Servei de Publicacions, 2016), pp. 13-72; and Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, pp. 35-41.

scholarship has shown diverse aspects of Apianus and Amantius's publication, placing it into a very particular context of production.[207]

My thesis has been greatly informed by broader studies of the history of scholarship, such as those by John Edwin Sandys and Anthony Grafton, among others. Their work has allowed me to contextualize the compilation and production of sixteenth-century epigraphic *corpora* in light of the changes in scholarship that were happening at the time.[208] By understanding how individuals such as Petrarch, Pomponio Leto, the Italian historian Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444), the Italian writer Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), Poggio Braccolini and the Italian poet Angelo Ambrogini (commonly known as Poliziano; 1454-1494) approached the study of ancient sources, I could have a better understanding of the innovations made by early modern antiquarian in the epigraphic field. The scholars I am concerned with in this thesis were responding to and building on previous methods when analysing ancient remains.

In this thesis, I shall also examine the move to print in the epigraphic field, which was not as evident as it would seem (and indeed, it would be more accurate to speak of a lack of shift to print). Stenhouse has explored part of this topic in his article 'Epigraphy and Technology in the Renaissance: The Impact of the Printing Press' (2010), where he emphasizes

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[207] See Chapter 1.2.3 for more information on the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*. The following studies have demonstrated interest in this epigraphic publication: Ott, *Die Entdeckung des Altertums*, pp. 13-27; Béhar, 'Die *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (1534)', pp. 57-74.

[208] Some of these works include (but are not limited to): John E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903-08); Donald R. Kelley, *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship: Language, Law, and History in the French Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); Grafton, 'On the Scholarship of Politian and Its Context', pp. 150-88; Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983-93); Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986); Donald R. Kelley and Richard H. Popkin, eds, *The Shapes of Knowledge from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Dordrecht; Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1991); Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992); Anthony Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997); Ronald Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

that print was not a requirement for the development of collections of inscriptions.[209] The Italianist Brian Richardson, on the other hand, has done much work on manuscript culture and especially on the comparison between printed and manuscript works; his studies, however, are mostly concerned with other genres such as poetry or theatre.[210] Although some of Richardson's observations can be applied to *syllogai* as well (such as the sense of close communication and solidarity manuscripts could foster or the fact that manuscripts were relatively free from censorship), there is still a need for a study on epigraphic collections alone. Christopher Wood's articles, 'Early Archaeology and the Book Trade: The Case of Peutinger's *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta* (1505)' (1998) and 'Notation of Visual Information in the Earliest Archaeological Scholarship' (2001) have focused the most on the relation between manuscript and printed *syllogai*. By taking the example of Peutinger's printed collection *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum*, Wood has shown how the technology of print could be employed to represent the non-textual features of an inscribed monument.[211]

My first original point is to analyse further the complex relation between epigraphic manuscripts and printed books. It is essential to reflect on what this shift to print (or lack of it) brought to the epigraphic field, and how subsequent collections built upon this (if they did at all). In this way, this thesis inserts itself into the recent stream of academic research on book history and print studies, including projects and exhibitions, such as the ERC-funded 15cBOOKTRADE Project (2014-2019), led by Professor Cristina Dondi (Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages, University of Oxford), which used the material evidence from thousands of surviving books to address questions relating to the introduction of printing in the

[209] William Stenhouse, 'Epigraphy and Technology in the Renaissance: The Impact of the Printing Press', in *Latin on Stone: Epigraphic Research and Electronic Archives*, ed. by Francisca Feraudi-Gruénais (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2010), pp. 23-44.

[210] See the following works by Brian Richardson: *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); 'The Debates on Printing in Renaissance Italy', *La Bibliofilia*, 100 (1998), 135-55; *Printing, Writers, and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[211] Wood, 'Early Archaeology and the Book Trade'; Wood, 'Notation of Visual Information'.

West and culminated in the exhibition *Printing Revolution 1450-1500. Fifty Years that Changed Europe* (Venice, organized by the Museo Correr and the Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, from 1 September 2018 to 7 January 2019).

No account of print studies could start without mentioning Elizabeth Eisenstein's epochal *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* of 1979, which notwithstanding its controversial nature when it was first published, contributed profoundly to the rise of print culture studies.[212] Despite (some harsh) criticisms, some of which Eisenstein herself refuted, much of what Eisenstein has argued for has lasting value: even Adrian Johns's *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*, which offers the most sustained criticism of *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, does not invalidate Eisenstein's claims, but rather highlights the differences in approach.[213] Likewise, recent studies have complemented rather than dismissed Eisenstein's arguments: Eisenstein's groundwork laid in 1979 continues to appeal, whether as an object of fascination or criticism, but most of all, it still deeply influences the ways in which scholars see print. It seems that in the past ten years, scholars have started re-evaluating

[212] See Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). Eisenstein had already tested some of the ideas she would later develop in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* in several journal articles in the late 1960s and early 1970s, including 'Some Conjectures about the Impact of Printing on Western Society and Thought: A Preliminary Report', *The Journal of Modern History*, 40 (1968), 1-56, where she set out to investigate 'the force, effect, and consequences' of printing; 'The Advent of Printing and the Problem of the Renaissance', *Past and Present*, 45 (1969), 19-89; and 'L'Avènement de l'imprimerie et la Réforme', *Annales*, 26 (1971), 1355-82. For some of the concerns expressed by scholars with regards to Eisenstein's work, see Anthony Grafton's engaging review in 'The Importance of Being Printed', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 11 (1980), 265-86. Before Eisenstein, Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin traced the ways in which printing altered the lives of authors and readers in *L'Apparition du livre* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1958). Febvre and Martin provide an excellent introduction to the characteristics of the printed book as a material object that has been fabricated and that was treated as a merchandise (with economical implications). They also turn to the study of the printed book for its contents and ideas it contained and how these influenced humanists.

[213] See Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998). For an exchange where Eisenstein and Johns discuss one another's methods, arguments and conclusions (with an introduction by Anthony Grafton), see their articles in 'AHR Forum: How Revolutionary Was the Print Revolution?', *American Historical Review*, 107 (2002), 84-128. Eisenstein gives a direct reply to Johns's article and agrees that their deepest difference lies in the questions they ask. Nevertheless, she also says that both their positions are defensible, even complementary.

Eisenstein's work in a more positive light, rather than focusing on criticisms.[214] Eisenstein's principal contribution was her ambition to define the major consequences of print; as such she characterizes print as *an* agent (and not *the* agent) of change in Western Europe.[215] As an agent of change, printing revolutionized all forms of learning, bearing far-reaching effects and leaving no field of human enterprise untouched.[216] Eisenstein (and later studies) thus supported the theory of a printing revolution, of printing as the principal vehicle for the conveyance of ideas and knowledge during the past five hundred years.[217]

Although much has been made of the revolutionary nature of printing and its importance has been highlighted and studied in other areas, can we also speak of a printing revolution in the epigraphic field? Did print revolutionize the ways in which inscriptions were perceived, interpreted and analysed? Modern epigraphists rely on a variety of printed and digital sources to study Latin inscriptions, with the main tool being the *CIL*, a printed opus (the digitized version does not change that perception much, insofar as it is mostly a reproduction of the printed form): we are used to view epigraphic texts on a printed page, yet for sixteenth-century scholars such a perception was not typical. Consequently, the epigraphic sources used in this thesis will offer a new angle from which to consider the impact of print and some of my case-studies confirm, challenge and even further some of Eisenstein's claims, bringing in new approaches and considerations to the significance of printing and to the idea of a 'printing revolution'. My argument regarding printed epigraphic *corpora* will also expand on Stenhouse's article 'Epigraphy and Technology in the Renaissance' by stating that, although

[214] See for instance the edited volume by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin, eds, *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), where twenty essays emphasize Eisenstein's book as an agent of change, within and across scholarly disciplines.
[215] Eisenstein, 'Some Conjectures about the Impact of Printing', p. 1
[216] Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, p. 3.
[217] Such a theory was brought forward before Eisenstein in Sigfrid H. Steinberg's *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959).

print indeed posed challenges for the reproduction and distribution of epigraphic collections, it also had advantages, all of which will be explored in the thesis.

Secondly, my thesis's originality is also related to my use and analysis of primary sources.[218] Although several of the manuscripts discussed here have been studied, I bring in new elements that significantly inform our knowledge of epigraphic compilations in the sixteenth century. Several of these manuscripts have previously been investigated solely from a codicological perspective: although such study is essential to our understanding of the source, it very often omits the link to its wider context. This is not only the case for manuscripts, but also for printed sources: as I have explained, the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* is one of the printed compilations that has attracted most scholarly attention, especially with regards to its annotated copies. Nevertheless, even in the case of the *Epigrammata*, there are still some elements that deserve more attention: for instance, the importance of the *errata* of this printed compilation is not always addressed in studies of the *Epigrammata*. Yet, as I shall explain in Chapter Four, an in-depth analysis of the *errata* can contribute to our understanding of the *Epigrammata* as an epigraphic publication. In a similar manner, as I have explained above, the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* is not always properly considered in modern studies: in Chapter Two, however, building on German-language scholarship, I show the importance of its geographical arrangement and then, in Chapter Three, I analyse in more detail the representation of its inscriptions and link it to the wider context of the relationship between manuscript and print. Therefore, in this thesis, I have sought to establish a 'discussion' and a comparison between these various manuscripts and printed compilations.

In the third instance, my thesis also enters the stream of recent enthusiasm for the visuality of the epigraphic text. In 1953, the Spanish scholar Joaquín María de Navascués

[218] For a complete list of the manuscripts and annotated copies of the *Epigrammata* I have used, please refer to the Bibliography section of the thesis.

delivered a public lecture upon his admission to the Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid: Navascués emphasized the importance of considering both the external features (such as the writing, support and letter-forms) and internal characteristics (language and contents) of an inscription and to think of it as a multiform and complex document.[219] Navascués urged epigraphers to establish a method that registered the complexity of the epigraphic monument. Since *tituli* are integral elements of the monuments they accompany, they rely on a variety of nonverbal elements for much of their meaning (including the script, scale, location, spatial organization and letter style): the materiality of inscriptions is therefore crucial to understand them as comprehensively as possible.[220] The visuality of inscriptions can now be given even more attention in the digital age: websites such as EDB (Epigraphic Database Bari), EDR (Epigraphic Database Roma) or Hispania Epigraphica Online always display a picture of the inscribed monument (when it is still extant) alongside the transcription of its text; even when the monument has been destroyed or lost, the website will still show an illustration of the inscribed monument as it was when it was discovered.[221] In this digital environment, going back to sixteenth-century sources is even more valuable: these *corpora* do not only provide us with information regarding inscriptions that are no longer extant, they also allow us to retrace the 'journey' of a *titulus*. In this sense, the modern epigrapher should not be satisfied with seeing an epigraphic text, studying it and drawing conclusions: he or she should instead retrace the textual transmission of that inscription from when it was first (re)discovered and carefully examine how it was transcribed and interpreted by previous scholars. This is the only way to

[219] Navascués's statement is to be found in: Joaquín María de Navascués, *El concepto de la epigrafía. Consideraciones sobre la necesidad de su ampliación* (Madrid: Aldus-Castelló, 1953), pp. 8-22.
[220] Bodel, 'Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian', p. 25; Antony Eastmond, ed., *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
[221] On epigraphic databases, see John Bodel, 'Latin Epigraphy and the IT Revolution', in *Epigraphy and the Historical Sciences*, ed. by John Davies and John Wilkes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 275-96; Tom Elliott, 'Epigraphy and Digital Resources', in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, ed. by Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 78-86.

achieve a complete picture (or as complete as possible) of a *titulus*, especially when the support does not survive, is currently in a damaged state or is no longer in its original context.[222]

In the fourth instance, I also address the shortcomings of relying only on the *CIL* to form a judgement on sixteenth-century epigraphic compilations. Although modern epigraphers are aware of the drawbacks of the *CIL*, it still remains the epigraphic landmark publication. Because of the place of the *CIL* in epigraphic studies, we sometimes judge sixteenth-century epigraphic *corpora* unfairly. I believe the *CIL* has conditioned us to expect inscriptions to be depicted in a specific way. Yet, in this thesis, by showing various perspectives displayed in compilations of the Cinquecento, I strive to reveal the array of information we can gain from these sources.

6 Methodology

The nature of the epigraphic discipline, which studies carved or painted texts on a variety of supports (stone, metal, ceramic), means it is in permanent contact with other disciplines, all of which employ different methodologies. As such, my research adopts methods from various fields, including archaeology, history of scholarship, history of the book, palaeography and medieval and humanistic philology. Approaches from the history of scholarship allow us to gain valuable insights into the different networks of scholars and printers: an essential aspect of my thesis consists in understanding how the humanists I study, who hailed from different parts of Europe, interacted and exchanged material, epigraphic evidence and ideas. I shall argue, in other words, how epigraphic knowledge was one of the commodities in the intellectual economy of the Republic of Letters. Understanding the connections and differences between fourteenth- and fifteenth-century scholarship and between sixteenth-century

[222] For the importance of the epigraphic support and how it has been overlooked in epigraphic studies for decades, see Jean-Noël Bonneville, 'Le Support monumental des inscriptions: terminologie et analyse', in *Épigraphie hispanique: problèmes de méthode et d'édition*, ed. by Robert Étienne (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1984), pp. 117-52.

approaches will allow me to identify and retrace the evolution of epigraphic practices throughout the Cinquecento.

Approaches from book history give me the opportunity to identify the relevant stages in the publication of collections and to explore in more depth the challenges created by the possible shift from manuscript to print form. Furthermore, I also follow in the footsteps of researchers who have highlighted the importance of studying the physicality of both printed and manuscript works and of being attentive to the meanings conveyed by the book as object, rather than the book as text.[223] An important part of my research studies the annotated copies of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*: in this way, my focus is on a particular aspect of the history of the book, where marks and marginalia inform us about reading habits and practices and constitute a significant dimension of the book's history.[224]

Related to this point, my thesis also relies strongly on the analysis of paratexts in manuscript and printed collections.[225] The term 'paratext' was first coined in Gérard Genette's pioneering work *Seuils* of 1987: Genette defines paratexts as a series of verbal (or illustrated) productions surrounding and extending the text, without ever being the actual text. These can refer to the name of the author, titles, intertitles, dedication, preface or notes.[226] This liminary material acts as a frame that interacts with the text itself, and its study can help us in our understanding of the main text. The prefaces of printed (and sometimes manuscript) *syllogai*

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[223] See Febvre and Martin, *L'Apparition du livre*, chapters three and four in particular. See also, Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1998); Ann Blair, 'Annotating and Indexing Natural Philosophy', in *Books and the Sciences in History*, ed. by Marina Frasca-Spada and Nick Jardine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 69-89; Stephen Orgel, 'Margins of Truth', in *The Renaissance Text: Theory, Editing, Textuality*, ed. by Andrew Murphy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 91-107; Seth Lerer, 'Errata: Print, Politics and Poetry in Early Modern England', in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 41-71.

[224] See for instance, Stephen Orgel, *The Reader in the Book: A Study of Spaces and Traces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), which places much emphasis on the importance of marginalia and focuses on the reader, bookseller and collector. On marginalia and the pitfalls to avoid when studying them, see also William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

[225] See Chapter 2.1 for a fuller explanation of paratexts and a survey of recent studies on this topic.

[226] Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987), p. 7.

will therefore provide valuable information on transcription methods and approaches to ancient monuments. In this thesis, but I shall use the term loosely to render the study of paratextual elements in epigraphic *corpora* more accessible. Although the study of paratexts has been a very fruitful avenue for the study of Renaissance and Early Modern intellectual culture, throwing light, for instance, on the production and distribution of translations and on the relation of scholars, writers, and indeed artists and composers, with their patrons and peers, it has not be given the attention it deserves in epigraphic studies.[227]

History of archaeology allows me to (re)assess the importance of the physical collections of inscriptions, which, for some antiquarians, was just as essential as compiling their manuscripts. The aspect of collections will also give me the occasion to investigate how epigraphy and archaeology interacted in the sixteenth century, especially regarding important excavations where epigraphic material was unearthed: the context of newly discovered *tituli* (inscriptions) is essential to contextualize these epigraphic collections.[228] Modern scholars have tended to study epigraphic *corpora* on their own, yet the contextualization of their compilation and production is a key aspect to gain a coherent and comprehensive understanding of how the discipline of epigraphy evolved alongside other fields. The contextualization of collections of *tituli* will then lead me to contextualize the developments of epigraphy, thus offering a deeper and fuller understanding of the interconnections between epigraphy, epigraphic *corpora* and early modern books.

My personal study (autopsy) of manuscripts, with particular attention to their palaeographical features, has given me the opportunity of identifying and distinguishing the different hands of scholars and of retracing the history of ownership of the manuscript. I shall combine my study of both manuscript and printed epigraphic *corpora* with the consultation of

[227] Please note that I explain why paratexts are important to epigraphic studies in Chapter 2.
[228] See Alain Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past: The Origins of Archaeology* (London: British Museum Press, 1999).

the correspondence of the different scholars involved in transcribing inscriptions. Scholars' correspondences often reveal the concerns humanists had when dealing with ancient material remains and give us rare glimpses into the sources and compilers they considered trustworthy. To this study, I shall also add the examination of other sixteenth-century works and treatises to detect how they influenced (or how they were influenced by) epigraphic *syllogai*. The association of all these sources will complement each other and will allow for a very comprehensive picture of epigraphic *corpora* and of their role in antiquarian studies. In this way, my thesis will contain five chapters, each focusing on specific aspects of epigraphic *corpora* and on the diverse challenges encountered by scholars in their pursuit of an epigraphic 'science'.

7 Thesis Structure

Chapter One will focus on three case-studies of inscribed monuments (including the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius, the Arch of Septimius Severus and Trajan's Column) and will explore how sixteenth-century scholars tackled the various challenges of representing inscriptions on paper (both in print and manuscript form) and what methods they used to portray non-textual features. Since the discipline of Latin epigraphy requires the necessary skills to decipher epigraphic texts and to interpret what is written and be able to extract all the possible information (from both textual and non-textual elements), recording inscriptions on paper could be interpreted as the first step made by scholars in their understanding of epigraphy and inscriptions.

Chapter Two will address the organization of material in epigraphic collections, showing how this management of information was intrinsically connected to the organization of knowledge in the early modern period. I shall also highlight the importance of paratexts in both manuscript and printed *syllogai*, looking specifically at the preparation of categories, indices and commentaries. Paratexts, just as the organization of epigraphic material, are

indicative of how the general interest in classical inscriptions was gradually evolving into a discipline.

Chapter Three will delve into the close relationship between manuscript and printed collections, and how, very often, they were complementary to each other. By examining the challenges and opportunities of the printing press (including but not limited to the printer's expertise, the costs and the dissemination amongst readers of collections and the problem of censorship), I shall investigate how print affected the epigraphic field.

Chapter Four retraces the intricate networks of scholars, printers, patrons and publishing houses in the Cinquecento while also exploring the circulation of epigraphic material amongst these individuals. In this way, I analyse how sixteenth-century antiquarians were in constant exchange of material and how the various networks discussed epigraphic matters. I also address the question of accessibility to inscriptions and of physical collections of antiquities.

Last but not least, Chapter Five discusses the creation of *falsae* and what were the main reasons for scholars to forge epigraphic texts. I also explore how scholars established their trustworthy sources and what were the different approaches of sixteenth-century scholars to spurious epigraphic material. In this chapter, I also join the recent strand of scholarship that argues that we should not project our modern standards of forgeries onto sixteenth-century productions.

1 Representing Inscriptions on Paper: Approaches and Challenges

1.1 The Creation and Use of a 'Notation System' in Epigraphic *Corpora*

As soon as sixteenth-century scholars started transcribing inscriptions, they realized the difficulties of representing epigraphic texts on paper: the very nature of *tituli*, which are a combination of textual and visual elements, makes their portrayal on paper very challenging. As I explained in the introduction, inscriptions rely on their nonverbal aspects just as much as on their text for their meaning: it is therefore crucial to attempt to represent these characteristics on paper.[229] Confronted with the materiality and visuality of inscriptions, antiquarians had to devise a 'notation system', to use Christopher Wood's terminology: such a system allowed scholars to record the non-textual aspects of epigraphic texts.[230] By 'non-textual' characteristics, I intend the type of material used, the shape of the support, the ornamentations and decorations, the dimensions and proportions of the monument, the spacing, the layout and the interpuncts.[231] It is precisely in the Cinquecento that we observe the development of this notation system and that scholars start thinking actively about the different ways of representing epigraphic texts on paper and about what they should preserve or omit from previous transcriptions.

Antiquarians experimented with various methods of representation, which changed depending on what they believed were the most important aspects of the inscription. Since scholars had different approaches to inscribed monuments, it is self-evident that representations varied greatly from one collection to another. In 'Notation of Visual Information in the Earliest

[229] See Debiais, *Messages de pierre*, p. 11; Eastmond, ed., *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, pp. 1-9; Alison E. Cooley, ed., *The Afterlife of Inscriptions: Reusing, Rediscovering, Reinventing and Revitalizing Ancient Inscriptions* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2000), p. 1.
[230] Wood, 'Notation of Visual Information', p. 95. Note that in this thesis, I shall use the terms 'materiality' and 'visuality' almost interchangeably.
[231] For a list of the elements of an epigraphic support, see Bonneville, 'Le Support monumental des inscriptions', p. 118.

Archaeological Scholarship', Wood argues that in general, 'the linguistic content of inscriptions remained remarkably stable from copy to copy.'[232] Nevertheless, my research on manuscripts and early modern printed material has revealed quite the opposite: although most scholars were interested in the text of an inscription, this does not signify, by any means, that they attempted to make correct readings of the texts. As such, the linguistic content of an inscription could vary just as much as the portrayal of its non-textual features. The evolution of the notation system is especially interesting to study in the Cinquecento, since scholars had to work out the notation conventions in negotiation with the media of transmission, which were in continual evolution. We are thus guided to contextualize the rise of the epigraphic notation system in the emergence of the printing press.

Studying sixteenth-century principles of transcription is particularly relevant when we consider that even modern epigraphers do not have a standard way of representing inscriptions on paper and conventions change from one individual —and publication— to the next: for instance, the *CIL* shows basic line divisions in the presentation of the text itself, whereas the journal *L'Année Épigraphique*, created in 1888 by the French historian René Cagnat (1852-1937), uses slashes to indicate the *versuum divisio*. Increasingly, however, the convention is to present texts in minuscule (lower-case) lettering alongside a photograph of the original monument (this is also the practice adopted in epigraphic websites).[233] Epigraphers use different types of brackets to portray damage or uncertain readings or missing letters. The similar degree of editorial intervention —and, hence, of subjectivity— we see in current epigraphic studies was already present in sixteenth-century compilations of inscriptions. We should also bear in mind that the technological advances we possess in the present day do not necessarily mean that modern editions of epigraphic texts are more accurate than sixteenth-

[232] Wood, 'Notation of Visual Information', p. 95.
[233] Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, p. 350.

century renditions: for instance, although modern epigraphers can rely on digital cameras and take an almost infinite number of images from all possible angles, photographs can still be taken in poor light and be deceptive, as they occasionally give the impression of a letter that is not actually there.[234] It is therefore crucial to go back to these collections of the Cinquecento, observe what were the diverse approaches to reproduce a text on paper, study what conventions were created and how they affected the way in which we study, represent and understand an epigraphic text: sixteenth-century reproductions of *tituli* on paper can lead us to different types of interpretations and ways of comprehending the classical past.

Here, I would like to add that the visual element was very much at the centre of antiquarian scholarship in the Renaissance: attention to images was strongly rooted in the idea that understanding objects or their representations could help make sense of ancient texts.[235] Besides, images, unlike mere words, introduced a direct encounter with the people and things of the past: they could provide a vivid and almost three-dimensional reality that plain description did not offer.[236] The close scrutiny of ruins was vital, as images carried an affective link to the past. The image was then central to sixteenth-century scholars' vision and understanding of antiquity. In this sense, documentary illustration became a crucial factor in Renaissance antiquarianism's shift toward scientific inquiry.[237] The presence of the visuality of antiquities in other sixteenth-century antiquarian works is noteworthy: for instance, the manuscripts of the *Delle antichità di Roma* by Pirro Ligorio are filled with detailed renditions of antiquities, thus stressing greatly the visuality of the classical past.[238] Although *Di tutte le*

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[234] On the technological pitfalls epigraphers face in our modern period, see Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson, 'The Epigrapher at Work', in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, ed. by Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 3-20 (p. 9).
[235] Miller, 'A Tentative Morphology of European Antiquarianism', p. 71.
[236] Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, 'What Counted as an "Antiquity" in the Renaissance?', in *Renaissance Medievalisms*, ed. by Konrad Eisenbichler (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009), pp. 53-74 (p. 57); Anthony Grafton, *Bring Out Your Dead: The Past as Revelation* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 115.
[237] See Meier, 'The Medieval and Early Modern World and the Material Past', p. 255.
[238] On Ligorio's *Delle antichità di Roma*, see Chapters 2.4.1 and 5.2.2.

statue antiche, che per tutta Roma in diversi luoghi, e case particolari si veggono by the Italian naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605) attests to the fascination for classical sculptures, it has no depiction of the statues: yet, it still provides extensive and specific descriptions that allowed the reader to visualize, at least to some extent, the ancient statues.[239] The *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae*, whose core consists of prints published by the French engraver Antoine Lafréry (who Italianized his name to Antonio Lafreri; *c.* 1512-1577), remains the most comprehensive survey of Roman antiquity in the sixteenth century to stress visuality.[240] The *Speculum*, conceived as an album of prints from Lafréry's publishing house, comprised views of Rome, including statues, buildings, monuments, city views and maps: the extant versions of the *Speculum* each contain a different selection of prints.[241] Furthermore, as I stated in the Introduction, coin catalogues displayed numerous illustrations of the numismatic material, even when these were imaginary or had been invented.

The visuality of ancient objects, therefore, was a key part of sixteenth-century antiquarian works: in contrast, it is surprising that most epigraphic *corpora* (whether in manuscript or print) do not prioritize the visuality and materiality of inscriptions. For many scholars, showing the correct reading of the text of an inscription was sufficient to prove their erudition. If a scholar decided to represent the support of an epigraphic text, it was often to demonstrate that he had seen the monument *de visu* and, therefore, to corroborate his reading

[239] On Ulisse Aldrovandi, see Daniela Gallo, 'Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Le statue di Roma* e i marmi romani', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, 104 (1992), 479-90; Eliana Carrara, 'La nascita della descrizione antiquaria', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 4 (1998), 31-50. Note that Aldrovandi's treatise was an appendix to *Le antichità della città di Roma* (Venice: Giordano Ziletti, 1556) by the Italian humanist Lucio Mauro (sixteenth century). Some studies have shown how Aldrovandi's work was designed to flatter powerful patrons: see Katherine M. Bentz, 'Ulisse Aldrovandi, Antiquities, and the Roman Inquisition', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 43 (2012), 963-83.

[240] Rebecca Zorach, 'The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome —and Beyond', in *The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome: Printing and Collecting the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, ed. by Rebecca Zorach (Chicago: Joseph Regenstein Library, 2008), pp. 11-23 (p. 12); Adriano Aymonino and Anne Varick Lauder, *Drawn from the Antique: Artists and the Classical Ideal* (London: Sir John Soane's Museum, 2015), p. 36; Pamela O. Long, *Engineering the Eternal City: Infrastructure, Topography, and the Culture of Knowledge in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), p. 142.

[241] Long, *Engineering the Eternal City*, p. 142.

of the text. As we shall see in this chapter (and indeed throughout this thesis), visualizing the inscription as a physical object and as an artefact was not always the first concern for antiquarians: this does not mean, however, that scholars were not aware of the richness of information contained in the visual qualities of the inscribed monument.

1.1.1 The Importance of Letter-Forms

Modern epigraphers recognize the value of the non-textual characteristics of an inscription and always strive to provide documentation on these visual elements.[242] Before exploring how sixteenth-century scholars dealt with the non-textual features of inscriptions, we ought to consider whether they were aware of the evidence these characteristics could deliver: just because a scholar reproduced the visual features of an epigraphic text does not mean that he understood what they meant or how to interpret them. The number of epigraphic *corpora* displaying only textual transcriptions of *tituli* could lead us to the (misguided) assumption that sixteenth-century scholars focused on the text alone and did not comprehend the importance of the non-textual features of an inscription.[243] In fact, it would be safe to assume that several scholars in the Cinquecento, especially from the middle of the century onwards, were aware of the significance of non-textual characteristics. For instance, in his manuscript *Inscriptiones antiquae collectae a M. Smetio* (Leiden University Libraries, BPL 1), Martinus Smetius stresses the usefulness of letter-forms in the prefatory letter addressed to Marcus Laurinus (Marcus Lauweryns; 1530-1581), his former classmate at the *Collegium Trilingue* and Lord of Watervliet.[244] After criticizing individuals who reproduce epigraphic texts with the same letter shapes, Smetius explains how he does not approve of this method, as letter-forms can be used

[242] See Le Roux, 'E. Hübner ou le métier d'épigraphiste', p. 23.
[243] See Chapter 3.2.2 for an overview of how epigraphic manuscripts rarely represent the support of the inscription.
[244] Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550*, 4 vols (Leuven: Bibliothèque de l'Université, Bureaux du Recueil, 1951-55), III (1954), pp. 318-22. Smetius's manuscript suffered some misadventures before being published in 1588: see Chapter 1.2.5 for more information on Smetius's *corpus*.

to date inscriptions approximately: 'from the shape itself of the letters, the time or age […] can almost be known'.[245] Smetius clarifies that, before Caesar, the ancients used plain and shapeless letters ('utebantur literis plane simplicibus atque informibus'): he even takes the example of the *tabula Aletrina* (*CIL* I 1529) on fol. 13r to illustrate his point (this inscription is dated to the 2nd or 1st century BC).[246] By contrast, in the 'age of bloom' ('florentissima aetas') from Augustus to Antoninus, the ancients carved very finely formed, squared and perfectly proportioned letters.[247] After this period, according to Smetius, letter-forms began, once again, to decline gradually: they gained in slant and became more oblong before reaching the highest degree of barbary and turning into Gothic script.[248] The style of epigraphic scripts is not sufficient to determine their time-period as many factors can influence the lettering, such as the material used or the skill of the stonecutter; Smetius's statements, however, show that he understood they can yield essential documentation.[249] In fact, modern epigraphers find the dating of an inscription crucial since epigraphic patterns and practices changed over time. Establishing the date of a *titulus* can thus enhance our understanding of classical antiquity.[250] Modern epigraphers also acknowledge that we can use more reliable elements than letter-forms to date inscriptions, such as *formulae*, the titles of Roman military units, or the mention of known historical figures and events, all of which provide chronological orientation.[251]

Ambrosio de Morales, whom we shall discuss in more detail later, shares Smetius's opinion about letter-forms in his *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España* (Alcalá de

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[245] 'ex ipsa literarum forma, tempus seu aetas […] cognosci fere possit' (Martinus Smetius, BPL 1, fol. 2r).
[246] 'utebantur literis plane simplicibus atque informibus, quales in tabula Aletrina folio XIII' (Smetius, BPL 1, fol. 2r).
[247] 'characteres formosissimos, quadratos, atque omni ex parte optime dimensos effigiabant' (Smetius, BPL 1, fol. 2r).
[248] 'Inde iterum cum aetate et imperio ipso Romano paulatim characteres declinabant: fiebantque primo obliquiores solito, ac deinde oblongiores, ac tandem ad extremam barbariam delabebantur, ut literis Gothicis quam simillimi evaserint' (Smetius, BPL 1, fol. 2r).
[249] Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, p. 423.
[250] Bruun and Edmondson, 'The Epigrapher at Work', p. 15. Bruun and Edmondson also stress that, in order to restore and interpret a damaged text, it is helpful to know to which period it belongs.
[251] Bruun and Edmondson, 'The Epigrapher at Work', p. 15; Bodel, 'Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian', p. 51.

Henares: Juan Iñiguez de Lequeríca, 1575). The *Antigüedades* worked as an extension of the *Crónica general de España* (Zamora: Juan Picardo, 1543) by the Spanish historian Florián de Ocampo (*c.* 1499-1558), who was the official historian of Charles V (1500-1558; King of Spain as Charles I from 1516).[252] Ten years after the *Crónica*, Morales continued Ocampo's work by producing the *Antigüedades*.[253] On fol. 99^{v}, Morales states that *CIL* II 1063 is written with 'perfectly shaped Roman letters' ('letras de forma Romana muy perfecta'); he then ascribes the beautifully formed letters to a specific time-period:

> All the stones that we see in Spain that were inscribed up to the rule of the emperor Hadrian [Roman emperor from AD 117 to 138] have very Roman-looking letters that are beautifully arranged, almost in the shape of a square. Nevertheless, from the times of the Antonines [from AD 96 to 192] onwards, stones commonly display deformed letters, very different from the former and all compacted so that they do not take up much space.[254]

In a similar manner, in his *Diálogos de medallas* Antonio Agustín uses letter-forms to distinguish the *tituli* carved in Cicero's time-period from all the other *tituli* from previous and later periods.[255] Furthermore, Agustín reproaches Aldo Manuzio the Younger for not separating the beautifully-inscribed *tituli* from the other ones in his *Orthographiae ratio*.[256] Smetius,

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[252] See Chapter 2.4.2 for a more detailed analysis of the *Antigüedades* and Morales's activities as an epigraphist.

[253] Jean-Noël Bonneville, 'À propos de l'exploitation des livres anciens par E. Hübner: les *Antigüedades* de Ambrosio de Morales (1575)', in *Épigraphie hispanique: problèmes de méthode et d'édition*, ed. by Robert Étienne (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1984), pp. 68-79 (p. 68). For the importance of Morales's *Antigüedades* in Spanish historical scholarship, see the Introduction in the critical edition *Ambrosio de Morales, Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España*, ed. by Juan Manuel Abascal Palazón, 2 vols (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2012), I, pp. 13-21.

[254] 'Todas las piedras que vemos por España escritas hasta el emperador Adriano tienen las letras destas muy Romanas, esparzidas hermosamente quasi en forma quadrada. Mas desde ay adelante en tiempo de los Antoninos y después, ya comúnmente tienen las piedras unas letras disformes, muy differentes delas dichas y apretadas en la forma para que ocupasen poco' (Ambrosio de Morales, *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España* (Alcalá de Henares: Juan Iñiguez de Lequeríca, 1575), fol. 99^{v}).

[255] 'Todas las [inscriciones] que eran del tiempo de Cicerón las notava y ponía a parte, y tras ellas las que eran poco antes o poco después, y en tercer lugar las otras más antiguas, y en el postrero las demás nuevas' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 340)

[256] 'Ya havrá visto como Paulo Manucio y su hijo juntaron un libro entero de inscriciones para solo el provecho de la orthographía, aunque no distinguieron los tiempos de las elegantes a las otras' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 340). I have used part of this quotation in the Introduction 3.2, but with a different purpose.

Morales and Agustín employ adjectives such as 'elegant', 'beautiful' and 'barbaric' to describe epigraphic lettering: although such qualifications might seem overly simplistic to modern epigraphers, we must not forget that the *CIL* also used comparable expressions in the earlier volumes.

1.1.2 The Challenges of Deciphering Epigraphic Abbreviations

Sixteenth-century scholars faced a significant issue with the deciphering of epigraphic abbreviations. Since inscriptions use a wide range of abbreviations and symbols, it became a pressing matter for scholars to be able to decode them.[257] Some of these abbreviations were common throughout the Roman Empire (such as the famous opening formula of epitaphs, *dis manibus*, abbreviated as *d.m.*), but others were characteristic of a particular place or time. Humanists were not without help in this domain, as they could resort to *De notis*, the handbook of the first-century grammarian and philologist Marcus Valerius Probus, which provided invaluable aid to the understanding of abbreviations. Poggio Bracciolini had found a manuscript of the treatise in 1417 and had used it for his research.[258] A few decades later, the Italian humanist Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini (died no later than 1492) published *De litteris antiquis* (Brescia: Bonino Bonini, 1486), the *editio princeps* of Probus's treatise. Ferrarini's work contained an alphabetical list of abbreviations found in Roman inscriptions, accompanied by their expansions.[259] Ferrarini's edition served as a stepping-stone for the study of abbreviations: subsequent scholars included editions of Probus's text in the first pages of their *syllogai*, adding abbreviations which the first-century philologist had not covered. In fact, one of the main characteristics of the epigraphic *corpora* I have consulted, whether in manuscript

[257] See Ida Calabi Limentani, 'Sul non saper leggere le epigrafi classiche nei secoli XII e XIII; sulla scoperta graduale delle abbreviazioni epigrafiche', *Acme*, 23 (1970), 253-82. Calabi Limentani argues that, contrary to what one might believe, the scholars of the twelfth and thirteen centuries could actually read the characters of the inscribed texts.
[258] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 23.
[259] Ferrarini was also the author of a compilation of inscriptions: in his manuscript BAV, Vat. Lat. 5243, Ferrarini pays great attention to the supports of the inscriptions and provides detailed illustrations.

or print, is that they all contain a list of abbreviations and their expansions. In his *Antigüedades*, Ambrosio de Morales highlights the importance of Probus's text:

> In order to read the abbreviations on stones, we had good aids: one was the ancient work of Valerius Probus, as he wrote a book on that very topic; the other is a more accomplished, modern work by Aldo Manuzio [...] that comes with his book about spelling [the *Orthographiae ratio*], where he treated the subject with wit, judgement, doctrine and diligence, as he always does in all his writings.[260]

It should be noted, however, that Probus's manual had its limitations, since it mostly included abbreviations of legal texts.[261] Therefore, sixteenth-century scholars had to experiment with the deciphering of other abbreviations they encountered.

As scholars became gradually aware of the importance of non-textual details, they also started showing interest in the support of the inscription.[262] Representing the three-dimensional support of an inscription carried its own challenges, some of which I shall explore later in this chapter. However, we must first examine how the representation of a single monument and its inscriptions could vary across different *syllogai*. By considering the following case-studies, whose various representations in sixteenth-century *corpora* have not been compared and contrasted in this way previously, I shall demonstrate the various approaches and techniques used by scholars to portray *tituli* on paper. The Pyramid of Gaius Cestius, one of the most famous monuments in Rome, offers a perfect case-study: as a recognized Roman landmark, it is more likely to appear in various *syllogai*, thus allowing us to see how scholars dealt with the representation of three-dimensionality in their collections. In the second instance, I shall focus on the various portrayals of a set of two further Roman inscriptions, namely the Arch of

[260] 'Solo para el leer las abreviaturas de las piedras, teníamos buenas ayudas. Una antigua de Valerio Probo, que escrivió particular libro dellas. Otra más cumplida y acabada en estos tiempos de Aldo Manucio […] que anda junta con su orthographia, donde trató todo esto con el mucho ingenio, juicio, doctrina y diligencia que en todo lo que escrive suele singularmente usar' (Morales, *Antigüedades*, fol. 11r).
[261] Calabi Limentani, 'Sul non saper leggere le epigrafi classiche nei secoli XII e XIII', p. 258.
[262] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 23.

Septimius Severus and Trajan's Column, both of which display different levels of damage: this will permit us to explore the challenges of reproducing incomplete epigraphic texts.

1.2 Egypt in Rome? Depictions of the Piramide Cestia in Sixteenth-Century Epigraphic *Corpora*

1.2.1 The Story of the Piramide Cestia

The Pyramid of Gaius Cestius near the Porta Ostiensis (now Porta San Paolo) is one of the most prominent surviving monuments of ancient Rome: its peculiar shape, usually associated with Egyptian culture, has not failed to enthral visitors across time, and sixteenth-century scholars were no exception. Overlooking the Protestant cemetery, the Pyramid stands with a monumental height of approximately thirty-seven metres at the apex with a square base of

twenty-nine metres per side; it is built around a core of concrete with a skin of brick and covered on the exterior with slabs of white marble (Fig. 2).[263]

Figure 2. The Pyramid of Gaius Cestius in Rome.

Even modern tourists are still intrigued by the presence of a pyramid in the Eternal City. In the Augustan period, references to Egypt became prominent after Egypt's occupation by the Romans.[264] This fascination for Egypt sparked inspiration for Cestius's Pyramid and other monuments of the kind. Despite the Egyptian influence, however, Roman pyramids are slenderer and look like a cross between an obelisk and a pyramid.[265] Some scholars have suggested that the Pyramid's steep slope (sixty-eight degrees) most closely resembles the

[263] Peter Lacovara, 'Pyramids and Obelisks Beyond Egypt', *Aegyptiaca. Journal of the History of Reception of Ancient Egypt*, 2 (2018), 124-37 (p. 125).
[264] See Carla Alfano, 'Pyramids in Rome', *Göttinger Miszellen*, 121 (1991), 7-17 (pp. 7-9 in particular); Molly Swetnam-Burland, *Egypt in Italy: Visions of Egypt in Roman Imperial Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 82.
[265] A brief email exchange with the Egyptologist Esther de Groot (Leiden) confirmed that the Pyramid of Cestius is indeed too steep when compared to its Egyptian counterparts.

monuments at Jebel Barkel near Meroe (Nubia), which were perhaps more pleasing to Graeco-Roman architectural standards.[266] During the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, even as late as AD 300, pyramidal tombs were built in Napata and Meroe: these late pyramids are quite small with slopes of sixty-five or seventy degrees, quite unlike the earlier gigantic pyramids.[267]

Although the Pyramid of Cestius is the only surviving example in Rome of a 'classic pyramid-tomb', it was not the only monument of its kind in the Eternal City. Early extant maps of Rome show two other pyramids: one on the southern side of Piazza del Popolo, known as the *Meta Marcelli*, and another on the *ager Vaticanus*, more precisely between the Vatican and Hadrian's Mausoleum (later Castel Sant'Angelo).[268] The *Meta Marcelli* is the less well known pyramid of the two and it existed until the fifteenth century: Sixtus IV (Francesco della Rovere; 1414-1484) demolished the tomb when he built Santa Maria del Popolo; fifty years later, Paul III (Alessandro Farnese; 1468-1549) removed the remaining rubble.[269] The remains of the *Meta* were rediscovered in 1874 when drains were laid along the Via Ripetta.[270] The pyramidal Roman tomb on the *ager Vaticanus* was larger than the Piramide Cestia and became known in the Middle Ages as the Pyramid of Romulus (*Meta Romuli*); it was sometimes also called *Sepulchrum Scipionis*, as the dedicatory inscription of its real owner had already been lost by

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[266] Alfano, 'Pyramids in Rome', p. 9; James S. Curl, *The Egyptian Revival: Ancient Egypt as the Inspiration for Design Motifs in the West* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 40; Lacovara, 'Pyramids and Obelisks Beyond Egypt', p. 128.

[267] Curl, *The Egyptian Revival*, p. 39. See Caroline Vout, 'Embracing Egypt', in *Rome the Cosmopolis*, ed. by Catharine Edwards and Greg Woolf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 177-202, where Vout contests the commonly accepted conclusion that Cestius's tomb and its Egyptian connotations do not fit with Rome's culture. Vout suggests instead that Cestius's selection of a pyramid for his funerary monument was precisely because of the rise of this Egyptian 'fashion' in Rome and that the Romans simply saw Egyptian iconography as a useful mechanism to refer to the afterlife. See also Swetnam-Burland's *Egypt in Italy*, which building on Vout's article, sets out to analyse how Cestius's appropriation of Egyptian imagery actually enhanced his memorial while at the same time making a statement about his influence in the Roman ruling elite (see pp. 84-89). Swetnam-Burland also talks about obelisks in Rome (such as the one in Piazza del Popolo) and argues that these celebrated Egypt as a defeated foreign enemy, while also emphasizing its place within the Roman empire (note that these obelisks, however, were transported from Egypt and then erected in Rome, whereas Roman pyramids were constructed in Rome. In the case of the Piramide Cestia, it was built nearly a decade before the erection of obelisks in Rome).

[268] Vout, 'Embracing Egypt', p. 179.

[269] Ronald Ridley, 'The Praetor and the Pyramid: The Tomb of Gaius Cestius in History, Archaeology and Literature', *Bolletino di Archeologia*, 13-15 (1992), 1-29 (p. 14).

[270] Ridley, 'The Praetor and the Pyramid', p. 14.

that time.[271] Incidentally, the Pyramid of Cestius came to be known as the Pyramid of Remus (*Meta Remi*) and thus scholars believed that these pyramids were the tombs of Rome's founders.[272] The *Meta Romuli* was partially demolished in 1499-1500 under the orders of Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo de Borja; 1431-1503) to make way for the new Alessandrina road (Borgo Novo).[273] The demolition was documented (and often criticized) by several sixteenth-century scholars, including Francesco Albertini in his *Opusculum* of 1510: 'Not far from the Mausoleum of Hadrian [Castel Sant'Angelo], was the pyramid that Pope Alexander VI destroyed, all so that he could open a road'.[274] The *Meta Romuli* was then completely destroyed a decade later, under the pontificate of Leo X, to build the church of Santa Maria in Traspontina.[275] In 'The Praetor and the Pyramid', Ronald Ridley brings to the reader's attention the Stefaneschi Altarpiece by the Italian painter Giotto di Bondone (*c.* 1267-1337), preserved in the Pinacoteca Vaticana: on the left hand panel of the back side, we see the crucifixion of St Peter between two *metae*, that of Cestius and the *Meta Romuli* (Fig. 3).

[271] Alfano, 'Pyramid in Rome', p. 10. According to Vout in 'Embracing Egypt', the association with Romulus stemmed from the fact that the *Meta Romuli* was close to that area of Rome from which Romulus disappeared so suddenly (p. 179).
[272] In 'Embracing Egypt', Vout suggests that such an accolade could be due to the Pyramid's proximity to the Aventine, the hill that Remus was said to have occupied. She also advances the intriguing theory that this title depends upon the Pyramid's straddling of the Aurelian walls, which would be linked to Remus supposedly dying because he dared to cross his brother's defences (p. 179).
[273] Vout, 'Embracing Egypt', p. 179; Curl, *The Egyptian Revival*, p. 40; Nicholas Temple, *Renovatio Urbis: Architecture, Urbanism, and Ceremony in the Rome of Julius II* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 14.
[274] 'Non longe a mole Hadriana erat Metha, quam Alex(ander) sextus Pont(ificatus) destruxit ut viam aperiret' (Francesco Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1510), fol. 40^{v}).
[275] Alfano, 'Pyramids in Rome', p. 10; Curl, *The Egyptian Revival*, pp. 39-40; Temple, *Renovatio Urbis*, p. 14.

Figure 3. Reverse side of the Stefaneschi triptych by Giotto di Bondone (preserved in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome, inventory number: 40120).

The figure depicted by Giotto as the *Meta Romuli* resembles more a hexagonal tower than a pyramid.[276] Giotto was in Rome on various occasions before his death in 1337 and saw the *Meta Romuli* a century before its destruction: there is therefore room to doubt that the *Meta Romuli* was in fact a pyramid. We must also remember that in the Renaissance, individuals used the term *meta* to describe other shapes than pyramids, such as obelisks.

The Piramide Cestia did not suffer the same regrettable fate of the *Meta Romuli*: it survived the waves of destruction and restoration that shaped Rome's history thanks to its incorporation into the Aurelian Walls, built between AD 271 and 275; as such, the complex has been and is still, for the most part, integrally preserved.

[276] Ridley, 'The Praetor and the Pyramid', p. 14.

In contrast to what its size could lead us to believe, the Pyramid was intended for a single person, Gaius Cestius, making it one of the largest tombs for private individuals.[277] Two inscriptions, now treated as one (*CIL* VI 1374), were and are still visible on the Pyramid (Fig. 4). The first text, bearing Cestius's name and his *cursus honorum*, is inscribed about halfway up on both the eastern and western sides, whereas the second *titulus* appears only on the eastern side and bears information about the circumstances of the erection of the monument (see Fig. 5 for a more precise view of the location of these inscriptions on the Pyramid).

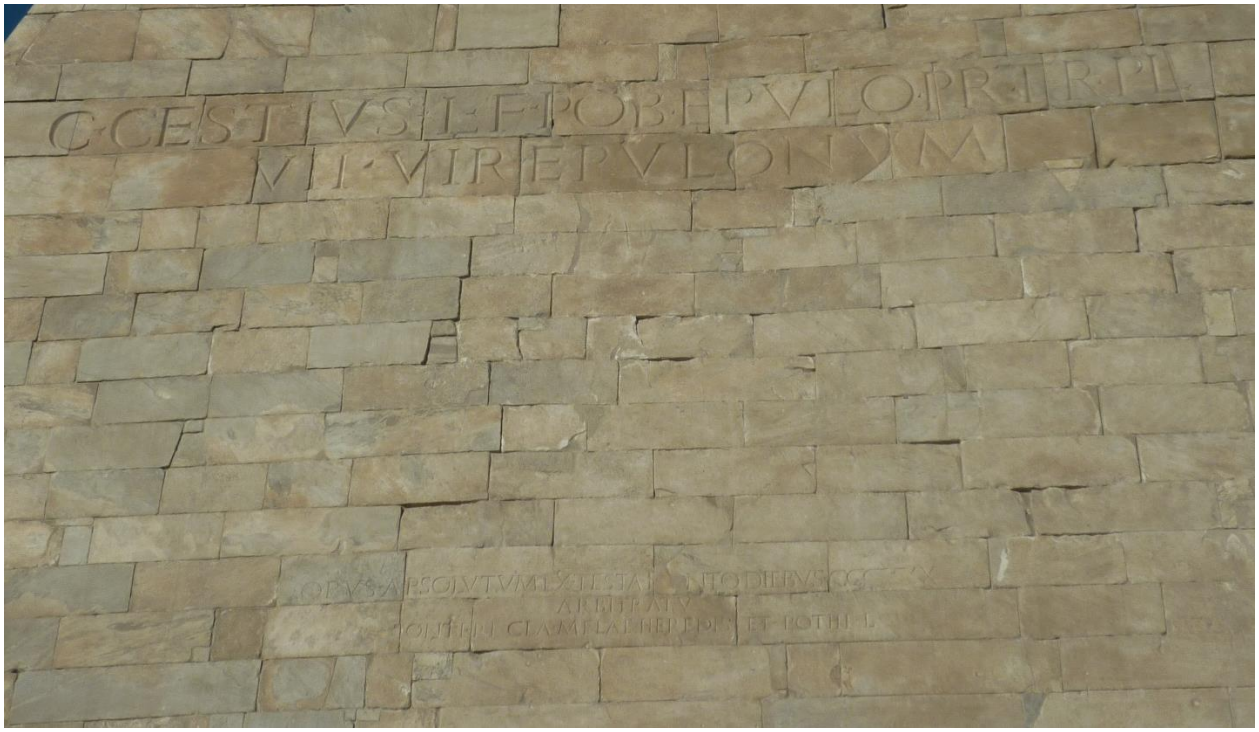

Figure 4. Inscriptions on the eastern side of the Pyramid of Cestius (*CIL* VI 1374).

[277] Vout, 'Embracing Egypt', p. 178. For comparison, the only other surviving personal tomb that could be compared to this one in terms of size is that of Caecilia Metella, along the Via Appia.

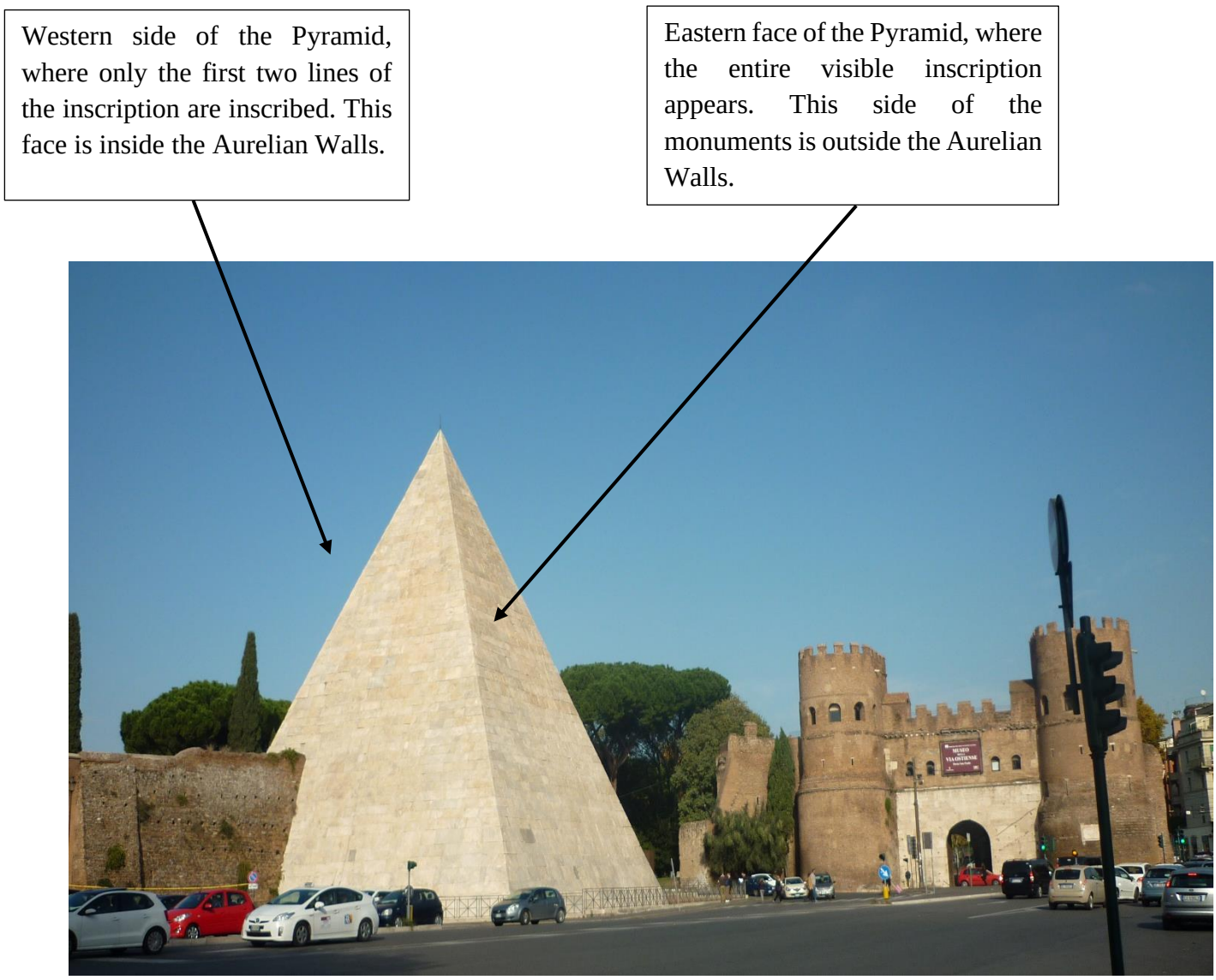

Figure 5. View of the Piramide Cestia with indications on the location of the inscriptions.

The first half of the inscription is carved in larger characters than the final three lines. The whole inscription reads:

<in latere ad Occidentem >

C(aius) Cestius L(uci) f(ilius) Pob(lilia) Epulo pr(aetor) tr(ibunus) pl(ebis)/ VIIvir epulonum

<in latere ad Orientem>

C(aius) Cestius L(uci) f(ilius) Pob(lilia) Epulo pr(aetor) tr(ibunus) pl(ebis)/ VIIvir epulonum/ Opus apsolutum ex testamento diebus CCCXXX/ arbitratu/ Ponti P(ubli) f(ili) Cla(udia) Melae heredis et Pothi l(iberti)

Western side

Gaius Cestius Epulo, son of Lucius, of the Poblilian tribe, praetor, tribune of the People, one of the seven *epulones*.

Eastern side

Gaius Cestius Epulo, son of Lucius, of the Poblilian tribe, praetor, tribune of the People, one of the seven *epulones*. The work was completed, according to his will, in 330 days, by decision of the heir Pontius Mela, son of Publius, of the Claudian tribe, and of Pothus, freedman.

According to this inscription, Gaius Cestius had a prestigious *cursus honorum*: he was a praetor, held office as one of the ten tribunes of the *plebs* and was a member of the college of the *epulones*, which was responsible for preparing the feasts in honour of the gods. However, apart from this epigraphic text, very little is known about Cestius, especially since not a single surviving classical source mentions the peculiar monument or Cestius himself.[278] This is even more striking when we consider a third inscription, *CIL* VI 1375: from 1660 to 1662, excavations were carried out on the west side of the Pyramid; two bases of statues were found, each bearing inscriptions telling how Cestius's heirs had carried out his instructions.[279] The two identical *tituli* record the names of six heirs and give a major indication for Cestius's dates: they list Marcus Agrippa as one of Cestius's heirs, whose death in 12 BC gives a *terminus ante*

[278] Ridley, 'The Praetor and the Pyramid', p. 1. According to the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, the only classical mention of a certain Gaius Cestius is in Cicero's *Philippics* (3, 26): nineteenth-century authors of the *Prosopographia*, however, doubt that this is the same Gaius Cestius as the one mentioned in the Pyramid (see Elimar Klebs, Herrmann Dessau and Paul von Rhoden, eds, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec I, II, III*, 3 vols (Berlin: George Reimer, 1897-1898), I (1897), p. 339).

[279] These statue bases are currently preserved in the Musei Capitolini in Rome (inventory numbers: NCE 2385 and NCE 2386).

quem for Cestius's death and for the construction of the Pyramid.[280] Amongst Cestius's heirs, we find prominent men of the early empire and late Republic, including the orator Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus (64 BC-AD 13), patron of the arts and friend of Augustus, Lucius Iunius Silanus, member of one of the most illustrious families, tribune of the plebs and praetor, and Lucius Cestius, Gaius's brother.[281] Given the list of remarkable heirs, the lack of mention of Cestius or the Pyramid in ancient sources is even more puzzling.

Within the Pyramid, we find a rectangular funerary chamber, accessed via a long and narrow corridor: this burial chamber contains a niche that very possibly housed the urn or the sarcophagus with Cestius's remains.[282] There are currently two entrances to the tomb; however, originally no entry existed, as it was not needed: the monument was erected 330 days after Cestius's death, so that his remains could be sealed within the Pyramid.[283] One of the most striking features of the tomb are the frescoes inside this chamber, which despite their current poor state of preservation, are among the earliest datable examples of 'Third Style' decoration (Fig. 6).[284] The engravings in *Gli antichi sepolcri overo mausolei romani et etruschi trovati in Roma et in altri luoghi celebri* (Rome: Antonio de Rossi, 1697) by the Italian draughtsman Pietro Santi Bartoli (1635-1700), give an idea of their original condition when they were first discovered in 1659: plate 64 gives a general overview of the burial chamber with the frescoes (Fig. 7), whereas plates 65 to 69 are reproductions of the individual frescoes.

[280] Vout, p. 178; Ridley, 'The Praetor and the Pyramid', p. 10.
[281] Swetnam-Burland, *Egypt in Italy*, p. 87.
[282] Ridley, 'The Praetor and the Pyramid', p. 3; Lacovara, 'Pyramids and Obelisks Beyond Egypt', p. 125.
[283] Ridley, 'The Praetor and the Pyramid', p. 3.
[284] Swetnam-Burland, *Egypt in Italy*, p. 84. For a detailed description of the frescoes, see Ridley, 'The Praetor and the Pyramid', p. 3.

Figure 6. Frescoes inside the funerary chamber of the Piramide Cestia.

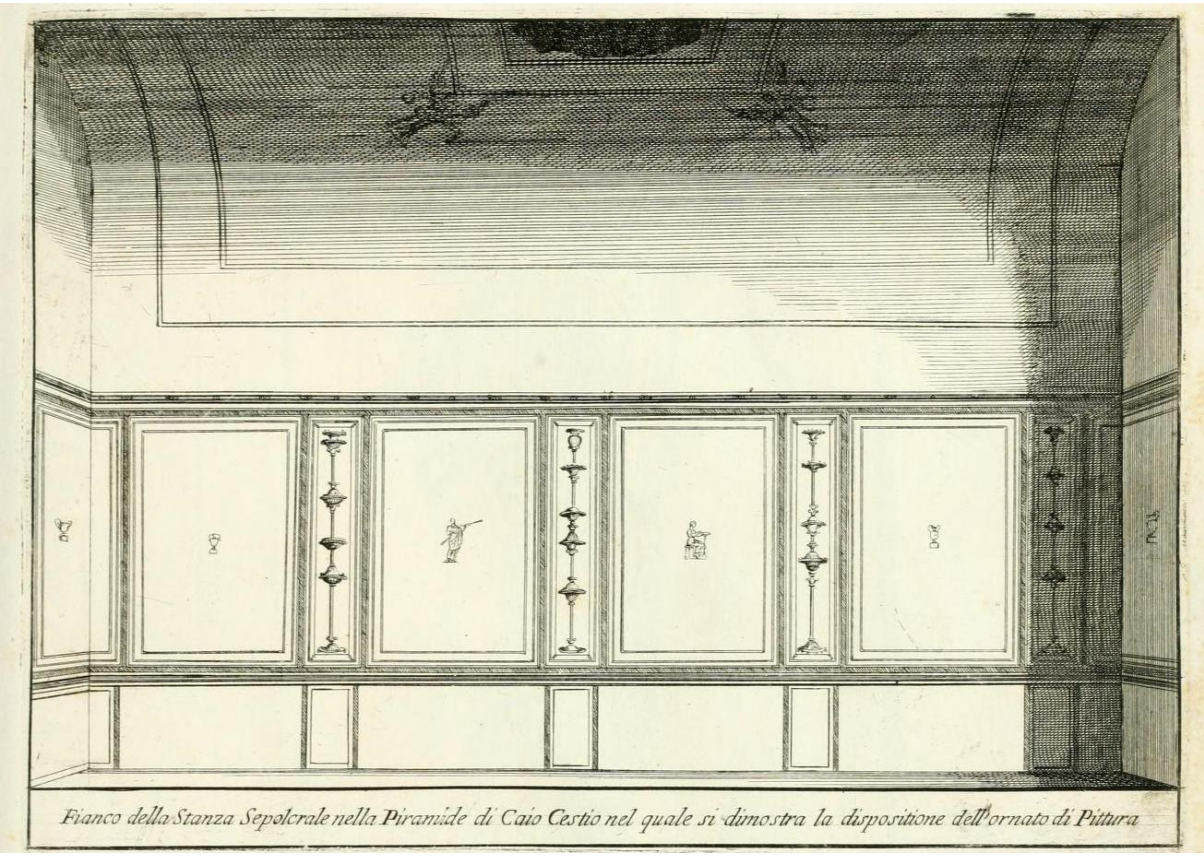

Figure 7. Frescoes inside the Piramide Cestia as portrayed in Pietro Santi Bertoli's *Gli antichi sepolcri*, Plate 64.

A third inscription, located on the eastern face of the Pyramid (below the first text), was carved in 1663 under the orders of Pope Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi; 1599-1667) to commemorate the excavations carried between 1660 and 1662.[285] The transmission of this inscription and the one found on the statue bases will not be discussed here, as they were discovered later than the period under study.

Although we lack mentions of the Piramide Cestia in the classical period, we find abundant references to the monument in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance. Already in his *Narratio de mirabilibus urbis Romae*, dated to the twelfth century and preserved in a single manuscript (St. Catharine's College library in Cambridge), a certain *Magister Gregorius*, an English traveller who came to Rome at the end of the twelfth century, states that he saw the

[285] Amanda Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 366; Lawrence Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (London: Batsford, 1991), p. 105.

Piramide and remarks upon its remarkable state of preservation.[286] In the Quattrocento, we see recordings of the Pyramid's inscriptions and more specific references to its contents. In his *De varietate fortunae*, Poggio Bracciolini notes that the *titulus* on the Pyramid is intact and is surprised that an erudite scholar such as Petrarch could sincerely believe this monument was the tomb of Remus:

> We also turn our attention to the Pyramid next to the Porta Ostiensis, inserted into the city walls: this is the noble tomb of Gaius Cestius, a *septemvir* of the Epulones [...] Given that the inscription is intact to this point, I wonder even more why the most learned man Francesco Petrarca should write in one of his letters that this is the tomb of Remus. I believe that he was following the general opinion and did not consider it important to examine the inscription hidden by brambles, which his successors, who are not as erudite as he, have nevertheless read more accurately.[287]

More than a century later, the Italian historian Giovanni Tarcagnota (Lucio Fauno; *c.*1508-1566) dedicated a paragraph to the inscription in his *De antiquitatibus urbis Romae* (Venice: Michele Tramezzino, 1549), using it to explain the role of the *epulones* in Roman society (fol. 66^{v}). Meanwhile, other scholars, such as Francesco Albertini in his *Opusculum* of 1510 and Bartolomeo Marliano in his revised *Urbis Romae topographia* of 1544, remarked on the completion of the Pyramid within 330 days (fol. 40^{v} and p. 64 respectively). These represent only a fraction of the many references to the funerary monument in the sixteenth century: the Pyramid of Cestius thus attracted the attention of various scholars, all of whom seemed to be interested in diverse aspects of the tomb, whether it was its peculiar shape or its inscription.

[286] For a study of Gregorius's *Narratio*, see Blennow, 'Wanderers and Wonders', pp. 77-82.

[287] 'Adiciunt et pyramidem prope portam Hostiensem moenibus urbis insertam, nobile sepulchrum, C. Cestii. vii. viri epulonum […] Quo magis miror integro adhuc epigrammate doctissimum virum Franciscum Petrarcham in quadam sua epistula scribere id esse sepulchrum Remi, credo secutum vulgi opinionem non magnifecisse epigramma perquirere fructicetis contectum, in quo legendo qui postmodum secuti sunt minore cum doctrina maiorem diligentiam prebuerunt' (Bracciolini, *De varietate fortunae*, ed. by Merisalo, p. 93).

As James Stevens Curl notes in *The Egyptian Revival*, the pyramid is a strong architectural form, easily described and recorded.[288] The general state of preservation of the Pyramid should have allowed for its form and text to be recorded systematically in manuscripts and early printed *corpora*. Yet, as we shall see, this was not always the case. The different representations of the Piramide Cestia in manuscript and printed epigraphic *corpora* give us an excellent insight into the challenges of representing inscriptions on paper: we shall see how scholars denoted a notation system for the pyramidal tomb and its inscription. This will also give us an idea of whether scholars preserved elements of the inscription from one representation to the other, and if there was a clear evolution in the understanding of the Pyramid as monument and document in the Cinquecento.

1.2.2 The Piramide Cestia in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* and its Annotated Copies

We see the first printed representation of the Pyramid of Cestius in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* of 1521. In fol. 10^{r}, Mazzocchi provides the location and the transcription of the

[288] Curl, *The Egyptian Revival*, p. 40.

inscriptions, accompanied by a simple woodcut, which provides a general layout of the monument (Fig. 8).[289]

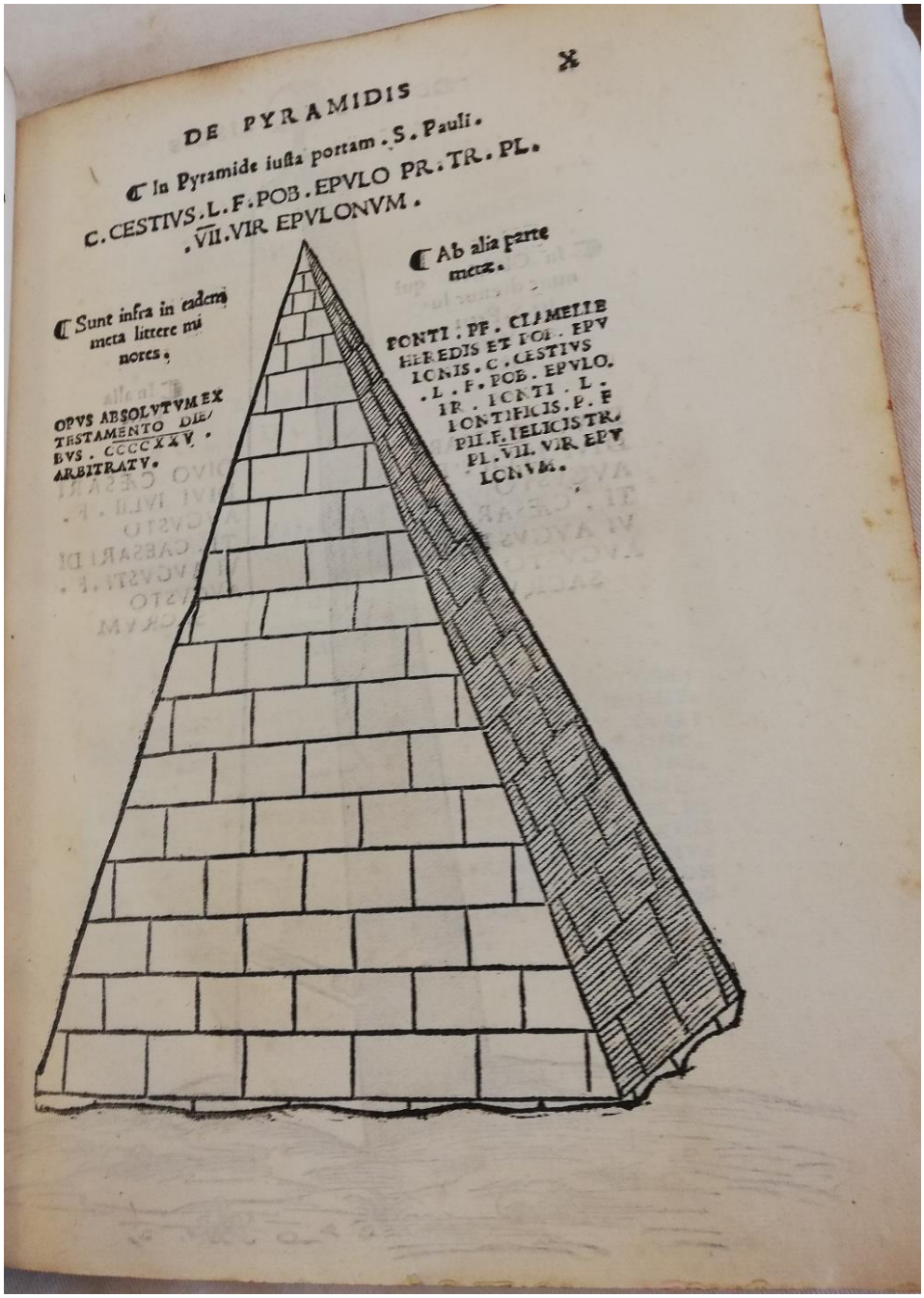

Figure 8. The Pyramid of Cestius in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, fol. 10r.

[289] As noted in the Introduction, the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* is an anonymous *corpus* of inscriptions. For the sake of simplicity, however, I use the publisher's name, Mazzocchi, as the author. See Chapter 4.1.1 for a discussion of the possible author(s) of the *Epigrammata*.

Mazzocchi transcribes the inscription on the eastern side of the Pyramid, but does not signal the position of the epigraphic text on the woodcut of the Pyramid: the depiction of the monument and the text do not interact and we clearly see the problem posed by the very nature of the pyramid as a monument with four façades. Instead, Mazzocchi only provides very vague indications on the location of the *titulus* on the monument, such as 'on another part of the pyramid' ('ab alia parte metae'). Nevertheless, Mazzocchi does convey a sense of the sizes of the letters: the first part of the inscription, containing the deceased's information, is printed in larger characters than the second half of the text. Besides, he explicitly adds that this second part features 'littere minores', indicating both visually and textually the difference in letter-size, and mirroring, at least to some extent, the visuality of the original text.

Although Mazzocchi attempts to reproduce some of the features of the Pyramid's inscription in print, his representation presents several issues. First of all, the epigraphic text is incorrectly transcribed: probably due to a printing mistake, which abound in the *Epigrammata*, the Pyramid was completed in 425 and not 330 days. More important is the misreading of the heir's name, transcribed as *Pontius Clamelle* instead of *Pontius Claudia Mela*: Mazzocchi interpreted *cla* (referring to the Claudian tribe) and *mela* (Pontius's real *cognomen*) as part of the same word. This error was very common among fifteenth- and sixteenth-century antiquarians: for instance, Andrea Alciato records the name *Clamelae* in his manuscript BAV, Vat. Lat. 10546 (but note that, unlike Mazzocchi, Alciato records the correct ending *-ae*).[290] Perhaps the interpunct separating the two words was not very visible at the time, which would be understandable if, just as Poggio stated in his *De varietate fortunae*, the inscription was covered in brushes. Nevertheless, it would seem more plausible that, in the first half of the

[290] I shall provide more details about Alciato's manuscript Vat. Lat. 10546 in Chapter 2.3.2.

Cinquecento, the study of Latin onomastics was not sufficiently developed to allow for the correct identification of a Roman tribe and the *cognomen*.[291]

The other major problem —and perhaps the most surprising— concerns the last lines of the inscription, which provide information on the completion of the Pyramid, on the heir Pontius and on the freedman Pothus. Mazzocchi's transcription reads: *Ponti P(ubli) f(ili) Clamelle/ heredis et Pob(lilia) epu/ lonis C(aius) Cestius/ L(uci) f(ilius) Pob(lilia) epulo/ pr(aetor) Ponti L(uci)/ pontificis P(ubli) f(ili)/ pii felicis tr(ibunus)/ pl(ebis) VII vir epu/ lonum*. This second half should immediately follow *arbitratu* but Mazzocchi separates it from its first part. He also adds seven more lines after 'heredis et' that do not appear on the monument. As can be seen from the text, these lines seem to be formed by parts found in the first half of the inscription, as well as by two lines that may come from another inscription: at first sight, Mazzocchi's erroneous transcription could be linked, once again, to a printing error. Nevertheless, another, earlier source displays a very similar transcription: this concerns the manuscript BAV, Vat. Lat. 5251, dated to 1503 and compiled by the poet Francesco Cinzio Benincasa (Franciscus Cynthius Anconitanus, *c.* 1450-1507), the son of a distinguished family at Ancona. From fol. 11^{v} to fol. 63^{r}, the manuscript offers a collection of inscriptions dedicated to Felice Feliciano (whom we saw in the Introduction as the author of the *Alphabetum Romanum*): fol. 11^{v} opens with an address to Feliciano, in which Benincasa claims to have collected inscriptions from sacred tombs, mausolea, marbles, pyramids and obelisks very diligently for his erudite friend, whom he characterizes as *antiquarius*. On fol. 39^{r}, Benincasa reports the transcription of the inscription on the Piramide Cestia: although the layout found of the text is completely different when compared to the *Epigrammata*, the transcriptions themselves are oddly similar and the additional lines are identical (Fig. 9). It is also striking

[291] As we shall see later in this chapter, most scholars in the second half of the Cinquecento were able to decipher correctly the name of the heir.

that Benincasa separated the part of the inscription that reads ‘Opus apsolutum ex testamento dieb(us) CCCXXV arbitratu’ from the rest of the text: this might explain why Mazzocchi recorded the second part of the inscription under a very vague ‘ab alia parte metae’, as he was trying to mimic Benincasa’s transcription.

Figure 9. Transcription of the epigraphic text of the Piramide Cestia in Francesco Cinzio Benincasa’s manuscript (BAV, Vat. Lat. 5251, fol. 39^{r}).

My research has revealed that Benincasa’s manuscript and the *Epigrammata* are the only two instances that display such alteration of the inscription on the Piramide Cestia: since Benincasa’s work stems from an earlier epigraphic tradition than the *Epigrammata*, it is probable that the MS Vat. Lat. 5251 was one of the sources for the *Epigrammata*, or that both compilations had a common source, which is now lost.[292] Unfortunately, I have not found any logical explanation to Benincasa’s odd transcription and, surprisingly, the *CIL* does not take note of this alternative reading.

The Pyramid of Cestius was not the only erroneous representation of an inscribed monument in the *Epigrammata*. Since Mazzocchi’s *corpus* was marred by mistakes, an *errata-*

[292] In Chapter 4.1.2, I explore the potential sources for the compilation of the *Epigrammata*.

corrige in a separate quire was included in the last pages and was added to the final printed version of each copy. The compiler of the *errata* remains, to this day, entirely anonymous. The *errata* do not contain any woodcuts of the monuments and correct only the texts (Fig. 10). The compiler of the *errata* calls the depiction of the Pyramid 'mendosissima' and rectifies all the mistakes, even making a few improvements: he adds all the interpuncts and respects the original layout. Furthermore, the compiler notes that the first two lines of the inscription are inscribed on both the exterior and interior sides of the Pyramid.[293] He then specifies that the three last lines only appear on the exterior part of the Pyramid. When mentioning the 'exteriori et interiori latere', the compiler no doubt refers to the Aurelian walls: therefore, the outer side corresponds to the external eastern face, while the inner side is the internal western face of the Pyramid.

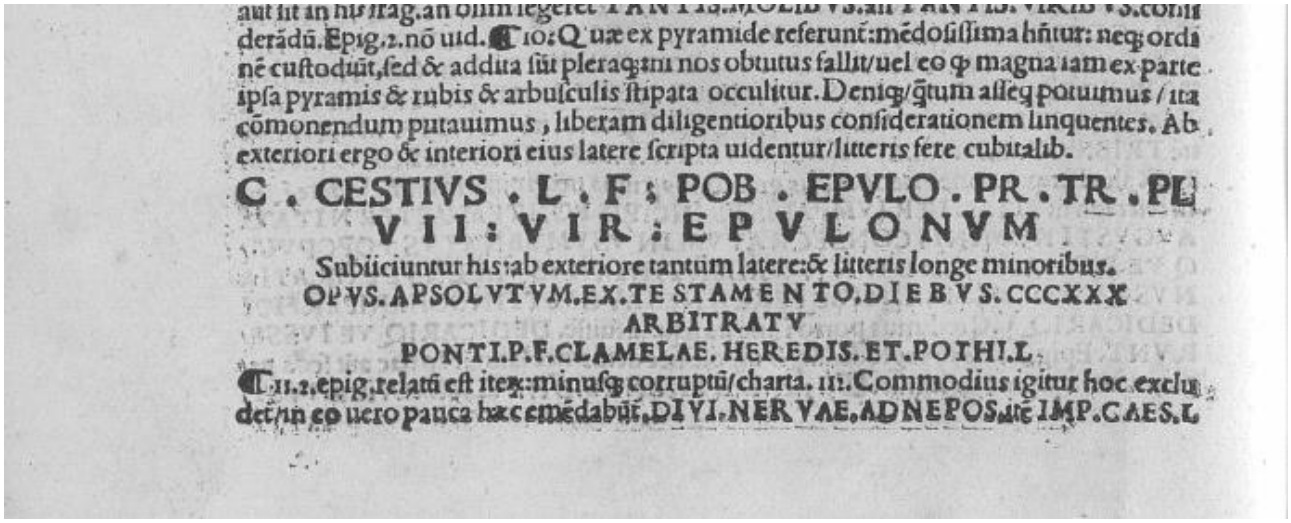
derãdũ.Epig.2.nõ uid. ¶ 10:Q uæ ex pyramide referunt:mẽdosissima hũtur: neq; ordi
nẽ custodũt,sed & addita sũt pleraq;ini nos obtutus fallit/uel eo ꝓ magna iam ex parte
ipsa pyramis & rubis & arbusculis stipata occulitur. Deniq;/q̃tum assequ potuimus / ita
cõmonendum putauimus , liberam diligentioribus consideratione linquentes. Ab
exteriori ergo & interiori eius latere scripta uidentur/litteris fere cubitalib.
C . CESTIVS . L . F : POB . EPVLO . PR . TR . PL
VII : VIR : E P V L O N V M
Subiiciuntur his:ab exteriore tantũm latere:& litteris longe minoribus.
OPVS.APSOLVTVM.EX.TE STAME N TO.DI E B V S.CCCXXX
ARBITRATV
PONTI.P.F.CLAMELAE. HEREDIS. ET.POTHI.L
¶ 11.2.epig.relatũ est item:minusq; corruptũ/charta. 111.Commodius igitur hoc exclu
det/in eo uero pauca hæc emẽdabũt.DIVI.NERVAE.ADNEPOS.ãt IMP.CAES.L

Figure 10. *Errata* of the inscriptions on the Pyramid of Cestius in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*.

