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The Antiquarian Alessandro Totti da Brescia: his Annotated Copy of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Rome, 1521) and his Autograph Papers in Vat. lat. 5237

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Abstract

In 2022 the Johns Hopkins University purchased an annotated copy of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Rome, 1521), the earliest published collection of inscriptions from Rome. A paleographical comparison shows that the annotator was the Servite friar Alessandro Totti (1498–1570), a little-studied Brescian antiquarian. The present study confirms him as the source of numerous papers within Vat. lat. 5237 (a composite epigraphic manuscript assembled by Aldo Manuzio the Younger), and sheds light on his exchange of antiquarian information with Ottavio Pantagato, Paolo Manuzio, and his son Aldo Manuzio. The analysis of Totti's annotations in the *Epigrammata*, written in the 1550s, reveals not only his detailed study of Rome's inscriptions, but also his interest in two of the most heated antiquarian debates at the time: Roman chronology as attested by the discovery of the Fasti Capitolini, and the identification of the 35 Roman tribes.

Keywords

antiquarianism – marginalia – antiquarian literature – Ottavio Pantagato – Aldo Manuzio the Younger

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1 Introduction

The Brescian epigrapher Alessandro Totti (1498–1570) has so far been an obscure figure within the antiquarian community active in Italy around the mid-sixteenth century. The reappearance of a thoroughly annotated volume from his library and the discovery that he is the source of numerous epigraphic papers within Vat. lat. 5237 (assembled in the 1560s by Aldo Manuzio the Younger) allow us to shed light on his interests and working practices in the study of the Roman material past. In this sense, Totti provides a good example of the armchair antiquarian who, without leaving Brescia – presumably due to his vocation as a Servite friar – had to rely on printed books – and even engravings of ancient monuments – to learn about Rome's material past. And, to keep track of the latest and most heated antiquarian debates, he exchanged information with other members of his circle (including Ottavio Pantagato, Paolo Manuzio, and his son Aldo), whom in turn benefited from Totti's first-hand knowledge of Brescian epigraphy.

2 A Newly Found Annotated Copy of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*

The *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Rome, ed. Iacobus Mazochius, 1521) was one of the most influential antiquarian printed books during the Renaissance, as the earliest collection of classical inscriptions from Rome to appear in print, and also thanks to its exhaustivity (spanning 180 leaves), organization of the material, and expression of non-textual elements on the printed page.[1] More than 350 copies have survived (the second largest number among antiquarian

1 On the importance of this book in the development of antiquarian studies in the Renaissance, see most recently Joan Carbonell and Gerard González Germain, eds., *The* Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis *and its Influence on European Antiquarianism* (Rome, 2020). For studies of other annotated copies of this book, see, moreover, the bibliography cited in the next note, and Marco Buonocore, 'Sulle copie postillate vaticane degli *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis*', in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, vol. 13 (Vatican City, 2006), 91–102; Ginette Vagenheim, 'Piero Vettori e l'epigrafia: l'edizione (*Epigrammata antiquae Urbis*, Romae 1521), le schede (Firenze, B.N.C., cod. Magliab. XXVIII, 29) e le lapidi', *La Bibliofilia* 110/2 (2008), 139–57; Joan Carbonell, 'Un ejemplar anotado de los *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Romae 1521) en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Barcelona. Lectores en Cataluña', in *Cultura Epigráfica y Cultura Literaria. Estudios en Homenaje a Marc Mayer i Olivé* (Faenza, 2019), 103–16.

books printed before 1550),[2] and many antiquarians used it (and annotated it) as the basis of their own research, throughout the sixteenth century and beyond.

In 2022, an annotated copy of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* was offered for sale by the London antiquarian bookseller Bernard Quaritch Ltd, as part of a sale dedicated exclusively to early modern printed books with handwritten marginalia.[3] This copy came from an undisclosed private collection, and was unknown to previous scholarship. It was immediately purchased by the Johns Hopkins University Library for their Bibliotheca Fictiva, begun by Arthur and Janet Freeman, where there is already another annotated copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* which has recently received scholarly attention.[4]

The binding (vellum over boards, with marbled paper serving as pastedown) dates from the eighteenth century. The first ten pages of the book (i.e. the frontispiece, ff. 1r-8v with Valerius Probus's *De notis antiquarum litterarum*, and the papal privilege) have each been taped to the book. Moreover, the first nine pages had previously been trimmed quite severely (especially the frontispiece, with loss of text in the preface on the verso), and had to be re-margined to fit the rest of the book. Finally, none of these pages contain any of the marginalia found throughout the rest of the book (from the very first page of the collection to f. aa3r of the *corrigenda* appended at the end, for a total of 281 pages with annotations). All evidence points to the conclusion that the first quire of the annotated copy, having been lost, was replaced with that of a different copy.[5]

The only note regarding the earlier provenance of the book is found in this first quire, apparently from before it was bound with the annotated copy. On the top margin at the beginning of Probus's *De notis* (f. 1r), the following manuscript *ex-libris* (probably from the late 17th century) can be read: 'Est

2 The antiquarian book printed before 1550 with the largest number of known copies (around five hundred) is Petrus Apianus and Bartholomaeus Amantius, *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (Ingolstadt, 1534). See Gerard González Germain, 'Printing, Reading and Owning Apianus and Amantius's *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (With a Worldwide List of Known Copies)', in *Antiquarian Literature in the Sixteenth Century: Archaeology and Epigraphy in Printed Books and Manuscripts*, eds. Joan Carbonell and Gerard González Germain (Berlin and Boston, 2024), in press.

3 Bernard Quaritch Ltd, *Annotated Books. Catalogue 1448* (London, 2022), 68–70 no. 26.

4 Johns Hopkins University, Sheridan Libraries, Bibliotheca Fictiva Collection, CN527.M29 1521 QUARTO c. 1. See William Stenhouse, 'The *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* in American Collections', in Carbonell and González Germain, *The Epigrammata* (see n. 1), 71–86 (74–75 and 82–84 Figs. 6–10); Joan Carbonell, 'Antiquarian Literature in French Libraries: The Annotated *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* of Nîmes and Carpentras. The Hand of Martinus Smetius', in *Antiquarian Literature* (see n. 2), in press.

5 As already proposed in *Annotated Books* (see n. 3), 68.

collegii S(anctae) M(ariae) Veritatis ff(ratrum) discalc(eator)um s(ancti) p(atris) Aug(ustini) Neapolis'. Thus, the first quire comes from a copy at the College of the Discalced Augustinians of the church of Santa Maria della Verità in Naples. On the other hand, there is no indication as to the provenance of the rest of the volume.

3 Shedding Light on the Author of the Annotations

With the exception of the mentioned *ex-libris* and two brief notes,[6] all the annotations present within the book can be attributed to the same hand, which writes in a humanist script dating from around the mid-sixteenth century. This annotator does not give his name nor reveal, in fact, any information about his identity: the few uses of the first person are limited to his scholarly opinions.[7]

The evidence that draws us closer towards identifying our humanist are two inscriptions added by him on the book. At the bottom margin of f. 68v, we find two epigraphic texts (Figure 1*a*) with the location 'In monasterio divae Mariae

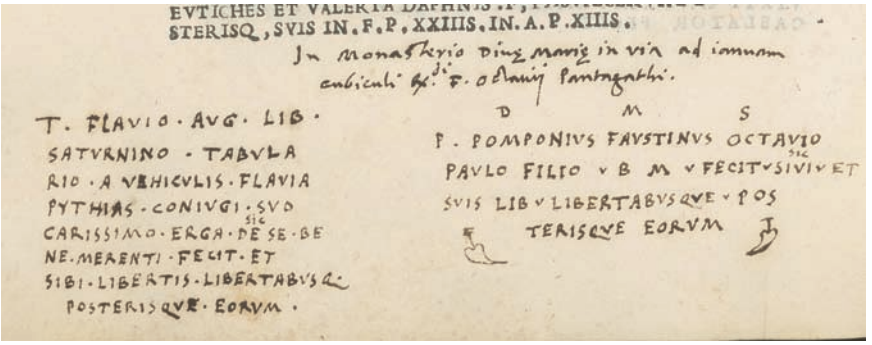


FIGURE 1A JHU, *Epigrammata*, f. 68v

6 These two notes (ff. 33r and 83v) belong to the same, later hand. In the bottom margin of ff. 2r and 4r, there are two notes scribbled over and illegible, that may appear at first glance to have been written by a previous humanist; a close inspection of the few letters still recognisable, however, seems to suggest that they were written by the same humanist that annotated the book. Another deleted note is found in the right-hand margin of f. 61r (see Figure 2*a*): there the note appears to have been first scribbled over as in the previous cases, but then a blank piece of paper was glued over it.

7 Namely, 'arbitror' (ff. 5r, 15v, 61r and 74v), 'non audeo affirmare' (f. 83v), and 'nisi fallor' (f. 162r).

in Via ad ianuam cubiculi r(everen)di f(ratris) Octavii Pantagathi', ie. the Servite friar Ottavio Pantagato (1494–1567), who lived in the Roman monastery of Santa Maria in Via from August 1558 until his death.[8]

The transcription of these two epigraphs (*CIL* VI 8543 and 24616) must be related to another copy of the same texts, written by Pantagato himself (Figure 1*b*) around mid-December 1558. This copy has been preserved in the Vat. lat. 5237, a composite epigraphic manuscript which Aldo Manuzio the Younger (1547–1597) assembled in the 1560s with *schedae* from numerous humanists as well as with his own notes. In fact, both transcriptions are identical to the very last detail – including an interlinear *sic* on both inscriptions, and a very particular rendition of the interpunction on the latter epigraph. The only possible conclusion is that our humanist transcribed these texts not from the stones themselves, but from Pantagato's transcription preserved among Manuzio's papers.

A second transcription again links our humanist to Ottavio Pantagato and the Manuzios. The funerary inscription of C. Nigidius Marcellinus (*CIL* VI 2441, f. 61r; Figure 2*a*), which was lost by the end of the 16th century, was

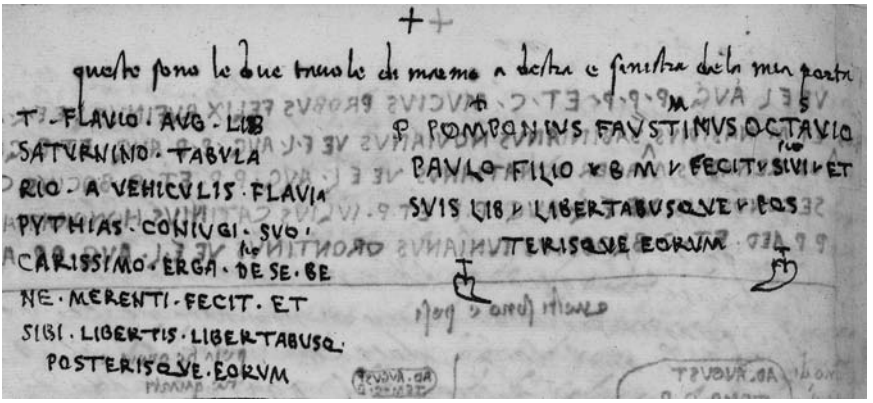


FIGURE 1B Vat. lat. 5237, f. 164v (O. Pantagato, written in December 1558). © 2023 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

8 See Antònia Soler i Nicolau, 'La correspondència d'Ottavio Pantagato (1494–1567)' (Ph.D. Diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2000), 28–9. On Pantagato, see Luca Rivali, 'Pantagato, Ottavio', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 81 (Rome, 2014), 4–6.

