

THE MANUSCRIPT ANNOTATIONS OF MARIANGELO ACCURSIO AND ANTONIO LELLI ON THE *EPIGRAMMATA ANTIQUAE URBIS*¹

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Abstract

This paper examines the early circulation of a set of copies of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (the first and most influential printed epigraphic collection from Rome, published in 1521 by Giacomo Mazzocchi) that contain the same set of annotations. A hitherto unexamined copy, and a copy whose whereabouts had been lost since the nineteenth century, are analysed here alongside the better-known copies of Antonio Lelli and Latino Giovenale Manetti. The debated author of these common notes is definitively identified here as the humanist Mariangelo Accursio (1489–1546), who also prepared the errata list of the book. The article illuminates Accursio's study of ancient epigraphy both in Rome (1517–1521) and during his stay in Augsburg (1532–1533), as well as his enduring engagement with the *Epigrammata* in the 1530s. Finally, Antonio Lelli's original annotations to the *Epigrammata* are reassessed, and his actual contribution to the antiquarian field is redefined.

Keywords: Marginalia, Renaissance antiquarianism, antiquarian literature, Giacomo Mazzocchi, Latino Giovenale Manetti

1. Introduction

In the early fifteenth century, humanists began to focus on ancient inscriptions as a new source of insight into the Greco-Roman past. Recognising their potential to illuminate philological, literary, historical, and social aspects of antiquity, they avidly collected these inscriptions, both physically and textually. This practice revived a literary subgenre invented by the Carolingians: the collection of classical inscriptions, often referred to by the Greek term *sylloge*.²

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² The classic study is R. Weiss, 'The Rise of Classical Epigraphy', in: *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, Oxford, 1969, pp. 145–166. See, more recently, W. Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History. Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance*, London, 2005; M. Buonocore, 'Epigraphic Research from its Inception: The Contribution of Manuscripts', in: Ch. Bruun and J. Edmondson, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, Oxford/New York, 2014, pp. 21–41.

Manuscript sylloges took a very long time to reach publication. Christopher Wood has argued that the limited readership made it more cost-effective to circulate handmade copies among fellow scholars.³ Another reason may have been that, unlike literary works, a sylloge was inherently a work in progress. A manuscript copy of an earlier sylloge could accommodate new additions, whereas a printed sylloge would represent a finalised corpus.

The initial impulse in the study of epigraphy and the creation of the first sylloges was predominantly undertaken in the northern half of Italy. However, by 1480, Rome had emerged as the epicentre of epigraphic research, driven by Pomponio Leto and the members of the Roman Academy, with the support of popes, cardinals, and wealthy citizens. Over the next forty years, the city witnessed the compilation of numerous manuscript sylloges and the publication of various antiquarian and topographic treatises.⁴ Nevertheless, no collection of inscriptions from Rome or the entirety of Italy was published.

In 1521, the publisher Giacomo Mazzocchi finally released the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, the first printed epigraphic collection from the city of Rome.⁵ Spanning 180 folio leaves, it recorded over 3,000 inscriptions and included some of the earliest woodcut illustrations of Rome's archaeological monuments.

The main body of the book had actually been printed by the end of 1517, when the papal privilege was issued. With the collection completed, Mazzocchi entrusted the editing of the list of epigraphic abbreviations attributed to Valerius Probus to Mariangelo Accursio (1489–1546), a young and brilliant humanist.⁶ During this task, Accursio discovered that the collection was riddled with errors and convinced Mazzocchi to halt the book's publication while he searched for the inscriptions and corrected the texts.⁷ This long and arduous task lasted almost

³ Ch. Wood, 'Notation of Visual Information in the Earliest Archeological Scholarship', *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 17:1–2 (2001), pp. 94–118 (103).

⁴ For the antiquarian works printed in Rome during the first two decades of the sixteenth century, see C. Bianca, 'La stampa a Roma: le edizioni di antiquaria', in: Flavia Cantatore et al., eds, *Metafore di un pontificato. Giulio II (1503–1513)*, Rome, 2010, pp. 117–133; ead., 'Le edizioni romane di antiquaria al tempo di Leone X', in: S. Benedetti et al., eds, *Cum fide amicitia. Per Rosanna Alhaique Pettinelli*, Rome, 2015, pp. 89–105.