Mazzocchi's representation of the Piramide Cestia is considered problematic by modern standards. Nevertheless, sixteenth-century scholars also had their qualms, objections that become apparent when studying the annotated copies of the *Epigrammata*.[294] The copies

[293] 'ab exteriori ergo et interiori eius latere scripta videntur, litteris fere cubitalib(us)' (*Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, sig. aa^{v}). *Cubitalibus* refers to a unit of measure, which was based on the forearm length. The Roman cubit was equivalent to approximately forty-four centimetres.

[294] Note that the surviving copies of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* will be analysed in more detail throughout this thesis, especially in Chapter 4.1.3.

of the Italian humanist Antonio Lelio (1465-1527) and Jean Matal present some interesting corrections of the Pyramid's representation, informing us what aspects of Mazzocchi's transcription were deemed problematic.[295] In his copy BAV, Vat. Lat. 8492, Lelio crosses out the mistakes and amends them; the most noticeable change is that he reads the correct form *apsolutum* instead of *absolutum*: the previous reading *absolutum* was possibly due to hypercorrection (Fig. 11). Furthermore, Lelio attempts to indicate where the text of the inscription is situated on the woodcut of the Pyramid, showing that representations on paper should preserve the dialogue between the monument and its inscription. Lelio is also precise when it comes to the location of the inscription on the Pyramid: in black ink, Lelio writes that the first half of the inscription is engraved both on the interior and exterior sides of the pyramid in letters measuring a cubit in length (which is a reformulation of what is written in the *errata*).[296]

[295] I shall provide more information about Lelio's annotated copy and for whom it was intended in Chapter 4.1.3.
[296] 'eadem inscriptio ab interiori et exteriori latere litteris cubitalibus' (Antonio Lelio, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat. 8492, fol. 10^{r}). For Lelio's use of the *errata* sheets in his annotated copy, see Chapter 4.1.3.

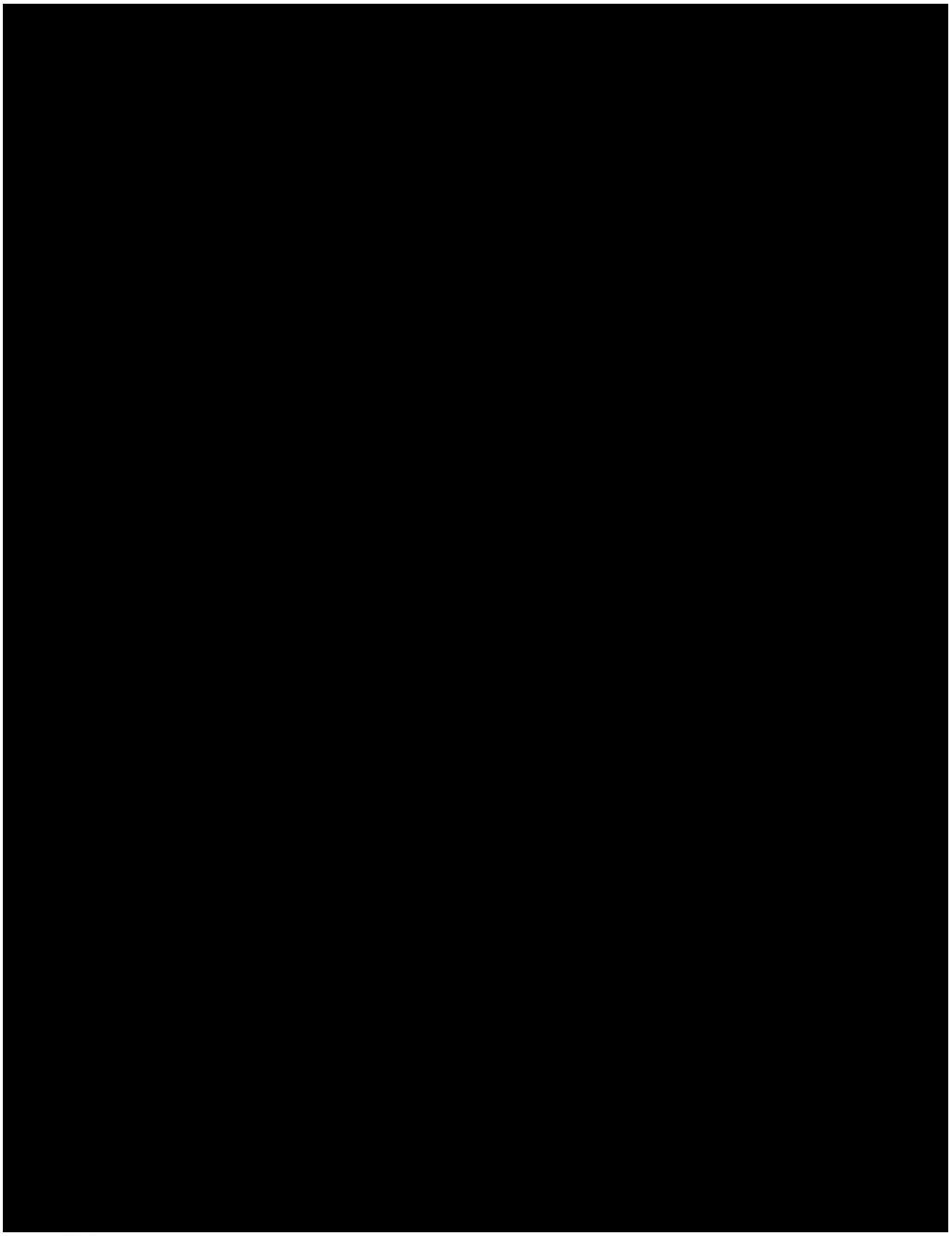

Figure 11. Antonio Lelio's corrections in his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (BAV, Vat. Lat. 8492, fol. 10r).

Matal's corrections in his annotated copy (BAV, Vat. Lat. 8495) are very similar to Lelio's: he also crosses out the mistakes and, probably following Lelio's additions, attempts to transcribe the inscription in the actual illustration.[297] Matal indicates textually that the verse of the inscription regarding Pontius Mela and Pothus, the freedman, directly follows the first part

[297] As I shall demonstrate in Chapter 4.1.3, Matal had access to Lelio's annotated copy at some point of his career in Rome. Matal's annotated copy will be explored in more detail later in the thesis.

of the *titulus* and is not inscribed, as Mazzocchi had indicated, in another part of the Pyramid. Matal still reads the name of the heir as *Clamelae*. Matal also adds what is written in the *errata*, slightly reformulating the original sentence to 'ab exteriori et interiori pyramidis latere, literis fere cubitalibus'. Of higher interest is the fact that Matal makes cross-references to Andrea Fulvio's *Antiquitates urbis* of 1527 and to Bartolomeo Marliano's *Urbis Romae topographia* of 1544, sending the reader to the pages where the Pyramid is mentioned in these two works (fol. 72^{r} and p. 64 respectively).[298] This is an instance of the importance of Fulvio and Marliano's publications in the second half of the sixteenth century. It seems that both Lelio and Matal did not find Mazzocchi's transcription of the Pyramid satisfying: apart from correcting the inaccuracies in the transcription, their notes show that they wished for the text and the illustration of the monument to be part of a whole.

Benedetto Egio also owned a copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, which he annotated profusely. In his copy, just as Lelio and Matal have done, Egio corrects the conspicuous mistakes in the transcription of the Pyramid's inscriptions (Fig. 12). He crosses out 'ab alia parte metae' and re-transcribes the second part of the inscription where it rightly belongs. Unlike Lelio and Matal, however, Egio does not pay much attention to the woodcut of the monument.

[298] I discussed the relevance of Fulvio and Marliano's works in the Introduction 3.2. Matal includes cross-references to these two publications throughout his annotated copy.

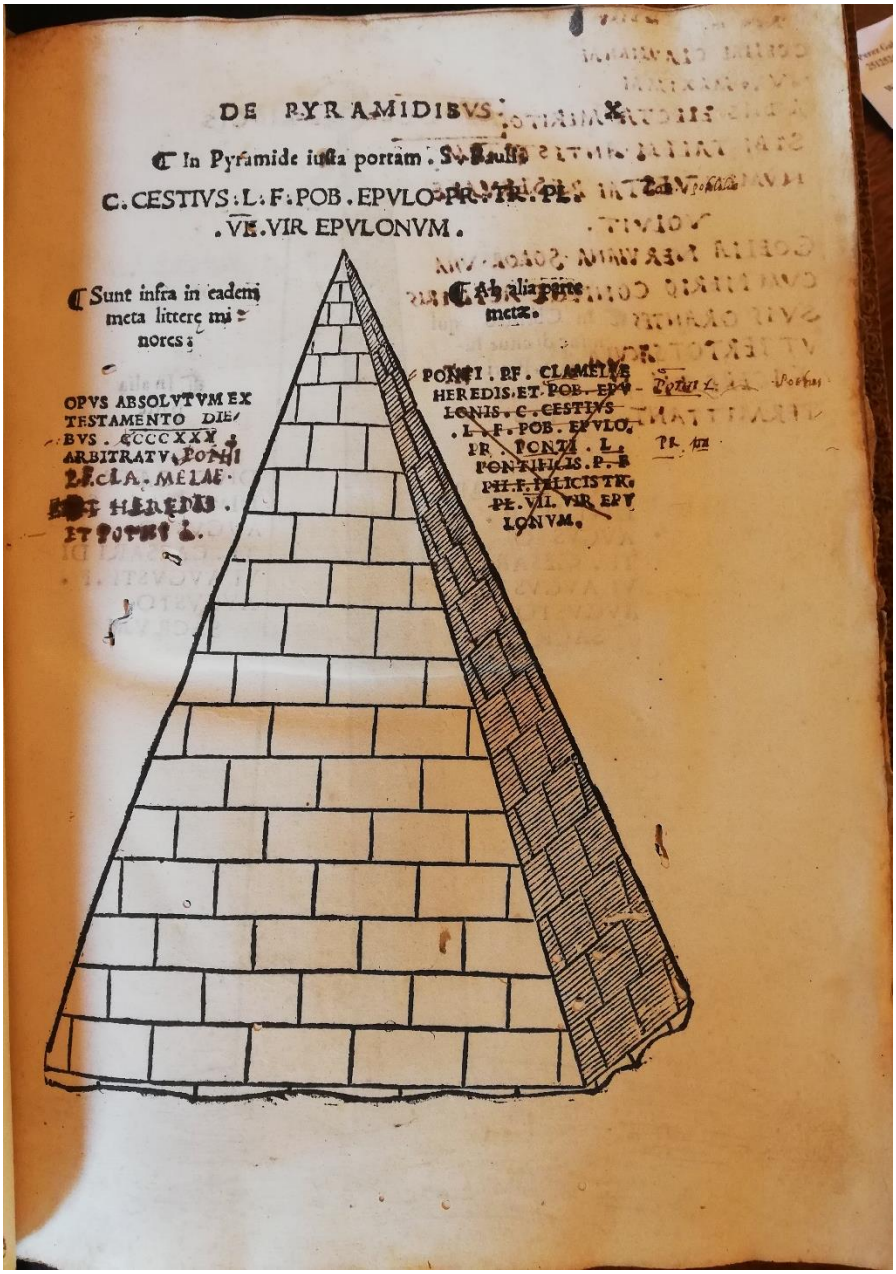

Figure 12. The Piramide Cestia in Benedetto Egio's annotated copy of the *Epigrammata* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. S.10.25, fol. 10r).

1.2.3 Cestius's Pyramid in the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*

Thirteen years later, the Pyramid featured with a similar illustration to that of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* in the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* published by Apianus and Amantius in 1534. The *corpus* had been financed by the German businessman Raymund Fugger (*c.* 1487-1535) who had brought together a physical collection of ancient items, including an impressive number of ancient statues and some inscriptions; these antiquities were the point of departure

for the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*.[299] In fact, some of the statues from Fugger's private collection are featured in the last pages of the *corpus* (pp. 512-18). Despite being the second epigraphic publication in the sixteenth century, the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* did not meet with the same success as the *Epigrammata*, mostly because it was littered with inaccuracies and countless *falsae*.[300] The inaccuracies were due to the fact that the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* contained material gathered almost exclusively from previous collections and neither Apianus nor Amantius deemed necessary or relevant the autopsy of the inscriptions they recorded: although they could have examined very easily some of the inscribed monuments, such as those from Bavaria and Augsburg, they preferred instead to resort to the *syllogai* of other scholars, especially that of Giovanni Giocondo.[301] Already in the sixteenth century, scholars were aware of the number of errors and false inscriptions gathered in this *corpus*.[302] The Italian humanist Mariangelo Accursio (1489- *c.* 1544) owned a copy of the *corpus*, which, according to the *CIL*, he had annotated profusely: Accursio had planned to use this copy as the start of a revision of the whole *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*.[303] Accursio's annotated copy was preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan until the Second World War but is now unfortunately lost: the *CIL*'s description of Accursio's copy is too general to allow us to have a proper understanding of Accursio's revisions.

The woodcut of the Piramide Cestia clearly shows that Apianus and Amantius closely copied the illustration of the *Epigrammata*: the authors included identical readings of the epigraphic texts and the same drawing of the pyramidal tomb (Fig. 13).[304] In truth, the Pyramid was not the only monument replicated from Mazzocchi's collection; Trajan's column (fol. 9^{v}

[299] Jansen, 'Antonio Agustín and Jacopo Strada', p. 212; Béhar, 'Die *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (1534)', p. 58.
[300] Ott, *Die Entdeckung des Altertums*, p. 176.
[301] Béhar, 'Die *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (1534)', p. 59.
[302] Antonio Agustín criticizes the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* for its inclusion of false material: see Chapter 5.2.3.
[303] *CIL* 6, p. XLVII.
[304] It is very unlikely that Apianus and Amantius used the same woodblock to reproduce the illustration of the Pyramid.

in the *Epigrammata*) was also copied in the exact same way (p. 269).[305] Just as the majority of the other representations in their *corpus*, Apianus and Amantius portray the Pyramid as a framed, imaginary monumental woodcut. A striking feature here is the ornamental border around the Pyramid: these borders were very common in epigraphic publications and manuscripts, especially in the first half of the Cinquecento (although to a lesser extent, the *Epigrammata* contains several of them as well).[306] We also find these ornamental borders in one of the epigraphic manuscripts of Giovanni Giocondo (BAV, Vat. Lat. 10228).[307] These monumental frames came from a long tradition of using these 'to mimic' antiquity and the classical past.

[305] For Trajan's Column in the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*, see 1.4.3 in this chapter.
[306] On the fanciful borders in the *Epigrammata* and the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*, see Chapter 3.2.1.
[307] Koortbojian, 'A Collection of Inscriptions for Lorenzo De' Medici', p. 299.

Figure 13. Woodcut of the Pyramid of Cestius in the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* by Petrus Apianus and Bartholomaeus Amantius, p. 252.

In the case of the Pyramid, the problem is not so much that Apianus and Amantius reproduced the same illustration and inscription, but rather that, by doing so, they also transcribed the same conspicuous errors. In the Renaissance, it was not uncommon to freely copy the works of others without any form of acknowledgement: for instance, Antoine Lafréry's engravings were copied both as engravings and as smaller woodcuts.[308] The Ingolstadt professors clearly did not examine the monument *de visu*, which is understandable

[308] Zorach, 'The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome —and Beyond', pp. 17-18.

since their collection covered such a large quantity of material. Nevertheless, the two authors had travelled to Italy in 1533 (at the suggestion of Raymund Fugger), and even though they did not have the opportunity to check every single monument, they should have been able to see the Pyramid of Cestius, since it is not difficult to access.[309] As I have explained before, since the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* was mostly compiled from previous existing compilations, it does not come as a surprise that Apianus and Amantius did not examine the pyramidal tomb. The more important issue at hand here is that they did not even take into account the *errata* of the *Epigrammata*, which would have allowed them to make the necessary emendations and to print a correct version of the epigraphic text. Another important matter is that the authors do not acknowledge their original source. This is even more striking since, in their preface, Apianus and Amantius mention Conrad Peutinger, whose collection, the *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum* of 1505, they had used as a source for the inscriptions from Augsburg. This can be easily explained, as Peutinger and Apianus corresponded fairly often: in fact, the section which contains inscriptions from Germany in the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* opens up with a letter, in which the Ingolstadt professors thank Peutinger (p. 379). It is also possible that Apianus and Amantius only felt an obligation to local scholars and acquaintances and did not fear any repercussions for reprinting material that was first published in Italy.

Apianus and Amantius's portrayal of the Piramide Cestia raises the question of the transmission of material in the Cinquecento and how images 'travelled': as antiquarians circulated their *syllogai* amongst colleagues, it was not uncommon for them to copy information from other sources. However, this soon led to a conundrum, since numerous humanists did not specify their original source, and mistakes were transmitted very easily. Scholars were aware that other *syllogai* could contain significant inaccuracies, so some of them

[309] Ott, *Die Entdeckung des Altertums*, p. 178.

privileged the autopsy of the monument. It may seem a rather obvious statement but seeing and examining an inscription in person was —and still is— the best way to provide an accurate representation (and also to check the accuracy of other depictions). As we have seen in the Introduction, Giovanni Giocondo was one of the first scholars to thoroughly indicate his sources in his epigraphic manuscripts. The acknowledgement of sources will become a fundamental aspect of sixteenth-century epigraphy, as we shall see with later *corpora*. Furthermore, depictions on paper usually allow the reader to see only one side of the monument, whereas observing it in person permits instead to examine the inscription in its entirety, including all the sides, which can reveal essential information about its production, uses and re-uses.[310] Therefore, some antiquarians insisted on seeing the monument for themselves, as they did not wish to rely on other people's manuscripts.

1.2.4 The Piramide Cestia in Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographia*

The third noteworthy representation of the Pyramid of Cestius features in the *Romanae urbis topographia et antiquitates* by Jean-Jacques Boissard.[311] Originally from Besançon, Boissard left home at the age of nine with his uncle, Hugues Babet, professor of Greek, and travelled across Europe for the next twenty years, observing and drawing antiquities.[312] Boissard first spent three years in Ingolstadt (from 1551 to 1554) with Petrus Apianus.[313] He went to Rome in 1555, where he stayed until the end of 1559 under the patronage of Cardinal Carlo Caraffa (1519-1561); this sojourn allowed him to draw up a comprehensive inventory of ancient

[310] Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, p. 370.
[311] Note that each volume of Boissard's work has a different title: in this thesis, for the sake of simplicity and clarity, I shall refer to the whole of it as the *Romanae urbis topographia*.
[312] Erna Mandowsky and Charles Mitchell, eds, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities: The Drawings in MS XIII. B7 in the National Library of Naples* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1963), p. 27. For a biographical account of Boissard's early life, see Bruno Poulle, 'Rome vue par l'humaniste Jean-Jacques Boissard (1528-1602)', in *Roma illustrata. Représentations de la ville*, ed. by Philippe Fleury and Oliver Desbordes (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2008), pp. 365-76 (pp. 365-66 in particular).
[313] Daly Davis, *Archäologie der Antike*, p. 49.

monuments and inscriptions.[314] Boissard then went to Metz, where his patron, Claude-Antoine de Vienne (*c*. 1534-1588), was chief of the Protestant side: although his works do not bear witness for his militancy for the Reformation, Boissard himself became a Protestant early on in his life.[315] Boissard's collection of drawings and notes met with a merciless fate: when Charles of Lorraine invaded the region of Montbéliard (East France) in 1587-88, a large section of Boissard's notes on Roman antiquities was lost.[316] Nevertheless, as Boissard himself states in the third volume of his *Romanae urbis topographia*, two years before the disaster, he had taken some of his material to Metz. This material survives in two manuscripts: the MS Latin 12509 (BnF) and the MS S. 68 (Kungliga Biblioteket in Stockholm).[317] The general consensus is that the Stockholm manuscript is older than the one in Paris, which was made in preparation for the printing of the work.[318] A closer look at the manuscripts renders this theory more than viable: manuscript S. 68 contains 'sketchy' representations of antiquities and inscriptions, characteristic of a manuscript that was brought on the field as the scholar went to see some of the monuments *de visu*. The MS Latin 12509, on the other hand, is of later date and all the drawings are executed or traced over in hard outline. Interestingly, the latter, prepared for publication, also contains a high number of reconstructed fragmented or damaged inscriptions, indicating perhaps that Boissard wished to transmit the view of a 'complete' antiquity to his readers.[319] The material in these two manuscripts became the base for Boissard's *Romanae*

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[314] Christian Hülsen, 'Un nouveau recueil manuscrit de Jean-Jacques Boissard', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 5 (1905), 544-55 (p. 544); Michiel van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of *Antiquitates Romanae*', *Lias*, 29 (2002), 195-213 (p. 195); William Stenhouse, 'Visitors, Display, and Reception in the Antiquity Collections of Late-Renaissance Rome', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 58 (2005), 397-434 (p. 403).

[315] Poulle, 'Rome vue par l'humaniste Jean-Jacques Boissard', p. 366. Given Boissard's identity as a Protestant, Poulle remarks that his stay in the Eternal City is quite astounding, especially given his friendship with Pope Paul IV.

[316] Tine Meganck, *Erudite Eyes: Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 147; Hülsen, 'Un nouveau recueil manuscrit de Jean-Jacques Boissard', p. 545.

[317] Pierre Laurens and Florence Vuilleumier, *L'Âge de l'inscription: la rhétorique du monument en Europe du XVe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2010), p. 36.

[318] Such a statement has been supported by Meganck in *Erudite Eyes*, p. 140, and by Mandowsky and Mitchell, eds, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities*, p. 27.

[319] On Boissard's aspiration to present a visual reconstruction of ancient Rome, see Chapter 3.1.

urbis topographia: although the bulk of it had been transcribed when he was in Rome, the published version would see the light only forty years later.

The *Romanae urbis topographia* is illustrated with more than five hundred engravings by the engraver and editor Théodore de Bry (1528-1598).[320] The first volume of the *Romanae urbis topographia*, dedicated to Johann von der Pfalz, Duke of Bavaria, opens up with a recommended four-day itinerary in Rome and is the only part of the first volume that could be considered original in its content.[321] As Boissard himself admits on the first page of his *Romanae urbis topographia*, he has completed the information of this itinerary with the help of the topographical guides of Flavio Biondo, Pomponio Leto, Onofrio Panvinio and Bartolomeo Marliano. In fact, Boissard's itinerary is followed, from page 118 onwards, by a reprint of Onofrio Panvinio's *Descriptio quatuordecim regionum urbis Romanae*, which is to be found in the first book of Panvinio's *Fastorum libri V a Romulo rege usque ad Imp(eratorem) Caes(arem) Carolum V Austrium* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1558).[322] Furthermore, the entirety of the second volume of the *Romanae urbis topographia* contains a hundred and sixty chapters taken word for word from Marliano's *Topographia antiquae Romae* (the first edition of 1534 and not the revised *Urbis Romae topographia* of 1544). Boissard's extensive use of these sources is certainly because he needed additional works to complement the observations he made during his sojourn in Rome, which dated back to the 1550s.

Although I am aware that Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographia* is not concerned with inscriptions alone and that it was also meant to act as a guide to the city of Rome, I have

[320] See Chapter 3.1 for a detailed analysis of the complicated relationship between Boissard and De Bry in the making of the *Romanae urbis topographia*.
[321] Note that each volume of Boissard's work is dedicated to a different individual. According to Boissard, a four-day journey in Rome would allow the visitor to see the Eternal City without any rush and at his leisure (Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Romanae urbis topographia et antiquitates*, 6 vols (Frankfurt: Johann Feyrabend, 1597-1602), I (1597), p. 2).
[322] On Panvinio's *Fastorum libri V*, see Ferrary, *Onofrio Panvinio et les antiquités romaines*, p. 206.

included it in my *corpus* of texts because some of its volumes record mostly epigraphic texts and are very similar in structure to what we observe in contemporary epigraphic publications.

The Pyramid of Cestius features on the first day of the itinerary: after providing its location and specifying that it is still 'integra', Boissard gives a brief description of the monument: 'it is built with huge squared stones made from white marble'[323]. Boissard was one of the few scholars to comment on the material used for the construction of the Pyramid: this might seem like a minor detail, but it gives more depth to the visualization of the support. He also explains, in three lines, the role and function of the *epulones* in ancient Rome.[324] The representation of inscriptions and the 'proper' epigraphic *corpus* start in the third volume. This section adopts indeed the typical layout of a sixteenth-century epigraphic *sylloge*, starting with the *Notae* of Valerius Probus. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth volumes, therefore, form the core of Boissard's epigraphic *corpus*. The Pyramid is portrayed in the sixth volume, in a way that seems more elaborate and ornamented than the depictions of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* and the *Inscriptiones antiquae vetustatis* (Fig. 14).

[323] 'structa est ex candido marmore saxis ingentibus et quadratis' (Boissard, *Romanae urbis topographia et antiquitates*, I, p. 30)
[324] 'Erant enim epulones qui curam gerebant conviviorum, quae fiebant diebus festis et solemnibus sacrificiis in honorem deorum' (Boissard, *Romanae urbis topographia et antiquitates*, I, p. 30).

Figure 14. Théodore de Bry's engraving of the Pyramid of Cestius in Jean-Jacques Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographia et antiquitates*, VI, p. 117.

Although the Pyramid features in the four-day itinerary, I could not find any surviving representation of the Pyramid in Boissard's notebooks; nevertheless, De Bry's engraving of the monument is still worth exploring as it will bring in important contributions to our understanding of Boissard's vision of antiquity. De Bry's artwork is embellished: eight human figures (seven adults and a child) appear at the base of the Pyramid and some vestiges of

monuments are scattered on the foreground. At first glance, it could be suggested that the figures add a sense of scale, but the Pyramid's height of thirty-seven metres does not render this possibility viable.

De Bry is clearly taking some artistic license in this illustration: the human figures do not interact with the monument (apart from the two individuals on the bottom right corner pointing at the Pyramid), the peak of the tomb is missing, the revetment slabs are falling apart, and brambles are taking root on the exterior of the tomb. As I have stated before, Boissard indicated in the four-day itinerary that the Pyramid was 'integra' and my consultation of other sixteenth-century sources shows that the pyramidal tomb was well-preserved in the Cinquecento. It is true, however, that brambles surrounded the Pyramid: Andrea Fulvio, for instance, complained about them in his *Antiquitates urbis* of 1527, since they prevented him from reading the inscription on the side facing Mount Testaccio, 'there are also other letters towards Mount Testaccio, which cannot be read on account of branches'.[325] Next to the woodcut of the Pyramid in his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (Vat. Lat. 8495), Jean Matal also writes that some letters of the inscription are 'occultata'. Perhaps these brambles led some scholars, such as Mazzocchi and Benincasa, to assume that there were more words to the inscription. Fulvio and Matal's remarks might shed light on the fact that neither the *Epigrammata* nor the *Romanae urbis topographia* mention that the first two lines of the inscription can be seen on both the western and eastern sides of the Pyramid: as Fulvio said, the lines of the *titulus* towards Mount Testaccio (on the Western side) were concealed.

Besides taking some artistic license, De Bry's engraving also takes some freedom in its representation of the actual epigraphic text: the *versuum divisio* is completely ignored, *diebus* and *ex* are abbreviated into *dieb(us)* and *e(x)*, and he shows some confusion about the time of

[325] 'Sunt et aliae litterae versus testaceum montem, quae propter frutices legi nequeunt' (Andrea Fulvio, *Antiquitates urbis* (Rome: Marcello Silber 1527) , p. 72)

completion of the Pyramid (which has now become just thirty days). The name of the freedman is misread as *posthi*, and *clamelae* has been mistaken for *clamilae* (as we have seen before, this part of the inscription was problematic). Nevertheless, De Bry's engraving offers a major point of interest: the epigraphic text is included in the actual illustration of the tomb, creating an instance where the text engages with its support.

De Bry's rather embellished engraving was probably inspired by the 1547 print of the Pyramid in the *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae* (Fig. 15).

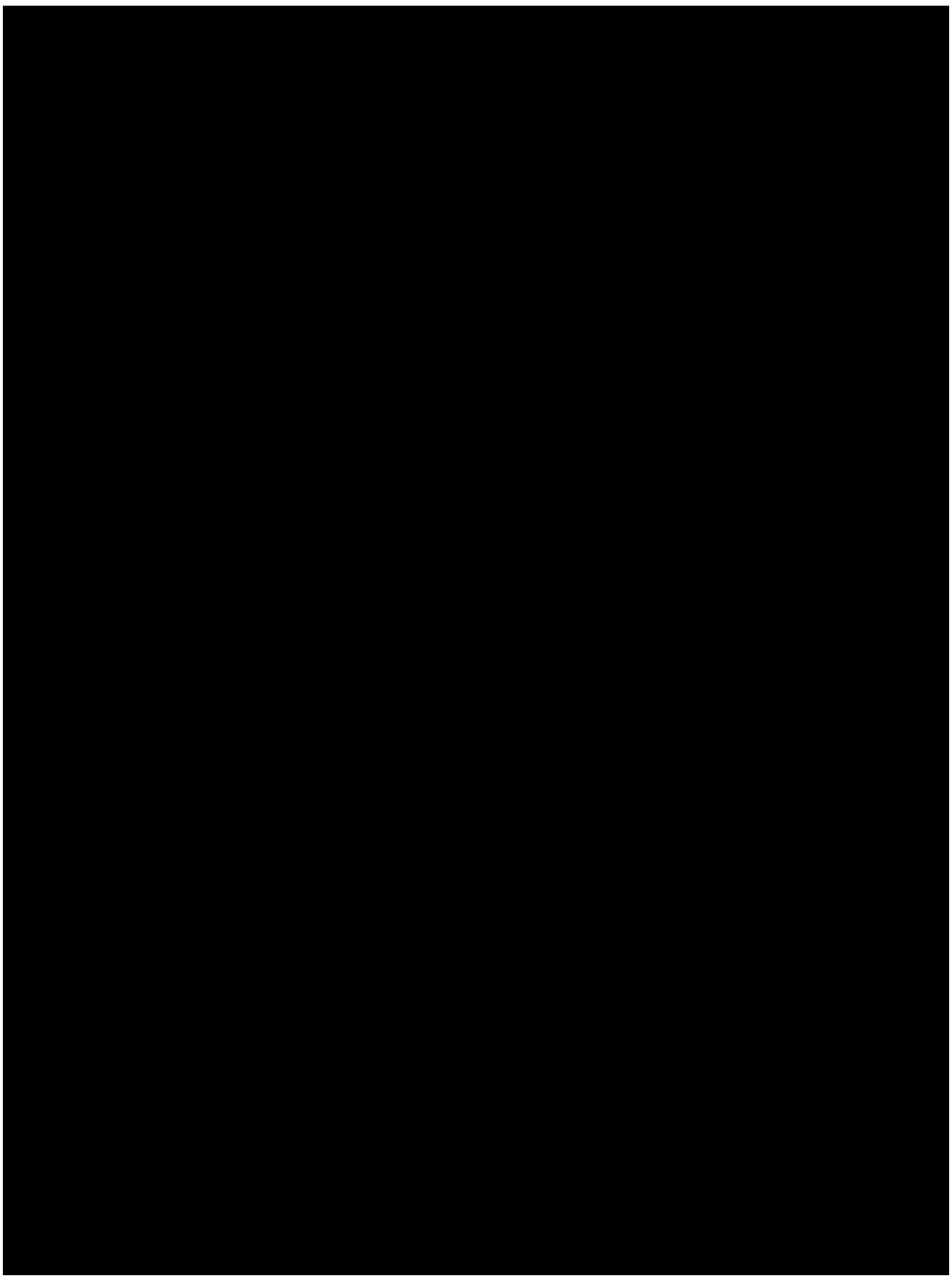

Figure 15. Engraving of the Pyramid of Cestius by an anonymous author. Printed by Antoine Lafréry as part of the *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae* series (1547). Preserved in the British Museum (inventory number: 1950,0211.60).

The similarities between this and De Bry's portrayal of the Piramide Cestia are quite noticeable: the anonymous engraving represents two human figures at the base of the Pyramid, conveying, this time, an accurate sense of scale. The artist has also inserted the text of the inscription into the illustration of the Pyramid and we see brambles growing out of the pyramidal tomb. We know indeed that Lafréry's prints were reprinted by a series of successive

owners of his plates over the centuries and that they also appeared in later books by Boissard and other antiquarians.[326] Apart from taking inspiration from Lafréry's print, we also have to consider the fact that De Bry's engraving was possibly responding to other sixteenth-century antiquarian works (mostly topological guides) which displayed constantly the Pyramid of Cestius in a 'decayed' state.

De Bry's embellished representation of the Pyramid, however, provides us with valuable insights into Boissard's own vision of the classical past. We have to bear in mind Boissard's ambitions when compiling this *corpus*, which were tightly connected with a strong desire to preserve the ruins of antiquity.[327] Thus, the broken column and statue base we see in De Bry's engraving might allude to the degradation and destruction of many monuments in Rome, a theme that would fit with the general atmosphere of the image, in which even the tomb itself looks overtaken by the passage of time. We also notice an inscribed funerary monument in the bottom left corner. I could not find any records of this epigraphic text, but, since Boissard/De Bry gives no explanation for its presence, it is possible that it is a fictional inscription, as the *Romanae urbis topographia et antiquitates* features some forgeries. It is also plausible that this inscription still existed in the sixteenth century, but De Bry's engraving is the only surviving record of it. De Bry's vision of the Pyramid is perfectly in line with Boissard's motives for compiling the *Romanae urbis topographia*: Boissard wished to preserve the memory of ancient Rome from the destruction of time, but more than anything, from the destruction of man.[328]

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[326] Zorach, 'The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome —and Beyond', p. 18.

[327] On Boissard's aspiration for his *Romanae urbis topographia*, see also Jean-Claude Margolin, 'Promenades archéologiques au XVIe siècle: la Rome de Germain Audebert et celle de Jean-Jacques Boissard', in *Présence de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme romains: hommage à Paul Dufournet*, ed. by Raymond Chevallier (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1983), pp. 195-229.

[328] On this point, see Poulle, 'Rome vue par l'humaniste Jean-Jacques Boissard', p. 374; Annelyse Lemmens, 'Jean-Jacques Boissard. *Romanae Urbis Topographia & Antiquitates*…, Francfort, 1597', in *L'Antiquité de papier. Le livre d'art, témoin exceptionnel de la frénésie de savoir (XVIe-XIXe siècles)*, ed. by Michel Lefftz and Céline Van Hoorebeeck (Namur: Presses Universitaires de Namur, 2012), pp. 52-55.

1.2.5 Smetius's Representation of the Pyramid in the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*

Finally, the inscription of the Pyramid of Cestius also appears in the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* of 1588 by Martinus Smetius.[329] Smetius's manuscript collection ended up in Lipsius's hands after a series of (un)fortunate events: Smetius, who hailed originally from Oostwinkel (a village in the current Belgian province of East Flanders), stayed in Rome from 1545 to 1551 as secretary to Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi (1500-1564).[330] Smetius accompanied the Cardinal on his travels across Italy, which in turn gave him the opportunity to transcribe an impressive number of inscriptions and meet scholars interested in antiquities, such as Agustín and Panvinio.[331] Shortly after his return to Flanders, Smetius became a parish priest in the parish of his birth. At this moment, Marcus Laurinus encouraged Smetius to begin the daunting task of ordering the transcriptions of *tituli* he had made on his journey. Unfortunately, a fire broke out on 13 January 1558 in Smetius's village, with disastrous consequences for his manuscript: the copy that Smetius had been preparing for Laurinus as well as most of his notes and transcriptions were completely destroyed; Smetius was able to salvage only fifty-one pages of the copy intended for Laurinus.[332] Understandably, Smetius was deeply affected by this incident, as we can gather from his preface to Laurinus and his correspondence.[333] This regrettable event drove Smetius to look for other sources to continue his work and restore the remaining pages of the copy, and after reconstituting part of it, he offered it to Laurinus. When

[329] The following biographical details are taken from Jan Verbogen, 'Martinus Smetius et Angelo Colocci. Une collection romaine d'inscriptions antiques au XVIe siècle', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 34 (1985), 255-72.
[330] Verbogen, 'Martinus Smetius et Angelo Colocci', p. 255.
[331] In his dedicatory epistle to Laurinus, Smetius recounts how he transcribed many epigraphic texts carefully during his stay in Rome and how he recorded *tituli* from the Eternal City itself and from several other places in Italy: 'Inscriptiones itaque omnes, quas olim per sexennium, ab anno videlicet MDXLV usque ad MDLI magna diligentia, cum per urbem Romam ubi tunc agebam, tum per alia multa Italiae loca, quae cum hero meo Rodulpho Pio cardinale Carpensi proficiscens obiter perlustravi, tumultuarie ipse collegeram' (Smetius, BPL 1, fol. 2^{r}).
[332] Verbogen, 'Martinus Smetius et Angelo Colocci', p. 256; Marc Mayer-Olivé, 'El canon de los humanistas de su tiempo interesados en la epigrafía y las antigüedades clásicas según el criterio de Onofrio Panvinio', *Sylloge Epigraphica Barcinonensis*, 8 (2010), 29-65 (p. 31).
[333] 'fatalis ignis in aedes meas (proh dolor) illapsus' (Smetius, BPL 1, fol. 2^{v}). Smetius also recounts the tragedy in a letter to Stephanus Pighius dated 27 January 1558 (see Stephanus Winandus Pighius, *Stephani Vinandi Pighii epistolarium*, ed. by Henry de Vocht (Leuven: Librairie Universitaire, 1959), pp. 35-38).

Laurinus fled the Civil War in Flanders, he encountered English soldiers, who confiscated his *codex*.[334] The manuscript arrived in England, where it was sold at an auction in 1585: the curators of the newly founded University of Leiden bought the collection for their library, and Lipsius published it in 1588, after having edited it and added an *Auctarium* of transcriptions of *tituli* made by him and his colleagues. The manuscript, entitled *Inscriptiones antiquae cum Graecae tum Latinae per urbem Romam diligenter collectae*, was the first one to enter the Leiden University Libraries, where it is currently preserved as BPL 1.[335]

Lipsius himself narrates the unlikely journey of Smetius's *corpus* in his correspondence with Carolus Clusius, recounting how the curators of Leiden University bought the manuscript in England from an officer who had stolen it from Marcus Laurinus's belongings and how he then added an *Auctarium* of inscribed texts Smetius had not seen or had omitted.[336] Lipsius's edition of the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* is remarkably faithful to Smetius's manuscript. He paid the utmost attention to preserving all the elements of the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* that contributed to its reputation as a *sylloge* of unprecedented rigour and accuracy, from the portrayal of damage and fragments, to the descriptions of the *titulus*'s support and the paratextual apparatus (including the seventeen indices). Lipsius also kept the foliation of the original manuscript.

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[334] Verbogen, 'Martinus Smetius et Angelo Colocci', p. 257. Smetius's later life remains a mystery, but Verbogen maintains that he was violently killed by Spanish soldiers in 1578 (p. 257).

[335] The complete title of Smetius's manuscript is *Inscriptiones antiquae cum Graecae tum Latinae per urbem Romam diligenter collectae et ex aliis non modo Italiae sed et reliquarum totius fere Europae regionum locis studiose conquisitae fidelissimeque uti in ipsis marmoribus aut aereis tabulis legebantur descriptae*. Please note that, since the short title of this manuscript would be *Inscriptiones antiquae* (the same as Gruterus's publication), I shall use the title of Lipsius's publication of 1588, *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, when referring to both Smetius's manuscript and the print version. An extensive account on the misfortunes of Smetius's manuscript can be found in Verbogen, 'Martinus Smetius et Angelo Colocci', pp. 256-58. On this point, see also Ginette Vagenheim, 'Juste Lipse et l'édition du recueil d'inscriptions latines de Martinus Smetius', *De Gulden Passer*, 84 (2006), 45-67 (pp. 45-47).

[336] J. Lipsius to C. Clusius, 14 January 1588: 'Dicam quod rideas, praedones a praedonibus. Milites, inquam, nostri in tumultu hoc Belgico res Marci Laurini diripuerunt, inter eas hunc thesaurum. Centurio qui habuit, in Angliam venalem detulit: emerunt illic Academiae nostrae (cum casu pro legatis adessent) Curatores. Ego auctor divulgandi et adiutor. Auctarium enim addidi Inscriptionum aliquot, quas Smetius aut non vidit aut omisit' (Justus Lipsius, *Iusti Lipsi epistolae. Pars 3, 1588-1590*, ed. by Hugo Peeters and Sylvette Sué (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1987), p. 48). On Lipsius's *Auctarium*, see Chapter 4.2.2.

Unlike Boissard's collection, Smetius's *corpus* does not always contain (detailed) illustrations of inscribed monuments, as it prioritizes the textual aspect of the inscription. Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, however, sets important standards for the accurate transcription of *tituli*: Smetius represents indeed damaged and fragmented inscriptions and pays great care and attention to his sources. Smetius explains in the dedicatory letter to Laurinus that he has attempted to preserve the original shape of the letters (as we have seen earlier, Smetius recognized the importance of letter-forms), as well as the disposition of the lines. Furthermore, Smetius specifies whether he himself has seen the inscription or not: if he had the opportunity to examine the epigraphic text, he indicates it with brief sentences such as 'Egomet vidi' or 'Ego ipse vidi, legi, ac descripsi'. On the contrary, if he has copied the inscription from another compilation, he acknowledges his source.[337] Again, this practice derived from Giovanni Giocondo, shows the increasing importance given to autopsy and to acknowledging the original source in sixteenth-century collections. At the beginning of the page featuring the inscriptions of the Pyramid, Smetius thus writes 'Ego ipse haec omnia vidi', which means that he himself saw all the texts on that page.

On fol. 11^{v} of the Leiden manuscript and Lipsius's edition, Smetius indicates the location of the text and gives the first two lines of the inscription, specifying that this section also appears on the western side of the Pyramid (Figs 16 and 17).

[337] See Chapter 4.2 for Smetius's use of sources in his manuscript.

Figure 16. Inscription of the Piramide Cestia in Martinus Smetius's manuscript (Leiden University Libraries, BPL 1, fol. 11^{v}).

Figure 17. Inscription of the Pyramid of Cestius in the printed edition of the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* of 1588, fol. 11^{v}.

Smetius then proceeds to transcribe the second part of the inscription, underlining that, on the contrary, these lines are only visible on the eastern side. Smetius was among the first scholars to understand that Pontius's surname was *Mela* and not *Clamela*. Like Mazzocchi, Smetius shows the difference in letter-size visually and textually, explaining that the first half is carved in 'bipedalibus literis' and the second half in much smaller letters ('multo minoribus literis'). Furthermore, Smetius places all the interpuncts perfectly: for him, they were as essential to the visualization of the inscription as the lettering and layout. Smetius's transcription is in fact the same as that recorded in the *CIL*.

Smetius's transcription, however, very text-based, only gives a sense of what the inscription on the Piramide Cestia looks like: although his transcription is flawless and he specifies that the text is engraved on a pyramid, an important part of the visualization of the whole inscribed monument is lost without the illustration of the support. This is especially the case with the Pyramid of Cestius, since it is quite a peculiar monument. Smetius's representation shows that using textual elements only to represent an inscription does not necessarily yield the best results. Although the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* is extremely accurate, the other collections should not be dismissed: as mentioned earlier, the support of an inscription is highly important, and although the *Epigrammata* and the *Romanae urbis topographia* are far from perfect, they still bring essential insights into the visualization of the Pyramid of Cestius. As stated in the introduction, every representation of the Pyramid and its inscription is essential to have a better understanding of the Piramide as monument and as document. The main issue posed by Smetius's portrayal of the *titulus* is that it becomes very easy for the inscription to become just a simple text, and to lose part of its essence as inscription. The page that records the inscription of the Pyramid in Smetius's collection illustrates this point perfectly, as nothing about the Pyramid's epigraphic text stands out or differentiates it from the other texts on the page.

Representing complete and undamaged inscriptions on paper was already a challenging task for sixteenth-century scholars, one that damaged texts and supports rendered even more complicated. Sixteenth-century scholars were confronted with different types of damage and had to decide how to portray the incomplete parts of the text and support. The next two case-studies display different levels and forms of damage: while the first inscription contains an erasure, the second has a fissure that affects two words in the text.

1.3 Representing *Damnatio Memoriae* in Epigraphic *Corpora*: The Case of the Arch of Septimius Severus

Damage to inscriptions could be caused either intentionally or accidentally: erasures, frequently associated with the *damnatio memoriae* of an individual, are often the result of intentional damage. In some cases, however, they might also indicate a mistake by the stonecutter. Accidental damage, on the other hand, can be linked to the degradation caused by time or natural events (such as earthquakes) or by neglect or mishandling of the stone. Furthermore, in late antiquity and in later periods it was not uncommon for inscribed monuments to be reused as architectural materials: such reuse could reflect a desire to make purposeful connections to the Roman past or to reinforce a sense of triumphalism or religious appropriation, but sometimes it was a simple practical necessity (for instance, when there was a lack of construction material).[338]

1.3.1 The Arch of Septimius Severus and the *Damnatio Memoriae* of Geta

The white marble Arch of Septimius Severus, located in the northwest corner of the Roman Forum, was erected in AD 203 to commemorate the two Roman victories over the Parthians

[338] For an overview of the different reuses of *tituli*, see Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, pp. 320-25. For the scholarly debates around the question of the use of *spolia*, see Coates-Stephen's article, 'Epigraphy as Spolia', pp. 275-96.

(the wars happened from AD 194 to 195, and from AD 197 to 199). Four large relief panels above the side arches recount Septimius's victories against the Parthians (Fig. 18).[339]

Figure 18. The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum. The inscription is visible on the attic of the monument.

The inscription, carved on both façades of the Arch's attic, originally had gilded bronze letters, which have since been ripped out. However, their matrices still remain, allowing the words to stand out clearly against the marble background (*CIL* VI 1033):[340]

[339] For a description of the panels' narrative, see Maggie L. Popkin, *The Architecture of the Roman Triumph: Monuments, Memory, and Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 144-47.
[340] Gilbert J. Gorski and James E. Packer, *The Roman Forum: A Reconstruction and Architectural Guide* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 137.

Ìmp(eratori) Caes(ari) Lucio Septimio M(arci) fil(io) Severo Pio Pertinaci Aug(usto) patri patriae Parthico Arabico et/ Parthico Adiabenico pontific(i) maximo tribunic(ia) potest(ate) XI ìmp(eratori) XI co(n)s(uli) III proco(n)s(uli) et/ Ìmp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio L(uci) fil(io) Antonino Aug(usto) Pio Felici tribunic(ia) potest(ate) VI co(n)s(uli) proco(n)s(uli) <<p(atri) p(atriae)>>/ <<optimis fortissimisque principibus>>/ ob rem publicam restitutam imperiumque populi Romani propagatum/ insignibus virtutibus eorum domi forisque s(enatus) p(opulus)q(ue) R(omanus)

The Senate and the People of Rome [dedicate this monument] to the emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius, son of Marcus, Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus, father of his nation, conqueror of the Parthians in Arabia and Assyria, Supreme Pontiff, [vested] with the power of the tribune eleven times, [proclaimed] emperor eleven times, [elected] consul three times, and proconsul, and to the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius, son of Lucius, Antoninus Augustus, Pius Felix, [vested] with the power of the tribune six times, consul, proconsul, <<father of this nation>>, <<the best and bravest emperors>>, on account of restoring the Republic and the rule of the Roman people spread by their outstanding virtues at home and abroad.

The text reveals that the Arch was awarded to the emperor Septimius Severus (AD 145-211) and his son Caracalla (AD 188-217) for restoring the Republic and the rule of the Roman people. The family had indeed seized power in AD 193, following the assassination of the last Antonine emperor, Commodus (AD 161-192), and in the process of eliminating a rival contender in the

East, had made an attack on Parthia (modern Iran).[341] There, they captured the capital city of Ctesiphon in AD 197 and annexed a new province of Mesopotamia in AD 199.[342]

In reality, the original inscription was also dedicated to Severus's other son, Geta (AD 189-211), although his name is no longer legible: the dedication was altered after Caracalla murdered his brother in AD 212. Traces of earlier dowel holes show that *et* was removed from the end of the third line and *p(atri) p(atriae)* was inserted, and *optimis fortissimisque principibus* replaced the original *P(ublio) Septimio L(uci) fil(io) Getae nobiliss(imo) Caesari* in line four. Although the erasure is less conspicuous because of the new words inscribed on top of it, it is still noticeable on the attic of the Arch (Fig. 19).

Figure 19. Inscription on the attic of the Arch of Septimius Severus. The erasure is clearly visible at the end of the third line and all throughout the fourth one.

When Septimius Severus died in 211, he had intended for his two sons to rule jointly. Nevertheless, his plan failed and Caracalla had his brother murdered on 26 December 211. In order to justify his act, Caracalla accused Geta of being involved in a conspiracy to murder him, and declared him a *hostis*.[343] Afterwards, he sentenced his brother to *damnatio memoriae*,

[341] Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*, p. 75; Popkin, *The Architecture of the Roman Triumph*, p. 150.
[342] Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*, p. 75.
[343] Eric R. Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation: Damnatio Memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 168.

which entitled the physical suppression of the memory of the condemned (in statues, images, coins or inscriptions).[344] The act of *damnatio* should be considered a condemnation rather than an abolition of memory: in the case of epigraphic texts, the erasure was often left visible in order to sentence the individual (alternatively, the *damnatio* could be carried out by the re-use or destruction of the inscribed monument).[345] Geta's *damnatio* is well-known for its violence: his statues and images were mutilated or destroyed, while his name and titles were erased from the inscriptions in which he was honoured (out of the 174 extant epigraphic texts displaying Geta's name, only thirty-seven have been left intact).[346] The Arch is a perfect surviving example of this *damnatio*, as Geta's name was chiselled away and replaced by a new text with additional titles for Severus and Caracalla.[347] The representations of Geta were also completely removed from the Arch's reliefs.[348]

The example of the Arch of Severus is particularly fascinating in sixteenth-century epigraphic *corpora*: it will allow us to explore how scholars dealt with a text displaying a *damnatio* (and if they created a notation system to record erasures), while giving us the opportunity to see if scholars were aware of what the erasure of a name curtailed and if they knew which emperors had been subjected to it.

Before analysing the different representations of the Arch in sixteenth-century epigraphic collections, it is crucial to bear in mind that only part of the Arch was visible to individuals in the Cinquecento: in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Arch was excavated and reburied on at least three different occasions. [349] In 1520, Pope Leo X completely cleared much of the surrounding area, and the Arch was partially exposed from 1547 to 1563 under

[344] See 1.3.4 in this chapter for an explanation of which classical source narrates the account of Geta's sentence to *damnatio memoriae*.
[345] Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, p. 312.
[346] Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation*, p. 182.
[347] Tyler Lansford, *The Latin Inscriptions of Rome: A Walking Guide* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), p. 59.
[348] Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation*, p. 175.
[349] For these excavations, see Gorski and Packer, *The Roman Forum*, p. 135.

Pope Paul III; it was then buried again. It was only in 1898 that the Italian archaeologist Giacomo Boni (1859-1925) cleared away the detritus that had risen to nearly a third of the height of the monument; since then, the whole structure lies exposed.[350] The etching of the Roman Forum by the Flemish painter Hieronymus Cock (1518-1570), dated to 1550, clearly shows the state of preservation of the Arch in the sixteenth century (Fig. 20).

Figure 20. Arch of Septimius Severus (on the left) in an etching by Hieronymus Cock (KBR, Cabinet des Estampes, S. I 1680).

1.3.2 The Idealized Version of the Arch in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*

We find a woodcut of the Arch of Septimius Severus in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (Fig. 21). The illustration and transcription of the text seem to interact more here than in the depiction

[350] Gorski and Packer, *The Roman Forum*, p. 136.

of the Pyramid of Cestius: the large blank space left on the attic leaves little to no doubt as to where the inscription is located.

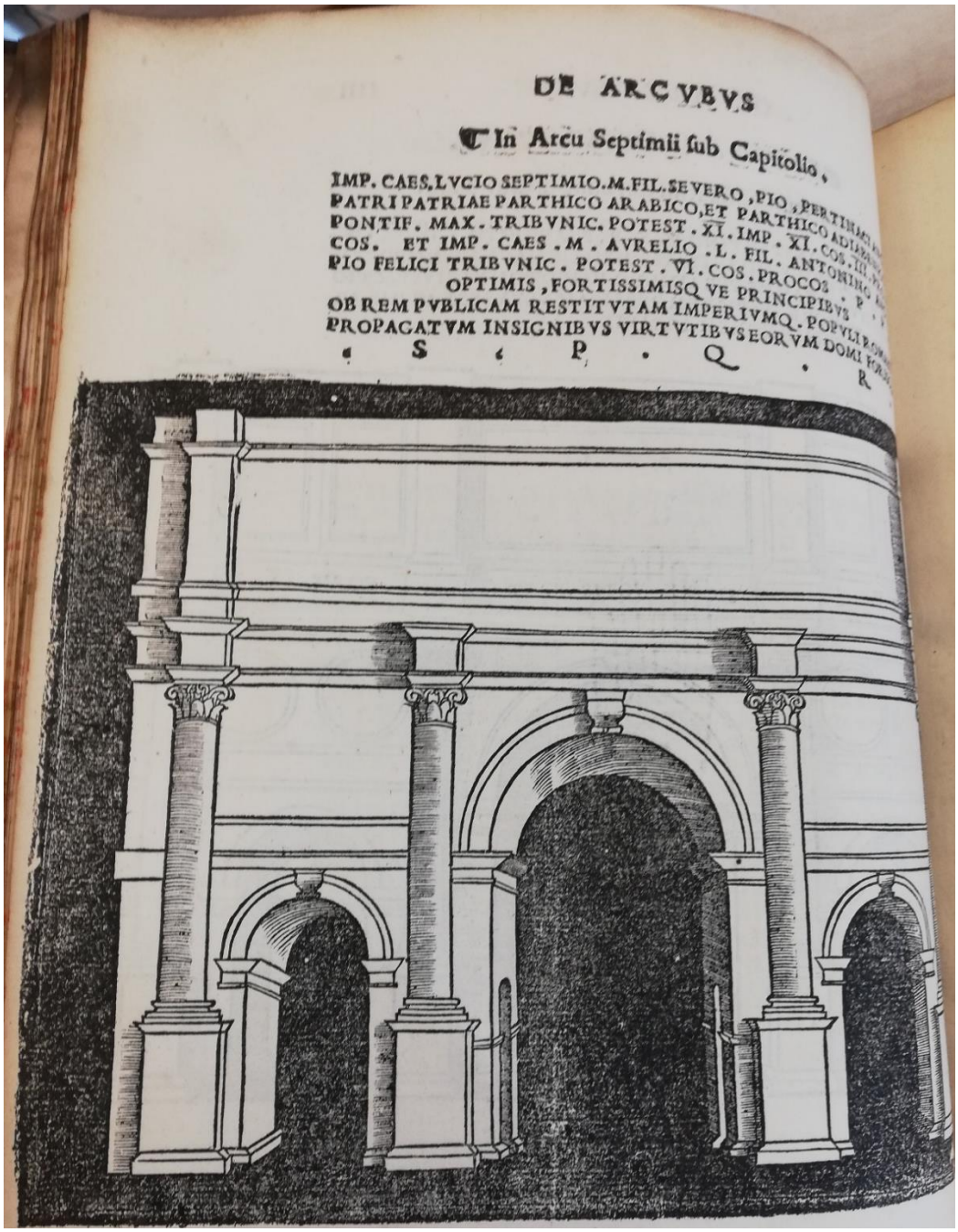

Figure 21. Woodcut of the Arch of Septimius Severus in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, fol. 4^{v}.

Nevertheless, this is a sketchy and idealized portrayal of the Arch and for what was underground, complete guesswork. This idealized version of the Arch, however, can inform us about the perception of the monument in the Renaissance and about scholars' ideas of the

external appearance of triumphal arches. Like a Pyramid, a triumphal arch has a very distinctive shape that makes its rendition easier. Nevertheless, the representation of the Arch of Severus in the *Epigrammata* is similar to contemporary portrayals of other triumphal arches and lacks the characteristic features of the Arch of Severus: the Arch then loses its meaning as a specific document from the past. In fact, the woodcuts of the Arch of Severus and of the Arch of Constantine (near the Colosseum) in the *Epigrammata* display very similar features (Fig. 22). Although Mazzocchi reproduces the shape of the different panels in the woodcut of the Arch of Constantine and attempts to insert part of the inscription in the illustration (*sic X sic XX votis X votis XX*, *CIL* VI 1139), the shape of the columns and the overall structure of the two monuments are almost identical.

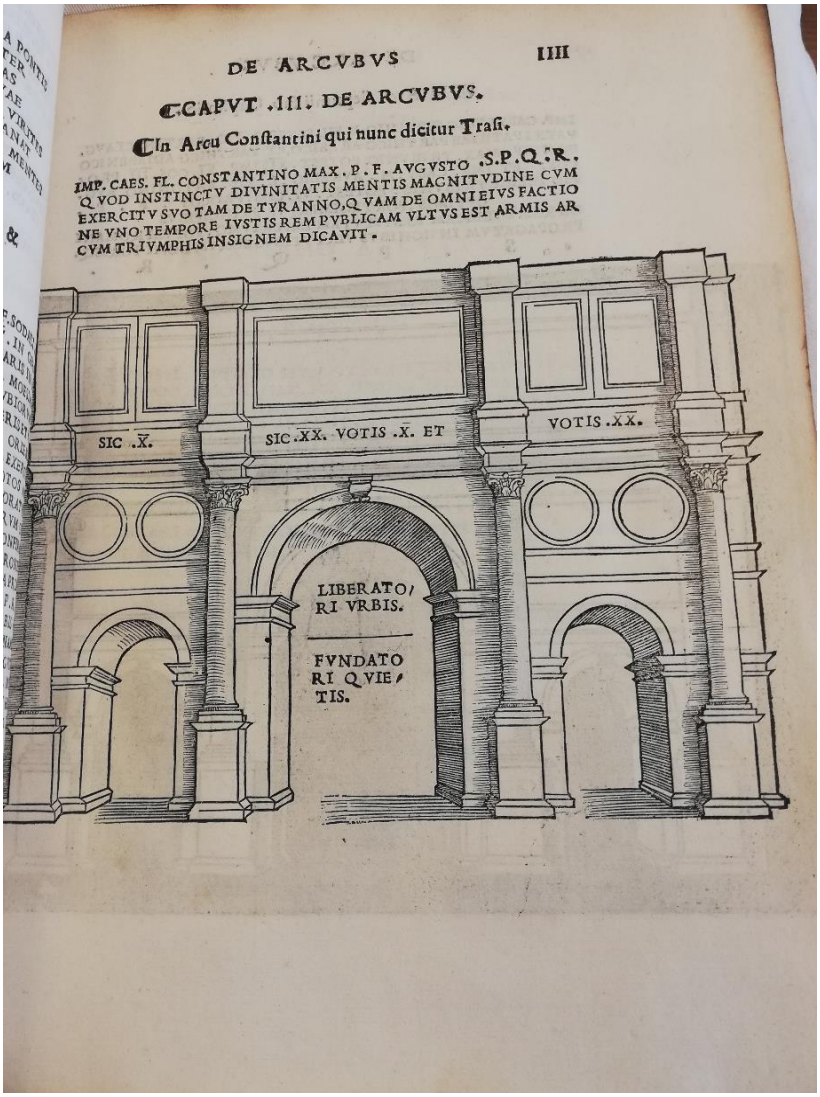

Figure 22. Woodcut of the Arch of Constantine in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, fol. 4r.

In addition, Mazzocchi's transcription of the Arch's inscription does not respect the original line-division (which could easily be linked to the length of the text); his line-breaks are arbitrary and marked with slashes, such as with *pro/co(n)s(uli)*. Mazzocchi also tends to overly abbreviate words: he shortens *pontific(i)* into *pontif(ici)*, *maximo* into *max(imo)*, and uses *imperiumq(ue)* and *forisq(ue)* instead of *imperiumque* and *forisque*. These abbreviations would not have caused any misunderstandings, but they are not truthful to the original text. Furthermore, Mazzocchi does not indicate the traces of the erasure, or that the segments *p(atri) p(atriae)* and *optimis fortissimisque principibus* were inscribed afterwards. In the *errata*

featured at the end of the *Epigrammata*, the compiler gives the correct reading of the *titulus* but does not notice the erasure.

The representations of the Piramide Cestia and of the Arch of Septimius Severus in the *Epigrammata* could lead us to believe that woodcuts of monuments hardly accommodate the text in the actual illustration. Nevertheless, the *Epigrammata* presents several examples where the *titulus* is depicted as part of the monument (see Fig. 23 for the example of the Pantheon of Agrippa). These very few instances where the text is displayed in the woodcut of the monument in the *Epigrammata* usually relate to shorter epigraphic texts: although the *Epigrammata* presents many issues from a scholarly point of view, we also have to remember that Mazzocchi had to negotiate scholarly ambitions with the medium he was using to portray inscribed monuments.

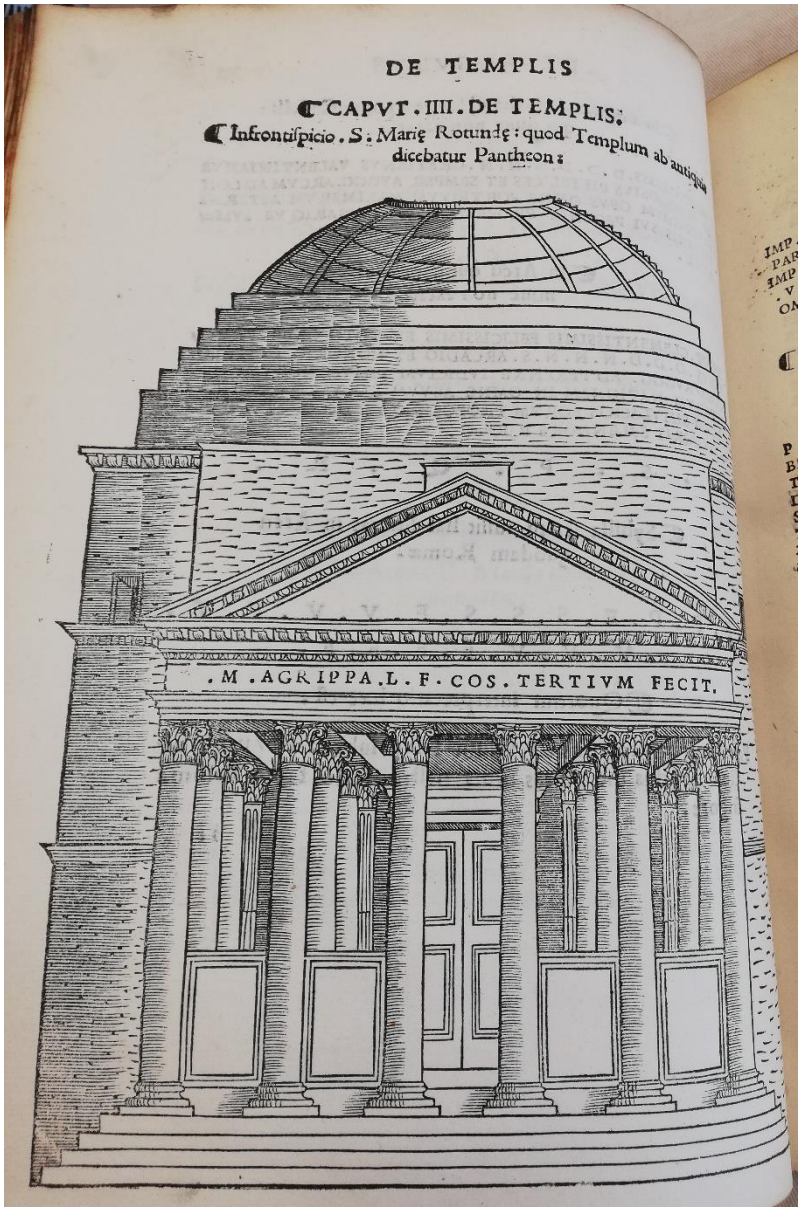

Figure 23. Woodcut of the Pantheon of Agrippa in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, fol. 12^{v}.

1.3.3 The Arch of Severus in Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographia*

The Arch of Septimius Severus is part of the second day of the itinerary in the first volume of Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographia*. Boissard describes the Arch as 'integer' and 'marmoreus' (p. 51). We find Boissard's portrayal of the inscription on the Arch in his manuscript BnF Latin 12509, which, as I have explained in 1.2.4, was made in preparation for the printing of the work. In Boissard's portrayal of the inscription, we are immediately struck by the lack of a support (Fig. 24); or rather, the character of the text as an inscription is only

suggested by a line surrounding the text. This is rather striking when we consider that Boissard wished to include detailed renditions of the inscribed monuments in his work.[351]

Figure 24. The Arch of Septimius Severus in Boissard's manuscript (BnF, Latin 12509, p. 390).

If we turn our attention to the printed version of Boissard's work, we find a more stone-like framing and rendition of the Arch's inscription (Fig. 25). De Bry's engraving, which respects Boissard's original drawing, does not resemble at all the image we might have of an Arch. Nevertheless, Boissard's illustration and De Bry's engraving tell us something about scholars' perception of an epigraphic text and what it should look like. The *titulus* as a text carved in stone is a very noticeable characteristic in these renditions. Unlike with the Pyramid of Cestius, Boissard does not depict the monument and instead transcribes the epigraphic text alone. However, he indicates that the inscription is visible on both façades of the Arch, 'ad utramque partem arcus Septimii Severi'.

[351] As we shall see in more detail in Chapter 3.1.

Figure 25. Inscription on the Arch of Septimius Severus in Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographia*, III, p. 115.

Just as Mazzocchi, Boissard does not respect the original layout and abbreviates some words, such as *Arabic(o)* for *Arabico*, *pontif(ici)* for *pontific(i)*, and *tribun(icia)* for *tribunic(ia)*. He does not take notice of the erasure and does not record it.

1.3.4 The Arch of Severus in the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*

The Arch of Septimius Severus is also featured in Smetius's Leiden manuscript and in the printed version of the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* of 1588 (Figs 26 and 27).

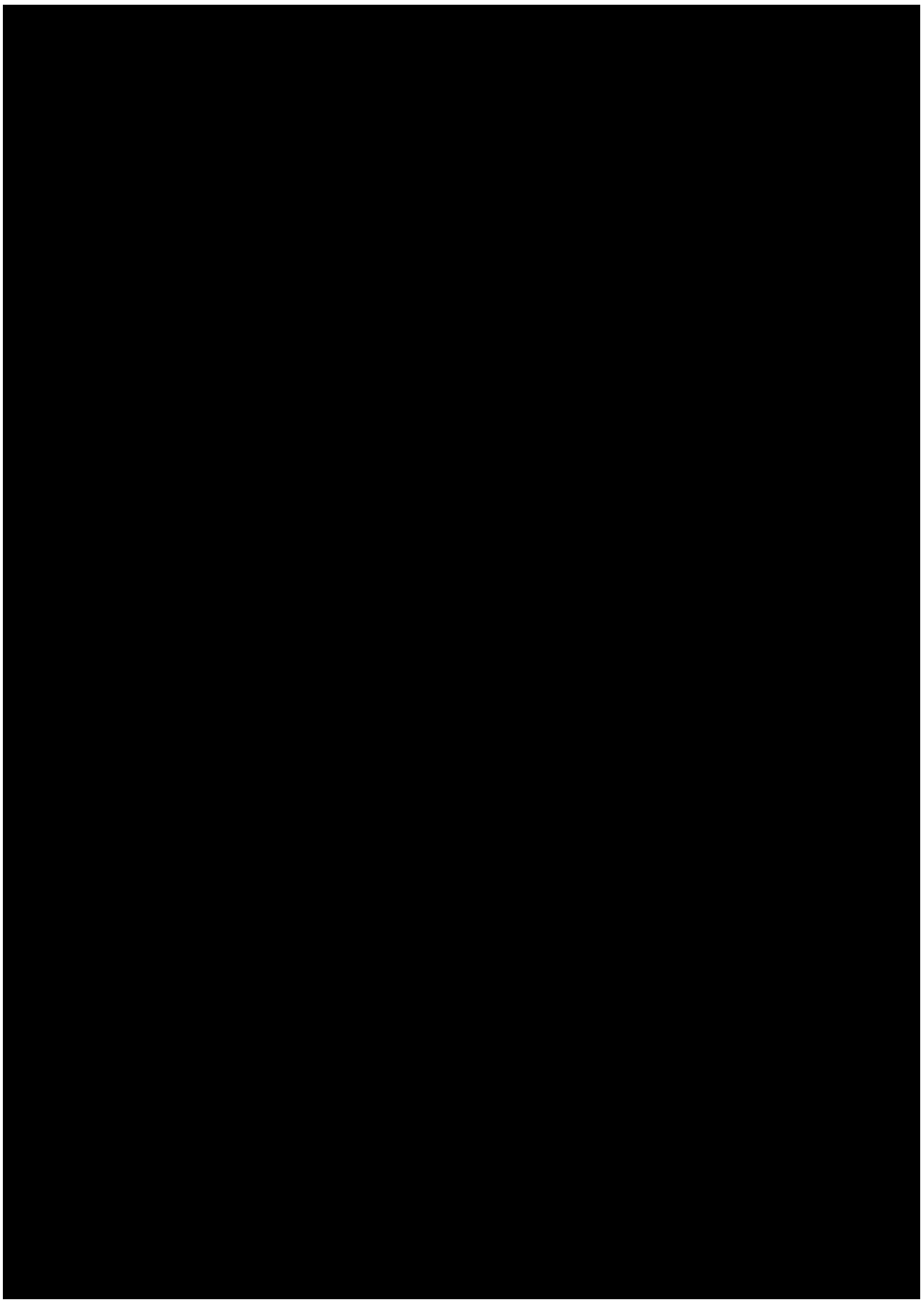

Figure 26. Inscription of the Arch of Septimius Severus in Smetius's manuscript BPL 1 in Leiden, fol. 10^{v}.

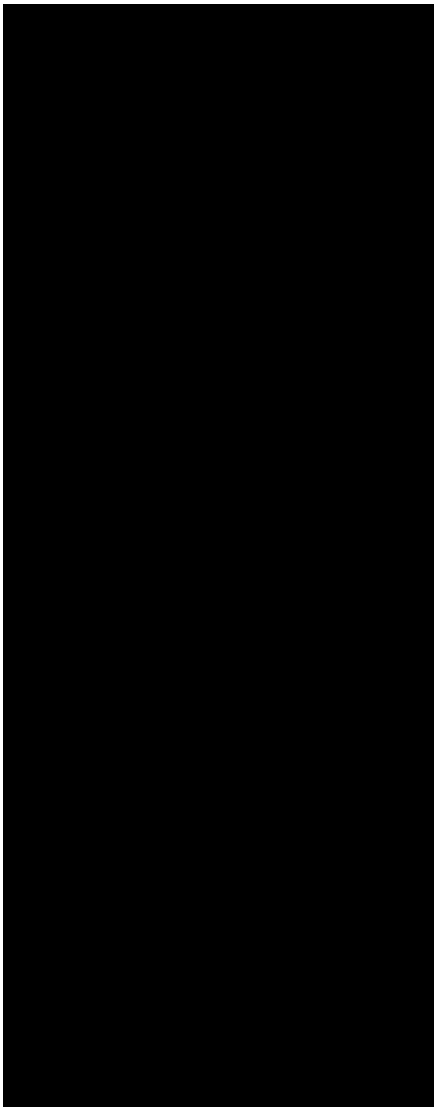

Figure 27. Transcription of the inscription on the Arch of Septimius Severus in the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* of 1588, fol. 10^{v}.

Smetius provides the location and a short description of the Arch of Severus, including the lettering size, and notes that the letters of the epigraphic text were once in gilded bronze: 'Inscriptio arcus Septimii, in foro Romano, literis pedalibus, olim in marmore primum incisis excavatisque, ac deinde aere Corinthiaco inaurato […] repletis'. Smetius presents this inscription lengthwise on the page, taking into consideration the length of the text and planning accordingly, in order to be faithful to the original layout. Furthermore, he circles the words in the fourth line, perhaps signalling the erasure. Smetius's prefatory letter to Laurinus reveals that not only he recognized the importance of letter-forms, but that he also created a notation system to represent *damnatio memoriae* on inscriptions: he has chosen to 'cover' (*adumbrare*)

the names of the emperors or individuals condemned by the Senate to oblivion.[352] Nevertheless, this code of *adumbrare* is not very similar to the one used here: it is possible that, since *optimis fortissimisque principibus* was added over the erasure, Smetius could not properly darken the area on paper without rendering the segment illegible. It is more likely, however, that Smetius did not know who was the emperor that had been erased from the Arch. As stated in his preface, Smetius was clearly aware of the act of condemnation of memory, and this is also proved in several instances in the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*. For instance, in the depiction of a *titulus* to Asclepius on fol. 28^{v}, Smetius darkens the area that has been erased and adds in the margin: 'Domitiani nomen erasum' (Fig. 28). Perhaps, Smetius was unsure whether the Arch displayed any erasure, but noticed however that there was damage in the fourth line.

[352] 'autem studio, aut aemulorum invidia, vel ex S(enatus) C(onsulto) (sicuti de Domitiani et aliorum quorundam titulis legimus) iam olim erasa fuere, ea sic adumbravi' (Smetius, BPL1, fol. 2^{r}).

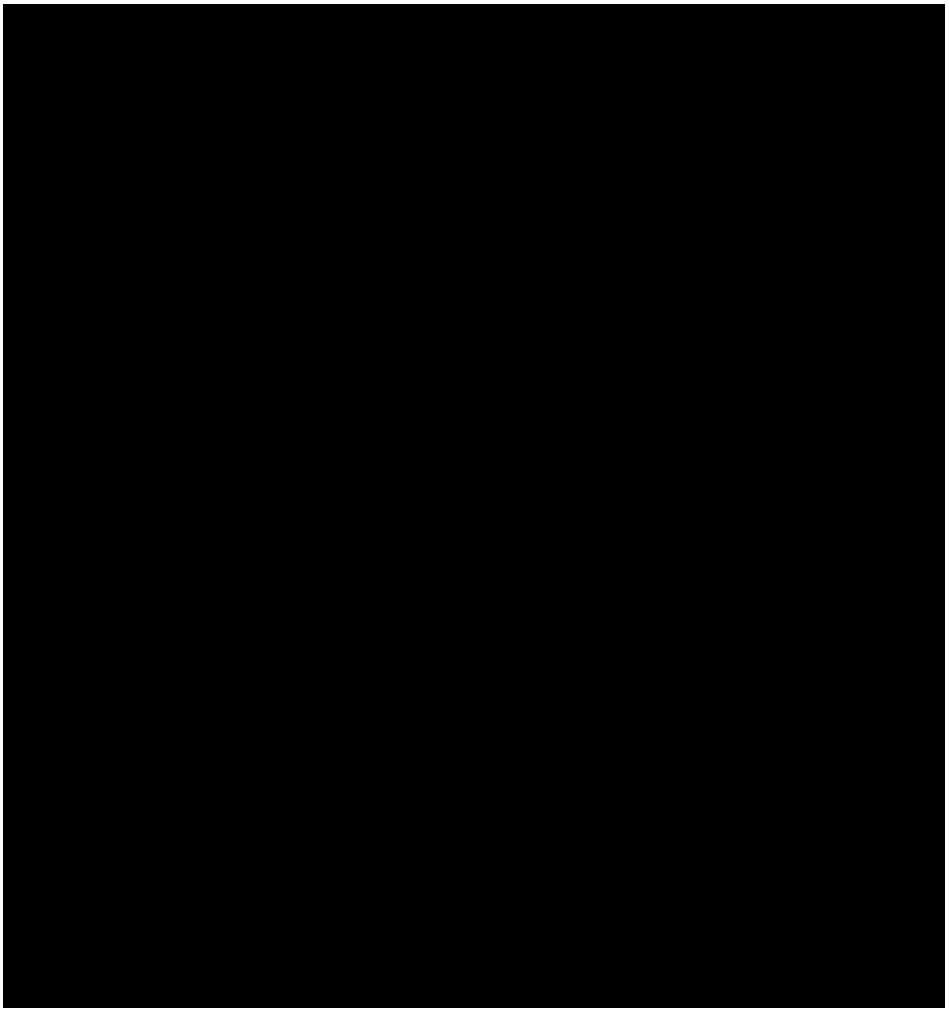

Figure 28. Inscription in Smetius's epigraphic manuscript, where we observe that the name of the emperor Domitian has been erased (BPL 1, fol. 28^{v}).

It is not difficult to see why Smetius had more knowledge of Domitian's *damnatio memoriae* than Geta's: the main classical account of Domitian's condemnation is *De vita Caesarum*, written around AD 121 by the Roman historian Suetonius (AD *c.* 70-122). In *De vita Caesarum*, Suetonius gives a detailed account of Domitian's assassination, which, according to him, was a well-organized conspiracy.[353] After Domitian's death, the Senate tore down the emperor's images and passed a decree that his inscriptions should be erased everywhere and all record of him should be obliterated. Editions of Suetonius's *De vita Caesarum* appeared in

[353] See Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, trans. by John C. Rolfe (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 361-69.

Rome in 1470 and in Venice the following year.[354] Then in 1475 appeared an edition in Milan, and in the first half of the sixteenth century, we see editions being printed in Lyon, Paris, Strasbourg and Antwerp; followed by versions in the vernacular in France, Spain, Italy and England.[355] Therefore, it is not difficult to see that most educated individuals of the sixteenth century were aware of Domitian's condemnation, since Suetonius's work had been circulating in print since the 1470s. In fact, the manuscript BAV, Vat. Lat. 6040, which contains, among other material, inscriptions transcribed by the Spanish scholar Gaspar de Castro (sixteenth century), offers a distinct example of scholars' awareness of the *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian.[356] On fol. 199^{v}, Castro transcribes the inscription *CIL* II 2477 (commemorative column) in which Domitian's name has been erased. As remark to the *titulus*, Castro writes 'One should note that, in this inscription, that space of two lines used to include the name of Domitian, which was then *picado* ('stabbed', chiselled out) by decree of the Senate, according to what Suetonius Tranquillus says the Senate did after his [Domitian's] death, in Chapter 23'.[357] Castro then proceeds to quote word for word Suetonius's passage describing Domitian's condemnation of memory on statues and inscriptions alike.

Although sixteenth-century scholars were familiar with Domitian's fate, this was not the case with Geta. The principal classical source on Geta is the historian Cassius Dio's (AD 155-235) *Roman History*. Unlike Suetonius, however, Cassius Dio was far less popular in the

[354] John C. Rolfe, 'Suetonius and his Biographies', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 52 (1913), 206-25. These three editions were: *Vita Caesarum* (Rome: Conradus Sweyheym and Arnoldus Rannartz, 1470), *Vitae XII Caesarum* (Rome: Joh. Phil de Lignamine, 1470) and *De vita Caesarum* (Venice: Nicoleos Gallus, 1471).