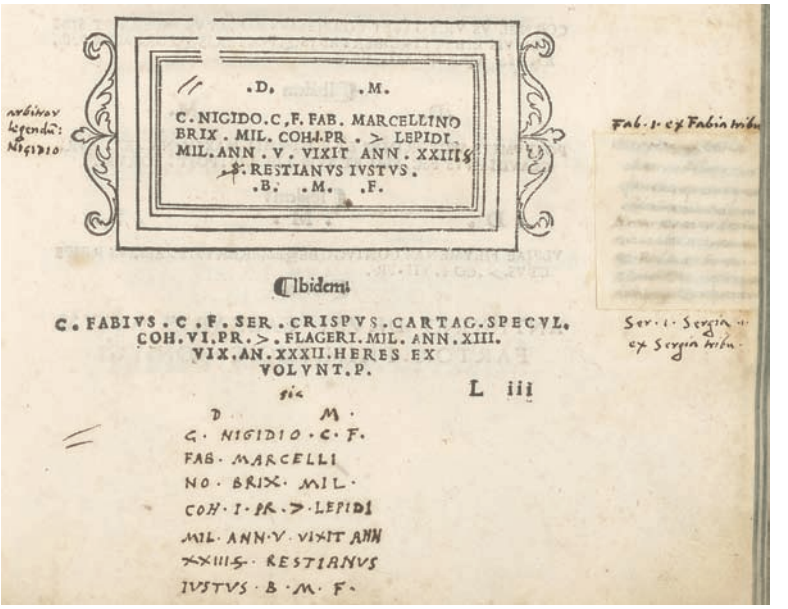


FIGURE 2A JHU, *Epigrammata*, f. 61r

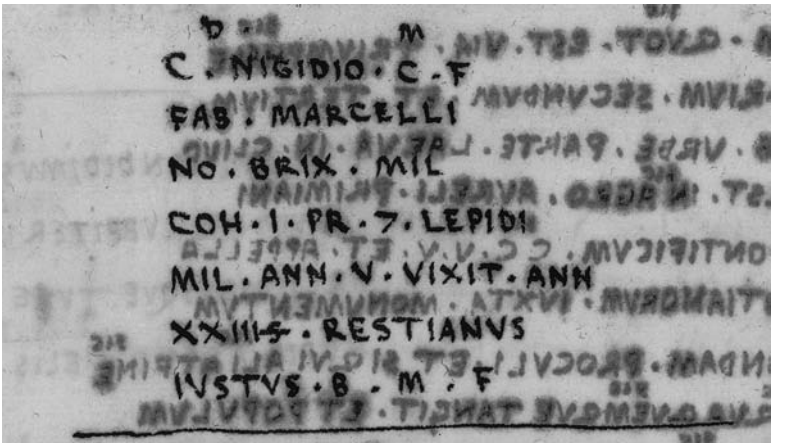


FIGURE 2B Vat. lat. 5237, f. 132v (written by O. Pantagato). © 2023 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

first corrected on the text by means of the final *corrigenda*, at which time our humanist also suggested correcting *Nigido* to *Nigidio*.[9] Clearly at a later stage, the annotator copied the whole text again in the bottom margin, this time maintaining the correct line division, and with the currently accepted text but for the reading *vixit* (instead of *vix.*). The only transcription known to us with these exact features is the one written in Pantagato's neat handwriting (Figure 2*b*) with two more epigraphs (the transcription of the first is dated in 1554), and which is also preserved among Manuzio's epigraphic papers.[10]

At this point, there is no question that the author of these annotations was a humanist in close contact with Ottavio Pantagato and/or the Manuzio family, and active in the last years of the 1550s. And, indeed, the collection of epigraphic manuscripts owned by Aldo Manuzio (Vat. lat. 5234–53) provided abundant material written by the exact same hand: the epigraphic papers of Alessandro Totti da Brescia.

4 Alessandro Totti da Brescia, annotator of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*

Alessandro Totti (Manerbio, 1498 – Brescia, 19 September 1570)[11] studied humanities and rhetoric at the monastery of Sant'Alessandro in Brescia, where he would enter, at a later stage in his life, as a Servite friar.

9 JHU, *Epigrammata*, f. 61r (*CIL* VI 2441: "NIGIDO" on the *Epigrammata*): "arbitror legendum NIGIDIO"; the fact that this obvious emendation was omitted (certainly by an oversight) in the *corrigenda* is compelling evidence that the annotator's emendation is contemporary to the first layer of corrections. For these corrections and emendations *ope ingenii*, see below.

10 BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 5237, f. 132r-v; at the beginning, it reads: 'tabella marmorea lecta ab B. Aegio in vinea D. Vincentii Macarani ad Montem Marium MDLIV'. See below, p. 15.

11 See Alessandro Filippo Piermei, *Memorabilium sacri Ordinis Servorum B.M.V. breviarium*, vol. IV (Rome, 1934), 126–8; Gabriele M. Roschini, *Galleria servitana. Oltre mille religiosi dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria illustri per santità, scienze, lettere ed arti* (Rome, 1976), 188–9 No. 40; Antonio Fappani (dir.), "Totti o Totto o Toti Alessandro," in *Enciclopedia bresciana* (Brescia, 2004), XIX: 217. I have not seen Caterina Vecchi, 'Studi antiquari e di epigrafisti nella Brescia del '500: Alessandro Totti – Ottavio Rossi' (Tesi di Laurea, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, 1953). Sometimes his date of death has been mistakenly reported as 1555 or 1600: see, respectively, *Museo bresciano illustrato* (Brescia, 1838), 57; Simona Gavinelli, "Il gallo di Ramperto: potere, simboli e scrittura a Brescia nel secolo IX," in *Margarita amicorum. Studi di cultura europea per Agostino Sottili* (Milan, 2005), 401–28 (406).

Both contemporary[12] and seventeenth-century sources[13] (where he is often spelled 'Toti', 'Toto' or in Latin *Totus*) praise him for his erudition, which encompassed command of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, theology, history, numismatics, and epigraphy. He published a single book on Christian education in 1544,[14] and wrote a few other works on theology and local history, which remained in manuscript form and are now considered lost.[15] He is most renowned, however, for his contribution to the antiquarian field, both for his collection of Roman coins and his study of the Roman antiquities of Brescia – an important antiquarian centre with several Roman inscriptions on

12 The following are Totti's known mentions by contemporary sources: Luigi Mondella, *Dialogi medicinales decem* (Zürich, 1551), f. 82v ('reverendus Alexander Totus, vir quidem praeter variam disciplinarum cognitionem ac vitae probitatem, in interpretandis veterum principum numismatis apprime eruditus'; Totti is also the addressee of Mondella's second letter *De uvis passis*, dated 16 September 1538, in Id., *Epistolae medicinales* [Basle, 1543], 33–9); Domenico Mantova, *Rime*, ed. Girolamo Ruscelli (Venice, 1553–1554), 40 (he is the recipient of a sonnet beginning 'Totto, che tutto sei sempre raccolto …', which mentions Totti's 'divino ingegno', full of 'santi, saggi, sublimi e bei suggetti'); Paolo Manuzio, *Lettere volgari … divise in quattro libri* (Venice, 1560), 148r ('Saluto il dottissimo padre Alessandro Toto'; letter from Manuzio to Vincenzo Stella da Brescia, dated 12 November 1557); Aldo Manuzio, *Orthographiae ratio* (Venice, 1561), 6r ('monachi optimi atque doctissimi Alexandri Toti'); Raffaele Maffei, *Orator christiano* (Venice, 1566), 224 ('procurate di veder quanto scrisse l'eccellentissimo theologo Alessandro Toto bresciano servita sopra questa oratione dominicale'); Paolo Manuzio, *Lettere … copiate sugli autografi esistenti nella Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (Paris, 1834), 182 No. 45 ('Loderei che tu metessi insieme […] quelle [antichità] di Bressa, le quali, credo, tu havessi dal frate Alessandro Totto'; letter from Manuzio to his son Aldo, dated 28 February 1570; the original is in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. E 33 Inf., 153–64). 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 [149]) identifies with Totti one 'Messer Alessandro' to whom Antonio Casario had been unable to bring Aldo Manuzio's regards (in a letter dated 1 December 1565), but this identification is quite improbable, since the letter was written in Rome and Totti should have been called *Padre* (as Casario does with Pantagato).

13 Arcangelo Giani, *Annalium sacri Ordinis fratrum Servorum B. Mariae Virginis … Pars secunda* (Florence, 1622), 124v; Leonardo Cozzando, *Della libraria bresciana nuovamente aperta* (Brescia, 1685), 14–5.

14 Alessandro Toto, *Dialogo nel quale si contiene una breve et facile instruttione nelle cose principali del Christianesmo, raccolto per la maggior parte da uno famoso enchiridio latino di tal suggetto* (Brescia, 1544). See Pacifico M. Branchesi and Davide M. Montagna, *Bibliografia dell'ordine dei Servi* (Bologna, 1972), 2: 119–22.

15 See Raffaele Maffei's passage cited in n. 12; Roschini, *Galleria servitana* (see n. 11), also notes three other inedited treatises: *Teatro istorico dell'origine et uomini illustri di Sant'Alessandro di Brescia*, *Catalogo dei vescovi di Brescia*, and *Storia della traslazione delle reliquie dei Santi Paolo, Deodato e Silvino, Vescovi di Brescia*.

civic display –, on which he left an autograph manuscript entitled *Monumenta antiqua urbis et agri Brix*(*iani*) in the monastery of Sant'Alessandro, now at the Brescian Biblioteca Queriniana.[16]

By 1872,[17] Mommsen had been able not only to identify and use the original copy of Totti's *Monumenta antiqua urbis et agri Brixiani* at the Queriniana, but to find and acquire an early seventeenth-century copy of it.[18] He was also able to locate, among Aldo Manuzio's epigraphic papers, various materials deriving from Totti's sylloge, namely two large sections on two epigraphic manuscripts (one bearing Aldo's note 'Inscr. Brix. MDLXV a 14 di ottobre in Bressa', at which time – Mommsen deduced – he would have had access to most of these materials),[19] many *schedulae olim solitariae* of Vat. lat. 5237 referring to Brescia, and two letters signed by 'fra Giovanni Battista de Gabbiano' and addressed 'al molto reverendo Padre Maestro Alessandro Toto da Brescia', dated on 18 and 31 March 1558.[20] Mommsen, however, missed one crucial detail: most of these materials did not just derive from Totti, but had actually been written by him.