⁵ On the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, Rome, G. Mazzocchi, 1521 [hereafter *Epigrammata*], see most recently J. Carbonell and G. González Germain, eds, *The Epigrammata antiquae urbis and Its Influence on European Antiquarianism*, Rome, 2020.

⁶ *Epigrammata*, fol. 1^r: 'Quem [sc. Valerium Probum] infinitis antea locis corruptum, mancum atque inversum Mariangelus Accursius, vetustatis observantissimus iuvenis, nobis imprimendum exhibuit [...]'. For Accursio, see below, pp. 181–182.

⁷ *Epigrammata*, fol. aa1^r: 'Quartus agitur iam annus, bone lector, cum librum edituri fuimus. Verum dum Valerii libellus, qui solus deerat, imprimeretur, errores passim per singula ferme epigrammata deprendimus. E re itaque Latina visum fuit opus, quamlibet impressum, recognoscere

four years, but in the end Accursio produced one of the longest and most accurate errata lists ever compiled in the Renaissance, thereby significantly enhancing the book. In April 1521, the sylloge with its freshly printed errata list was finally published.

The *Epigrammata* swiftly became one of the most influential antiquarian publications of the Renaissance. With around 360 known copies, the *Epigrammata* was likely the second antiquarian book with the largest print run before 1550, surpassed only by Petrus Apianus and Bartholomaeus Amantius's *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (Ingolstadt 1534), which was generously funded by Raymund Fugger.⁸ The profound impact of the book can be observed in the numerous copies that were densely annotated by early modern readers.⁹ During its initial decades, the *Epigrammata* was read not only by humanists directly interested in antiquities but also by others who seem to have valued the literary component of the inscriptions.¹⁰ In Rome in particular, the book was enthusiastically received within the humanist circles around Angelo Colocci and Johann Goritz,¹¹ which included Accursio, Andrea Fulvio (who is believed to have

et quae nunc extant monumenta, qua licuit sedulitate, revisere.' This first person cannot be Mazzocchi (as believed, e.g., in the *CIL* VI, p. 46), since he had overseen the edition, and can only be Accursio.

⁸ For a comparative analysis of the number of extant copies of both works, see G. González Germain, 'Printing, Reading and Owning Apianus and Amantius's *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (With a Worldwide List of Known Copies)', in: J. Carbonell and G. González Germain, eds, *Antiquarian Literature in the Sixteenth Century: Archaeology and Epigraphy in Printed Books and Manuscripts*, Berlin/Boston, 2024, pp. 79–116 (89–93).

⁹ Approximately 20% of the extant copies of the *Epigrammata* contain annotations on thirty or more pages, while twenty-eight copies feature annotations on at least half of their pages. For insights into the history of reading during the Renaissance through the study of annotated books, see, e.g., D. Pearson, 'What Can We Learn by Tracking Multiple Copies of Books?', in: R. Myers et al., eds, *Books on the Move: Tracking Copies through Collections and the Book Trade*, New Castle, DE/London, 2007, pp. 17–37; Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*, Philadelphia, 2008; A. Grafton et al., eds, *Gabriel Harvey and the History of Reading. Essays by Lisa Jardine and others*, London, 2024.

¹⁰ See G. González Germain, 'The *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (1521) and the Muses: A Little-Known Chapter in Sixteenth-Century Latin Poetry', in: F. Schaffner et al., eds, *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Albasitensis. Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Albacete 2018)*, Leiden/Boston, 2018, pp. 294–311.

¹¹ For a survey on these Roman circles, see J. H. Gaisser, 'The Rise and Fall of Goritz's Feasts', *Renaissance Quarterly* 48:1 (1995), pp. 41–57; I. D. Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancient and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome*, Cambridge, 1998; J. H. Gaisser, 'The Mirror of Humanism: Self-Reflection in the Roman Academy', in: M. Pade, ed., *On Renaissance Academies*, Rome, 2011, pp. 123–132; P. de Capua, *Microcosmo letterario a Roma nella prima metà del Cinquecento*, Messina, 2016.

participated in the final phase of the book's compilation),¹² Mario Maffei (the book's dedicatee), Antonio Lelli, and Latino Giovenale Manetti (whose annotated copies of the book will be discussed later).