[355] Katherine Crawford, 'Sporus in the Renaissance', in *The Routledge History of the Renaissance*, ed. by William Caferro (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 140-51 (p. 141).

[356] Gaspar de Castro was very influential in the field of epigraphy and a close friend of Agustín. His transcriptions were also highly valued by Matal, who used them extensively in his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata*. See Chapter 4.1.3.

[357] 'Hasse de notar en esta inscriptión que aquel espacio de dos renglones contenía el nombre de Domitiano, y fue picado por decreto del Senado conforme a lo que dize Suet(onius) Tranquil(lus) que hizo el Senado después de su muerte, Cap(ítulo) XXIII' (Gaspar de Castro, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat. 6040, fol. 199^{v}).

Renaissance, not least because he wrote in Greek. As such, knowledge about Geta and his condemnation to *damnatio memoriae* was not easily accessible to sixteenth-century scholars.

Another instance in Smetius's *corpus* demonstrates that he was possibly not aware of Geta's condemnation. In one of the seventeen indices Smetius devised for his compilation, we find the names of Roman emperors in chronological order, followed by the reference to the transcription of the *titulus* in which their names appear.[358] The name of Geta is recorded in this index, but Smetius only refers back to two inscriptions on fols 23^{v} and 145^{r}, neither of which is the text on the Arch. On the other hand, if we look at the entry for Domitian, Smetius has created a sub-entry for *tituli* where the name of Domitian has been erased (indicated by the 'sed rasus'): even though the name of Domitian was no longer legible, Smetius still included it in the index; one can only conclude that Smetius was unaware of Geta's *damnatio*.

Although monuments with erasures were represented in epigraphic *corpora*, scholars first needed to be aware of the condemnation of memory. The Arch of Septimius Severus offers an excellent case-study that demonstrates how the combination of the study of ancient literary texts and of material remains was essential to reach a more complete picture of the classical past. Scholars used inscriptions to have a better comprehension of the visuality of antiquity, but, as we have seen with the Arch, not having the necessary knowledge of the events of the past could lead to erroneous representations and interpretations of *tituli*. Erasures were not simple to represent on the page; in the same way, we can ask ourselves how antiquarians dealt with portraying damaged *tituli* on paper, which will be the topic of the next part of the chapter, where we examine the inscription on Trajan's Column.

[358] On the indices of Smetius's *Inscritpionum antiquarum liber* and their importance, see Chapter 2.3.3.

1.4 Trajan's Column and the Representation of Damage in Sixteenth-Century Epigraphic *Corpora*

1.4.1 Trajan's Column and the Forum of Trajan

Trajan's Column, located in the Forum of Trajan in Rome, is considered one of the most prominent monuments of the city. Built in AD 113, it measures thirty-eight metres (including the pedestal) and rests on a quadrangular base decorated with reliefs (Fig. 29). The Column originally supported a bronze statue of the emperor Trajan (ruled from AD 98 to 117), which was replaced by the statue of St Peter in 1588 to sanctify the monument.[359] The Column, dedicated to Trajan by the Senate and the People of Rome, commemorates the emperor's victory in the two Dacian Wars (from AD 102 to 103 and from AD 105 to 106): a spiral frieze carved in low relief relates the conflict between Romans and Dacians. Besides it commemorative purpose, the Column also acted as the tomb of the emperor and his wife Plotina: in its hollow interior is situated the sepulchral chamber, which used to contain a golden

[359] Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*, p. 164; Grant Heiken, Renato Funiciello, and Donatella De Rita, *The Seven Hills of Rome: A Geological Tour of the Eternal City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), p. 201.

urn with Trajan's ashes.[360] In addition, an internal staircase leads to the summit of the monument.

Figure 29. Trajan's Column in the Forum of Trajan in Rome.

[360] Matteo Cadario, 'Trajan's Column', in *Archaeological Guide to Rome*, ed. by Adriano La Regina (Milan: Mondadori Electa, 2007), pp. 202-05 (p. 202).

The inscription *CIL* VI 960, carved on the marble base of the Column, displays damage on its last line, obstructing some letters in the middle (Fig. 30). This damage was inflicted in the early Middle Ages, when a canopy was built above the entrance to the internal staircase.[361] The *Codex Einsidlensis*, which I mentioned in the Introduction, is the only epigraphic source to have transcribed the inscription before the casualty.[362] The ninth-century *corpus* has allowed scholars to 'complete' the broken parts of the *titulus* with *tantis* and *operibus*:[363]

> *Senatus populusque Romanus/ Imp(eratori) Caesari dìvì Nervae f(ilio) Nervae/ Traiano Aug(usto) Germ(anico) Dacico pontif(ici)/ maximo trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVII imp(eratori) VI co(n)s(uli) VI p(atri) p(atriae)/ ad declarandum quantae altitudinis/ mons et locus tant[is oper]ibus sit egestus.*

> The Senate and the People of Rome [dedicate this monument] to the emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus, son of the divine Nerva, victorious in Germania and Dacia, Supreme Pontiff, [vested] with the power of the tribune seventeen times, [proclaimed] emperor six times, [elected] consul six times, father of the nation, to demonstrate that a hill and site of such height were excavated for such great works.[364]

[361] Cinzia Conti, 'Colonna Traiana: *ordinatio* dell'epigrafe', in *Le regole del gioco. Tracce, archeologi, racconti. Studi in onore di Clementina Panella*, ed. by Antonio F. Ferrandes and Giacomo Pardini (Rome: Quasar, 2016), pp. 263-69 (p. 263); *CIL* VI, p. 176.
[362] *CIL* VI, p. 176.
[363] Conti, 'Colonna Traiana', p. 263.
[364] The meaning of the last line has been subject of debate and discussion; modern scholars generally agree that it indicates that the height of the column was equal to the deepest excavations made to build the Forum: see Cadario, 'Trajan's Column', p. 203.

Figure 30. Inscription on the base of Trajan's Column (*CIL* VI 960).

Unlike other fragmented inscriptions, the damage here is minimal: it does not obscure the meaning of the text, nor does it allow for countless plausible reconstructions. Poggio Bracciolini made a copy of the *Codex Einsidlensis* before it went missing, which allowed most humanists to restore the damaged text with *tantis operibus*.[365] Yet, the second term, as we shall see, led to other interpretations because only the ending –*ibus* is visible.

[365] See *CIL* VI, p. IX. As I have stated in the Introduction, MS Vat. Lat. 9152 (BAV) and MS 430 (Biblioteca Angelica) can help to reconstruct Poggio Bracciolini's lost *sylloge* of inscriptions. The two manuscripts display the inscription on Trajan's Column with the correct reading *tantis operibus* (fol. 33^{r} in Vat. Lat. 9152 and fol. 13^{v} in MS 430).

1.4.2 Trajan's Column in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*

We find a woodcut of Trajan's Column in Mazzocchi's *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, fol. 9^{v} (Fig. 31).

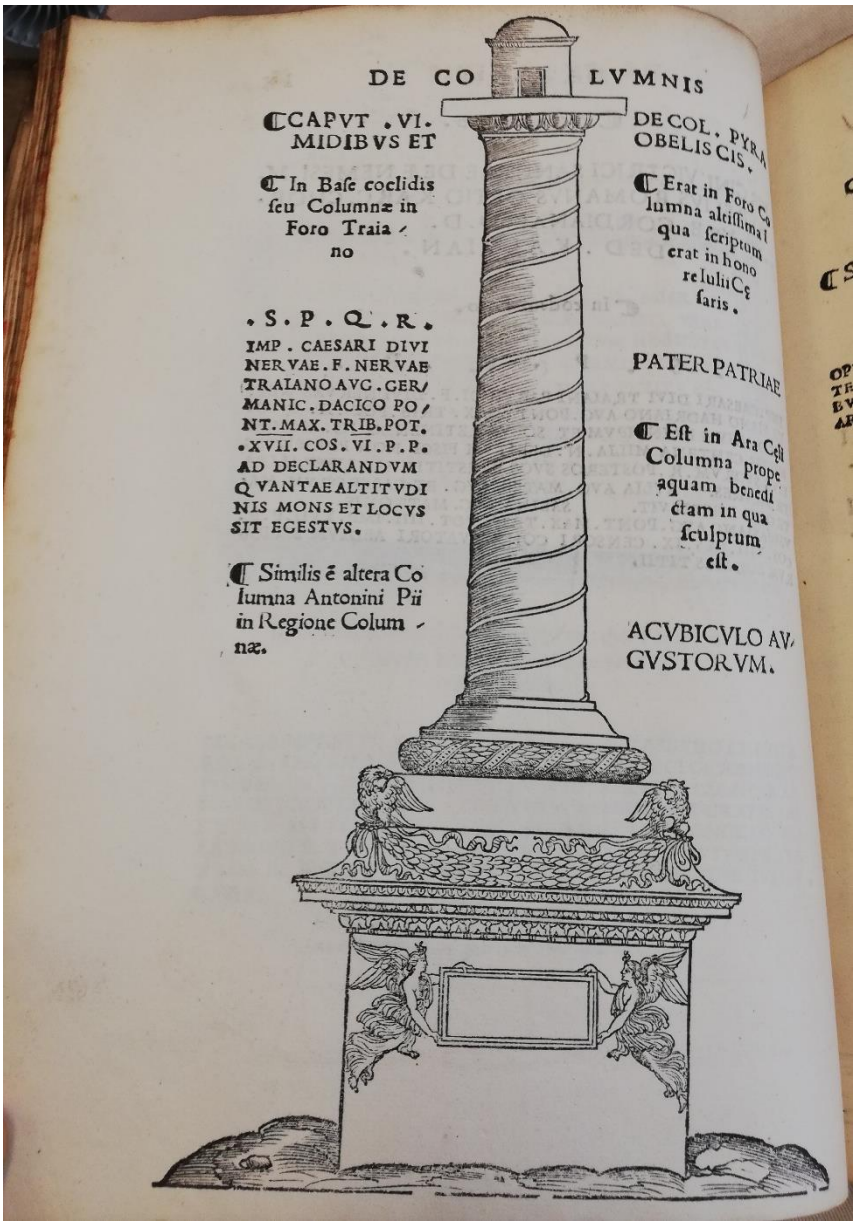

Figure 31. Woodcut of Trajan's Column in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, fol. 9^{v}.

Although Mazzocchi leaves a blank rectangular space at the base of the Column, he indicates textually that the inscription is inscribed there. The woodcut of the Column seems, at first glance, more precise than that of the Pyramid or the Arch, as it reproduces those details that would make this depiction recognizable as Trajan's Column. For instance, Mazzocchi includes

the characteristic spiral relief that describes the Dacian Wars (without the actual sculptures as they are extremely complex), as well as the decorations on the base of the monument, and the two winged Victories that hold the marble tablet. The term *coclide* that is used in the description of the monument would also point to a characteristic of Trajan's Column: it was a *columna cochlis*, meaning a column with a circling stairway inside it.[366] The woodcut portrays only a part of the Column's base: very much like the Arch of Septimius Severus, the base of the Column was partly buried during the sixteenth century; in this case, however, Mazzocchi does not attempt to represent what is underground.

The epigraphic transcription of Trajan's Column suffers the same treatment as that of the Arch: Mazzocchi abbreviates the formula *senatus populusque romanus* into *s(enatus) p(opulus)q(ue) r(omanus)*, *pontif(ici)* into *pont(ifici)* and *maximo* into *max(imo)*. Although he uses standard abbreviations that would not have caused any problems of misinterpretation, they are still not faithful to the original inscription. The most striking mistake is that Mazzocchi does not depict the damage, neither on the text nor on the support: several scholars dealt with damaged inscriptions by reconstructing the missing letters, but Mazzocchi ignores the incomplete words altogether. In his transcription, *tantis* and *operibus* are not recorded; he writes *mons et* and directly afterwards *locus sit egestus*, without even signalling to the reader that two words are missing (Fig. 32).

[366] See Martin Beckmann, 'The *Columnae Coc(h)lides* of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius', *Phoenix*, 56 (2002), 348-57.

The inscription should read ‘mons et locus tant[is oper]ibus sit egestus’, instead of ‘mons et locus sit egestus’.

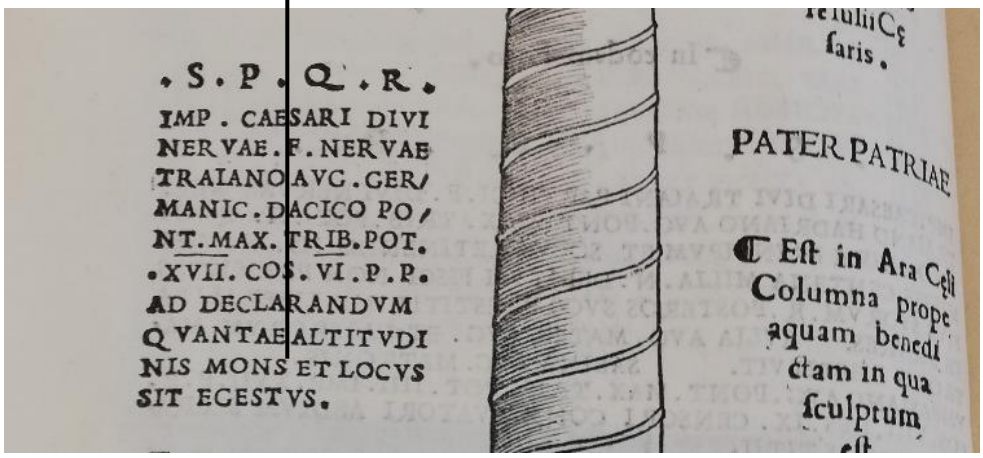

Figure 32. Detail of the inscription on Trajan's Column in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* of 1521, fol. 9^{v}.

Apart from the inscription on Trajan’s Column, Mazzocchi also includes three references to other columns in Rome: the first is a mention to the Column of Antoninus Pius, Roman emperor from AD 138 to 161. Although the rectangular base is the only surviving part of this column, the monument was extant until the eighteenth century, and we know that it had no decorated reliefs.[367] Furthermore, Mazzocchi states that the Column of Antoninus Pius is situated in the Colonna area, when it is in fact located in Campo Marzio. Mazzocchi is then very possibly hinting at the Column of Marcus Aurelius in Piazza Colonna, which was believed to be that of Antoninus Pius for a long period of time (a confusion that lasted until 1703).[368] The Column of Marcus Aurelius (Fig. 33) was also a *colonna coclide* and, given that it was modelled on Trajan’s Column, it would explain Mazzocchi’s correlation of the two monuments.[369]

[367] On the Column of Antoninus Pius, see Ronald Ridley, ‘The Fate of the Column of Antoninus Pius’, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 86 (2018), 235-69.
[368] Ridley, ‘The Fate of the Column of Antoninus Pius’, p. 240.
[369] Beckmann, ‘The *Columnae Coc(h)lides* of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius’, p. 351.

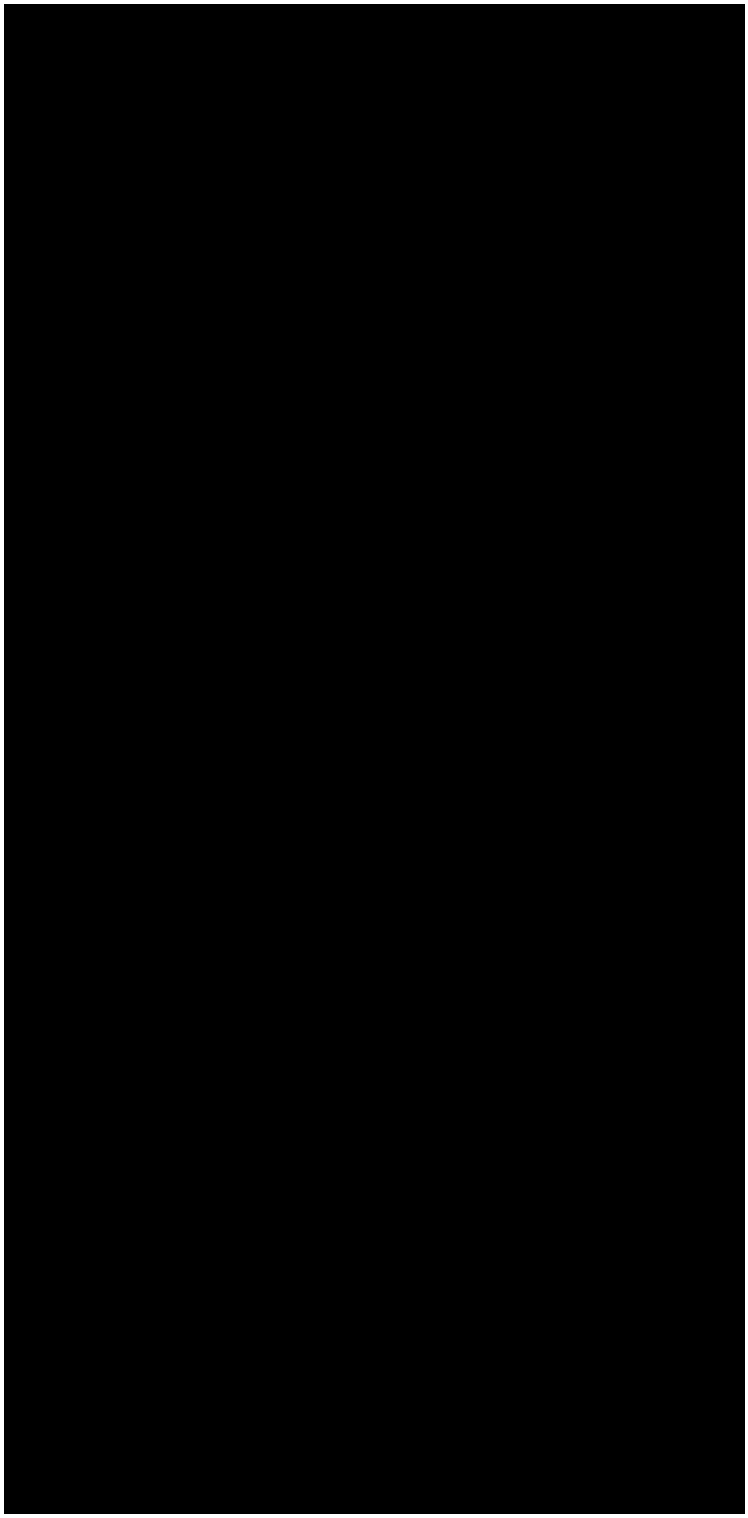

Figure 33. The Column of Marcus Aurelius in Piazza Colonna, believed to be the Column of Antoninus Pius until 1703.

Mazzocchi's second and third annotations are more puzzling. One refers to Caesar's Column in the Roman Forum: to honour Caesar's memory after his death, the people of Rome set up an altar with a column measuring twenty Roman feet (approximately six metres) with the

inscription ‘parenti patriae’.[370] Now, Mazzocchi records the inscription on this column as ‘pater patriae’ and so did other sixteenth-century scholars in their guides to ancient Rome (such as Andrea Fulvio and Bartolomeo Marliano): perhaps this is due to Caesar’s title as *pater patriae*. Mazzocchi’s other reference is to the column in the Basilica Santa Maria in Aracoeli and its inscription, which reads: ‘A cubiculo augustorum’. As Fig. 34 shows, the only similarity between this and Trajan’s monument is that both are columns; this seems to be the only resemblance between Trajan and Caesar’s Columns as well. The three monuments served very different purposes, their locations have nothing in common and the column in Aracoeli does not even have a pedestal. Mazzocchi’s mentions of these two columns in this context remain thus very obscure.

[370] See Gorski and Packer, *The Roman Forum*, p. 83.

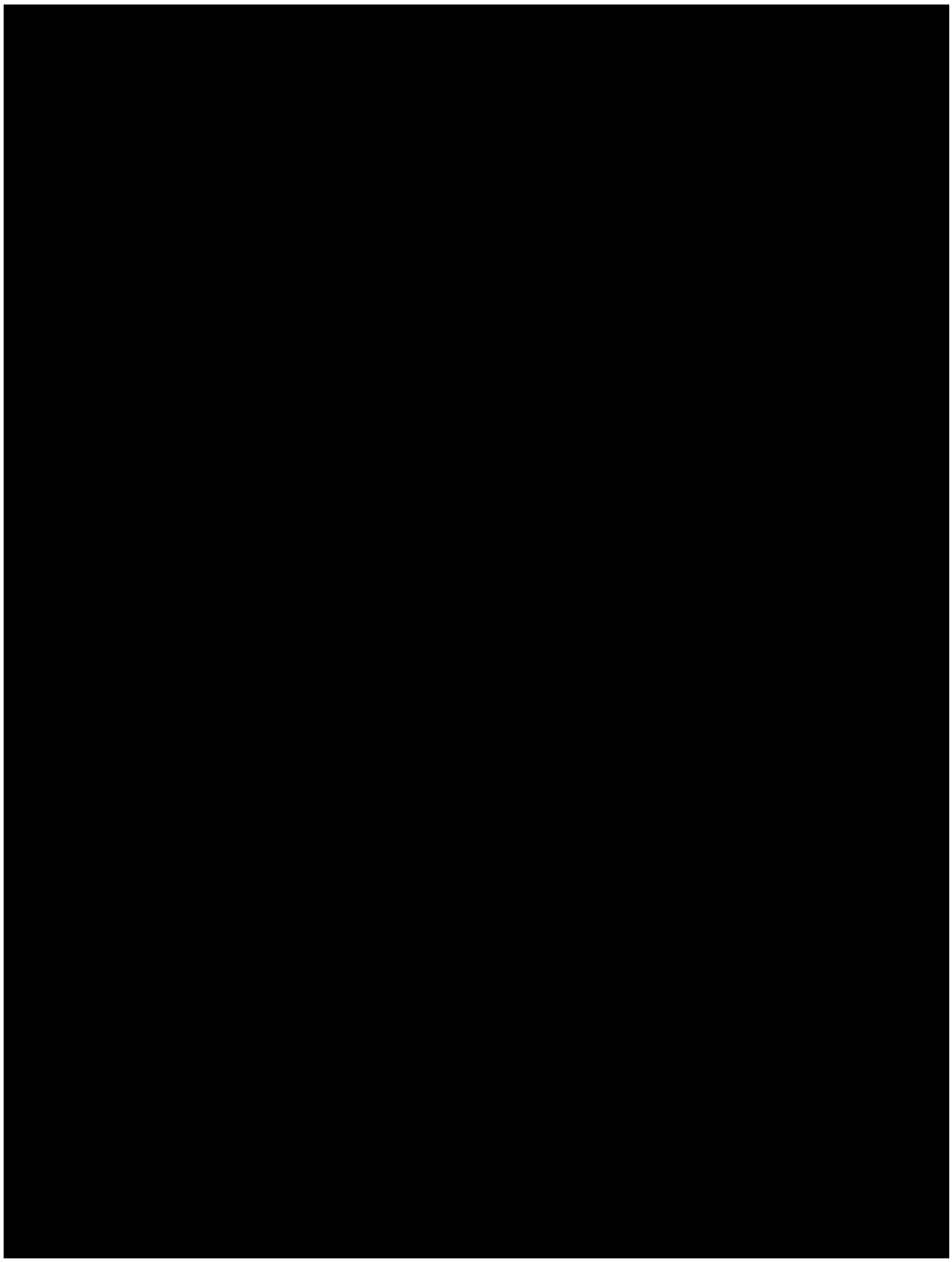

Figure 34. Column in the Basilica Santa Maria in Aracoeli.

Mazzocchi's transcription of Trajan's Column was then corrected in the *errata* (Fig. 35). The compiler of the *errata* only rectifies the parts that Mazzocchi had wrongly recorded and indicates the damage by leaving a blank space in the text to signal the missing letters. Although the compiler does not reconstruct the damaged words, he nevertheless signals two

possible readings, *tantis molibus* or *tantis viribus*. This correction effectively pointed out to the reader the presence of damage while also providing a solution to it.

Figure 35. Correction of the inscription on Trajan's Column in the *errata* sheets of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*.

In a similar manner, Antonio Lelio's annotated copy of the *Epigrammata* (Vat. Lat. 8492) also presents an interesting take on the damage of Trajan's Column (Fig. 36). Lelio not only signals the damage next to the transcription of the *titulus*, but he also draws what the damage looks like and how it affects the reading of the inscription (although it could be argued that the damage inflicted on the inscription has a triangular and not circular shape). Lelio also indicates that the two possible readings are either *tantis viribus* or *tantis molibus*.[371] We observe here a similar approach as what we saw with Lelio's corrections on the Pyramid: Lelio clearly did not find Mazzocchi's depiction satisfying, as it did not show the damage and most importantly, it did not indicate how this damage could affect the reading of the inscription. In his annotated copy Vat. Lat. 8495, Matal's corrections on Trajan's Column are also similar to Lelio's, as he portrays the shape of the damage and offers the readings *tantis viribus* or *tantis*

[371] The fact that Lelio lists the possible readings as *tantis viribus* or *tantis molibus* points towards conversations about the classical past in scholarly circles. On this point, see Chapter 2.3.6.

molibus. Matal, furthermore, adds the first word of the inscription, *Senatus*, in the blank rectangular frame where the inscription is originally engraved.

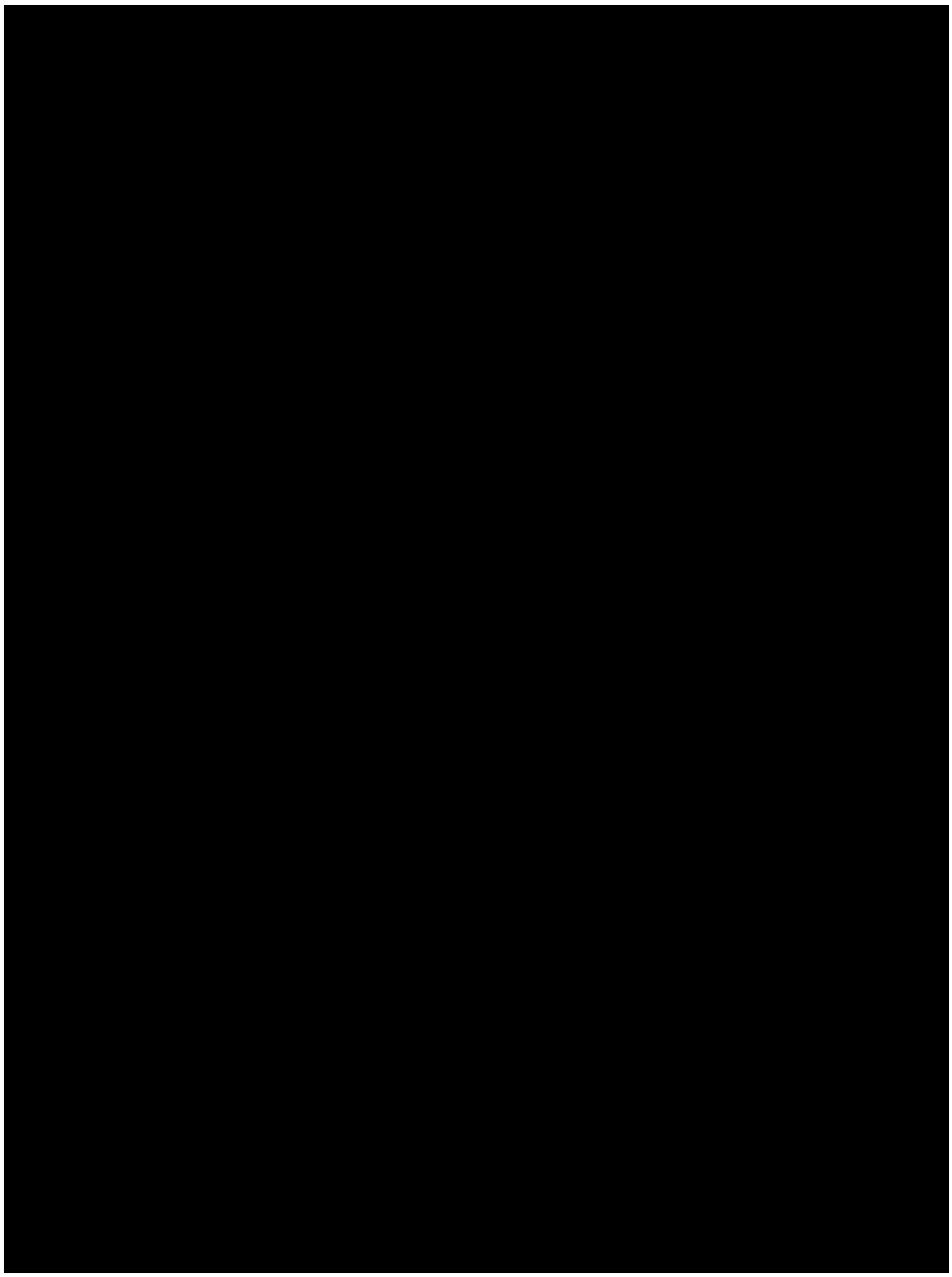

Figure 36. Lelio's corrections on Trajan's Column in his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata* (Vat. Lat. 8492, fol. 9^{v}).

1.4.3 Trajan's Column in the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*

As I said in the first part of this chapter, the representation of the Pyramid of Cestius in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* was not the only one that Apianus and Amantius copied into their

Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis of 1534: Trajan's Column is another apparent example (Fig. 37).

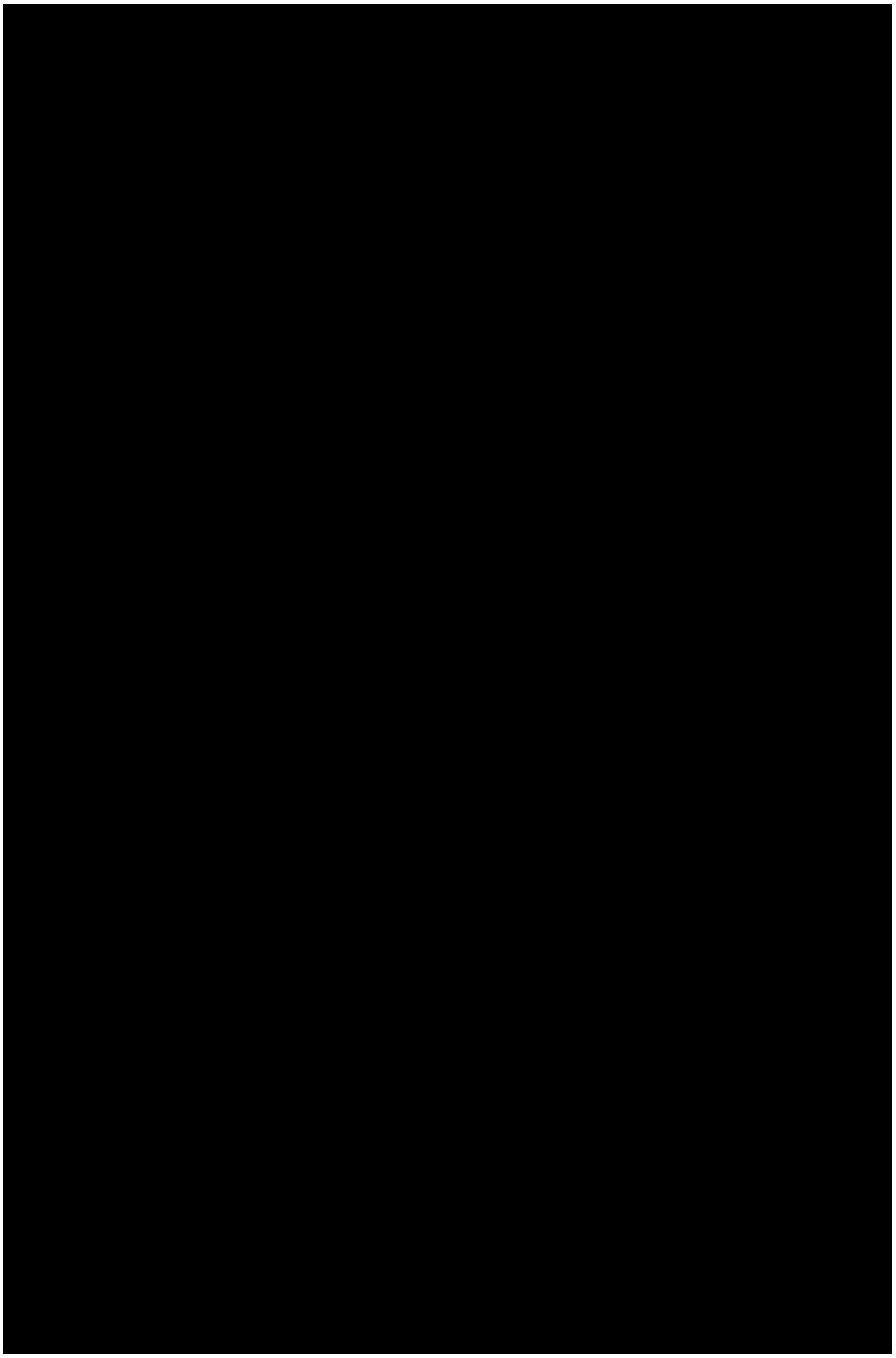

Figure 37. Woodcut of Trajan's Column in the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis,* p. 269.

Just as with the Pyramid, Apianus and Amantius transcribe the same conspicuous mistakes from Mazzocchi's version, without even looking at the *errata*, which would have alerted them to the damage. Thus, Apianus and Amantius did not examine the monument *de visu*, but they should have been able to see it during their trip in Rome: Trajan's Column is also an easily accessible monument, and its text is not placed in altitude; unlike Cestius's Pyramid, it would have been easier to record.

The transcription of *CIL* 11 5646 on page 151 of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* allows us to put the woodcut of Trajan's Column into perspective: *CIL* 11 5646 displays a very minor indent in its last line; in fact, the shape of the damage inflicted is very similar to what we see in Trajan's Column. Apianus and Amantius's woodcut represents the shape of the indent and the authors indicate verbally that this part of the inscription is damaged. This example clearly proves that Apianus and Amantius could have represented the damage on Trajan's Column if they had been aware of it; they decided instead to copy Mazzocchi's portrayal without checking their source or the original monument.

1.4.4 The Representation of Trajan's Column in the *Romanae urbis topographia*

Trajan's Column is part is part of the third day of the itinerary in the first volume of Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographia*: Boissard indicates the Column's measurements (128 feet high without its base and 140 feet with the pedestal) and explains the context of its erection (p. 84). Although I could not find the representation of the Column in Boissard's surviving manuscripts, the French scholar transcribed the text of the inscription in the itinerary. De Bry's

engraving of the *titulus* is to be found in vol. 3, p. 118 (Fig. 38), and is not accompanied by a depiction of its support.

Figure 38. De Bry's engraving of the inscription on Trajan's Column in Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographia et antiquitates*, III, p. 118.

De Bry's engraving does not follow Boissard's transcription in the itinerary: in the second line, the engraving reads *nepoti* instead of *F. Nervae* and on the fifth line, we find *ad declarandam* instead of *ad declarandum*. Furthermore, Boissard's transcription in the itinerary resolves the damaged letters as *tantis operibus* whereas the printed version reads *tantis ex collibus*. Neither Boissard nor De Bry, however, reproduces or mentions the damage, deciding instead to reconstruct the words silently.

1.4.5 The Accurate Depiction of Trajan's Column in the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*

The inscription on Trajan's Column is also featured in the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* by Martinus Smetius, fol. 11^{r} (Fig. 39). Just as with Cestius's Pyramid and the Arch of Septimius

Severus, Smetius does not include any illustration of the monument or the support and his transcription accurately portrays the text of the Column.[372]

Figure 39. Representation of the inscription on Trajan's Column in Smetius's epigraphic manuscript (BPL 1, fol. 11r).

Apart from correctly reproducing the text, Smetius also respects the original layout and the placement of the interpuncts. He records the damage and, rather than leaving a blank space to signal the 'missing' letters, he recreates the shape of the fissure to better indicate how it affected the inscription (this is also what we observed in Lelio's annotated copy of the *Epigrammata*). Smetius does not attempt to restore the words, nor does he provide any possible readings for them.

1.4.6 Gruterus's Depiction of Trajan's Column in the *Inscriptiones antiquae*

As indicated by the note 'Legit atque exscripsit Smetius', Gruterus copied Smetius's transcription of Trajan's Column in his *Inscriptiones antiquae* (p. 247). Gruterus, however, adds some details to his representation that distinguish it from Smetius's (this was not the case

[372] Smetius's transcription is considered 'flawless' according to modern standards. Nevertheless, as I said in the Introduction, we should not project our definitions or standards of what we consider an accurate transcription on sixteenth-century depictions of inscribed monuments. By doing so, we risk focusing on the particularities of transcriptions, without looking at the wider picture. The important question is not whether a transcription is accurate or not, but why it has been portrayed that way and what that can tell us about approaches to epigraphy in the Cinquecento.

with the transcriptions of the Pyramid of Cestius and of the Arch of Septimius Severus, which were copied integrally from Smetius). Thus, in the margin Gruterus writes 'tantis operibus', indicating to the reader a possible version for the damaged words (Fig. 40).

Figure 40. Inscription on Trajan's Column in Janus Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* (1602-03), p. 247.

More interesting, however, is Gruterus's additional information on the Column itself and on the context of its inscription. Besides indicating the exact location of the monument, Gruterus also gives the Column's measurements: 'It [Trajan's Columns] is a hundred and twenty-eight feet high, without counting its base, which brings [the height] to a hundred and forty feet with the column'.[373] Gruterus also explains the reason for the Column's erection: 'They dedicated [the Column] in the context of his *res gestae* in the Dacian war and other military campaigns'.[374] Gruterus's annotations show a desire to provide more contextualization to the inscription. Boissard and Gruterus's measurements of the Column are the same, meaning they had access to a source that would have provided them with the information. One source in

[373] 'Alta est pedes CXXVIII, praeter basim, quae cum columna efficit CXL' (Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquae*, p. 247).
[374] 'inciduntur in circumitu res gestae eius bello Dacico, et aliis expeditionibus militaribus' (Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquae*, p. 247).

particular would have helped the two scholars in their comments: this concerned Alfonso Chacón's *Historia utriusque Belli Dacici a Traiano Caesare Gesti* (Rome: Francesco Zanetti, 1576), the first detailed study on Trajan's Column.[375] The *Historia* contained several engraved plates of the Column and was accompanied by a text explaining the monument's history: Chacón's study included essential information on the Column, such as its measurements (a hundred and twenty-eight feet high, just as what Boissard and Gruterus wrote) and a history of the monument's erection.

These various representations of Trajan's Column show that even such a minor damage could lead to several possible depictions.

1.5 Conclusions

In conclusion, exploring the representations of the Pyramid of Cestius, of the Arch of Septimius Severus and of Trajan's Column across various manuscript and printed *syllogai* can give us a sense of the challenges posed by the portrayal of epigraphic texts on paper. By taking these specific examples, which have not been compared in this way previously, I aimed to show that sixteenth-century scholars were actively thinking about how to transcribe *tituli* in their compilations. Sixteenth-century scholars had to consider a broad and sometimes overwhelming array of features while transcribing inscriptions; accordingly, the various representations of these inscribed monuments show very clearly how the depiction of one monument and one text could greatly vary from one *sylloge* to the other. Scholars made different concessions and prioritised some aspects over others. There seems to be a recurrent aspect of the representation of the Pyramid across all these *syllogai*: scholars note that the first part of the inscription was

[375] Thomas J. Dandelet, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 82. According to Dandelet, Chacón wrote his treatise on Trajan's Column to underline the importance of Spain's role in the construction of Rome's greatness: Chacón states several times in the text that the figures seen in the relief sculptures of the Column are Spaniards. Spanish soldiers were then essential in Trajan's victory over the Germanic tribe of the Dacians.

written in larger characters than the second one, and they show it both textually and visually. It is quite striking that even in other sixteenth-century works, this aspect of the Piramide is always preserved. Perhaps the difference in letter-size was the easiest non-textual aspect of the Pyramid to represent on paper.

These three case-studies have also revealed that scholars' attitudes towards damage varied greatly: while Mazzocchi and Boissard were not interested in portraying damage and tended to reconstruct missing words, Smetius and Gruterus, on the contrary, were careful to keep the monument in its original form. In addition, Smetius was the only one to create a code to signal the different types of damage an inscription could suffer (I have not seen anything similar in other sixteenth-century *corpora*, whether in manuscript or print). It is true, however, that sixteenth-century collections seem to avoid the representation of incomplete inscriptions: compared to the undamaged ones, an evident minority of damaged texts is recorded.

All these variations in the representation of a single *titulus* is precisely what compels us to see elements of these inscribed monuments we might have overlooked or dismissed. As epigraphers, if we rely solely on the *CIL*, we would be confronted with the following transcriptions of the Pyramid of Cestius, the Arch of Septimius Severus and Trajan's Column (Figs 41, 42 and 43).

Figure 41. *CIL* transcription of the inscriptions on the Piramide Cestia (*CIL* VI 1374, p. 301).

Figure 42. *CIL* transcription of the Arch of Septimius Severus (*CIL* VI 1033, p. 195).

Figure 43. *CIL* transcription of Trajan's Column (*CIL* VI 960, p. 176).

The lack of support in these transcriptions is probably what strikes us most: these inscriptions are not seen as objects anymore, but as simple texts. The different transcriptions we have seen lead us to think more carefully about the history of the Pyramid, the Arch and Trajan's Column as monuments: by relying solely on the *CIL*'s transcription, we would be confronted with the *titulus* alone, accompanied by a brief summary of its textual tradition, but without its support or context.

None of these collections seem to agree on a specific way to represent inscribed monuments, and although this can create confusion, it also allows us to consider different characteristics of all these texts and supports. These *corpora* do not need to establish a specific notation system because it is precisely this difference in representations of *tituli* that allows us to explore a variety of questions regarding the perception of inscribed monuments in the Cinquecento. The issues sixteenth-century scholars faced when transcribing epigraphic texts did not stop at the representation of epigraphic texts on paper: more important problems on how to organize the material soon appeared, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

2 The Organization of Material in Sixteenth-Century Epigraphic *Syllogai*: Creating Categories, Devising Indices and Writing Commentaries

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the depiction of the non-textual characteristics of inscriptions on paper represented a significant challenge for sixteenth-century scholars, even more so if these inscribed monuments were damaged or defaced. There was, however, another pressing issue at hand: the increasing amount of discovered, unearthed and gathered epigraphic texts confronted humanists with the organization of this material.[376] These newly discovered inscriptions contributed to a perception of overload: the first logical step was then to keep record of them (and many of these texts are known thanks to these compilations); then, once they were transcribed on paper, scholars could study them.[377] With such an impressive amount of material, sixteenth-century humanists had to find ways to render their collections coherent and practical, so that other historians, philologists and antiquarians could easily access the evidence contained within. Although humanists were able to survey short epigraphic *corpora*, such as Conrad Peutinger's *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta*, without any major difficulty, the lack of organization in larger works of inscriptions represented a significant problem. Therefore, scholars created sections to categorize their texts and started to devise indices, which allowed for a better navigation of a *sylloge*. Some *corpora* even incorporated commentaries, in

[376] Antiquities often emerged from underground, whether by chance or excavation: many inscriptions were thus unearthed during building constructions or agricultural work. See Claudio Franzoni, '*Urbe Roma in pristinam formam rinascente*. Le antichità di Roma durante il Rinascimento', in *Storia di Roma dall'antichità a oggi. Roma del Rinascimento*, ed. by Antonio Pinelli (Rome: Laterza, 2001), pp. 291-336 (p. 303); Bianca De Divitiis, 'A Local Sense of the Past: Spolia, Reuse and *All'Antica* Building in South [redacted] *-1700*, ed. by Kathleen W. Christian and Bianca De Divitiis (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), pp. 79-101 (p. 81); Barbara Furlotti, *Antiquities in Motion: From Excavation Sites to Renaissance Collections* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2019), p. 9.

[377] The sense of overload of information was not unique to the epigraphic field: there was an information explosion in Renaissance Europe, mainly due to the discovery of new worlds, the recovery of classical texts and the proliferation of printed books. For excellent introductions to the theme of information overload in the early modern period, see Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts*, and Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

an attempt to provide additional information on the text. These three elements of categories, indices and commentaries are indicative of a key-moment in epigraphy, where sixteenth-century scholars adopted more rigorous approaches in their study of inscribed monuments. If care for the presentation of individual inscriptions on the page continued to vary, the increased organization of the collections as a whole suggests that antiquarians were starting to understand and think of epigraphy as a science. By organizing the material in their epigraphic *corpora*, scholars considered that the usefulness of inscriptions could be enhanced when arranged into categories and studied in comparison rather than individually. As we have seen in Chapter One, scholars such as Martinus Smetius realized how the letter-forms changed depending on when the *titulus* had been engraved: this type of observation could only be achieved by comparing and contrasting epigraphic texts.

The concern for organization was not limited to the genre of epigraphic collections alone but was intrinsically connected to the management of scholarly information in the early modern period.[378] Authors of reference books were constantly experimenting with diverse ways of arranging their material: the aim of such works (which constituted only one form of information management) was to store and make accessible words and things; they could range from definitions and descriptions of the natural world to recordings of human actions and sayings.[379] From various perspectives, epigraphic *syllogai* could be classified as reference works, since their main objectives were to store, sort and select material. Furthermore, compilers of reference books were mostly interested in conveying information rather than analysing it or proving its veracity, and they did not offer any discussion or contextual

[378] Ann Blair has written quite extensively on this subject: see her works 'Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload, ca. 1550-1700', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64 (2003), 11-28; 'Organizations of Knowledge', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by James Hankins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 287-303; and *Too Much to Know*. See also Michael E. Hobart and Zachary S. Schiffman, *Information Ages: Literacy, Numeracy, and the Computer Revolution* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000); Daniel Rosenberg, 'Early Modern Information Overload', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64 (2003), 1-9.
[379] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 2.

interpretation of the material they selected: it was the task of the reader to choose and understand the evidence.[380] In the same way, the authors of earlier epigraphic *corpora* were principally interested in transcribing inscriptions, which in the majority of cases were copied from already existing sources, without even questioning the authenticity and accuracy of these previous renditions.

By studying how sixteenth-century scholars organized the material in their epigraphic *corpora*, this chapter also leads us to consider and question the arrangement used in modern epigraphic publications. As I explained in the Introduction, the *CIL* observes mostly a geographical organization: within each volume, the epigraphic texts are organized topographically, and then by theme and chronology. Modern epigraphers, just as sixteenth-century scholars, grapple with the problem of categorizing inscriptions: dividing *tituli* into different categories poses a number of difficulties, as they can arranged according to their function (funerary, honorific, religious), the type of monument (tomb, statue base, altar), the type of text (epitaph, decree, vow), the fabric (stone, metal, pottery, wall, rock, mosaic), or by writing method (carved, painted, stamped, scratched).[381] There is also the possibility of dividing up epigraphic texts according to their social context, categorizing them as public, private, and sacred. As can be expected, several of these categories often overlap. As we shall see in this chapter, sixteenth-century scholars (especially in the second half of the Cinquecento) were already thinking about these various possibilities of categorization.

The organization of material in epigraphic *corpora* has been discussed, to some extent, by Ida Calabi Limentani and William Stenhouse: although this chapter inevitably builds on their research, I shall look at additional sources (especially manuscripts) and, more importantly,

[380] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 2.
[381] See Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, p. 127.

I shall contextualize the need for arrangement in these compilations to the wider picture of the organization of material in the sixteenth century.[382]

After explaining my use of paratextual elements, this chapter will explore the various organizations adopted by scholars in their collections (topographical or typological classifications) and in which sense they were innovative. I shall then investigate how indices were created and used, and link the content of indices to wider questions discussed in antiquarian circles. Finally, I shall examine how some scholars, aiming to provide more contextualization to the epigraphic text, included commentaries in their *syllogai*, which, in some cases, gave indications on how to employ the epigraphic evidence properly.

2.1. Paratextual Elements in Epigraphic *Corpora*

This chapter in particular relies on Gérard Genette's definition of paratext in *Seuils*.[383] In the thirty years or so since the introduction of the term, scholars have applied it to a much wider spectrum of genres and time periods. For instance, *Renaissance Paratexts*, edited by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, works as a direct response and an extension of *Seuils*, while *Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?* uses the paratext as a powerful tool in the study of Latin writings and motets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[384] The contributions of *The Roman Paratext: Frame, Texts, Readers*, which span literary, epigraphic and visual culture, focus on a wide variety of paratextual features of ancient Rome.[385]

Despite providing essential starting-points, Genette's study of paratextual elements was mainly concerned with French fiction of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Smith and

[382] Calabi Limentani and Stenhouse have notably focused on the organization adopted by Smetius and Gruterus in their epigraphic compilations. Nevertheless, in this chapter, I would also like to compare these arrangements to the organizations we find in previous collections and in manuscripts.
[383] See the Methodology section in the Introduction for a definition of these 'marginal spaces' and how I use them in this thesis.
[384] Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, eds, *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Ignace Bossuyt and others, eds, *Cui dono lepidum novum libellum? Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008).
[385] Laura Jansen, ed., *The Roman Paratext: Frame, Texts, Readers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Wilson have reproached Genette for not being critical enough from a historical perspective and have emphasized the importance of analysing paratexts in their respective contexts and periods.[386] Yet, it is also important to underline that Genette clearly stated in his introduction that his approach was purposely general and was not intended to be diachronic.[387] Genette considered it essential to first define the general terms of paratexts before studying their historical evolution. Another objection to Genette's study is that he assumed the author to be the main responsible figure for the paratext, yet, Renaissance paratextual studies emphasize that, in that time period, it was very common to see collaborations between publishers, editors or translators and, as such, prefer to place paratextual decisions in the domain of the printer.[388] Although there is an increasing number of studies on Renaissance paratexts, paratextual elements are still largely overlooked when it comes to epigraphic collections, even though they can provide a unique approach to the study of *syllogai*.

The appearance of tables of contents, categories and indices in epigraphic *corpora* shows that scholars were starting to think of them as works of reference: these finding devices would have allowed other individuals to locate and identify the precise information they were looking for in the inscription. Nevertheless, these elements might also indicate how scholars gradually started transforming their *syllogai* into works that would reveal to the reader how to manage the information contained in epigraphic texts and how to employ this evidence for a variety of arguments.

2.2. Different Organizational Methods in Epigraphic *Corpora*

In the first half of the sixteenth century, humanists became more ambitious in their geographical scope and strove to organize their material in a comprehensible way. Since most

[386] Smith and Wilson, eds, *Renaissance Paratexts*, p. 2.
[387] Genette, *Seuils*, p. 18.
[388] Genette, *Seuils*, p. 14.

scholars recorded texts from more than one place, they adopted the most natural and logical arrangement for their purposes: the topographical structure. This classification, used constantly up to the mid-sixteenth century, allowed inscriptions to be organized according to the country, city or region in which they were located (then, inside each category, texts were recorded in the order in which they had been observed); it did not, however, take into consideration the content of the inscribed monument. Cyriac of Ancona is credited with this type of organization, as he transcribed a great quantity of *tituli* during his travels across Spain, Greece and Italy: the topographical arrangement was thus a reflection of his travel notebooks.[389] In the second half of the sixteenth century, the topographical arrangement was replaced by a typological organization, based on the type of monument (archaeological criteria) or based on the content of the epigraphic text (textual criteria).[390]

2.2.1. The Topographical and Typological Organization of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*

The *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* of 1521 follows a similar structure to the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*.[391] The *Mirabilia* are indeed divided into three main parts: the first deals with the monuments of Rome (gates, triumphal arches, baths, bridges), while the second tackles anecdotes about ancient Rome and its monuments and the third presents an itinerary through the city, region by region.[392] In a similar manner, in the first nineteen folios of the *Epigrammata*, Mazzocchi organizes his material according to the type of public monument on which the texts are inscribed (archaeological criteria), such as arches, bridges, temples, columns, pyramids, obelisks and aqueducts. This first part contains most of the woodcuts

[389] Ida Calabi Limentani, *Scienza epigrafica. Contributi alla storia degli studi di epigrafia latina* (Faenza: Stabilimento Grafico Lega, 2010), p. 44. See also Margherita Guarducci, 'Ciriaco e l'epigrafia', in *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'Umanesimo*, ed. by Gianfranco Paci and Sergio Sconocchia (Reggio Emilia: Edizioni Diabasis, 1998), pp. 169-72.
[390] Calabi Limentani, *Scienza epigrafica*, p. 66.
[391] In 'Giacomo Mazzocchi e gli *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis*', Bianca remarks on the fact that the *Epigrammata* follows the categories of the *Mirabilia*, but does not fully investigate this link (p. 111).
[392] For a detailed explanation of the *Mirabilia*'s structure, see Blennow, 'Wanderers and Wonders', pp. 73-76.

representing the epigraphic supports; the rest of the collection is predominantly filled with transcriptions of the epigraphic text alone. The eleven woodcuts of the inscribed supports in the first nineteen folios worked perhaps as a visual aid to guide the reader in locating the inscriptions more efficiently. In the rest of the collection, Mazzocchi switches to a topographical arrangement: thus, the next twenty-seven folios are dedicated to inscriptions located on each of the Seven Hills of Rome; then from fol. 47^{r} onwards, Mazzocchi arranges the epigraphic material according to the various *regiones* (or districts) of ancient and modern Rome, such as Campo Marzio, Parione, Trevi and Monti. Finally, the last twelve folios are concerned with inscriptions found on the most prominent Roman *viae* (including the *via Appia*, *via Cassia*, *via Ostiensis*, and *via Tiburtina*).

It is not difficult to see why Mazzocchi decided to follow a similar arrangement to the *Mirabilia*: the typological and topographical order would have facilitated the consultation of the *Epigrammata* for readers familiar with the distinct monuments and topography of Rome. Considering the tradition and popularity of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* and the increasing number of guides to Rome in the Cinquecento, learned men would have indeed known the most prominent monuments and regions of the Eternal City. The choice of a typological and topographical organization, therefore, was probably due to the familiarity of the reader with the arrangement of the *Mirabilia*. As the first publication of inscriptions of Rome, the *Epigrammata* was still an experimentative collection and the author(s) probably knew that such an order was more likely to appeal the reader, as this kind of arrangement was popular in other non-epigraphic works as well: Franscesco Albertini's *Opusculum* of 1510 —also printed by Mazzocchi— for instance, followed the organization of the *Mirabilia*. More importantly, Mazzocchi's choice of organization in the *Epigrammata* stems from a tradition reinforced by Flavio Biondo: in his *Roma instaurata*, Biondo follows a combination of topographical and typological criteria to arrange the material. The *Epigrammata*, therefore, was not innovative in

terms of the organization of the material; unlike some of the other printed epigraphic *corpora* we shall study later in this chapter, Mazzocchi does not issue a statement regarding the choice of the arrangement in the preface.

2.2.2. The Geographical Arrangement of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*

We start noticing a clear change of intention of arrangement of epigraphic material with the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* of 1534, where Apianus and Amantius adopt a strict geographical organization.[393] As the first printed epigraphic *sylloge* with a far-reaching scope, the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* gathered epigraphic texts from Spain, Cisalpine Gallia, Italy, Dalmatia, Germany, Hungary, Greece and Asia: in *Die Entdeckung des Altertums*, Martin Ott argues that such a geographically ambitious collection was meant to celebrate and highlight the supremacy of emperor Charles's V empire, to whom the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* is dedicated.[394] In fact, modern scholarship has stressed that this *corpus* helped to legitimize politics in the first half of the sixteenth century.[395] This view is further emphasized by the fact that the *corpus* begins with a section of *tituli* from Spain, because, according to Apianus, Spain is the head of the entire empire ('totius imperii caput'): since Charles v was King of Spain before being elected emperor, Apianus and Amantius's choice of starting with inscriptions from Spain is easily justified. Nevertheless, it is also important to bear in mind that Apianus had a great interest in cartography and that he had published a series of world maps: as he was responsible for the publishing and organization of the *corpus*, it is possible that this collection functioned as an addition to his cartographical creations.[396]

By the time of the publication of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*, the geographical organization had already been in use for more than a century, yet previous

[393] Laurens and Vuilleumier, *L'Âge de l'inscription*, p. 35.
[394] Ott, *Die Entdeckung des Altertums*, p. 179.
[395] See for instance, Béhar, 'Die *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (1534)', pp. 57-74.
[396] See Karl Röttel, 'Peter Apians Karten', in *Peter Apian: Astronomie, Kosmographie und Mathematik am Beginn der Neuzeit*, ed. by Karl Röttel (Buxheim: Polygon-Verlag, 1995), pp. 169-82 (p. 170).

scholars had employed it very loosely, since they did not include much material. Nevertheless, precisely because of their far-reaching scope and the impressive quantity of material gathered, Apianus and Amantius had to apply the topographical criteria very rigorously. Despite its lack of accuracy, the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* was innovative in terms of the rigour with which the geographical structure was applied. Unlike the *Epigrammata*, Apianus and Amantius chose the topographical arrangement for a reason: although the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* had a clear political programme, the Ingolstadt professors still point out in the preface to their *corpus* that they have chosen a particular order for their material because previous works were not rigorous enough in their classification and placed, for instance, inscriptions from Cyclades or Thrace among those found in Rome or Spain.[397] The authors then explain the arrangement they have adopted for their *corpus*, region by region: we do not find such statement in previous epigraphic collections. Apianus and Amantius were aware of the shortcomings in the arrangements of previous works and how not observing a rigorous organization can be detrimental.

The topographical classification undoubtedly symbolized a further step in the organization of material, especially in the case of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* where the authors clearly show that their decision of arrangement was not arbitrary. This arrangement was not, however, very practical for readers: if they were looking for a specific inscription, they had to know its precise and current location (and it was very common for *tituli* to be moved and removed from their original locations).[398] Furthermore, the geographical organization was not helpful for humanists interested in precise elements of inscribed monuments (such as Latin onomastics or Roman tribes), as they would have to read the entire

[397] 'Antiquitates quas hoc libro certo ordine impressimus, apud alios ita praepostere ac perverse positas invenimus, ut quae in Cycladibus vel in Tracia erant inventae, cum Romanis aut Hispanicis promiscue iungerentur' (Apianus and Amantius, *Inscriptiones sacrosancate vetustatis*, sig. ciii^{v}).
[398] For the removal of inscriptions to other locations or into physical collections of antiquities, see Chapter 4.5.

work.[399] Humanist correspondence from the sixteenth-century clearly proves that scholars were dissatisfied with previous methods of classification: the Italian philologist Claudio Tolomei (1492-1556), for instance, outlined a proposal for an encyclopaedic project stemming from the text of Vitruvius. The encyclopaedia was to be in twenty books; one book was to contain all the inscriptions, with their monumental supports, from the city of Rome and its surroundings (similar to the *Epigrammata*). Tolomei, however, planned to organize the book differently from Mazzocchi's work: he argued that the inscriptions should be collected according to period and subject-matter. Responding to a need for a more suitable classification for *tituli*, scholars experimented in the second-half of the sixteenth century with the typological organization.

2.2.3. The Typological Arrangement of Martinus Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*

In his manuscript of the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, Martinus Smetius adopts a rigorous typological organization: according to my research, Smetius was the first scholar to integrate this type of arrangement for inscriptions. Smetius divided his material into four broad categories, based on the function of the support and the content of the text.[400] The Flemish humanist provides a powerful explanation for his choice of classification: in his preface to Laurinus, he states that previous methods of classification (which included gathering all the material into a single 'pile' and the topographical arrangement) were too arbitrary and he reproaches scholars for not paying close attention to the content of the *titulus*. Smetius also adds that, since inscriptions are liable to be moved from their original locations, the geographical organization is too inconsistent:

> For many [scholars] collected all [inscriptions] into a single pile, just as each one presented itself. Others followed only the order of the places in which they [the

[399] I shall discuss such interests, very much present in scholarly studies, further down in this chapter.
[400] For a detailed description of the four categories of Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, see Calabi Limentani, 'Note su classificazione ed indici epigrafici', pp. 183-85. See also, Vagenheim, 'Juste Lipse et l'édition du recueil d'inscriptions latines de Martinus Smetius', p. 46.

epigraphic texts] existed, ignoring completely the contents of their arguments […] But since [inscriptions] are often carried and moved from one place to another […] I have considered to establish another order, more reliable and more convenient. Therefore, after having disregarded an order by places, which could be easily shown through an index, I have preferred rather to follow an order by object and content: and I have taken care that similar [inscriptions] were linked to similar [inscriptions], as far as it could conveniently be done.[401]

Smetius then announces the creation of four *ordines* under which he regrouped all his material: his *ordo primus*, perhaps the less original as it resembles the arrangement of the *Mirabilia*, gathers inscriptions from public buildings and places (including bridges, temples, arches and roads); his *ordo secundus* includes texts related to the divine (which comprises inscriptions on statue bases and dedications to gods and to priests); his *ordo tertius* contains honorific inscriptions of famous men; and finally, his *ordo quartus* incorporates epitaphs dedicated to persons of various social classes.[402] Within each of these sections, Smetius creates sub-categories, subdividing inscriptions into similar themes (which he writes on the top left corner of each folio). For instance, in his *ordo secundus*, he gathers dedications to the same god or goddess and in his *ordo quartus* he groups together the texts according to the occupation of the

[401] 'Multi enim sine ordine ut quaeque offerebantur, in unam omnes congeriem redegere. Alii, locorum tantum ordinem in quibus extabant, neglecta prorsus argumentorum ratione, secuti sunt [...] Verum quum saepe ex uno loco in alium transportentur ac distrahantur [...] alium mihi certiorem et commodiorem ordinem instituendum esse duxi. Omissa igitur locorum serie, quae per indicem aliquem monstrari facile posset, rerum atque argumentorum ordinem quendam sequi potius malui: et ut similia similibus, quatenus fieri commode posset iungerentur, curavi' (Smetius, BPL 1, fol. 2^{r}). In the indices he created for his *corpus*, Smetius did in fact insert a geographical index (see Chapter 2.3.3 for Smetius's indices).

[402] See Smetius's prefatory letter to Laurinus, BPL 1, fol. 2^{v}. Smetius gives a more detailed overview of these *ordines* in a letter to Stephanus Pighius: as he tells Pighius, he had been working on the two first *ordines* and had just started the third one when his first manuscript was destroyed in the fire. M. Smetius to S. W. Pighius, 27 January 1558: 'prima [pars], videlicet, in qua quicquid ad loca aut aedificia, seu publica, seu privata, pertinebat habebatur, et secunda [pars], ad quam omnia quae ad deos et sacra spectare videbantur retuleram. Tertiam partem solummodo exorsus eram: hic exponendi erant omnes imperatorum tituli basesque, atque tabulae honorariae, atque etiam epitaphia consulum atque aliorum magistratuum seu illustrium virorum; ad quartam atque ultimam partem infinita inferioris sortis, ut militum atque officiariorum domus Augustae, et privatorum artificum ac negociatorum, caeterorumque communium hominum epitaphia congerere decrevam' (Pighius, *Stephani Vinandi Pighii epistolarium*, ed. by de Vocht, pp. 36-37).

deceased: thus, he classifies the epitaphs of soldiers, of minor magistrates (as opposed to the prominent magistrates which were recorded in the *ordo tertius*), of artists and of merchants into their own divisions.

Smetius's innovative categories, based on typological parameters, represented an important change in epigraphic scholarship: later compilations of inscriptions (both in manuscript and printed format), would follow closely the *ordines* of the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, and, more importantly, would pay closer attention to the content of the text.[403] Smetius's interest in the content of the epigraphic text is also characteristic of his indices, as we shall see later in this chapter. Smetius's categories present yet another novelty: the first *ordo* is mostly formed of archaeological sub-divisions. On the contrary, the other three *ordines* relate to the dedicator or dedicatee of the inscription: for instance, in the third *ordo*, Smetius groups together all the inscriptions of a certain emperor, consul or magistrate. Smetius then considered more important and relevant to place the emphasis on the person rather than on the type of monument: this interest in the person of the ancient world was probably influenced by the surge of Roman prosopography after 1547.[404] It is worth noting, however, that even his three other *ordines* display, on the top middle of each page, the types of support of the inscriptions, such as *cippi*, *urnae* or *tabulae*. Smetius's categories, then, drew the attention on the ancient individual, while also emphasizing the type of support of the *titulus*.[405]

In order to comprehend how Smetius's categories have influenced epigraphic studies, it is important here to consider some methods of organization of modern epigraphic catalogues. Calabi Limentani's handbook to Latin epigraphy, *Epigrafia latina*, for instance, divides up its

[403] Although Smetius's categories developed out of earlier antiquarian studies, they were innovative in the epigraphic field.
[404] Mayer-Olivé, 'El canon de los humanistas de su tiempo interesados en la epigrafía', p. 29. For more information on the interest in Roman prosopography after 1547, see Chapter 2.3.6.
[405] As we shall see in Chapter 2.4.2, Ambrosio de Morales was one of the first scholars to draw a typology of the epigraphic support; yet, Smetius was already bringing the reader's attention to the type of support in the 1550s.

analysis of inscriptions into the following chapters: sacred, sepulchral, honorific, public works, *instrumentum domesticum*, legal, collegial proceedings, calendars and *fasti*, and wall-inscriptions. Such categorization plays an important part in allowing inscriptions to be used as evidence in discussing different historical topics. However, it does not reflect the motivations that prompted people to create inscriptions. With his categories and sub-sections, Smetius resolves some of the problems we might encounter in modern publications of inscriptions, as he placesemphasis on the dedicatee while also signalling the reader if the inscription was honorific or if it served another purpose.

2.2.4. Typological Organization Based on Smetius in Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae*

As I have explained in Chapter One, Janus Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae* was largely modelled after Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* (the transcriptions of the Piramide Cestia and of the Arch of Septimius Severus, for instance, were taken from Smetius's *corpus*). Like Smetius, Gruterus also classified his material thematically. Originally, it was Scaliger who wished to compile a collection of *tituli* even larger than Smetius's: Scaliger had indeed pointed out in a letter to the Parisian jurist and bibliophile Claude Dupuy (1545-1594) that Smetius's *corpus* contained very few inscriptions from France and he himself had recorded several inscribed monuments from Lyon, Gascony, Provence and Languedoc that he wished to give to Lipsius so that he could publish them in the collection.[406] Scaliger then decided to compile a supplement to this collection that would include such inscriptions and asked the printer Hieronymus Commelinus (*c.* 1550-1597) to undertake the printing. The friendship between Commelinus and Scaliger probably dated from Scaliger's arrival in Leiden in 1593.

[406] J. Scaliger to C. Dupuy, 28 June 1588: 'J'en ai un tiers de celles de Lyon, qui ne sont imprimées, item toutes celles de Gascogne, de Languedoc, de Provence, de Daulfiné, qui sont très belles. Je vouldrois bien qu'il [Lipsius] les tinst' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, II, p. 51).

Commelinus, however, died in December 1597 from the plague and Scaliger entrusted the project to Gruterus.

In 1598, Scaliger sends a letter to Gruterus, asking him to take over the task of preparing a *corpus* of Latin inscriptions. Scaliger advises Gruterus to follow Smetius's arrangement and to augment each section with new material.[407] Gruterus heeded Scaliger's advice, but ultimately, instead of creating four categories, he devised eighteen, probably because the *Inscriptiones antiquae* surpassed Smetius's *corpus* in content and sorting out its twelve thousand inscriptions into four categories would have been very complex.

Unlike Smetius, Gruterus does not explain in the preface his methodology of organization.[408] Most sections follow Smetius's arrangement: Gruterus, however, decides to turn Smetius's sub-sections into categories of their own. Thus, where Smetius had regrouped in a single section all the inscriptions related to the divine and to the sacred, Gruterus separates *tituli* to gods from the ones to priests.[409] Similarly, inscriptions of artists and merchants have their separate category. Although Gruterus does not provide a strong pragmatic statement regarding his arrangement, he brings the reader's attention to his major innovation. Gruterus chose to split epigraphic dedications into seven divisions, according to the dedicator and the dedicatee: epigraphic texts of parents, children, siblings, freedmen and slaves have each their own section, which was a completely innovative aspect for a *corpus* of inscriptions. Gruterus privileged the content of the *titulus* even more than Smetius, as he does not record the type of support at the beginning of each page. The *Inscriptiones antiquae* is then very much focused on the individual and, by creating categories according to the dedicator and dedicatee, Gruterus

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[407] See the letter from J. Scaliger to J. Gruterus, 17 July 1598 (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, III, pp. 150-53). For the *Inscriptiones antiquae* as a collection created to surpass Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, see Chapter 4.3

[408] Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquae*, sig. e4^{v}. The organization of Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae* is briefly surveyed in Calabi Limentani, 'Note su classificazione ed indici epigrafici', pp. 191-93.

[409] The chapter of dedications to gods and goddesses replaces the one of public buildings and places in Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae*: epigraphic collections published after the *Inscriptiones antiquae* would preserve this section as the first one, which, once again, indicates the impact of Gruterus's *corpus* (see Calabi Limentani, 'Note su classificazione ed indici epigrafici', p. 193).

placed into perspective the information that can be gathered concerning the person mentioned in the text.

The *corpora* of Smetius and Gruterus showed how inscriptions could be classified on a large scale thanks to typological classification.[410] Both collections, however, were still difficult to navigate: a device that greatly aided the scouring of a large work was the list of headings or 'table of contents'; although sixteenth-century epigraphic publications do not display such devices, we find them in some epigraphic manuscripts.

2.2.5. List of Headings in Onofrio Panvinio and Aldo Manuzio's Epigraphic Manuscripts

Onofrio Panvinio rendered his epigraphic manuscripts BAV, Vat. Lat. 6035 and Vat. Lat. 6036 easier to consult by including in the first folios a list of headings in the order in which they appeared in the compilations. Once again, this type of paratext was one of the most common features in early modern compilations: it served almost as a table of contents and offered a useful aid for browsing all the topics covered in a compilation.[411] Panvinio arrived in Rome at the age of nineteen: in his relatively short lifespan of thirty-nine years, he published several antiquarian works and he left behind notes of uncompleted projects that would then be published posthumously.[412] Giovanni Battista de Rossi was the first to identify the manuscripts Vat. Lat. 6035 and 6036 as having belonged to Panvinio: since Panvinio had three different types of handwriting, these manuscripts had been previously attributed to Fulvio Orsini or Aldo Manuzio the Younger.[413] The two manuscripts contain more than three thousand inscriptions:

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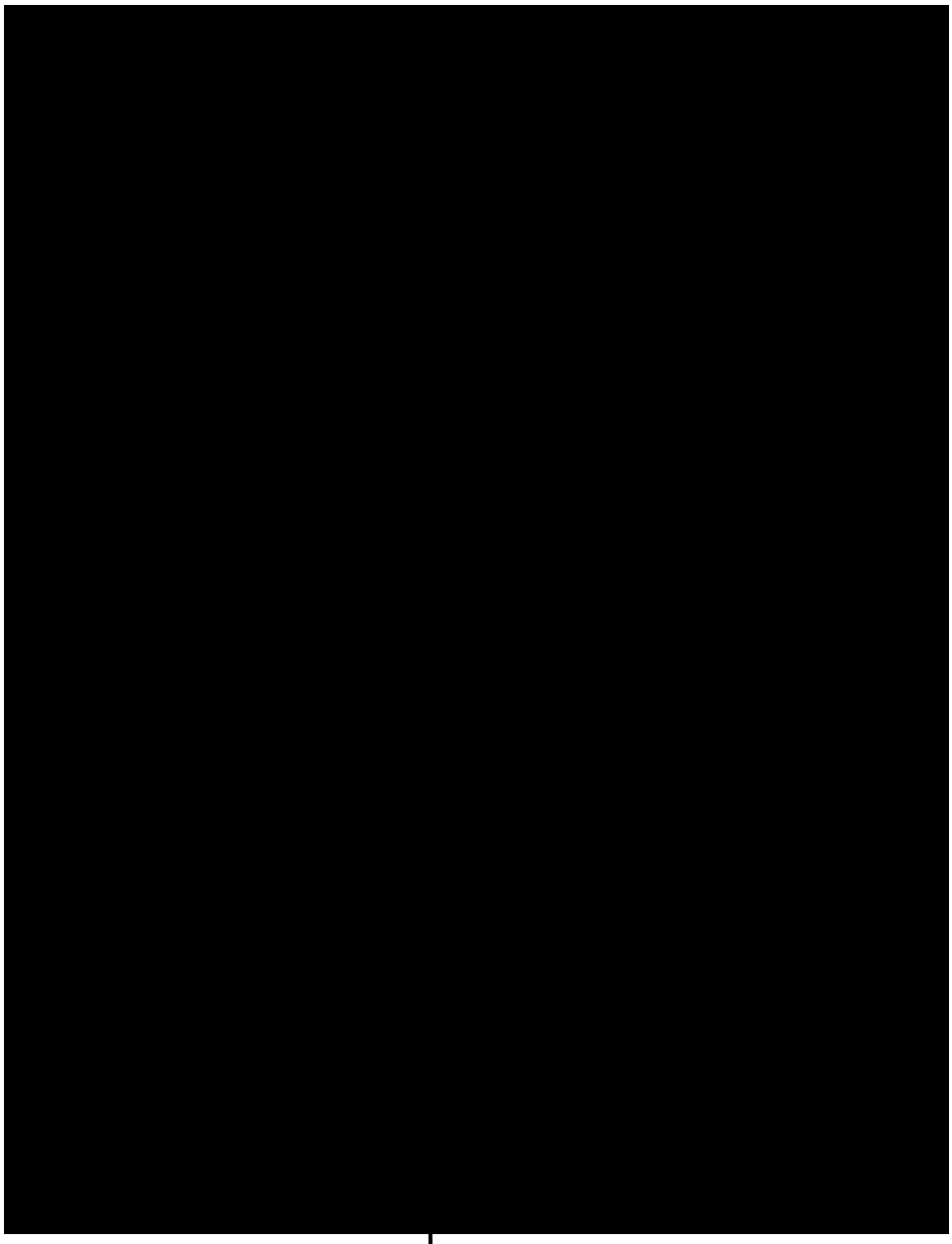
[410] On this point see Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 151.

[411] Already in the thirteenth century, it was rather common to announce the contents of a work at the very beginning and lists of chapters were often added to older manuscripts which had none: see Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 135; Malcolm Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio on the Development of the Book', in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. by Jonathan J. Graham Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 115-41 (p. 123).

[412] On the importance of Panvinio's works in the antiquarian sphere of the Cinquecento, see Ferrary, *Onofrio Panvinio et les antiquités romaines*, which remains one of the most substantial studies on the scholar. See also William Stenhouse, 'Panvinio and *Descriptio*: Renditions of History and Antiquity in the Late Renaissance', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 80 (2012), 233-56.

[413] See Giovanni Battista de Rossi, 'Delle sillogi epigrafiche dello Smezio e del Panvinio', *Annali dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, 34 (1862), 220-44. For a codicological analysis of Panvinio's manuscripts, see Marco Buonocore, 'Onuphrius Panvinius et Antonius Augustinus: de codicibus Vaticanis Latinis 6035-6

we find a variety of transcriptions and paper cut-outs from Manuzio's *Orthographiae ratio* of 1566 and from Panvinio's own edition of the *Fastorum libri V* of 1558 (Fig. 44).



The word 'ratio' can be seen in this cut-out from Manuzio's *Orthographiae ratio.*

adnotationes nonnullae', in *Antonio Agustín between Renaissance and Counter-Reform*, ed. by Michael H. Crawford (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1993), pp. 155-71 (pp. 155-57 in particular); Mayer-Olivé, 'El canon de los humanistas de su tiempo interesados en la epigrafía', p. 32.

Figure 44. Onofrio Panvinio's epigraphic manuscript where we can observe cut-outs from Manuzio's *Orthographiae ratio* (BAV, Vat. Lat. 6035, fol. 2r).

In these two manuscripts, Panvinio adopts a typological organization, arranging the inscriptions by their content rather than by their type of support or their geographical location. Panvinio creates eleven categories in Vat. Lat. 6035, which include *tituli* to deities, emperors, consuls, soldiers, freedmen, craftsmen and workmen, amongst others (Fig. 45); and seven divisions in Vat. Lat. 6036, which contain inscriptions to *collegia*, epitaphs to men and women as well as Greek epitaphs (Fig. 46). Although these categories remain relatively general, they are indicative of Panvinio's study of the actual text. The innovative element, however, comes in the first folios of the manuscripts, where Panvinio transcribes these headings while also indicating the foliation to render this list even more useful to other scholars.[414]

[414] This raises the question of whether compilers were writing for others or, rather, for themselves. My examination of the different manuscripts and their marginalia has revealed that, in many cases, scholars were clearly writing for others. In other instances, the marginalia in manuscripts and printed *corpora* reveal a more 'personal' reading, intended for the scholar himself.

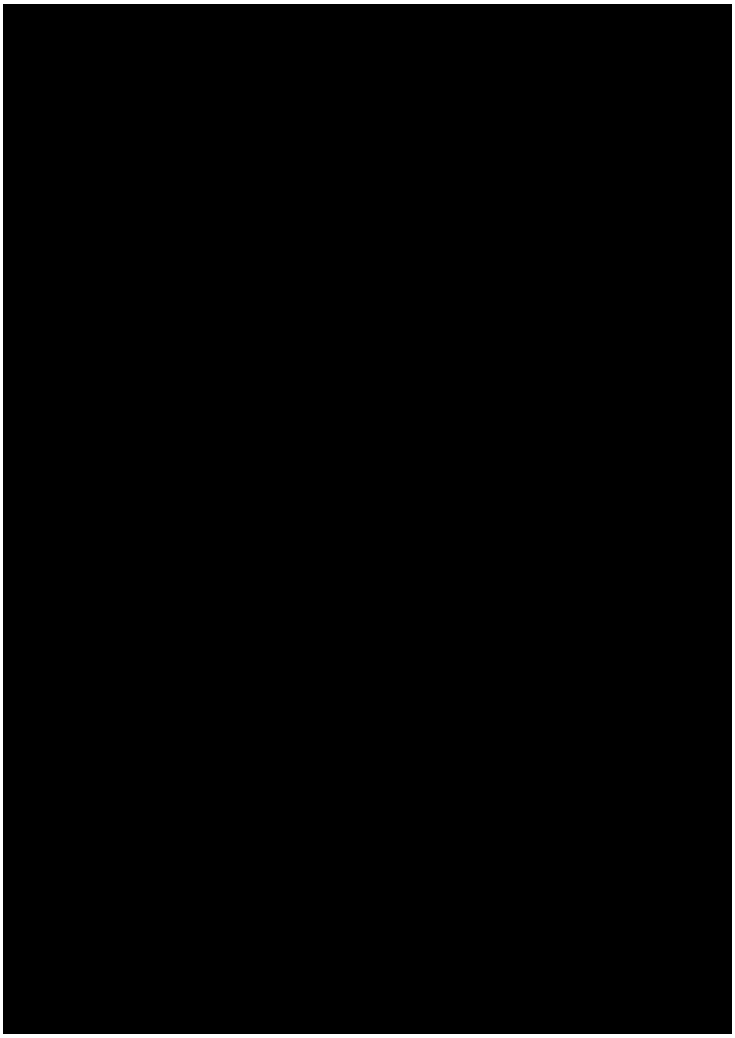


Figure 45. List of headings in Panvinio's epigraphic manuscript (Vat. Lat. 6035).