Modern scholarship on the Brescian Renaissance and Brescian antiquarianism, on the other hand, has paid little attention to this figure, focusing instead on other antiquarians such as Taddeo Solazio (1452-c. 1527) or Sebastiano Aragonese (1510–1567).[21] There are several reasons why this figure has not been more studied: he did not sign any of the several epigraphic sylloges he produced, so they have been attributed to him over time on palaeographical grounds alone; his antiquarian activity appeared until now to be confined to

16 Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, ms. A. I. 4.

17 Theodor Mommsen, *CIL* V, 434–5 No. XXII. Mommsen's analysis is followed, with few additions, in Albinus Garzetti, *Inscriptiones Italiae, vol. x, fasc. V* (*Brixia*)*, pars I* (Rome, 1984), LVIII.

18 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, ms. lat. fol. 61g.

19 BAV, mss. Vat. lat. 5235 and 5244; Aldo's note is found in the former manuscript (f. 135r).

20 BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 5237, ff. 158r and 156r-v, respectively; for these letters, see below, p. 14, and their edition in the Appendix.

21 Totti is briefly mentioned by Bruno Passamani, 'La coscienza della romanità e gli studi antiquari tra Umanesimo e Neoclassicismo', in *Brescia romana. Materiali per un museo II*, 2 vols. (Brescia, 1979), 2: 5–49 (24); Id., 'Il culto dell'antico e gli studi antiquari a Brescia tra i secoli XV e XVI', in *Arte, economia, cultura e religione nella Brescia del XVI secolo*, ed. Maurizio Pegrari (Brescia, 1988), 341–53 (351). On Solazio and Aragonese, see Angelo Brumana, 'Cultura antiquaria bresciana fra XV e XVI secolo. Taddeo Solazio', *Commentari dell'Ateneo di Brescia* 190 (1991), 71–94, and 191 (1992), 99–119; Giancarlo Lang, 'Un protagonista del Rinascimento bresciano: Sebastiano Aragonese', in *Produzione e circolazione del libro a Brescia tra Quattro e Cinquecento*, ed. Valentina Grohovaz (Milan, 2006), 95–113.

Brescia and its surroundings; and there remained little evidence regarding his relationship with other contemporary antiquarians.

In 2006,[22] Ginette Vagenheim identified the handwriting of the autograph manuscript from the Queriniana as the same that appeared in three other epigraphic manuscripts, two of them owned by Aldo Manuzio (Vat. lat. 5235/I and 5244) and one by Jean Matal (Vat. lat. 6038, ff. 149-203r).[23]

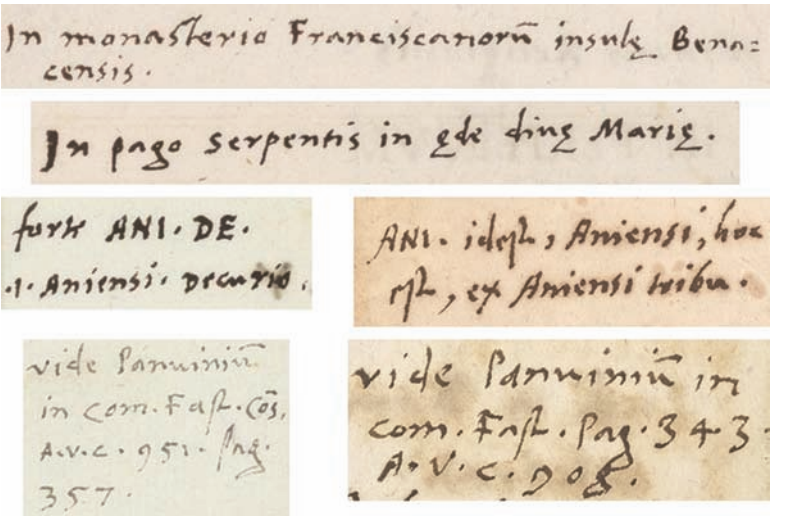
Vagenheim observed, in addition, that Jean Matal had used the autograph collection in his possession to correct a different series of Brescian inscriptions that he had previously transcribed in 1547 within his main epigraphic manuscript.[24] In one of these corrections deriving from Totti's sylloge, Matal alluded to its author as follows: 'vidit et exscr(ipsit) N.' (f. 180v).[25] While the meaning of this 'N.' remains a mystery, it is possible that Jean Matal did not know, or mistook, the authorship of the collection in his possession. Another

22 Ginette Vagenheim, '*Manus epigraphicae*. Pirro Ligorio et d'autres érudits dans les recueils d'inscriptions latines de Jean Matal', in *L'Italie et la France dans l'Europe latine du XIVe au XVIIe siècle: influence, émulation, traduction*, eds. Marc Deramaix and Ginette Vagenheim (Mont-Saint-Aignan, 2006), 233–70 (235–9).

23 On Jean Matal and his epigraphic manuscripts, see 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. Michael H. Crawford (London, 1993), 95–111; Michael H. Crawford, 'Appendix II: The Epigraphical Manuscripts of Jean Matal', *ibid*., 279–89; Joan Carbonell 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.

24 BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 6039, ff. 173r-185r (*olim* 396r-408r). This earlier collection, unrelated to Alessandro Totti's, is headed as follows: 'Collectio inscriptionum Brixiensium, in ipsa urbe et eius agro, vicatim dispersarum; ex codice studiosi cuiusdam viri, qui eas ex eo, qui eas ex ipsis saxis exscripserat, sumpsit. MDXLVII R(omae)' (BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 6039, f. 173r).

25 Vagenheim considered two explanations for this note: either Matal did not know the author of the collection in his possession, and referred to him with some general abbreviation (e.g. *n*[*omen*]), or Totti's manuscripts had to be ascribed instead to a humanist named N[---]; see Vagenheim, '*Manus epigraphicae*' (see n. 22), 239 n. 9. In 2008, Vagenheim discovered that, among the few transcriptions of the six fragments of *CIL* VI 921 found in 1562, the copy preserved at Vat. lat. 5237 (f. 147r, described by the *CIL* as *manu ignota*) was in fact written by the same hand hitherto attributed to Alessandro Totti. She hesitated about the traditional attribution to Totti and suggested the possibility that the author of these manuscripts was the Haarlem humanist Nicolaus Florentius, who had also transcribed *CIL* VI 921; see Ginette Vagenheim, 'Un épisode 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* 1 (2008), 153–83 (180–83). This last hypothesis regarding the authorship of all these manuscripts can now be safely rejected.



FIGURES 3A-F *a*: BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 5235, f. 34r; *b*: *ibid.*, f. 48v; *c*: BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 5244, 123; *d*: JHU, *Epigrammata*, f. 175v; *e*: BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 5244, 78; *f*: JHU, *Epigrammata*, f. 132r.

explanation for Matal's 'N(---)' is that he received Totti's sylloge through an intermediary, whose name would have begun with the letter N.[26]

The palaeographic comparison of the *Epigrammata*'s annotations with Alessandro Totti's autograph papers leaves no doubt: this is the exact same handwriting (compare e.g. the location in Figure 1*a* with Figures 3*a*-*b*),[27] and the exact same expressions are used, for instance when developing the Roman tribes (Figures 3*c*-*d*) or dating an inscription (Figures 3*e*-*f*).

5 Alessandro Totti, informant of Aldo Manuzio: his autograph papers and letters in ms. Vat. lat. 5237

Until now, Alessandro Totti was known as the author of a complete epigraphic manuscript and large sections of three more:

26 This was already the conclusion reached by Joan Carbonell, 'Ambientes humanísticos en Roma (1545–1555). El cenáculo de Ottavio Pantagato, Antonio Agustín y Jean Matal', in *La investigación en Humanidades*, eds. Carme de-la-Mota and Gemma Puigvert (Madrid, 2009), 47–70 (61–2).

27 Among Alessandro Totti's most characteristic letters, are the 'e' in two small strokes, the 'b' more inclined rightward, a capital G with a very straight vertical line, the use of a very pronounced *e caudata*, the 'x' with a longer strike downward, and the *nexus* 'st', 'sp', and 'st'.

a) Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, ms. A. I. 4, 1–127. Only the locations of the epigraphs and the marginal annotations are in Totti's hand.
b) BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 5235, ff. 1r-55r (= Part 1). The manuscript consists of two independent collections of Brescian inscriptions. The first is Totti's, although only the locations of the epigraphs and the marginal annotations (e.g., f. 22v) are in his hand. Moreover, two separate papers by Totti were placed on the second part of the manuscript (ff. 128r-v and 138v).
c) BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 5244, 1–139. Originally, this manuscript only contained Totti's autograph collection, but later a few texts were added in the last pages by Aldo and other hands. At the end, ff. 1'r-11'r (after 143), also by Totti, are dated in 1566 and were probably sent to Aldo Manuzio independently.
d) BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 6038, ff. 149r-203r. The manuscript contains transcriptions by Jean Matal, as well as several sylloges by other hands which were owned by him. Totti's sylloge was in Matal's possession probably by 1547–1551.[28]

As Mommsen noted, Totti began his study of Brescian epigraphy by copying a previous collection, which, over time, he gradually corrected and expanded through field work.[29] He used a professional scribe to draw the inscriptions of his personal copy (the Queriniana manuscript) as well as the copy in Vat. lat. 5235, and must have worked with previous draft material. Since these manuscripts do not transmit the same inscriptions and were written years apart, they probably reflect different stages of his research.

In 2008, Vagenheim identified Totti as the author of the *scheda* of *CIL* VI 921 in ms. Vat. lat. 5237 (f. 147r). But this is certainly not his only intervention in this manuscript. In fact, it is possible to attribute to his handwriting many notes and inscriptions which the *CIL* editors either attributed to Aldo Manuzio or described as a *manus ignota*. Totti often transcribes these inscriptions, but occasionally he just adds a location note or a commentary next to a text copied by someone else.