During the second half of the Cinquecento, the *Epigrammata*'s readership gradually narrowed, becoming increasingly limited to antiquarians, who continued to read and annotate their copies well into the nineteenth century. Undoubtedly, this extensive and enduring perusal of the book was due to its exceptional record of Rome's antiquities before the Sack of 1527, thanks to its comprehensive nature, its archaeological woodcuts, and the accuracy of Accursio's corrections.

A fourth factor contributed to its success. Shortly after its publication, copies of the *Epigrammata* with the same set of handwritten annotations began to circulate. These notes included all the corrections from the errata list, along with updates on the locations of the pieces, as well as descriptions and sketches of the epigraphic objects. As late as 1545, Jean Matal (c. 1517–1597) still recognised the value of these annotations and integrated them as a preliminary step in his antiquarian research.¹³ In the nineteenth century, the annotations were once again copied into pristine copies, notably by the Italian scholars Emiliano Sarti (1795–1849) and Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822–1894),¹⁴ and were highly esteemed by the editors of the *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*). For all these reasons, the need for a comprehensive census and collation of these annotated copies has been repeatedly noted,¹⁵ but has hitherto never been carried out, partly due to the convoluted history of the discovery of these copies.

The presence of a substantial set of handwritten annotations copied into various copies of the same printed work was not an uncommon phenomenon in the sixteenth century. In the field of astronomy, the annotations of Erasmus Reinhold appear in six copies of Nicolaus Copernicus' *De revolutionibus*; those of Paul

¹² See I. Calabi, 'Andrea Fulvio, *alter homo doctus* autore degli *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*?', *Epigraphica* 31 (1969), pp. 205–212.

¹³ Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions* (as in n. 2), p. 39.

¹⁴ Vatican Library, Stamp. R.G. Storia III 3350 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Monnaies, médailles et antiques, RES-61130-MAZ-4, respectively.

¹⁵ A. Tura 'Una mano nota ed altra ignota (Fedra Inghirami nei margini dell'*Aetheria* e la mano del ms. 85 di Eton nei margini di Euclide)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, vol. 67:1, 2005, pp. 103–108 (104); M. Buonocore, 'Sulle copie postillate vaticane degli *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*', *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae XIII*, Città del Vaticano, 2006, pp. 91–102 (93 and 97); C. Bianca, 'Giacomo Mazzocchi e gli *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*', in: C. Bianca et al., eds, *Studi di antiquaria ed epigrafia per Ada Rita Gunella*, Rome, 2009, pp. 107–116 (115 n. 65).

Wittich, in nine copies; and those of Jofrancus Offusius, in another nine.¹⁶ However, Reinhold, Wittich, and Offusius were professors of astronomy, and their annotations primarily circulated among their students. Conversely, the annotations of the *Epigrammata* undoubtedly circulated outside the academic sphere, since epigraphy was not the subject of a university course. It is no coincidence that, in the realm of antiquarian editions, there is not a single case comparable to that of the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, with a set of annotations transcribed in about a dozen copies.

2. The rediscovery and study of the *Epigrammata*'s annotated copies

The recovery of the copies bearing this set of annotations began in the eighteenth century. In 1755, Antonio Francesco Gori (1691–1757) reported discovering a copy of the *Epigrammata*, owned at the time by the heirs of Giovanni Battista Doni (1594–1647) and now at the National Library of Florence (Postillati 123), which contained handwritten annotations of uncertain authorship. He published a selection of these notes and suggested they might be attributed to a certain Antonius Laelius Podager, who signed four of these annotations.¹⁷

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Emilio Sarti studied an annotated copy at the Vatican (Vat. lat. 8492) and transcribed its notes into his own copy. He observed the presence of three distinct hands in Vat. lat. 8492: that of Antonius Laelius Podager, who signed the book on the frontispiece, another which signed (on fol. 134^v) as B. Maffei, and an unknown one.¹⁸