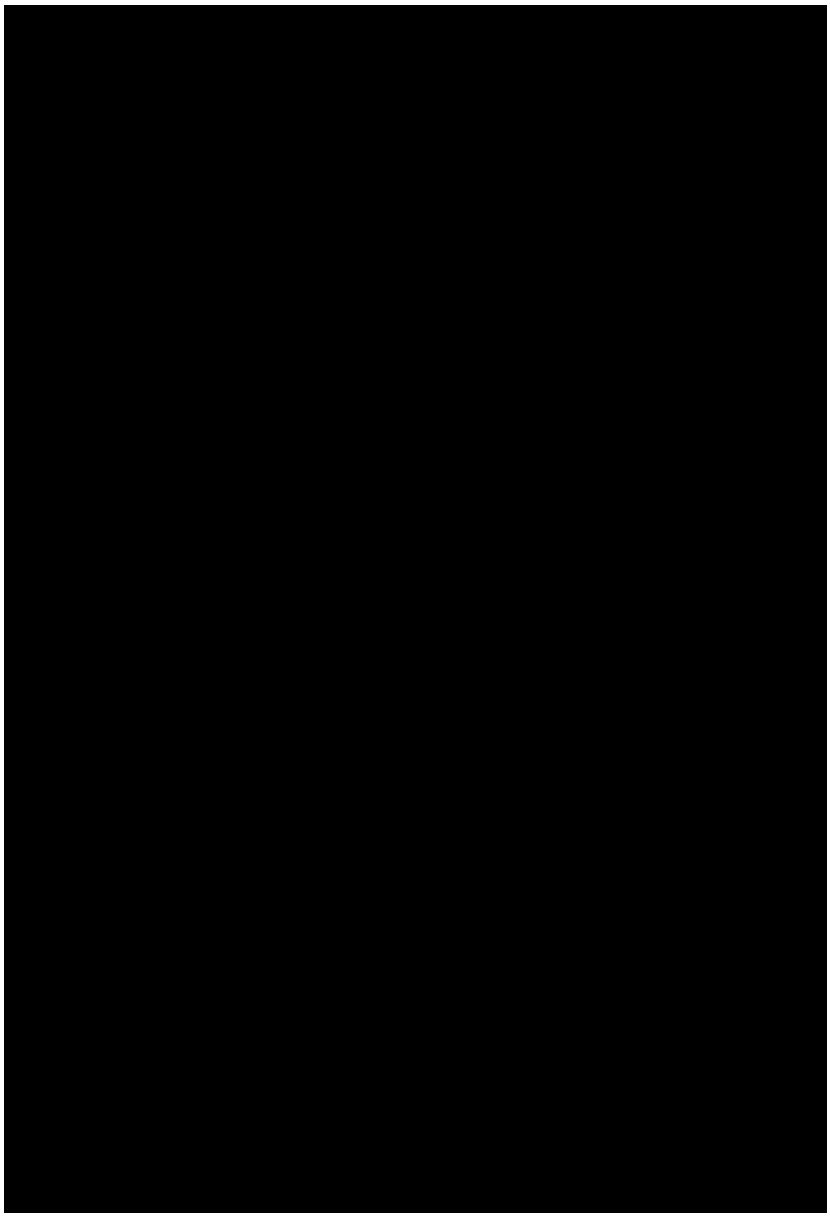


Figure 46. List of headings in Panvinio's epigraphic manuscript (Vat. Lat. 6036).

In a similar fashion to Panvinio, Aldo Manuzio the Younger divides his manuscript BAV, Vat. Lat. 5234 into six main categories. This manuscript is part of a larger series containing epigraphic material collected by Manuzio (Vat. Lat. 5234-5253). Due to Manuzio's debts after his death in 1597, the Apostolic authorities seized his books on the authority of Pope

Clement VIII.[415] Since his sections are of general order, Manuzio also creates sub-divisions. His first category (pp. 1-81), named [*Inscriptiones*] *Operum publicorum*, could still seem very broad at first glance, but Manuzio indicates that these inscriptions are to be found on roads, bridges, temples and porticoes, and aqueducts, and it is precisely these types of monuments that form the different sub-sections.[416] In the third category (pp. 157-263), entitled *Deorum dearumque bases et area [sic]*, Manuzio creates a sub-section for every single deity mentioned in the dedications (we find prominent gods such as Jupiter, Juno, Neptune and Vulcan, but also lesser-known ones, such as Harpocrates, the god of silence and confidentiality in the Hellenistic tradition).[417] Here, the gods are not in any particular order: although at first Manuzio arranges them according to order of perceived importance (the first two deities are indeed Jupiter and Juno), we then find important gods (such as Venus) towards the end of the section. Likewise, the fourth category, related to honorific inscriptions (pp. 263-318), records the names of the Roman emperors, all in chronological order. These categories and sub-sections clearly demonstrate that Manuzio paid close attention to the content of each epigraphic text, as he regrouped into sub-categories inscriptions with common features and words (this also meant, however, that some *tituli* appeared in more than one section). Just as Panvinio's, Manuzio's collection is practical to navigate as he announces all his categories and sub-categories in the very first folios: a scholar looking for a specific inscription would not have needed to read the entire *sylloge* of 849 pages, but could simply consult the beginning of the work. Nevertheless, unlike Panvinio, Manuzio did not indicate the pagination for the categories or sub-divisions:

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[415] Koortbojian, 'A Little-Known Manuscript', p. 141; Jeanne Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI. Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1973), p. 95.

[416] This first category strongly recalls the organization found in the *Mirabilia* (and subsequently in Mazzocchi's *Epigrammata*).

[417] Although he was a lesser-known deity, Harpocrates's imagery was discussed in some antiquarian circles. Agustín's *Alveolus* tells us that Harpocrates was often represented as 'A young man with a cornucopia in the left [hand] and with the right [hand] he places a finger in front of his mouth to signal silence ('Un mochacho con un cornucopia en la hizquierda y con la derecha se pone el dedo delante la boca señalando el silencio' (Agustín, *Alveolus*, ed. by Flores Sellés, p. 39)).

yet this does not necessarily mean that his collection was more difficult to consult since every sub-section does not last more than four or five pages.

Manuzio's epigraphic manuscript is already of interest because of the list of headings; yet, another aspect of his *corpus* renders it even more intriguing. According to William Stenhouse in *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, little work has been done on Manuzio's epigraphic material: this is partly because of his terrible handwriting, partly because the epigraphic benefits are likely to be limited.[418] The epigraphic benefits of Vat. Lat. 5234 are indeed likely to be limited: although it has not been pointed out by modern scholarship, this manuscript contains a large number of inscriptions copied from Smetius's manuscript, placed in the exact same order as in the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, with the same *versuum divisio* and with the same information on the location of the *titulus*. From various perspectives, Manuzio's manuscript is almost a copy of Smetius's *corpus*. Yet, it is striking that Manuzio was not content with copying out most of Smetius's transcriptions, already valued for their accuracy at that time: Manuzio decided to include a table of contents, which was not present in either Smetius's manuscript or the publication of 1588 edited by Lipsius.

The manuscripts of Panvinio and Manuzio, produced later than the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, were clearly influenced by Smetius's *ordines* and by the importance given to the content of the text. Nevertheless, Panvinio and Manuzio deemed necessary the addition of a table of contents that would have allowed the reader to browse the *corpus* easily and to retrieve information comfortably.

[418] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 175. Manuzio's epigraphic manuscripts have been scarcely used in modern scholarship: the studies that have employed them concern Jean-Louis Ferrary, 'Les Copies anciennes de la loi Antonia de Termessibus', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1983 (1985), 273-75; and Ginette Vagenheim, 'Un episode inédit dans la genèse de l'épigraphie latine à la Renaissance: la collection d'inscriptions romaines de Nicolaus Florentius de Haarlem dans les manuscrits de Laevinus Torrentius à la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles (ms 4347-50)', *In Monte Artium: Journal of the Royal Library of Belgium*, 1 (2008), 153-83.

As we have seen in the Introduction, *corpora* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries relied heavily on Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae*, both in content and form. Yet, Gruterus's arrangement was influenced by previous methods of classification in epigraphic works. The *CIL* is also affected by the type of arrangement we see in sixteenth-century epigraphic *corpora*. For the *CIL*, the question of the organization of the material is particularly paramount given its scope: just as with the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*, the compilers of the *CIL* had to be very thorough when applying the geographical classification. The different themes in which inscriptions are ordered in each volume of the *CIL* are also heavily inspired by Smetius's *ordines* and his sub-divisions. In this way, epigraphic collections of the Cinquecento can lead us to observe the types of organization that have influenced modern epigraphic compilations.

2.3. The Development of Indices in Epigraphic Collections

These different methods of classification show that there was a clear evolution in the organization of *syllogai* throughout the sixteenth century, and the most important changes, regarding especially the typological organization, occurred in the second half of the Cinquecento. The appearance of categories in sixteenth-century epigraphic *corpora* is closely linked to the use of indices.[419] The creation of the latter, perhaps even more than the structure of collections, indicates the moment at which the general interest in classical inscriptions developed into a scholarly discipline: indices reveal a conscious choice by scholars to transform their manuscripts into reference works. Although categories allowed for a better navigation of the *sylloge*, they were still limited in their usefulness to find an inscription (especially in large compilations of *tituli*). Indices on the other hand permitted to find the text rapidly, while also indicating to the reader what type of information could be taken from an inscribed monument.

[419] I am aware that indices are also a feature of many other contemporary works, in addition to epigraphic *syllogai*.

Sixteenth-century epigraphic indices vary quite noticeably: we can observe an evolution of indices, with some scholars indexing their collections onomastically, while others composed several indices to cover all the material in the *corpus*. Just as with the creation of categories, the appearance of indices was not restricted to the genre of epigraphic collections: early modern authors recognized the usefulness of devising indices, which could range from indexing names to including thematic entries.[420] Indices also developed in other works of the Cinquecento that employed epigraphic material: for instance, Bartolomeo Marliano's *Urbis Romae topographia* of 1544 contains a lengthy index of the most prominent monuments of Rome, listed in alphabetical order and followed by the page number. From this perspective, the contextualization of indices in epigraphic *corpora* is fundamental, as the formation of these paratextual elements was responding to changes in other works of the same time period.

2.3.1. Angelo Colocci's Geographical Indices in his Annotated Copy of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*

Indices in epigraphic *corpora* could vary remarkably in their complexity, number and content. Angelo Colocci only devised a geographical index for his annotated copy of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (BAV, Vat. Lat. 8494): at the end of the work, Colocci wrote down, in alphabetical order, the names of cities and regions in which the inscriptions were located.[421] Colocci's index (consisting of eight folios), however, predominantly focused on the Italian locations of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*, even though, as I have explained previously, one of the main characteristics of this collection is that it recorded epigraphic texts from various countries and regions.[422] For instance, on fol. 290^{r}, which corresponds to the letter

[420] See Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 140-44. On early modern indices, see Archer Taylor, *General Subject-Indexes Since 1548* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966); Thomas Corns, 'The Early Modern Search Engine: Indices, Title Pages, Marginalia and Contents', in *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print*, ed. by Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 95-105.
[421] In *Ricerche su Angelo Colocci e sulla Roma cinquecentesca* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1979), Vittorio Fanelli remarks that Colocci compiled an index in his annotated copy of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* but does not expand on this point (see p. 124).
[422] The reason why Colocci only indexed Italian cities is unclear. On Colocci, see also Chapter 4.1.3.

P of Colocci's index, the papal secretary listed cities such as Padua (*Padua*), Palestrina (*Praeneste*), Parma (*Parma*), Perugia (*Perusia*) and Pesaro (*Pisaurum*). Colocci's method of indexing might seem simplistic, as it does not consider the content of the inscription but uses instead the location that is already provided in the *corpus*. Yet, this index greatly facilitated the navigation of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*: as already explained, topographical arrangements did not render the consultation of a collection any easier and this geographical index could be interpreted as a prolongation of this type of organization.

2.3.2. Andrea Alciato's Index in his Epigraphic Manuscript

Andrea Alciato indexed his epigraphic manuscript BAV, Vat. Lat. 10546 in a different way from Colocci. Vat. Lat. 10546 represents Alciato's only surviving work recording epigraphic material from other sites in Italy: during his youth, he had compiled another manuscript that recorded inscriptions from Milan only. Vat. Lat. 10546, with 217 folios, was originally made of two distinct fascicles, numbered 1-59 and 1-158: between these two fascicles, we find an index of twenty-one pages with indices regarding the second fascicle.[423] In this compilation, Alciato did not rely on autopsy but took many of the transcriptions from other *syllogai*, especially from those of Giovanni Giocondo.[424]

Alciato's index is a list of names and 'themes' arranged alphabetically. The vast majority of entries record Latin names found in the inscriptions, such as *Aelius Antochius*, *Aelius Vetalio* or *Cannium Rufium*. Alciato also adds entries for formulas or phrases used in the texts, such as *Ad clarissimum proconsulem*, *Pro salute coloniae* and *Pro salute et victoria*. All these entries are words taken directly from the epigraphic texts themselves. Alciato

[423] For the identification of the inscriptions transcribed in Alciato's manuscript and for a codicological review of Vat. Lat. 10546, see Antonio Ferrua, 'Andrea Alciato e l'epigrafia pagana', *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 113 (1990), 209-33. Note, however, that Ferrua does not talk in detail about the index. For an overview of Alciato's epigraphic activities, see Antonio Ferrua, 'Andrea Alciato (1492-1551) e l'epigrafia antica del Lazio', *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 114 (1991), 101-16.
[424] Ferrua, 'Andrea Alciato e l'epigrafia pagana', p. 209.

ultimately does not interpret the content of the inscriptions: for instance, the names are recorded exactly as they appear on the inscription, without any consideration for the composition of a Latin name. Thus, the name *Cannium Rufium* reported above is to be found in the accusative in the original *titulus*. In addition, Alciato does not attempt to separate all these entries according to themes but places all of them together into a single index.

Although Alciato's indexing method shows that he read the text and chose the words he deemed relevant, he shows no clear engagement with the material he gathered. Nevertheless, Alciato's index should not be diminished as it clearly indicates a wish to make his collection useful for readers.

2.3.3. Indexing 'Metadata' in Jean Matal and Martinus Smetius's Epigraphic Compilations

We start seeing a shift towards indexing 'metadata' with Jean Matal and Martinus Smetius. By the modern term 'metadata', I mean that the two scholars did not simply record what they read on the stone, but they interpreted the words to form more complex indices. When Matal started working on his copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (Vat. Lat. 8495), apart from the very meticulous corrections, he also created a series of indices. Matal placed these indices in his epigraphic manuscript BAV, Vat. Lat. 6039 (Fig. 47). This notebook was meant to act as a continuation of his work on Mazzocchi's edition, which is easily seen as Matal numbered this manuscript from fol. 200^{r} onwards after these indices and Mazzocchi's *Epigrammata* contains

a hundred and eighty-nine numbered sheets, to which Matal had added ten extra numbered folios.[425]

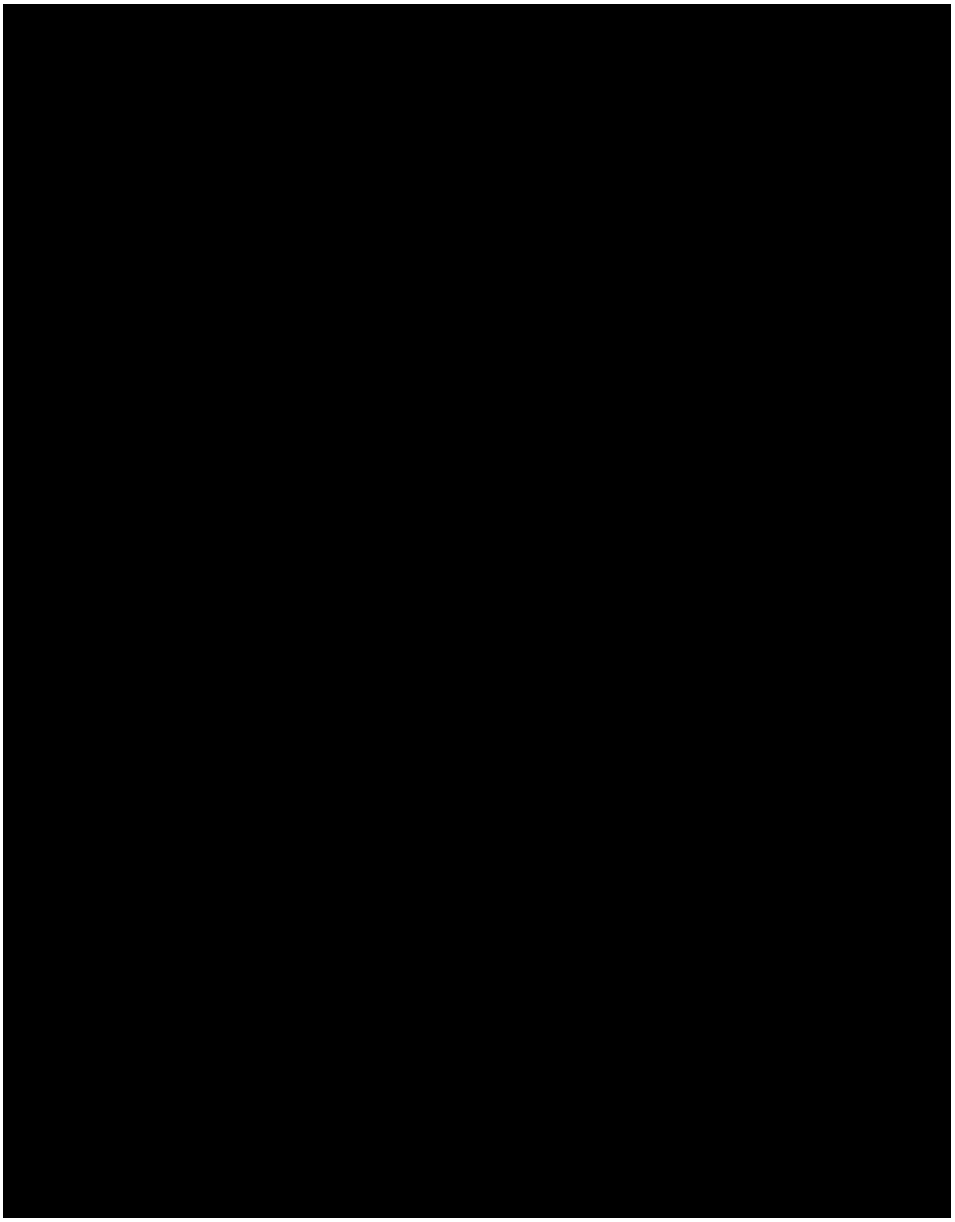

Figure 47. Jean Matal's indices in his epigraphic manuscript Vat. Lat. 6039, which acted as a continuation to his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, fol. 1r.

Matal created several indices: some recorded the content of inscriptions, such as the names of Roman tribes or Roman festivals, or words related to military matters (*eques*, *miles*); others

[425] Michael H. Crawford, 'Appendix II: The Epigraphical Manuscripts of Jean Matal', in *Antonio Agustín between Renaissance and Counter-Reform*, ed. by Michael H. Crawford (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1993), pp. 279-89 (p. 283); Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 69.

recorded the type of monument on which the text was inscribed (arch, bridge or pyramid). Matal did not adopt an alphabetical structure in his indices but followed the original foliation of the *Epigrammata*. Matal's manuscript shows a clear evolution in the preparation of indices: not only did he start interpreting the content of inscriptions to create the various entries in the list (unlike Alciato who just transcribed words found in the text) but he also deemed it necessary to devise more than one index.

Although a single index would have rendered the navigation of the collection easier, it was still very limited: Colocci's geographical index was relatively helpful because it only recorded Italian cities but Alciato's single index included more than one element of the *titulus*. The creation of categories within the indices would also have indicated to the reader the different kinds of information that can be extracted from an inscribed monument. Furthermore, Matal's choice to create indices for the *Epigrammata*, just as Colocci had done with the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*, is revealing: it shows that both scholars considered that indexing these collections would have enhanced them considerably; in the case of Matal, his indices for the *Epigrammata* were just as important as his meticulous corrections on the work.

Smetius's indices represent another fascinating case of indexing 'metadata'. In his *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, besides creating four different categories, Smetius also devised seventeen indices. Smetius explains in his preface that many of the inscriptions he recorded could actually be placed in more than one section and in order to avoid transcribing the same text in all four different divisions, he deemed necessary the creation of indices:

> For there are very many [monuments], which on account of the variety of things that they record, could be placed, not unsuitably, in many different places. But, in order for this not to happen, and so that I should not give myself trouble and uneasiness to the reader by writing the same things more than once, I have preferred to remedy this troublesome [condition], due to the diversity of subjects, by preparing various topics or

> ‘loci communes’ that I have placed at the end of the book. In these, I have arranged into certain categories and sections each particular thing and [which is] especially worthy of study, spread throughout the book howsoever, under which particular examples relating to the same argument are gathered in what, I believe, is not an inconvenient order.[426]

Smetius highlights that one of his reasons for creating the indices is for the reader to have a better and easier understanding of the *corpus* and that he has devised them taking into account the elements most important and worthy of consideration.

In some instances, Smetius’s indices reflect the categories he had created: for example, the first index, just like his *ordo secundus* contains dedications to the gods and he devises the various entries according to the type of monument (*aedes Apollinis, aedes Castoris*) and to the deity to whom the inscription was dedicated. In the same way, his third index reflects his *ordo tertius* and lists all the names of the emperors (in chronological and not alphabetical order). His other indices provide new ways of reading his collection: Smetius, like Matal, was interested in indexing ‘metadata’. Smetius’s fourth index, closely related to the third one, gives a list of *epitheta* usually found in dedications to emperors (such as *felicissimi ac doctissimi imperatores*, *fortunatissimus nobilissimusque*); while his seventh index comprises *epitheta* drawn from inscriptions to magistrates (*senatus amplissimus*, *vir gloriosissimus*, *vir clarissimus*). His sixth index provides a list of Roman tribes, a much-discussed topic in the sixteenth century, and his tenth index transcribes occupations in Roman society (*actor*, *aromatarius*, *cancellarius*, *faber*, *lanarius*). His eleventh index, like the majority of the previous collections, contains an enumeration of Latin names. Yet, unlike Alciato, Smetius’s

[426] ‘Plurima enim sunt, quae ob rerum quas notant varietatem, pluribus iisque diversis locis collocari non inepte possent. Ceterum ne id fieret, ac ne eadem saepius scribendo, et mihi ipsi molestiam, et lectori nauseam parerem: malui illi incommodo, confectis variis secundum argumentorum diversitatem elenchis seu locis communibus, quos ad calcem libri apposui, mederi. In quibus praecipua quaeque et observatu inprimis digna, per totum librum quomodolibet dispersa, in certas classes capitaque digessi, ad quae singula ad idem argumentum pertinentia, ordine, ut puto, haud incommodo referentur’ (Smetius, BPL 1, fol. 2^{v}).

index of Roman names clearly suggests a complete grasp of Latin nomenclature: the Flemish scholar uses indeed the *nomen* of the individual (always in the nominative case) as a 'pillar' to list the names in alphabetical order and, so that he would not omit any important information, he also records the abbreviated *praenomen* before the *nomen* and the *cognomen* afterwards. Besides, in some cases, Smetius also adds the patronymics or the tribe of the individual when stated in the inscription. Modern scholarship has not highlighted the evolution of epigraphic indices in the second half of the Cinquecento and how we observe scholars starting to index 'metadata' instead of simply recording words present on the inscribed texts.

Several of Smetius's indices reflect sixteenth-century discussions about the classical Roman past: the creation of indices can be very often connected to wider scholarly debates about the classical world.[427] The question of Roman tribes, for instance, was very much at the heart of scholarly dialogue in the Cinquecento. Much of the scholarly correspondence concerned the topic of Roman tribes: for instance, Ottavio Pantagato, Onofrio Panvinio and Antonio Agustín expressed keen interest in the *Menenia* tribe.[428] The discovery of the names of the thirty-five Roman tribes was a rather slow process: their names were nearly always abbreviated to three letters and scholars had to match, where possible, the abbreviations in *tituli* to literary sources.[429] Although in many cases this was a rather self-evident process, some abbreviated forms proved to be more complicated. In *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, William Stenhouse argues that scholars easily linked the abbreviation *OVF* to the *Oufentina* tribe; I have noticed, however, that in various epigraphic collections this abbreviation was not understood as a tribe name.[430] For instance, in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, *OVF* is interpreted as *O(mnia) v(ivens) f(ecit)* and, in the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae*

[427] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 70.
[428] See Vagenheim, 'La Critique épigraphique au XVIe siècle', p. 951.
[429] Calabi Limentani, 'Sul non saper leggere le epigrafi classiche nei secoli XII e XIII', p. 269; Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 7.
[430] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 7.

vetustatis, Apianus and Amantius expand it as *O(ptimo) v(iventi) f(ecit)*. Furthermore, in his annotated copy of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (Vat. Lat. 8494), Colocci interestingly circles the abbreviation *OVF* on every single occasion and writes it again in the margin next to the transcription. Perhaps Colocci realized that Apianus and Amantius's expansion was incorrect based on the content of the text.

Smetius's paratexts show rigorous work and analysis of the epigraphic texts: we observe an unequivocal change from previous epigraphic indices that simply recorded words from the inscriptions. Smetius's indices, just like his categories, were pioneering in the epigraphic field: apart from being the basis of the indices in Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae* (see section 2.3.5), they also influenced various antiquarian works of the second half of the sixteenth century. One of the most evident instances is Goltz's *Thesaurus rei antiquariae* of 1579.[431] In this work, Goltz based his lists, which gathered numismatic and epigraphic material, on Smetius's indices: since Goltz's work saw the light in 1579, and the edited version of Smetius's manuscript would only be published in 1588, we can conclude that Goltz saw Smetius's manuscript copy (which is not surprising, since Goltz shared a patron with Smetius, Marcus Laurinus). Goltz calls his lists *loci communes*, although his work took a rather different shape from contemporary commonplace books of the period. Unlike commonplace books, Goltz does not cite individual coins or inscriptions at all, but merely extracts certain terms from them: his work, then, asserts the existence of particular terms without giving any actual evidence for them.[432] Other sixteenth-century works, especially in the field of natural history, displayed an important number of indices: this is the case of the *Ornithologiae, hoc est de avibus historiae libri XII* of 1599 by Ulisse Aldrovandi, which featured seventeen indices.[433]

[431] I have briefly discussed this work in the Introduction 4.1. Goltz freely admits in the preface to his work that he took much material and his principle of organization from Smetius's manuscript.
[432] On commonplace books, see Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
[433] Laurent Pinon, 'Entre compilation et observation: l'écriture de l'ornithologie d'Ulisse Aldrovandi', *Genesis*, 20 (2003), 53-70 (p. 66).

Yet, in Smetius's case, we have seventeen indices that were compiled when Smetius was working on his manuscript copy around 1550: because of the time period, Smetius's number of indices seems even more remarkable.

2.3.4. Creation of Different Indices in *Les Illustres observations antiques*

In *Les Illustres observations antiques*, Gabriele Simeoni created different types of indices. Simeoni's work was published in 1558, following his six-month archaeological tour in Italy in 1557. Later in 1558, Jean de Tournes published Simeoni's Italian version of the text under the name *Illustratione degli epitaffi et medaglie antiche*. The *corpus*, dedicated to Charles de Lorraine, archbishop of Reims, is abundantly illustrated with woodcuts produced by the French painter and engraver Bernard Salomon (1506-1561) and records inscriptions, statues and ancient coins.[434] *Les Illustres observations* incorporates popular Renaissance themes and genres, such as classical architecture, numismatics, travel narrative and emblem literature.[435] Simeoni gathered material not only from Rome but also from Provence and especially Lyon. *Les Illustres observations antiques* represents a rather intriguing work: Simeoni mixes indeed the real with the imaginary, inventing monuments and inscriptions as he records his observations of the vestiges of antiquity.[436]

Simeoni creates five different types of indices for his collection: the first one, entitled 'Les autheurs citez en cet oeuvre' is mainly dedicated to the classical Latin and Greek authors quoted in the work, such as Cicero, Terence, Ovid, Martial, Virgil and Polybius. We also find contemporary authors of Simeoni, such as Petrarch and the French scholar Guillaume Budé (1467-1540).[437] The second index, 'Nombre et lieux des épitaphes' records the locations of the

[434] Cooper, 'Gabriele Simeoni et les antiquités de Lyon', p. 302.
[435] Karen Simroth James, 'Making the Stones Speak: The Curious Observations of Gabriele Simeoni', in *Itineraries in French Renaissance Literature: Essays for Mary B. McKinley*, ed. by Jeff Persels, Kendall Tarte and George Hoffmann (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 398-420 (p. 398).
[436] Simroth James, 'Making the Stones Speak', p. 398.
[437] Since Simeoni included several commentaries throughout his work, in some instances he used quotations of these authors to illustrate his argument.

inscriptions. The third index, called 'Nombre et lieux des figures et statues' classifies the woodcuts of statues depicted in the *Illustres observations*, such as the statue of Pallas and of Venus. After this, Simeoni records the medals in 'Nombre des médailles'. None of these four indices have alphabetical entries but use instead the pagination of the collection. Finally, Simeoni included a 'Table générale des choses les plus notables contenues en ce présent oeuvre'. This index, unlike all the previous ones, is organized alphabetically and is a combination of various topics, illustrations and texts. The entries can vary from very general, such as *Antiquités de Lyon*, to very specific, such as *Arc triomphal à Rimini* or *Interprétation de la médaille d'Egnatius.*

Simeoni's indices are quite varied and they serve almost the function of a table of contents: they provide the reader a rather comprehensive overview of the material contained in Simeoni's work. The last index, 'Table générale des choses les plus notables' is revealing as it indicates a conscious choice of what Simeoni believed might have appealed the most to the reader. This type of index was not particularly innovative in the Cinquecento as best-indexed works also included a general index of 'memorable words and things'.[438] Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that Simeoni's 'Table générale des choses les plus notables' is the only (surviving) example of such an index in a collection of classical antiquities.

2.3.5. 'Decem Mensium Opus': Scaliger's Odyssey in Creating the Indices for Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae*

Smetius undoubtedly understood the importance of indices, just as did Scaliger, who took the responsibility of preparing the indices for Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae*.[439] After Gruterus accepted Scaliger's request to undertake the project of compiling the *corpus* of inscriptions,

[438] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 141.
[439] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 150. Note that Stenhouse glosses over Scaliger's indices very quickly and does not examine them in detail.

Scaliger took on the task of preparing the indices.[440] After having received a large part of the edition of the *Inscriptiones antiquae*, Scaliger asks Gruterus, in a letter of August 1601, to take care of the *errata*, since Gruterus is the one to have compiled the work and who knows best the epigraphic texts.[441] In that same letter, Scaliger tells Gruterus that the printers of the *corpus*, the Commelins, want Scaliger to prepare the indices.[442] At first, Scaliger appears very reluctant about the idea: as he states in the letter, he believes that the making of indices is the job and responsibility of printers' workmen or at the very least of someone who enjoys an idle life, unlike himself. By contrast, Scaliger had a great deal of work of his own and could not find anyone to help him.[443] Nevertheless, since Jean Commelinus made the request, Scaliger accepted this task on account of their friendship. Scaliger's odyssey in the creation of these paratexts was far from simple and took him ten entire months; during this period, Scaliger had to bring his own projects to a stop.

Scaliger's labour in the making of these indices is well attested in his correspondence: one of Scaliger's correspondents, the French priest and jurist Jacques Gillot (1544-1619) praised his friend for undertaking this herculean task, as he says in a letter dated 9 January 1601: 'I truly pity you but also praise you, with near admiration, for undertaking the task of preparing that index'.[444] Scaliger lamented his decision to several of his correspondents, as

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[440] On Scaliger's labour on the indices to the *Inscriptiones antiquae*, see also Anthony Grafton, 'J. J. Scaliger's Indices to J. Gruter's *Inscriptiones antiquae*: A Note on Leiden University Library MS Scal. 11', *Lias*, 2 (1975), 109-13.

[441] J. Scaliger to J. Gruterus, 15 August 1601: 'De erratis typographicis, tu ipse videris. Nemo enim melius te haec notare et indicare idoneus, qui epigrammata ipsa recensuisti et digessisti' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, IV, p. 37).

[442] J. Scaliger to J. Gruterus, 15 August 1601: 'At indicem conficere Herculei est laboris, et improbae molestiae. Volunt Commeliniani ut ego concinnem' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, IV, p. 37).

[443] J. Scaliger to J. Gruterus, 15 August 1601: 'Quasi tantum otii mihi sit ab re mea! Et hominis melioribus curis occupatissimi hic labor potius esse debeat quam operarum typographicarum, aut alius cuiusvis qui quod agat non habet! […] Sed hic nullum invenire possum qui vel trihorio mihi onus adiutare vellet. […] Certe, mi Grutere, typographorum est conficere indices, ad quos lucrum librorum spectat, non hominum studia publica iuvantium; qui quantum impendent futilibus negotiis, tantum demunt publicae utilitati' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, IV, p. 37).

[444] J. Gillot to J. Scaliger, 9 January 1602: 'Je vous en plain fort, mais je vous en loue aussi, voires admire, de la peine que vous voulez prendre à faire cest index' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, IV, p. 169).

evidenced in a letter to the Dupuy brothers, Augustin (1581-1641) and Christophe (1580-1654), of January 1602, 'I am now extremely busy with a foolish task where I have been confined', and in a letter to the Dutch magistrate and poet Janus Dousa *pater* (1545-1604) of January 1602: 'For five whole months now, I have been busy with a thankless task'.[445] Likewise, in a letter to the philologist Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614) dated 18 February 1602, Scaliger writes: 'You may be sure that I have been struggling with indexing inscriptions for seven full months, with all kinds of possible troubles'. Scaliger then proceeds to complain about his decision to accept such a laborious task, but also explains that he could not simply relegate the project of the *corpus* and the compilation of the indices to Gruterus alone.[446] After ten months of laborious work, Scaliger reports in a letter to the German banker and scholar Mark Welser (1558-1614) that he has finished the compilation of indices: he joyfully declares to Welser 'Iam liber sum' and states that he can now finally return to his occupations that he had to interrupt for ten months.[447]

Despite Scaliger's constant complaints about the compilation of this paratextual element, at the end of his toil, he recognized the value of indices. In 1602, Scaliger writes to Casaubon that he has sent the indices to Gruterus and he admits that 'index ipse est anima illius corporis, et augebitur accessione multarum rerum quae colligentur ex illa appendice inscriptionum'.[448] He also adds at the end of his letter that, despite the 'labor' that had him at

[445] J. Scaliger to the Dupuy brothers, 10 January 1602: 'Maintenant je suis fort occupé en une sotte besogne où on m'a confiné' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, IV, p. 172); J. Scaliger to Janus Dousa *pater*, 20 January 1602: 'Iam quinque menses integros detinet me ingratus labor indicis inscriptionum' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, IV, p. 174).

[446] J. Scaliger to I. Casaubon, 18 February 1602: 'Scito me septem menses solidos in conficiendo indice inscriptionum cum omnibus molestiis luctari. Miserum me, qui me in illud pistrinum inclusi! Sed Gruttero non potui ullam operam denegare, qui mihi multis machinis expugnandus fuit ut illam editionem aggrederetur. Accepit conditionem cum exceptione indicis. Sapit sane. Nam ego malim multis millibus inscriptionum edendis operam dare, quam vel mediocrem indicem texere' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, IV, p. 213).

[447] See J. Scaliger to M. Welser, 12 May 1602 (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, IV, p. 277).

[448] Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, IV, p. 355. Note here the play on words with the Latin word *corpus*, which is not translatable in English.

work for a stretch of ten months, he has learnt a great deal from it and that through his toil he has lessened the work of others.[449] Scaliger even recognized the value of indices in other works: for instance, it is quite revealing that in a letter to the German librarian David Hoeschelius (1556-1617), Scaliger laments the lack of an index in Hoeschelius's edition of Photius's (*c.* 810-893) *Bibliotheca*: 'Utinam index Photio appositus fuisset!'[450] Yet, in a letter to Gruterus of the same day, Scaliger had complained about having to compile the indices to the *Inscriptiones antiquae*.

Scaliger's indices deserve some analysis, since his attention to detail in their creation is quite remarkable. Scaliger sent the indices to Gruterus in a letter dated 25 May 1602, explaining carefully how they worked and how he had compiled them. Scaliger decided against placing the indices without any order at the end of the *Inscriptiones antiquae* and chose instead to divide the twenty-four indices he had created into seven broad sections. Thus, the final pages of Gruterus's *corpus* display the organization of these indices in their respective categories (see Fig. 48).[451]

[449] 'Valde me exercitum habuit decem continuos menses ille labor. Sed multa me docuit, et aliorum laborem meo labore minui' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, IV, p. 355).
[450] Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, IV, p. 40.
[451] For an overview of these indices, see Calabi Limentani, 'Note su classificazione ed indici epigrafici', p. 194. Calabi Limentani does not go into extensive detail on the contents of Scaliger's indices.

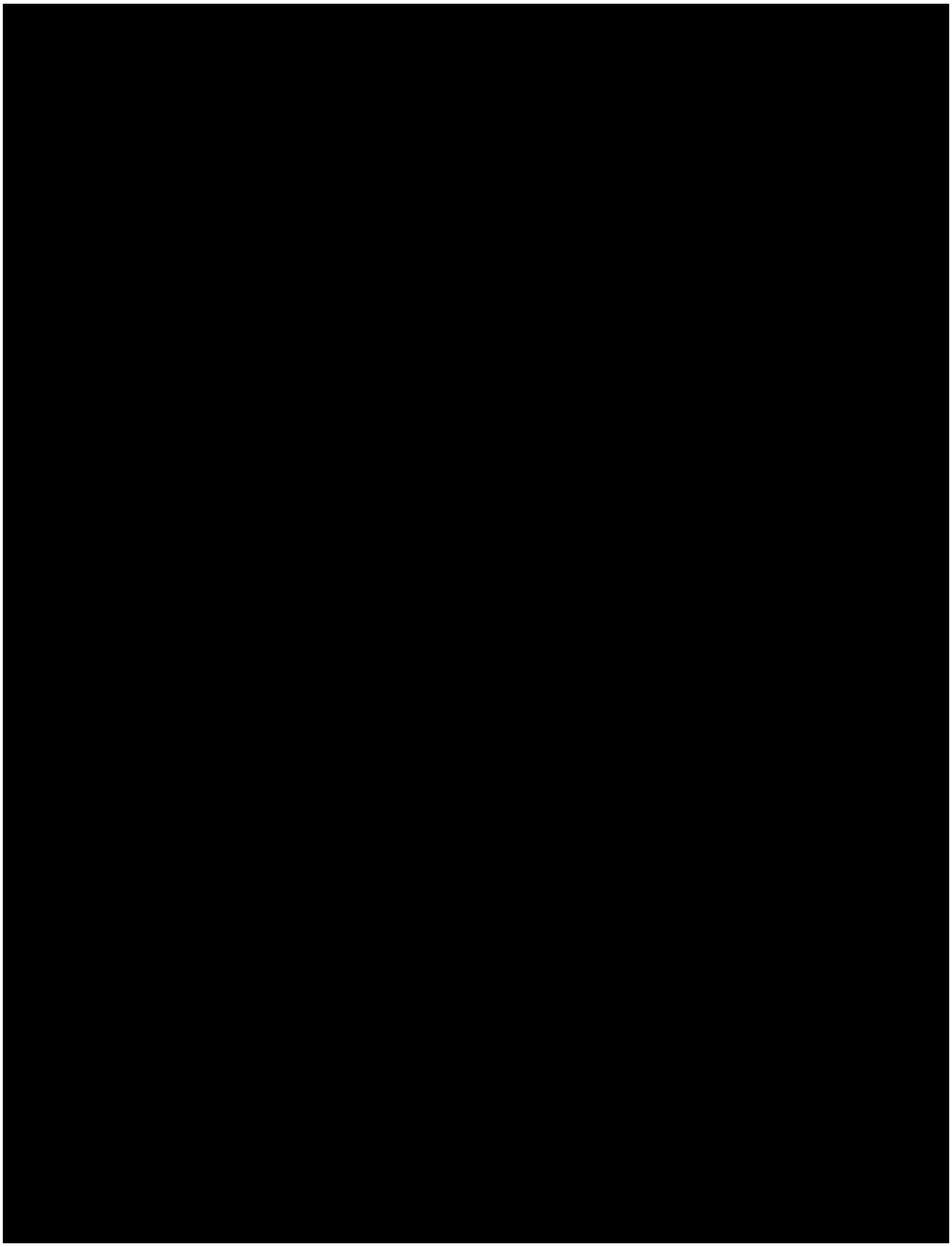

Figure 48. Joseph Scaliger's indices in the *Inscriptiones antiquae*.

Scaliger's indices are carefully planned and are indicative of a desire to include what would be of interest or useful to the reader or antiquarian of the sixteenth century.[452] For instance, the first index which transcribes names and attributes of deities, not only has an entry

[452] As Grafton has shown in 'J. J. Scaliger's Indices to J. Gruter's *Inscriptiones antiquae*', Scaliger's indices rested solidly on the earlier work of Smetius: nevertheless, Grafton, Calabi Limentani and Stenhouse have not noted some of the innovations in Scaliger's indices and how these relate to changes in scholarship and in approaches to inscriptions.

for Diana but under this are listed all the attributes that can be found with Diana's name, such as *Diana Augusta* or *Diana Mater* or *Diana victrix, virgo*. Scaliger's indices provided the reader with a wide variety of elements that can be found in inscriptions. In the case of the *Inscriptiones antiquae*, the indices were absolutely vital: Gruterus's work contained more than twelve thousand inscriptions; without proper indices, the *corpus* would have been a mass of information and transcriptions, essentially impossible to use.

In the case of Smetius and Scaliger, however, we should not overlook the fact that their indices were produced in a certain context and reflect, without a doubt, the antiquarian interests of the time period. As we have seen previously, we observe a rise in the importance of the individual mentioned in the inscription, rather than of the type of monument the text is inscribed on. With Scaliger, the prevalence of the individual becomes even more prominent (as it did with Gruterus's categories). For instance, the sixteenth index records some *formulae* from epitaphs, which all indicate, in some way or another, the grief of losing a beloved one: we have entries such as *Mater in meo dolore* under the entry *Mater* and likewise with *Pater* or *Parentes*. These formulations might have appealed to the reader on a personal level.

In a similar fashion, the index about grammatical matters is quite relevant for understanding the debates surrounding spelling and orthography in the Cinquecento: in fact, several of Scaliger's entries in this index are displayed in Manuzio's *Orthographiae ratio*. For instance, one entry is related to the spelling of *aliqui, alicui* to which Scaliger sends the reader to the epigraphic text displaying the correct version. We also have entries such as *cotidie, quotidie* or *cotidianum, quotidianum* that refer back to the problem of the *c/q* sound in Latin. Another entry in this index is a list of letters used interchangeably in Latin inscriptions. For instance, Scaliger designs an entry for *C pro Q et QV*, referring to the phenomenon of inscriptions using the letter *C* instead of the expected spelling *Q* or *Qu*. Scaliger then refers back to an inscription on page 593 (*CIL* VI 8485, marble altar from Rome that is now lost) that

records the word *acuae*. It is important to note that Scaliger reports the word in the nominative whereas in the original text the word is in the genitive or dative: this shows that Scaliger does not simply record these words in the case in which they appear in the inscription (we had observed a similar approach with Smetius's indices and how he understood the composition of Roman names). Instead, he understood at least the grammar and onomastics of the classical past. Scaliger also inserts an entry called *C cum T commutater* in which he records names where the two letters are used interchangeably, for instance *Munacius* and *Munatius* to which Scaliger refers to an inscription on page 554 displaying the two spellings (*Munatiae* and *Munacius*). These entries relate without a doubt to wider debates about classical spelling, which are prominently visible in works such as the *Orthographiae ratio*.

2.3.6 Indices as a Measure of the State of Investigation Into the Classical Past

Indices in epigraphic *syllogai* are arguably a measure of the state of investigation into the Roman world from this time.[453] We have seen how the indices of Alciato, Matal, Smetius and Scaliger were concerned with Roman names and we know that, just like Roman tribes, understanding Roman nomenclature was a pressing matter for sixteenth-century scholars. In fact, at the end of the Cinquecento, the *Variae lectiones et opuscula* (Rome: Bartolomeo Bonfadini, 1594) by the scholar and literary critic Giuseppe Castiglione (sixteenth century) displayed essays on the *praenomina* of boys and women, relying heavily, and almost exclusively, on epigraphic evidence. Castiglione wished to show to his readers that inscriptions revealed specific naming practices and was not satisfied with including literary testimony only: he transcribed forty-eight epitaphs to prove his arguments and under each text, explained its utility.[454]

[453] On this point, see also Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 69.
[454] On Castiglione's *Variae lectiones et opuscula*, see Stenhouse 'Epigraphy and Technology in the Renaissance', pp. 26-29.

It is no coincidence that indices in epigraphic *corpora* of the second half of the sixteenth century began prioritizing the importance of the individual in the classical world. Interest in Roman prosopography became prominent after the discovery of the *Fasti Consulares Capitolini* in the Forum Romanum in 1547.[455] Incidentally, it is also around this time that we observe a change of perception in how coins can be used for a prosopographic interest, and not only for their artistic value.[456] A number of works that placed the emphasis on Roman prosopography and Roman chronology (as well as *mores et instituta*) also saw the light during these years. Whereas earlier categories and indices prioritized Roman emperors or gods and goddesses, indices of the last decades of the Cinquecento seem to express a strong fascination for the individual and for what the classical world actually looked like. In this way, indices are great indicators of scholars' fascination for the individual of the ancient world: although some of these studies were philologically deficient at first, we then find exhaustive and accurate renditions of the numerous facets of the cultural world of the past.[457]

2.4. Towards a Guide to the Classical Past? Writing 'Commentaries' and How to Use the Information in Inscriptions

As the organization of the material and the preparation of indices gradually assumed a more prominent role, some scholars perceived the necessity to write 'commentaries' for the inscriptions gathered in their collections. By 'commentaries', I intend rather 'observations', as the scholars discussed here do not actually offer interpretations of the inscriptions.[458] Most *syllogai* only represented the epigraphic text and it was rare for scholars to include any

[455] Mayer-Olivé, 'El canon de los humanistas de su tiempo interesados en la epigrafía', p. 29.
[456] For an overview of how the numismatic field changed considerably after the discovery of the *Fasti Capitolini*, see Joan Carbonell Manils and Adela Barreda Pascual, 'Filología, numismática y prosopografía. La síntesis de Antonio Agustín y Fulvio Orsini', in *XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática, Madrid 2003: actas-proceedings-actes*, ed. by Carmen Alfaro Asins, Carmen Marcos Alonso and Paloma Otero Morán, 2 vols (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Secretaría General Técnica, 2005), I, pp. 59-68.
[457] Mazzocco, 'A Reconsideration of Renaissance Antiquarianism', p. 124.
[458] Thus, I am not using 'commentaries' in the proper sense of 'early modern commentaries'. Although there is a vast scholarship on early modern commentaries, the following edited volume provides an excellent starting point: see Karel Enenkel and Henk Nellen, *Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1400-1700)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013).

theoretical discussion of the treatment of inscriptions as historical sources: there has been little to no study on how *syllogai* contributed to the knowledge of the ancient past and how they shaped scholars' understanding of this culture. Yet, just as some indices could provide an insight into how to use the information within epigraphic texts historically, some humanists decided to compose commentaries in their *syllogai*, to clearly show how this evidence could be employed. Although commentaries are not directly linked with the organization of material in epigraphic collections, they fit in with the theme of making these works useful to other readers: categories and indices were not only helpful tools of navigation, but they also contributed to a better understanding of inscriptions, just as commentaries did. By commentaries or comments, I mean parts of text that scholars added to their representations of *tituli* and that gave more information on the inscription.

In his *Diálogos de medallas*, Antonio Agustín criticizes those individuals who are satisfied with simply collecting antiquities and do not express any interest in their signification:

> The mere fact of observing medals and antiquities without the desire to comprehend them is the behaviour of nosy and vain men […] I have seen many people taking pleasure in their vast possessions of antiquities and spending many *reales* on them, but, in the end, understanding very little of them.[459]

In the Cinquecento, we see the rise of those scholars who wish to understand what inscriptions and coins can reveal about the ancient past. Although indices to epigraphic *corpora* certainly gave the reader some insights into the different kinds of information that could be found in inscriptions, they were still limited in their use, and they did not indicate to the reader how to extract the information. Linked to this is also the fact that, in order to interpret correctly a classical inscription (or any classical remains), scholars also had to be able to decipher it and

[459] 'El ver medallas y antiguallas sin quererlas entender es cosa de hombres curiosos y vanos […] Yo he visto muchas personas deleitarse de tener muchas antiguallas y gastar en comprarlas muchos reales, y entender muy poco dellas' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 1).

understand what it said. From this point of view, comments that explain to the reader what type of information is written in the epigraphic text will also be discussed in this section.

Andrea Alciato's manuscript NAL 1149 in the BnF clearly exemplifies what epigraphic commentaries could look like in the first decade of the Cinquecento. Alciato's manuscript, entitled *Antiquitates mediolanenses*, worked initially as an appendix of his posthumously-published *Rerum patriae libri IV* (Milan: Johann-Baptist Bidellio, 1625), set to be a historical-archaeological work on the history of Milan.[460] It was precisely this work that would serve and foreground Alciato's perceptions of epigrams and emblems, which would then see the light in his famous work on emblems.[461] In his manuscript NAL 1149, Alciato records the inscribed monument (with its support) on the recto and the comment on the verso: Alciato's innovations come by the precision of his comments, in which he explains both the text and the reliefs of the *titulus*. Alciato comments on the spelling, nomenclature, Roman institutions of the text; he singles out each shape of the reliefs and associates it with a meaning.

Although modern scholarship points to Alciato's manuscript NAL 1149 when addressing the question of commentaries in epigraphic *corpora*, another important manuscript is often overlooked: this concerns the epigraphic *sylloge* of the Croatian poet Marko Marulić (Marco Marulo; 1450-1524). Marulić's *In epigrammata priscorum commentarius*, compiled between 1503 and 1510, is one of the earliest annotated compilations of Latin inscriptions.[462] The

[460] Note that there are three known copies of Alciato's manuscript: two are dated to 1508 and are preserved in the BnF (NAL 11489) and the BAV (Vat. Lat. 5236), while the third one, on which Alciato was probably working on until the 1520s, is preserved in Dresden (Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mscr. Dresd. F.82.b). In this section, I shall use the Paris manuscript, as I had the opportunity to study it. For a codicological analysis of these copies and an overview of their contents, see Adriana de Camilli Soffredi, 'Codici epigrafici di Andrea Alciato', *Epigraphica*, 36 (1974), 239-48. On Alciato's epigraphic manuscripts, see also, Campana, *Studi epigrafici ed epigrafia nuova*, pp. 15-16.

[461] For an overview of how Alciato's work affected his conception and production of epigrams, see Pierre Laurens and Florence Vuilleumier, 'Entre histoire et emblème: le recueil des inscriptions milanaises d'André Alciat', *Revue des Études Latines*, 72 (1994), 218-37; Ágnes Kusler, 'Marginalia Towards the Reconstruction of Alciato's Concept of the Emblem', in *Emblems and Impact. Von Zentrum und Peripherie der Emblematik*, ed. by Ingrid Hoepel and Simon McKeown, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), I, pp. 321-76.

[462] Neven Jovanović, 'Classical Reception in Croatia', in *A Handbook to Classical Reception in Eastern and Central Europe*, ed. by Zara Martirosova Torlone, Dana LaCourse Munteanu and Dorota Dutsch (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), pp. 13-20 (p. 17). On Marulić, see also Bratislav Lučin, '*Litterae olim in marmore insculptae*: Humanist Epigraphy on the Eastern Coast of the Adriatic until the Age of Marko Marulić', in *Classical Heritage*

manuscript Vat. Lat. 5249 contains a copy of Marulić's collection, which is composed of three main parts: the first section records thirty-six inscriptions from Rome; the second section includes seventy-five texts from the rest of Italy (*Externa*), and the third and final part consists of eighteen inscriptions from Salona.[463] Marulić's *corpus* was never printed in its entirety. So far, it is mostly the final section that has attracted attention: even the *CIL* has only transcribed the *tituli* from Salona.

From a scholarly point of view, Marulić's transcriptions are far from precise: he rarely respects the original layout and his records contain plenty of mistakes. In his reproduction of *CIL* VI 23033, for instance, he omits the last two lines. Nevertheless, Marulić's *corpus* presents two major points of interest: first, he expands all abbreviations used in the *tituli* and always adds a comment, which varies in content; second, Marulić's comments show his readers the different kind of information contained in an epigraphic text. For instance, in fol. 5^{r}, in the first recorded inscription (*CIL* VI 13), Marulić explains the formula *Dis manibus*, which appears in most epitaphs: 'The Manes were the gods of the underworld, to whom [the Ancients] dedicated their monuments, whence sometimes we read in full: 'sacred to the Manes'.[464]

The majority of Marulić's comments, however, display a more 'poetic' approach as he draws a moral lesson from the inscription. Regarding the epitaph to Marcius Placidus, who died at twenty-seven and lost his sight at twelve (*CIL* VI 23033), Marulić points out that losing one's mind and wisdom is more unfortunate than one's sight, 'It is miserable to lose the eyes' sight, but it is far more wretched [to lose] the vision of the mind. If you are blind, you have lost that which is given to irrational [men], but if you live shamelessly, which is characteristic of

from the Epigraphic to the Digital: Academia Ragustina 2009 & 2011, ed. by Irena Bratičević and Teo Radić (Zagreb: Ex Libris, 2014), pp. 147-68. Alciato and Marulić's *syllogai* fall, strictly speaking, outside the chronological scope of this thesis: I briefly review the types of comments they included in order to explain how commentaries of the second half of the Cinquecento compared.

[463] Jovanović, 'Classical Reception in Croatia', p. 17.

[464] 'Dii manes autem dii inferi sunt, quibus monumenta consecrabant, unde integrum interdum legimus: Diis manibus sacrum' (Marulić, Vat. Lat. 5249, fol. 5^{r}).

men, you have lost wisdom'.[465] This comment does not analyse the information in the *titulus* (apart from Placidus's blindness) as the epitaph is simply a dedication of the parents to their dead son. In this way, Marulić covered a range of topics in his commentaries: some of the information he provided could seem, at first, self-evident, but he gave the possibility to all readers to understand the text of the inscription.

Commentaries in epigraphic *corpora* are not the norm: most compilations are designed as works of references in which the reader can consult the transcription of the *titulus*; this was the case in the sixteenth century and it is still the case in our present period. The *CIL* never acts as a guide of epigraphic texts and even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we do not see any attempts at producing extensive comments. Nevertheless, it seems clear that some scholars, especially at the end of the Cinquecento, were not satisfied with simply providing the transcription of the inscription. This does not mean, however, that they supplied the reader with a methodology on how to analyse *tituli*.

2.4.1 Pirro Ligorio's Extensive Commentaries in *Delle antichità di Roma*[466]

The commentaries of Pirro Ligorio provide valuable evidence on sixteenth-century practices of deciphering inscriptions.[467] Ligorio produced forty-two books over the course of his life; this material is currently divided into four collections: thirty manuscripts are preserved in the State Archive of Turin, ten in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, one in the BnF and another one in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Despite the criticism of his work, one of the major innovations of Ligorio's compilation lies in its comments: as a vast 'summa' of antiquarian knowledge, *Delle antichità di Roma* supplied an extensive commentary for each entry, which

[465] 'Miserum est amittere oculorum visum, sed multo miserius visum mentis. Si caecus es, amisisti quod et brutis est datum, sed si turpiter vivis, quae hominis propria est, amisisti sapientiam' (Marulić, Vat. Lat. 5249, fol. 14r).
[466] This section of the thesis is based in part on my article 'Pirro Ligorio's Role in the Emergence of Epigraphy as a Discipline' *Lias*, 45 (2018), 203-21.
[467] The figure of Pirro Ligorio, commonly known as a forger but whose reputation has been re-established in the past twenty years or so, will be explored in more detail in Chapter Five. Here, I shall focus on his commentaries in his *Delle antichitá*, without talking in detail about his spurious inscriptions.

indicated that Ligorio wished to create a wide-ranging guide and explain to his readers how the epigraphic evidence featured in the wider context of Greek and Roman customs, myths, and political and social life.

In *Delle antichità di Roma*, we witness a constant dialogue between these comments and the inscriptions. In some cases, Ligorio uses the epigraphic text as a starting point for his discussion of the ancient world; in others, he illustrates his argument with the inscription. In Book 39, Ligorio exemplifies his commentary on the role of the *equites*: 'The person who was called *eques romanus* was part of the equestrian order, which had such authority that it could control the deliberations made in the Senate by the senators', with the epitaph *CIL* VI 1595, which records the name of Aurelius Claudianus accompanied by his title as *eq(uiti) R(omano)*.[468] Ligorio does not refer to the inscription in his commentary, nor does he analyse it, but he only includes it as an example of an epigraphic text containing such a title. In other instances, Ligorio relates inscribed monuments to specific literary sources: again in Book 39, he transcribes the epitaph of Lucius Cornelius Lusitanus (*CIL* VI 16310) and states that 'In the floor of the Church San Pavolo one can observe, among other epitaphs, this one to Lucius Cornelius Lusitanus of the city of Salacia, which Pliny mentions in Book IV, Chapter 22, calling it [Salacia] an imperial city: this city, as we can see in some medals, was a colony of Augustus.'[469] Such a statement would have indicated to the erudite Renaissance reader, who was familiar with classical authors, how to interconnect the information found in inscriptions with ancient literary sources.

[468] 'Quello che era chiamato equite romano era dell'ordine equestre, il quale era di tanta autorità, che comandava dopo le consulte che si facevano in senato dai senatori' (Pirro Ligorio, *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio. Libro delle iscrizioni dei sepolcri antichi (Napoli Volume 8)*, ed. by Silvia Orlandi (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2009), p. 61).

[469] 'Nel pavimento della chiesa di San Pavolo si vede, tra l'altri epitaphii, questa di Lucio Cornelio Lusitano de la città Salacia, de la quale scrisse Plinio, al libro quarto al capo vigesimo secundo, et la chiama città imperiale: la cui città, secondo trovamo nelle medaglie, esser colonia di Augusto' (Ligorio, *Libro delle iscrizioni dei sepolcri antichi*, ed. by Orlandi, p. 99).

Likewise, in Book 39, Ligorio also points out the name of three Roman tribes recorded in three epitaphs, *CIL* VI 2729, *CIL* VI 2728 and *CIL* VI 25968: 'In these three epitaphs of soldiers, one can read three tribes: Quirina, Galeria and Palatina.' As we have seen previously in this chapter, Roman tribes were a much-discussed subject in sixteenth-century antiquarian circles and Ligorio demonstrates to his colleagues how information on this topic, relevant to them, can be inferred from epitaphs. Since Ligorio considered the visual aspect of inscribed texts a crucial aspect of their representation (as I shall explain in Chapter Five), in his *Delle antichità di Roma* he also explains the signification of the engravings on the supports: 'The decorations of epitaphs are countless. Some [individuals] have sculpted swallows because they believed they could drive spells away and that they were useful in many medicines.'[470] In an epitaph the freedmen Bacchylus and Ambrotus dedicated to their *dominus* (*CIL* VI 9784), Ligorio clarifies the meaning of the sculpted eagle and of the lion: 'The eagle shows the grandeur of the soul, its superiority […] The lion expresses youth, strength and the present time, the past, the beauty and fierceness of the soul and, finally, it also embodies the sun and fertility'.[471] This kind of comment would fit in with the desire to interpret iconography in ancient remains (on this point, see further below in this section).

Ligorio's comments, very diverse in length and content, could be considered an integral part of his efforts to render the classical past whole again: by leafing through *Delle antichità di Roma*, the reader could have a much better sense of how the textual and visual information of *tituli* could be connected with the social, private and political life of the classical past. All the details Ligorio placed in these comments would have allowed the reader to have an almost complete vision of the ancient world. Although Ligorio's extraction of the documentation

[470] 'Sono infiniti gli ornamenti di sepolchri. Alcuni vi han sculpiti i rondini, perché elleno credevano esser atte a scacciare gli incantesimi et utile a molte medicine' (Ligorio, *Libro delle iscrizioni dei sepolcri antichi*, ed. by Orlandi, p. 163).
[471] 'L'aquila [demostra] la grandezza dell' anima, la superiorità sua […] Il leone demostra la gioventù, la forza et il tempo presente, il passato, la bellezza et ferocità dell' animo et finalmente significa il gran pianeta del sole et la fertilità' (Ligorio, *Libro delle iscrizioni dei sepolcri antichi*, ed. by Orlandi, p. 117).

contained within epigraphic texts is not always consistent in *Delle antichità di Roma*, he still points out to his reader how to apply this evidence to a broader context, in order to have a better understanding of the ancient world and its society.

It is worth noting here that *Delle antichità di Roma* was potentially the product of humanistic collaboration. Ginette Vagenheim has indeed convincingly argued that *Delle antichità di Roma* was in fact a collaborative work and that Ligorio was helped in his enterprise by the members of the *Accademia degli Sdegnati* (or *Accademia dello Sdegno*) founded around 1541 by the Italian scholars Girolamo Ruscelli (1504-1566) and Tommaso Spica (sixteenth century), and which succeeded the *Accademia vitruviana* or *Accademia della virtù*. Ligorio and some of the more prominent sixteenth-century scholars were part of this *Accademia*, including Claudio Tolomei, who was the leader of the academy, the Italian humanist Latino Latini (1513-1593) and Ottavio Pantagato.[472]

Now, it is true that Ligorio does not set out to teach a methodology in *Delle antichità di Roma*; nevertheless, his work gives a very complete overview of how evidence from inscriptions and from literary sources complemented each other. This is related to one of my earlier points in Chapter One: the inscription must always be analysed and understood as part of a specific context. By including references to ancient literary sources, naming practices and other matters related to antiquity, Ligorio emphasizes that the inscription is not a simple —disconnected— document from the classical past. On the contrary, the *titulus* is intrinsically connected to this past: in order to extract all the needed information and to interpret it correctly, the reader must be able to understand the context of production of the inscription and to comprehend how it was read by individuals of the ancient world.

[472] See Ginette Vagenheim, 'Digression et autobiographie chez Pirro Ligorio (1512-1582). L'éloge de Michel-Ange et de la peinture', *La Digression au XVIe siècle*, 13 (2015) <http://ceredi.labos.univ-rouen.fr/public/?digression-et-autobiographie-chez.html> [accessed 13 June 2020].

2.4.2 Ambrosio de Morales's Analysis of Inscriptions in the *Antigüedades*

Although some sixteenth-century scholars experimented with comments in epigraphic *corpora*, Ambrosio de Morales's *Antigüedades* offered a much more systematic analysis of and comments on inscriptions. Despite Morales's noteworthy approach to *tituli*, he remains a relatively unstudied figure of Spanish epigraphy and scholarship. In 1860, as he was preparing the second volume of the *CIL* (dedicated to Spanish *tituli*), the German classical scholar Ernst Willibald Emil Hübner (1834-1901) came across Morales's manuscript in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid (RAH-9-5083-3): the manuscript had been ignored for decades given that the *Antigüedades* had a printed version.[473] Even though Hübner called Morales a 'homo mediocris ingenii', he acknowledged his worth in antiquarian matters ('probus in rebus antiquariis').[474] Morales, however, was often described as a learned man by his contemporaries.[475]

Morales was born in Córdoba in 1513: at a very young age, he was appointed to the *cátedra* of Rhetoric at the University of Alcalá; then in 1572, Philip II of Spain (1527-1598) made him *cronista real*, and asked Morales to set out on a research trip in the Northeast regions of Spain, so that he could gather books, documents and manuscripts for the Biblioteca de El Escorial.[476] Morales dedicated his *Antigüedades* to the Spanish poet and diplomat Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Pacheco (1503-1575). As Morales explains in the dedicatory epistle, Mendoza provided him with a large number of coins and transcriptions of *tituli* from Spain:

> You have also provided me, with distinguished generosity, all the ancient coins you had from Roman times, which displayed the names of places in Spain. You have also given

[473] For a detailed description of Morales's manuscript, see Morales, *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España*, ed. by Abascal Palazón, pp. 13-14.
[474] *CIL* II, p. XVI. On Hübner's use of Morales's manuscript, see Bonneville, 'À propos de l'exploitation des livres anciens par E. Hübner', pp. 68-79.
[475] Agustín, for instance, thought that Morales was 'such a learned and esteemed person ('persona tan leída y estimada' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 294)).
[476] Lucia Binotti, 'Coins, Jewelry and Stone Inscriptions: Ambrosio de Morales and the Re-Writing of Spanish History', *Hispanófila*, 157 (2009), 5-24 (p. 5).

me copies and transcriptions of rare inscriptions that are to be found there [in Spain] and that will be a valuable help in what I plan to talk about in this book.[477]

Morales's *Antigüedades* should not be considered a simple catalogue of antiquities: it works as a theoretical discourse in which Morales presents a specific methodology for the study of the ancient past using material evidence. In fact, Morales spends a significant part of his work explaining how to use this material properly: according to him, thirteen sources are essential when gathering information about antiquity, including historical accounts, archaeological sites, coins and inscriptions (see fols 3^{r} to 31^{v}). Out of these sources, Morales keeps the account on inscriptions for last: as he points out, given their complex nature, he needs to devote more space to *tituli*. Morales warns the reader that, although *tituli* contain valuable data about the ancient world, they can also lead to erroneous conclusions when interpreted wrongly: 'just as these stones are a remarkable aid for the truth of what we are seeking, they can also be cause of many mistakes, especially for those that cannot fully comprehend everything there is to know.'[478] Morales continues by clarifying that many individuals are still unaware of the many elements they can find in inscriptions and of how rich they can be as documents of the past:

From a general point of view, little is known about what these stones can reveal [...] Anyone who has some wit and knowledge, however, can entertain themselves very much with an ancient stone and its writing. Nevertheless, many people still do not

[477] 'Diome también usted con insigne liberalidad todas las monedas antiguas que tenía de tiempo de Romanos, con nombres de lugares de España, y copias y relaciones de inscripciones raras que por ella se hallan, y me ayudarán mucho en lo que yo aquí he de tratar' (Morales, *Antigüedades*, sig. ii^{r}).
[478] 'assi como ayudan mucho estas piedras a la verdadera noticia de lo que aquí pretendemos, assi también pueden ser causa de mucho error para quien no entendiere muy enteramente todo lo que ay en esto que saber' (Morales, *Antigüedades*, fol. 11^{r}).

> comprehend how to use them [the inscriptions] for the many good things they can teach us.[479]

We find a very similar statement in Agustín's *Diálogos de medallas*, where the Spanish scholar, using the example of coins, declares the danger of not understanding numismatic material properly: 'In many things they [individuals] deceive themselves because they do not interpret accurately what there is in coins'.[480] Morales and Agustín's point is very clear: coins and inscriptions are essential in building up and completing our knowledge of the classical past, but they are also subject to many errors when they are not read, studied or interpreted correctly.

In this way, in his *Antigüedades*, Morales provides specific information on how to read a *titulus*: for each epigraphic text, he provides a Spanish translation, rendering the evidence even more accessible to individuals. Morales starts by explaining some of the characteristic elements carved in epitaphs:

> In these epitaphs, they [the Romans] also placed very frequently [...] the name and surname of the person that was buried there, and sometimes they also added the town of origin [...] and the positions of the deceased, especially when he had been involved in the government of the Republic, or in war; they also added the name of the tribe.[481]

Morales also discloses the different formulations we find depending on the type of inscription. For instance, funerary inscriptions are easy to identify since most of them display the formula *Diis Manibus*:

> These funerary stones are called *cippi* in Latin and are very recognizable because almost all of them have, in the beginning at the top of the inscription, the letters *D.M.S* or *D.M.*,

[479] 'Generalmente se tiene poca noticia de lo que en estas tales piedras se puede saber […] Todos los que tienen ingenio y saben algo, se huelgan mucho con una piedra antigua y con su escritura: más pocos entienden como pueden servirse della para las buenas cosas que muchas dellas pueden enseñar' (Morales, *Antigüedades*, fol. 11r).
[480] 'En otras muchas cosas se engañan no entendiendo lo que hai en las medallas antiguas' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 17).
[481] 'Ponían muy ordinariamente en estas sepulturas […] el nombre y el sobrenombre del que estava allí enterrado, y algunas veces la tierra de donde era natural […] y los cargos, si avía tenido algunos en el govierno dela república o en la guerra, y el nombre dela tribu' (Morales, Antigüedades, fol. 13r).

which mean *Diis Manibus sacrum* or *Diis Manibus* only. These formulations mean that the inscription is a memory consecrated to the gods of the souls or of the dead. Therefore, by this formulation alone you can gather that it is a funerary inscription.[482]

Morales also shows great awareness of the different formulae of inscribed texts:

> In the epitaphs, they [the Romans] also inserted the number of years lived by the deceased, accompanied, in some occasions, with the months, days and even hours. Sometimes, the inscription says that the hours are not known. In order to do so, they write these three letters *H.S.N.* which reads *Horas scit nemo* and it means 'nobody knows the hours' [...] It is true, that we often find in tombs the letters *H.N.S.* which should not be read *Horas scit nemo*, but *Haeredes non sequitur* or *Haeredes non sequuntur* instead.[483]

Morales also explains to the reader that there is not a single type of epitaph and that their shape and support can vary greatly from one text to another:

> The stones on which epitaphs are engraved do not all have the same form or shape and, in terms of size, some are very different from others [...] Some stones are similar to *arae* or to small altars, while others are simple, rectangular slabs with or without frames. Other stones are in an arch-shape, while others are simple squares without any type of ornamentation. Many stones have a jug engraved on one of their sides [...] others have foliations and festoons: these only served the purpose of ornamentation and prettiness.[484]

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[482] 'Estas piedras de sepulturas se llaman en latín cippos y son muy conocidas porque casi todas tienen al principio en lo alto estas letras, *D.M.S.* o *D.M.* en que dize: *Diis Manibus sacrum*, o *Diis Manibus* nomás. Y quiere dezir que es memoria consagrada a los dioses de las almas o de los muertos. Y assí por solo esto se puede entender luego que es sepultura' (Morales, *Antigüedades*, fol. 12^{v}).

[483] 'También ponían en las sepulturas los años que vivió aquel difunto, y aún algunas vezes los meses y lo días y las horas. Y algunas vezes, dicen que las horas no se pudieron saber. Y para decir esto, lo escriven con estas letras *H.S.N.* que dizen *Horas scit nemo* y quieren dezir las horas nadie las sabe […] Bien es verdad que muchas veces en las sepulturas están estas letras *H.N.S.* Y no dize en ellas *Horas scit nemo*, sino dizen *Haeredes non sequitur* o *Haeredes non sequuntur*' (Morales, *Antigüedades*, fol. 13^{r}).

[484] 'Todas las piedras de sepulturas no tienen cierta forma ni figura, unas son en el talle muy differentes de otras […] Unas son semejantes a las aras o altares pequeños, otras son tablas llanas con molduras o sin ellas. Otras en

Morales then differentiates between the types of inscriptions: after talking about epitaphs, he explains the characteristics of milestones, altars and dedications. Morales's typology of inscriptions based on their support is original and innovative for the time period: many epigraphic *corpora* focused on and recorded monumental inscriptions and epitaphs but very few considered other supports. The milestone or *milliarium*, for instance, was altogether ignored in collections of *tituli*. In fact, with the recent interest in the materiality and the visuality of the inscription, modern scholarship has focused on establishing a specific typology of the epigraphic support: epigraphic publications and databases always provide the type of support as it is deemed essential when describing an inscribed monument.[485] Therefore, a reader of Morales's *Antigüedades* would have at his disposal a thorough account of the texts of inscriptions: Morales provides specific information on how to read a *titulus* and on the different types of inscriptions and supports. With this given information, the scholar could read the inscription carefully and draw his interpretations and conclusions. As Morales claims, epigraphic texts allowed the learned individual, who was keen for knowledge, to investigate antiquities well ('averiguar bien las antigüedades', fol. 24^{v}).

2.4.3. Scaliger's Project of a Commentary to the *Inscriptiones antiquae*

Ligorio and Morales realized in different ways the importance of having commentaries, yet neither of them explicitly stated their usefulness. It was Scaliger who truly emphasized the significance of teaching readers how to further employ the evidence in epigraphic texts. Scaliger had indeed advised Gruterus, more than once, to write a commentary for his *Inscriptiones antiquae*. The first time (as far as we know) was in a letter of May 1602: after

arco, y otras simplemente esquadradas, sin otro ornamento. Muchas dellas tienen en el un lado esculpido un jarro […], otras follajes y sestones, que solo servían de ornamento y lindeza' (Morales, *Antigüedades*, fol. 14^{v}). In fact, Morales attached great importance to the support of the inscription and did not understand how some erudite individuals in Spain could mistake different types of supports and inscriptions.

[485] In 'Le Support monumental des inscriptions', Bonneville provides a list of common epigraphic supports with their respective characteristics (pp. 129-32).

explaining to Gruterus how his index for the collection functioned, Scaliger suggests the further enterprise of a commentary:

> This index, therefore, is such that it easily lends itself toward an instructed commentary, if only it were prepared by a learned man and especially one who is well-versed in the law. You would be able to execute this extremely well.[486]

Scaliger reminds Gruterus of this project a year later, in a letter of August 1603:

> You know, as I remember writing to you, that that index is as good as a continuous commentary on antiquity and that it can be elucidated by another commentary, which cannot have a more qualified author than you. For who nowadays can be a better interpreter of these things than you, who gathered them?[487]

Scaliger's last (known) attempt to persuade Gruterus is a letter of October 1604, where he gives Gruterus an idea of the kind of information he could include in these comments: 'You can also discuss the reading of inscriptions and their usefulness and other things that are accustomed to restore the weak stomachs of readers'.[488]

Such a commentary, however, never saw the light. Because of the lack of evidence, we do not know Gruterus's thoughts on this project: yet, considering that the *Inscriptiones antiquae* contained around twelve thousand inscriptions, this commentary would have represented a titanic and exhausting task, which explains why it was never produced. Nevertheless, Scaliger's remarks show that he considered commentaries just as important as indices and that he was aiming for another type of compilation of inscriptions, a *commentarius*

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[486] J. Scaliger to J. Gruterus, 25 May 1602: 'Itaque eiusmodi est index iste, ut opportune eruditum commentarium admittere possit, modo conficiatur ab erudito viro et praesertim iuris peritissimo. Tu posses haec praestare optime' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, IV, p. 283).

[487] J. Scaliger to J. Gruterus, 28 August 1603: 'Scis, quod memini tibi scribere, indicem illum esse instar perpetui antiquitatis commentarii, eumque posse illustrari alio commentario, qui non potest magis idoneum auctorem habere quam te. Quis enim hodie melior interpres harum rerum esse potest quam tu qui illas collegisti?' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, V, p. 140).

[488] J. Scaliger to J. Gruterus, 20 October 1604: 'Potes etiam et de lectione inscriptionum, et de utilitate, et aliis quae languentes lectorum stomachos reficere solent, commentari' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, V, p. 433).

that would have been a very useful tool for the consultation of epigraphic texts: this kind of compilation in the epigraphic field would only appear in the eighteenth century.[489]

In Agustín's *Alveolus*, we gain insights into some of the discussions on the classical world and what it looked like. Agustín's house became very soon a meeting-place of leading scholars; in these meetings were discussed matters related to the classical past. Agustín used the *Alveolus* as a notebook, in which he wrote down comments according to different themes: we find sections relating to cosmography, medicine, astrology, law, grammar and many others.[490] Throughout the *Alveolus*, it is clear not only that Agustín and his colleagues debated a wide range of topics related to antiquity, but also that Agustín's meetings were attended by famous scholars of the Cinquecento. One of the discussions concerned, for instance, the clothing of the Romans:

> We discussed the question of what colour the Romans used in their garments. According to Ottavio Pantagato, all women wore yellow and men dressed in black when in mourning […] Nobody is unaware that it was common for boys, girls and magistrates to wear the *toga praetexta*. It is also certain that the embroidered toga and that the *tunica palmata* of the triumphing carried gold and purple.[491]

Iconography is another recurrent topic of these debates: Agustín and his colleagues seemed to speak often about how deities were represented in ancient Rome and what were their visual attributes. This concern for understanding iconography can be seen in Ligorio's comments in *Delle antichità di Roma*, where we observed that Ligorio explained the meaning of the ornamentations on the epigraphic supports. Another matter of interest that shows through the

[489] Calabi Limentani, 'Note su classificazione ed indici epigrafici', p. 196.
[490] For a codicological description of the *Alveolus* and an explanation of the context of its production, see Agustín, *Alveolus*, ed. by Flores Sellés, pp. 5-12. Note that Agustín wrote in Italian, Latin and Spanish in this notebook, which explains why my quotations are in different languages.
[491] 'Quo vestium colore Romani uterentur, quaesitum est. Octavio Pantagatho videbatur feminas omnes flavo vestitu, viros in luctu atratos […] Iam vero pueros et puellas et magistratus praetextatos fuisse nemo ignorat. Toga quoque picta et tunica palmata triumphantium et aurum et purpuram habuisse certum' (Agustín, *Alveolus*, ed. by Flores Sellés, pp. 149).

Alveolus is the constant reference to ancient literary sources when interpreting classical remains: once again, we notice the ambition of connecting literary works and antiquities and of interpreting ancient remains with the help of literary sources. Connecting antiquities and literary sources was a fundamental characteristic of antiquarian studies from the very beginning.

2.5. Conclusions

In conclusion, the organization of epigraphic material into sections or categories, the preparation of indices and composition of commentaries played an integral role in the development of epigraphy as a discipline in the Cinquecento: most of these collections could be characterized as works of reference, which recorded epigraphic texts and then sought the best ways to make the material useful to other scholars. Yet, there was at the same time a clear eagerness for going beyond the sole rendition of the text and to muster as much information as possible from the inscribed monument, by looking both at its support and at its text. This change towards a better understanding of the classical world would develop even further in the seventeenth century, where the focus of investigation shifted to examine what non-textual sources could reveal about the ancient world.[492] The better understanding of the classical world is a fundamental aim from the very beginning, along with a sustained effort to illustrate the moral, political, and to some extent even practical relevance of this understanding of the classical world for contemporary society.

Categories and indices were a central aspect of sixteenth-century epigraphic collections and they were vital to the evolution of epigraphy as a discipline. Just as there was no common method for transcribing an inscription, scholars had different approaches of classification and indexing and these could change drastically from one *corpus* to the other, based on what the

[492] Stenhouse, 'Classical Inscriptions and Antiquarian Scholarship in Italy', p. 77.

author believed to be of relevance. My chapter has built on previous work about the arrangement of material in epigraphic *syllogai*: I have sought to go even further in the description of the various paratextual elements addressed and have also provided contextualization on how indices reflect research questions about antiquity. I have also shown how the paratextual elements of *corpora* of inscriptions were not always innovative when compared to other contemporary works in other disciplines but were quite inventive for the specific subject of inscribed monuments.