What follows is the first attempt to identify and describe Alessandro Totti's autograph materials in Vat. lat. 5237:

28 Matal used this sylloge to correct a different Brescian collection which he transcribed in his main sylloge in 1547 (see n. 24), at a time when he certainly did not yet have Totti's; on the other hand, his antiquarian endeavours seem to have stopped in 1551; see e.g. Cooper, 'Epigraphical Research' (see n. 23), 106–7.

29 See Th. Mommsen, *CIL* V, 434–5 No. XXII.

1) f. 69r: *CIL* V 4374 (Brescia).
2) f. 76r: location and marginal notes of *CIL* V 4313 (Brescia).
3) f. 77r: *CIL* V 4676 & 4274 (Brescia).
4) f. 79r: *CIL* V 4129 (Gambara), 4148 (San Paolo, Brescia), 4857 & 4859 (Toscolano Maderno).
5) f. 80r: location and marginal notes of *CIL* V 4924 (Ponte Zanano), 4523 (Brescia) & 4141 (Casati).
6) f. 80v: *CIL* VI 26802 (Rome).
7) f. 81r: *CIL* V 4854 (Toscolano Maderno) & 4765 (Brescia); location notes of *CIL* V 4203 (Brescia) and *CIL* II 2713 (Covadonga).
8) f. 82r: *CIL* V 4478 (Brescia).
9) f. 83r: location note of *CIL* XI 753 (Bologna).
10) f. 86r: *CIL* V 4460 (Brescia).
11) f. 87r-89r: *CIL* II 3734, 3729 (Valencia) & 3850 (Sagunto);[30] *CIL* V 4410, 4210 & 4569 (Brescia).
12) f. 87v: *CIL* II 3744, 3728 & 3731 (Valencia).
13) f. 88r: *CIL* II 3735 & 3736 (Valencia); location note of *CIL* V 4053 & commentary on *CIL* V 4054a (Montichiari); *CIL* VI 2174 & 20271 (Rome).
14) f. 89r: location note of *CIL* V 4348 (Brescia).
15) f. 90r: *CIL* V 4139 (Calvisano) & 4513 (Brescia).
16) f. 95r: *CIL* V 4425 (Brescia); location notes of *CIL* V 4656 (Brescia) & 4179 (Manerbio).
17) f. 95v: *CIL* V 4688 (Brescia).
18) f. 98r: *CIL* V 4409, 4467 & 4810 (Brescia).
19) f. 99r: *CIL* V 4389 & 4528 (Brescia).
20) f. 132r-v: marginal notes in a series of inscriptions from O. Pantagato.
21) f. 133r: *CIL* X 6094 (Formia).
22) f. 136v: note mentioning Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella's *El felicissimo viaje del … Principe don Phelippe* (Antwerp, 1552).
23) f. 137r: marginal note to *CIL* VI 1492 (copied by O. Pantagato).
24) f. 138r: *CIL* XI 1662, 1655, 1664 (Florence) & 1434 (Pisa).
25) f. 138v: *CIL* XI 1827 (Arezzo); *CIL* IX 345 & 327 (Canosa di Puglia); *CIL* X 186* & 6100 (Formia).
26) f. 139r: *CIL* V 4245 (Brescia).
27) f. 140r: *CIL* XI 1828 (Arezzo).

30 The transcriptions from Valencia and Sagunto (ff. 87r-8r) are not recorded by Hübner in the *CIL* II. As noted in the margins ('Nella *Chronica di Spagna*, fac. 252', etc.), they all come from Pere Anton Beuter, *Chronica generale d'Hispagna et del regno di Valenza* (Venice, 1556).

28) f. 141r: *CIL* V 4359, 4722, 4386, 4451 (Brescia) & 4935 (Sanzeno).
29) f. 141v: *CIL* V 4547 (Brescia).
30) f. 146r: *CIL* V 4927, 4929, 4928 (Lumezzane) & 4210 (Brescia).
31) f. 146v: *CIL* V 4270, 4683, 4537, 4502, 4775, 4755, 4406 & 4394 (Brescia).
32) f. 147r: *CIL* VI 921, 1010 & 23592 (Rome).
33) f. 164v: marginal note to *CIL* VI 1686 (copied by O. Pantagato).

Unlike his other manuscripts, these pages clearly constitute – at least in part – Alessandro Totti's own working notes and materials: they are miscellaneous in nature, two inscriptions bear a cross-reference to his main sylloge in Brescia,[31] and we find others' *schedae* annotated by him for his own use.

While not autograph, these pages also encompass the two letters (ff. 156r-158v) addressed to Totti which were identified by Mommsen; they were used by the *CIL* and the *Inscriptiones Italicae*, but have remained unpublished and are transcribed here in the Appendix for the first time. Totti's correspondent, Giambattista da Gabbiano, was a little-known Servite friar from the monastery of Coniolo (29 km southwest of Brescia), who became vicar general of the Servite order in 1552.[32] From his first letter, written on 18 March 1558, we learn that Totti had lent him several second-hand epigraphic texts which he wanted to have checked with the original stones; of these, Giambattista was able to see and copy *CIL* V 4254 in Lograto, and told him that on another occasion he would visit Navate. The second letter (31 March 1558) recounts his trip to Santa Maria di Navate, where he copied *CIL* V 4451 and 4465 (already broken in two fragments). Of the three inscriptions, only *CIL* V 4451 is found among Totti's papers[33] and it has a different text; as is apparent, Totti kept Giambattista's letters among his epigraphic notes, but did not include his transcriptions in his own manuscripts.

Aldo Manuzio altered the order of Totti's papers and interspersed them with extraneous materials as well as with his own transcriptions; nonetheless, this material still forms the bulk of folios 76r-99r and 132r-164v of Vat. lat. 5237. It is interesting to note that these two sets of folios comprise, besides Totti's own transcriptions, a noteworthy group of papers written by Ottavio Pantagato:

31 In BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 5237, f. 146r, the inscriptions *CIL* V 4928 and 4929 bear the annotation 'fo. 91' and 'fo. 92' respectively, which correspond with their transcription in Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, ms. A. I. 4. This was already noted by Th. Mommsen, *CIL* V, 434.

32 See Paolo Guerrini, 'Manerbio. La pieve e il comune', *Memorie storiche della diocesi di Brescia* 8 (1937), 1–184 (12); Id., 'Brescia e il concilio di Trento', *Memorie storiche della diocesi di Brescia* 14:4 (1947), 94–103 (98); from this latter source derives Antonio Fappani (dir.), 'Giambattista da Gabbiano', in *Enciclopedia bresciana* (Brescia, 1982), V: 266.

33 Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, ms. A. I. 4, 67 No. 188; BAV, Vat. lat. 5237, f. 141r.

1) f. 99r-v: *CIL* VI 457 and a coin of 16 BCE (*RIC* 1, 68 No. 360–362 [reverse] with obverse type G) (f. 99r); development of the coin's inscription on the verso.
2) ff. 132r-v and 127r: *CIL* VI 10247 ('tabella marmorea lecta ab B. Aegio [sc. Benedetto Egio da Spoleto] in vinea D. Vincentii Macarani ad Montem Marium MDLIV')[34] (f. 132r); *CIL* VI 2441 and *CIL* IX 2438 (f. 132v; the inscription's last lines are found in f. 127r).
3) f. 137r: *CIL* VI 1492 ('tabula aenea integra cum hac inscriptione, Romae in Quirinali reperta mense Novemb. MDLVIII, in vinea cardinalis Sadoletti, nunc Uberti Ubaldini').[35]
4) f. 163r-v: *IG* XII 3, 331 ('apud cardinalem Carpensem') (f. 163r); *IG* XIV, 2117 ('secus viam Appiam in vinea Valerii Valentini'), 1432 ('In casa di M. Ascanio Magarozzo') & 312* (f. 163v).
5) f. 164r-v: *CIL* VI 8543 & 24616 ('queste sono le due tavole di marmo a destra e sinistra de la mia porta'), 1686 ('questa è la latina di rame di Mons. Maffei'); *IG* XIV, 953 & 952 (the last one bears a commentary datable to December 1558).[36]

We are certain that at least items 1, 2, 3 and 5 passed through Totti's hands, because some bear marginal notes written by him (ff. 99r, 132r-v, 137r and 164v) and because he transcribed three of these inscriptions (ff. 132v and 164v) in his copy of the *Epigrammata*. Since similar notes are never found in the manuscript outside these two sections, they must have been penned before Aldo put it together. Finally, in the top margin of f. 99v we can read, in Pantagato's hand, '[con]vento di S. Alessandro', which must be the paper's address, ie. Alessandro Totti's monastery. The evidence, at this point, is incontestable: Pantagato must have sent all these epigraphic notes to Alessandro Totti in Brescia, and only afterwards did they pass down to Aldo Manuzio among Totti's own materials.

Therefore, Alessandro Totti – and not Paolo Manuzio, as has been hitherto considered – must have been the recipient of Pantagato's letter written in December 1558 (f. 164r-v). But this is not the only letter by Pantagato addressed to Totti and preserved in this manuscript. Right after the last item, there is a letter signed as 'F(rate) Ottavio Pac(ato)' in Rome on June 11th,

34 For Pantagato's transcription of *CIL* VI 10247, see Soler i Nicolau, 'La correspondència' (see n. 8), 562–4. On Benedetto Egio, see, most recently, Ginette Vagenheim, 'Benedetto Egio da Spoleto. Un grecista e antiquario alla corte del cardinale Alessandro Farnese (1520–1581) attraverso le *Antichità romane* di Pirro Ligorio', *Spoletium* 56 n.s. 12 (2019), 7–32.

35 For this transcription, see Soler i Nicolau, 'La correspondència' (see n. 8), 504–5.

36 This sheet is edited, as a letter – lacking both heading and closing – addressed to Paolo Manuzio, in Soler i Nicolau, 'La correspondència' (see n. 8), 250–55 No. 91 (with commentary in 498–502).

1564, and written entirely by Pantagato's scribe (ff. 165r-166v). This letter was surprisingly omitted by Antònia Soler i Nicolau in her edition of Pantagato's correspondence, but had been edited in 1991 by Vagenheim, who identified the unnamed addressee as Aldo Manuzio – again, by virtue of the manuscript that contained the letter.[37] Its location – closing a set of documents certainly owned by Totti – and the heading 'molto r(everen)do P(adr)e e car(issi)mo'[38] is enough to identify the recipient as Totti; but, moreover, in this letter Pantagato proposes restitutions for two fragmentary inscriptions copied by Totti (which he must have communicated to Pantagato in a previous, lost letter),[39] and the ending ('questa che va a mio nipote farete gliela haver di gratia') implies that the recipient was in Brescia.