In 1855, the historian Léon Renier (1809–1885) published a brief article on the recent acquisition of an annotated copy of the *Epigrammata* by the archaeologist Edmond-Frédéric Le Blant (1818–1897).¹⁹ Le Blant had consulted De Rossi, who responded with a long letter that Renier transcribed in his article.²⁰ In his letter, De Rossi partly attributed the *Epigrammata*'s authorship to Mariangelo Accursio (for the inscriptions copied from autopsy), and speculated that the majority of the annotations found in these copies had been written during the

¹⁶ See O. Gingerich, *An Annotated Census of Copernicus' De Revolutionibus*, Leiden, 2002, pp. XIX–XXI. For Paul Wittich's annotations, see O. Gingerich and R.S. Westman, *The Wittich Connection. Conflict and Priority in Late Sixteenth-Century Cosmology*, Philadelphia, PA, 1988.

¹⁷ A. F. Gori, 'Ad directorem societatis epistola', *Acta Societatis latinae Ienensis*, vol. IV, Jena, 1755, pp. 5–9 (7); Id., 'Xeniorum epigraphicorum syntagma secundum', *ibid.*, vol. V, Jena, 1756, pp. 30–48.

¹⁸ See Buonocore, 'Sulle copie postillate' (as in n. 15), pp. 94–95 and Tav. 1–2.

¹⁹ L. Renier, 'Note sur le recueil d'inscriptions latines intitulé *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*', *Revue archéologique*, vol. 13:1, 1856, pp. 51–55.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 51–53. De Rossi's original letter has been preserved, inserted within Le Blant's copy.

preparation of the errata list, which De Rossi also attributed to Accursio. In addition to these notes, *Antonius Laelius* would have added only a small group (specifically, the four bearing his name). Furthermore, De Rossi identified three other copies with the same annotations: Vat. lat. 8492 (which he considered the 'most complete' of all), the copy studied by Gori (which he did not see, erroneously located in the Biblioteca Marucelliana in Florence,²¹ and considered a copy of the Vatican manuscript), and the Angelica copy annotated by the humanist and papal diplomat Latino Giovenale Manetti (1485/6–1553).

In 1869, Wilhelm Henzen reiterated the information conveyed by De Rossi and aligned with him in considering Accursio as the main author of these annotations.²² Similarly, in the preface to *CIL* VI,²³ Henzen and Bormann reaffirmed that the annotations appeared to have been written by the person responsible for the errata list, likely Accursio. However, for the sake of prudence, they referred to this humanist as 'the author of the printed and manuscript corrections' throughout the *CIL*.²⁴ This decision may have played an unwanted role in obscuring the attribution to Accursio of the annotations, which has never been taken into account in subsequent studies.

The twentieth century witnessed no new studies on the annotated copies and, in fact, all trace of Le Blant's copy was lost. However, Giuseppe Frasso conducted an important study on Antonio Lelli (d. 1527/8), shedding light on two aspects of his intellectual activity – as the author of pasquinades and a scholar of Petrarch – and identifying him as the same *Antonius Laelius* Podager who had signed Vat. lat. 8492 and penned some of its notes.²⁵ The matter of the annotated volumes has been revisited several times in the twenty-first century, but only with one or two copies being considered at a time, especially the two bearing notes by Antonio Lelli, who has been the primary focus of attention.²⁶

In the most recent and significant of these contributions, Rossella Bianchi resumed the study of Lelli's figure, focusing more closely on his epigraphic

²¹ The only copy of the *Epigrammata* at the Marucelliana Library (1. K. IV. 18) contains very few annotations independent from Lelli.

²² W. Henzen, 'Über die stadtrömischen Inschriftensammlungen aus der Epoche nach Cyriacus bis auf Jac. Mazochi', *Monatsbericht der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Jahrgang 1868, 1869, pp. 369–408 (406–408).

²³ E. Bormann, W. Henzen, *CIL* VI, pars I, Berlin, 1876, pp. XLVI–XLVII no. 21.

²⁴ E.g., in *CIL* VI 26502 (p. 2627): 'Mazochius f. 28, vidit auctor emendationum editarum et ms. in exemplis Metell. Podagr. Leblant. Angelic.'

²⁵ G. Frasso, 'Da Petrarca a Pasquino. I. Per l'ordinatore del Vaticano lat. 3212', *Studi petrarcheschi*, vol. 5, 1988, pp. 155–195 (191–193 and Tav. V).