With the creation of divisions and indices, scholars gave shape to a mass of information and made the data retrievable: the information provided in epigraphic *corpora* could be better analysed and understood when compared to other inscribed monuments. As I have stated at the start of this chapter, organizing inscriptions is one of the many issues faced by modern epigraphers, as categories often overlap. Smetius realized this problem and decided to add an index to his *corpus*. Indices, I believe, also prompted antiquarians to think more carefully about the kind of questions they could ask from inscriptions: knowing what are suitable questions to ask a particular set of 'evidence' is crucial to the validity of any historical analysis.

Although we do not see a detailed methodology on how to interpret epigraphic texts in sixteenth-century *corpora*, we do observe that the works of Ligorio and Morales, and Scaliger's project were aiming to turn 'simple' works of reference into guides to the ancient world, a central facet of antiquarianism in Renaissance humanism.[493] In his *Antigüedades*, Morales states that one of the main aims of the inscription is 'to know, thanks to an ancient stone, some of the events that happened in the past in Spain: without the stone, we would not even have knowledge of these events and it is not possible to retrieve this information from somewhere

[493] It is worth noting that Jean-Jacques Boissard considered the possibility of adding commentaries in his *Romanae urbis topographia*, but, ultimately, decided to present the antiquities as they were. See J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 22 August 1593: 'Il ny a en mes livres que les seuls marbres antiques avec les inscriptions et figures qui s'y voyent. Je ny ai rien adjousté de commentaires ou interprétation d'iceux' (quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p.202).

else.'[494] Furthermore, he emphasizes that erudite individuals such as Onofrio Panvinio, Bartolomeo Marliano and Aldo Manuzio could reach the conclusions in their antiquarian works thanks to the information provided by, sometimes, only one inscription, which explained in full the matters they treated; they could not have been able to find this information elsewhere.[495] Inscriptions, in particular epitaphs, can indeed illuminate us on several aspects of ancient life that are non-existent (or not as visible) in other sources: the various divisions, indices and comments we have studied in this chapter reflect some of these aspects of life in the ancient world that can only be recovered from inscriptions.

The representation of inscriptions on paper and the arrangement of epigraphic material are two significant aspects of the development of epigraphic scholarship in the Cinquecento. These aspects, however, had to be worked out in constant negotiation with the medium of transmission, whether it was manuscript or print. The relationship between the two media and how the printing press affected (or not) epigraphic scholarship will be explored in the following chapter.

[494] 'saber por una piedra antigua alguna cosa delas que antiguamente passaron en España, que sin ella no la supiéramos, ni era possible sacarla de otra parte' (Morales, *Antigüedades*, fol. 24^{v}).

[495] 'Onuphrio Panvinio, Bartolomeo Marliano, […] Aldo Manucio, todos hombres de singular doctrina y diligencia increíble […] averiguan y sacan en limpio muchas delas antigüedades que quieren apurar en sus obras con sola una piedra antigua que les dio entera claridad en lo que avían menester, qual de ninguna otra parte pudieran esperar' (Morales, *Antiguedades*, fol. 24^{v}).

3 Manuscript and Printed Epigraphic *Corpora*: Challenges and Opportunities of the Printing Press

In *The Book in the Renaissance*, Andrew Pettegree persuasively argues that 'print made its way into a world where demand for texts had already created an intricate, sophisticated market of production, exchange and sale; to succeed, print would have to match up to demanding standards'.[496] Such a statement is particularly valid for epigraphic *corpora*: the only printed work in the Quattrocento containing epigraphic material was the treatise *De amplitudine, de vastatione et de instauratione urbis Ravennae* of 1489 by Desiderio Spreti.[497] Even in this case, Spreti included the inscriptions as an appendix to a history of Ravenna, merely using them as illustrations of local history. In the Cinquecento, compilers of *syllogai* rarely went into print with the findings of their epigraphical studies: for instance, Jean Matal never published any of his highly accurate transcriptions of *tituli*, whilst Pirro Ligorio, despite compiling more than forty illustrated books of antiquities, only published a short work on topographical controversies, entitled *Libro delle antichità di Roma, nel quale si tratta de' circhi, theatri et anfitheatri* (Venice: Michele Tramezzino, 1553).[498] Unlike his forty-two manuscripts of *Delle antichità di Roma*, Ligorio's short treatise contained no illustrations of the inscriptions' supports, hinting at the difficulty of seeing an illustrated work through the press. It is certainly striking to observe the late stage at which printed epigraphic collections became prominent,

[496] Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 4. Several scholars before Pettegree stressed that printing was seen as an intrusive newcomer in an already established world and that, as an invention, it was received with confusion, anxiety and excitement. See, for instance, Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, 'Nicolaus Gupalatinus and the Arrival of Print in Italy', *La Bibliofilia*, 88 (1986), 221-51 (p. 222); Richardson, 'The Debates on Printing in Renaissance Italy', p. 135; Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy*, p. 1. See also the Literature Review section in the Introduction.
[497] See Introduction 2.5 for a more detailed account on Spreti's work.
[498] The BAV currently holds six manuscripts containing Matal's epigraphic findings: Vat. Lat. 6034, 6037, 6038, 6039, 6040 and 8495. Some of these manuscripts have already been discussed before and some will be analysed further in this and the next chapter. For an overview of their contents, see Crawford, 'Appendix II: The Epigraphical Manuscripts of Jean Matal', pp. 279-89.

especially when we compare it to other scholarly fields, such as numismatics.[499] In his *Diálogos de medallas*, Antonio Agustín provides a very brief list of printed epigraphic works in the Cinquecento. Agustín's imaginary interlocutor in the *Diálogos* wishes to know which books deal with inscriptions and epitaphs, to which Agustín answers:

> I have already mentioned the main ones: one contains inscriptions from Rome only, published by Andrea Fulvio and printed by Giacomo Mazzocchi in Rome in 1521. We mentioned the other one previously, which is that with inscriptions from the entire world, published by Petrus Apianus and Bartholomaeus Amantius, printed in Ingolstadt in 1534. The third one is the *Orthographia* by Aldo Manuzio, son of Paolo [Manuzio]. To these, we can also add the comments of the *Fasti Capitolini* by Onofrio Panvinio.[500]

The printed works mentioned by Agustín are the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*, the *Orthographiae ratio* and the *Fastorum libri* by Onofrio Panvinio.[501] It is surprising that by the end of the sixteenth century, Agustín could only name four printed epigraphic works: even then, only the *Epigrammata* and the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* were entirely dedicated to inscriptions. In the *Orthographiae ratio*, as we have already seen, Manuzio used transcriptions of classical inscriptions to prove the correct spelling of certain Latin words or names, whereas Panvinio's *Fasti* attempted to reconstruct the chronology of all those generals who were awarded a triumph, after the ground-breaking discovery of the *fasti triumphales* and *Fasti Capitolini* in 1546.

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[499] Printed collections of coins thrived in the sixteenth century (see Introduction 4.1 and Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious*, pp. 19-22 for a more detailed discussion of early modern numismatic publications). For an overview of influential numismatic publications of the Cinquecento, see also Ferdinando Bassoli, *Monete e medaglie nel libro antico dal XV al XIX secolo* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1985), pp. 9-17.

[500] 'Quédame por saber que libros hai de los epitaphios o inscriciones. Ya están nombrados los principales, et uno es de las inscriciones de Roma solamente, publicado por Andrés Fulvio, impresso por Iacomo Mazochio en Roma año 1521. El otro es el que dezíamos de las inscriciones de todo el mundo, publicado por Pedro Apiano y Bartolomeo Amancio, impresso en Ingolstadt el año 34. El tercero es el libro de la orthographía de Aldo Manucio hijo de Paulo. Tras estos pondremos los comentarios de los Fastos Capitolinos de frai Onofrio Panvinio' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 467).

[501] Note that in the quotation, Agustín attributes the anonymous *Epigrammata* to Andrea Fulvio: the potential contributors of the *Epigrammata* will be discussed in Chapter 4.1.1.

In a similar fashion to Agustín, in the preface to his *De his qui romanas antiquitates scripto comprehenderunt*, Panvinio lists the epigraphic publications available in his time: these include, once again, the anonymous *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (Panvinio, however, unlike Agustín, specifies that the author of this publication is uncertain), Apianus and Amantius's *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*, the work of a certain Sebastianus Serbellius, and Aldo Manuzio's *Orthographiae ratio*.[502] Agustín and Panvinio's statements can therefore lead us to wonder about the scarcity of epigraphic publications in the Cinquecento.

This chapter inserts itself into the recent stream of academic research on book history and print studies (see the Literature Review in the Introduction). This chapter will also underscore the complex relationship between printing and manuscripts and emphasize the importance of studying them in conjunction.[503] Although by the sixteenth century, publication via print was widespread, for some social groups, manuscripts remained the preferred way to disseminate their work long after the invention of printing.[504] Unlike what one might be inclined to believe, printing did not put an end to the manuscript tradition, which remained at the core of epigraphic scholarship throughout the Cinquecento and well into the Seicento.[505] Likewise, we should not think of printing as a replacement for manuscripts (or the other way around), but as having a joint and interdependent existence: with generalisations about the distinctions between manuscripts and printed books, we are prone to forgetting how much they have in common.[506] The two previous chapters looked at manuscript and printed material

[502] 'Idem Macciochius antiquas urbis inscriptiones ex aere et saxis incerto auctore collectas in publicum misit. Utilis in iisdem per totum terrarum orbem colligendis est liber Petri Appiani et Bartholomaei Amantii. Ante illos eundem laborem susceperat Sebastianus Serbellius. Aldus Manutius Paulli filius, Aldi nepos, et patre et avo dignus adolescens, libro de orthographia edito, grandem epigrammatum acervum emisit' (quoted from Ferrary, *Onofrio Panvinio et les antiquités romaines*, p. 57). I have not been able to identify Sebastianus Serbellius.
[503] The two media have tended to be divorced in their study, as David McKitterick remarks in *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 22.
[504] Craig Kallendorf, *The Protean Virgil: Material Form and the Reception of the Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 81.
[505] The considerable presence of manuscripts in inventories of sixteenth-century libraries attests to the enduring strength of scribal culture (Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy*, p. 9).
[506] McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, p. 22.

jointly, because I wished to emphasize, already from the start, how similar epigraphic *corpora* (whether in manuscript or print) are in their representations of epigraphic material on the page. The close interaction of manuscript and print in the Cinquecento is a well-recognized fact but is overlooked in epigraphic studies: although we are increasingly aware that there is no point talking about manuscripts and print separately, it is nonetheless essential to acknowledge that print did impact the way texts were produced and disseminated.

Although this chapter will deal with and come back to issues that we have already considered in the previous chapters, I plan here to delve into the question of how manuscript and print cultures developed together. My research has proved that there was no shift from manuscript to print in the epigraphic field in the Cinquecento. It is clear that printing imposed some constraints on the production of epigraphic works: although we would expect print to facilitate the production of epigraphic *corpora*, the constraints and costs associated with that meant that very few were actually printed. Critics of Eisenstein's narrative of print as an agent of change have asked exactly what kind of change took place when books began to be printed.[507] It is precisely this question I am concerned with here: what sort of changes do we observe in scholars' approach and representation of inscriptions when epigraphic *corpora* started being printed? As I have explained in my Introduction, the way(s) in which print affected (or not) epigraphic scholarship in the Cinquecento has been generally overlooked by modern studies: William Stenhouse has addressed some of the implications of the printing press at the end of *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History* and in his article 'Epigraphy and Technology in the Renaissance'. In this chapter, by taking the specific example of Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographia* (see the structure of the chapter announced in the next paragraph) and by providing a closer comparison of manuscripts and printed *syllogai* (Chapter

[507] See Christopher Burlinson, 'Manuscript and Print, 1500-1700', *Oxford Handbooks Online* (2016), 1-20 <https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935338-e-86> [accessed 17 June 2020].

3.2), I aim to further Stenhouse's claim that, although books were the best way of eventually reaching a wider audience and most scholars wished to see their work in print, printed compilations were not the only or most lucrative means of spreading ideas.[508] This chapter, then, intends to provide further insight into this episode of epigraphy.

In this chapter, the first part will examine the complicated process of the publication of Jean-Jacques Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographia*: this case-study will give us a sense of some of the reasons why scholars were reluctant to print their epigraphic *corpora*. The second part will then delve into the close relationship between epigraphic manuscripts and publications and will explore how the two media were very similar in their representation of epigraphic material (especially concerning the visuality of the text).

3.1 From Manuscript to Printed Epigraphic *Corpus*: The Case of Jean-Jacques Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographia*[509]

The printing and publication process of the *Romanae urbis topographia* by Jean-Jacques Boissard illustrates several of the issues encountered by scholars when going into print. As I have explained in Chapter 1.2.4, a large section of Boissard's collection of drawings and notes was lost when Charles of Lorraine invaded the region of Montbéliard in 1587-88.[510] Due to the loss of material, Boissard first approached Abraham Ortelius in a desperate attempt to publish his collection: Ortelius's extensive network made him the ideal middleman to approach a potential publisher.[511] In his correspondence with Ortelius and with Carolus Clusius, Boissard

[508] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 20.
[509] Note that this section relies heavily on Michiel van Groesen's transcriptions of Boissard's letters to Clusius. I use van Groesen's transcriptions as I did not have the opportunity to see the documents myself. Nevertheless, I expand on some of van Groesen's points, provide translations of the texts and modernize the punctuation, capitalization, and diacritics. I also give the discussion a more epigraphic-oriented focus by analysing some specific examples of Boissard's publication. Furthermore, I also use part of Ortelius's correspondence to complement van Groesen's transcriptions.
[510] Meganck, *Erudite Eyes*, p. 147; Hülsen, 'Un nouveau recueil manuscrit de Jean-Jacques Boissard', p. 545.
[511] Meganck, *Erudite Eyes*, p. 155.

expresses on numerous occasions his concerns about the printing of his epigraphic *sylloge*, giving us a valuable and rare glimpse of the process of printing an epigraphic work.[512]

Although Boissard finished the *Romanae urbis topographia* in 1589, the publication of the first volume was delayed for eight years: in 1590, Boissard had offered the manuscript of Roman *tituli* to the Leiden branch of the Officina Plantiniana (via Ortelius, to whom he had sent some of his drawings of antiquities). The Flemish-born printer and bookseller Franciscus Raphelengius (Frans van Ravelingen, 1539-1597), who was the second son-in-law of the influential French printer and publisher Christophe Plantin (1520-1589) and was in charge of the Leiden branch, did not respond as Boissard had hoped and rejected his work. The Plantin press at Leiden had just printed and published the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* by Smetius (and edited by Lipsius) and Raphelengius did not wish to take any risks by printing another work with similar material, preferring instead to sell all of Smetius's copies before even undertaking another project of publication. Therefore, Herman van Ghoer, baron of Pesche (died in 1594), to whom Boissard had dedicated the manuscript collection and who wished to see it in print as soon as possible, decided to entrust the work to Théodore De Bry:

> Seigneur de Pesche, however, has decided to hand it [the collection] over to seigneur De Bry, as he wishes to see it printed sooner than Raphelengius would be able to do. Raphelengius, as seigneur de Pesche wrote to me, still has many copies of Smetius, which he would like to sell before publishing my work. […] I dare not and cannot stop

[512] Clusius acted like a spider in a web of communications: he used correspondence both as an instrument to obtain information and as a means to disseminate his views in the wider community. For a study of the general characteristics of Clusius's network and its functioning, see Florike Egmond, 'Clusius and Friends: Cultures of Exchange in the Circles of European Naturalists', in *Carolus Clusius: Towards a Cultural History of a Renaissance Naturalist*, ed. by Florike Egmond, Paul Hoftijzer and Robert Visser (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 2007), pp. 9-48. Egmond highlights, amongst other aspects, the democratic nature of Clusius's network, who corresponded with non-academics and a significant number of women: his correspondents also came from a wide range of social backgrounds.

> him [seigneur de Pesche] from doing what he wants, since the book now belongs to him.[513]

De Bry had published Boissard's *Emblematum liber* in 1593 and presumably on the basis of a successful collaboration, he agreed to take on his book of antiquities.[514] It should be noted, moreover, that De Bry's publishing house was renowned for illustrated books, including a lavishly illustrated series on the New World, whereas Raphelengius was specialised in the publication of literary texts.[515]

Several of the anxieties Boissard expresses in his correspondence with Clusius and Ortelius can be linked to similar concerns early modern epigraphers experienced when deciding to publish their epigraphic *corpora*. Boissard's correspondence with Ortelius took place before the publication of his *corpus*, when he was still looking for a potential publisher. Then, when his manuscript was in the hands of De Bry, he turned to Clusius to express his complaints about De Bry's methods.

3.1.1 The Costs Involved in the Publication of an Epigraphic *Corpus*

One of the most obvious reasons that prompted scholars to continue favouring manuscript over print form was the cost of seeing a work through to print. For Boissard, the issue of cost was particularly preoccupying, since his *Romanae urbis topographia* included more than five hundred illustrations of the various epigraphic texts and their supports. Boissard was very keen on keeping these drawings in the final printed version as he believed this feature differentiated his *corpus* from other sixteenth-century epigraphic collections: 'My work', he confides in

[513] J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 22 August 1593: 'Mais il a pleu au Seigneur de Pesche les délivrer au Seigneur de Bry, d'autant qu'il luy tarde de les veoir imprimés plus tost que par Raphalengius, lequel, à ce que m'escrit monsieur de Pesche, a encores grand nombre des exemplaires de Smetius qu'il veut vendre avant que de publier les miens […] Je n'ose et ne peux l'empescher d'en faire à sa volonté, puis que le livre est à luy' (quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 203).
[514] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 155. Note as well that in 1597 De Bry would publish Boissard's *Icones quinquaginta virorum illustrium doctrina et eruditione praestantium ad vivum effictae*.
[515] See Michiel van Groesen, *The Representation of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590-1634)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 114.

Ortelius in a letter of 20 September 1589, 'will be different from that published a while ago at Rome during the pontificate of Pope Clement and from that published at Ingolstadt by Petrus Apianus'.[516] Although Boissard's dates regarding the publication of the *Epigrammata* are slightly incorrect (Clement VII's papacy only began in 1523), he clearly alludes here to the *Epigrammata* and the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*. More importantly, almost two years later, Boissard still attempts to justify the value of his *Romanae urbis topographia*, arguing that the illustrations make his work truly unique when compared also with Smetius's *corpus:* 'But my book differs, perhaps, from that of [Martinus] Smetius in that I have represented carefully (to the best of my ability) the shapes of the stones, with their characters and images, which I believe, has never been done before'.[517] In this letter, Boissard evidently emphasizes the innovative characteristics of his *corpus* to Ortelius in an attempt to convince Raphelengius that his collection of antiquities is more marvellous and valuable than Smetius's. Although this is part of Boissard's strategy, we should not be too quick to judge the French scholar: Stenhouse and Meganck have criticized his illustrations for not being accurate enough; however, they contribute greatly to the visualization of the inscribed monument as a whole and should not be dismissed (as we have seen in Chapter One).[518] Boissard clearly made an impact with his detailed renditions of *tituli*: in his *Index librorum in quibus inscriptiones antiquae vel exhibentur vel explicantur* (dated to 1627-30), Arnoldus Buchelius lists Boissard as a scholar who provides very accurate epigraphic transcriptions in his *corpus* ('inscriptiones accuratissime expressit').[519] Boissard reiterates the argument of the importance of his illustrations when compared to Smetius's *corpus* once more in 1593 in a letter to Clusius:

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[516] J.-J. Boissard to A. Ortelius, 20 September 1589: 'Differretque meum opus ab eo quod Romae olim publicatum est Clementis Pontificis Maximi tempore; et ab eo quod Ingolstadii a Petro Apiano' (Ortelius, *Abrahami Ortelii epistulae*, ed. by Hessels, pp. 401-02).
[517] J.-J. Boissard to A. Ortelius, 28 March 1591: 'Sed hoc fortasse a Smetii libro differt meus, quod accurate (quantum a me fieri potuit) depinxi lapidum formas, cum suis signis et imaginibus, quod a nemine antea factum esse puto' (Ortelius, *Abrahami Ortelii epistulae*, ed. by Hessels, p. 466).
[518] Meganck, *Erudite Eyes*, p. 547; Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 239.
[519] Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, HS. 1682, fol. 2r.

> Monsieur Ortelius once wrote to me that the inscriptions [in Smetius's collection] are bare and devoid of any accompanying illustrations of the stones and ancient monuments on which they are inscribed. And he said that he praised me for having so carefully represented all the figures and forms of the marble blocks.[520]

Nevertheless, it was precisely the quantity of woodcuts and illustrations that raised exponentially the costs of the printing of the *Romanae urbis topographia*, which explains why Boissard was initially reluctant to go into print with his *corpus*, as he informs Ortelius: 'I also have here a very extensive description of ancient inscriptions that can be seen everywhere in Rome, and whose number surpasses the thousands. But I refrain from publishing them, as I cannot and will not pay for the expenses of their engraving.'[521] To reduce the printing costs, De Bry suggested dividing the manuscript into five volumes.[522] This, however, marked a new set of anxieties for Boissard, who considered De Bry's working methods unsatisfactory:

> He [De Bry] always insists on the excessive costs that will be made, which will be more bearable if the work is divided into small volumes. If this were indeed possible, I would gladly agree to it. Nevertheless, since these inscriptions are located in different parts of Rome, particularly in the residences and gardens of Princes and Cardinals, it is very common to see in one residence more than three or four hundred *tituli*, whereas in others there will only be three or four. Therefore, dividing the inscriptions into equal volumes

[520] J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 22 August 1593: 'Monsieur Ortelius m'a rescry autresfois que les inscriptions y sont nues sans aucune forme des pierres et marbres antiques qui les contiennent. Et me mandoit qu'il lonoit ma diligence en de que si soigneusement j'avoy retiré toutes les figures et formes des marbres' (quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 203). It must be noted that, if Ortelius wrote such a reply to Boissard, it is not part of the surviving correspondence.

[521] J.-J. Boissard to A. Ortelius, 20 September 1589: 'Habeo quoque hic amplissimam saxorum antiquorum quae Romae passim videntur descriptionem: quorum numerus millesimum supperat. Sed editionem illorum supprimo, quod in iis sculpendis sumptus facere nec libet nec licet' (Ortelius, *Abrahami Ortelii epistulae*, ed. by Hessels, p. 401). Once the manuscript was in De Bry's hand, Boissard was still very conscious about the expenses: 'I know full well that the cost of engraving and printing will be great'. See J.-J. Boissard to A. Ortelius, 28 March 1591: 'Non ignoro grandes sumptus requiri in iis sculpendis, et excudendis' (Ortelius, *Abrahami Ortelii epistulae*, ed. by Hessels, p. 466).

[522] In the end, as we have seen, the *Romanae urbis topographia* consisted of six volumes.

would expose my books to universal ridicule and would make me look foolish and incompetent.[523]

In the same letter to Clusius, Boissard repeats the impracticality of dividing his work into smaller volumes: 'I would truly have liked for the Baron de Pesche to send my books of Roman inscriptions to Théodore de Bry before your departure, so that you would have seen them and advised him on what would be suitable for printing, especially since I do not believe that one can divide the books into five volumes, as he wishes'.[524]

Sixteenth-century scholars were generally impressed by the relative cheapness of the new printed books and by the benefits which this, together with their abundance, would bring in terms of the spread of knowledge, since printed books cost one fifth of the price of their manuscript equivalents.[525] Nevertheless, the cheapness of print was not applicable to epigraphic *corpora*. We have just noted that the expenses of producing the *Romanae urbis topographia* would have been substantial, especially since the work contained detailed renditions of the inscribed monuments: even in the case of epigraphic *corpora* without many renditions of antiquity, the expenses were significant. Although references to the prices of epigraphic collections are rare in surviving humanistic correspondences, in a letter to Clusius of 1593, Boissard provides us with specific numbers regarding the price of Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*: 'I would have liked to know briefly the contents of Smetius's

[523] J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 12 September 1593: 'Il allègue tousjours les excessifs despens qu'il y faudra faire, qui seront beaucoup plus tolérables si l'œuvre est separé en petits volumes: ce que je advouroye bien si la chose se pouvoit faire avec bon ordre: mais comme ces inscriptions se trouvent en divers endroits de Rome, singulièrement aux maisons et jardins des princes et cardinaux, en une maison vous en verrez plus de trois ou quatre cent pierres antiques, et d'autres il y en aura trois ou quatre: faire partition esgalle en telle chose ce seroit proposer les livres à la risée de chascun, et se déclarer sot et malhabile' (quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 205-06).

[524] J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 22 August 1593 : 'J'eusse bien désiré que monsieur le Baron de Pesche eut envoyé mes livres d'inscriptions romaines au seigneur Théodore de Bry avant votre partement: à fin que les eussiez veus, et luy eussies donné advis de ce qu'il seroit expédient pour l'impression, d'autant qu'il ne me semble point qu'on puisse commodément partir les livres en cinq volumes comme il désire' (quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 205).

[525] Richardson, 'The Debates on Printing in Renaissance Italy', p. 138. Of course, this comparison depends on many factors, including the size of a book, its technical aspects and print run.

book, which sells for twelve florins: this means it must be a very thick book.'[526] It seems indeed that the costs associated with the production of Smetius's *corpus* were not insignificant: in a letter to the German patron of scholars Heinrich Rantzau (1526-1598), in which Lipsius encloses a copy of the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* sent by the University of Leiden, Lipsius remarks on the expenses of this *munusculum*, printed at high cost.[527] Furthermore, in a letter to Clusius of April 1600, Boissard mentions Gruterus's impressive project of the compilation of a collection of inscriptions (the *Inscriptiones antiquae*). Although Boissard expresses his admiration for such a *corpus*, he is also fully aware of the costs it would entail:

> Monsieur Gruterus, who is currently in Heidelberg, is diligently compiling his book of ancient inscriptions, which he enlarges wonderfully with the help of French and Italian men of letters. I believe this will be the most perfect treatise that was ever produced in this field. Because of this, however, it will be a very costly work and not many people will be able to afford it.[528]

The preconceived idea that printing reduced costs, then, did not include epigraphic works.

3.1.2 The Challenges of Finding an Apt Printer

Besides the actual cost of producing and publishing epigraphic *corpora*, scholars were wary of letting printers and publishers handle the transmission process of an inscription: finding suitable printers who were able to reproduce specialised works represented a challenge. Aldo Manuzio had already expressed such concerns in the preface of his 1499 edition of the

[526] J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 22 August 1593: 'J'eusse bien desiré de sçavoir en brief que c'est que contient le livre de Smetius, qui se vend douze florins: il faut bien qu'il soit excessivement gros' (quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 203).
[527] J. Lipsius to H. Rantzau, 24 August 1588: 'Caussa iterum scribendi munusculum hoc est, quod Academia et Curatores Dominationi Tuae mittunt. Liber Inscriptionum est, uti videbis, rarum opus et magno sumtu excusum' (Lipsius, *Iusti Lipsi epistolae. Pars 3*, ed. by Peeters and Sué, p. 118).
[528] J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 3 April 1600: 'Monsieur Grutter qui est à Heydelberg pousuit en toute diligence à son livre des inscriptions antiques, qu'il augmente merveilleusement par l'aide d'une infinité de gens de lettres, tant Italians que François. Je croy que ce sera le plus parfait traitté qui aye jamais esté et sera en ceste matière. Aussi coustera il cher et peu de gens auront moyen d'en achetter quelque exemplaire' (quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 212).

Cornucopiae, lamenting how great literary works had fallen into the hands of common people with little education, who dared to explain, correct and comment on every book. Manuzio feared that the printing press had brought the destruction of the *sanctae literae*.[529] Although the De Bry firm was renowned throughout Europe for its illustrated books, Boissard was worried about the likelihood of mistakes made by De Bry in the course of engraving and the apparent absence of a corrector at the Frankfurt firm to meet Boissard's high standards.[530] The French scholar clearly wanted the learned Raphelengius to publish his specialised work, as he was a professor of Hebrew at Leiden University and the publisher of a multitude of scholarly treatises. Raphelengius had studied Greek and Hebrew at the University of Paris, he had been an employee of Christophe Plantin at Antwerp (he even collaborated on the Plantin Polyglot Bible) and, after marrying one of Plantin's daughters, he managed the Plantin printing office in Leiden.

De Bry, on the other hand, had been trained as a goldsmith and copper-engraver but Boissard repeatedly stressed his incompetence in matters of antiquity. For instance, in a letter dated 22 August 1593 to Clusius, Boissard expresses his fear that the print version of his *corpus* might contain conspicuous errors due to the incompetence of the printer: 'I would like to thank you humbly for your helpful advice concerning the publication of my Roman inscriptions. I fear the work will contain significant mistakes, as it has fallen in the hands of individuals who are ignorant about such topics'.[531] Boissard also adds: 'Regarding the correction of these inscriptions, since they will have to be engraved, I do not doubt that there will be plenty of

[529] 'Primum enim in quorum artificum manus pervenerint sacra literarum monumenta videmus; deinde qua literatura praediti quidam libros omnis enarrare, commentari, corrigere audeant scimus. Quamobrem periculum non mediocre est ne beneficium hoc imprimendi libros a Deo immortali hominibus datum ipsi, cum liceat vel infantissimo cuique pro animi sui libidine temere in quem vult librum grassari, in maximum maleficium convertamus et sanctarum literarum perniciem' (Aldo Manuzio, *Humanism and the Latin Classics*, ed. and trans. by John N. Grant (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2017), p. 188).
[530] Van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 197.
[531] J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 12 September 1593: 'Je vous mercie humblement du bon advis que me donnés pour la publication de mes inscriptions romaines. Je crain beaucoup qu'il ne sy commette des fautes remarcables, tumbans entre les mains de gens qui n'ont la cognoissance de telles matières' (quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 205).

errors, as the engraver cannot benefit from the help of those who could correct the mistakes made in the course of the engraving.'[532] Furthermore, in his correspondence with Clusius, Boissard portrays De Bry as an aggressive entrepreneur who was determined to secure the epigraphic collection for his firm at all costs, even deceiving the Baron de Pesche, who wished to see Boissard's work printed as soon as possible, and promising that he could publish the entire collection within a year.[533] If Boissard's criticisms seem harsh, it should be noted that it was not uncommon for late sixteenth-century authors to complain of a lack of accuracy on the part of their printers: the inefficiency and carelessness of printers would be a repeated lament of authors throughout the era of printing.[534] For instance, in a letter to Ortelius, Janus Gruterus complained that he could not properly attend to his edition of Seneca's works (printed at Heidelberg in 1592) because of the printer: 'I am glad that my Seneca was not unpleasant to you. You will see that there is nothing there except my hard work and attentiveness, for I could not exercise my talents on account of the printer's haste'.[535] While scholars such as Gruterus

[532] J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 22 August 1593: 'Pour la correction desdittes inscriptions puis qu'il les faudra toutes tailler, je ne doute point qu'il ne sy commette beaucoup de fautes, n'ayant le tailleur aucune aide de ceux qui pourroient corriger les fautes commises' (quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 202)

[533] J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 12 September 1593: 'Seigneur Théodore de Bry has promised him [Van Ghoer, Baron de Pesche] to engrave and print the book with such diligence and swiftness that the entire work would see the light in only a year' ('Le Seigneur Théodore de Bry luy a promis de tailler et imprimer le livre avec telle diligence et promptitude, que dans un an tout l'œuvre seroit mis en lumière'; quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 205).

[534] Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p. 51.

[535] J. Gruterus to A. Ortelius, 3 August 1594: 'Senecam meum non fuisse tibi ingratum laetor. Vides nihil ibi esse fere meum nisi labor et diligentia. Nam ut ingenium exercerem, non potui ob festinationem typographi' (Ortelius, *Abrahami Ortelii epistulae*, ed. by Hessels, p. 590).

blamed printers for their haste, others denounced their sluggishness. Thus, Scaliger urged Gruterus to tell his printers to work more quickly on his *Inscriptiones antiquae*.[536]

3.1.3 Boissard's Manuscript Renditions of Inscribed Monuments and Their Printed Version

Boissard, then, was no different from his contemporaries: a comparison of Boissard's manuscript (BnF MS Latin 12509) with the finished printed version suggests that De Bry was rather receptive to Boissard's preferences. Boissard's manuscript representation of the epitaph

[536] J. Scaliger to J. Gruterus, 11 August 1599: 'Reliquum est non ut tibi inscriptiones illas commendem, sed ut tarditatem typographorum expergefacias' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, III, p. 309).

dedicated to Gnaeus Piso and Gnaeus Frugi (*CIL* VI 23392; Fig. 49), for instance, emphasizes the non-textual features of the inscribed monument.

Figure 49. Epitaph to Gnaeus Ofillius Piso and Gnaeus Ofillius Frugi (*CIL* VI 23392) in Boissard's manuscript compilation of antiquities (BnF, MS Latin 12509, p. 18).

In the printed version (Fig. 50), De Bry has maintained the major characteristics of Boissard's original drawing: the lineation, interpuncts, reliefs and decorations, and even the *I longae* (of *Dìs Manibus* and *filìs*) have all been preserved in the printed rendition. The only striking difference is that the faces of the female figure on the left and of the male figure on the right have been entirely reconstructed in the printed version.

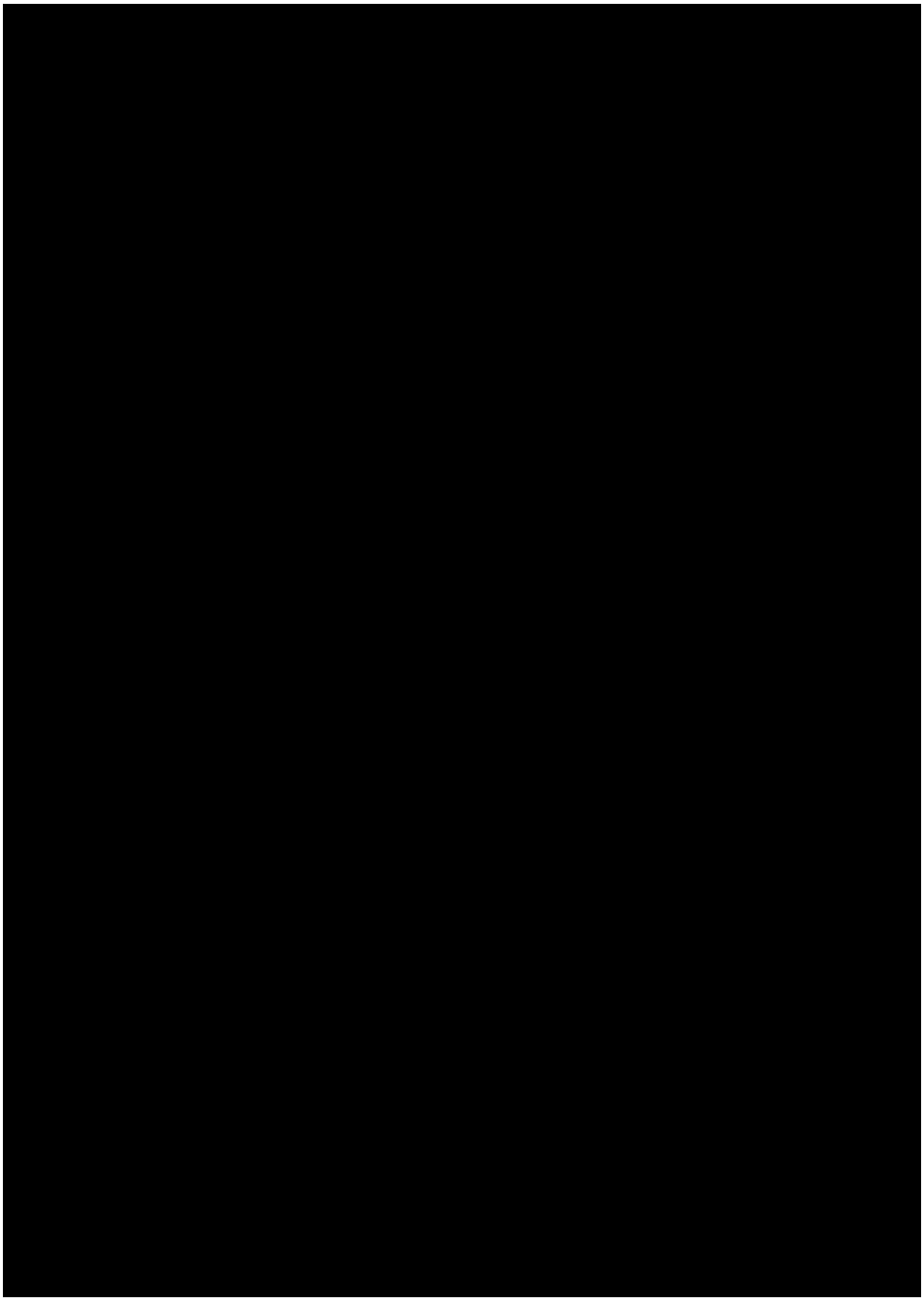

Figure 50. Epitaph to Gnaeus Ofillius Piso and Gnaeus Ofillius Frugi (*CIL* VI 23392) as portrayed in the printed *Romanae urbis topographia*, III, p. 60.

It is worth having a closer look at the original inscription, which is still extant. As Fig. 51 shows, the lineation adopted by Boissard and De Bry is not entirely accurate (for instance, they have divided the fourth line into two) and, what is even more striking, they have inserted an *I longa* in *Dìs Manibus*, and have omitted the two *I longae* of (*filìs*) *pientissìmìs*. The original inscription does not display an *I longa* in *Dis Manibus* but it does so in (*filìs*) *pientissìmìs*. In

the original monument, the faces of the three *protomae* are no longer there, but it is possible that these were less damaged in the sixteenth century.

Figure 51. Epitaph to Gnaeus Ofillius Piso and Gnaeus Ofillius Frugi (*CIL* VI 23392; preserved in the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne in Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome) with its *CIL* transcription.

In a similar way, the comparison of the manuscript and printed version of the epitaph to the child Successus (*CIL* VI 26901), dedicated by his mother Caesia Gemella, shows that De Bry heeded Boissard's expectations (Fig. 52). In the printed rendition, De Bry has preserved the lineation and the *I longae* of *Diìs Manibus* and *Piìssimo* (Fig. 53). Furthermore, in this example, the major non-textual feature is the three-dimensionality of the epitaph, since the inscription is engraved on two sides of the support. While most printed *corpora* would have ignored the text in the right side (as discussed in Chapter One with the inscription of the Pyramid of Cestius), De Bry has portrayed both inscribed sides and has rendered them fairly readable. By way of comparison, the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* records the text on the right side of the monument but does not portray the support of the inscription and transcribes only the texts (fol. 159^{r}). Likewise, in the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, Smetius transcribes the two texts without their monument (fol. 124^{v}). From my consultation of printed epigraphic sources, Boissard's edition was the only one to portray the support of this epitaph.

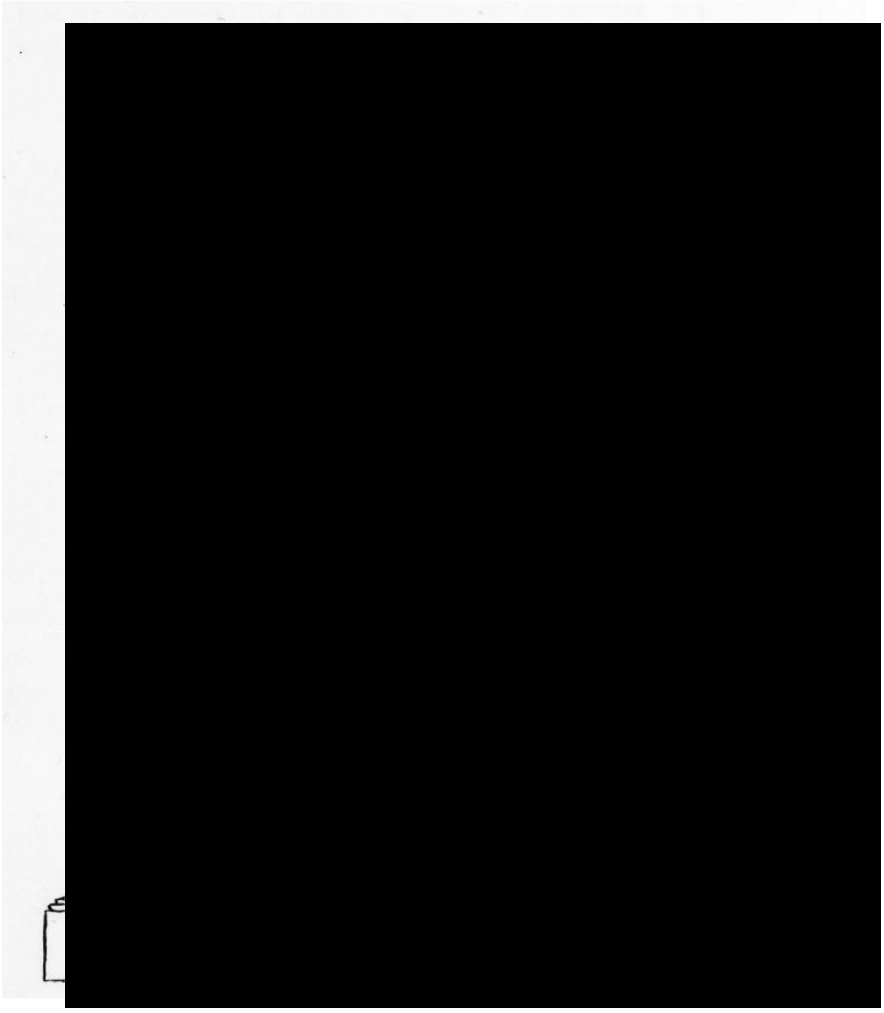

Figure 52. Epitaph to Successus (*CIL* VI 26901) as portrayed in Boissard's epigraphic manuscript (BnF, MS Latin 12509, p. 24).

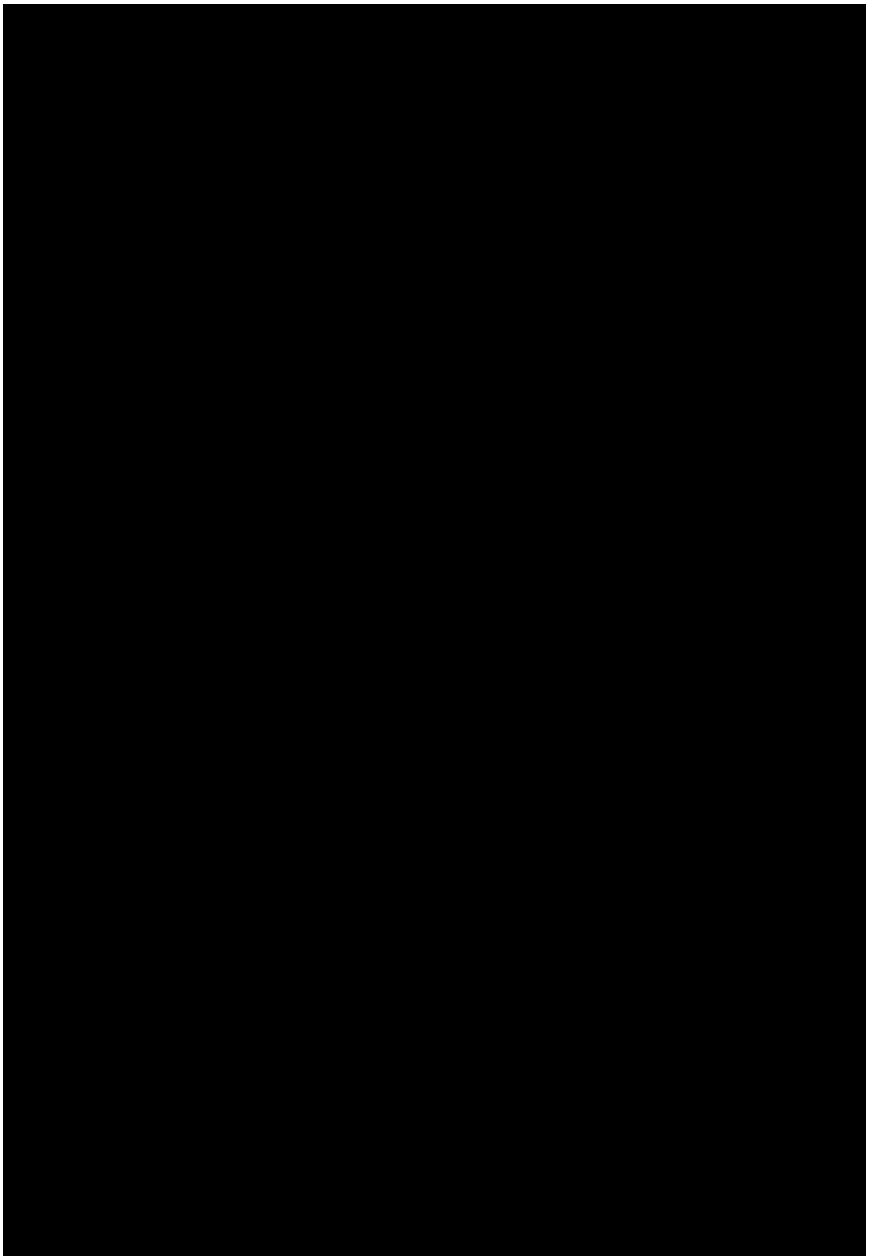

Figure 53. De Bry's engraving of the epitaph to Successus (*CIL* VI 26901) in Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographia*, III, p. 78.

Here again, a comparison of the final printed version with the original monument offers some insights into De Bry's methods of transcription into print (Fig. 54). Boissard's manuscript rendition of the inscribed monument has three (blank) spaces between the different sections of the text, a feature preserved by De Bry in the printed version as well, whereas the original *titulus* does not display any space of the sort. It is noteworthy, however, that by including this 'space', Boissard was perhaps alluding to the fact that, after *Diebus XV*, the inscription shifts

to metrical verse. The final printed version might not be entirely accurate, but De Bry's printed transcription was very faithful to Boissard's manuscript illustration.

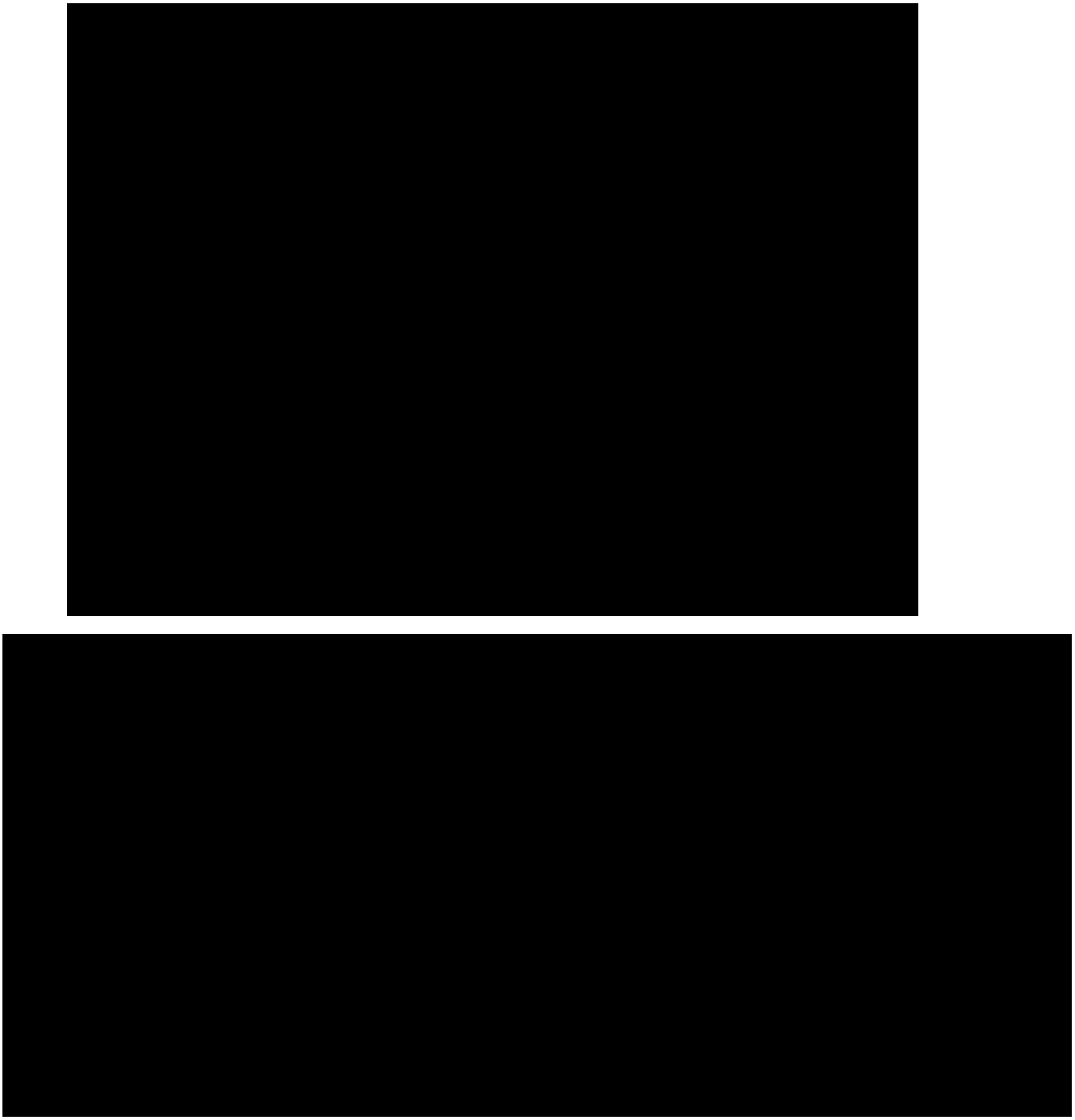

Figure 54. Epitaph to Successus (*CIL* VI 26901; preserved in the Palazzo Rinuccini, Florence) with its *CIL* transcription.

Although De Bry disregarded Boissard's preference for publishing the *Romanae urbis topographia* in a single volume, it would be misleading, however, to think that he was not mindful of the author's requests. Nevertheless, we have to bear in mind that Boissard's main reason for not wanting De Bry to publish his *corpus* was that he did not consider him to be erudite enough to correct possible mistakes. Boissard was particularly cautious of potential errors in his compilation of *tituli*, as he confides in a letter to Clusius dated 6 September 1593: 'I do not expect the final product to be of high quality. As the entire collection will be very large, I am certain there will be plenty of significant mistakes'.[537] Boissard preferred Raphelengius as a publisher because of the nature of his corrections and he had hoped that, if Raphelengius decided to publish his *Romanae urbis topographia*, Clusius would have been able to help with the emendations: 'Since you yourself are currently in Leiden, you might have helped Seigneur Raphelengius a great deal with the correction of the book'.[538] Boissard was possibly hoping that Raphelengius and Clusius's erudite eyes would notice and correct the mistakes in his manuscript renditions. Furthermore, since Raphelengius managed one of Plantin's printing offices, he was likely to have a vast network of colleagues who could confirm Boissard's readings of the *tituli* and who could send further epigraphic material to be included in the collection.

Here it might be worth thinking about Boissard's intentions when compiling his work: as we have seen in Chapter One, Boissard does not always respect the *versuum divisio* of inscriptions, he reconstructs some fragmentary texts silently and sometimes he does not represent the epigraphic support. We could then wonder whether Boissard was aiming for accurate transcriptions: it seems unlikely that Boissard intended his *Romanae urbis*

[537] J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 12 September 1593: 'Je n'en atten pas l'issue trop bonne. Car le tout sera de taille; et m'asseure bien qu'on y commettra des fautes remarcables' (quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 205).
[538] J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 12 September 1593: 'Estant à Leiden, vous pourriez beaucoup aider au Seigneur Raphalengius pour la correction du livre', quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 205

topographia to be a work of reference (this theory is evidenced by the fact that the first volume of the work begins with a recommended four-day itinerary to the Eternal City). From this point of view, then, De Bry's engravings, based on Boissard's illustrations, would have offered a valuable visual accompaniment to the reader.[539] A letter to Clusius from 1600 might suggest indeed that Boissard considered the visual aspect of inscriptions to be a delight for the eyes, rather than useful for scholars in their understanding of the ancient world. When talking about Gruterus's upcoming collection, the *Inscriptiones antiquae*, Boissard explains that:

> I could not be more pleased [about Gruterus's publication], both because of the high esteem I have for this good and erudite individual and because of how useful it will be to those who study the classical world. If such a work had been enriched with illustrations, it would have been utterly perfect, as it would have combined delight and usefulness.[540]

3.1.4 Copyright and Printing Privileges

There was another aspect to the wariness of scholars towards printers. From an economic point of view, since the mere printing of a book did not guarantee its sale and a printed edition represented considerable investment, early printers and bookseller-publishers soon had to find protection against competitors who reproduced their publications.[541] Compilers of collections

[539] Boissard's statement should be considered and understood in its larger context, which is that Boissard thought his collection would never reach the scholarly level of Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*: 'After Smetius's *corpus* which was corrected and commented by [Justus] Lipsius, I am certain that my own book will only come far behind' (J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 22 August 1593: 'Après le livre de Smetius corrigé et commenté par Lipsius, je m'asseure que le mien le suivra de loin', quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 203).

[540] J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 3 April 1600: 'Je ne laisse de men resjouir, tant pour l'honneur que je porte à ce bon et docte personnage, que pour le bien qui en reviendra à tous studieux de l'antiquité: que si un tant bel œuvre eut esté enrichy de figures, rien n'eust manqué à sa perfection, estant conjoincte la délectation avec l'utilité' (quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 213).

[541] Jean-Dominique Mellot, 'Counterfeit Printing as an Agent of Diffusion and Change: The French Book-Privilege System and Its Contradictions (1498-1790)', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 42-66 (p. 42).

were worried their transcriptions might be taken by other publishers for their own works.[542] Boissard was cautious when first approaching Ortelius, stressing that he did not wish to send his drawings of inscriptions directly to Raphelengius for fear that he would copy them:

> My friends advise me not to send the copy of my inscriptions to Leiden, as they fear that, since Raphelengius has lately published Roman inscriptions, he might cull from my book all those that are absent in his work, and that after some time, he might return my copy, using the significance of the costs as an excuse, costs that he cannot and will not bear.[543]

At the end of the same letter, Boissard pleads with Ortelius, once again, not to put his work at risk of being copied: 'I do not distrust Raphelengius's integrity in any way; my friends, however, advise me to conduct the matter cautiously. For this reason, I ask you resolutely to advise me on this matter. If you think that my hard work does not deserve to be published in print, take care at least that no one appropriates it for himself'.[544]

It is not difficult to understand Boissard's anxieties: the concept of copyright was unknown in the manuscript era and was slow to develop even when printing with movable type had revolutionised the rate at which copies of a book could be produced.[545] Once a book was

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[542] The fear of plagiarism was by no means limited to collections of classical inscriptions. Aldo Manuzio himself had to face counterfeit copies of his editions, as he testifies in one of his prefaces entitled 'Warning to the Typographers of Lyon' (March 1503) (see Manuzio, *Humanism and the Latin Classics*, ed. and trans. by Grant, p. 247). Aldus's italic type had attracted a great deal of attention and imitators: by 1503 a number of pirate copies, many of which were published in Lyon, were cutting into his market (Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p. 62).

[543] J.-J.Boissard to A. Ortelius, 28 March 1591: 'Amici mei suadent ne mearum inscriptionum exemplar Leidam transmittam: verentur enim ne quia Raphalengius superioribus annis Romanas inscriptiones publicavit, ex mea descriptione decerpat quaecunque in sua desunt, et post aliquod tempus ad me remittat meum exemplar, praetexens excusationi sumptuum gravitatem, quos nolit aut non possit tolerare' (Ortelius, *Abrahami Ortelii epistulae*, ed. by Hessels, p. 467).

[544] J.-J.Boissard to A. Ortelius, 28 March 1591: 'Ego nullo modo diffido integritati Raphalengii: amici tamen monent ut circunspecte rem agam. Propterea rogo te obnixe ut mihi hac in parte consulas. Quod si existimes meos labores non mereri typos publicos, fac saltem nequis mea usurpet, sibique attribuat' (Ortelius, *Abrahami Ortelii epistulae*, ed. by Hessels, p. 468).

[545] Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before Copyright: The French Book-Privilege System, 1498-1526* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 1. On printing privileges, see also Maria Blasio, 'Privilegi e licenze di stampa a Roma fra Quattro e Cinquecento', *La Bibliofilia*, 90 (1988), 147-59; Eckhard Leuschner, 'The Papal Printing Privilege', *Print Quarterly*, 15 (1998), 359-70; Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 195-257 in particular. Nuovo also describes the three different groupings of privilege

published, it passed into the public domain, and epigraphic collections were no exception. To seek to protect it, even for a short time, from unrestricted reprinting was to ask for an exception to be made in its favour: this was the right of a ruler to grant a 'privilege' or commercial monopoly, whether permanently or for a fixed period of time.[546] To my knowledge, only the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* made use of such a protection, perhaps because it was the first collection of its kind. Immediately after the list of abbreviations (based on Valerius Probus's *Notae*), Mazzocchi included a notice of the privilege granted to him by Pope Leo X in 1517.

3.1.5 The *Romanae urbis topographia*: A Successful Collaboration between Boissard and De Bry?

After the first volumes of the collection had come onto the market, Boissard's resentment of the publishing methods of De Bry seems to have disappeared.[547] He was faced, however, with yet another problem: De Bry had died on the 27 March 1598, which could imply a delay or even cancellation of the publication of the *Romanae urbis topographia*.[548] Boissard was fully dependent on the enthusiasm of the heirs: De Bry's two sons, Johan Théodore and Johan Israel de Bry, who were already responsible for about half of the publications of the family firm between 1596 and 1598, ensured that the fifth and sixth volumes of the collection were published as planned.[549] In a letter to Clusius written on April 1600, Boissard informs his colleague that Johan Théodore and Johan Israel de Bry promised they would publish the fifth volume of his collection before the next book fair (Frankfurt): 'As they [Johan Théodore and Johan Israel de Bry] have told me, I believe they will publish the fifth volume of my Roman

that can be identified in the Renaissance (see pp. 202-04). Note that, although 'copyright' might have been an unknown concept in the period, 'intellectual property' was recognized.

[546] Armstrong, *Before Copyright*, p. 1; Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, p. 198.

[547] This is at least what can be gathered from the tone of his letters to Clusius after 1598.

[548] J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 3 April 1599: 'I thought that after the death of Monsieur De Bry my Roman inscriptions would not see the light' ('Je pansoy qu'après la mort de feu monsieur de Bry mes inscriptions romaines demeureroient supprimées'; quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 211).

[549] J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 3 April 1600: 'Je croy à ce qu'ilz [les fils de De Bry] m'ont mandé, qu'ilz publieront la foire prochaine le cinquième livre de mes inscriptions romaines' (quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 212).

inscriptions by the next fair'. Although Boissard played down the importance of his work in comparison with Smetius's edition (of course, this could simply be an expression of the modesty *topos*), it received wide acclaim very quickly, being a commercial success as early as 1598, according to De Bry.[550] Several of Boissard's representations (and De Bry's engravings) would then be reproduced in successive works of archaeology and history, especially in France.[551] Nevertheless, Boissard's reputation suffered greatly in the nineteenth century with the compilation of the *CIL*: he was quickly dismissed as a 'forger' when Theodor Mommsen exposed the *falsae* in his publication and manuscripts.[552]

Although Boissard had many anxieties about print, several of these turned out to be unfounded, given that his printed collection met with success. In the case of the *Romanae urbis topographia*, De Bry's engravings and the renditions of inscribed monuments truly separated Boissard's work from other antiquarian works of the Cinquecento: as we have seen in Chapter One, much of the textual content of the *Romanae urbis topographia* was copied from other sixteenth-century works. As I have stated in Chapter 1.2.4, Boissard's publication was not only concerned with inscriptions: yet, Boissard himself compared his collection to the most prominent epigraphic publications of his time, which indicates that the *Romanae urbis topographia* should also be considered a *corpus* of inscriptions by modern scholarship.

3.2 The Close Relationship Between Manuscript and Printed Epigraphic Collections

3.2.1 The Visuality of Inscriptions in Printed *Corpora*

As we have seen in the previous section, Boissard had a series of reasons for mistrusting the medium of print; most of all, he did not wish to count on De Bry as publisher of his *corpus*.

[550] As Boissard reports to Clusius in a letter of 4 April 1598: 'I myself have heard that my inscriptions are selling very well, according to what Seigneur De Bry has told me' ('J'enten que les miennes se vendent fort bien à ce que me l'escrit monsieur De Bry', quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 208).
[551] Hülsen, 'Un nouveau recueil manuscrit de Jean-Jacques Boissard', p. 546.
[552] Boissard suffered a similar treatment to Ligorio in the *CIL*.

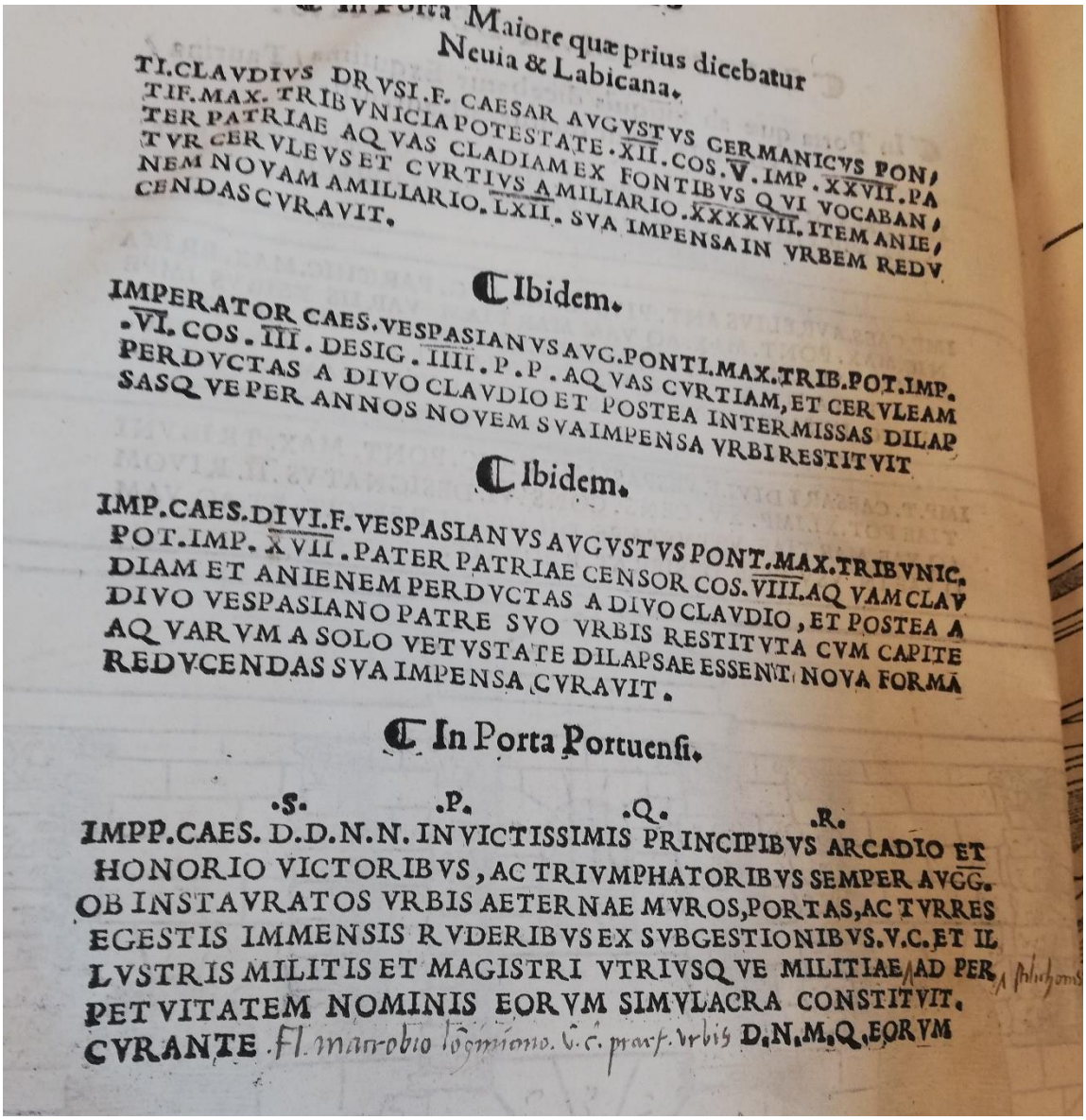
Many humanists shared Boissard's concerns when it came to representing an inscription on the printed page, as print was not the ideal medium to portray the visuality or materiality of *tituli*. As I have stated in Chapter One, in the dedicatory epistle to Marcus Laurinus in the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, Smetius shows awareness of the importance of letter-forms in *tituli* and explains how these can be used to date inscriptions approximately. Jean Matal also expressed his strong conviction that the letter-forms of *tituli* are essential for dating the monument: on the title page of his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (Vat. Lat. 8495), he accuses the type-setter of using the same indistinctive lettering throughout the collection.

> Since the printer did not represent the form itself of the characters, from which one can usually estimate the time period of the monument, but he wrote out everything using the same [type of] letters, those inscriptions that are older can scarcely be distinguished. Therefore, we are not able to discern at all which are older than the rest, and which were made in a less fortunate age.[553]

For early modern epigraphers, the most conspicuous limitation of printed epigraphic *corpora* lay notably in the difficulty of representing the non-textual features of inscriptions. It is true that, when we look at printed *corpora* of the Cinquecento, we find rarely the supports of inscriptions, and although print sometimes imitates the size of epigraphic lettering, letter-forms still remain virtually the same. As I demonstrated in Chapter One, the *Epigrammata* displays the general layout of the monument, rather than its details; the woodcut illustrations do not

[553] 'Cum ipsam characterum formam non expresserit typographus, e qua fere monumenti seculum animadverti potest, sed iisdem omnia litteris perscripserit, quae vetustiora sunt, vix secerni queunt. Quaeque reliquis itaque praestant antiquitate, quaeque seculo minus felici facta sunt, nequaquam possumus adgnoscere' (Matal, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat. 8495, fol. 11^{v}). Note that Theodor Mommsen transcribed Matal's prefatory note in his 'De fide Leonhardi Gutenstenii', *Ephemeris epigraphica*, 1 (1872), 67-77, but, for an unknown reason, omitted these lines. Matal employed similar terms to Agustín and Smetius when talking about Roman lettering: for instance, in his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, he states that the inscription *CIL* VI 1142 has 'litteris ineptissimis ac barbaris' (Matal, Vat. Lat. 8492, fol. 54^{r}). Note that the case of the failure of the printer to distinguish letter types is more an accusation of laziness against the printers.

represent accurately the supports of the inscriptions.[554] From the case-studies I have explored in Chapter One (the Piramide Cestia, the Arch of Septimius Severus and Trajan's Column), we might assume that the *Epigrammata* portrays the supports of inscriptions all throughout, but this would be a misconception. The woodcuts of the monuments are mostly concentrated in the first thirteen folios of the publication and the rest of the collection is formed of the textual components of *tituli* (Fig. 55).


Maiore quæ prius dicebatur
Neuia & Labicana.

TI.CLAVDIVS DRVSI.F. CAESAR AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS PON,
TIF.MAX. TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE.XII.COS.V.IMP.XXVII.PA
TER PATRIAE AQVAS CLADIAM EX FONTIBVS QVI VOCABAN,
TVR CERVLEVS ET CVRTIVS A MILIARIO.XXXXVII. ITEM ANIE,
NEM NOVAM A MILIARIO.LXII. SVA IMPENSA IN VRBEM REDV
CENDAS CVRAVIT.

Ibidem.

IMPERATOR CAES.VESPASIANVS AVG.PONTI.MAX.TRIB.POT.IMP.
.VI. COS.III.DESIG.IIII.P.P.AQVAS CVRTIAM, ET CERVLEAM
PERDVCTAS A DIVO CLAVDIO ET POSTEA INTERMISSAS DILAP
SASQVE PER ANNOS NOVEM SVA IMPENSA VRBI RESTITVIT

Ibidem.

IMP.CAES.DIVI.F.VESPASIANVS AVGVSTVS PONT.MAX.TRIBVNIC.
POT.IMP.XVII.PATER PATRIAE CENSOR COS.VIII.AQVAM CLAV
DIAM ET ANIENEM PERDVCTAS A DIVO CLAVDIO, ET POSTEA A
DIVO VESPASIANO PATRE SVO VRBIS RESTITVTA CVM CAPITE
AQVARVM A SOLO VETVSTATE DILAPSAE ESSENT, NOVA FORMA
REDVCENDAS SVA IMPENSA CVRAVIT.

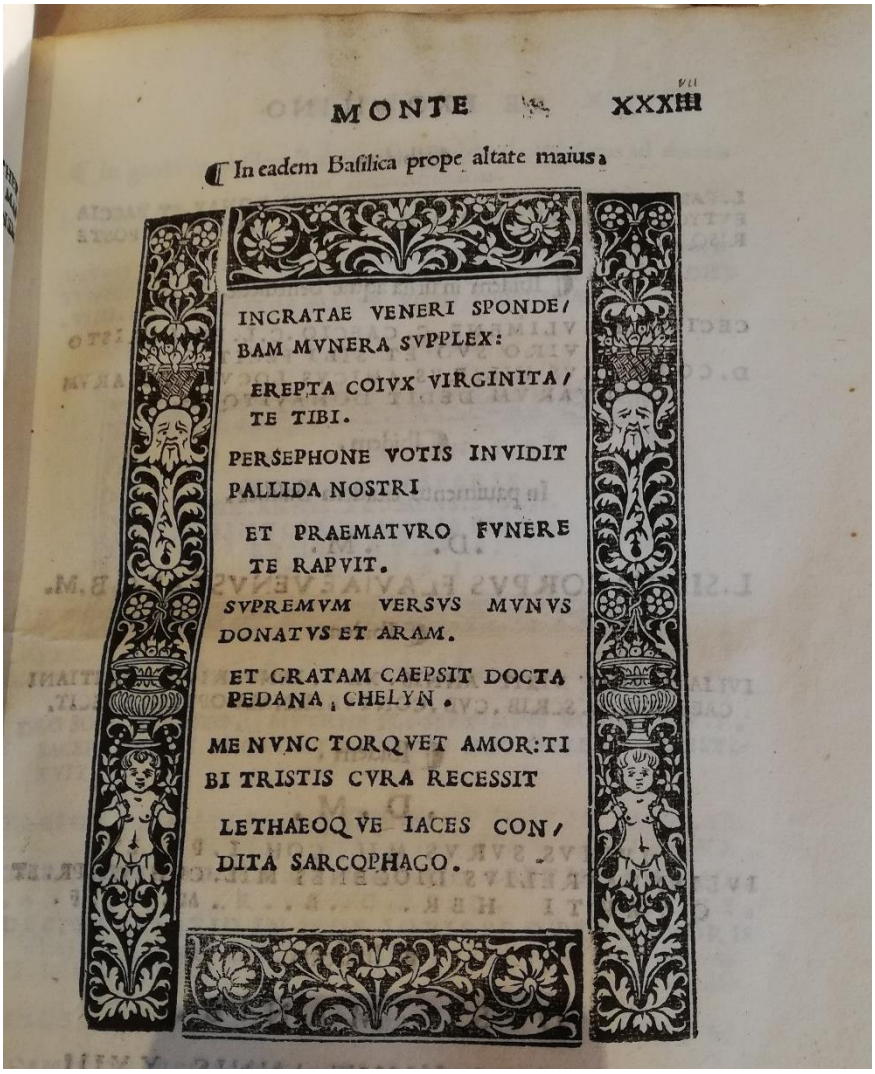
In Porta Portuensi.

.S. .P. .Q. .R.
IMPP.CAES. D.D.N.N. INVICTISSIMIS PRINCIPIBVS ARCADIO ET
HONORIO VICTORIBVS, AC TRIVMPHATORIBVS SEMPER AVGG.
OB INSTAVRATOS VRBIS AETERNAE MVROS, PORTAS, AC TVRRES
EGESTIS IMMENSIS RVDERIBVS EX SVBGESTIONIBVS.V.C.ET IL
LVSTRIS MILITIS ET MAGISTRI VTRIVSQVE MILITIAE AD PER
PETVITATEM NOMINIS EORVM SIMVLACRA CONSTITVIT.
CVRANTE Fl. Macrobio Longiano. V.C. praef. urbis D.N.M.Q.EORVM

Figure 55. Page in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* showing that epigraphic supports are rarely represented in the *corpus* (fol. 1[v]).

[554] Note, however, that woodcuts as a medium did not allow for fine detail. This would later change with copperplate engravings.

The *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* and the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* display another element that scholars have criticized: most of the woodcuts of inscribed monuments in these two compilations are surrounded by decorative woodcut frames that were never part of the original monument (Fig. 56).


MONTE XXXIII

¶ In eadem Basilica prope altare maius.

INGRATAE VENERI SPONDE/
BAM MVNERA SVPPLEX:
EREPTA COIVX VIRGINITA/
TE TIBI.
PERSEPHONE VOTIS INVIDIT
PALLIDA NOSTRI
ET PRAEMATVRO FVNERE
TE RAPVIT.
SVPREMVM VERSVS MVNVS
DONATVS ET ARAM.
ET GRATAM CAEPSIT DOCTA
PEDANA, CHELYN.
ME NVNC TORQVET AMOR: TI
BI TRISTIS CVRA RECESSIT
LETHAEOQVE IACES CON/
DITA SARCOPHAGO.

Figure 56. Woodcut frame surrounding an epigraphic text (*CIL* VI 17050) in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (fol. 37r; there is a printing error in the folio number).

These frames are filled with fanciful depictions of antiquity and, just as modern scholarship criticizes their use, so did sixteenth-century scholars: the most evident examples are displayed in the copies of the *Epigrammata* annotated by Antonio Lelio (Vat. Lat. 8492) and Jean Matal (Vat. Lat. 8495), where the two scholars cross out all decorative frames. Lelio even writes next

to the transcription of *CIL* VI 17050 (the same inscription as in the figure above): 'the decorations that are on the monument itself ought to be copied' (Fig. 57).[555] The inscription *CIL* VI 17050 bears indeed several ornamentations (completely unrelated to what we observe in Mazzocchi's frame) and displays the figures of two women: yet, although Lelio signals to the reader that Mazzocchi's border is imaginary, he does not describe the ornaments that are sculpted on the actual stone. In Vat. Lat. 8495, Matal also criticizes the use of imaginary borders and blames the *librarius* for including these in the *corpus*. For instance, on fol. 132^{r}, the inscription *CIL* VI 2120 is reproduced with a woodcut frame around it, when the original inscription is a simple marble slab; Matal therefore writes: 'this inscription is free from the ornament that the copyist has added here'.[556]

[555] 'Excribenda quae sculpta sunt in ipso marmore' (Lelio, Vat. Lat. 8492, fol. 37^{r}).
[556] 'Hoc epigramma caret ornamento quod hic addit librarius' (Matal, Vat. Lat. 8495, fol. 132^{r}).

Figure 57. Antonio Lelio criticizes Mazzocchi's use of woodcut frames (Vat. Lat. 8492, fol. 37^{r}).

Furthermore, the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* uses, on several occasions, the same woodcut for different inscriptions that have, originally, very different supports: this is the case on p. 47 and p. 133, where we observe that the same woodcut has been used for these *tituli* (Fig. 58).

Figure 58. The same woodcut used for the epigraphic supports of two different inscriptions in the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (p. 47 and p. 133 respectively).

Furthermore, the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* uses very similar (but not identical) woodcuts when representing fragments (which are very rare in this *corpus*). The presentation of these fragments is striking: unlike the rest of the inscriptions, they are not provided with a location but have the simple indication *fragmentum* above their transcription. The *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* can inform us on the concept of epigraphic fragments in the sixteenth

century: Apianus and Amantius convey the sense of an inscription damaged by time, without attempting to portray the reality of the actual epigraphic monument.

The *Epigrammata* and the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* do not convey properly the visuality of the *tituli* they represent, but, as we have already seen, both compilations were rarely thorough in their depiction of inscribed monuments. We might believe that printed *corpora* of the late Cinquecento strove to display better the visuality of inscriptions given their high accuracy in the transcriptions of epigraphic texts: however, we also find that these publications are fairly unadventurous, from a general perspective, in the portrayal of the visuality of inscribed monuments. I have stated in my Introduction how Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae*, despite settings new standards for accurate transcriptions of *tituli*, overlooked the visuality and materiality of inscriptions.[557] Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae*, nevertheless, presents an interesting compromise: his *corpus* was obviously meant for scholars interested in the text of the inscription, rather than its support. Yet, in some cases, the publishing house used woodcuts to represent the monument or when strange letter-forms appeared (we find a similar approach in the printed edition of Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*).

3.2.2 The Visuality of Inscriptions in Manuscripts

Printed epigraphic *corpora* did not sufficiently convey the visuality and materiality of inscriptions. Given the problems discussed above with printed editions and the expense of illustrations, one might expect that the situation was different with manuscript *syllogai*. This was not, however, the case: although manuscript transcriptions of *tituli* would have allowed for more freedom in the portrayal of the text and its support, my research on sixteenth-century manuscripts has revealed that very few scholars reproduced the inscriptions' supports. Out of forty-one epigraphic manuscripts I have consulted, only three contained detailed renditions of

[557] On this aspect of Gruterus's publication, see Stenhouse, 'Epigraphy and Technology in the Renaissance', p. 37.

the supports. In fact, many manuscripts display a simple linear frame around the *titulus* to signal its epigraphic origins: we have observed such instances in Chapter One in the cases of Boissard and Smetius's representations of the Arch of Septimius Severus. One exception is the manuscript of the Italian humanist Jacopo Giglio (sixteenth century), Vat. Lat. 5238 (BAV), dated to 1510 and that records inscriptions from North Italy. Giglio always displays inscriptions in their support and, unlike many sixteenth-century scholars, he represents all types of supports, even when these are fragmented. Furthermore, his renditions of the epigraphic support are extremely detailed: for instance, on fol. 3^{v}, he includes all the ornamentations of *CIL* VI 24202. More striking is Giglio's presentation of epigraphic fragments, even when the text is severely impacted by the damage: Giglio never attempts to reconstruct the text but simply displays it in its original form. Giglio's manuscript, however, remains an exception: unlike Giglio, most early modern epigraphers were not necessarily skilled in draughtsmanship, which means that even in manuscript form it is not all that common to find representations of the inscriptions' supports.[558] For instance, in his epigraphic manuscript Vat. Lat. 10546 (which we have discussed in Chapter 2.3.2), Andrea Alciato only transcribes the texts of inscriptions, completely disregarding their physical characteristics and supports. Most of his transcriptions do not even attempt to reproduce Roman capitals but are written in lower-case lettering. In truth, it is an exception rather than the norm to find illustrations of the monuments in epigraphic manuscripts.

The lack of epigraphic supports in manuscripts is particularly striking when the scholar has acknowledged the importance of the visuality of the inscription: despite Smetius's claims about letter-forms, his *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* (manuscript and print version) does not attempt to represent the differences in Roman lettering. It would be inaccurate, however, to

[558] Although it could be argued that scholars could get around this problem by collaborating with an artist, my consultation of epigraphic manuscripts shows that collaborations between scholars and artists were not very common in manuscript compilations of inscriptions.

assume that Smetius's *corpus* does not transmit the materiality of inscriptions (unlike what Chapter One might have implied). In *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, Stenhouse states that Smetius's representation of the materiality of inscriptions is, on the whole, rather unadventurous.[559] Nevertheless, I would like to offer a reappraisal of Smetius's renditions of epigraphic monuments: although it is true that Smetius does not always represent the visuality of the *titulus*, he often strives to recreate the support of the inscription, even when

[559] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 147.

the shape or form is unusual (see for instance the third inscription, numbered 12 in the middle of the page in Fig. 59).