6 Alessandro Totti's Study of Antiquity as Attested in his *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*

Alessandro Totti's marginalia in his copy of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* show subtle but noticeable changes in the thickness of the letters, in the colour of the ink and in the general *ductus* of the annotations. These changes give the clear impression that he did not introduce all these notes at the same time and from beginning to end, but over a certain period of time in two, possibly three, distinct layers. This is especially clear in the few instances when an inscription bears annotations in two different layers: in such cases, the content and physical disposition of the notes shed light on how Totti carried out this work.[40] Undoubtedly, he began by correcting the inscriptions; he then continued to comment on different historical aspects of the texts; and the publication, in 1558, of two works by Onofrio Panvinio, namely his *Fasti* and his *Reipublicae Romanae commentarii*,[41] made him revise and expand many of his previous annotations. We shall now consider Totti's marginalia according to their typology.

37 See Ginette Vagenheim, 'Appunti sulla tradizione manoscritta delle epigrafi: esempi bresciani di Pirro Ligorio', *Epigraphica*, 53 (1991), 175–213 (211–2 Appendix 1). Mommsen (*CIL* V, 421 No. 4141 and 424 No. 4179) had similarly described it as an 'epistula Octavii Pantagathi ad Manutium'.

38 The appellation *padre* was exclusive to friars such as Totti or Panvinio; Pantagato always addresses laymen such as Paolo Manuzio or Pier Vettori as *signore*.

39 *CIL* V 4179 (Manerbio) and 4141 (Casati), copied by Totti in BAV, Vat. lat. 5237, ff. 95r and 80r, respectively.

40 See below, n. 66.

41 Onofrio Panvinio, *Fastorum libri V a Romulo rege usque ad imperatorem Caesarem Carolum V* (Venice, 1558); Id., *Reipublicae Romanae commentariorum libri III* (Venice, 1558).

a) *Correcting the text of the inscriptions*

As with many annotators of the *Epigrammata*, the starting point of Totti's research was to transfer the emendations found in the 16-page final *corrigenda* into the book. This was done throughout the edition, but not in a systematic way: many inscriptions were not corrected, and in several cases Totti contented himself with calling attention to the emendations (e.g., f. 3r: 'vide correctiones in fine libri'),[42] without actually introducing them. Similarly, he once noted that the *corrigenda* recorded a new inscription in the back of the same stone, but did not transcribe it.[43]

The *corrigenda* were not only used to emend the text of the inscriptions. They called attention to the many epigraphs that had been repeated throughout the book,[44] and when a text was particularly corrupt, they portrayed it anew with the correct line division. One of the inscriptions transcribed by Totti in the margins of the book (*CIL* VI 24400, in f. 71r) is just a copy of the text found in the *corrigenda*. Finally, they were also the source of various annotations throughout the book regarding the iconography,[45] palaeography,[46] or authenticity of the epigraphic texts.[47]

Probably around the same time, Totti made further corrections to twenty-nine inscriptions, always preceding them with 'forte' or 'forte legendum'.[48] As in Totti's other manuscripts, this always means that he is not relying on the examination of the stones, but on his own acquaintance with the epigraphic language. These corrections are most often accurate, and, when they are not, they are still educated guesses that reveal his knowledge of the antiquarian field.[49]

Besides the three inscriptions deriving from Pantagato and the one from the *corrigenda*, Alessandro Totti transcribed in its entirety one other inscription. This was supposed to be a correction of *CIL* VI 1235*k* (f. 74v; Figure 4), which was crossed out when the new transcription was added in the bottom margin;

42 JHU, *Epigrammata*, ff. 3r, 10r, 17v, 44r, 64v, 67v, 70v, 77r, 90r, 93v, 94r, 107r, 114v, 128r, 138r, 163v, 166v, 168r, 170r ('subiicebantur huic epig. multa, vide corr.'), 177r, etc.

43 *Ibid.*, f. 143v: 'Lapis in tergo habet alterum epigramma, vide correct.'.

44 E.g. *ibid.*, ff. 111r ('Relatum superius fo. 108'), 160v ('Relatum fo. superiore pag. 1'), etc.

45 E.g. *ibid.*, f. 22v: 'In ipso marmore utrinque sunt stantis ensemque gestatnis viri simulacra, perquam incondita, ob aurem cuius sinistram scriptum est: EQVITIS'.

46 E.g. *ibid.*, f. 166v: 'Duplex I E litterae vim exprimit'.

47 E.g. *ibid.*, ff. 2v ('nec vetus nec Latinus'), 38v ('fortasse fictum'), and 60r ('vide correctiones, quae annotant hoc epi. recens incisum').

48 *ibid.*, ff. 3r, 5v, 26v, 39r, 57r, 65r, 76v, 79r, 85r, 86r, 87r, 105r, 110r-v, 111v, 113v, 115r, 127v, 130v, 131r, 142r, 144r, 158r, 164v, 172v, 175r, 177v, 178v.

49 For instance, in f. 65r (*CIL* XIV 3664: 'forte legend. "Ventidius"'), Totti suggests changing the correct *nomen Ventilius* for a similar one, which was a bit more common; similarly, in f. 79r (*CIL* VI 20674: 'forte legendum "numine"'), he proposes a more common solution for the rare word *nemine* (ablative of *nemen*).

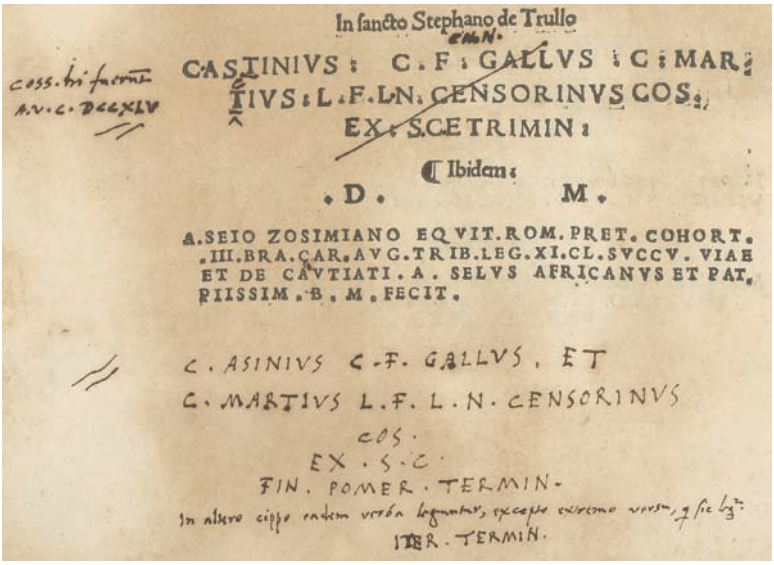


FIGURE 4 JHU, *Epigrammata*, 74v

but instead Totti merged the text of *CIL* VI 1235*k* with the last line of *CIL* VI 785* (an epigraphic forgery by Pirro Ligorio modelled on *CIL* VI 1235*d*, a different boundary stone mentioning the same consuls but in reversed order), and with the addition that 'in another *cippus* the same words can be read, but with the final line ITER · TERMIN ·'. Although Ligorio's fake inscription was already in circulation in the 1550s,[50] Totti's merged version of *CIL* VI 1235*k* and 785* is not attested anywhere else, nor is any similar text (genuine or false) with the ending 'ITER. TERMIN.'.

Totti's study of the Roman inscriptions did no go much further than that. No other inscriptions were added in the book. Only occasionally did he use other antiquarian books to correct a mistake or the location of an inscription.[51] And there is not a single piece of evidence that he ever examined any of these inscriptions personally – which reinforces the idea that the study of the book was carried out from Brescia.

50 *CIL* VI 785* already appears in Martinus Smetius's sylloge (Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. V E 4, 13), written in 1545–1551, and was first published in 1558 by Onofrio Panvinio, both in his *Fastorum libri* (see n. 41, 297 *sub anno* 745 AUC) and in his *Rei publicae commentarii* (see n. 41, 33).

51 E.g., in f. 41r (*CIL* XI 126) Totti noted that an edition of Valerius Probus (*De notis Roma* [Venice, 1525], 75v-6r) portrayed the location of the same inscription as 'Rhavennae', but doubted whether this meant the city of Ravenna or the Roman *castra Ravennatium*: 'Vide similem inscriptionem post Valerium Probum fo. 76. Dicitur autem ibi Rhavennae esse. Sed et Romae erant castra Rhavennatium, ut utrobique talis inscriptio esse potuerit'.

More than the epigraphic texts themselves, Totti's marginalia reveal, above all, his interest in various aspects of Roman history: the identification of the Roman tribes mentioned in the inscriptions, the chronology of consuls, the division of the Roman army, and the identification of uncommon religious terms, among others.

b) *The identification of the Roman tribes*

Alessandro Totti systematically identified and developed the Roman tribes mentioned in the names of the Roman citizens. By doing so, a total of 25 tribes were identified, not without some spelling mistakes in their developed forms. In the 1550s, the identification and the correct spelling of the 35 Roman tribes became a subject of intense debate between Onofrio Panvinio (who would devote a long chapter to this matter in his *Reipublicae Romanae commentarii*),[52] Paolo Manuzio (who was then preparing his *Liber de civitate Romana*, which only appeared posthumously),[53] Ottavio Pantagato and Antonio Agustín, both of whom were consulted on this matter between 1552 and 1558.[54]

But the use of epigraphic sources for the study of the Roman tribes had begun some years before, when Paolo Manuzio had published, within his *Scholia* to Cicero's *Epistolae familiares* (Venice, 1540),[55] a list of thirty-five tribes, cross-referencing these names not only with literary sources, but also with the folio of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* where the abbreviated name of a tribe could be read.[56] Manuzio's working method appears to have been

52 Panvinio, *Reipublicae Romanae* (see n. 41), 476–552 ('*De* tribubus').

53 Paolo Manuzio, *Antiquitatum Romanarum liber de civitate Romana* (Rome, 1585).

54 See Joan Carbonell and Antònia Soler, 'La polémica de las asambleas romanas en el círculo de Antonio Agustín y Ottavio Pantagato', in *Perfiles de Grecia y Roma. Actas del XII Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos* (*Valencia, 22 al 26 de octubre de 2007*), eds. Jesús de la Villa et al. (Madrid, 2011), III: 195–207; Ginette Vagenheim, 'La critique épigraphique au XVIe siècle: Ottavio Pantagato, Paolo Manuzio, Onofrio Panvinio, Antonio Agustín et Pirro Ligorio: à propos des tribus romaines', *Aevum* 62:3 (2012), 949–68.