²⁶ E.g., Tura, 'Una mano nota' (as in n. 15), pp. 104–106; Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions* (as in n. 2), pp. 35–39; Bianca, 'Giacomo Mazzocchi' (as in n. 15), pp. 112–115.

activity.²⁷ Among other things, Bianchi noted that the copy in the Florentine National Library (Postillati 123) is entirely written by Lelli, and that four hands intervene in Vat. lat. 8492: those of Lelli and an anonymous scribe for the entirety of the notes present in Postillati 123, and those of Bernardino Maffei (1514–1553) and Angelo Colocci (1469–1549). However, Bianchi did not find decisive textual elements to establish a secure stemmatic relationship between the two copies annotated by Lelli,²⁸ considered him as the author of all the autograph annotations in Vat. lat. 8492, and regarded the rest as anonymous.²⁹

3. Census of the copies of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* directly deriving from the same set of annotations

As I will argue later, differences in this group of annotated copies can only be explained by positing that they originated from an archetype that has not survived. The present census includes the copies of the *Epigrammata* with annotations directly derived from this lost archetype, following a comprehensive search among extant copies in publicly accessible libraries. Since the relationship between the two copies annotated by Lelli has not yet been sufficiently clarified, both will be considered (even though, as will soon be explained, one is a copy of the other). However, all other copies of Lelli's annotations will not be considered here and will instead be the focus of a future study.

Of the other three copies mentioned by De Rossi, we know the location of two: the one given by Lelli to Felice Trofimo (Vat. lat. 8492) and the one owned by Manetti (at the Biblioteca Angelica). As for Le Blant's copy, which no scholar had seen since the nineteenth century, it briefly reappeared in 2024 when it was sold at auction, allowing me to study it.

To these four previously known copies, I can now add a fifth copy, at the Austrian National Library, which has never before been associated with this group:

1. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Postillati 123. From the heirs of Giovanni Battista Doni and the Magliabechiana Library. Original and autograph copy by Antonio Lelli (*F*)
2. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. lat. 8492. Partially autograph copy by Antonio Lelli, given to Felice Trofimo between 1524 and 1526, and owned after 1527 by Angelo Colocci (*V*)³⁰

²⁷ R. Bianchi, 'Antonio Lelli fra Pasquino, Petrarca e Roma antica', *Res publica litterarum*, vol. 40, 2017, pp. 64–97, and *ibid.*, vol. 41, 2018, pp. 17–55. His activity as annotator of the *Epigrammata* is discussed in vol. 41, pp. 30–54.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³⁰ Copy digitised at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.8492.

3. Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, KK.15.17. Copy owned and annotated by Latino Giovenale Manetti (A)
4. From the Colonna Library (18th century); copy purchased by Le Blant in Rome in 1854, and later owned by Seymour de Ricci (1881–1942) and Thomas Kimball Brooker (b. 1939). Sold at auction by Sotheby's (London) on 9 July 2024³¹ [Illustration 1] (C)
5. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 80.D.30 (W)³²

From the evidence of these five copies, it can be established beyond doubt that, as first suggested by De Rossi and Henzen, these annotations were originally written by Mariangelo Accursio. Four of the extant copies derive from Accursio's lost copy: Antonio Lelli's Florentine copy (*F*), which contains a few additional annotations by Lelli; the copy owned by Manetti (A); the one purchased by Le Blant (C); and the one preserved in Vienna (W).

Copies A, C, and W are not only independent of Lelli (*FV*), but are also independent of each other. Manetti (A) omitted some of the original sketches, describing them textually instead;³³ he also included a few historical and philological notes of his own,³⁴ and ceased transcribing Accursio's notes after fol. 118^v. The anonymous annotator of Le Blant's copy (C) excluded almost all the notes already present in the errata list and condensed many of the annotations that updated the locations of the inscriptions or added cross-references.³⁵ Finally, the Viennese copy (W) was annotated in two layers (probably by a single reader at two different times):³⁶ the first layer comprises the corrections and notes from the errata list, while the second layer contains Accursio's annotations. In this second layer, the information already present in the first layer (even if not literally) was not repeated: some notes were omitted and others were integrated with small additions.³⁷

³¹ As part of the sale 'Bibliotheca Brookeriana III: Art, architecture and illustrated books' (Sotheby's, Sale L24402, Lot 568).