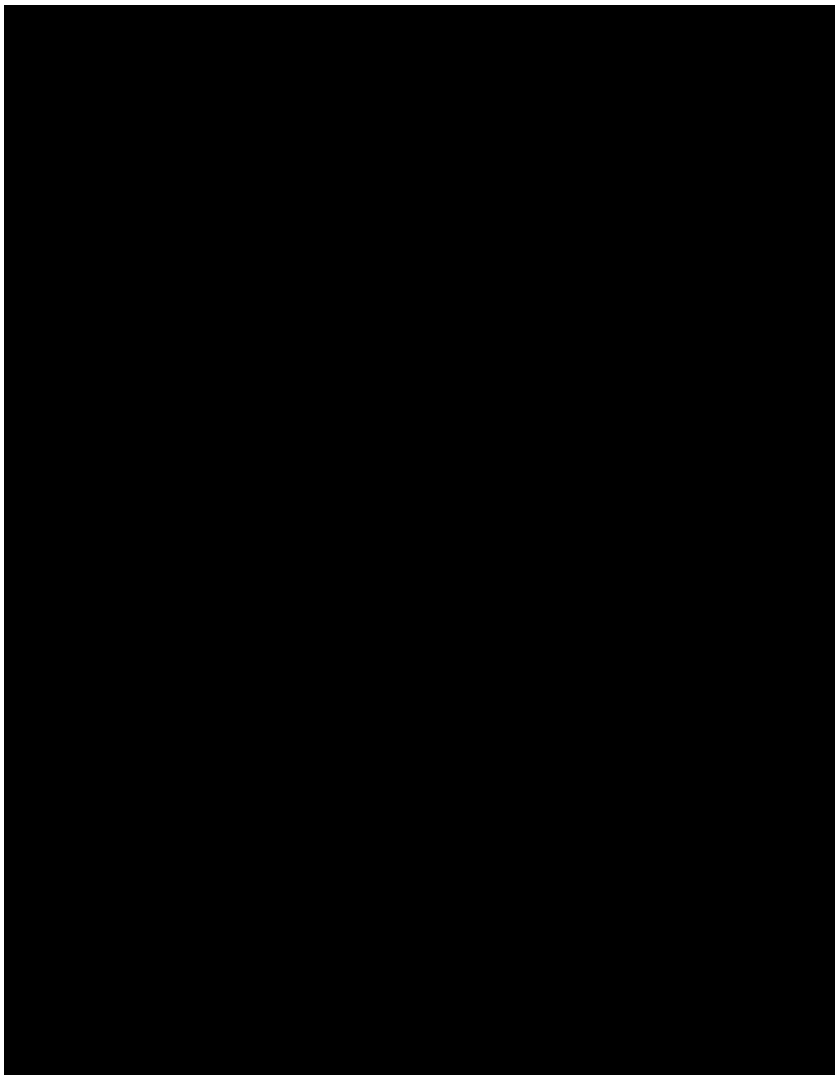


Figure 59. The visuality of inscriptions in Smetius's manuscript of the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* (BPL 1, fol. 11^{v}).

Furthermore, as we have seen in Chapter One, the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* still manages to portray erasures and fragmentary texts adequately, a feature preserved in the printed version as well. Smetius also inserts *punctula* where he is unsure of his reading of certain words or letters, due to the stone's old age or mishandling. Lipsius respected all these codes in his edition of Smetius's work, thus re-creating to a certain extent the materiality of *tituli* in print.

Smetius relied on techniques other than draughtsmanship to signal the visuality of the inscription to the reader: on fol. 1^{v}, in the transcription of an inscription from Capua, he

characterizes the lettering-style as 'rounded up and bending, and not worthy of the century of Antoninus, but perhaps restored by the descendants.'[560] In the vast majority of cases, Smetius uses descriptions when signalling the particularities in the material of the support, in its lettering or in the ornaments displayed. Thus, on fol. 43^{v}, in the transcription of *CIL* VI 2188, Smetius gives a rather extensive description of the decorations on the right and left sides of the support:

> On the right side [there is] a sleeping, long-haired and corpulent, winged spirit, with his right hand [positioned] on his left shoulder, from which a cloth is draped towards the back: he holds his chin with his left [hand], his left leg is placed on his right [leg]. On the left side, stands Fortune, her hair tied back in a knot behind, with her right shoulder and nipple bare, her arms mutilated and her left foot placed on a wheel.[561]

In the same way, on fol. 57^{v}, in a transcription of a dedication to the emperor Diocletian (*CIL* VI 1121, lost), Smetius describes its ornaments: 'on the right side there is the image of a man, shooting an arrow with his bow. On the left side stands winged Victory extending in front [of her] a garland and a palm'.[562] Smetius clearly attached great importance to the materiality of the inscription, and even though he could not always reproduce the support, he still added as much information about it as possible.

Matal's epigraphic manuscripts offer a similar account: in practice, the French scholar rarely depicts letter-forms (one of the only cases where he does is in BAV, Vat. Lat. 6037, where on fol. 20^{v} he carefully reproduces the layout and letter-forms of *CIL* VI 1603). Even

[560] 'literae coactae ac declinantes, nec dignae saeculo Antonini, sed forsitan a posteris restitutae' (Smetius, BPL 1, fol. 1^{v}).
[561] 'In dextro latere, genius alatus, crinitus, obesus, dormiens, dextra manu in humerum sinistrum, a quo velum retrorsum dependet: sinistra mentum sustinente, crure sinistro in dextrum imposito […] In sinistro latere stat Fortuna, crinibus retro in nodum colligatis dextro humero mammillaque nuda, brachiis mutila, sinistro pede rotae imposito' (Smetius, BPL 1, fol. 43^{v}).
[562] 'In dextro latere stat hominis effigies, cum arcu, sagittam emittens. In sinistro latere stat Victoria alata, coronam et palmam praetendens' (Smetius, BPL 1, fol. 57^{v}).

so, Matal's epigraphic transcriptions show an evident concern for the visuality and materiality of inscriptions.

In this way, in his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (Vat. Lat. 8495), Matal starts expanding the information provided by Giacomo Mazzocchi, which was mostly reduced to the geographical position of the text. By the nature of his annotations, it is evident that Matal considers Mazzocchi's indications too imprecise (besides the fact that some were actually inaccurate) and his annotated copy represents a vast improvement on the details provided by Mazzocchi. Matal considered his additions an integral part of his rigorous work on the printed collection, just as much as correcting the actual transcriptions of the epigraphic texts. Even when he does not provide indications on the visuality of the text, Matal always seeks to add some information about the kind of support on which the *titulus* is engraved. For instance, on fol. 21^{v} of his copy, Matal adds to the location provided by Mazzocchi that the *titulus* is: 'in a squared marble cippus, [written] with very elegant letters'.[563]

Matal also relies on descriptions to signal the ornaments of the inscription's support, such as with the marble sepulchral chest to Agria Agathe in fol. 94^{r} (*CIL* XIV 290; Fig. 60). Mazzocchi had indeed completely ignored the ornaments (not indicating them either visually or textually) and transcribed the text alone. Matal, who was not satisfied with Mazzocchi's approach, includes a description of the decorations:

> Under this inscription, there is a small image of a monster: in the front, there is a man whose tail is that of a large sea monster, his feet at the front are those of a horse and he carries an oar in his hand. On his back is a small image of Cupid and also of a woman or (as it could seem) perhaps Venus.[564]

[563] 'In cippo marmoreo quadr(ato) optimis litteris' (Matal, Vat. Lat. 8495, fol. 21^{v}).
[564] 'Sub hoc epigrammate imaguncula est monstri: fronte, vir est in longam pristem desinens: pedes anteriores equini: manus remum gestat, dorso Cupidinis imagunculam atque etiam mulieris (ut videtur) vel fortasse Veneris' (Matal, Vat. Lat. 8495, fol. 94^{r}).

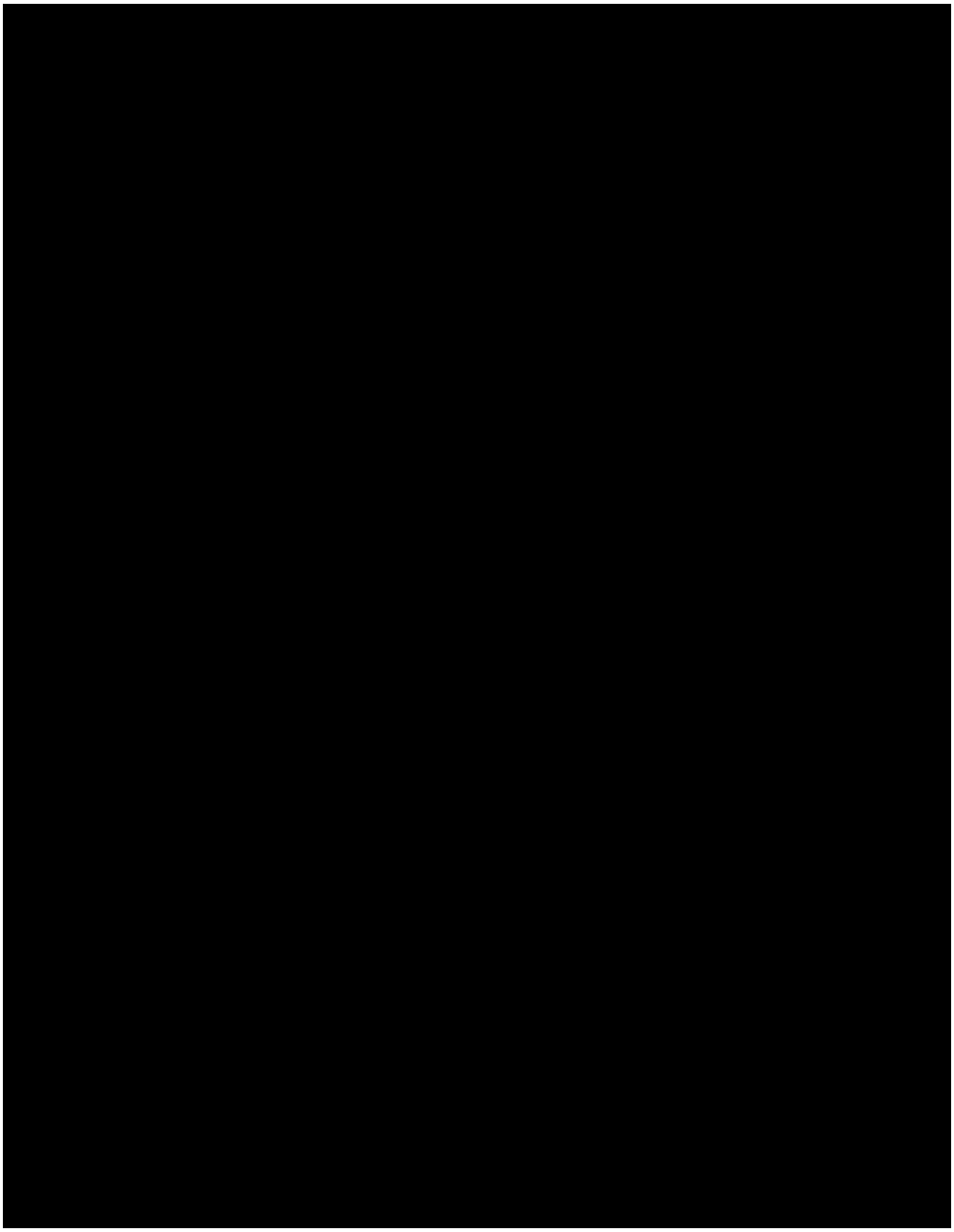


Figure 60. Marble sepulchral chest of Agria Agathe (*CIL* XIV 290; preserved in the British Museum, inventory number: 1805,0703.178).

This is not the only instance where Matal provides a description of the ornaments on the support; he does so on multiple occasions throughout his annotated copy, indicating that he attached great importance to the visual aspect of an inscription and did not focus on its text alone. For some epigraphic texts, he even includes an illustration of the ornaments when Mazzocchi has failed to do so: on fol. 44^{r}, besides writing that the monument has depictions of 'a bow, a quiver and a deer', he also adds illustrations of these three elements, and positions

them accordingly in his rendition of the support. Matal's descriptions are closely linked with the materiality of inscriptions and are indicative of his acknowledgement that epigraphic texts should be viewed as monuments as well, and not as simple texts. Here, it is relevant to compare Matal's copy with that of Antonio Lelio. In his copy, Lelio also relies heavily on the visuality of texts. For instance, for the inscription *CIL* VI 9222 on fol. 33^{r}, Lelio writes on the margin that the support is a 'quadrata urnula cum sculpturis' and then proceeds to include an illustration of the inscribed monument. Where Lelio usually relies on illustrations to express the visuality of the *titulus*, Matal prefers descriptions. For instance, for the inscription *CIL* VI 9222 on fol. 33^{r}, Lelio includes a detailed illustration of the support, whereas Matal describes textually the decorations engraved on the support.

Jacques Sirmond is another scholar who shows great attention to and interest in the visuality of *tituli* in his epigraphic manuscripts (BnF, MSS Latins 9695-9696). Just like Matal and Smetius, Sirmond relies heavily on descriptions to convey the non-textual elements of inscriptions. Even more interesting is the fact that, for most of his transcriptions, Sirmond includes the measurements of the support. For instance, in MS Latin 9695, Sirmond writes that the *titulus* is 'on a round column that measures three and a half feet'.[565] On fol. 10^{r}, Sirmond represents the inscription with its damaged support and even adds a scale of the inscribed monument. For Sirmond, the visuality of *tituli* passed through their dimensions.[566]

Therefore, Smetius, Matal and Sirmond relied more frequently on words to describe the visuality and materiality of an inscribed document rather than on illustrations. These scholars had very similar approaches to the additional details they included in the transcriptions of epigraphic texts: they were aware of the extreme importance of analysing every single characteristic of an inscription (and not just the text) to muster valuable information on the

[565] 'Sur une colonne ronde qui a trois pieds et demi de haut' (Sirmond, BnF MS Latin 9695, fol. 13^{r}).
[566] Note that Cyriac of Ancona was one of the first scholars to indicate the stone's measurements.

context of the inscribed monument. Their additional information adds to the materiality of the inscription. These scholars realized that even representing the support of the inscription is, sometimes, not sufficient: all the details they incorporate seem to demonstrate that they were fully aware of the shortcomings of representing three-dimensional monuments on paper, which is why they described the ornaments textually. Likewise, by indicating the material of the support, these humanists were giving to the reader a sense of the texture of the monuments.

Here I should note that several disciplines in the Cinquecento used description as means of communicating knowledge.[567] This is exactly what we observe in the descriptions of non-textual elements in epigraphic *corpora*: these descriptions gave the reader a clearer sense of what the inscribed document looked like (which links to the idea of the importance of the image in sixteenth-century scholarship), of its particularities and of its decorations. It is also revealing that most scholars portrayed or described the ornamentations of inscriptions, rather than the other non-textual features: this was probably linked to the interest in iconography (as we have seen in Chapter Two) and to the fact that ornamentations were probably easier to draw and to describe than other visual aspects of the *titulus.* Also, describing or drawing the support as a stone with decorations immediately granted the inscription its epigraphic nature: it is crucial to consider the concept of the *titulus* in the sixteenth century and what scholars believed an inscription should look like. We also have to take into account that epigraphic descriptions were connected with the changes in approaches in other contemporary disciplines. It could also be argued that providing a description of the visual characteristics of an inscribed document was a better way of transmitting non-textual elements and of drawing attention to them: if a

[567] On the power of description in Renaissance scholarship, see Peter Miller, 'Description Terminable and Interminable: Looking at the Past, Nature, and Peoples in Peiresc's Archive', in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Gianna Pomata and Nancy Siraisi (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2005), pp. 355-98; Stenhouse, 'Panvinio and *Descriptio*', 233-56; Chiara Piccoli, 'Visualizing Antiquity Before the Digital Age: Early and Late Modern Reconstructions of Greek and Roman Cityscapes', *Analecta Praehistorica Leidensia*, 47 (2017), 225-57. On the larger context of autopsy/ empiricism/ direct engagement with material objects in antiquarian studies, the entire volume *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe* is relevant.

scholar encountered the depiction of a *titulus* with its support, he was perhaps less inclined to notice the peculiarities of the support than if these characteristics were written on paper.

3.2.3 Manuscript and Printed Epigraphic *Corpora*: Two Media Feeding One Another

Although manuscript and printed epigraphic *corpora* could seem, at first glance, different from one another, they were in fact very similar in their representations of inscriptions. Manuscript transcriptions of *tituli* relied on descriptions to convey the visuality of the inscribed support and so did printed *corpora*. Although the *Epigrammata* and the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* do not focus on non-textual elements, Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae* often describes the type of support of the inscription, its material, and its ornaments. As we have seen in Chapter One, Gruterus even adds in some instances the context in which the *titulus* was erected.

Another fundamental similarity of the two media is their use of paratexts: we have seen in Chapter Two how manuscript compilations of *tituli* routinely displayed indices and categories; print, therefore, was by no means a requirement for the creation of ordered and classified epigraphic works. In fact, Colocci and Matal deemed essential the creation of indices for their printed copies of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* and of the *Epigrammata*.

In content and form, then, manuscript and printed *syllogai* displayed very similar features in the Cinquecento. As such, scholars did not necessarily wish to employ a mechanical medium that did not bring any additional features to the manuscript format, to which they were already used. Although print might have facilitated the dissemination of epigraphic information in the sixteenth century, scholars remained aware that it was a technology that invited experimentation, albeit one that did not necessarily provide an ideal means of communicating their work.[568] The two media were in constant exchange with each other: when we start seeing

[568] Stenhouse, 'Epigraphy and Technology in the Renaissance', p. 37.

an innovation in an epigraphic manuscript, we also observe the same change in epigraphic publications and vice versa.

3.2.4 Aims of Printed *Corpora* of Inscriptions?

If the two media of manuscript and print were so similar in content and form, we are led to consider the aims of scholars who went into print with their epigraphic *corpora*. Surprisingly, broadening the readership did not seem to be their principal aim: some antiquarians felt the need to bring 'fixity' to epigraphic texts, at a time when versions of the same text could vary widely. According to Christopher Wood, with the *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta*, Conrad Peutinger wished to use print technology as a means of registering and fixing the material and non-textual properties of epigraphic texts.[569] Although it would seem logical, at first glance, that materializing a text could stabilize it, this was far from being the case with epigraphic *corpora*: most printed collections failed to stabilize their transcriptions of inscriptions.[570] We have to bear in mind that publications of *tituli* did not necessarily produce an authoritative reading of the text: for instance, the *Epigrammata* and the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* contained such a large number of errors in their transcriptions that scholars rarely considered them authoritative sources. The multiple annotated copies of the *Epigrammata* clearly prove that several antiquarians considered the *Epigrammata* a collection to be emended and corrected, rather than a source to be trusted and used for epigraphic research. With the idea of a 'printing revolution', we tend to think of the printed book as fixing the text and that print brings the work to its final form.[571] The inclusion of *errata* sheets, however, contradicts this assumption; the early modern book was very much an incomplete object. The manuscript, on

[569] Wood, 'Notation of Visual Information', p. 110.
[570] By way of comparison, in *The Protean Virgil*, Kallendorf argues that printing Virgil's poetry neither stabilized nor produced an authoritative interpretation of the text (p. 40).
[571] Orgel, *The Reader in the Book*, p. 9.

the other hand, seemed to offer more freedom as scholars could come back to their transcriptions and correct or complete them.

3.3 Conclusions

In conclusion, this chapter has explored the impact of the printing press in the epigraphic field, a topic that has been largely neglected by modern scholarship. The case-study of Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographia* has exemplified why some scholars were reluctant when it came to printed *corpora*. Nevertheless, most of Boissard's reservations about print could be linked to what scholars felt about printing their works in other fields. This is the reason why, instead of seeing print as an agent of change in the epigraphic discipline, I have turned my attention to the close relationship between manuscript and print in the second part of the chapter. In this section, I join some of the directions that scholarship has taken after Eisenstein's claims: as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, David McKitterick emphasized the close relationship of manuscript and print and how they supplemented one another.[572] Readers and users of books in the Cinquecento did not have two separate conceptions of 'manuscript culture' and 'print culture': they saw that they could be both used in conjunction and that one offered things the other did not. This is the attitude we observe in the epigraphic field as well: manuscript and printed *corpora* had similar approaches to portraying inscriptions on paper, and even in manuscript, scholars relied heavily on descriptions to comment on the visuality of the inscription. This can also lead us to think about the *CIL*: as we have seen in Chapter One, the *CIL* has a very text-based focus for inscriptions; yet, when it needs to address the non-textual elements of a *titulus*, it does so by the means of description.

Printed *corpora* such as the *Epigrammata* and the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* show that print might have contributed to the dissemination of epigraphic material transcribed

[572] McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, p. 52.

erroneously. Nevertheless, the same problem was present in manuscripts too: long before the publication of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*, scholars copied inscriptions from other manuscripts without acknowledging their source and without checking the *titulus* themselves. Thorough scholars always checked their sources and privileged autopsy of the inscribed monument, whether in manuscript or print.

Even in the case of the transmission of material, manuscript transcriptions travelled as far as print ones, as scholars in the Cinquecento were in a constant exchange of information and material. This exchange of information and the complex transmission of material will be the object of the next chapter.

4 The Importance of Social Networks and Antiquarian Circles in the Transmission of Epigraphic Material in the Cinquecento

Already in the second page of his posthumously-published *Diálogos de medallas* of 1587, Antonio Agustín recognizes the importance of his correspondence with Italian scholars in his gathering of epigraphic material:

> I have talked to all, or at least to the most erudite men of Italy, and I have seen the antiquities of Rome with some diligence, but since I am busy with major occupations in the Rota and other matters, I am not as knowledgeable in this matter [of inscriptions] as you might think.[573]

For a man such as Agustín, occupied with his role of auditor to the Rota, having an extensive network of colleagues willing to share and exchange epigraphic material was essential in his understanding of the classical past. The previous three chapters have explored the development of the discipline of epigraphy by focusing on specific aspects of manuscript and printed epigraphic *syllogai*: such changes and innovations in epigraphy were introduced and furthered by certain groups of individuals, all of whom were involved, to a greater or lesser extent, in the circulation and collection of epigraphic data or in the compilation, production and sometimes publication of epigraphic *corpora*. Consequently, the study of particular collections of *tituli* can provide further information on the intricate networks of scholars, printers, patrons and art collectors of the Cinquecento: such analysis will allow us to understand how these individuals, who hailed from different parts of Europe, interacted and exchanged material, epigraphic evidence and ideas, transcending thus national borders. Furthermore, by contextualizing the epigraphic research carried out in the Cinquecento, we shall be able to retrace the evolution of approaches and practices in the epigraphic field.

[573] 'He comunicado con todos o los más dotos hombres de Italia y he visto las antiguallas de Roma con alguna diligencia, pero ocupado con mayores ocupaciones de la Rota, y de otras cosas que por mi han pasado, no estoi tan adelante en este estudio como usted piensa' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 2).

This chapter raises the question of the transmission of epigraphic material in the Cinquecento: as soon as scholars recorded their finds, this evidence entered a circulation chain, and it is precisely the transmission of this information that will be the focus of this section. This chapter, moreover, inserts itself in the fruitful line of scholarly interest in networks in Renaissance Europe; by doing so, it seeks to address various questions related to the exchange of epigraphic information in early modern Europe. Numerous studies have focused on the networks of distinct individuals: as one would expect, Antonio Agustín has attracted much attention, especially since he was in constant correspondence with several humanists from all over Europe and, as we have seen in Chapter Two, many scholars attended the meetings in his house when he was living in Rome.[574]

In order to reconstruct scholarly networks, the role of personal correspondence(s) is essential: as we have seen in previous chapters, sixteenth-century correspondence gives us valuable insights into how epigraphy, a discipline bourgeoning in the Cinquecento, emerged and evolved throughout the century. Of course, the role of correspondence is just as crucial in other disciplines, including mathematics, physics, astronomy and medicine.[575] Furthermore, online sites such as Early Modern Letters Online (EMLO) have placed much emphasis on sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century correspondence. Nevertheless, modern epigraphers who study the period of the Cinquecento tend to overlook the importance of

[574] See Alejandra Guzmán Almagro, 'Algunas coincidencias epigráficas entre Antonio Agustín y Aquiles Estaço', in *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico: homenaje al profesor Antonio Fontán*, ed. by José María Maestre Maestre, Joaquín Pascual Barea and Luis Charlo Brea, 5 vols (Alcañiz: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos, 2002), I, pp. 423-28; Joan Carbonell Manils, 'Ambientes humanísticos en Roma (1545-1555). El cenáculo de Ottavio Pantagato, Antonio Agustín y Jean Matal', in *La investigación en Humanidades*, ed. by Carme De La Mota and Gemma Puigvert (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2009), pp. 47-70; Jansen, 'Antonio Agustín and Jacopo Strada', pp. 211-38; Ron Truman, 'Jean Matal and His Relations with Antonio Agustín, Jerónimo Osório da Fonseca and Pedro Ximenes', in *Antonio Agustín between Renaissance and Counter-Reform*, ed. by Michael H. Crawford (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1993), pp. 247-63.

[575] The correspondence of the French astronomer Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637) in particular has attracted attraction. See for instance, Jonathan Pearl, 'The Role of Personal Correspondence in the Exchange of Scientific Information in Early Modern France', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 8 (1984), 106-13; Lisa Sarasohn, 'Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc and the Patronage of the New Science in the Seventeenth Century', *Isis*, 84 (1993), 70-90. Peiresc was also interested in transcribing epigraphic texts: see his manuscripts Latins 8957-8958 in the BnF which display very textually-based transcriptions of *tituli*.

scholars' correspondence and how it can illuminate us on several aspects of the exchange of epigraphic data and ideas.

At the end of Chapter Three, we have seen that printed epigraphic *corpora* differed from their manuscript counterparts in terms of the quantity of material. In this sense, compilers of sixteenth-century publications strove to complete the already existing collections by adding even more material: in the second half of the sixteenth century, we start observing a desire for 'completeness' and for providing exhaustive epigraphic collections. In order to do so, scholars had to rely on their connections, which were crucial for finding inscriptions that had not been reproduced before (or that had been transcribed inaccurately). This chapter will look more closely at the mechanics between completeness in epigraphic publications, exchange of epigraphic material and networks of antiquarians.

This chapter will first examine the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* and the group of scholars that might have been involved in its production. In this section, I shall also delve into the annotated copies of the *Epigrammata*. I shall then investigate how Martinus Smetius used different sources for the compilation of his *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* and shall connect this section to Gruterus's search of material for his *Inscriptiones antiquae*. Then, the case-study of the overlooked MS Latin 17575 (BnF) will offer a remarkable example of the transmission of epigraphic material and will shed light on a figure of the Cinquecento who is virtually absent from studies on the history of epigraphy and antiquarian scholarship. Finally, this chapter will explore physical collections of inscriptions and how epigraphic *corpora* can inform us on the reality of the removal of inscriptions from their original locations.

4.1 The Compilation of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* and Its Annotated Copies

4.1.1 Francesco Albertini, Andrea Fulvio and Mariangelo Accursio: Potential Compilers of the Anonymous *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*?

The *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* offers an extraordinary illustration of the involvement of scholars in the production of a printed epigraphic *corpus*. Given the *Epigrammata*'s status as an anonymous collection, scholars have attempted over the centuries to find the compiler(s) of such an influential work. Some scholars have attempted to attribute the *Epigrammata* to Giacomo Mazzocchi himself, but already in her article 'Andrea Fulvio, *alter homo doctus* autore degli *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*?' of 1969, Ida Calabi Limentani underlined that these were mere 'voci sporadiche'.[576] In his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (Vat. Lat. 8495), Jean Matal records the following note next to Mazzocchi's preface (on the verso of the frontispiece): 'This book was selected from the notebook of the highly learned Mariangelo Accursio, who transcribed these inscriptions with the utmost diligence; the printer, however, spoiled it.'[577] Matal was writing about twenty-five years after the work's publication; yet his speculation probably stems from the fact that Accursio himself edited the *Notae* of Valerius Probus that appear in the first pages of the *Epigrammata* (Accursio's name appears explicitly in this edition of Probus's notes).[578] Accursio was a well-known antiquarian in Rome, where he had started his career as philologist in 1513: he participated in the reunions of the poets of the Roman Curia and was in contact with remarkable scholars, such as Angelo Colocci.[579] Accursio was also one of the first scholars to travel around the Iberian Peninsula in

[576] Ida Calabi Limentani, 'Andrea Fulvio, *alter homo doctus* autore degli *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*?', *Epigraphica*, 31 (1969), 205-12 (p. 205).
[577] 'Hic liber desumptus est ex libro doctissimi Mar(iangeli) Accursii, qui has inscriptiones magna cum diligentia exscripsit, sed librarius vitiavit' (Matal, Vat. Lat. 8495, fol. 11^{v}).
[578] Two centuries later, Giovanni Battista de Rossi would agree with Matal's statement and suggest that the *Epigrammata* had been compiled by Accursio.
[579] The biographical details on Accursio's life are taken from Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, 'Le Voyage épigraphique de Mariangelo Accursio au Portugal, printemps 1527', in *Portuguese Humanism and the Republic of Letters*, ed.by Maria Berbara and Karl Enenkel (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 19-111. See this article for a study of Accursio's *corpora* of Hispanic inscriptions, which take the form of a travel guide with brief introductory texts. Deswarte-

the quest for inscriptions: given his connections and interest in inscribed monuments, his potential involvement as author of the *Epigrammata* is therefore not improbable.[580]

In this prefatory note, Matal also reports that other scholars attributed the *Epigrammata* to Francesco Albertini: 'Others, however, attribute them [the *Epigrammata*] to a certain Albertini from Florence, who had collected in a single volume Roman inscriptions [transcribed] from the stones themselves'.[581] This statement was based on the fact that Mazzocchi had printed Albertini's *Opusculum* in 1510, whose colophon announced the imminent publication of a collection of funerary inscriptions.[582] Several scholars have interpreted this as evidence that, already in 1510, Mazzocchi had in mind the project of publishing a *corpus* of inscriptions.[583] In his note, however, Matal doubts Albertini's potential authorship, stating that he was not sufficiently learned.[584] In the nineteenth century, one of the *CIL* compilers, Wilhelm Henzen, ventured that Albertini had only started the *sylloge* and that one or several scholars enlarged it, when the collection was already in press: 'Therefore [Francesco] Albertini certainly started this *sylloge*, but after it had started being printed, it was either emended or enlarged by another learned man or even several of them'.[585]

A third theory attributes responsibility for the compilation to Andrea Fulvio. This notion goes back to a statement in Agustín's *Diálogos de medallas*: after his interlocutor asks

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Rosa also highlights the importance of these *syllogai* for the compilation of the *CIL* volume dealing with Spanish inscriptions: Accursio indeed wrote down the names of the individuals and scholars he met during his journey; these epigraphic *corpora* are therefore not only valuable witnesses for the study of Spanish epigraphy, but they also illustrate a very specific reality of the Cinquecento in Spain. On Accursio, see also, Augusto Campana, 'Accursio, Mariangelo', in *DBI*, vol. 1 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960), pp. 126-32.

[580] Deswarte-Rosa, 'Le Voyage épigraphique de Mariangelo Accursio au Portugal', p. 20. Furthermore, as we have seen in Chapter 1.2.3, Accursio was planning to revise the entirety of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*; his epigraphic interests, therefore, are well attested.

[581] 'Alii tamen tribuunt eas Albertino cuidam Florentino, qui inscriptiones Romanas ex ipsis saxis in unum volumen collegerat' (Matal, Vat. Lat. 8495, fol. 11^{v}).

[582] 'Impressum Romae per Iacobum Mazochium […] qui infra paucos dies epythaphiorum opusculum in lucem ponet' (Albertini, *Opusculum*). In his article 'Silloge Archinto (MS B.I.A.S.A. 91). Una fonte per gli *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* del Mazzocchi', *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, 48 (1980), 262-309, Dario Giorgetti is also of the opinion that Albertini played a significant role in the compilation of the *Epigrammata*.

[583] Calabi Limentani, 'Andrea Fulvio, *alter homo doctus* autore degli *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis?*', p. 206.

[584] According to Matal, Albertini was 'parum doctus' (Vat. Lat. 8495, fol. 11^{v}).

[585] 'Syllogem igitur hanc certe inchoavit Albertinus, sed videtur postquam imprimi coepta esset, per alterum hominem doctum vel alios eam vel emendandam vel explendam curasse' (*CIL* VI, p. XLVI).

to hear of the compilation of epitaphs and inscriptions, the Spanish jurist answers, 'I have already named the main ones. One is a compilation of inscriptions from Rome alone, published by Andrea Fulvio and printed by Giacomo Mazzocchi in Rome in 1521'.[586] Albertini died between 1517 and 1521, Fulvio during the Sack of Rome and Accursio around 1544. Agustín was born only in 1517 and arrived in Rome in 1544, where he employed Matal as his secretary. Therefore, neither Agustín nor Matal could personally have met Albertini or Fulvio, and it is very unlikely that they had the opportunity to meet Accursio: their statements, therefore, are but speculative. Although the author of the *Epigrammata* will probably remain elusive, the aforementioned scholars had close ties with this work.

Another point to bear in mind is that all these possible collaborators and scholars were part of the same antiquarian circle. As we have seen in the Introduction, the *Epigrammata* is dedicated to Mario Maffei of Volterra, bishop of Aquino: Maffei belonged to the circle of the scholar Johann Goritz (also known as Corycius; 1455-1527). The same humanists who gathered around Goritz and his *Accademia Coryciana*, also congregated around Angelo Colocci: whereas Colocci's circle was more interested in antiquarian topics, Goritz's passion revolved around religious and literary matters.[587] Furthermore, Mario Maffei was the brother of Raffaele Maffei, whose works Mazzocchi had printed, including a translation of the *Odyssey* in Latin, the *Odissea Homeri in Latinum conversa* (Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1509).[588] Mazzocchi had also printed Albertini's *Opusculum* of 1510 and Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines* of 1517. Fulvio and Albertini themselves were closely acquainted: the two men had

[586] 'Quedame por saber que libros hai de los epitaphios, o inscriciones. Ya están nombrados los principales, et uno es de las inscriciones de Roma solamente, publicado por Andrés Fulvio, impresso por Iacomo Mazochio en Roma año 1521' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 467). I have cited an extended version of this quotation earlier on in Chapter Three, but I repeat it here to raise the possibility that Andrea Fulvio was the author of the *Epigrammata*. Calabi Limentani and Weiss have both strongly emphasized Fulvio's potential involvement in the compilation of the *Epigrammata* (see Calabi Limentani, 'Andrea Fulvio, *alter homo doctus* autore degli *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis?*', p. 207; Weiss, 'Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano', p. 12).

[587] On Goritz and his *Accademia Coryciana*, see Massimo Ceresa, 'Goritz, Johann, detto Coricio', in *DBI*, vol. 58 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2002), pp. 69-72 (p. 69).

[588] On the Maffei brothers, see Ingrid D. Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 20-22.

met in Rome at the start of the Cinquecento and, given their similar antiquarian interests, Fulvio had closely followed the progress of Albertini's *Opusculum*: on the frontispiece of Albertini's work, we read just under the title a Latin epigram written by Fulvio, warmly praising the *Opusculum*.[589] Mazzocchi was also behind the publication of Pomponio Leto's *De Romanae urbis vetustate* (Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1510).[590] In this sense, it is worth stressing that Mazzocchi's productions in the years that led to the publication of the *Epigrammata* had a clear antiquarian focus: the *Epigrammata* was not an arbitrary item in Mazzocchi's career and publications, it was clearly planned beforehand.

In addition, the humanists potentially involved in the compilation and production of the *Epigrammata* were for the most part associated with Pomponio Leto and his *Accademia Romana*: when he was studying in Rome, Fulvio was Leto's pupil, and so was Colocci, whose name is mentioned several times in the *Epigrammata* as he possessed an impressive physical collection of inscriptions.[591] Fulvio also had, at least in the last decade of his life, a house in the neighbourhood of Sant' Eustachio in Rome, where he collected inscribed monuments, following in the footsteps of Leto.[592] Incidentally, five of these inscriptions feature in the *Epigrammata*: *CIL* VI 670, 18656, 18709, 21737 and 29554.[593] In effect, Mario Maffei, Colocci, Fulvio and Albertini were all part of the new Roman academy that emerged after the death of Pomponio Leto in 1498: in the preface, Mazzocchi mentions indeed a 'studiosa cohors'

[589] Weiss, 'Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano', p. 8.
[590] Ascarelli, *Annali tipografici di Giacomo Mazzocchi*, p. 38.
[591] Weiss, 'Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano', p. 2. On Colocci's collection of inscriptions and antiquities, see Fanelli, *Ricerche su Angelo Colocci*, pp. 111-18; Samy Lattès, 'Recherches sur la bibliothèque d'Angelo Colocci', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, 48 (1931), 308-44 (p. 309). On Leto's *Accademia Romana*, see Concetta Bianca, 'Pomponio Leto e l'invenzione dell'Accademia romana', in *Les Académies dans l'Europe humaniste: idéaux et pratiques*, ed. by Marc Deramaix and others (Geneva: Droz, 2008), pp. 25-56. On the relationship between Colocci and Leto, see Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance*, pp. 7-13. Colocci's collection of antiquities is also attested in Matal's annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*: regarding *CIL* VI 22150, Matal writes that it is 'nunc in domo Ang(eli) Colotii' (Vat. Lat. 8495, fol. 94^{v}).
[592] On Pomponio Leto and his physical collection of antiquities (most of which were inscriptions), see Sara Magister, 'Pomponio Leto collezionista di antichità. Note sulla tradizione manoscritta di una raccolta epigrafica nella Roma del tardo Quattrocento', *Xenia Antiqua*, 7 (1998), 167-96.
[593] Weiss, 'Andrea Fulvio antiquario romano', p. 2.

that meets in the 'nova Academia', which would have corresponded to Colocci's house.[594] Therefore, given the close connections of these humanists with very similar interests and passions, it would not be far-fetched to think of the *Epigrammata* as a *corpus* born from the collaboration of various scholars.

4.1.2 Multiplicity of Sources Used in the Compilation of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*

Although the multiplicity of antiquarians involved in the production of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* is merely a theory, we can clearly observe, however, the plurality of the sources used in the compilation of the work. On several occasions, we find duplicated transcriptions of *tituli*, reproduced with a different layout and with diverse locations. For instance, on fol. 50^{v} and 100^{v}, we observe the different transcriptions of the same epitaph *CIL* VI 16534 (Figs 61 and 62). When comparing both renderings with the original monument (Fig. 63), the differences in content and form are striking: in the transcription on fol. 50^{v} (Fig. 61), the dedication has been treated as two separate inscriptions, the layout is completely incorrect (the text has been written horizontally and not in columns), some terms such as *bene merenti vixit*

[594] Calabi Limentani, 'Andrea Fulvio, *alter homo doctus* autore degli *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis?*', p. 209; Fanelli, *Ricerche su Angelo Colocci*, p. 113.

annis have been entirely abbreviated and the name of the dedicator *Cossutius* has been mistaken for *Consutius*.

Figure 61. Transcription of *CIL* VI 16534 in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, fol. 50^{v} (the annotations are later than the period under study).

In contrast, the transcription on fol. 100^{v} offers a very different picture as it is closer to the original text and support (Fig. 62).

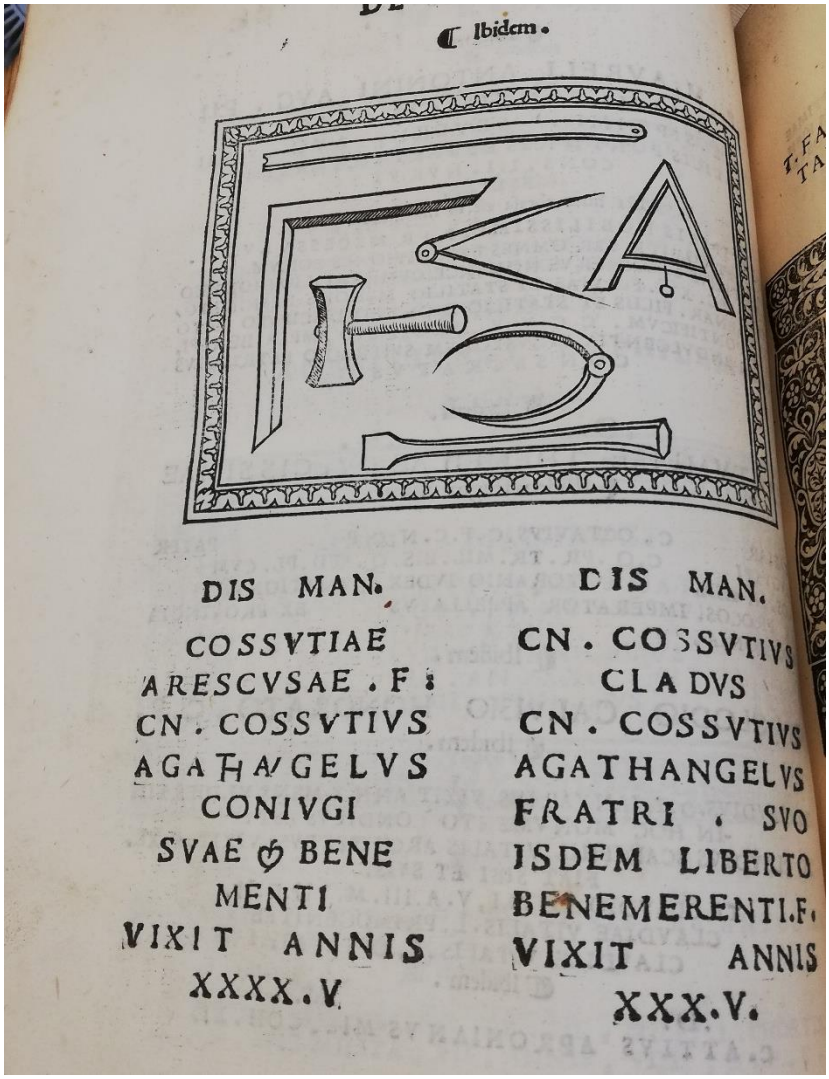

Figure 62. Transcription of the same inscription *CIL* VI 16534 in the *Epigrammata*, fol. 100^{v}.

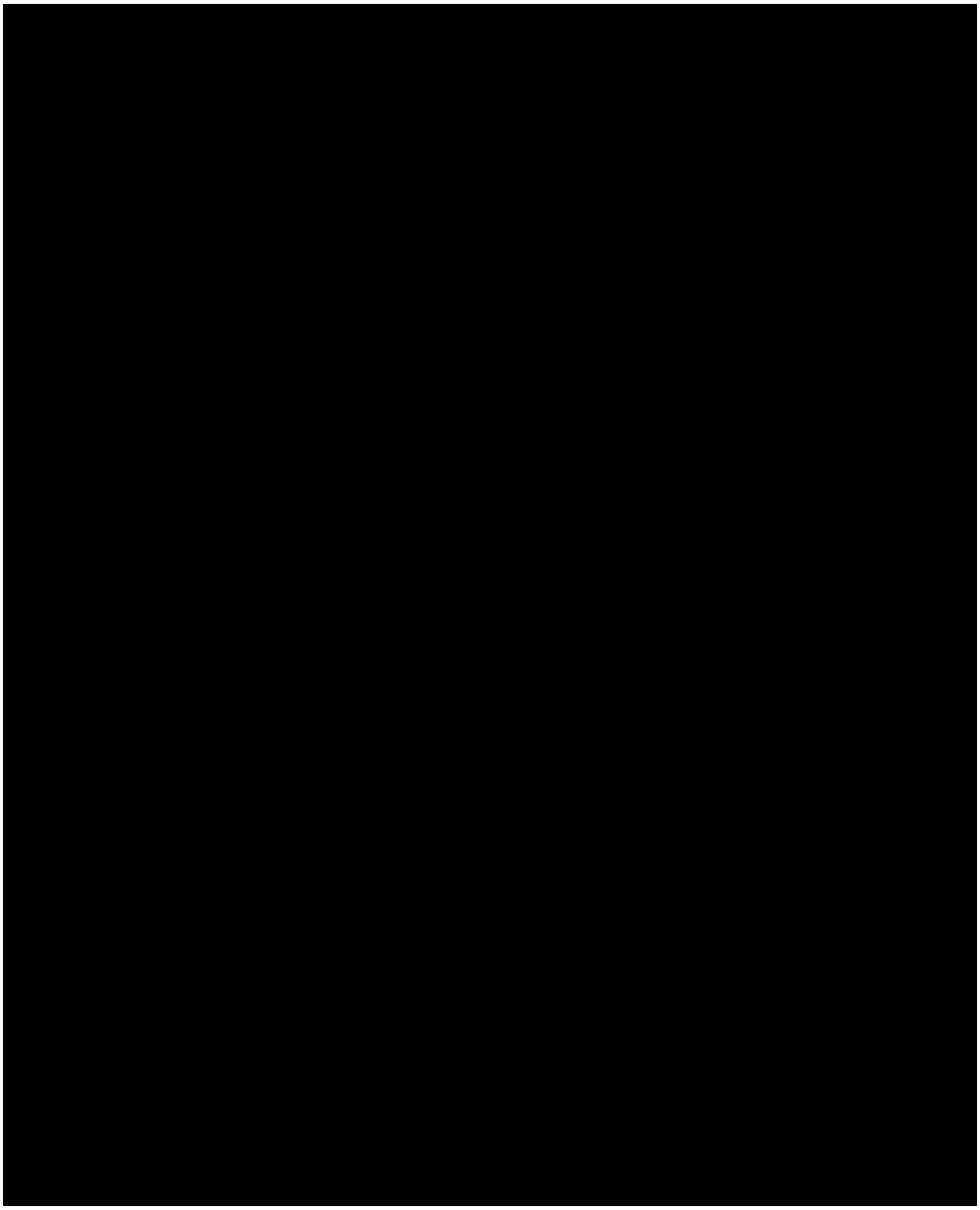

Figure 63. Epitaph *CIL* VI 16534 (preserved in the Musei Capitolini, Rome, inventory number: NCE 2540).

<columna I>

Dìs Man(ibus)/ Cossutiae Arescusae f(ecit)/ Cn(aeus) Cossutius/ Agathangelus/ coniugi/ suae bene/ merenti/ vixit annis/ XXXXV

<columna II>

Dìs Man(ibus)/ Cn(aeus) Cossutius/ Cladus/ Cn(aeus) Cossutius Agathangelu(s)/ fratri suo/ isdem liberto/ bene merenti f(ecit)/ vixit annis/ XXXV

In the second transcription, the text is more accurate (except for *merenti/menti*), represents the *I longae* and follows the original layout: there are no arbitrary line-breaks and the text has been reproduced in columns. Furthermore, we also find a woodcut of the decorations that can be observed on the right side of the original monument (although, in the *Epigrammata*, these decorations 'mirror' the position of the originals, perhaps due to a printing mistake; Fig. 64).

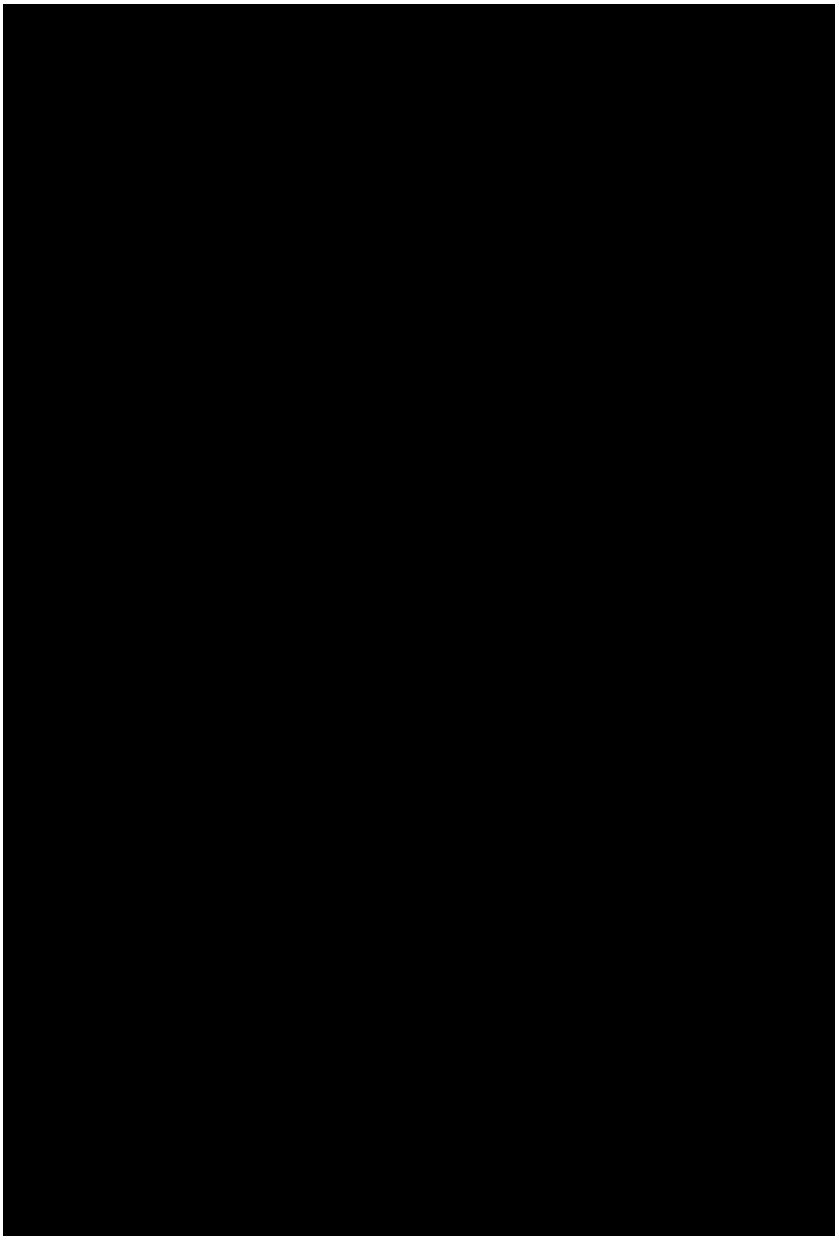

Figure 64. Epitaph *CIL* VI 16534 with a view of the decorations on the right side.

This second transcription was either taken from a more accurate source or it was produced after autopsy of the monument: these two very distinct transcriptions of a single *titulus* strongly suggest multiple sources in the compilation of the *Epigrammata*. *CIL* VI 16534 is far from being the sole example of its kind in the *Epigrammata*: in fact, I found about ninety epigraphic texts that have been duplicated, a remarkably high number. Although some of these transcriptions are only partially duplicated, they show that the *Epigrammata* was not compiled from a unique source.[595]

Just like its potential author(s), the sources of the *Epigrammata* were never confirmed. As I have explained in the previous paragraph, already in 1510 Mazzocchi had announced the publication of a *sylloge* of classical inscriptions and we do know that Albertini was preparing a *corpus* of epigraphic texts between 1510 and 1515.[596] Nevertheless, it is very unlikely that Albertini's collection formed the nucleus of material for the compilation of the *Epigrammata*: Albertini's *corpus* was rather slim and contained several transcriptions of Christian inscribed monuments besides pagan texts (whereas the *Epigrammata* contained more than three thousand inscriptions). The *Epigrammata* was also the first collection, to our knowledge, to record some *tituli* of the Eternal City that had never been transcribed before, especially those present in the house of Colocci. Other suggested sources for the compilation of the *Epigrammata* are the *syllogai* of Giovanni Giocondo and of Poggio Bracciolini.[597] As we have seen in Chapter One with the case-study of the Piramide Cestia, Francesco Cinzio Benincasa's manuscript Vat. Lat. 5251 is also a possible source for the *Epigrammata*.[598]

[595] Sixteenth-century scholars show in their annotated copies that they were aware of the duplicated inscriptions in the *Epigrammata*: see the next section, 4.1.3.
[596] Buonocore, 'Epigraphic Research from its Inception', p. 34. Albertini's epigraphic collection was never published in full.
[597] Anthony Grafton, *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Library of Congress, Yale University Press, in association with the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1993), p. 97; Buonocore, 'Epigraphic Research from its Inception', p. 34.
[598] Modern scholarship has not noticed this link between Benincasa's manuscript and the *Epigrammata*.

It is perhaps not so important to seek the compiler(s) or the sources of the *Epigrammata*, as to acknowledge its significance as a *corpus* that represents the epigraphic research carried out in the papal city during the previous twenty years.

4.1.3 The Annotated Copies of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, the *Errata* and Reading Practices

We ought to think of the *Epigrammata* as a production in distinct stages, to which several authors contributed, just as Henzen suggested: although there is no acknowledgement of such collaboration in the main text of the *Epigrammata*, some details hint at the participation of various individuals in the production of the *sylloge*. The *errata* at the end of the *Epigrammata*, for instance, were added at a very late stage in the production of the collection: although their compiler is also anonymous, these *errata* clearly attest that the humanist checked the inscriptions himself. Lists of *errata*, once again, were by no means specific to epigraphic publications. Although mistakes occurred in manuscript production and could be multiplied from one exemplar to multiple copies, the errors in printed books were immediately multiplied in many hundreds of copies. In the sixteenth century, then, the most common solution was to include a list of *errata* in the printed book: positioned at the beginning or end of a text, it pragmatically listed all the errors contained within.[599] Ironically, very often the existence of an *errata* sheet prompted a reader to seek out more errors in the printed work, a tendency that is apparent in the annotated copies of the *Epigrammata*. Annotations in surviving copies of the

[599] The practice of *errata* has been studied by several scholars: see McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, p. 98; Ann Blair, 'Errata Lists and the Reader as Corrector', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. by Sabrina A. Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 21-41; Ann Blair, 'Corrections manuscrites et listes d'*errata* à la Renaissance', in *Esculape et Dionysos: mélanges en l'honneur de Jean Céard*, ed. by Jean Dupèbe and others (Geneva: Droz, 2008), pp. 269-86; Orgel, *The Reader in the Book*, p. 11; Sheila Nayar, *Renaissance Responses to Technological Change* (Greensboro: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 21-31.

Epigrammata show how readers engaged with the text and its errors, with or without attending to the *errata* list, to produce the final version of the text in the copy they owned.[600]

The *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* offers valuable information on *errata* lists and epigraphic reading practices of the Cinquecento. The *Epigrammata* is, to my knowledge, the only printed collection of inscriptions of the sixteenth century with a rigorous *errata* list: given the quantity of conspicuous mistakes, the *corpus* ended up with fourteen and half densely printed pages of *errata*, which were included in a separate gathering in the final pages of the work (Fig. 65).[601]

[600] For a more detailed study of early modern reading practices based on *errata*, see Blair, 'Errata Lists', p. 23.
[601] The *errata* are included in all the copies I have consulted of the *Epigrammata*.

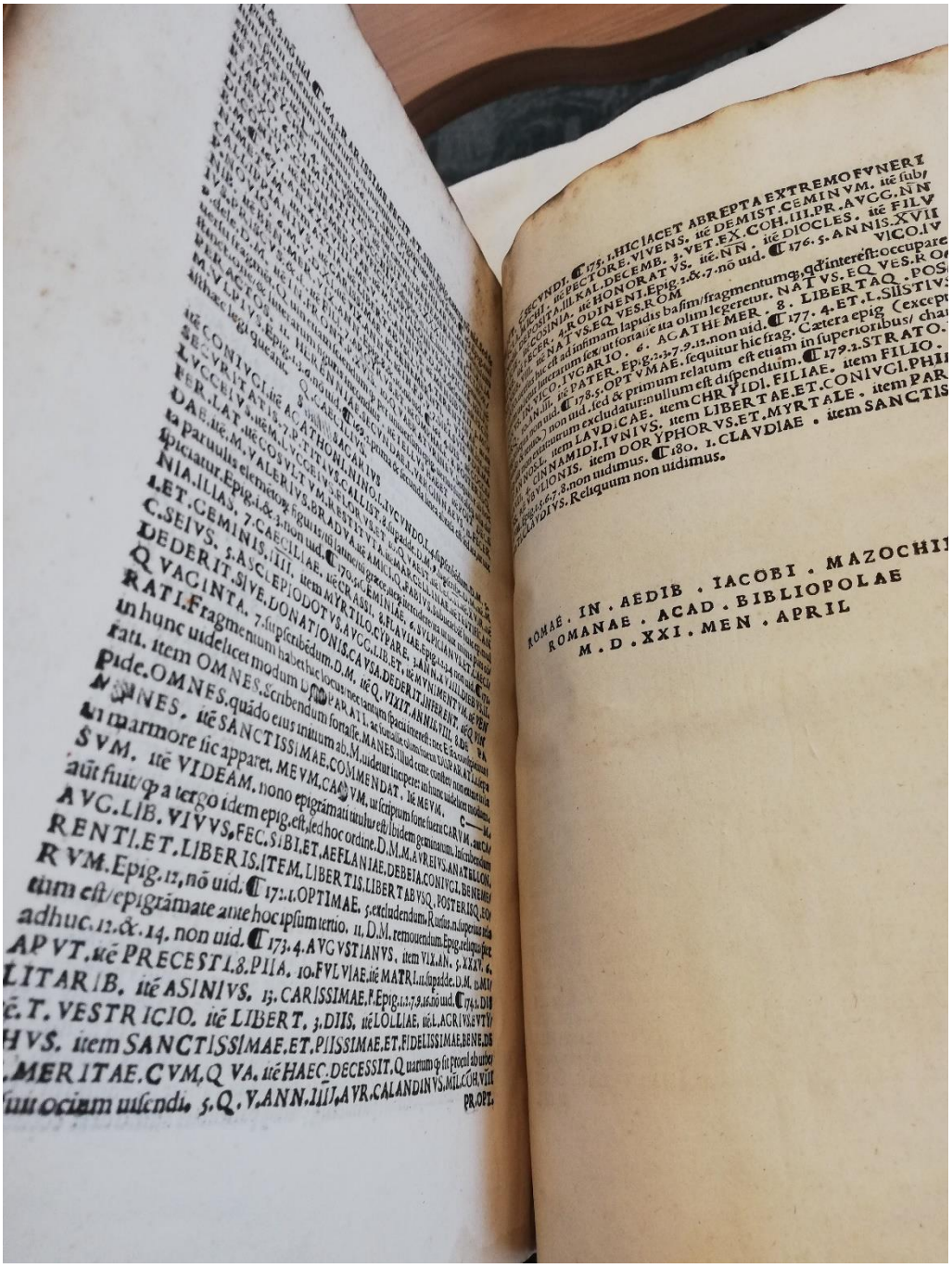

Figure 65. Dense list of *errata* in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis.*

The *errata* of the *Epigrammata* are, at any rate, quite remarkable, attesting to very precise and rigorous work, in which the anonymous humanist checked most of the inscriptions himself, providing the accurate reading, updating the location of the inscribed monument and including very often a brief commentary if it had been wrongly portrayed in print. The compiler of the *errata* does not shy away from harshly criticizing some of the erroneous representations of the

Epigrammata (we have seen in Chapter One that he calls the transcription of the *titulus* on Cestius's Pyramid 'mendosissima'). In some cases, the compiler admits that he has seen only some inscriptions so he adds 'non vid(imus)' for the rest of the epigraphic texts on the page: instead of relying on another source to correct the inscription, he simply admits that he had not the opportunity to examine it. In the *errata*, we see different types of corrections: the compiler notes if the *titulus* is damaged (as we have seen with Trajan's Column in Chapter One); if an erasure has been omitted, the compiler indicates textually that the line or the word has been *erasus/a*. In some cases, the printed transcription is so erroneous that the compiler has to transcribe the whole text again. Furthermore, in some instances, the compiler also states his doubts about the veracity of a *titulus*.[602]

Given the extremely meticulous nature of its *errata*, some scholars have suggested that the *Epigrammata* was completed in 1517 (when Mazzocchi was granted a seven-year privilege for his publication by Pope Leo X) but that it saw the light only in 1521 because it took four years to compile the *errata*.[603] Such speculation stems from the fact that these *errata* were evidently the work of several months and no other epigraphic *corpus* of the Cinquecento displays such an exhaustive *errata* list. The *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* of 1534, for instance, contained even more mistakes and inaccuracies than the *Epigrammata*, but only displays a two-page list of *errata*. Even compared to other early modern publications, the *errata* sheets of the *Epigrammata* are exceptional in their length and accuracy. Later in this section, I shall argue how the *errata* helped the *Epigrammata* in becoming an influential epigraphic publication.

If the *Epigrammata* bears witness to a plurality of sources, we should also consider its pivotal role in the circulation and use of epigraphical material following its publication.

[602] See Chapter 5.3 for spurious inscriptions in the *Epigrammata*.
[603] Several scholars have advanced this theory, including: Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, p. 158; Ascarelli, *Annali tipografici di Giacomo Mazzocchi*, p. 140; Bianca, 'Giacomo Mazzocchi e gli *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis*', p. 111.

Mazzocchi's *Epigrammata* was practically the only available printed *sylloge* in the first half of the Cinquecento, with ample space on each page for marginalia, and it was widely used as a handbook for epigraphical research, to judge from the numerous annotated copies that survive.[604] These annotated copies have been subject to various studies in modern scholarship; nevertheless, the wealth of information in them is such that some of these elements are missing from these studies.

Matal's annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* represents a fascinating case-study: the abundance of marginalia reveals clear objectives and a continuous epigraphical method.[605] Matal's copy of the *Epigrammata* was a gift of Antonio Agustín, as we can see in the dedication on the frontispiece of Matal's copy, which reads: 'Antonius Augustinus Jo(hanni) Metello d(onum) d(edit)'. When Agustín was named as auditor of the Rota in 1544, he invited Matal to be his secretary in Rome.[606] Agustín became interested in library catalogues and entrusted Matal to find legal manuscripts in the different libraries of Venice, Florence and Rome.[607] Ten years later, Matal left Rome to accompany Agustín on a diplomatic mission to England in 1555 and he left his notes behind. Agustín returned to Rome, but Matal preferred to visit his family and ended up in Cologne.[608] It is noteworthy that after leaving Italy, we have no surviving evidence of Matal's interest in epigraphy, which is one of the main reasons why

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[604] Richard Cooper, 'Epigraphical Research in Rome in the Mid-Sixteenth Century: The Papers of Antonio Agustín and Jean Matal', in *Antonio Agustín between Renaissance and Counter-Reform*, ed. by Michael H. Crawford (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1993), pp. 95-111 (p. 98).

[605] The following scholarly works explore some of the multiple aspects of Matal's annotated copy: Buonocore, *Tra i codici epigrafici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, pp. 241-44; Buonocore, 'Sulle copie postillate vaticane degli *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis*', 91-102; Carbonell Manils and González Germain, 'Jean Matal and His Annotated Copy of the *Epigrammata*', 149-68; Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 39.

[606] See Anthony Hobson, 'The Iter Italicum of Jean Matal', in *Studies in the Book Trade in Honour of Graham Pollard*, ed. by Richard W. Hunt, Ian G. Philip and Richard J. Roberts (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society Publications, 1975), pp. 33-61.

[607] Cooper, 'Epigraphical Research in Rome', p. 97; Juan Francisco Alcina Rovira and Joan Salvadó Recasens, *La biblioteca de Antonio Agustín. Los impresos de un humanista de la Contrarreforma* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones, 2007), p. 51; Carbonell Manils, 'El corpus epigráfico de los *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (ed. Mazochius, 1521) a raíz del estudio del ejemplar anotado por Jean Matal', p. 14. On the libraries Matal visited in Rome, see Hobson, 'The Iter Italicum of Jean Matal', pp. 34-45.

[608] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 45; Heuser, *Jean Matal*, p. 135.

he has been overlooked by scholarship. Before entering the BAV, Matal's copy of the *Epigrammata* passed in the hands of the Italian cardinal Giovanni Battista Bandini (1551-1628), as we can read from the note of possession on the recto of the second folio of guard 'Ex libris Io(hannis) Bap(tistae) Bandini'.[609]

Modern scholars have studied part of Matal's corrections, including how he emended the erroneous transcriptions and crossed out the decorative borders.[610] To this, I would like to add that Matal also paid great attention to the *versuum divisio* of inscriptions and created a code to rectify Mazzocchi's arbitrary line-breaks: this code, represented by different types of perpendicular lines, showed the exact starting-point of a new line of the *titulus*. Matal's corrections, then, were as much textual as they were visual.

In his introductory note, Matal provides us with a rather exhaustive catalogue of the documents he used, both printed and in manuscript, to carry out his work on the *Epigrammata*. Among the printed sources we find works such as Andrea Fulvio's *Antiquitates urbis* of 1527, Apianus and Amantius's *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* of 1534 and Bartolomeo Marliano's *Urbis Romae topographia* of 1544. We have seen in Chapter One that Matal included cross-references of the *tituli* in the *Epigrammata* to their description in Fulvio and Marliano's works. Matal also employed epigraphic manuscripts: of great interest among these sources is his use of transcriptions by the Spanish antiquarian Alfonso Castro (sixteenth century). On eighty-three occasions, we find the handwritten abbreviation *A. C. exscr.* next to some of the printed transcriptions, which means *Alfonsus Castrus exscripsit* (expanded on fol. 136^{v}). Now, in his article 'Las supuestas síloges epigráficas de Alfonso y Gaspar de Castro. A propósito de los papeles de J. Matal y A. Agustín del Ms. Vat. Lat. 6040', Joan Carbonell

[609] On Giovanni Battista Bandini, see Buonocore, 'Miscellanea epigraphica e Codicibus Bibliothecae Vaticanae. XIII', p. 156.
[610] See, for instance, Buonocore, 'Miscellanea epigraphica e Codicibus Bibliothecae Vaticanae. XIII', pp. 155-56; Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 39; Carbonell Manils and González Germain, 'Jean Matal and His Annotated Copy of the *Epigrammata*', p. 151.

Manils has very convincingly argued that Alfonso Castro and Gaspar de Castro (whom we mentioned briefly in Chapter 1.3.4) were the same person: this scholar would have had a compound name, Gaspar Alfonso de Castro, which could have originated the confusion.[611] Castro had sent numerous accurate transcriptions of *tituli* to Agustín, some of which are preserved in the manuscript Vat. Lat. 6040, especially in folios 151^{r} to 189^{r} (inscriptions from Rome). After studying some of the transcriptions in Vat. Lat. 6040, Matal's reasons for trusting Castro's papers become immediately apparent: Castro is extremely meticulous in his transcriptions and he provides precise locations of the inscriptions. For instance, his transcription of the inscription on Trajan's Column in Vat. Lat. 6040, fol. 187^{v}, respects the *versuum divisio*, does not contain mistakes and represents the shape of the damage (without offering a reconstruction of the words). Furthermore, and this was perhaps the most interesting aspect for Matal, Castro describes the letter-forms of *tituli* in much detail, and, as we have seen, Matal was very interested in the lettering of epigraphic texts.[612] Therefore, Matal employs Castro's references to describe the size and shape of letter-forms, line by line. Although majuscules in manuscripts and printed *corpora* did not always display the relative size of different parts of an inscription, Castro's detailed explanation provided an accurate account of the inscription's lettering.

Matal's marginalia and incredibly meticulous work on the copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* will be better informed with further study of his other epigraphic manuscripts in the BAV (Vat. Lat. 6038 and 6039), which reveal a clear will on Matal's part to construct a *sylloge* as comprehensive as possible that would complete the *Epigrammata*.[613] In these two

[611] Joan Carbonell Manils, 'Las supuestas síloges epigráficas de Alfonso y Gaspar de Castro. A propósito de los papeles de J. Matal y A. Agustín del Ms. Vat. Lat. 6040', in *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico: homenaje al profesor Juan Gil*, ed. by José María Maestre Maestre and others, 5 vols (Alcañiz: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos, 2015), I, pp. 477-95. As Carbonell Manils shows in this article, the compound name Gaspar Alfonso was very common in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centruries.
[612] Note that Carbonell Manils does not signal this aspect of Matal's use of Castro's *sylloge*.
[613] Matal demonstrated a rigorous approach to inscriptions in his other epigraphic manuscripts: see, for instance, his description of the *tabula patronatus* in Vat. Lat. 6034, where he provides very specific information on the dimensions of the monument. On the *tabula patronatus*, see Marco Buonocore, 'Sulla *tabula patronatus* di

manuscripts, the number of scholars who were keen on sending him epigraphic material is remarkable. We find names from France, Italy and the Low Countries, including the French writer and physician François Rabelais (died in 1553), antiquarians and philologists such as Piero Vettori (1499-1585) and the humanist Guillaume Philandrier (1505-1563), among many others.[614] Matal himself did not have the opportunity to travel much when he was in Rome, and some of his colleagues, such as the antiquarian Antoine Morillon (1522-1556), were sending him material from Venice, Padua, Naples, Pozzuoli and Sicily, while Italian scholars such as Vettori and his son Jacopo provided him with material from Arezzo.[615] Stephanus Pighius even sent him non-Latin inscriptions.[616] Matal recorded these inscriptions in his own *corpora* but not without checking the transcriptions first (normally with the help of other transcriptions). Furthermore, Matal always acknowledges his sources, writing 'M. legi' when he himself saw the inscribed monument or the abbreviated names when one of his companions recorded the *titulus*. Matal's contribution to epigraphic scholarship was heavily based on teamwork and it is precisely such collaboration that allowed him to gather this quantity of material.

Linked with the circulation of information amongst antiquarians is the study of the transmission of marginalia of the annotated copies of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis.* Lelio's copy (Vat. Lat. 8492) was not intended for his own study of inscriptions but was meant as a gift for his colleague Felix Trophinus of Bologna (Troffinus; died in 1527) as we are told by the manuscript *ex-dono* on the frontispiece: 'Felici Trophimo [*sic*], episcopo Theatinorum sano,

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Peltuinum (*CIL*, IX, 3429) trasmessa da Jean Matal (Vat. lat. 6034 = Vat. lat. 6038)', *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 12 (2005), 7-28.

[614] Piero Vettori also owned a copy of the *Epigrammata* which he annotated: see Ginette Vagenheim, 'Piero Vettori e l'epigrafia: l'edizione (*Epigrammata antiquae Urbis*, Roma 1521), le schede (Firenze, B.N.C., cod. Magliab. XXVIII, 29) e le lapidi', *La Bibliofilia*, 110 (2008), 139-57.

[615] On the large community of scholars who helped Matal during his enterprise of gathering epigraphic material, see Cooper, 'Epigraphical Research in Rome', pp. 95-111. See also Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, pp. 43-45 (as Stenhouse admits, his section is very dependent on Cooper's aforementioned article). Matal remained in contact with many of these colleagues even after leaving Rome.

[616] Cooper, 'Epigraphical Research in Rome', p. 101.

donum dedit Antonius Laelius Podager'.[617] No doubt the nature of the copy as a gift explains Lelio's rigorous and precise corrections: apart from rectifying printing errors such as the foliation, Lelio is constantly engaging with the *errata* list. It is also clear that Matal had Antonio Lelio's annotated copy of the *corpus* to hand. For instance, on fol. 85^{v} of his annotated copy, Matal explicitly refers to Lelio: 'Antonio Lelio Podager [the Gouty] says that he saw this inscription in the ancient temple of Celsus, just before it was razed to the ground'.[618] Indeed, in Lelio's annotated copy, we read on fol. 85^{v}: 'I recall that I saw this inscription in the ancient temple of Celsus, before it was razed to the ground. Antonio Lelio Podager.'[619] On fol. 30^{v}, Matal makes another reference to Lelio regarding an inscription that Lelio said he once saw but that was no longer extant in Matal's time.[620] Another example of Matal's access to Lelio's copy can be seen in the depiction of the Pyramid of Cestius: as I explained in Chapter 1.2.2, Lelio had indicated how the inscription was situated on the woodcut of the Pyramid. Matal adopted the same approach and transcribed part of the inscription on the actual illustration of the monument.

A third manuscript to consider here is the annotated copy of the Italian antiquarian Giovenale Manetti (*c.* 1486-1553), who was employed as the secretary of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in the 1520s and was later made Commissioner of Antiquities.[621] Manetti's copy (Biblioteca Angelica, KK 15.17) includes very similar annotations to those of Lelio. For

[617] Not much is known about Trophinus's life: he was made bishop of Chieti on the 24th August 1524 in succession to Gianpietro Carafa, who would later become Pope Paul IV. See Peter Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher, eds, *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985-87), III (1987), p. 346.

[618] 'Ant(onius) Lael(ius) Podager ait; se vidisse hoc epigr(amma) in Celsi aede antiqua, ante quam aequaretur solo' (Matal, Vat. Lat. 8495, fol. 85^{v}). Matal and Lelio were talking about the first inscription appearing on the folio, corresponding to *CIL* VI 32038.

[619] 'Memini me vidisse hoc epigramma in aede divi Celsi antiqua, anteq(uam) solo aequaratur. A(ntonius) Laelius Podager' (Lelio, Vat. Lat. 8492, fol. 85^{v}).

[620] 'Ant(onius) Podager ait, se ibi vidisse olim; nunc non exstat' (Matal, Vat. Lat. 8495, fol. 30^{r}).

[621] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 38; Angela Quattrocchi, 'Latino Giovenale de' Manetti: un diplomatico "umanista" nella Curia pontificia', in *Offices et papauté (XIVe-XVIIe siècle): charges, hommes, destins*, ed. by Armand Jamme and Oliver Poncet (Rome: École française de Rome, 2005), pp. 829-40 (p. 834).

instance, next to an epitaph allegedly dedicated to the Roman poet Marcus Pacuvius (*CIL* VI 2c*) on fol. 60^{r}, Lelio had expressed his doubts about the existence of an inscription to such an ancient poet.[622] Manetti's copy displays the same comment, with the exact wording found in Lelio. Furthermore, Manetti and Lelio's corrections of the Pyramid and of Trajan's Column are almost identical: Manetti also includes the beginning of the inscription on the woodcut of the Piramide Cestia and he also draws the shape of the damage in Trajan's Column. Furthermore, the copies of the two scholars display, on a regular basis, similar depictions of the inscriptions' supports when these are omitted in the *Epigrammata*: this is the case on fol. 29^{r} with the inscription *CIL* VI 10647 and on fol. 70^{v} with *CIL* VI 24824, which is a fragment. All of these instances indicate that the two scholars were certainly acquainted, since on fol. 30^{v} of his *Epigrammata* copy, Manetti refers to Lelio familiarly as 'Antonius Laelius noster': the closeness in the comments suggests that Manetti had access to Lelio's copy or the other way around. In the case of Lelio, Manetti and Matal, we find scholars who distrusted an epigraphic printed source and relied on each other's manuscript annotations to improve a much-flawed *corpus*.

Related to the transmission of marginalia comes the use of the *errata* by these three scholars. In this section, I hope to bring more relevant observations to the role of the *errata* in the *Epigrammata*, since I believe these contributed greatly to the status of the *Epigrammata* as a *vade mecum* for sixteenth-century scholars. Surprisingly, modern scholarship has failed to notice how much Lelio and Matal actually relied on the *errata* for most of the corrections and comments in their annotated copies. I do not intend to undermine the importance of these scholars' copies, which are exceptional from an epigraphic point of view, but I would like to demonstrate how many of their annotations are either replicating the contents or building upon on the *errata*.

[622] 'Quis credat vetustissimae poetae epigramma extare?' (Lelio, Vat. Lat. 8492, fol. 70^{r}).

The annotated copy of Antonio Lelio is an intriguing example of the reader's engagement with the *errata* list. Lelio applies all the corrections of the *errata* sheets in his annotated copy: he crosses out the misspelled words and expands over-abbreviated words. Furthermore, he also writes down the comment accompanying the inscribed monument in the *errata* (see Fig. 66 for instance). Therefore, Lelio uses the *errata* list to offer a revised edition of the *Epigrammata* to his friend Trophinus: the gift gains in value because of its manuscript annotations and emendations.

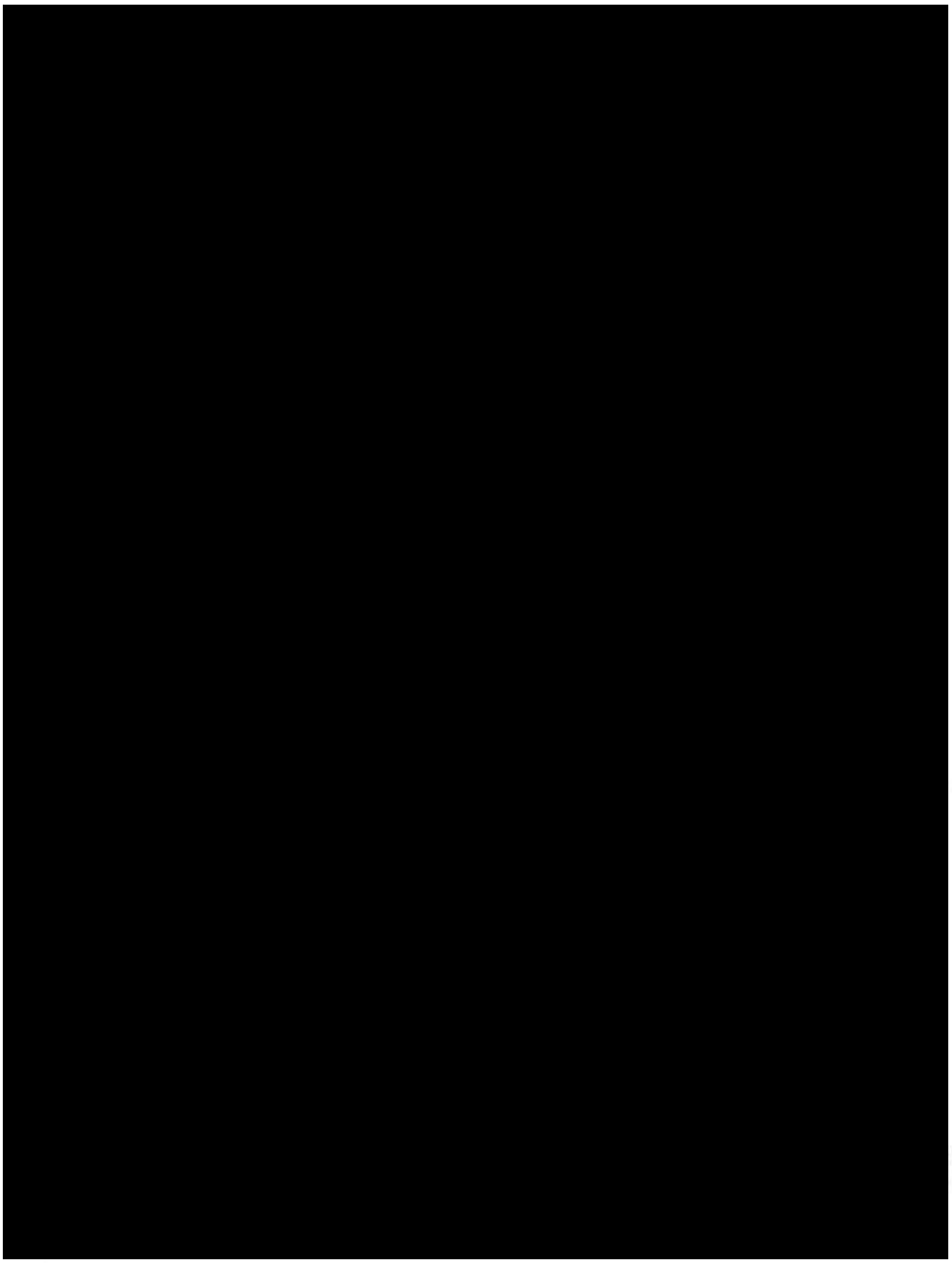

Figure 66. Antonio Lelio's annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (Vat. Lat. 8492, fol. 1^{r}). Here, Lelio used the *errata* to enhance Mazzocchi's incomplete rendition of the inscribed monument.