55 Paulus Manutius, 'Scholia, quibus et loci familiarium epistolarum obscuriores explanantur, et castigationum, quae in iisdem epistolis factae sunt, ratio redditur', in Cicero, *Epistolae familiares, diligentius quam quae hactenus exierunt emendatae* (Venice, 1540), CCC4v-7v (ep. 117 [sc. Cic. *fam*. 8, 8], commenting 'L. Iulius L. f. Pom. Annalis'). The *Scholia* were reprinted several times (Venice, 1543; Paris, 1543; Venice, 1548; Venice, 1550; and Lyon, 1552); and Manuzio's list of tribes was reported *in extenso* in Nicolaus Gruchius, *De comitiis Romanorum libri tres* (Paris, 1555), 64v-5r.

56 Manutius, 'Scholia' (see previous note), CCC7v: 'Ubi autem scripsimus "Antiq.", librum qui Romae olim est impressus, cui titulus est *Antiquae Urbis Epigrammata*, significavimus; chartarum autem eiusdem libri numerum subiecimus, ut facilius quae volumus reperiri possint'.

quite chaotic, since several of the folio numbers he provides are wrong, either because they do not contain the said tribe, or because they actually exceed the 180 folios of the *Epigrammata*. Despite these mistakes (marked in the following table with the sign '(!)'), the correlation between Manuzio's 1540 list and Totti's marginalia mentioning tribes is unmistakable:[57]

Paolo Manuzio (1540)		JHU, *Epigrammata*	
Tribe name	Folios of *Epigrammata* cited	Tribe name in marginalia	Folios with marginalia developing the tribe's name
Aemilia	75	Aemilia	75v
Aniensis	175. 190 (!)	Aniensi	175v
	–	Camillia	86r
Cornelia	151 (!)	Cornelia	29r
Claudia	75. 114	Claudia	75v, 84v, 114r
Collina	27	Collina	27r, 99r, 120r
Crustumina sive Clustumina	133	Clustumina	133r
Falerina	120 (!)	–	–
Fabia	61. 343 (!)	Fabia	61r, 73r, 76r
Galeria	89. 142	Galeria	89r
	–	Horatia	161v
Lemonia	"LXCI" [sc. 91]. 151[58]	Lemonia	91v, 152v
Oufentina	29 (!). 62 (!)[59]	Oufentina	86v, 133r
Palatina	29. 62	Palatina	29v, 62v, 116r, 144r, 150r, 155v, 171r, 173v, 176r

57 I omit tribes that are not related to the *Epigrammata* by Paolo Manuzio nor mentioned by Totti.

58 This is meant to be f. 152v; the pagination of the *Epigrammata* for these pages has numerous mistakes; the next page is numbered 'CLII' instead of 'CLIII', whence the mistake in Manuzio's list.

59 These two wrong references were certainly taken, due to a confusion, from those of the Palatina tribe.

Paolo Manuzio (1540)		**JHU, *Epigrammata***	
	–	Papia	61r
Papiria	62 (!). 135	Papiria	72r, 91v
Pollia	110. 113. 147	Pollia	110r, 113r, 147v
Popilia	297 (!)	–	–
Pontina sive Pomptina	176	Pomptina	114r, 176r
Publicia, etiam Poblicia	66. 81	Publicia	66r, 81v
Quirina	15. 44	Quirina	15v, 26v, 30v, 34r, 64r, 79v, 91r, 113v, 115r, 129v, 161r, 178v, 180v
Romulia	165	Romulia	165v
Sergia	61. 63	Sergia	61r, 86v, 165r
Scaptia	476 (!)	–	–
Stellatina	110. 150 (!)	Stellatina	110r
Terentina	140. 336 (!)	Terentina	140r, 150r
Tromentina	107	Tromentina	107v
Velina	19 (!)	–	–
Volitina	75 (!). 155	Volitina	155v

Of the 42 folio numbers provided by Manuzio as containing tribes, only 29 are correct. Totti noted and developed 25 of these cases (thus missing four of them),[60] and recorded tribes in 36 more folios. What is most revealing, however, is the misspelled names *Publicia*, *Romulia* and *Volitina* (for *Publilia*, *Romilia* and *Voltinia*), which are found both in Manuzio's *Scholia* and in Totti's annotations. In 1552, Pantagato already preferred other forms (*Publilia*, *Romilia* and *Vultinia*, respectively), and, as a result, they are not found in Panvinio's *Reipublicae Romanae commentarii* nor in Manuzio's *De civitate Romana*. Therefore, most of Totti's annotations concerning Roman tribes – and particularly those mentioning the *Publicia*, *Romulia* and *Volitinia* tribes, should date, almost certainly, from before 1558.

60 Galeria in f. 142v, Papiria in f. 135r, Quirina in f. 44v, and Sergia in f. 63v.

The fact that Totti was closely following Manuzio's *Scholia* in his study of the Roman tribes is revealed by another detail. On the same entry where the list of tribes was provided, Manuzio criticised an earlier commentator, Bernardino Rutilio, for having emended the unattested *cognomen* of 'L. Atteius L. f. Ancapito' in 'A(ttei) n(epos) Capito', instead of reading 'An(iensi) Capito'; and he also attacked Pier Vettori's edition for emending the reading 'An.' to 'A. n.'.[61] This is in fact the exact same line of thought that led Totti to suggest changing the reading 'A(uli) n(epos)' in *CIL* XIV 3606 (in this case, the correct form) to 'An(iensi)'.[62]

c) *The study of Roman chronology*

Another main focus of attention for Totti was the identification of the year of consulate, making explicit mention of Panvinio's *Fasti* and using the *ab urbe condita* (AUC) date – Panvinio's preferred method –; these form the basis of the last layer of annotations described below. But many other annotations date the inscriptions relying on a different source: not only do they combine the AD date, the emperor's year of mandate and the AUC date, but, when this number appears, it does not agree with the date provided by Panvinio.

The source for this set of datings was, undoubtedly, Paulus Constantinus Phrygio's *Chronicum regum regnorumque omnium catalogum* (Basle, 1534), a timeline providing equivalences for the different dating systems from the Flood to the present time.[63] The title of this work is actually mentioned once,

61 Manutius, 'Scholia' (see n. 55), CCC5r: 'Ubi "An." Aniensem, quod cum antea non esset exploratum, alii pro "An. Capito", duabus vocibus coniunctis legebant "Ancapito"; Bernardinus autem Rutilius, qui nuper Venetiis obiit, in suis adnotationibus credidit, antiquas notas fuisse, quae significarent, "Atteii nepos"; in quo quam deceptus sit, non attinet dicere: si enim ab avo ostendendus aliquis erat, non ab eius nomine, sed a praenomine ostendebatur. Florentini autem in calce operis, ubi corrigunt impressorum errata, locum, qui recte habebat, depravarunt, cum enim legeretur "An. Capito", legendum potius crediderunt "A. N. Capito", quos alii postea imitati, in eundem errorem inciderunt, Aniensem tribum non agnoscentes, quae duabus modo literis, ut iam dixi, scripta fuerat.' Bernardino Rutilio's *In familiares Ciceronis epistolas universas annotationes* were first printed in his *Decuria* (Venice, 1528; the correction mentioned by Manuzio is found in f. b1r). Vettori's edition is *Tertius tomus Marci Tulli Ciceronis epistolarum* (Venice, 1536); the uncorrected reading appears in 112, and the correction is found in the errata list at the end. For Manuzio's attack on Vettori (always referred to as *Florentini*), see Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1983), 1: 88–9.

62 JHU, *Epigrammata*, f. 175r (*CIL* XIV 3606: 'M. Plautius M. f. A. n. Silvanus'): 'forte non "A. N." sed "AN" legendum est, eo sensu quo sequenti epigrammate declarabit'. In f. 175v (*CIL* XIV 3608: 'Ti. Plautio M. f. Ani. Silvano'), Totti comments: 'ANI., idest "Aniensi", hoc est, ex Aniensi tribu'.

63 See Benjamin Steiner, *Die Ordnung der Geschichte: Historische Tabellenwerke in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Vienna, 2008), 87–97.

even if quite modified: 'In *Catalogo consulum* tres inveniuntur Olybrii. Primus an. sal. 381, secundus an. 397, tertius an. 466' (f. 47v). And, indeed, these years correspond, in Phrygio's *Chronicum*, with consuls named Olybrius;[64] whereas in Panvinio's *Fasti* these same consulates are dated in 379, 395 and 464 AD.[65]

In several cases it is possible to observe that a dating based on Phrygio's *Chronicum* has been later expanded or corrected by adding a reference to one of Panvinio's works. This is straightforward evidence that Totti used Phrygio's *Chronicum* before he had access to Panvinio's *Fasti*; consequently, this earlier layer of annotations should date from before 1558. One such example is found in f. 40r (*CIL* VI 1707; Figure 5), where Rufius Volusianus was first identified as the consul of 315 AD, using Phrygio; and, later on, the AUC date given by Panvinio was provided.[66]

Alessandro Totti's interest in dating the inscriptions by means of the magistrates mentioned in the texts certainly predates Panvinio's works. It may actually have been sparked by the discovery, in 1546, of the Fasti Capitolini in the Roman Forum, one of the major events of the 16th century in the archaeological and antiquarian fields, which stirred up chronological scholarship throughout the 1550s.[67] These fragmentary marble tablets contained a list of annual magistrates from the Republican era, which did not align with the accounts of

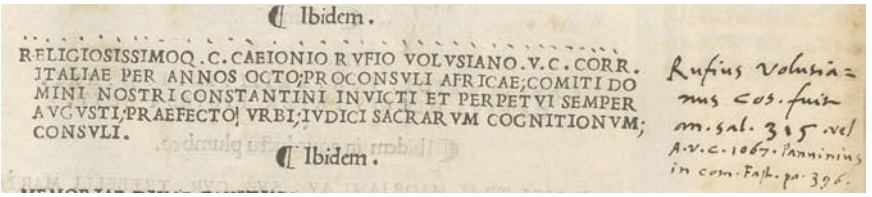


FIGURE 5 JHU, *Epigrammata*, f. 40r

64 Paulus Constantinus Phrygio, *Chronicum regum regnorumque omnium catalogum* (Basle, 1534), 324, 326, and 338.

65 Panvinio, *Fastorum libri* (see n. 41), 415, 417, and 421.

66 JHU, *Epigrammata*, f. 40r (*CIL* VI 1707): 'Rufius Volusianus cos. fuit an. sal. 315; [*with change of ink*:] vel A.V.C. 1067. Panvinius in com. Fast. pa. 396'. The first date comes from Phryghio, *Chronicum* (see n. 64), 313, which correlates 315 AD with AUC 1066; and the second from Panvinio, *Fastorum libri* (see n. 41), 396, where the inscription is copied and dated AUC 1067, without providing any AD date. Similar double-layered datings, the first using Phrygio and the second Panvinio, can be found in ff. 24r, 25v, 26r, 111v, and 139v.

67 See William McCuaig, 'The Fasti Capitolini and the Study of Roman Chronology in the Sixteenth Century', *Athenaeum* 79 (1991), 141–59; William Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History. Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance* (London, 2005), 103–12; Stefan Bauer, *The Invention of Papal History. Onofrio Panvinio Between Renaissance and Catholic Reform* (Oxford, 2020), 51–3.

Livy and other historians. This discrepancy between archaeological evidence and literary sources challenged established narratives of Roman history, and reinforced the importance of finding, reading and studying inscriptions in order to reconstruct the past. This methodological shift is also apparent in Totti's use of chronological works: Phrygio's *Chronicum* relied solely on literary evidence, whereas Panvinio's treatises made comprehensive use of the Fasti Capitolini alongside numerous other inscriptions.

Five fragments of the Fasti which had been unearthed years before were already included in the *Epigrammata*; Totti identified each and every one of them as such, and cross-referenced the fragments with an edition of the Fasti, citing this work as *Libellus catalogi magistratuum Romanorum.*[68] Since the page numbers are always given, we can identify this *Libellus* with the *editio princeps* of the Fasti Capitolini, edited by Bartolomeo Marliani and printed in 1549.[69]

In 1558, Onofrio Panvinio published his two greatest works dealing with Roman history and chronology: his *Fastorum libri V* and his *Reipublicae Romanae commentariorum libri III*. The publication of these two books – in which Panvinio gathered together the research carried out by his humanist circle, prominently among whom was Pantagato – must have stirred Totti to take up the *Epigrammata* once again and write many new annotations, mostly dealing with chronology, but also correcting the texts by means of Panvinio's version, or just cross-referencing these works: in total, Panvinio is explicitly mentioned in the commentaries of 59 inscriptions throughout the book.[70] The fact, on the one hand, that these are the latest works cited in the marginalia, and, on the other, that Totti was actively annotating the *Epigrammata* in these years (for instance, two of the inscriptions from Pantagato date from December 1558), strongly suggests that this layer was written in the late 1550s or the early 1560s at the latest.

On a few occasions, Totti proves to be aware of the discrepancy between the AUC chronology of the Fasti Capitolini, which was followed by Panvinio, and

68 JHU, *Epigrammata*, ff. 66v ('Fragmentum est catalogi magistratuum, vide libellum pag. 29'), 121v ('Vide libellum catalogi magistratuum Romanorum fo. 20 et 21'), 122r ('Vide libellum catalogi magistratuum Rom. fo. 26 et 27'), 132v ('Vide libellum catalogi magistratuum Rom. fol. 61'), and 145v ('Vide libellum catalogi magistratuum Ro. fo. 32 et 33'). For these fragments, see *CIL* I, 20–21, frag. Xa-b, XLV, and XVIIa-b.

69 Bartolomeo Marliani, *Consulum, dictatorum censorumque Romanorum series una cum ipsorum triumphis quae marmoribus scalpta in foro reperta est, atque in Capitolium translata* (Rome, 1549).

70 JHU, *Epigrammata*, ff. 1v, 2r-v, 3r-v, 5v, 14r-v, 15v, 18r, 19v, 20r-v, 21r, 24r-v, 25v, 26r, 35v, 40r, 47r, 51r, 52v, 57v, 59r, 61r, 62v, 64v, 66r, 72r, 74v, 77r, 80r, 84v, 90r, 91r, 95r, 100r, 111v, 112r, 116v, 124v, 127r, 129r, 139v, 144r, 156v, 162r, 165v, 171v, and 175r-v.

Varro's canonical date of 753 BC as the foundation of Rome – which Phrygio had followed in his *Chronicum*. In a few cases, he corrected the dates that he had extracted from Phrygio to match those given by Panvinio,[71] but for the most part those that he had written were left unchanged, sometimes supplementing them with Panvinio's dating.

Overall, Totti's explicit mention of Panvinio over and over again, and the fact that it is not contradicted even once, show that Totti regarded his works not only as a completely reliable source, but also as the state-of-the-art scholarship with respect not just to Roman chronology, but to antiquarian studies in general.

d) *Other historical annotations*

More sparingly, Alessandro Totti discussed other questions related to antiquarian scholarship. An inscription (*CIL* VI 3584, f. 48v) mentioning the *legio prima* twice with different *cognomina*, *Ital*(*ica*) and *Minerv*(*ia*), led him to suggest an emendation in the numeral based on Andrea Alciato's *Annotationes* to Tacitus;[72] then he proceeded to copy, at the bottom of the page, the *cognomina* of all legions as provided by Alciato, and referred to another one of his works (*Parergon iuris libri VII posteriores*)[73] for a more detailed explanation on the legions' name.[74] Totti also noted the presence of an inscription in the *Annotationes* to Tacitus,[75] and referred once more to Alciato's *Parergon*.[76]

71 For instance, in f. 24r (*CIL* VI 2004), he first corrected the AUC date on the inscription, 'DCCCCXL', to 'DCCCCXLII' (thus in Phrygio, *Chronicum*, [see n. 55], 294), and commented: 'Annus hic fuit undecimus ex quo Commodus solus imperare ceperat; quare corrigendus est numerus legendumque est DCCCCXLII, non DCCCCXI'. After 1558, he added 'Panvinius in com. Fast. A.V.C. 943, vide ibi', and changed the 'DCCCCXLII' to 'DCCCCXLIII'.

72 Cornelius Tacitus, *Historia Augusta actionum diurnalium additis quinque libris noviter inventis*; Andrea Alciato, *In eundem annotationes* (Basle, 1519), b5v-6r. The *annotationes* were reedited (without changes in the names of the legions) in Basle, 1533; Venice, 1534; Lyon, 1542; Basle, 1544; Basle, 1546; etc.

73 Andrea Alciato, *Parergon iuris libri tres; Parergon iuris libri VII posteriores* (Lyon, 1543), 56–7 (lib. 6 ca18). Reedited in Lyon in 1544, 1547 and 1554.

74 JHU, *Epigrammata*, f. 48v: 'Alciatus asserit legionem primam appellatam fuisse Minerviam et secundam Italicam. Quare corrig(endus) est hic locus ut legatur: "ex legione 2a Italica" etc.; legiones tamen variis temporibus varias appellationes habuere. [*On the bottom margin*:] Cognomina legionum ex Alciato in Cor. Tac.: [*there follows a list with Alciato's* cognomina *for legions I–VII, IX–XI, XIII–XIV, XVI, XX, XXII, XXX and XXXII*]. Haec copiosius tractantur ab Alciato lib. 6 cap. 18 parergon ex Dionis sententia, qui de hac re plura lib. 55 scripsit.'

75 JHU, *Epigrammata*, f. 57r: 'Vide hanc inscript. in Annot. Alciati in Cor. Tac.'. The inscription (*CIL* VI 1780) is found in Alciato, *In eundem* (see n. 72), f. b2r.

76 JHU, *Epigrammata*, f. 132r.

For terms regarding Roman mythology and religion, Totti resorted to Gregorio Giraldi's *De deis gentium* (Basle, 1548), which quickly became the main reference book on classical mythology and Roman religion for more than a century.[77] In particular, Giraldi's work is cited in relation to the *Archigalli* priests and to Jupiter's epithet *Dolichenus*.[78]

Classical works were also cross-referenced for terms and historical figures appearing in the epigraphic texts. These include two historical works – Suetonius's *Lives* and the *Historia Augusta* –, as well as Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, Pliny the Younger's *Letters*, and the *Digest*.[79]

For a few monumental inscriptions, Totti cross-referenced their presence in other printed works. He cited Bartolomeo Marliani's *Topographia* (in its second edition, published in 1544)[80] three times, as well as six individual engravings of ancient Roman monuments which tourists and collectors could purchase. In particular, he cited Antonio Salamanca's prints of the Arch of Constantine (s. a.) and the Pantheon (1538);[81] and Antonio Lafreri's prints of the Arch of Septimius Severus (1547), the Porta Maggiore (1549), the Sepulchre of Cecilia Metella (1549), and the Sepulchre of Lupus (1551).[82]

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77 Lilio Gregorio Giraldo, *De deis gentium varia & multiplex historia* (Basle, 1548); from the page number provided by Totti (see the following note) we know that he used the *editio princeps*. On the importance of this work for antiquarian studies, see Ingo Herklotz, *La Roma degli antiquari. Cultura e erudizione tra Cinquecento e Settecento* (Rome, 2012), 71–4.

78 JHU, *Epigrammata*, f.38r (*CIL* VI 2183): 'De "Archigallis" vide Gyraldum *De deis gentium*, sintag. IIII'; *ibid.*, f. 113r (*CIL* VI 416): 'Vide Gyraldum *De diis gentium* fo. 149'. The references are to Giraldo, *De deis* (see previous note), 191 and 149–50, respectively.

79 Suetonius (JHU, *Epigrammata*, ff. 17v, 19v and 154v), Pliny's *Natural History* (ff. 7r, 9r and 18v) and Macrobius's *Saturnalia* (ff. 57r, 74v and 171v) are mentioned three times; the *Historia Augusta* (ff. 86r and 98v) and the *Digest* (ff. 63v and 132r) are mentioned twice, and Pliny the Younger (f. 83v) only once. Fappani, 'Totti' (see n. 11), mentions that Totti's copies of Suetonius and the *Historia Augusta* are among his most heavily annotated books to have survived.

80 JHC, *Epigrammata*, f. 1r (*CIL* VI 1244): 'Vide *Topographiam an*(*tiquae*) *Romae* f. 83'; f. 10r (*CIL* VI 1374): 'Vide correctiones. Vide etiam *Topographiam antiquae Romae* pag. 64'; and f. 22v (*CIL* VI 1319): 'Vide ca2 lib. 5 *Topogr. Antiq. Romae*'. The inscriptions are found in Bartolomeo Marliani, *Urbis Romae topographia nuper ab ipso auctore nonnullis erroribus sublatis emendata* (Rome, 1544), 83, 64 and 93, respectively.

81 JHU, *Epigrammata*, ff. 4r and 6v ('vide tabulam ab Antonio Salamanca impressam'). See Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, 'Les gravures de monuments antiques d'Antonio Salamanca, à l'origine du *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*', *Annali di architettura* 1 (1989), 47–62 (48 Fig. 2 and 55 Fig. 10, respectively).

82 JHU, *Epigrammata*, ff. 4v, 1v, 171r, and 170v ('Vide tabulam ab Antonio Lafrero impressam'), respectively. See most recently Birte Rubach, *Ant. Lafreri formis Romae. Der verleger Antonio Lafreri und seine Druckgraphikproduktion* (Berlin, 2016), 292–3 No. 270, 300-301 No. 281, 312-3 No. 300, and 314-5 No. 303, respectively.