Matal's use of the *errata* in his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata* is very similar to Lelio: he also builds on what is written in the *errata* and copies some of the additional information provided by the compiler, only slightly rephrased. The compiler of the *errata* noted the inscriptions that had been duplicated in the publication: Lelio and Matal also indicate the duplicated *tituli*. For instance, in Vat. Lat. 8495, fol. 3^{v}, Matal writes next to *CIL* XIV 3608

‘idem pag. 174’: on fol. 174^{v}, we find indeed this inscription duplicated. On fol. 1^{v}, the *Epigrammata* records *CIL* VI 1188 on the *Porta Portuensis* (replaced by the Porta Portese in 1644): two parts of this *titulus* have been erased, yet, thanks to *CIL* VI 1189, which displays the same text, it is possible to reconstruct the erased words. The compiler of the *errata* precisely states that it can be reconstructed with the help of the inscription on the Porta Maior. Both Lelio and Matal write the same kind of comment on the margin of *CIL* VI 1188, again, slightly rephrasing what is written in the *errata*. These are just some of the examples that prove to what extent Matal and Lelio used the *errata* as starting point for their profusely annotated copies.

Although Lelio and Matal’s copies each bear witness to an extraordinary engagement with the *errata*, the copies of Angelo Colocci and Antonio Bosio (whom we saw in the Introduction as his systematic investigation of Roman roads led to his discovery of catacombs on an unprecedented scale) clearly indicate that, as previous studies on marginalia have demonstrated, we should not generalize marginalia.[623] We have to bear in mind that the case of the *Epigrammata* is truly exceptional and the scarcity of surviving copies of other printed collections does not allow us to establish a fully consistent guide to reading practices and readers’ engagement with epigraphic *errata* lists. Angelo Colocci’s copy of the *Epigrammata* (BAV, Vat. Lat. 8493) should be analysed alongside his annotated copy of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (Vat. Lat. 8494), since both display similar patterns in their engagement with the text. Colocci’s notes mostly relate to onomastics, as he reports in the margin the names of the individuals that appear in the epigraphic text. His annotations also reveal his interest in tribes.[624] We see a similar pattern with the annotated copy of Bosio in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS G2: Bosio’s copy shows close to no engagement with the *errata* and his copy presents very sparse marginalia, only correcting the text very sparingly and crossing out the

[623] Orgel, *The Reader in the Book*, p. 4; p. 19.
[624] As I have shown in Chapter Two, Renaissance scholars showed great interest in Roman tribes and were in constant correspondence regarding their names.

erroneous text. The examples of the annotated copies of these scholars reveal very diverse approaches to the *errata* sheets of the *Epigrammata*.

Here, it is worth mentioning another annotated copy of a much later date (BnF, MS RES-61130-MAZ-4): this copy, preserved in the BnF, reproduces the comments of the *errata* and the grand majority of the marginalia by Matal and Lelio.[625] The (unknown) owner of this copy clearly recognized the value of these sixteenth-century annotations in conjunction with the *errata*: when we study this copy, we can clearly observe how often Lelio and Matal relied on the corrections of the *errata*. The *errata* of the *Epigrammata* set high standards for epigraphic scholarship: because of their accuracy, antiquarians that were seeking to adopt more systematic approaches to *tituli* could rely on them to further their study.

As the first printed *corpus* of classical inscriptions, the *Epigrammata* marked a pivotal point in the history of epigraphic scholarship, revolutionizing the exchange of epigraphic information. Whilst before epigraphic material was mostly shared thanks to personal relations, the *Epigrammata* allowed scholars throughout Europe to have access to the epigraphic research carried out in Rome before the Sack: the status of the *Epigrammata* as the *vade mecum* of antiquarian research in the Cinquecento allowed therefore the living connection between scholars of the 1540s and antiquarians pre-1527. More importantly, we can observe in the annotated copies of the *Epigrammata* a strong will to complete the printed source and to render it as accurate and exhaustive as possible, especially in the case of Matal (as we have seen in Chapter Two, Matal's manuscript Vat. Lat. 6039 functioned indeed as an extension of the *Epigrammata*). As the first epigraphic publication, the *Epigrammata* became very soon a work against which scholars could compare what they saw *de visu* (thanks to its *errata*); it also

[625] On this annotated copy and how it entered the collection of the BnF, see Léon Renier, 'Note sur le recueil d'inscriptions latines intitulé *Epigrammata Antiquae Vrbis*', *Revue Archéologique*, 13 (1856), 51-55.

marked or at least reinforced the necessity for scholars of building on previous collections to complete their knowledge of the classical past and the epigraphic record.

4.2 Smetius's Use of Sources in his *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*

4.2.1 The Careful Employment of Printed and Manuscript Sources

Modern (and contemporary) scholarship has much praised the accurate transcriptions of Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*. Nevertheless, most scholars have failed to discuss Smetius's use and treatment of sources in this compilation. We find not only references to publications such as the *Epigrammata*, Apianus and Amantius's *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* and Gabriele Simeoni's *Les Illustres observations antiques* but also to an important number of authors of manuscript sources, including Benedetto Egio, Jean Matal, Antoine Morillon and Stephanus Pighius.[626] Smetius always preserves a very critical sense when transcribing other sources, especially printed ones. From fol. 144^{r} onward (in both MS Leiden BPL 1 and the printed version), Smetius inserts some *addenda* to his work, which are in the form of a separate category, taking folios 144^{r} to 173^{v}: as he clearly states in the note on fol. 144^{r}, his two main sources for the *addenda* are Panvinio's *Reipublicae romanae* and Apianus and Amantius's *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*. Smetius, however, warns his dedicatee Laurinus (and his readers) that these transcriptions very probably contain errors.

The *addenda* reveal that Smetius makes use of another source as well, Mazzocchi's *Epigrammata*. In the manuscript, he seems to have added the transcriptions from the *Epigrammata* at a later stage than those of Panvinio and Apianus's works, as we find these *schedulae* inserted into the manuscript.[627] Throughout the *addenda* and just as he had explained

[626] In the dedicatory epistle to Laurinus, Smetius states that he has received copies of *tituli* from several erudite friends and he names specifically these four scholars (see Smetius, BPL 1, fol. 2^{r}). Antoine Morillon supplied Smetius with many inscriptions he had transcribed during his sojourn in Italy: see Vagenheim, 'Juste Lipse et l'édition du recueil d'inscriptions latines de Martinus Smetius', p. 49; Michael H. Crawford, 'Antoine Morillon, Antiquarian and Medallist', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 61 (1998), 93-110 (p. 95).
[627] On this point, see Vagenheim, 'Juste Lipse et l'édition du recueil d'inscriptions latines de Martinus Smetius', pp. 45-67.

in the brief note on fol. 144r, Smetius seems to be particularly wary of the representation of inscribed monuments found in these two printed sources, as he believes them to be incorrect. It is quite revealing that, despite his mistrust of these printed works, Smetius still decides to use them as reference in his collection: since he had to rebuild his manuscript after the fire, he was perhaps more predisposed to use sources he did not believe necessarily trustworthy. Furthermore, Panvinio and Apianus's *corpora* included a large quantity of *tituli*, which could also explain Smetius's decision to incorporate their material in his *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*. Unlike Matal in his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, Smetius never specifies the page or folio of the printed sources he uses, only indicating the author's name and in some cases the title of the work. In terms of usefulness, an antiquarian interested in the original transcription could not have checked the source.

4.2.2 Lipsius's *Auctarium* to the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*

From this perspective, it is also useful to think about Lipsius's own adoption of Smetius's principles for the *Auctarium*. In 1568, Lipsius visited Rome, where he lived for two years, working as the secretary of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517-1586).[628] Lipsius had signalled to his publisher and friend, Christophe Plantin, that he desired to travel to Italy: Plantin, closely acquainted with the Cardinal de Granvelle, introduced Lipsius to him.[629] During his stay in the Eternal City, Lipsius made notes that ultimately resulted in the *Auctarium*

[628] Wouter Bracke, 'Giusto Lipsio e Fulvio Orsini', in *The World of Justus Lipsius: A Contribution towards His Intellectual Biography*, ed. by Marc Laureys (Brussels: Institut historique belge de Rome, 1998), pp. 81-96 (p. 83).

[629] For a more detailed account of Lipsius's stay and connections in Rome see Jan Papy, 'Justus Lipsius as Translator of Greek Epigrams', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 42 (1993), 274-84; Jan Papy, 'An Antiquarian Scholar between Text and Image? Justus Lipsius, Humanist Education, and the Visualization of Ancient Rome', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 35 (2004), 97-131; Jan Papy, 'Far and Away? Japan, China, and Egypt, and the Ruins of Ancient Rome in Justus Lipsius's Intellectual Journey', in *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China, 1500-1800*, ed. by Peter N. Miller and François Louis (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), pp. 81-102. See also José Ruysschaert, 'Le Séjour de Juste Lipse à Rome (1568-70) d'après ses "Antiquae lectiones" et sa correspondance', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique belge de Rome*, 24 (1947), 139-92. On Lipsius, see the multi-authored volume by Marc Laureys, ed., *The World of Justus Lipsius: A Contribution towards His Intellectual Biography* (Brussels: Institut historique belge de Rome, 1998).

inscriptionum antiquarium, published as an appendix to Smetius's *corpus*.[630] Lipsius dedicated his *Auctarium* to Petrus Delbenius (Pierre Delbene), as evidenced by the dedicatory epistle and also by a letter of 1588, where Lipsius states that he offers the *Auctarium* 'as a libation' to his colleague as proof of their recent friendship.[631] The *Auctarium* attests to Lipsius's network, as it includes transcriptions sent by Stephanus Pighius, Joseph Scaliger and Fulvio Orsini, among many others (we also find inscriptions seen *de visu* by Lipsius himself, indicated with *ego vidi*).[632] In the letter to Delbenius of 1588 (and indeed in the dedicatory epistle), Lipsius admits that, at the request of friends, he published the *Auctarium* as an addition to Smetius's *corpus* of inscriptions since very old and nice *tituli* had come to light only after Smetius's departure from Italy: many of these were sheltered in the private collections of erudite men and they were then faithfully transcribed with the help of Lipsius's friends.[633] Despite the age gap and their different lifestyles, Orsini had a great impact on Lipsius's antiquarian methods: Orsini was himself a pupil of Angelo Colocci and inherited his passion for physical collections of coins, inscriptions, manuscripts, sculptures and paintings.[634] Lipsius's *Auctarium* once again testifies to the importance of scholars' connections in the Cinquecento as he had access to the

[630] Calabi Limentani, 'Note su classificazione ed indici epigrafici', p. 183.
[631] J. Lipsius to P. Delbene, 1 January 1588: 'Novae amicitiae libamentum aliquod, vir amplissime, offero' (Lipsius, *Iusti Lipsi epistolae. Pars 3*, ed. by Peeters and Sué, p. 39). The text in this letter and the one in the dedicatory epistle of the *Auctarium* are almost identical.
[632] Papy, 'Far and Away?', p. 86.
[633] J. Lipsius to P. Delbene, 1 January 1588: 'Plerasque enim inscriptiones vel optimas vel vetustissimas aevum an fatum non dedit ut Smetius videret. Quaedam post excessum eius ex Italia erutae; multae in privatis elegantiorum hominum aedibus occultae, quas tamen nobis aut feliciter inspicere, aut certe descriptas fideliter exscribere fas fuit per comitatem amicorum (Lipsius, *Iusti Lipsi epistolae. Pars 3*, ed. by Peeters and Sué, p. 40).
[634] Papy, 'An Antiquarian Scholar between Text and Image?', p. 104; Papy, 'Justus Lipsius as Translator of Greek Epigrams', p. 277. Although it is very probable that Orsini and Lipsius exchanged letters frequently, the surviving epistolary record is, however, almost non-existent: Bracke in particular has noticed the epistolary silence once Lipsius went back to Leiden, which could be due to the scholars' disagreement in religious matters, as Orsini wished for Lipsius to go back to Catholic faith (see Bracke, 'Giusto Lipsio e Fulvio Orsini', p.81). On the importance of Fulvio Orsini, see Giuseppina A. Cellini, *Il contributo di Fulvio Orsini alla ricerca antiquaria* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 2004).

collections of the Farnese, Maffei and Delfini, all of whom opened their doors on Orsini's recommendation.

In Lipsius's *Auctarium* we can clearly observe how Lipsius followed Smetius's methodology in editing, not arranging, his collection of inscriptions.[635] As we have seen in Chapter One, Smetius explained in his preface to Laurinus his precise methods for transcribing inscriptions: he was attentive to the letter-forms (which according to him could be useful to date *tituli*) and overall layout of the text. He also indicated *lacunae* and the presence of *damnatio memoriae*. In his own shorter selection in the *Auctarium*, Lipsius fully agreed to edit inscriptions following the method Smetius had justly proposed: thus, he represents the characters, the *characterum formae* (in order to facilitate more accurate dating) and adds dots to indicate *lacunae*. Nevertheless, Lipsius shifted considerably in how he organized material in his *Auctarium*: as he states in his brief address to the reader (p. 4 of the *Auctarium*), he decided to use a different organization from Smetius, not because he disapproved of Smetius's arrangement, but because he wished to make a clear distinction between the epigraphs of the living and the dead.[636] Lipsius included dedications to humans and gods in the living section and created subcategories, such as laudations, dedications, holy places, laws, titles and accounts of honours; amongst the dead, a simple distinction between the rights of the departed and the commemoration they deserved sufficed.[637] In his treatment of sources, Lipsius follows Smetius's very closely, carefully noting the name of the scholar who provided him with the transcription or writing the title of the printed work from which he copied the text.

In the case of Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* and Lipsius's *Auctarium*, we have a prime example of the importance of the transmission of material. Smetius had to rely on his vast network of colleagues after the destruction of his manuscript. In the *Auctarium*, we

[635] The *Auctarium*, situated after Smetius's *Addenda* and before the indices, is paginated and takes 59 pages.
[636] See Calabi Limentani, 'Note su classificazione ed indici epigrafici', p. 185.
[637] Papy, 'Far and Away?', p. 86.

can also observe the significance of correspondence and how Smetius impacted Lipsius: although Lipsius changed the organizational method, we can however see that he adopted Smetius's approaches in the treatment of sources and of epigraphic material.

4.3 Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae*: A Collection Meant to Surpass Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*

From the consultation of manuscript and printed epigraphic *corpora*, and of scholars' correspondence, we get a sense of how essential these networks were for the development of epigraphy as a discipline. They provided scholars with an opportunity to exchange epigraphic data and allowed them to discuss matters of interest and to express and resolve their doubts. Scholars' epistolary exchanges are rich sources with which to study the exchange and circulation of epigraphic material. Joseph Scaliger's letters represent such a case: on multiple occasions, he raises the point that Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* of 1588 omits many inscriptions. In a letter of June 1588, Scaliger writes to Claude Dupuy:

> I have seen Monsieur [Pierre] d'Elbène at Champigny where he showed me [...] the preface that Lipsius addressed to him by way of dedication of the volume of inscriptions from Europe. I am convinced that no Gallic inscriptions will be included, since I have a third set of inscriptions [...] from Languedoc, Provence and Dauphiné, all of which are delightful. I would like him to have them. I also have some other magnificent inscriptions from Portugal, which have never been printed, along with some from Spain.[638]

[638] J. Scaliger to C. Dupuy, 28 June 1588: 'J'ai veu Monsieur d'Elbène à Champigni, qui m'a monstré […] la préface que Lipsius lui a faict pour lui dédier le volume des inscriptions de l'Europe. Je m'asseure que toutes celles des Gaules n'i seront pas. Car j'en ai un tiers de celles […] de Languedoc, de Provence, de Daulfiné, qui sont très belles. Je voudrois bien qu'il [Lipsius] les tinst. J'en ai aussi quelques unes fort belles de Portugal, qui n'ont poinct esté imprimées avec celles d'Espagne, ni ailleurs' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, II, p. 51). I have used part of this quotation in Chapter 2.2.4.

In a letter of the same year, Scaliger notes again the lack of many inscriptions in the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*: 'I have in my possession many (inscriptions) that have not been printed and that come from Lyon, Provence, Gascony, Vienne, Portugal and Spain.'[639] Scaliger also states that he could not locate many of the inscriptions he had seen in other epigraphic publications in the *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, as he confides in a letter of 19 August 1588 to the French intellectual Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553-1617):

> Monsieur d'Elbène sends me the volume of inscriptions compiled by a certain Fleming [called] Smetius and extended by Lipsius. Nevertheless, many of the inscriptions from Apianus and Manuzio's compilations (neither of which I have in my possession) are not to be found. I recall seeing some texts that I could not find in Smetius.

Then Scaliger repeats what he had told Dupuy, that he himself had collected inscriptions that had not been printed before: 'Furthermore, I myself have many inscriptions that are not printed, and, as soon as I have time, I shall prepare a third (additional) collection (*auctarium*), which will be just as impressive as Lipsius's'.[640] Scaliger seems to be very keen on including as much material as possible in epigraphic *corpora* and it is probable that already in 1588 he intended to produce a very extensive and exhaustive *corpus*.[641] Scaliger also received numerous transcriptions of *tituli* from his correspondents. Following a flowery assurance of his friendship, d'Elbène, who seemed interested in Scaliger's project of a *corpus* of inscriptions, sends him some transcriptions of *tituli* from Southern France: 'And since time has provided no

[639] J. Scaliger to C. Dupuy, 16 November 1588: 'Tant y a que j'en ai beaucoup non imprimées de Lion, Provence, Gascogne, Vienne, Portugal, Espagne' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, II, p. 75).

[640] J. Scaliger to J.-A. de Thou, 19 August 1588: 'Le dit Sieur d'Elbène m'envoia dernièrement le volume des inscriptions ramassé par un Smetius flamman, et augmenté par Lipsius. Mais on y a omis beaucoup de ce qui est dens Appianus lequel je n'ai, et dens l'*Orthographia* Aldi que je n'ai non plus. Mais il me souvient de quelques inscriptions que j'ai veues es ditz livres, qui ne sont en cestui-ci. Et qui plus est, j'en ai beaucoup qui ne sont imprimées, et à mon premier loisir j'en ferai un troisiesme auctarium qui ne sera guiere moindre que celui de Lipsius' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, II, p. 57).

[641] Scaliger would then entrust this project of a very extensive *corpus* to Gruterus, which would then become the *Inscriptiones antiquae* of 1602-03 (see Chapter Two for an overview of how Scaliger started the *corpus* and then entrusted it to Gruterus).

other opportunity, I wished to show you some token of my gratitude by sending you some classical inscriptions with which I enriched myself during my journey to Provence and Languedoc'.[642] Humanists were also exchanging other antiquarian works, which could include epigraphic material: again, as an accompaniment to the same letter, d'Elbène sends to Scaliger a copy of the *Discours historial de l'antique et illustre cité de Nismes* (Lyon: Guillaume Roville, 1560) by Jean Poldo d'Albenas (1521-1563).[643] D'Albenas's work enjoyed great success when it was published in 1560 and many humanists held it in higher esteem than the second edition of 1544 of the *Urbis Romae topographia* by Marliano.[644] Besides d'Albenas's book, Scaliger appears rather insistent on having copies of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* and Manuzio's *Orthographiae ratio*, as he is convinced that he has seen *tituli* in these works that are not in Smetius. Dupuy seems to have sent copies of the two books to Scaliger, as we find Scaliger writing the following lines: 'Monsieur, I do apologize that you had to send me the copy of Apianus and the *Orthographia* of Aldo [Manuzio the Younger], since originally I had not written to you for that purpose'.[645] Like Matal, Scaliger relied on a vast network of colleagues to provide him with transcriptions of epigraphic material and to check his readings. Nevertheless, in his project of compilation of a *sylloge* of inscriptions, he also knew how to make use of printed sources to ensure that his work would be as complete as possible. Scaliger's

[642] P. d'Elbène to J. Scaliger, 23 October 1588: 'je n'ay voulu passer oultre sans vous representer la continuation immuable de ma tres fidelle devotion à vous aymer, honnorer, et rendre tout humble et affectionné service. Et ne s'en presentant autre occasion pour le present, je vous ay bien voulu vous en donner quelque tesmoignage, vous envoyant ce peu d'inscriptions antiques dont je me suis enrichy en ce mien voyage de Provence et de Languedoc' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, II, p. 68).

[643] P. d'Elbène to J. Scaliger, 23 October 1588: 'Je vous envoyeray aussi un livre des antiquitez de Nismes imprimé il y a longtemps par un certain nommé Jehan Poldo d'Albenas, qui a esté fort curieux rechercheur des antiquitez de sa ville de Nismes, si vous me dites ne l'avoir point veu (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, II, p. 68).

[644] Frédérique Lemerle, 'Jean Poldo d'Albenas (1512-1563), un antiquaire studieux d'architecture', *Bulletin Monumental*, 160 (2002), 163-72 (p. 163).

[645] J. Scaliger to C. Dupuy, 5 December 1588: 'Monsieur, je suis marri que vous soies mis en peine de m'envoier Apian et *Orthographia* Aldi, car je ne vous en ai escrit pour ce respet' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, II, p. 77).

exchanges, at any rate, bear witness to an extensive network, where epigraphic interests were part of historiographical, topographical and antiquarian activities.

The exchange of epigraphic material in the sixteenth century carries another dimension: although scholars were keen to help each other with the gathering of epigraphic texts and their transcriptions, there was also a strong sense of rivalry (which was not exclusive to the epigraphic field). Thus, the enterprise of the *Inscriptiones antiquae* allowed both Scaliger and Gruterus to complete Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, and, more importantly, it gave them the opportunity to surpass Lipsius's *Auctarium*. Smetius's book featured inscriptions from Rome, Italy and Spain; yet Gruterus wished to include *tituli* from the whole Roman world in his *Inscriptiones antiquae*, which would then become the new standard work on ancient epigraphy in the seventeenth century. The significance of Gruterus's *corpus* is already anticipated by Boissard in a letter to Carolus Clusius dated to the year 1600, where the French antiquarian states his joy at seeing such a work being compiled, whilst also mentioning the wealth of epigraphic data provided to Gruterus:

> Monsieur Gruterus who is currently in Heidelberg continues to compile diligently his book of ancient inscriptions, which he enlarges wonderfully thanks to the help of an infinity of learned men, Italian and French. I believe it will be the most perfect treatise that has been and will ever be created in this field. I am overwhelmed with joy at this prospect, considering the respect I have for this good and learned man, and considering how useful this work will be for all scholars interested in the classical past.[646]

[646] J.-J. Boissard to C. Clusius, 10 August 1600: 'Monsieur Grutter qui est à Heydelberg poursuit en toute diligence à son livre des inscriptions antiques, qu'il augmente merveilleusement par l'aide d'une infinité de gens de lettres tant Italians que François. Je crois que ce sera le plus parfait traitté qui aye jamais esté et sera en ceste matière […] Je ne laisse de men resjouir; tant pour l'honneur que je porte à ce bon et docte personage, que pour le bien qui en reviendra à tous studieux de l'antiquité' (quoted from van Groesen, 'Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the Making of the *Antiquitates Romanae*', p. 213). I have used parts of this quotation in Chapter Three to talk about the costs of printing an epigraphic *corpus* and to emphasize that Boissard considered illustrations a delight for the eyes; here, however, I use it to highlight scholars' anticipation of Gruterus's work.

Even in the course of the seventeenth century, Gruterus's colleagues would continue to acclaim his collection.

Gruterus was particularly proud of the extensive quantity of material gathered in the *Inscriptiones antiquae*: unlike Lipsius, he had not simply provided an *auctarium* to Smetius's collection but had instead asked a myriad of scholars to contribute with their transcriptions and had consulted as many manuscripts as he possibly could.[647] In order to gather this material, Gruterus needed a broad network of colleagues that could provide him with accurate transcriptions. Scaliger's letters inform us that most of this material, especially from Spain and France, was sent to Gruterus via Scaliger, who had asked his colleagues to transcribe it for him. For instance, in a letter of 1599, Scaliger sends to Gruterus some Italian epigraphic texts, which had been transmitted to him by one of his friends (who has not been identified): 'I have acquired the inscriptions from Langres, which you will now receive. I am awaiting the ones from Dijon and Autun. I dispatch here inscriptions from Italy, transcribed from the stone themselves by my friend.'[648]

Likewise, in a letter from earlier that year Scaliger had forwarded some Greek inscriptions to Gruterus, stating that these had been transcribed by his dear friend, Georgius Douza, who had travelled to Constantinople and had had the opportunity to copy out Greek texts.[649] Scaliger's network allowed him to provide Gruterus with inscriptions from Italy, France and Spain, broadening the geographical scope of the *Inscriptiones antiquae*. Furthermore, Scaliger assures Gruterus, on more than one occasion, that he can fully trust the transcriptions sent by his fellows: thus, in a letter of 1598, Scaliger declares to Gruterus that

[647] Calabi Limentani, 'Note su classificazione ed indici epigrafici', p. 184.
[648] J. Scaliger to J. Gruterus, 11 August 1599: 'Inscriptiones Lingonenses nactus sum, quas iam accipies. Divionenses et Augustodunenses exspecto. Conieci huc inscriptiones Italicas ab amico ex ipsis saxis descriptas' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, III, p. 308).
[649] J. Scaliger to J. Gruterus, 9 March 1599: 'Misi tibi nuper monumenta quaedam Graeca et Latina, quae nobilis Georgius Douza ex Graecia attulit' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, III, p. 254).

the Gallic inscriptions have been transcribed either by him or by his very erudite friends, all of whom have striven to provide accurate readings.[650] Although Scaliger's statement was also meant to reassure Gruterus (and for him not to worry about the possibility of *falsae*), it also gives us a sense of how Scaliger's network was essential to the compilation of the *Inscriptiones antiquae*. The *Inscriptiones antiquae* not only shows the extraordinary network of scholars involved in the compilation of its material, but also how the methodologies of previous scholars influenced Gruterus in his standards of accuracy. Nevertheless, precisely because Gruterus relied on such a vast network of colleagues and sources, the *Inscriptiones antiquae* ended up with a large amount of forged material.[651]

4.4 The Curious Case of the MS Latin 17575 (BnF) and the MS Auct. S.10.25 (Bodleian Library)[652]

The following case-study provides a remarkable example of the transmission of epigraphic material, linking together manuscript and print media, and networks of scholars. The manuscript Latin 17575 (previously *fonds Bouhier* n. 164), currently preserved in the BnF, contains two epigraphic collections within the same binding, with a total of two hundred and six folios: the first is the in-quarto *corpus* compiled by a certain 'L. Sanloutius', entitled *Inscriptiones veteres collectae a L. Sanloutio, dicto Clevalerio* (fols 1^{r}-197^{r}), in which we also find intercalated drawings, made mostly on smaller pieces of paper. Bound with it is a much smaller item, a handwritten in-duodecimo *sylloge*, called the *Inscriptiones antiquae collectae a Stephano Bouhier in suprema Divionensium curia senator in itinere italico 1602, 1603* (starting at fol. 198^{r}). This concerns a notebook with epigraphic texts collected by Étienne

[650] J. Scaliger to J. Gruterus, 9 December 1598: 'De inscriptionibus Galliarum, scito nos maximam partem vidisse, partem a doctis amicis qui fideliter exscripserunt habuisse' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, III, p. 226).
[651] See Chapter 5.3.2.
[652] This section relies on my published article 'Epigraphy between Print and Manuscript: Giacomo Mazzocchi's *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, BNF MS Lat. 17575 and Bodleian Library MS Auct. S.10.25', in *The Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis (1521) and Its Influence on European Antiquarianism*, ed. by Joan Carbonell Manils and Gerard González Germain (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2020), pp. 131-38.

Bouhier (*c.* 1580-1635) during his journey to Italy in 1602-03.[653] In effect, Bouhier began his studies at Dijon and later read law at Padua, also developing an interest in architecture. He became a *conseiller* in the Parlement of Dijon in 1607. Bouhier's collection is of interest in its representation of *tituli*; however, in this section I am concerned with the first part of the manuscript (Sanloutius's compilation) since it is the most relevant to the present argument.

Sanloutius's identity remains, to this day, a complete mystery: indeed, his manuscript was previously called 'l'anonyme de Bouhier' ('Bouhier's anonymous compiler'). Although scholars have made some conjectures regarding Sanloutius's name in the vernacular, these remain highly speculative.[654] Despite the lack of biographical information, two instances in the manuscript enlighten us about Sanloutius's identity. The first is a motto in capitals in very faint ink in Sanloutius's hand on fol. 1^{r} that reads: 'As a mortal I strive for immortality. 1593. Sanloutius nobleman of Burgundy' (Fig. 67).[655] The motto appears again on the same folio, except this time in a florid calligraphy, perhaps of a later date. The heraldic device 'caelum non solum' (variously interpreted as 'Heaven, not the Earth' or 'Not just heaven') has been added as well. The French poet Jean-Pierre de Mesmes (born around 1530) had used this device in the mid-sixteenth century (see MS Rothschild 671 in the BnF).

[653] For the MS Latin 17575, see *CIL* II, p. XVII; *CIL* V, p. XXII; *CIL* VI, p. LV and *CIL* XII, pp. 384-385. See also Camille Jullian, *Inscriptions romaines de Bordeaux*, 2 vols (Bordeaux: Imprimerie G. Gounouilhou, 1887-90), II (1890), pp. 368-70; and Émile Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine*, 10 vols (Rome: Imprimerie Nationale, 1907-28), II (1907), pp. 118-19.
[654] For instance, in *Inscriptions romaines de Bordeaux*, Jullian suggests 'L. de Saint-Luc' as a possible vernacular name for Sanloutius (II, p. 368).
[655] 'Immortalitati studeo mortalis. 1593. Sanloutius nob(ilis) Burgundus' (BnF, MS Latin 17575, fol. 1^{r}).

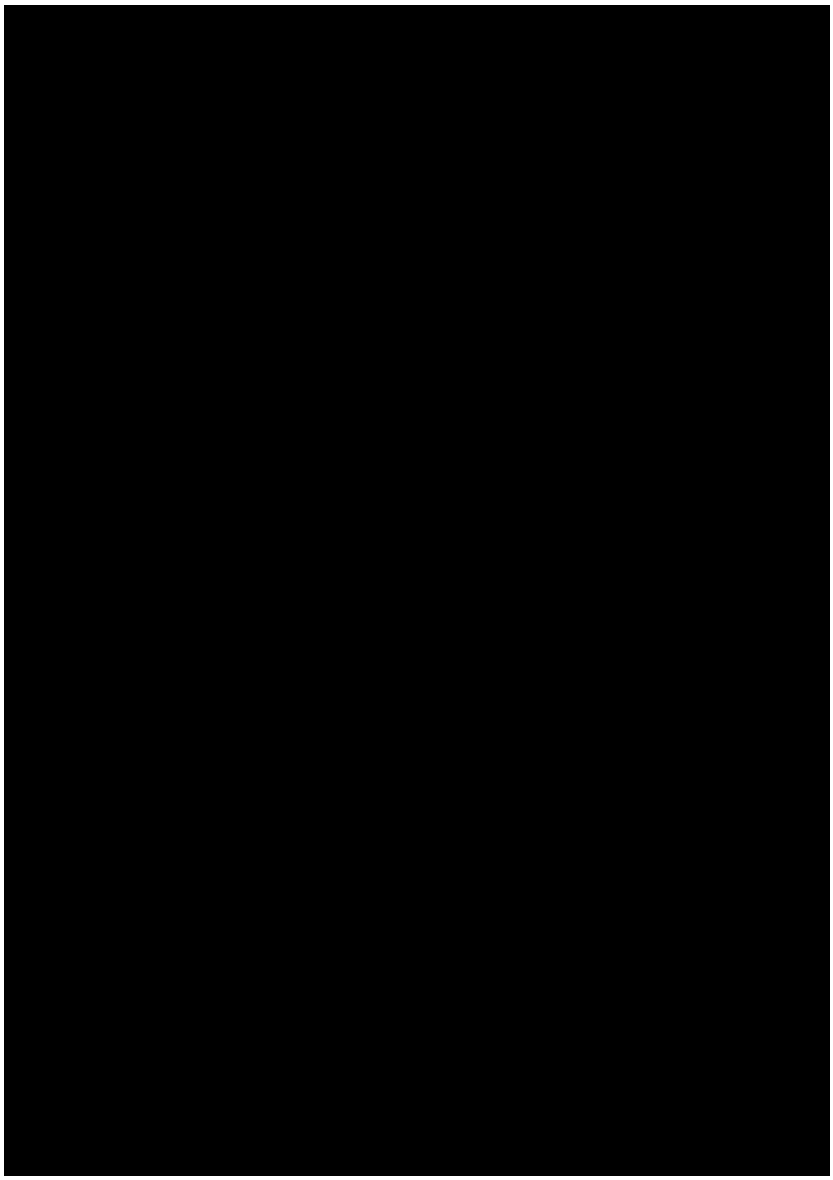

Figure 67. Fol. 1r of the *Inscriptiones veteres* (BnF, MS Latin 17575), where we can read two mottos revealing Sanloutius's name.

The second passage is found in Sanloutius's *Ad Lectorem* note on fol. 6r, where we learn that Sanloutius was allegedly a jurisconsult and a nobleman from Burgundy and that his manuscript can be dated to 1593 (Fig. 68).[656] The editors of the *CIL* have 'traditionally' accepted that Sanloutius bore the nickname *Clevalerius*. Nevertheless, I am not entirely convinced by this reading. The only instance where we have Sanloutius's nickname in his hand is in the *Ad Lectorem* and the ink is too faint to allow a clear interpretation.

[656] Although I am not investigating the possible link between Bouhier and Sanloutius's *corpora*, the fact that Sanloutius was a *iuris consultus* might perhaps explain his connection to Bouhier.

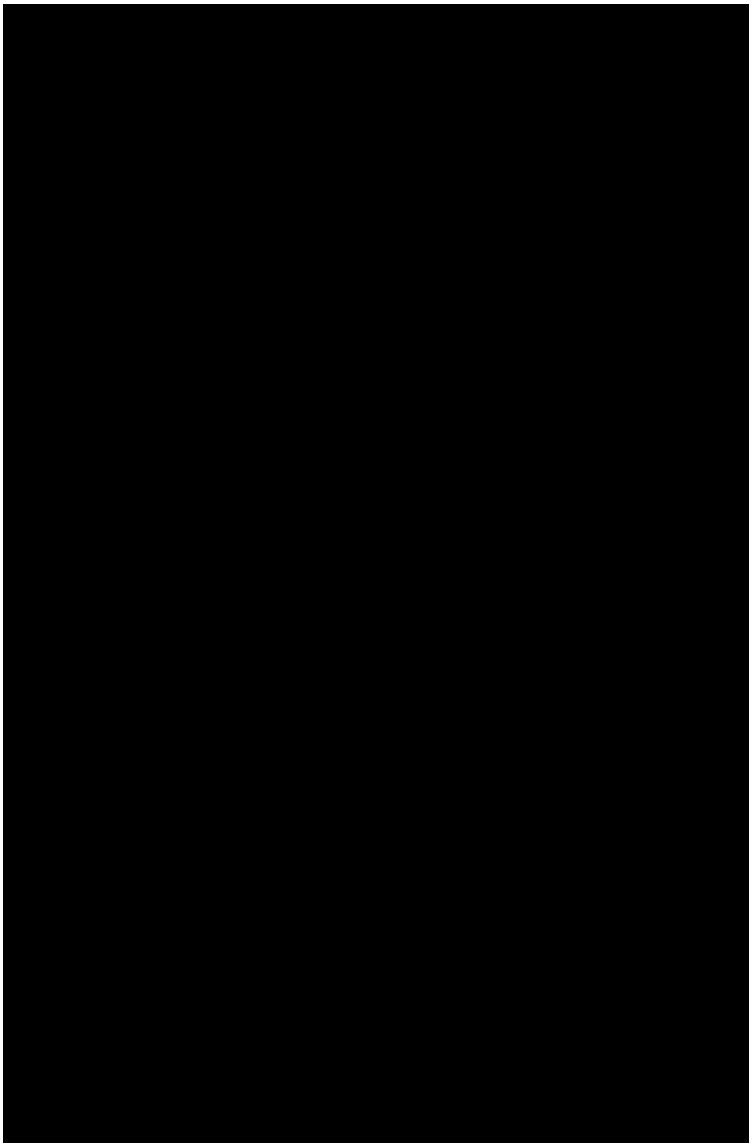

Figure 68. Sanloutius's *Ad Lectorem* in the *Inscriptiones veteres* (BnF, MS Latin 17575, fol. 6^{r}).

The *CIL* and modern scholarship have studied the *Inscriptiones veteres* for its contribution to Italian, Spanish and French epigraphy, as Sanloutius recorded in this manuscript inscriptions gathered during his various journeys to these countries.[657] Fols 167^{r} to 173^{r} contain around 130 *tituli* from Nîmes, followed by ancient inscriptions from the city of Lectoure (fols 195^{v} to 196^{r}) and Bordeaux (fols 196^{v} to 197^{r}).[658] These transcriptions were —and still remain— valuable witnesses for modern epigraphy as Sanloutius remains the only witness for

[657] Jullian, *Inscriptions romaines de Bordeaux*, II, p. 369.
[658] For an example of how Sanloutius's transcriptions of Lectoure have been used to determine the Gallo-Roman inscribed monuments of the French city, see Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, II, pp. 118-19.

some epigraphic texts from Ferrara. Sanloutius was also the first scholar (to our knowledge) to record some of the inscriptions from Bordeaux. Last but not least, some modern studies have employed Sanloutius as a source to determine the use of Latin onomastics in certain French cities.[659]

In *CIL* II (*Inscriptiones Hispaniae latinae*), Emil Hübner (the scholar who came across Ambrosio de Morales's manuscript of the *Antigüedades* in the Real Academia de la Historia) already noted the presence of Spanish inscriptions in Sanloutius's *sylloge*, as well as the importance of other Spanish scholars in the gathering of this epigraphic material. In fact, Sanloutius himself admits in his *Ad Lectorem* that he has culled the *tituli* of the Iberian Peninsula mainly from the works of Pere Galès, who, in turn, had copied them from the manuscripts of Agustín and Benito Arias Montano: 'multas epigraphas restitui approbante Petro Galeso Hispano, qui de illis cum piis Antonio Augustino et Benedicto Aria Montano contulerat'.[660] This claim is also supported by a note on top of fol. 147^{r}, which reads: 'I have these [inscriptions] from Spain from Antonio Agustín and Pere Galès'.[661]

In general, Sanloutius seems to have made his transcriptions in haste, as he committed some rather conspicuous mistakes. For instance, in the case of *CIL* XII 3196, which reports the

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[659] See for instance Céline Chulsky, 'Notables nîmois. Sénateurs, chevaliers et magistrats issus de la cité de Nîmes à l'époque romaine' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2012), where Chulsky employs Sanloutius's transcriptions together with other sources to compile a list of Latin names found in Nîmes. Alongside Sanloutius, Chulsky also uses the works of Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, and Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae*.

[660] For an account of the antiquarian and epigraphic activity of Arias Montano, see Alejandra Guzmán Almagro, 'Apuntes sobre Benito Arias Monatno y la epigrafía romana de la Península Ibérica', *Sylloge Epigraphica Barcinonensis*, 14 (2016), 47-53. In *CIL* II, Hübner could not identify Galès ('Galesus ille quis fuerit nescio), but modern scholarship has linked *Galesus* to Pere Galès. For accounts on Galès's biography, see Éduard Boehmer and Alfred Morel-Fatio, *L'Humaniste hétérodoxe catalan Pedro Galès* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), which includes an explanation on the spelling of Galès's surname, stating that the form *Galez* is not accepted; Miguel Almenara Sebastià, 'Documentos inéditos sobre el humanista protestante Pere Galés (Petrus Galesius): procesos sobre la herencia familiar (Valendia, 1578-81)', in *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico: homenaje al profesor Luis Gil*, ed. by José María Maestre Maestre, Luis Charlo Brea and Joaquín Pascual Barea (Alcañiz: Universidad de Cádiz, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1997), pp. 1881-88; Xavier Espluga, 'Pere Galès: un protestante de Ulldecona profesor en Ginebra', in *Reforma y disidencia religiosa: la recepción de las doctrinas reformadas en la península ibérica en el siglo XVI*, ed. by Michel Boeglin, Ignasi Fernández Terricabras and David Kahn (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2018), pp. 291-304. The figure of Galès will be explored in more detail later in this chapter, as he will play a central part in our assessment of Sanloutius's *corpus*.

[661] 'istas [inscriptiones] ex Hispania ab A(ntonio) August(ino) et P(etro) Galeso habui' (BnF, MS Latin 17575, fol. 147^{r}).

name *Sextus Allius Repentinus*, on fol. 171^{r} Sanloutius copied *Allius* with a single *L*, whereas the name has always been attested with a double *L*.[662] Likewise, the transcription of *CIL* XII 3215 on fol. 172^{r} displays five bars for *IIIIvir*, which is clearly a mistake on Sanloutius's part.[663] Nevertheless, we can also gather from Sanloutius's transcriptions that he was not deliberately adding portions of texts or reconstructing them. Furthermore, the transcriptions made during his trips display the correct lineation of the original text and, on more than one occasion, he is rather specific in his renditions, indicating for instance the *I longa* or ligatures.

Although we do not know the precise date of Sanloutius's journeys, we can still make some educated guesses about their timing thanks to some details provided. For instance, on fol. 195^{v}, where Sanloutius recorded inscriptions from Lectoure, he reported that these were located in the forum of Lectoure, in front of some public buildings that were restored in 1592: 'Lactorae in Vasconia in foro ante aedes publicas quae restauratae sunt anno D(o)m(in)i 1592'. Then on fol. 196^{v}, we find, among some *tituli* from Bordeaux, a reference to the year 1594.[664] We can then deduce that Sanloutius started compiling this manuscript in 1593 (as stated in the motto 'immortalitati studeo mortalis. 1593. Sanloutius nob(ilis) Burgundus') and then carried his notebook with him on his travels, which seem to have taken place in the last decade of the sixteenth century.

4.4.1 The MS Latin 17575: An Apograph of the MS Auct. S.10.25?

Apart from being a valuable witness to modern epigraphists, Sanloutius's manuscript offers eminent —and previously unnoticed— proof of the importance of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*. Leafing through Sanloutius's manuscript, we are immediately reminded of the *Epigrammata*: at first glance, fols 1^{r} to 129^{r} consist indeed of a manuscript version (though not

[662] Chulsky, 'Notables nîmois', p. 70.
[663] Chulsky, 'Notables nîmois', p. 106.
[664] Indeed, according to Jullian in *Inscriptions romaines de Bordeaux*, Sanloutius must have travelled to Bordeaux after 1594, since he included in his manuscript all the inscribed texts that were discovered that year in the city (II, p. 369).

an exact copy) of the *Epigrammata*. Sanloutius transcribed the inscriptions from Mazzocchi's collection in the exact same order as they appeared in their printed counterpart.

The study of Sanloutius's manuscript, however, must be further informed and completed by an examination of the MS Auct. S.10.25, currently preserved in the Weston Library (Bodleian Libraries): it concerns a printed copy of the *Epigrammata* that has been profusely annotated by Benedetto Egio. The study of these annotations shows that Sanloutius's *Inscriptiones veteres* is not so much a manuscript copy of the *Epigrammata* as an apograph of Egio's annotated copy. This explains the puzzlingly close association of Egio's name with that of Mazzocchi's in Sanloutius's *Ad Lectorem*, where the compiler stated that he had 'sinned' together with Mazzocchi and Egio in the organization of the material of his *corpus*.[665]

Now, in his seminal study on Benedetto Egio of 1993, Michael Crawford dismissed Sanloutius's manuscript, stating that 'the manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Bouhier 164=Lat. 17575 is a simple apograph without independent authority'.[666] However, MS Latin 17575 deserves a re-evaluation and reappraisal, looking in more detail at how Sanloutius made use of Egio's copy, at the connections between the three sources (Sanloutius's manuscript, Egio's copy and the *Epigrammata*) and what these surveys can tell us about the antiquarian methods of Sanloutius, a scholar whose name survives only in the written record of the *Inscriptiones veteres*.

Despite the lack of biographical information and the absence of an archive of letters, Egio is known to have contributed greatly to the intellectual activities of Antonio Agustín and his group of colleagues in the 1540s and 1550s, especially with regards to Greek epigraphy.[667]

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[665] 'Ego quidem pecco cum Mazochio et Benedicto Aegio Romanis nam lapides qui iuxta portas inventi sunt, annecto ipsis portis' (Sanloutius, MS Latin 17575, fol. 6^{r}). Sanloutius's use of the arrangement found in the *Epigrammata* will be discussed later.

[666] Crawford, 'Benedetto Egio and the Development of Greek Epigraphy', p. 138.

[667] I have explained in the Introduction how Egio contributed to the development of Greek epigraphy. Crawford's 'Benedetto Egio and the Development of Greek Epigraphy' remains the key text on Egio. After Crawford's account, several studies have emphasized Egio's role amongst his colleagues, such as his contribution to the field of Roman topography in the Cinquecento (see Marc Laureys and Anna Schreurs, 'Egio, Marliano, Ligorio, and the Forum Romanum in the 16th century', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 45 (1996), 385-405).

Like many of his contemporaries who were interested in Roman inscriptions (as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter), Egio owned a copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* that he annotated profusely. Although Egio's annotations are, without a doubt, a valuable witness for the development of epigraphic studies in the Cinquecento, the present section will focus on the seldom-investigated relationship between Sanloutius's manuscript and Egio's copy.[668]

In the following examples, I shall determine how Sanloutius produced a manuscript copy of the MS Auct. S.10.25. As we have already seen, as the first publication of Roman *tituli*, the *Epigrammata* was full of conspicuous mistakes: we find misreadings of the texts, inclusions of incorrect abbreviations and expansions of words that were originally abbreviated. Like Antonio Lelio and Jean Matal, Egio corrected most of these errors in his copy, and Sanloutius, in turn, followed Egio's emendations very closely.[669] We should note here that Sanloutius reproduces Egio's alterations directly into his manuscript transcriptions, not showing what has been corrected from the printed text and thus providing a more accurate version of the *Epigrammata* from the very start. Sanloutius also adds indications of the inscriptions' precise location on the monument, just as Egio has done: thus, regarding the inscriptions visible on Porta Tiburtina, we are informed that *CIL* VI 1244 is *A fronte* whereas *CIL* VI 1246 is *A tergo* (fol. 8^{r} in Sanloutius's manuscript and 1^{r} in Egio). Furthermore —and it is perhaps in this respect that it becomes blatantly apparent that Sanloutius's manuscript is a copy of MS Auct. S.10.25— Sanloutius includes the additional material that Egio had transcribed in his own copy and that was never represented in the original *Epigrammata.* One of the most singular features

[668] For a summary account of the MS Auct. S.10.25, see Crawford, 'Benedetto Egio and the Development of Greek Epigraphy', pp. 138-41. Crawford discusses the large number of annotations containing references to the dates of discovery of inscriptions and the fact that Egio often used the third person to authenticate his comments. Building on Crawford's study, Laureys and Schreurs have also noted that in his copy of Marliano's *Urbis Romae topographia*, Egio used the third person as well, thus adopting a similar approach as in his *Epigrammata* copy (pp. 386-87).

[669] Crawford has shown the complexity of Egio's annotations in his *Epigrammata* copy, ranging from the careful corrections of the erroneous printed texts to the accurately transcribed additional texts in the margins: see Crawford, 'Benedetto Egio and the Development of Greek Epigraphy', p. 140.

of Egio's *Epigrammata* is the variety of tipped-in sheets, all containing additional (and not only epigraphic) material.

Thus, at the bottom of fol. 1^{r} and top of fol. 1^{v} of his copy, Egio transcribed seven inscriptions from different locations (Fig. 69): we find epigraphic texts from Bolsena (near Viterbo; *CIL* XI 2744), Todi (near Perugia; there does not seem to be a transcription of this *titulus* in the *CIL*, but see Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae* p. 423 for a transcription based on Smetius's reading), Rome (*CIL* VI 2429, 2764), Teano (in the province of Caserta in Campania; *CIL* X 4832), Chiusi (near Siena; *CIL* XI 2108) and Udine (*CIL* V 1764). Egio's renditions of these *tituli* are not consistently accurate: on several occasions he omitted the last line(s) of the texts, such as in *CIL* VI 2764, where he did not transcribe the last line *H(ic) s(itus) e(st)*, which is still clearly visible and legible on the stone: the original inscription is currently preserved in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale of Florence, inventory number: 87851. Likewise, in the transcription of *CIL* X 4832, Egio altogether omitted the second half of the *titulus* (six lines). Even so, these same seven epigraphic texts are to be found at the bottom of fol. 8^{r} in Sanloutius's *corpus*, in an identical layout and form as they appear in their Bodleian counterpart (Fig. 70; note that the woodcut on fol. 1^{r} of the *Epigrammata* is reproduced by Sanloutius in an intercalated page).

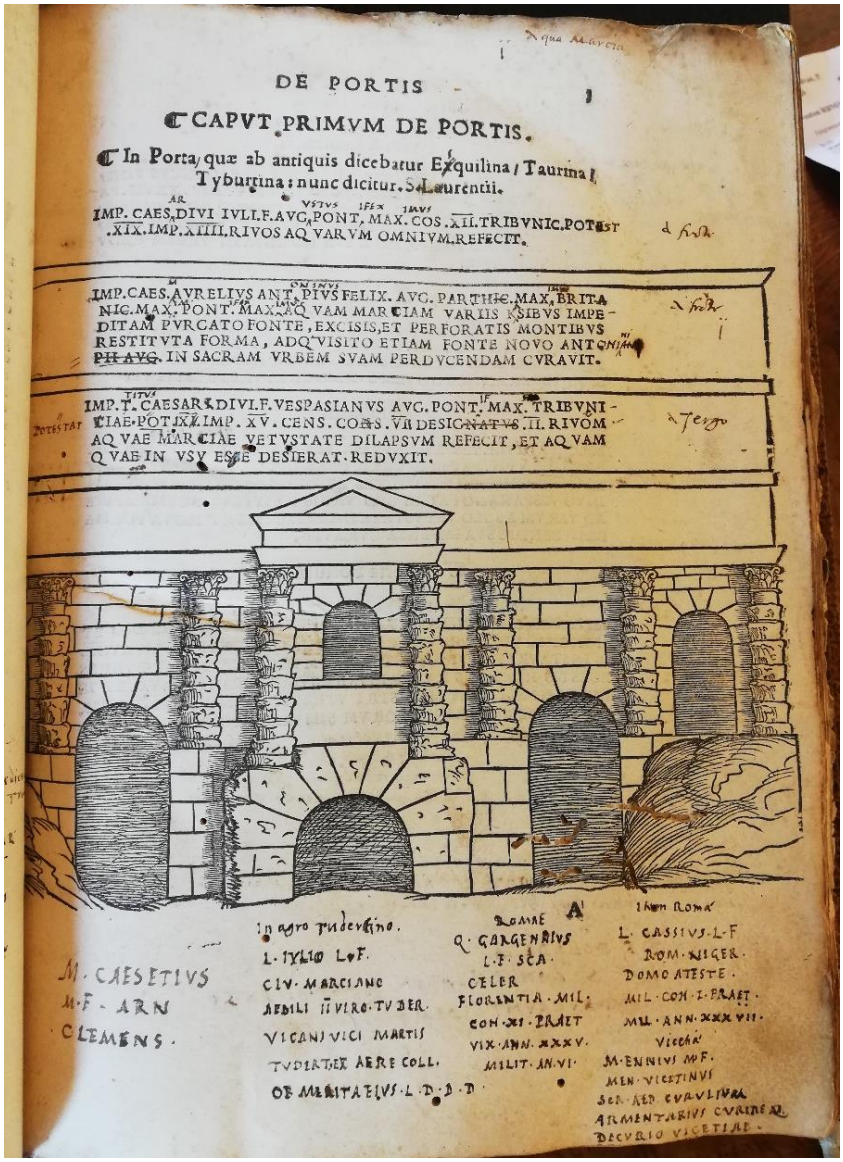
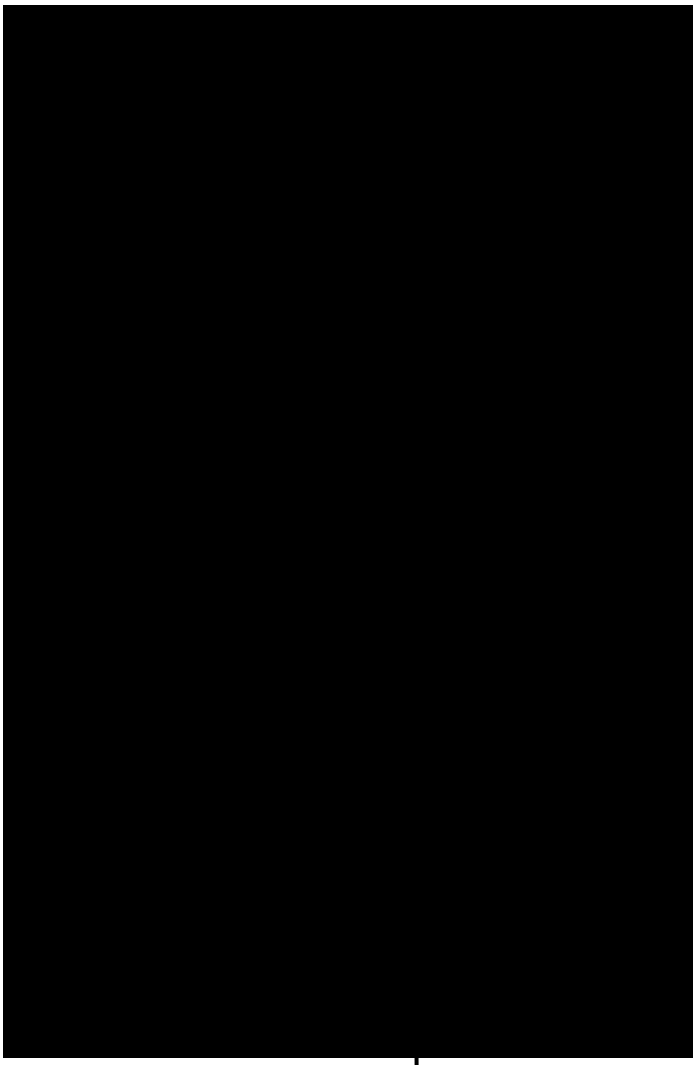


Figure 69. Egio's annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (MS Auct. S.10.25) with added transcriptions of seven different epigraphic texts (fol. 1r; the sixth and seventh texts are recorded in the next folio).



‘Additional’ inscriptions that Sanloutius copied from Egio’s annotated copy.

Figure 70. Sanloutius’s *Inscriptiones veteres* displays the same transcriptions of the additional material Egio had included in his annotated copy (BnF, MS Latin 17575, fol. 8^{r}).

Similarly to how he reproduces additional material, Sanloutius also copies the illustrations that Egio had incorporated into his *sylloge*. For instance, between fols 47^{v} and 48^{r} in Egio’s copy, we find a tipped-in sheet with the drawings of two inscribed monuments: these are *CIL* VI 830 (currently preserved in the Musei Capitolini in Rome, NCE 629) and the now-lost *CIL* VI 352 (Fig. 71). The *Inscriptiones veteres* displays the same reproductions of these monuments in fols 54^{v} and 55^{r}, even reproducing the details of the decorations on two of the

sides of *CIL* VI 830 (Fig. 72). *CIL* VI 352, which originally carried a statue of Diana, was often reconstructed in sixteenth-century antiquarian works (for instance Pirro Ligorio described his method of restoration in the commentary accompanying his rendition of this monument in Book 34 of his *Delle antichità di Roma*).[670] The illustration in Egio's manuscript, however, only represents the base with the inscription and does not attempt to reconstruct the very fragmented statue, of which only a few remains had survived in the sixteenth century.

[670] See Chapter 5.2.2.

Figure 71. Egio's inserted drawings of two inscribed monuments *CIL* VI 830 and *CIL* VI 352 in his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (MS Auct. S.10.25, tipped in between fols 47^{v} and 48^{r}).

Figure 72. Sanloutius's *Inscriptiones veteres* also displays the illustrations of the two inscribed monuments seen in Egio's annotated copy of the *Epigrammata* (BnF, MS Latin 17575, fols 54^{v} and 55^{r}).

Besides reproducing Egio's emendations and additions of new epigraphical material and illustrations, Sanloutius also copied Egio's comments written in the margins, next to the transcriptions of the inscriptions. Fol. 1^{v} of the *Epigrammata* features the very incomplete transcription of *CIL* VI 1188, located on the Porta Portuensis (replaced in the seventeenth century by the current Porta Portese; we have encountered this inscription previously in chapter 4.1.3). In the original monument, *Stilichonis* and *Fl(avio) Macrobio Longiniano v(iro) c(larissimo) praef(ecto) urbis* have been erased. Mazzocchi, however, altogether omitted *Stilichonis* from the transcription and left a blank space for the segment regarding Flavius. Egio

instead recorded *Stilichonis*, adding in the margin that the name had been erased from the stone, ‘STILICHONIS: quod nomen in marmore derasum est’ (fol. 1^{v} of his copy). He also incorporated in the blank space the second part that was erased *Fl(avio) Macrobio Longiniano v(iro) c(larissimo) praef(ecto) urbis* (Fig. 73). In the *Inscriptiones veteres*, we find that Sanloutius has completed this inscription in the same way as Egio, and that he has also added in the margin ‘hoc nomen in marmore derasum [est]’ (fol. 8^{v}; Fig. 74).

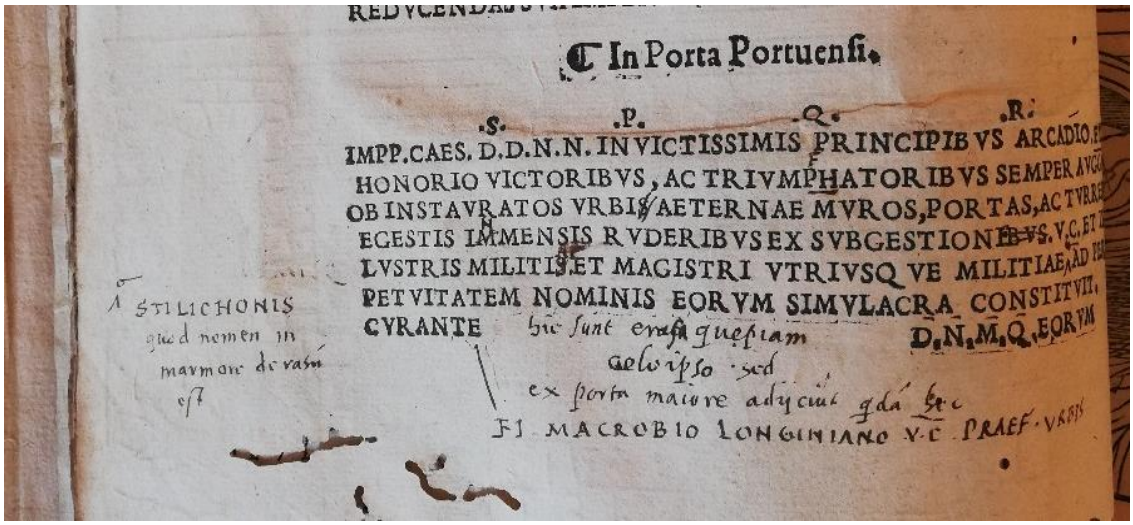


Figure 73. Egio completed the erased sections of the inscription *CIL* VI 1188 in his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (MS Auct. S.10.25, fol. 1^{v}).

[redacted]

Figure 74. Sanloutius’s *Inscriptiones veteres* displays the completion of the erased sections of *CIL* VI 1188, just as in Egio’s copy (MS Latin 17575, fol. 8^{v}).

4.4.2 Pere Galès: The 'Missing Link' between Egio and Sanloutius?

This comparison of MS Latin 17575 and MS Auct. S.10.25 reveals that Sanloutius had access to Egio's annotated copy of the *Epigrammata*: we should therefore seek to establish how Egio's work ended up in Sanloutius's hands. It seems unlikely that Egio gave his copy of the *Epigrammata* to Sanloutius in person as Egio's copy had another owner after Egio. Both Crawford and Espluga have demonstrated that after Egio's death, his copy passed into the hands of Pere Galès.[671] The title page of MS Auct. S.10.25 reveals Egio's name twice, on the top right corner and in the centre (*B. Aegii*); we also find the ex-libris of the Jesuit College in Agen (*Collegii Agen(ensis)*, in the department of Lot-et-Garonne in south west France): it was precisely to this college that Galès's library was donated after it had been confiscated by French Catholic authorities in 1591.[672] The abbreviated ownership mark *Colle(gii) Agen(ensis)* reoccurs on sig. a^{r}. Another indication of Galès's ownership is the presence of a letter addressed to Galès tipped into the volume. In the letter (a partially strapped leaf inserted between fols 38^{v} and 39^{r}), an anonymous sender asks Galès to check the readings of two (unspecified) hymns.[673] Egio's copy finally reached England with the suppression of the Jesuits and the closure of the College in Agen.[674]

Galès's ownership of Egio's copy should not come as a surprise: after studying in Valencia, Galès travelled to Italy around 1563 to study law.[675] During this period in Italy, he met the French jurist Jacques Cujas (Cuiacius; 1522-1590).[676] Cujas's and Galès's friendship is attested in fact in Sanloutius's *Ad Lectorem*, as it is reported that Cujas sent some transcriptions of Italian *tituli* to Galès: 'Cujacius miserat ad Galesum quas [inscriptiones] ab

[671] Crawford, 'Benedetto Egio and the Development of Greek Epigraphy', p. 138; Xavier Espluga, 'A Letter and Some Drawings of Roman Coins Among Pere Galès' Papers', *Anuari de Filologia*, 4 (2014), 103-10 (p. 105).
[672] Espluga, 'A Letter and Some Drawings of Roman Coins', p. 105; Espluga, 'Pere Galès', p. 303.
[673] Espluga, 'A Letter and Some Drawings of Roman Coins', p. 105. The letter has been transcribed in full by Espluga in this article.
[674] Crawford, 'Benedetto Egio and the Development of Greek Epigraphy', p. 139.
[675] Espluga, 'Pere Galès', p. 295.
[676] On Jacques Cujas, see Xavier Prévost, *Jacques Cujas (1522-1590): jurisconsulte humaniste* (Geneva: Droz, 2015).

Italis habuerat cum esset Florentiae et Patavii ille et Augustae Taurinorum'. Furthermore, during this period of his life, Galès was in contact with eminent scholars, all pertaining to Agustín's circle (including Fulvio Orsini).[677] When Galès returned to Spain, he had to remain under Agustín's protection in Lleida: this would result in a close collaboration between the two scholars.[678] After traveling to Padua, Galès met the Italian humanist Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535-1601), with whom he collaborated on epigraphic matters. Galès then went to the South of France, where he would spend the remaining days of his life, teaching in different Huguenot colleges in la Provence and Languedoc. It is uncertain how Galès got hold of Egio's copy but given his interests in epigraphy, close collaboration and connections with early modern antiquarians, he must have had access to it when he was in Italy.

I offer two possibilities for Sanloutius's access to Egio's copy: since Galès's library was handed to the Jesuit College in Agen in 1591 and Sanloutius's manuscript bears the date 1593 in its title page, it is possible that Sanloutius consulted Egio's copy once it was already in the College. But, the mention of Galès in the *Ad Lectorem* suggests another theory: Sanloutius states that he culled many inscriptions from an *approbante Petro Galeso Hispano*. The *Ad Lectorem* gives indeed the impression that Galès transmitted epigraphic material to Sanloutius directly; it is therefore possible that the two scholars were colleagues and when Galès arrived in France, he lent Egio's copy to his friend. If this latter theory is accurate, it would inform our knowledge of Sanloutius's remarkably, as it would allude to Sanloutius's importance as a scholar at the end of the sixteenth century (and as a humanist whom colleagues recognized for his interest in Latin inscriptions).

[677] Espluga, 'Pere Galès', p. 296.
[678] Espluga, 'Pere Galès', p. 297.

4.4.3 MS Latin 17575: More than a Simple Apograph of MS Auct. S.10.25?

It is true that the examples I have developed so far would seem to indicate, at first sight, that Sanloutius was simply copying Egio's annotated copy, without any sense of criticism. It is certainly striking that at no point in the whole *sylloge* does Sanloutius appear to have relied on the *errata* sheets of the *Epigrammata*. Furthermore, in some instances, Sanloutius shows 'confusion' when reproducing Egio's comments or corrections. On fol. 1^{v} of his *Epigrammata*, Egio added a brief description of the location of *CIL* VI 1384 (in Via San Paolo della Croce in Rome). Sanloutius copied this comment on fol. 8^{v} of the BnF manuscript, but right after 'in Caelio monte non procul a Caenobio', he left a blank space before reproducing the rest of the description. It is clear that Sanloutius was not able to decipher Egio's handwriting and therefore left a blank space.[679]

Nevertheless, several elements in Sanloutius's manuscript indicate that MS Latin 17575 is more than a mere apograph of Egio's copy. As much as the transcription of the *Epigrammata* represents a primordial part of Sanloutius's work, it is just as essential to consider the entirety of the *Inscriptiones veteres* as an epigraphic *corpus* in its own right and to determine the role of the *Epigrammata* and of Egio's copy in its compilation.

First of all, Sanloutius sometimes altered the wording used in the *Epigrammata* when providing the location of an inscription: for instance, the three *tituli* visible on the Porta Tiburtina (*CIL* VI 1244, 1245 and 1246), are located, according to the printed version 'In Porta quae ab antiquis dicebatur Exquilina/ Taurina/ Tyburtina: nunc dicitur S. Laurenti' (fol. 1^{r}). Sanloutius reformulated it slightly, stating that these inscriptions are 'In porta quae ab antiquis Esquilina, Taurina, nec non Tiburtina appellabatur. Atque hodie S. Laurentii dicitur' (fol. 8^{r}). Likewise, on fol. 12^{r} of the *Epigrammata* we are told that *CIL* VI 773 is in 'In Ripa Tyberis quod nunc non extat'; Sanloutius, however, preferred to alter the wording slightly to 'In Ripa

[679] Egio's handwriting can be hard to decipher and I myself have not been able to read the word.

Tyberis; sed hodie non extat' (fol. 25^{v}). These might seem trivial examples, but they are the first indication that Sanloutius's work was not an exact reproduction of Egio's copy.

Secondly, Sanloutius did not always follow Egio's corrections rigorously. In the MS Auct. S.10.25, Egio inserted dashes at the end of those words that had arbitrary line-breaks in the printed edition. Sanloutius, however, was evidently not interested in changing the lineation already displayed in the *Epigrammata* (which he could have modified, given his use of the manuscript medium), and he ignored these dashes. Furthermore, in some instances, Sanloutius seemed to doubt Egio's readings or corrections of the texts of the *Epigrammata*. We can observe such case with the emendation of the wrongly-transcribed *CIL* VI 8925 on fol. 31^{r} of the *Epigrammata.* Egio included the formula *D(is) M(anibus)*, rectified *Alx* [*sic.*] to *Alexander*, *pos* to *posuit*, *tyte* to *tauta* and expanded *b.m.* into *bene merenti*. In fol. 42^{r} of his *corpus*, Sanloutius decided instead to leave the abbreviated *b.m.* and *pos*, and the incorrect *tyte.* More strikingly, with regards to *tyte*, he wrote in the margin '*tauta* legitur' (although Sanloutius did not include a name, he was certainly referring to Egio). These changes, not always accurate, show a clear independence from Egio and his copy. We also have some (rare) cases where Sanloutius recorded the correct reading of a *titulus*, where Egio had transcribed it erroneously. One example is on fol. 8^{r} of the Paris manuscript: as said previously, Sanloutius included the additional material Egio had reproduced, and regarding *CIL* VI 2764 on fol. 1^{r} of his copy, Egio had mistakenly recorded *milit(tavit)* instead of *mil(itavit)*. Sanloutius's transcription, instead, displays the correct form *mil(itavit)*. Unfortunately, such examples are too scarce to prove that Sanloutius provided a rigorous control of Egio's emendations, but they are still worthy of consideration.

Thirdly, another aspect that should lead us to consider the MS Latin 17575 as a *corpus* of its own is Sanloutius's preservation of the headings and chapters of the *Epigrammata*. As we know from Chapter Two, the *Epigrammata* contains both a geographical and typological

organization; the different sections in the *corpus* were inspired by the categories of monuments featured in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*. Just as Mazzocchi, Sanloutius also wrote the sections at the top of each page, which would have aided the scouring of his work. It could be said that Sanloutius followed Mazzocchi's organization because the arrangement was never altered or questioned by Egio. It is striking, however, that Sanloutius writes a strong pragmatic statement regarding the organization in the *Ad Lectorem*, where he dismisses the order found in Justus Lipsius's work. By Lipsius we can assume that he is referring to Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, emended and supplemented by Lipsius. After dismissing the order of Smetius's *corpus*, Sanloutius explains his return to Mazzocchi.[680] According to Sanloutius, an organization such as the one used by Mazzocchi would allow future scholars to have a better understanding of antiquity. Therefore, Sanloutius altogether dismissed organizations of more recent publications (including Smetius and by extension Gruterus as well, since Gruterus followed Smetius's arrangement of material) to go back to the arrangement of the first printed collection, at least seventy years beforehand: this clearly demonstrates that Sanloutius's choice of preserving the organization of the *Epigrammata* was not arbitrary.

More importantly, Sanloutius relied on other sources, both manuscript and printed, to complete his copy of the *Epigrammata* and to augment his *sylloge*. The main source we notice is Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae*: for instance, on fol. 8^{r}, Sanloutius adds the annotation *Gr* or *Grut* next to the transcriptions of the inscriptions *CIL* VI 1244, 1245, 1246 (that were featured in the *Epigrammata*), followed by the corresponding page number in Gruterus's collection. Sanloutius also includes references to Gruterus's *corpus* next to the additional *tituli*

[680] 'Justus Lipsius vir quidem eruditus, et studiosissimus antiquitatis, ex inscriptionibus istis nonnullas edidit, im[m]o lapides observavit, sed in eo videtur mihi peccasse, quod singulas per capita non distribuerit, ut quas in portis ad portas, in pontibus ad pontes, ~~et sic de cæteris~~ non retulerit \et ita de reliquis/, ex eo siquidem ordine maior antiquitatum scientia et notio […] Ego quidem pecco cum Mazochio \et/ Benedicto Aegio Romanis nam lapides qui iuxta portas inventi sunt, annecto ipsis portis, quod confusum fateor, et loca observando in re pecco verum non ideo capita præcipua confudi, sed ordine facili disposui, ut quis post me maiorem possit ad Historiae veritatem aditum aperire' (Sanloutius, MS Latin 17575, fol. 6^{r}). This is my transcription of the section in the *Ad Lectorem*, which, as far as I am aware, has not been transcribed before.

culled from Egio: thus, the Roman inscriptions *CIL* VI 2429, 2764 on fol. 8^{r} of Latin 17575 are accompanied by the page reference in Gruterus's *corpus* (p. 543 and 546 respectively; Fig. 75). These references to Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae* must be of a later date but seem to be in Sanloutius's hand and are present almost throughout the manuscript: Sanloutius possibly revisited his notes after the publication of Gruterus's *corpus*.

Here we can read *Gr. p. CCCCXXIII.I.*

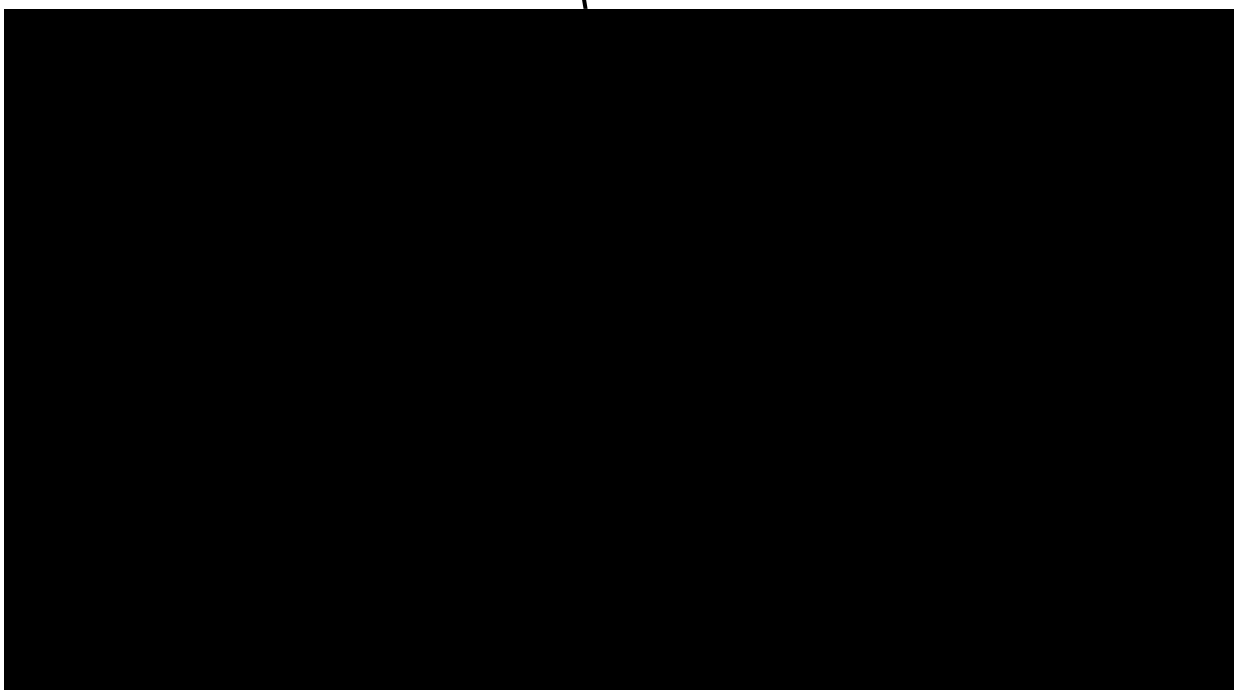


Figure 75. Sanloutius's cross-references to Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae* (MS Latin 17575, fol. 8^{r}).

At the end of the manuscript (fol. 176^{r}), we also find a compilation of a list of epigraphic abbreviations based on Valerius Probus's work: as Sanloutius himself says in the *Ad Lectorem*, such a device would have facilitated the reading of inscriptions. Sanloutius's list is very extensive, spreading over fifteen entire folios and containing not only *De notis Romanorum* (which is the list we find in the *Epigrammata*) but also *De notis numerorum* and the *De numero literarum*. This lengthy list was not copied from Egio's annotations, as Egio did not include additions to the edition of Valerius Probus's notes in the *Epigrammata*. Furthermore, in order

to supplement the list of the Valerius Probus, Sanloutius reports that he has used many abbreviations from other epigraphic collections (referring to the abbreviations, he states that 'quibus multas ex aliis addidi. 1593'), which indicates that Egio's copy was not his only source. Another example of Sanloutius's use of printed sources is *Les Illustres observations antiques* by Simeoni. On fol. 173^{r}, Sanloutius records the *Kalendarium Romanorum* and writes 'ex Gabrielis Simeonis florentinis observationibus'; this calendar features on p. 45 of Simeoni's work, where it is named 'Calendrier et Quadrant antique Romain'. Incidentally, the fact that Sanloutius mentions the page numbers of Gruterus and Simeoni's printed collections leads us to consider more precisely the date of Sanloutius's compilation. Sanloutius began compiling the manuscript in 1593. As said previously, Sanloutius travelled to Bordeaux and Lectoure in the first half of the 1590s. Nevertheless, Sanloutius must have finished the manuscript several years later: given that Gruterus's collection saw the light in print form in 1602-1603, we can assume that Sanloutius kept working on his manuscript during at least ten years.

Sanloutius also made extensive use of the *Urbis Romae topographia* of 1544 by Marliano. Sanloutius employed Marliano's work to comment on the different monuments, regions and *viae* of the Eternal City. On the verso of the intercalated drawings depicting famous Roman monuments (such as the Pantheon, the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius, Trajan's Column or the Vatican Obelisk), Sanloutius copied the corresponding section of Marliano's *Topographia*. These sections usually explain where the monument is situated and provide a historical background (Fig. 76). Here we ought to consider the following: Sanloutius could insert parts of Marliano's guide precisely because he followed the original organization of the *Epigrammata*; his selection and use of sources are, in more than one way, perfectly complementary. The inclusion of Marliano's topographical guide as a source in the *Inscriptiones veteres* is revealing: it means that Sanloutius was compiling a work meant to go beyond an epigraphic *sylloge*. By adding sections of Marliano's chapters, Sanloutius was

producing a comprehensive guide to the city of Rome, which would combine both usefulness and accuracy: it incorporated precise transcriptions (or more accurate than what the *Epigrammata* originally contained), an arrangement perfect for a city such as Rome, and informative comments that would instruct the reader about the type of monument(s) he was observing.

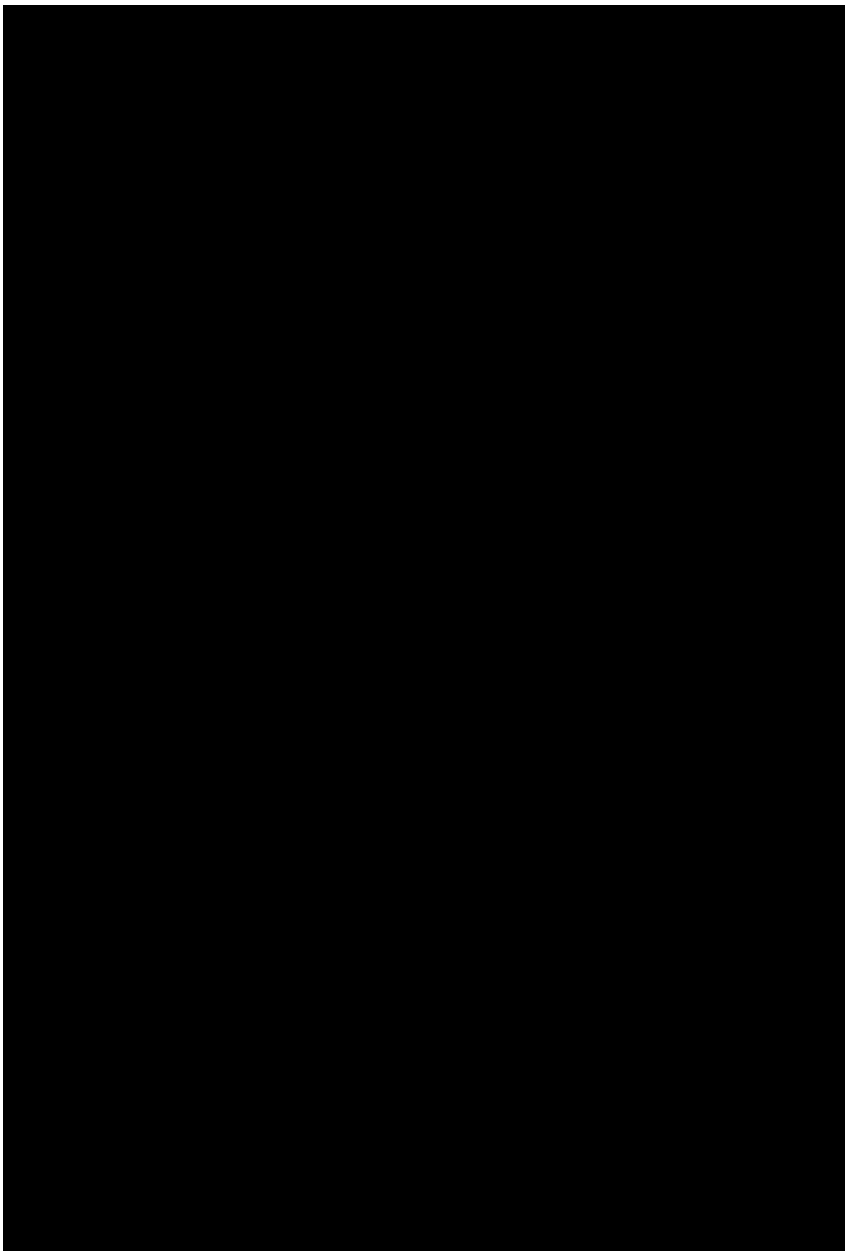


Figure 76. Example of how Sanloutius used Marliano's work to complement the transcriptions of the *Epigrammata* and Egio's annotations (BnF, MS Latin 17575).

These additions and uses of other sources could indicate Sanloutius's ambition for a sense of 'completeness', for a desire of rendering the *Epigrammata* as exhaustive as possible. Despite containing more than three thousand inscriptions from Rome and its surroundings, the *Epigrammata* was far from being a 'complete' *corpus* of the inscriptions of the Eternal City. This act of updating and completing the *Epigrammata* coincides, as we have seen, with what we observe in other epigraphic *corpora* of the late sixteenth century and beginning of the Seicento. It also coincides with Matal's ambition of completing and augmenting the *Epigrammata*, as we discussed earlier in this chapter. It seems indeed that 'completeness' was deemed a requirement or a highly desirable quality in an epigraphic study.

It is also revealing that Sanloutius acknowledges the contributions of all those scholars whose works he used for the compilation of his manuscript. As stated before, he includes the names of Agustín, Arias Montano and Galès for the transcriptions of *tituli* from Spain. More importantly, his use of Egio's annotated copy is also acknowledged: apart from the inclusion of Egio's name in the *Ad Lectorem* note, we find in some cases, such as on fol. 8^{r}, next to the inscriptions he has culled from Egio, the name *Aegii* (which is sometimes in faint ink, but seems to be in Sanloutius's hand). The acknowledgement of sources was indeed an issue for the study of inscriptions throughout the Cinquecento. The importance of acknowledging one's sources became especially visible in Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* and in Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae*, which always stated their sources, whether they were manuscript or printed. Therefore, we observe this trend in Sanloutius's manuscript as well: the fact that Sanloutius wrote the name of Egio in the margins shows that epigraphy was evolving into a discipline where scholars were more conscious about indicating their sources.

Sanloutius's *Inscriptiones veteres* opens several paths of exploration, all related to the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, the annotated copy of Benedetto Egio and scholarly networks in the late sixteenth century. The sheer fact that Sanloutius reproduced an entire printed and

annotated copy, supplementing it with transcriptions of *tituli* from his own travels and from other scholars' *syllogai*, and with references to other manuscript and printed sources is truly remarkable. This section has brought to attention the figure of Sanloutius, a scholar who was clearly aware of the epigraphic publications of his time and who had a strong interest in inscriptions. The usefulness of his manuscript as an epigraphic *sylloge* can be questioned, but it certainly reveals precise and constant antiquarian methods that were the reflection of contemporary epigraphic works: we can observe a scholar who paid great attention to the arrangement of material and who was mindful of indicating his sources. In fact, Sanloutius's use of sources is probably one of the most fascinating aspects of his *corpus*: he gathered in a single work a tradition stemming from both manuscript and printed works and that initiated with the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*. Given the scarcity of biographical information, it is as yet unclear whether Sanloutius was part of a particular network of antiquarians, but he was probably in contact with humanists interested in antiquities and inscriptions.

Sanloutius's case-study also relates to some of the questions we have discussed in Chapter Three: Sanloutius copies in a manuscript the annotations and corrections of a copy of a publication. He then supplements his manuscript with references to multiple printed contemporary works. In this way, MS Latin 17575 is a prime example of the close relationship and interconnectedness of manuscript and print.

4.5 Physical Collections of Inscriptions

The context of production and compilation of epigraphic *corpora* and of transmission of epigraphic material inevitably leads us to study physical collections of ancient inscriptions. I do not intend to talk extensively about the multiple collections that existed in the sixteenth century, since many of these have already been explored or studied.[681] Instead, I plan to show

[681] On this point, see Claudio Franzoni, 'Rimembranze d'infinite cose. Le collezioni rinascimentali di antichità', in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, ed. by Salvatore Settis, 3 vols (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1984-86), I

how the practices of collecting could influence the compilation of epigraphic *corpora* and the transmission of material. When studying specific epigraphic *corpora*, it is simple to overlook the context in which they were created. Studying these physical collections of antiquities and the removal of inscriptions from their original place is essential to have a better sense of the contextualization of the material we see transcribed in epigraphic *corpora*, since this material had to be accessible to the scholar.

Elaborate collections of antiquities developed in the Renaissance, particularly in Rome, and during the second half of the sixteenth century we observe the start of a shift from strictly private collections to the idea of collections that are open to general visitors.[682] Most cardinals, dukes and chancellors sought to capture the majesty of ancient Rome (and indeed of their families) from collecting and displaying Roman antiquities: for instance, Cardinal Federico Cesi (1500-1565) displayed in his garden at Rome a considerable section of inscriptions mentioning the ancient Roman *Caesii*, *Caesonii* or *Caesellii* gentes.[683] By claiming Roman ancestry, he inserted himself and his family into the fabric of Roman antiquity: his collection of antiquities, in other words, allowed Cesi to create structures and establish(ed) roots in an environment that was not always stable.[684]

The removal of inscriptions from their original locations was certainly a concern for sixteenth-century scholars, or at least something they recognized: for instance, the manuscript Vat. Lat. 6040 contains some letters in which Alfonso Gaspar de Castro transcribes epigraphic

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(1984), pp. 301-60; Sara Magister, 'Censimento delle collezioni di antichità a Roma: 1471-1503', *Xenia Antiqua*, 8 (1999), 129-204; Henning Wrede, 'Ein imaginierter Besuch im Museo di Carpi', in *Le collezioni di antichità nella cultura antiquaria europea*, ed. by Manuela Fano Santi (Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1999), pp. 18-30; Christian, *Empire Without End*; Furlotti, *Antiquities in Motion*. I am aware that this is a vast topic in its own right, well beyond the domain of epigraphic studies. Here I only quote a fraction of the scholarship available on the subject.

[682] Stenhouse, 'Visitors, Display, and Reception in the Antiquity Collections of Late-Renaissance Rome', p. 398.

[683] Nicholas Popper, 'An Ocean of Lies: The Problem of Historical Evidence in the Sixteenth Century', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 74 (2011), 375-400 (p. 377). For an extensive account on the importance of collections of Cardinals, see Patricia Falguières, *La Cité fictive: les collections de cardinaux, à Rome, au XVIe siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1988).

[684] Stenhouse, 'Visitors, Display, and Reception in the Antiquity Collections of Late-Renaissance Rome', p. 400; Christian, *Empire Without End*, p. 220.

material from Mérida (Spain) for Antonio Agustín. Castro states that he was expecting to see many inscriptions in Mérida, but that he was disappointed in finding that many of the inscribed monuments had been moved to a monastery: 'In Mérida. I initially thought I would find many things of this kind [inscriptions] here, but I found only some epigraphic texts because, as they told me, they had taken them to other parts. They took more than sixty with huge stones of marble for a monastery in Galisteo and there they wished to keep many of these classical inscriptions'.[685]

Leafing through the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* also confronts us with the reality of physical collections of inscriptions in the houses of Cardinals and other scholars. As I have explained previously in this chapter, many of the inscriptions we find in the *Epigrammata* were part of the personal collections of Pomponio Leto, Angelo Colocci and Maffei. The change of location of *tituli* also becomes evident, especially in the annotated copies. We have to bear in mind that the *Epigrammata* represented a Rome before the Sack of 1527 and, in this sense, the annotated copies of the *Epigrammata* often update the location of the inscription (of course, the *Epigrammata* was not precisely accurate in its record of locations of *tituli*, but *tituli* had also changed location). Lelio even uses a different colour of ink to update the location of the inscription. Matal's annotated copy of the *Epigrammata* seems to indicate that Lelio also collected inscriptions: on fol. 30^{v}, Matal writes next to *CIL* VI 21017 'nunc in domo Anto(nii) Lelii'. This epigraphic text displays the name *A(ulo) Laelio Apro*, which could explain why Lelio found it intriguing. The change of location is rather transparent in most of epigraphic *corpora* I have consulted (both in manuscript and print). Incidentally, when Boissard was attempting to convince Ortelius of the innovations of his epigraphic *corpus*, he stated that, apart from the multiple illustrations, the other appeal of his work was the inclusion of many

[685] 'En Mérida. En este lugar pensé haller muchas cosas desta calidad y halle muy pocas porque me dicen que las han llevado de allí para diversas partes. Llevaron más de sesenta carretas de grandes piedras de mármol para un monasterio en Galisteo y allí se quisieron quedar con muchos letreros antiguos' (Castro, Vat. Lat. 6040, fol. 205^{v}).

antiquities that are not exhibited to Roman habitants, unless they are granted special permission of the Cardinals and Patricians.[686] Boissard was then aware of the privilege he had when visiting a cardinal's private collection. These removals of material (when it was not a destruction or repurpose of the inscription) could represent a significant issue for thorough epigraphic scholarship: if the scholar wished to see and inspect the inscription, he had to know its precise location.

4.6 Conclusions

In conclusion, scholars relied on a vast network of colleagues to compile and produce epigraphic *corpora* as exhaustive as possible, that would ideally surpass previous epigraphic publications, not only in the number of inscriptions included (and geographical scope), but also in the accuracy and portrayal of these texts. The *Epigrammata* clearly marked a turning-point in epigraphic scholarship: apart from being the first epigraphic publication, some scholars felt the need to use it as a starting-point for their own notes on inscriptions and to augment it with more (accurate) material. In a similar manner, Gruterus's *corpus* was heavily inspired by Smetius's; Gruterus claimed that his *Inscriptiones antiquae* contained more inscriptions than any other epigraphic work before: he had preserved Smetius's precision while adding more material. Sanloutius's manuscript has also informed us that the desire to render *corpora* complete could also be seen in manuscripts, especially at the end of the Cinquecento. The case-study of Sanloutius and the MS Latin 17575 has also exemplified some of the elements of the transmission of epigraphic material, of manuscripts and of publications. It has demonstrated

[686] J.-J. Boissard to A. Ortelius, 28 March 1591: 'Possum et hoc addere, me plurima habere, quae a paucis hodie visa sunt, neque iis qui Romae habitant videnda proponuntur, nisi id fiat peculiari favore Cardinalium et Patriciorum' (Ortelius, *Abrahami Ortelii epistulae*, ed. by Hessels, p. 466).

how closely connected manuscript and print were and how epigraphic approaches could 'travel' from one country to another.

As I have then stated in the last section of this chapter, it is always essential to contextualize the production of epigraphic compilations and not to overlook the cultural, social and scholarly changes that were happening at the time. The transmission of epigraphic material in the Cinquecento was not always a perfect collaboration between colleagues who were keen to help one another: in some cases, this epigraphic material was often connected with the transmission of false inscriptions, which I shall discuss in the next chapter.

5 Epigraphic *Falsae* in the Cinquecento: Approaches to and Representations of Forgeries in Epigraphic *Corpora*

The previous chapter has explored the importance of networks in the exchange of epigraphic material and in the scholars' understanding of the classical past. Another considerable aspect of this 'trade' deserves attention: the circulation of spurious inscriptions.[687] Forgeries were by no means limited to the epigraphic field: the problem of historical evidence, for instance, presented a not-insignificant issue in the Cinquecento. Just as epigraphists valued the *autopsia* of a monument, the most credible evidence about past events was produced by historians describing what they had personally witnessed.[688] The term forgery has become tainted with pejorative associations: it is often seen as a destructive enterprise, and its authors are often considered mediocre, vicious and manipulative.[689] Nevertheless, Anthony Grafton's *Forgers and Critics*, among other works, has encouraged scholars to think of and treat forgery as a literary production worthy of attention in its own right.[690] Literary forgery has been around for a very long time; archaeologists have found examples of forged texts as far back as ancient Egypt. The explosion of forgery of all kinds (including literary, epigraphic and numismatic falsification) between 1400 and 1800 was the most visible symptom of a dramatic evolution in

[687] Recent bibliography on the topic of epigraphic *falsae* is too extensive to include here but for an excellent introduction accompanied by the relevant bibliography, see Silvia Orlandi, Maria Letizia Caldelli and Gian Luca Gregori, 'Forgeries and Fakes', in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, ed. by Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 42-65. See also the recently-published volume: Lorenzo Calvelli, ed., *La falsificazione epigrafica. Questioni di metodo e casi di studio* (Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2020).
[688] See Popper, 'An Ocean of Lies', p. 377.
[689] Earle A. Havens, 'Babelic Confusion: Literary Forgery and the Bibliotheca Fictiva', in *Literary Forgery in Early Modern Europe, 1450-1800*, ed. by Walter Stephens and Earle A. Havens (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019), pp. 33-73 (p. 35).
[690] Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

attitudes towards history, a revolution in scholarship and the specialist practice of critical historiography.[691]

Forgeries were already produced in the classical past: some were invented for gain, while others were created to support or refute complex philosophical and religious doctrines.[692] Forgery continued to flourish during the Middle Ages, which saw the rise of nations and families supporting their sense of national identity by providing themselves with suitably noble pasts.[693] Meanwhile, medieval poets and prose writers produced a vast amount of literature in the manner of classical authors; as such, some of their texts ended up being ascribed to these ancient writers. In these cases, however, we are not confronted with forgeries, but with pseudepigrapha: these are works wrongly ascribed but not intentionally deceptive.[694] In this sense, we should also think of forgery and patriotic historiography (or even better, *mythopoiesis*, the creative process of mythmaking) as made for each other.[695]

In the Middle Ages as in antiquity, forgery provoked criticism: canon lawyers in particular were specialised in detecting fakes and elaborated a series of rules for verifying legal documents. With the arrival of the Renaissance, literary forgery and criticism returned to the centre stage: the humanist intellectuals of the Quattrocento and Cinquecento turned back to the material remains and literary texts of antiquity, which they thought to be corrupted by medieval scholarship. In this way we observe that, just as it has continued to preoccupy scholars, forgery has also attracted writers throughout the centuries. Furthermore, early modern forgers were

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[691] Walter Stephens and Earle A. Havens, 'Forgery's Valhalla', in *Literary Forgery in Early Modern Europe, 1450-1800*, ed. by Walter Stephens and Earle A. Havens (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019), pp. 1-15 (p. 3).
[692] Grafton, *Forgers and Critics*, p. 18. Archaeologists have also found examples of literary forgery in cultures as far back as ancient Egypt: see Stephens and Havens, 'Forgery's Valhalla', p. 2.
[693] Grafton, *Forgers and Critics*, p. 23. I have also explained in the Introduction that some humanists turned to inscriptions when writing local histories in order to enhance the grandeur of their hometowns. For examples of false inscriptions in antiquity and the Middle Ages, see Lorenzo Calvelli, 'Lineamenti per una storia della critica della falsificazione epigrafica', in *La falsificazione epigrafica. Questioni di metodo e casi di studio*, ed. by Lorenzo Calvelli (Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2020), pp. 81-102 (p. 82).
[694] Grafton, *Forgers and Critics*, p. 24.
[695] Stephens and Havens, 'Forgery's Valhalla', p. 2.

aware of changing attitudes and expectations about what might constitute plausible evidence from antiquity.[696] In the Renaissance, we observe a strong need to connect the dots, to fill in perceived *lacunae* in the understanding of the classical past, even if these connections ultimately never existed.

5.1 The Treatment of *Falsae* in the *CIL*

The study of *falsae* in the Cinquecento confronts us, inevitably, with our modern perception of spurious inscriptions. Our view of *falsae* was —and still is, in many ways— influenced by the *CIL* treatment of forged material. When Theodor Mommsen began the project to edit the *CIL* in the nineteenth century, he soon realized the problem represented by *falsae*. He had to sort out, amongst the immense quantity of material, the inscriptions that were *falsae* or *suspectae* from the genuine ones. Therefore, Mommsen and his colleagues had to establish a certain number of (strict) principles: inscriptions transmitted by scholars that had been found guilty of creating a *titulus* were immediately condemned, solely on the grounds that they had been transmitted by an untrustworthy source.[697] Some notorious 'forgers' even have their own separate section with the spurious material they created (including Ligorio and Boissard).

The field of epigraphic forgeries has gathered much attention in the past couple of years, especially thanks to studies on the figure of Pirro Ligorio, which have demonstrated the significance of contextualizing spurious material.[698] Furthermore, there has been a growing interest in concepts such as 'forgery' and 'replica'.[699] All these investigations have led modern scholarship to think more carefully about the treatment of fakes in the *CIL* and to consider new ways of studying this material, rather than simply dismissing it. Thus, several inscriptions that

[696] Havens, 'Babelic Confusion: Literary Forgery and the Bibliotheca Fictiva', p. 34.
[697] Ginette Vagenheim, 'Bartolomeo Borghesi, Theodor Mommsen et l'édition des inscriptions de Pirro Ligorio dans le *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*)', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 26 (2014), 363-71 (p. 368).
[698] I shall return to the figure of Pirro Ligorio, with the relevant bibliography, later in this chapter.
[699] See, for instance, the influential work by Christopher S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). In this thesis, I shall not engage with the philological implications of the term 'forgery'.

were condemned as false by the compilers of the *CIL* have been proved to be genuine. Epigraphers are increasingly aware that, even when an inscription is determined false, it should not be discarded: an epigraphic invention remains a paramount document, as it can inform us of the context in which it was produced and how scholars viewed antiquity. Forgery is a field still in its 'infancy', but which is progressing remarkably: for instance, it is worth mentioning the project 'False testimonianze. Copie, contraffazioni, manipolazioni e abusi del document epigrafico antico' (from February 2017 to January 2020) led by Lorenzo Calvelli and funded by the Italian Ministry of Education. One of the goals of this project included the creation of an open-access online database of fake inscriptions, the EDF (Epigraphic Database Falsae). The creation of an epigraphic database of *falsae* shows how our view of forgeries has evolved since the strict principles set by the *CIL* and will allow us to have a better and deeper understanding of the phenomenon of *falsae*.

Although modern scholarship has shown a strong interest in epigraphic forgeries, several aspects of this complex phenomenon remain largely unstudied. Most studies have focused on either case-studies of famous false inscriptions or on particular individuals known for their epigraphic inventions. Very few, however, have addressed the question of *falsae* in epigraphic manuscripts and printed *corpora*, how they were treated, how they were categorized and how they were studied.

This chapter will first examine what were the various sixteenth-century approaches to epigraphic forgeries and it will explain how the creation of *falsae* was closely tied to the idea of a 'complete' past. It will take the view of two scholars in particular, Pirro Ligorio, considered for a long time 'the prince of forgers' and Antonio Agustín, who, as we have seen throughout this thesis, adopted more rigorous approaches in his study of inscriptions. This chapter will then give an overview of how *falsae* were treated in epigraphic *corpora*.

5.2 Sixteenth-Century Approaches to Forgeries

5.2.1 The Past Made 'Whole' Again: The Cult of Ruins

Although thinking about our own ideas of epigraphic forgeries is relevant in this chapter, we should also avoid anachronistic judgments and assess the phenomenon of *falsae* in its context: in early modern antiquarianism, the boundaries between recovering, reconstructing, recreating and re-using antiquity were often fleeting and ductile. Although modern scholarship has separate categories for *antico*, *falso antico* and *all'antica*, these did not exist in Late Renaissance Rome.[700] From this point of view, we should not forget that forgeries do not form a homogeneous category: some texts were forged on paper whereas others were carved on stone; some forgeries were unintentional (for instance carving of epigraphic texts as a scholarly exercises) while others were intentional (especially in the cases of validation of an otherwise untenable hypothesis).[701] On a practical level, several forgeries were produced for commercial gain, especially those on stone; whilst some scholars created inscriptions to demonstrate their understanding and knowledge of the classical past.[702] Therefore, it is of utmost importance to study each epigraphic creation in its context and to bear in mind that each case is unique.

The question of forgeries in the Cinquecento is closely linked to the cult of ruins and to the desire of seeing the past made whole again. In this context, we ought to reflect upon what the classical past meant for sixteenth-century scholars. What characterizes archaeological remains is their fragmentary nature; these fragments will eventually lead to the reconstruction of a fragment of the past.[703] A fragment is defined in terms of both presence and absence: it is

[700] See Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina*, p. 76; Patrick Le Roux, 'Autour de la notion d'inscription fausse', in *Épigraphie hispanique: problèmes de méthode et d'édition*, ed. by Robert Étienne (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1984), pp. 175-80 (p. 175).
[701] Orlandi, Caldelli and Gregori, 'Forgeries and Fakes', p. 42. Although some forgeries were carved on stone or more durable materials, the large majority of *falsae* were produced on paper. See Le Roux, 'Autour de la notion d'inscription fausse', pp. 175-80, for the study of a forged text engraved on stone.
[702] Orlandi, Caldelli and Gregori, 'Forgeries and Fakes', p. 44.
[703] John Chapman and Bisserka Gaydarska, 'The Fragmentation Premise in Archaeology: From the Palaeolithic to More Recent Times', in *The Fragment: An Incomplete History*, ed. by William Tronzo (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2009), pp. 131-53 (p. 131).

something in itself, a tangible object, but its nature as fragment also indicates that something is missing.[704] The ruins are physically there, but they also present *lacunae* that scholars wish to complete. As Grafton argues in *Forgers and Critics*, 'forgery stemmed less from practical needs than from nostalgia. It aimed above all at recreating a past even more to the taste of modern readers and scholars than was the real antiquity uncovered by technical scholarship.'[705] This explains in part the myriad of sixteenth-century reconstructions of fragmented inscribed monuments (as we have seen in Chapter One): it was fairly common for early modern recorders of *tituli* to fill in missing texts in their compilations (often silently), just as they would do with missing limbs and heads of ancient statues, all in an attempt to see the ruined past made whole again. In fact, as I have said in Chapter Three, it is striking that Boissard's manuscript Latin 12509, made in preparation for the printed version of the *Romanae urbis topographia*, very often displays reconstructed inscriptions and statues. In contrast, his manuscript S. 68 in Stockholm features many representations of statues with missing limbs. Boissard, then, possibly wished to present to the reader a reconstructed image of the ancient world in print.

The lamentation of Rome's former glory, which we can already observe in Poggio Bracciolini's *De varietate fortunae*, was a trope throughout the Quattrocento and Cinquecento.[706] *De varietate fortunae* starts with Poggio Bracciolini and his interlocutor Antonio Loschi looking at the ruins of the Roman Forum from the Capitoline Hill and lamenting such a desolate sight:

> Not long ago, since Pope Martin [V] had retired, on account of his health, in his domain of Tusculum, we were free from any kind of public or private occupation. Antonio Loschi, an excellent man and I, often contemplated the abandonments of the city: facing the ancient grandeur of the collapsed monuments and the vast ruins of the ancient city,

[704] Jacqueline Lichtenstein, 'The Fragment: Elements of a Definition', in *The Fragment: An Incomplete History*, ed. by William Tronzo (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2009), pp. 115-29 (p. 120).
[705] Grafton, *Forgers and Critics*, p. 26.
[706] See Laurens and Vuilleumier, *L'Âge de l'inscription*, p. 14.

then facing the huge defeat of such an empire, we assuredly admired from our souls, the astounding and distressing fickleness of Fortune.[707]

Poggio admits that the world he lives in can never surpass the grandeur of ancient Rome, but he also reminds his contemporaries that, if they gather together the remains that are left from such an exceptional civilization, they can still recreate some of its achievements.[708] We find very similar statements to Poggio's in other works of the Quattrocento: in the prefatory letter of the manuscript Vat. Lat. 10228 (BAV) addressed to Lorenzo de' Medici, Giovanni Giocondo also laments the destruction of the Eternal City and claims that antiquities are destroyed without any concern for what they represent.[709] Giocondo's letter echoes Bracciolini's words while also emphasizing the importance of the ancient authors and their works to understand the classical past.

The cult of ruins was just as present in the Cinquecento as in the Quattrocento: scholars often lamented the destruction of ancient buildings and monuments for the construction of new architectural structures (for instance, in Chapter One, we have seen that some humanists criticized the demolition of the *Meta Romuli*).[710] In the only work published during Ligorio's lifetime, *Libro delle antichità di Roma* of 1553, we find similar claims to the ones made by Bracciolini and Giocondo.[711] Ligorio criticizes contemporary scholars for their inability in

[707] 'Nuper cum pontifex Martinus, paulo antequam diem suum obiret, ab urbe in agrum Tusculanum secessisset valitudinis gratia, nos autem essemus negociis curisque publicis vacui, visebamus saepius deserta urbis, Antonius Luscus vir clarissimus egoque, admirantes animo, ob veterem collapsorum aedificiorum magnitudinem et vastas urbis antiquae ruinas, tum ob tanti imperii ingentem stragem stupendam profecto ac deplorandam fortunae varietatem' (Bracciolini, *De varietate fortunae*, ed. by Merisalo, p. 91).
[708] On Poggio's lamentation in *De varietate fortunae*, see Laurens and Vuilleumier, *L'Âge de l'inscription*, p. 14.
[709] See Vat. Lat. 10228, fols 1r-2r. In 'A Collection of Inscriptions for Lorenzo De' Medici', Koortbojian provides a transcription and translation of Giocondo's prefatory letter.
[710] On the cult and the representation of Roman ruins in Renaissance art, see Franzoni, '*Urbe Roma in pristinam formam rinascente*', pp. 291-336.
[711] As I have stated in Chapter Two, Ligorio's *Delle antichità di Roma* consists of forty-two books (which are divided into four major collections located in the State Archive of Turin, the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, the BnF and the Bodleian Library): his *opus*, however, was never published in full and only two chapters were printed in this *Libro* of 1553. While the first chapter comprises a description of Roman circuses, theatres and amphitheatres, in the second section, entitled the *Paradosse*, Ligorio refutes some of the claims made in earlier guides to ancient Rome, which, according to him, wrongly identified certain Roman buildings. For an analysis of the sixteenth-century dispute about the precise location of the Forum Romanum and Ligorio's role in it, see Laureys and Schreurs, 'Egio, Marliano, Ligorio, and the Forum Romanum in the 16th Century', pp. 385-405.

identifying the monuments of ancient Rome: according to him, this is due to the fact that these individuals do not even take time to read and study the works of ancient authors. Ligorio then states very clearly that it is in the words of these authors of the past that we find, still intact, the living memory of Rome.[712] Just as Bracciolini and Giocondo, Ligorio also laments the changes the Eternal City has suffered throughout the years:

> The various and almost countless mutations and ruins that have happened to the city of Rome, which it had to suffer for so many centuries, from its first formation and until this day; all of these have altered, damaged and transformed the appearance and the body of this city.[713]

The accounts of Poggio, Giocondo and Ligorio convey a strong desire for making the past whole again and can explain some of Ligorio's silent reconstructions of ancient inscriptions.[714]

5.2.2 Pirro Ligorio, His Reconstructed Material and His Invented Inscriptions

Pirro Ligorio certainly remains a highly controversial figure, especially because of the inscriptions he created.[715] Ligorio's false inscriptions and creations were also part of this desire to represent the classical past in its most complete form. Even though Ligorio's figure has been rehabilitated and current scholarship perceives him as more complex than a mere 'forger', the fact remains that he invented a great number of *tituli*, on paper as well as in stone. Ligorio's *falsae* are very difficult to distinguish from the genuine texts, since he included the same

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[712] 'ne' quali [gli antichi scrittori] si conserva anchor viva in buona parte la memoria di Roma' (Ligorio, *Libro delle antichità di Roma*, fol. 25^{v}).

[713] 'Le varie, et quasi innumerabili mutationi, et ruine, che la città di Roma ha fatte, et patite per tanti secoli, quanti da la prima edification sua e son corsi insino a questa ultima età, hanno in modo alterato, guasto, et trasformato dall'esser di prima l'aspetto, e'l corpo d'essa città' (Ligorio, *Libro delle antichità di Roma*, fol. 25^{r}). In this thesis, I am using the 1553 printed edition of Ligorio's work; there is, however, an online version of the text, edited by Margaret Daly Davis.

[714] The destruction of ruins accompanied by humanist laments was not exclusive to Rome: see Stenhouse, 'Reusing and Redisplaying Antiquities in Early Modern France', pp. 126-28 in particular.

[715] For two comprehensive biographical accounts on Ligorio, see Anna Schreurs, *Antikenbild und Kunstanschauungen des neapolitanischen Malers, Architekten und Antiquars Pirro Ligorio (1513-1583)* (Cologne: W. König, 2000) and David R. Coffin, *Pirro Ligorio: The Renaissance Artist, Architect, and Antiquarian* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004). Note that Schreurs also discusses extensively Ligorio's working methods.

amount of information for all his material, such as the (purported) location, the place of excavation and sometimes the measurements. For instance, in Book 39, Ligorio says that the inscription *CIL* VI 2243* (which he uses to illustrate his description of engraved garlands on funerary inscriptions) was 'found near the vineyard of Sir Battista d'Anagnia in Via Latina, inside the walls of Rome'.[716] Ligorio also produced several inscriptions on stone (about seventy out of the 2,993 inscriptions included amongst the *falsae Ligorianae* in the *CIL*), one of the most famous examples being the marble dedication to Lucrina Iucunda (*CIL* VI 937*), which was considered genuine by several sixteenth-century scholars.

In the last few years, scholars have reached a more balanced judgement on Ligorio and his work: their studies do not consider him as a forger any longer, but place his activities as an artist and antiquarian into a new perspective.[717] *Delle antichità di Roma* (of which I have offered a brief description in Chapter Two) provides valuable insights into Ligorio's methods of reconstruction: his first step when encountering an ancient monument was to make an accurate drawing of it as he found it *in situ*. Then, he decided how to edit it for permanent record: if the original monument was intact, he usually left it unchanged in the illustration; however, if it was damaged or fragmentary, his habit was to reconstruct it (on paper).

Ligorio describes his 'typical' method of restoration in the commentary of a statue of Diana in Book 34: after indicating the very fragmentary state of the statue, 'above that dedication stood the statue of that Goddess, of which only a few remains were still visible next to her feet', he explains how he represented it: 'I myself have drawn it [the statue] in its entirety, taking inspiration from what little is still visible and also from other statues of Diana, which

[716] 'Trovato al lato a la vigna di M. Battista d'Anagnia nella Via Latina, entre le mura di Roma' (Ligorio, *Libro delle iscrizioni dei sepolcri antichi*, ed. by Orlandi, p. 15).
[717] Ginette Vagenheim and Silvia Orlandi in particular have written very balanced accounts on Ligorio's life and working methods, showing his different interests as an artist, architect and antiquarian. For a recent, interdisciplinary study on Ligorio, see Ginette Vagenheim's and Fernando Loffredo's edited volume *Pirro Ligorio's Worlds: Antiquarianism, Classical Erudition and Visual Arts in the Late Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), which offers a study of Ligorio's manifold interests.

have the same posture'.[718] Ligorio's methods were then by no means arbitrary: he took evidence from other surviving monuments or even sometimes from literary sources and attempted to reconstruct the damaged statue in the most plausible way.

Let us bear in mind that such methods of reconstruction were inherent to Ligorio's approach to the classical past and can also be observed in his other works and activities. For instance, Ligorio designed a map of ancient Rome in 1552, which was a reconstruction of the city based on the actual surviving ruins, and an even larger map of the city in twelve map sheets in 1561 (engraved by the Flemish humanist Jacobus Bos (active in Rome from 1549) and published jointly by the Italian printers Michele and Francesco Tramezzino (both active from 1526)), known as the *Anteiquae urbis imago accuratissime ex vetusteis monumenteis formata* and based on Ligorio's imagination of what the city could have looked like during the Imperial age. This imaginative reconstruction was not arbitrary: as it synthesised invention and archaeological accuracy, it was consistent with Ligorio's methods of restoring ancient monuments.[719]

5.2.3 Antonio Agustín's *Diálogos de medallas*: A Condemnation of Spurious Inscriptions?

The production of sixteenth-century epigraphic forgeries was made, in some cases, in response to a certain idea of what the classical past should look like. This is not to say, however, that the notion of 'fake' did not exist in the sixteenth century. Humanists were aware of the existence of spurious inscriptions, which they generally condemned. In the eleventh book of his *Diálogos de medallas*, Agustín offers the earliest reasoned discussion of the subject, as he deals chiefly

[718] 'sopra di esse dedication era la statua di quella dea, dela quale solo si vedono poche reliquie giù verso i piedi' 'non di meno io l'ho disegnata integra, prendendo argomento da quel poco che se ne vede, et anchora per altre statue di Diana, che fanno l'attion medesima' (Pirro Ligorio, *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio. Libro delle iscrizioni latine e greche (Napoli Volume 7)*, ed. by Silvia Orlandi (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2008), p. 42).

[719] For a wide-ranging study on Ligorio's map of 1561, see Howard Burns, 'Pirro Ligorio's Reconstruction of Ancient Rome: The *Antiquae Urbis Imago* of 1561', in *Pirro Ligorio: Artist and Antiquarian*, ed. by Robert W. Gaston (Florence: Silvana Editoriale, 1988), pp. 19-92.

with spurious coins and inscriptions. Agustín starts the chapter by signalling the importance of distinguishing genuine and false inscriptions:

> If one is not able to distinguish the false from the truth, it is not possible to establish a study with solid foundations. And if Aldo Manuzio [the Younger] uses false inscriptions to prove the correct way of spelling, there will be no conclusive evidence. And if I ever wish to use that inscription, I myself shall be mocked.[720]

We ought to consider two points here: first, using the example of Manuzio's *Orthographiae ratio* of 1566, Agustín's interlocutor emphasizes the fact that, by relying on false sources, it is impossible to establish a solid, 'scientific', basis for antiquarian studies. As I have explained, in the *Orthographiae ratio*, Manuzio uses transcriptions of classical inscriptions to prove the correct spelling of Latin words and names (see Introduction 3.2). To Manuzio, who was attempting to demonstrate the correct spelling of Latin words, relying on genuine texts was of the utmost importance.[721] The second aspect to consider here is the interlocutor's great fear of being mocked if he employs a false inscription in his works: Agustín's *Diálogos de medallas* points to the fact that employing *falsae* (and being discovered for doing so) could deeply impact one's perception of erudition. For sixteenth-century scholars, identifying a spurious inscription was not only a means to pave a more thorough approach to epigraphy, but it was also an opportunity to show their knowledge of the classical past and language to their colleagues.

As I have discussed in the previous chapters, Agustín played a central role in the development of sixteenth-century epigraphy, as he aimed to provide a solid and trustworthy basis for the study of antiquity. We are certainly struck by Agustín's 'modernity' when it comes

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[720] 'Sin apartar lo incierto de lo que es cierto, no se puede hazer estudio con fundamento. Y si en las inscriciones que refiere Aldo Manucio para provar qual es buena orthographía, se sirve de letreros falsos, no hará prueva concluyente. Y si yo me quiero valer de aquella inscrición para otra cosa, también quedaré burlado' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 443).

[721] Agustín believed medals and coins to have the same value as inscriptions, as his interlocutor states that he cannot use forged medals in any enterprise: 'And the same could happen with medals: if I cannot see which are genuine and which are false, I cannot use them for any matter' ('Y otro tanto me puede acahecer en las medallas, que sino sé quales son verdaderas, y quales falsas, no puedo servirme dellas para cosa ninguna' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 443)).

to identifying *falsae*: for instance, in his *Diálogos de medallas*, he discusses a *titulus* he encountered on his way from Bologna to Rome, as he passed through the city of Cesena in the region of Emilia-Romagna. This inscription, *CIL* XI 30*, was created to recall Caesar's famous crossing of the Rubicon.[722] Agustín notes that the support was ancient and the lettering modern:

> I saw a very ancient stone with inscriptions on two sides, and it was precisely what was written on one of these sides that I knew was not ancient. [...] The stone was indeed very old, but only the stone and not its inscription. Although one of the sides displayed a text that once served as an epitaph for a soldier, on the other side of the same stone was a decree in evidently very modern letters.[723]

Evidence of how sixteenth-century scholars were able to distinguish genuine from spurious *tituli* is scarce. In the *Diálogos de medallas*, Agustín seems to suggest that frequent inspection of genuine inscribed monuments (and artefacts) will ultimately allow the humanist to make the distinction: 'By looking closely at the material and shape of ancient coins and inscriptions, we would become so accustomed to their characteristics that we would then be able to differentiate almost immediately the genuine ones from the false'.[724] Although Agustín's statement sounds rather vague, it still implies the importance of the autopsy of a classical inscription: this is not only the way of providing accurate readings, transcriptions and interpretations, but also of adapting the eye to the material and linguistic features of authentic inscriptions.

In his *Diálogos de medallas*, Agustín anticipates some of the techniques used in the nineteenth century by the compilers of the *CIL*. In this way, Agustín does not trust any material

[722] This forged inscription had an extraordinary diffusion in epigraphic manuscripts of the Cinquecento: see Campana, *Studi epigrafici ed epigrafia nuova*, p. 21.

[723] 'Vi una piedra muy antigua escrita en dos partes, y lo que estava en la una parte era aquello mismo que yo negava ser antiguo […] [La piedra] era ahún muy antigua, pero digo la piedra, y no la inscrición della alomenos en la una parte, que ahunque otro tiempo sirvió de epitaphio de un soldado, y aquellas letras mostravan una gran antigüedad, en la misma piedra a las espaldas pusieron con letras que se conoce ser muy modernas, un mandamiento para que ningún capitán ni soldado fuesse osado passar el Rubicón que dividía la Gallia de Italia, como hizo Iulio César' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, pp. 444-45).

[724] 'Mirando bien nosotros en la materia y forma de las medallas antiguas y letreros, haríamos un habito a ellas, que muy presto caeríamos en la cuenta de lo que es falso y verdadero' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 447).

whatsoever transmitted by scholars known to have created spurious inscriptions: 'I consider this inscription suspicious,' he says, 'because it was transmitted by untrustworthy individuals. Since we have already seen their lies, even if they tell the truth we shall not believe them'.[725] Agustín's statement reminds us of Mommsen's attitude regarding scholars that had created inscriptions: 'legem secutus quae in foro obtinet, dolum non praesumi, sed probato dolo totum testem infirmari'.[726] Agustín also provides us with a list of individuals he deems unreliable: he starts with the Italian Dominican friar Annius of Viterbo (born Giovanni Nanni, *c.*1432-1502), considered one of the most notorious Renaissance forgers.[727] Agustín recounts the famous anecdote of how Annius had forged an inscription on stone and, after burying it, had led other humanists to unearth it.[728] After transcribing the text of his own creation, Annius announced how this *titulus* offered indisputable proof of the venerable origins of the city of Viterbo, since its text indicated that the city was two thousand years older than Romulus and that it was founded by Isis and Osiris.[729] Annius's forgeries need some contextualization: foundation myths and civic histories flourished in the fifteenth century and almost all Renaissance Italian cities sought to legitimate their cultural and economic grandeur with claims of great antiquity.[730] Annius wanted to push the story of Viterbo's foundation, which was often

[725] 'Yo la tengo por sospechosa, porque tenemos nuevas della por personas de poca fe, y como vemos sus mentiras ya dichas, aunque digan verdad no les creemos lo otro […]' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 456).
[726] *CIL* IX, p. XI.
[727] On Annius of Viterbo, see Roberto Weiss, 'Traccia per una biografia di Annio da Viterbo', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 5 (1962), 425-41; Christopher R. Ligota, 'Annius of Viterbo and Historical Method', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 50 (1987), 44-56; Anthony Grafton, 'Invention of Traditions and Traditions of Invention in Renaissance Europe: The Strange Case of Annius of Viterbo', in *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), pp. 8-38; Walter Stephens, 'When Pope Noah Ruled the Etruscans: Annius of Viterbo and His Forged Antiquities', *Modern Language Notes*, 119 (2004), 201-23; Meier, 'The Medieval and Early Modern World and the Material Past', p. 258.
[728] Agustín explains that Latino Latini recounted this story to him: in contrast with Annius, Latini was 'an erudite man and very truthful' ('hombre doto y de mucha verdad', *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 448).
[729] Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 448.
[730] Amanda Collins, 'Renaissance Epigraphy and its Legitimating Potential: Annius of Viterbo, Etruscan Inscriptions, and the Origins of Civilization', in *The Afterlife of Inscriptions: Reusing, Rediscovering, Reinventing and Revitalizing Ancient Inscriptions*, ed. by Alison E. Cooley (London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2000), pp. 57-76 (p. 59). I have also discussed this phenomenon in the Introduction.

associated in medieval legend with the figure of Hercules, even further into the distant past.[731] The inscription Agustín mentions in his account was part of a series of six *tituli*, all created by Annius and three of which were carved: Annius then reproduced these texts with a commentary, thus creating evidence to support his argument of Viterbo's ancient origins. Annius not only expected his colleagues, scholars, civic officials and politicians to believe that the inscriptions were genuine, but also to trust the conclusions he drew from them: we are witnessing the moment when the evidence of inscriptions was starting to be given the status of privileged source material for the study of the classical past.[732] For early modern epigraphers, *tituli* had a strong evidentiary value and they had a closer link to antiquity than ancient texts.[733] Annius faced harsh criticisms; despite these, however, his works were frequently mentioned: in his *Opusculum* of 1510, Albertini cites Annius regularly, without any clear indication that he mistrusts his findings. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that Agustín is writing decades later than Albertini, when scholars were perhaps more sensible to the presence of forgeries in the epigraphic record.

After recounting this anecdote, Agustín goes on to list other humanists who convincingly produced false inscriptions: 'In the same way, just as ingenious [as Annius] but more elegant in their creations were Giovanno Pontano, Pomponio Leto, Juan Camerte and Cyriac of Ancona. I am not sure whether others have made false inscriptions'.[734] Agustín condemns Juan Camerte for having forged ridiculous inscriptions, while his concern with

[731] Collins, 'Renaissance Epigraphy and its Legitimating Potential', pp. 59-60. For a detailed study on how Annius of Viterbo invented, 'discovered' and used pseudo-Etruscan inscriptions to create an alternative world history, see Collins's article.
[732] Collins, 'Renaissance Epigraphy and its Legitimating Potential', p. 69.
[733] Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History*, p. 95.
[734] 'No fueron menos ingeniosos pero hizieron con más elegancia sus ficiones Ioviano Pontano, Pomponio Leto, Juan Camerte y Cyriaco Anconitano, y no sé si hai otros que fingieron inscriciones' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 449). Agustín and previous scholars had uncovered forged material from these authors, which is why they are condemned as 'forgers' in the *Diálogos*. In the prefatory note to his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (Vat. Lat. 8495), Jean Matal also suspects Juan Camerte, Pomponio Leto, Giovanni Pontano and Cyriac of Ancona of having created epigraphic material (fol. 11^{v}). Both Agustín and Matal also show high contempt for the incunable *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, published first in Venice in 1499 and commonly attributed to the Italian Dominican priest Francesco Colonna (1433-1527).

Cyriac's spurious texts is related to the fact that they have found their way into the books of Ambrosio de Morales.[735] Agustín alludes here to a very serious problem in the Cinquecento: spurious inscriptions often ended up in epigraphic manuscript and publications of what he considered trustworthy scholars.

More important in the *Diálogos de medallas* is Agustín's awareness of the epigraphic publications containing *falsae*. Agustín singles out the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* by Apianus and Amantius: 'In the book published by Petrus Apianus and Bartolomaeus Amantius that contains inscriptions from the entire world we find an infinite number of false inscriptions by several authors.'[736] Just as with Annius's creations and despite all the criticisms, the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* was often used in subsequent manuscripts and publications as a source, since scholars appreciated its epigraphic input as a 'global' *corpus* of classical inscriptions. According to Matal, forgers created inscriptions because they were 'great emulators of antiquity' and they wished to 'bewilder the ignorant and test the learned'.[737] While it is true that some scholars were unaware that their source was unreliable, it is also highly probable that they did not wish to disregard whole collections outright, especially in the case of printed *corpora* that contained thousands of inscriptions that had not been recorded before. Furthermore, the existence of false inscriptions did not mean that humanists condemned every inscription they considered or knew to be fake; on the contrary, even scholars as rigorous as Agustín admitted they sometimes enjoyed looking at a *falsum*. For instance, in his *Diálogos de medallas*, Agustín praises the medals created by a certain Paduan individual (who has not been identified): 'The best of all are those of a Paduan man, who counterfeits the best medals, and these are executed so skilfully that just contemplating them is a great pleasure. And were it not

[735] 'De Cyriaco Anconitano hartas inscriciones vemos en los libros de Ambrosio de Morales' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 449).
[736] 'En el libro que publicaron Pedro Appiano y Bartolomeo Amantio de inscriciones de todo el mundo hai infinitas destas falsas de diversos autores' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 455).
[737] 'ut erant antiquitatis admiratores maximi et aemuli, eos puto multa hisce similia, ut indoctos eluderent et doctos tentarent' (Matal, Vat. Lat. 8495, fol. 11^{v}).

for some errors in the letters or in the illustrations, I could not wish for better'.[738] In fact, according to Agustín, in order for an individual to produce a decent, modern, inscription, he ought to imitate first ancient *tituli*, as he declares that 'and whoever does not investigate or imitate them [ancient inscriptions] with diligence, will not make a good composition, even if they are very learned and have read good authors'.[739] Agustín's statement clearly shows that the current categories we use for epigraphic forgeries did not exist in the Cinquecento.

Agustín also made a clear distinction between those scholars who falsified material on purpose and those that had no original intention of deceiving: the intention of the forger is precisely one of the aspects about forgeries that fascinates modern scholarship.[740] Thus, in his *Diálogos de medallas*, Agustín's interlocutor compares Ambrosio de Morales's copies of inscriptions with those of Cyriac of Ancona. Agustín retorts that this is not a good comparison, as 'the inscriptions [transcribed by] of Cyriac are forged on purpose, just as the books of Annius of Viterbo; Ambrosio de Morales has no such intentions [of deceiving] and he has worked diligently to write what is true and he says what he feels with good intention and candour.'[741] The intention of the forger has gathered increased interest in modern epigraphic studies: in order to characterize an inscription as a 'forgery', the scholar must have made the creation with the clear intention of deceiving or to mention historical events that never took place.[742] Annius

[738] 'Las mejores de todas son las de un Paduano que contrahaze las mejores medallas de las antiguas que ahora tenemos, y estas están tan bien hechas que es gran placer mirallas: y sino fuesse por alguno errores que hai, o en las letras, o en las cosas debuxadas, no havría que dessear mejores' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, pp. 453-54).
[739] Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 343.
[740] See, for instance, Antonio Maria Corda and Antonio Ibba, 'La (cattiva) coscienza del falsario. Ricerca e produzione di iscrizioni latine in Sardegna fra XVI e XIX secolo', in *La falsificazione epigrafica. Questioni di metodo e casi di studio*, ed. by Lorenzo Calvelli (Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2020), pp. 103-25.
[741] 'Las inscriciones de Cyriaco son fingidas adrede como los libros de […] frai Juan Annio de Viterbo, y Ambrosio de Morales no tiene tal intención. Antes ha trabajado mucho por escrivir verdad y dize lo que siente con todo buen zelo y candor' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, p. 346).
[742] On the intention of the forger, see Joan Carbonell Manils and Helena Gimeno Pascual, 'El *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* ante los falsos. Un largo camino del menoscabo a la valorización', in *El monumento epigráfico en contextos secundarios. Procesos de reutilización, interpretación y falsificación*, ed. by Joan Carbonell Manils, Helena Gimeno Pascual and José Luis Moralejo Álvarez (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Servei de Publicacions, 2011), pp. 15-38. See also Marc Mayer-Olivé, 'Creación, imitación y reutilización de epígrafes antiguos: una discreta huella de la historia de las mentalidades', in *El monumento epigráfico en contextos secundarios. Procesos de reutilización, interpretación y falsificación*, ed. by Joan

of Viterbo, for instance, knew the strength of the inscription as a document with a direct link to the past.

Here it is worth coming back to Ligorio: although he had been found guilty of forgeries on multiple occasions, Agustín never singles him out as a 'forger'; in fact, in the *Diálogos*, Agustín underlines Ligorio's expertise as much in the antiquarian as in the artistic field.[743]

> I have not seen any coins of the Circus Maximus and other [circuses] that were in Rome, I have only seen some illustrations by the Neapolitan Pirro Ligorio, a remarkable antiquarian and painter, who without any knowledge in Latin, has written more than forty books on coins and buildings and other things.[744]

Agustín was also keen on sending material to Ligorio that he could include in his *Delle antichità di Roma* manuscripts. In this way, the relationship between Agustín and Ligorio exemplifies the fact that we should not project our modern definition of 'forgery' on sixteenth-century epigraphic works. Scholars such as Agustín were evidently aware of forgeries, but they did not disregard the innovative approaches of esteemed colleagues who could send them epigraphic material or who were taking part in the compilations of guides to antiquity. In fact, Scipione Maffei would remark upon Ligorio's exceptional draughtman skills and his sharp observations of ancient monuments.[745]

Carbonell Manils, Helena Gimeno Pascual and José Luis Moralejo Álvarez (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Servei de Publicacions, 2011), pp. 139-59.

[743] For instance, Ligorio was accused of having created an inscription of the Roman grammarian Verrius Flaccus (55 BC- AD 20) after the discovery of the triumphal *fasti* in 1546: for this famous example, see Ginette Vagenheim, 'La Falsification chez Pirro Ligorio. À la lumière des *Fasti Capitolini* et des inscriptions de Préneste', *Eutopia*, 3 (1994), 67-113.

[744] 'Del circo Máximo y de otros que havía en Roma no he visto medallas, solamente he visto ciertos debuxos de Pyrrho Ligori Napolitano, conocido myo gran antiquario y pintor, el qual sin saber latín ha escrito más de quarenta libros de medallas y edificios y de otras cosas' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, pp. 131-32).

[745] On Maffei's survey of Ligorio's manuscripts, see Robert W. Gaston, 'Merely Antiquarian: Pirro Ligorio and the Critical Tradition of Antiquarian Scholarship', in *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Allen J. Grieco, Michael Rocke and Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2002), pp. 355-73 (pp. 358-64).

5.3 *Falsae* in Epigraphic Publications of the Cinquecento

Contemporary and modern scholars have criticized the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* for its lack of accuracy and for its inclusion of spurious inscriptions. Yet, according to my research, Mazzocchi's *corpus* contains only forty-three spurious inscriptions: given that the *Epigrammata* features more than three thousand inscribed texts, forty-three *falsae* does not seem a significant number. Even so, already in the sixteenth century, several scholars doubted the legitimacy of some of these *tituli*. For instance, in his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata* (Vat. Lat. 8495), next to the epigraphic text *CIL* II 370*, Matal reports that Lelio, Agustín and himself doubted the veracity of this inscription: 'It [the inscription] seemed false to Lelio (Podager), (Antonio) Agustín and to myself.'[746] As we have seen in the previous chapter, Matal had access to Lelio's copy and to his comments. Neither Matal nor Lelio, however, give clear explanations as to why they did not trust certain inscriptions. It is also worth adding that the compiler of the *errata* signals the inscriptions he believes to be spurious: this is the case of *CIL* VI 14* on fol. 117^{v}. Once again, both Lelio and Matal, building on the *errata*, include the compiler's comment about the veracity of the inscription in their annotated copies, which truly exemplifies that Lelio and Matal trusted the compiler of the *errata*. Matal also identifies, on several occasions, inscriptions based on literary texts which were presented as inscriptions by Mazzocchi: this is the case of *CIL* VI 1k* on fol. 7^{r}, which Matal states has been taken from Pliny ('ex Plinio sumptum').

One of the most remarkable cases of false material in the *Epigrammata* is the epitaph to Marcus Pacuvius (*CIL* VI 2c*) on fol. 60^{r}, which I discussed briefly in Chapter 4.1.3. As explained there, both Antonio Lelio and Giovenale Manetti doubted the veracity of this *titulus*. This forged text was based on textual tradition, as it appeared in the *Noctes Atticae* by the Roman author Aulus Gellius (AD 125-180). According to the *Epigrammata*, this inscription

[746] 'Laelio (Podagro) Augustinoque (Antonio) et mihi confictum videbatur' (Matal, Vat. Lat. 8495, fol. 18^{r}).

was located 'in domo quondam R. Card. de Columna', which might indicate that the forged *titulus* was carved on stone. Jean Matal also expressed doubts that this inscription ever existed: in his annotated copy of the *Epigrammata* (Vat. Lat. 8495), he writes that he does not believe Gellius ever saw the text (fol. 60^{r}). This spurious inscription was then reproduced by Apianus and Amantius in the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (p. 232) with a very similar woodcut. Ironically, Aldo Manuzio also used the text of this *titulus* in his *Orthographiae ratio* to prove the correct spelling of 'adulescens': Agustín had provided the example of Manuzio's work to emphasize the importance of recording genuine inscriptions, yet, the *Orthographiae ratio* displayed several spurious inscriptions. In fact, in his *Diálogos de medallas*, Agustín notes that Manuzio's work contains several *falsae* that he passes as genuine inscriptions: yet, once again, Agustín recognizes the value of Manuzio's work to scholarship.[747]

5.3.1 Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber* and the Treatment of Suspicious Material

In Chapter Four, I have highlighted the richness of manuscript and printed sources Smetius used to compile his epigraphic *corpus*. Modern scholarship (such as Vagenheim) attributes the creation of a separate section for spurious inscriptions to Gruterus and his *Inscriptiones antiquae* (which I shall discuss in the next section); yet, Smetius already displayed a similar approach to Gruterus in the *addenda* to his manuscript BPL 1 (I have talked about these *addenda* briefly in Chapter 4.2.1). Smetius's main sources for the *addenda* are Panvinio's *Reipublicae romanae libri tres*, Apianus and Amantius's *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* and the *Epigrammata*. Since Smetius believes that most of the material in these publications is 'confusa ac perversa', he prefers to rely on other scholars' readings of the same inscription: thus, on fol. 145^{r}, Smetius records an inscription taken from Panvinio's work (and which is

[747] 'Lo que peor es toparon [Paulo Manucio y su hijo] con algunas falsas y las passaron por verdaderas […] todavía, el libro ayuda mucho para aquel provecho, y para otros' (Agustín, *Diálogos de medallas*, pp. 340-41).

actually false, *CIL* II 443*) but where Panvinio reads *promovit* in the last line, Smetius indicates in the margin an alternative reading, writing that 'Clusius legit: PERDUXIT'.

For Spanish inscriptions, Smetius relied heavily on Clusius, since he had compiled a manuscript of inscriptions (now lost) during his journey in Spain and Portugal in 1564-65.[748] As Clusius himself confides to Justus Lipsius in a letter of 1588, precisely when the latter was in the process of publishing Smetius's *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*, Marcus Laurinus had given to Smetius the transcriptions of *tituli* that Clusius had made during his journey in Spain and Clusius never got his *codex* back.[749] Using Clusius's manuscript, Smetius corrects the texts of the Spanish inscriptions transmitted by Apianus and Amantius's *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* and indicates what he deems a 'correct' reading of the *titulus*: for *CIL* II 4080, on fol. 148^{v}, Smetius writes in the margin, next to *boliae* that 'Clus(ius) leg(it) IVLIAE'. Smetius also uses Clusius to indicate that the layout of the inscription is incorrect or at least different from what he can read in Clusius's manuscript: in the case of the Spanish *titulus CIL* II 4261 (fol. 152^{r}), Smetius notes that 'Vidit et exscripsit Car(olus) Clusius, sed longe alia forma litterarum, ac versib(us) aliter distinctis'.

Smetius also reports an inscribed monument that was in Angelo Colocci's physical collection of antiquities. Colocci's epigraphic collection was remarkably extensive, surpassing his collection of sculpture in terms of size and notoriety: he possessed one hundred and fifty authentic inscriptions, while he had about thirty false *tituli*.[750] Thus on fol. 146^{r}, Smetius remarks that: 'this epigram, carved not long ago on a new piece of marble, was placed in the

[748] For an attempt at reconstructing Clusius's lost manuscript, see Ginette Vagenheim, 'Un aperçu de la *Peregrinatio epigraphica per totam Peninsulam Ibericam* (1564-1565) de Carolus Clusius à la lumière du manuscrit de La Haye (Koninklijke bibliotheek, 72b22), in *Peregrinationes ad inscriptiones colligendas. Estudios sobre epigrafía de tradición manuscrita*, ed. by Gerard González Germain (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Servei de Publicacions, 2016), pp. 275-90.
[749] C. Clusius to J. Lipsius, 26 March 1588: 'Quae [inscriptiones] in Hispanica peregrinatione collegeram dedit Marcus Laurinus Smetio, at meum exemplar numquam restitutum' (Lipsius, *Iusti Lipsi epistolae. Pars 3*, ed. by Peeters and Sué, p. 90).
[750] Christian, *Empire Without End*, p. 312. On Colocci's collection of antiquities, see also Fanelli, *Ricerche su Angelo Colocci*, pp. 111-25.

garden of Colocci: but whether it is truly ancient or whether it existed once elsewhere on an ancient marble, I do not know'.[751] Smetius's comment is easily explained when looking into the intricate story of this epigram: in 1512, a newly excavated statue of a reclining female was installed as part of a fountain in the Belvedere Statue Court at the Vatican.[752] At the time, the statue was believed to represent Cleopatra, although it is now identified as Ariadne. The statue was accompanied by an epigram, believed to be ancient.[753] Later in the century, more replicas of the fountain appeared in Rome, some with and others without the inscription.[754] Although Smetius had already expressed his doubts regarding this inscription, it was only considered a forgery with the publication of the *CIL* (*CIL* VI 5, 3*e).

Among the inscriptions of the *addenda*, Smetius reports some transcriptions by a certain Augustinus Piersonius.[755] Thus, on fol. 151^{v}, regarding an epitaph to Gaius Voconius Placidus (*CIL* II 3865), found in Sagunto, a city in Eastern Spain, Smetius states that the text was 'observatum ac descriptum ab Augustino Piersonio'. Smetius also records the location given by Piersonius, 'In agro Saguntino in Hisp(ania) in castello montano, in parte agri quae dicitur Narbes'; however, Smetius specifies that other sources have given another location for this inscription ('alias ad gradus Templi'). Smetius also underlines *Placido* and writes in the margin 'alias T', indicating that other authors have recorded the form *Placito*. Incidentally, Piersonius's reading was correct as the stone, still extant, displays the form *Placido*.

Smetius's treatment of these potentially spurious inscriptions should be analysed in more detail: he was clearly very wary of the material he included in the *addenda* and provided alternative readings when possible as well as the updated location of the inscribed text. It is

[751] 'hoc epigramma recenti marmori nuper incisum, in hortulo Colotiano collocatum est: sed an vere antiquum sit, et in vetusto marmore alibi olim extiterit nescio' (Smetius, BPL 1, fol. 146^{r}).
[752] Elisabeth B. MacDougall, *Fountains, Statues, and Flowers: Studies in Italian Gardens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1994), p. 37.
[753] MacDougall, *Fountains, Statues, and Flowers*, p. 38.
[754] For a more in-depth study about the association of the sleeping nymph, the cave and the epigram, see MacDougall, *Fountains, Statues, and Flowers*, pp. 37-56.
[755] Unfortunately, I have not been able to identify this individual.

quite striking that, despite his mistrust of these sources, Smetius still included the material in his *corpus*: since he had to rebuild his manuscript after the fire, he was perhaps more predisposed to use sources he did not believe necessarily trustworthy. Furthermore, Panvinio and Apianus's *corpora* included a large quantity of *tituli*, which could also explain Smetius's decision to incorporate their material in his *Inscriptionum antiquarum liber*. Although we should not seek to compare the *CIL* treatment of *falsae* with Smetius's (in order to avoid anachronisms), this proves quite helpful to place into perspective our own perception of false inscriptions and how we view them. Smetius warns his readers that most of the transcriptions in this section are not accurate, but he never dismisses them. He still reproduces them in capital letters and is as precise as possible when providing their location; more importantly, he still places these *tituli* into categories. As we have seen in Chapter Two, after much consideration, Smetius created four general categories to organize the epigraphic material of his *corpus*: these four sections are also preserved in the *addenda* and Smetius places the material accordingly. This is particularly revealing since he is not simply 'throwing' all these inscriptions into a single section: Smetius is still treating these *tituli* as documents that can inform the reader about the classical past, thinking carefully about what kind of inscriptions they are and in which category they ought to be placed. Smetius still voices his doubts on the location or genuine aspect of these *tituli*, but he does not condemn them solely on the grounds that he does not trust their author.

5.3.2 Gruterus's Creation of a Section for *spuria ac supposititia* in the *Inscriptiones antiquae*

Gruterus's *Inscriptiones antiquae* was not only innovative in the Cinquecento in terms of accuracy and quantity of material included, but it also was the first *corpus* to include a 'real' separate section for the *spuria* and *supposititia* materials, which, together with the indices, lasted more than two hundred pages of the *corpus*. Although Smetius had created a section

specifically for material he did not trust, Gruterus's section *spuria ac supposititia* would have drawn the attention of the reader to some of the elements of epigraphic forgeries. It was originally Scaliger's idea to print spurious inscriptions in a separate section from the other *tituli*: as Scaliger writes to Gruterus, false inscriptions abounded in the epigraphic editions of Apianus, Manuzio and other compilers.[756] Gruterus followed Scaliger's advice, yet the *Inscriptiones antiquae* ended up with much epigraphic material that was invented or forged: as we have seen, Gruterus relied on previous manuscripts and on material given to him by his or Scaliger's correspondents. As I said in the Introduction, the desire to create a new *corpus* of inscriptions in the eighteenth century was due, in part, to Gruterus's inclusion of forged material in the *Inscriptiones antiquae*.

Gruterus's creation of a separate section of *spuria ac supposititia*, which lasts twenty-seven pages and includes texts both in Latin and Greek, is revealing in various ways: we cannot help but be reminded of the treatment of spurious inscriptions in the *CIL* and the methods adopted by Mommsen. By creating a separate section for these (possibly) spurious *tituli*, Gruterus is not dismissing them altogether from his *corpus*; their inclusion in the *Inscriptiones antiquae* would still allow the reader to study them, while being aware that they can be false. The treatment of spurious material in the *CIL* can be quite problematic: unlike genuine inscriptions, *falsae* are written in lower-case letters and their layout is only indicated by slashes. Only the minimum amount of information is included for each of them, such as the supposed location and the manuscript in which they are to be found. Gruterus's treatment of the spurious material, on the other hand, is not very different from how he transcribes genuine inscriptions (like Smetius in his *addenda*): for every inscription, whether genuine or not, he always provides the location, the text of the *titulus* and the source. Amongst these sources in the *spuria ac*

[756] J. Scaliger to J. Gruterus, 16 August 1600: 'Multa sunt prava, perversa, praevara, praepostera in Apiano, Aldo, et aliis' (Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Scaliger*, ed. by Botley and van Miert, III, p. 481)

supposititia, we find mostly texts from the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* by Apianus and Amantius, as well as from the *Epigrammata*, which is not surprising given that these *corpora* contained false inscriptions. It also seems that a large number of *falsae* ended up in the manuscripts of Ambrosio de Morales, as his name appears frequently in the section. As we have seen in 5.2.3, Agustín had reported in his *Diálogos de medallas* that several of Cyriac of Ancona's spurious texts had easily found their way into the books of Morales. It is worth highlighting that, although Gruterus includes his sources in this section, he is not accusing the authors of being forgers: for instance, we find texts transmitted by Scaliger himself and by other correspondents deemed trustworthy. Gruterus was simply adopting the same methodology as in the rest of his *corpus*. Although the *Inscriptiones antiquae* does not explain to the reader why these inscriptions were spurious or *suspectae*, Gruterus's work was the first printed work to separate clearly the spurious inscriptions from the rest of the material.

5.4 Conclusions

In conclusion, scholars in the sixteenth century were clearly aware of epigraphic *falsae*. Although scholars were thinking about *falsae*, it did not seem to be a very important problem for epigraphic *corpora*, as we might be inclined to believe. The previous chapters have shown that scholars were more concerned about issues of representation and the organization of the material in their *syllogai*.

The study of epigraphic forgeries in the sixteenth century can also lead us to think more carefully about how to define 'forgery'. The intention of the forger is paramount in this matter and some cases leave little to no doubt that the primary aim was that of deception. Nevertheless, we should also consider silent reconstructions of damaged texts, for instance (as we have seen in Chapter One) and whether we should attribute omissions or reconstructions to intentions of deceiving.

Scholars in the second half of the sixteenth century showed a clear desire of separating genuine from false material. Smetius and Gruterus wished to establish a difference between genuine and spurious inscriptions, but this difference is not emphasized and neither Smetius nor Gruterus tells the reader why he considered these *tituli* false. In my research, I have not observed any manuscript attempting to create a different category for spurious material and, in this sense, Smetius and Gruterus's *corpora* were innovative. The epigraphic field would have to wait until the eighteenth century and Scipione Maffei to see a real methodology when dealing with epigraphic forgeries. It is also worth noting here that Smetius and Gruterus's separate sections for suspicious material were innovative with regards to other sixteenth-century publications: as I have stated in my Introduction, publications of coins were often filled with invented portraits and, to my knowledge, no coin catalogue of the Cinquecento drew attention to this issue (although Agustín commented on spurious coins in his *Diálogos de medallas*).

We should also keep in mind how these methods of *falsae* in the Cinquecento influenced epigraphic studies: apart from Gruterus's section influencing the *CIL*, Agustín's discussion and methods of identification of *falsae* were echoed by Scipione Maffei in his *Ars critica lapidaria*, which was compiled between 1720 and 1722, but saw the light posthumously. In this work, Maffei lists a set of guidelines to identify spurious inscriptions, including a set of rules where he urges the scholar to check both the linguistic and physical aspect of the inscription.[757] Maffei prioritized the *marmorum inspectio* and attached great importance to

[757] On Maffei's *Ars critica lapidaria*, see Calvelli, 'Lineamenti per una storia della critica della falsificazione epigrafica', p. 89; Ivan Di Stefano Manzella, 'Scipione Maffei e *l'Ars critica lapidaria*. Storia e struttura dell'opera', in *Nuovi studi Maffeiani: atti del Convegno Scipione Maffei e il Museo maffeiano*, ed. by Denise Modonesi (Verona: Comune di Verona, Direzione Musei, 1985), pp. 165-86.

transcribing inscriptions correctly, without emendations or integrations, which links back to Chapter One and to scholars' experimentations when transcribing epigraphic texts.

False inscriptions are essential documents of the evolution of epigraphy and of its tendencies.[758] We should also bear in mind that forgery is one possible way of dealing with the past and that the forger always imposes personal values and assumptions on his evocation of the past. This point of view, however, could also be applied to genuine inscriptions. The transcriptions of inscriptions are never completely objective: from the moment the scholar is transcribing an epigraphic document on paper, he is making a series of conscious or unconscious choices. Sixteenth-century scholars were already imposing some of their views of the classical past by choosing which inscription to transcribe or not.

[758] Maria P. Billanovich's article 'Falsi epigrafici', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 10 (1967), 25-110, was among the first to incite scholars to think of *falsae* as cultural documents rather than as simple sources.

6 Conclusion

The epigraphic *corpora* studied in this thesis clearly show that the study of inscriptions was in full emergence in the sixteenth century. The field of epigraphy as conceived by modern scholarship did not exist as such in the Cinquecento: scholars were not solely interested in *tituli*, but rather in a variety of subjects related to the classical past, including coins, sculptures and ancient texts. Nevertheless, my *corpus* of texts has clearly demonstrated that these epigraphic collections were concerned with the establishment of a 'scientific' or 'scholarly' approach (that would resemble the field of epigraphy), especially towards the end of the Cinquecento. Even collections that do not seem to adopt a 'scientific' approach have caused later *corpora* to do so, as the desire to surpass previous epigraphic works was always present. Epigraphy, as it was conceived back then, has greatly contributed to history and to the evolution of history: it has nudged individuals to ask questions about economy, society, religion and culture in the classical past. In the sixteenth century, the *titulus* became the witness of multiple histories that are built as the epigraphist looks for the right questions to ask from the inscription. This is exactly why some antiquarians consider the text of the inscription as crucial as the support, the type of inscription, the material, its shape, and its historical context (as I have established in Chapter One). Although individuals in the Quattrocento had already laid the groundwork for the deciphering and reading of *tituli*, they were not necessarily thinking about specific questions relating to the ancient world when transcribing epigraphic texts. In the Cinquecento, however, scholars seek to go beyond the act of simply transcribing what they see on the stone: they do not depict the letter-forms as accurately as possible because they observe it on the monument, but rather because they are aware that letter-forms can be essential when determining the date of the *titulus*. Scholars wishing to understand the development of epigraphy, the field of Classics, and the growth of antiquarianism and its relationship to history should study sixteenth-century scholars interested in inscriptions.

The types of questions scholars start asking from inscriptions can be seen in the way in which they organize the epigraphic material and, especially, in how they devise the contents of indices: as we have seen in Chapter Two, scholars are no longer concerned with only emperors, deities or tribe names: they also think and inquire about individuals who are not part of the written history of ancient Rome, about their professions and about their daily life. In this sense, epigraphy in the Cinquecento is marked by a strong interest in the individual of ancient Rome.

This thesis has also striven to provide a better contextualization of sixteenth-century epigraphic *corpora* within the production of other sixteenth-century works and areas of interest. Epigraphic *syllogai* tend to be studied as single pieces, disconnected from their wider context of compilation and production. The interest in the individual of ancient Rome in epigraphic indices, for instance, is linked to the appearance of works on prosopography in the sixteenth century. Epigraphic publications also adopt most of the paratextual elements that we see in works of reference of the time period. Furthermore, we should bear in mind the political and social context of production of these *corpora*: for each collection, we have to consider the audience or readership intended, the individuals involved in the compilation (whether directly or indirectly) and the sources (if the scholar saw the *tituli* himself or if he received transcriptions from colleagues or if he copied the material from previous collections). A more detailed analysis of the question of access to these inscriptions would be highly beneficial: the importance of physical collections of inscribed monuments in the Cinquecento is often neglected, as well as the issue of the preservation and the condition of some of this epigraphic material. Although many of the elements I have addressed in this thesis are common knowledge in other areas of the Renaissance (especially regarding print or the development of *errata*), such elements have been barely studied for epigraphy.

It is also in the sixteenth century that we see the appearance of treatises or commentaries that show the reader how to interpret an inscription. Scholars such as Ambrosio de Morales

and Antonio Agustín explain the difference between the various types of inscriptions and the diversity of supports on which the ancient Romans engraved their texts. They also point out that certain types of inscriptions have characteristic formulations (*Diis manibus* for epitaphs) and that these formulations very often varied depending on the region. Such observations stem from the fact that scholars realized the relevance of studying inscriptions in groups, comparing them to one another and not as single units devoid of context.

Throughout the thesis, I have also focused on an aspect that is severely understudied in the history of epigraphic scholarship, namely how printing intervenes in the development of epigraphy. As clearly demonstrated throughout the thesis, and more particularly in Chapter Three, there was no shift from manuscript to print in the epigraphic field: manuscript and print cultures (if we can really talk about two cultures) developed together, one feeding the other and vice versa, even if printing imposed some constraints onto the production of epigraphic works. The correspondence between manuscript and printed epigraphic works points therefore to a mutually perfecting, fluidly exchanging and competitively augmenting model, rather than a linear one. What is striking in the epigraphic field is that, whereas we would expect print to facilitate the production of collections of inscriptions, in fact the constraints and costs associated with that meant that very few were actually printed.

I have analysed manuscript and early printed compilations that had been overlooked by recent scholarship or that had not been studied extensively, such as Sanloutius's manuscript Latin 17575 (Chapter Four), which had mistakenly been seen as a simple apograph of the annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* by Benedetto Egio (MS Auct. S.10.25). I have also sought to bring in even more insights regarding the annotated copies of the *Epigrammata*: Jean Matal's annotated copy (Vat. Lat. 8495) has been the subject of a number of articles; however, his marginalia are so rich in information that they still need to be examined carefully, and above all, transcribed. In fact, we could gain valuable new insights into sixteenth-

century epigraphic practices by transcribing the entirety of the annotations of the copies of the *Epigrammata*. The intricacy and elaborate contents of Matal's copy have also overshadowed the importance of other annotated copies, especially that of Giovenale Manetti: Manetti's comments were very probably copied by Antonio Lelio and then by Matal, who had access to Lelio's copy. Connected to the annotated copies, especially those of Antonio Lelio (Vat. Lat. 8492) and Matal, is the fact that modern scholarship has not sufficiently highlighted the link between the marginalia in these copies and the printed *errata* sheets of the *Epigrammata*. In a broader sense, I have shown in Chapter Four that the *errata* of the *Epigrammata* deserve more attention and a proper study. They represent indeed an exceptional piece of scholarship unlike anything else in the Cinquecento.

There are still many gaps to be filled in the field of sixteenth-century epigraphy, especially since modern scholarship keeps coming back to the same epigraphic manuscripts and publications. Although the *Epigrammata* represents a fascinating case-study, the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* of 1534 remains severely understudied and is generally overlooked because of its *falsae* and lack of accuracy. Apianus and Amantius's use of a purely geographical organization is often deemed too simplistic, yet I have argued for its relevance in Chapter Two. In a similar manner, modern scholarship tends to focus on the same sixteenth-century antiquarians. Antonio Agustín has been extensively studied, as he showed a strong interest in inscriptions, coins, medals, and legal texts. Nevertheless, his *Diálogos de medallas*, which has been paramount for the argument of this thesis, is always studied from the same perspectives; here, however, I have attempted to show Agustín's 'modernity' in many of his claims about the study of inscriptions. Apart from Agustín, scholars such as Ambrosio de Morales and Gaspar de Castro also showed a deep knowledge and understanding of inscriptions. Just as Sanloutius, there are, without a doubt, sixteenth-century scholars who were interested in inscriptions but who are not recognized for their epigraphic interests. Matal

himself, an outstanding intellectual, only started attracting scholars' attention in the second half of the twentieth century. In this sense, by focusing on particular networks of individuals, by looking more carefully at the correspondence, and by reading attentively the *Ad Lectorem* in collections, we shall find scholars that are missing from the epigraphic record.

By studying and focusing on individuals from France, Italy, the Netherlands and Spain, this thesis has equally emphasized the diversity and range of sixteenth-century scholars' interests in ancient inscriptions. As Chapter Four has established, early modern scholars were in constant exchange of information, ideas and material (whether genuine or false). Most modern studies have focused on Italian scholars, although Joan Carbonell Manils, Gerard González Germain and Xavier Espluga are striving to shed some light onto Spanish epigraphers, who were extremely advanced for their time period and who adopted approaches very similar to those used by the compilers of the *CIL*. A closer look at the different relationships between these scholars and the authors of *syllogai* could further illuminate our understanding of the development of the studies of inscriptions in the sixteenth century.

We are also led to think about the theme of antiquity and consider what the classical past meant to each of the scholars studied. Through the analysis of their epigraphic collections and through the investigation of their different transcriptions, we gain a clear sense of how scholars such as Agustín, Jean-Jacques Boissard, Matal, Morales, Martinus Smetius and Janus Gruterus viewed the classical past and in what way their different modes of collecting inscriptions illuminates different relationships and understandings of antiquity in the Renaissance. As we have seen in Chapter Five, Pirro Ligorio and Boissard were captivated by a reconstructed vision of Rome and inscribed monuments: they were interested in the visual dimension of antiquity, a visual quality that they preserved in their transcriptions of material.

From this point of view, we should also consider more carefully the function assigned to inscriptions in the early modern period: as we have seen in the Introduction and in several

parts of the thesis, many scholars viewed *tituli* as lapidary support for more familiar (historical) texts. Inscriptions presented a certain finality and were more or less irrefutable. It is in this context that we should understand Smetius and Goltz's indices: historians who had argued for the existence of something (a word, an event, a historical figure) would be able to confirm their argument with a material proof drawn from the *loci communes* presented by Smetius and Goltz, where what was important was the reality of the object. Local history was another area where inscriptions were vital evidence (as we have seen in the Introduction and in Chapter Five): given the importance of a link to antiquity and the willingness of some scholars to prove it, it is not surprising that inscriptions were used very often when writing local histories, and, in many cases, forgeries were created. To other scholars like Agustín and Morales, inscriptions did not simply provide reliable confirmation of what ancient literary texts indicated. Rather, they were sources that required interrogation and evaluation (as we have seen, Morales warns his readers of the problems of not interpreting *tituli* correctly). Agustín and Morales showed that authors should be sure of their sources; then, by comparing inscriptions, they could make arguments. Studying inscriptions and sixteenth-century epigraphic *corpora* is then closely linked to our understanding of history, the Classical tradition and antiquarianism: going back to the various *syllogai* of the Cinquecento is instructive on so many levels and it is the reason why we need to focus our attention on them.

In turn, the study of sixteenth-century epigraphic *corpora* can invite us to question constructively modern understandings of antiquity and particularly of the *CIL*. The *CIL* has changed the place of Latin epigraphy in scholarly studies: it has shown how inscriptions can be used as an auxiliary for history, as a witness from the past that can complement the works of ancient authors. One of the areas in which we should question the methods of the *CIL* is in their treatment of *falsae* and *suspectae*. As we have seen in Chapter Five, sixteenth-century scholars were aware of epigraphic forgeries and sometimes condemned them; they did not,

however, dismiss the spurious material. Sixteenth-century epigraphic *corpora* and practices can therefore prompt us to question our perception of forgeries and epigraphic *falsae*.

My thesis has greatly benefitted from the comparison and analysis of epigraphic *corpora* in manuscript and print. It is precisely the juxtaposition of these sources and of other sixteenth-century works that has allowed me to have a better grasp of the evolution of the epigraphic *sylloge* as a genre in the Cinquecento.

Finally, the study of sixteenth-century epigraphic *corpora* is an essential complement to our own knowledge of extant and lost *tituli*: epigraphic works of the Cinquecento provide us with other approaches to inscribed monuments. Since scholars were experimenting with diverse methods of reading, deciphering, transcription, organization and interpretation of inscribed monuments, we are confronted with aspects of these inscriptions that we may have never noticed before or that we may have overlooked. When a scholar transcribed an inscribed text in a certain way, we are led to ask ourselves about the relevance of the details that he has chosen to include and those that he has decided to omit. These works contribute greatly to our understanding of inscriptions, forcing us to question our assumptions about epigraphy and about what we think we know about the study of ancient inscriptions.

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