7 Reconsidering Alessandro Totti's Place in the Mid-Sixteenth Century Antiquarian Scene

A complete assessment of Alessandro Totti's contribution to the antiquarian field will only be possible after a whole new study of his *monumenta antiqua urbis Brixiani* which takes into account his autograph materials in Vat. lat. 5237 and Vat. lat. 6038; as well as an analysis of Totti's marginalia in the books from his library that have been preserved in the Queriniana Library.[83] For the time being, the study of his copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, as well as the identification of the materials copied or annotated by him in Vat. lat. 5237, allow us to reconsider his involvement in the antiquarian movement and his connections beyond Brescia.

Alessandro Totti's interest in antiquity, while focused greatly on the local antiquities of Brescia and its surroundings, certainly extended beyond that, both geographically and typologically. He studied the epigraphy and monuments of Rome through the *Epigrammata* – to which he returned time and again –, but also through Antonio Salamanca's and Lafreri's prints, Marliani's *Topographia* (1544), the edition of the Fasti Capitolini (1549), and Panvinio's *Fasti* and *Reipublicae Romanae commentarii* (1558); moreover, he was one of the few to report, right after their discovery, several inscriptions excavated in Rome in 1562.[84] Among his *schedae* in Vat. lat. 5237, we also find a few transcriptions from Central and South Italy, as well as from Spain, which he knew through the Italian translation of Beuter's *Chronica* (1556).

His antiquarian endeavours were not confined to epigraphy either. In his time, he was especially renowned for his numismatic collection, from which Aldo Manuzio cited six coins in the first edition of his *Orthographiae ratio* (1561), and six more in his expanded edition of 1566.[85] Likewise, as his annotations in the *Epigrammata* reveal, he followed very closely the two more intense historiographic debates of the 1550s: namely, Roman chronology as attested by the discovery of the Fasti Capitolini, and the names of the thirty-five Roman tribes.

83 Fappani, 'Totti' (see n. 11), states that, according to Dr. Angelo Brumana, eighteen books that come from the monastery of Sant'Alessandro bear Totti's notes, including St. Augustine, Cicero, Pietro Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua*, Diomedes, Andreas Vesalius, Suetonius, Flavius Josephus and the *Historia Augusta*.

84 BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 5237, f. 147r (*CIL* VI 921, 1010 & 23592): 'In Roma, nella piazza di Sciarra, fu ritrovato uno arco di Claudio imp(eratore) l'anno del S(igno)re 1562, con queste inscrittioni'. See Vagenheim, 'Un épisode' (see n. 25), 180–81.

85 Manuzio, *Orthographiae* (see n. 12), 6r, 9r, 12v, 32r, 33r and 47v; Aldo Manuzio, *Orthographiae ratio* (Venice, 1566), 361, 394, 428, 503–4, 580 and 600.

It is true that, in these fields, he applied the scholarly developments of others, rather than contribute with his own research. This actually reflects the first stage of the two-stage working method used by Totti in the study of Brescian epigraphy: copying a previous collection and gradually correcting it through field work.[86] Regarding the epigraphy from Rome or these historiographical debates, his studies do not seem to have reached this second stage.

Another point that needs to be revised is his position within the antiquarian network of his time. In Brescia, he was a member of the intellectual circle around the physician and antiquarian Luigi Mondella since at least the 1530s, was the dedicatee of a sonnet by a local poet named Domenico Mantova,[87] and engaged another Servite friar, Giambattista da Gabbiano, to help him find inscriptions from the *ager Brixianus* and check their texts.

Outside Brescia, Totti was already in contact with Paolo Manuzio before 1557;[88] we can presume that they discussed the identification of the Roman tribes at some length, which led Totti to repeat the process of finding and developing all references to tribes in the *Epigrammata*, as Manuzio had done in preparing his *Scholia* (1540). Totti was providing Paolo's son Aldo Manuzio with numismatic texts from his own collection before 1561; he gave him many of his epigraphic materials, possibly during Aldo's stay in Brescia on 14 October 1565, and was still informing him of new discoveries in 1566. These epigraphic materials encompassed two whole sylloges from Brescia, but also numerous *schedae* (by himself and others) and personal letters preserved in Vat. lat. 5237.

Totti's main connection with Rome's antiquarian scene appears to have been Ottavio Pantagato – like him a Brescian and a Servite friar. As shown above, Totti was the recipient of two letters written by Pantagato (in December 1558 and June 1564), as well as several transcriptions of epigraphic discoveries from Rome (two of which bear the dates 1554 and 1558). It is both the wide range of these materials and the transmission of these bare notes that suggest that this was a prolonged and frequent correspondence. Moreover, this was a two-way exchange, since Totti also informed Pantagato of his own findings in the surroundings of Brescia. Not less importantly, Totti handed both his and Pantagato's papers over to Aldo Manuzio, thus preserving them and making them available for generations to come.

Totti must have had other antiquarian connections, which may surface in the future. Leonardo Cozzando, in the 17th century, asserted that Fulvio Orsini

86 See above, p. 12.
87 Mantova, *Rime* (see n. 12), 40.
88 See above, n. 12.

had known and praised him.[89] Somebody – apparently a humanist whose name starts with the letter N – must have provided Jean Matal with a copy of his sylloge, between 1547 and 1551. And, judging by how Totti employed his treatises and their common correspondents, it would come as no surprise to learn that he was in direct contact with Onofrio Panvinio as well.

This survey has allowed us to recover the antiquarian pursuits of an erudite who, confined to his native Brescia, certainly favoured the study of local antiquities, but who followed with keen interest the developments in the historiographical and epigraphic fields in Rome and elsewhere, both through antiquarian literature and through his humanist colleagues, with whom he shared – and thus helped spread – the Roman antiquities of Brescia and its surroundings.

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89 Cozzando, 'Della libraria' (see n. 13), 14: 'Honorata testimonianza ne f[a] Fulvio Orsino'. I have been unable to trace the origin of this claim.

Appendix Unpublished letters of Giambattista da Gabbiano to Alessandro Totti

1. Letter from 18 March 1558 (BAV, *ms. Vat. lat. 5237, f. 158r-v*).
[158v] Al molto R(evere)n(do) P(ad)re M(aes)tro Alessandro Toto da Brescia, P(ad)re mio oss(ervantissi)mo. Brescia, in S(an)to Aless(and)ro.
[158r] Molto R(evere)n(do) P(ad)re M(aes)tro mio oss(ervantissi)mo sal(ute) etc.
Partito da V(ostra) P(aternità) R(everenda), venne alla p(rim)a chiesa che si vede appresso Lograto per confrontare le sue inscriptioni e vedere se sonno alterate o no. Ma non hebbi gra(tia) d'entrarvi, perché un m. Franc(esco) Gualteri d'Orzinuovi, chi tiene ad affitto quel luoco, era cavalcato et havea la chiave de la porta con lui. Venne alla parroch(ia), cioè nel tempio d'Ognis(san)ti, e riguardando diligentementi ad alto e basso, dentro et fuori, non vi ritrovai se non una sola, nel muro a mano destra, qual dice MERCVRIO CN. CAETRONIVS PRAESENS V. S. L. M. Tutta la N di *praesens* non è apparente, ma solo la prima gamba come qui a basso notarò, perchè il sasso è corroso. A voler vedere le altre è bisogno che vadi in Navate in la chiesa qual è poco desotto di Casali, ma giù di strata. Per essere l'hora tarda, et il luoco adrieto un buon pezzo di via, non vi andai, ma come vengo a Brescia anticiparò il tempo e sodisfarò al tutto. Ho fatto la relatione sua al R(everendo) P(adre) M(aest)ro fort(issim)o presso Logodereti. Se in altro posso servire V(ostra) P(aternità) R(everenda), priego me commandi. Né altro occorrendomi, basciogli la mano e molto le mi rac(coman)do. Da Cognolo il 18 marzo 1558.

D(a) V(ostra) P(aternità) R(everenda) servidore,
Fra Gio(vanni) Batt(ista) Gab(bian)o.

MERCVRIO
CN CAETRONIVS
PRAESE+S
V. S. L. M. [CIL V 4254]

2. Letter from 31 March 1558 (BAV, *ms. Vat. lat. 5237, ff. 156r-157v*).
[157v] Al molto R(evere)n(do) P(ad)re M(aes)tro Alessandro Toto da Brescia, P(ad)re mio oss(ervantissi)mo. Brescia, in S(an)to Alessandro.
[156r] Molto R(evere)n(do) P(ad)re M(aes)tro mio oss(ervantissi)mo sal(ute) etc.

Hieri partito da V(ostra) P(aternità) R(everenda) venne a S(an)ta Maria di Navate per sodisfare alla commissione sua. E nel entrare in chiesa se m'offerse a mano dritta un sasso chi sostenta un vaso rotto d'acqua s(an)ta, nel quale è questa inscriptione incisa com'è qui, non come quella che Lei mi diede:
PAPÌRIAE PAT^ROBI
LIB. TROPIIME
VÌTANI
VICI MINERVI [*CIL* V 4451]
Nella capella grande dinanzi l'altare a man sinistra in una assai bella pietra vi è scolpita l'infrascritta con lettere antique apparentissime, ma non è tutta scoperta, né io puotei havere zappa, né vanga da scoprirla, né commodità d'huomeni, che tutti erano ai soi exercitii. Per adesso dunque vi darò quello ho possuto havere. Un'altra volta vedrò di farla scalzare, et portarò il rimanente.
M. ROMAN^IVS M. L.
SVAVIS
IIIIII. VIR. AVG. SIBI. ET
M. ROMANO PROBO
FILIO ET [*CIL* V 4465, lines 1–5]
Il resto sta sotto terra.
A mano destra all'incontro de la soprascritta vi è un'altra pietra, nella quale vi sonno le infrascritte poche lettere, v(idelicet):
CONTVBERNALI
+ F [*CIL* V 4465, lines 7–8]
Altre inscriptioni non ho trovato in questa chiesa che le predette, né dentro né fuori, e quivi non ci è campanile né altre case, ma solo la chiesiola campestre. Partito da qui venne un'altra volta a quella chiesa presso Lograto che ha il campanile. E la trovai anchor serrata. Quando mi occorrerà venire [156v] un'altra volta a Brescia, usarò diligentia per farvi haver il resto compitamente. Fra tanto V(ostra) P(aternità) R(everenda) se conservi. Prieghi il S(igno)re per me et me commandi in tutto ciò che la si può servire di me. Altro non le dirò se non che me le rac(coman)do. Da Cognolo l'ult(im)o di marzo 1558.

Tutto di V(ostra) P(aternità) R(everenda),
Fra Gio(vanni) Batt(ista) de Gabbiano