³² Copy digitised at books.google.de/books?id=rdhYAAAAcAAJ.

³³ In fols 47^r (*CIL* VI 510), 77^r (*CIL* VI 24613), and 136^v (*CIL* VI 25075): see Appendix.

³⁴ E.g., A in fols 14^v, 46^v, and 109^r.

³⁵ See fols 21^r (*CIL* VI 418), 33^r (*CIL* VI 9222), 36^v (*CIL* VI 21501), and 114^v (*CIL* VI 2318) edited in the Appendix.

³⁶ The first layer was written in dark brown ink, with rather small letters; the second layer uses lighter brown ink, and the letters are larger.

³⁷ The presence of notes in the errata list already transcribed in the first layer has entailed the complete omission of Accursio's annotations in C, fols 2^v, 4^r, 7^r, etc. For a note sourced from the errata list and expanded in the second layer, see Appendix (fol. 93^v, *CIL* VI 2243).

Accursio had participated in collaborative projects such as the satirical commentary on Giulio Simone's *Epulum* and the collection of epigrams in celebration of Johann Goritz (*Coryciana*, 1524). He had published his satirical *Osci et Volsci dialogus* (c. 1513), and had likely begun working on his *Diatribae* (1524) on Ausonius, Solinus and Ovid, as well as on his edition of Ammianus Marcellinus.³⁸ It was, in fact, his philological work on Late Antique authors such as Ausonius and Ammianus, rather than the antiquarian nature of the book, that must have led Mazzocchi to entrust him the edition of Probus's list of abbreviations, which in turn gave him the opportunity to halt the book's publication and prepare the errata list.

As has been said, between 1517 and 1521, Accursio undertook the task of locating, reading, and correcting the epigraphic texts of the *Epigrammata*. His method appears to have been as follows: initially, he scoured the city for inscriptions, likely transcribing their texts into a draft manuscript (now lost). He then compared these notes with a printed copy of the *Epigrammata*, correcting the inscriptions he had seen, adding commentaries, and marking the texts he had not found. Finally, he used this annotated copy to compile the errata list, which included the words to be amended from the inscriptions he had located, the list of those he had not seen,³⁹ and occasionally a few additional comments (mostly cross-references and indications of false or fragmentary texts).⁴⁰ Concurrently, he prepared a fair copy of the inscriptions he had transcribed but were absent from the *Epigrammata*, which has been preserved among his epigraphic papers at the Ambrosian Library, following the same precise topographic order as the *Epigrammata*.⁴¹ Apparently, Accursio allowed his annotated copy (which must have contained many additional notes not present in the errata list) to circulate after April 1521 within the Roman sodalities he frequented, in which both Lelli and Manetti participated.

The absolute correspondence between the annotations on this set of copies and the errata list is unmistakable. The corrections on the epigraphic texts align

³⁸ On Accursio, see most recently S. Rocchi and S. Andronio, eds, *Mariangelo Accursio tra l'Italia e l'Europa. Poeta, filologo, epigrafista e diplomatico*, Rome, 2023. On his initial activity, see P. de Capua, 'Gli esordi di Accursio a Roma', *ibid.*, pp. 3–40.

³⁹ E.g., *Epigrammata*, fol. aa1^r: 'In hac autem secunda pagina 1 ac 2 epig(rammata) non vidimus'.

⁴⁰ E.g., in fol. aa5^r (*CIL* V 14*): 'Vix crediderim non esse alicuius falsarii, sed et imperitissimi commentum'.

⁴¹ Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. D 420 inf. [hereafter ms. Ambr.], fols 40^r–127^v (*olim* 1^r–76^v). See S. Orlandi, C. Marchegiani, 'I codici ambrosiani di Mariangelo Accursio e le risorse disponibili in rete: osservazioni in margine al fascicolo 'urbano' del codice D 420 inf.', in Rocchi and Andronio, *Mariangelo Accursio* (as in n. 38), pp. 155–217.

precisely with those of the errata list, and inscriptions noted as ‘not seen’ are marked on the annotated copies (see, e.g., the second text on Illustrations 2a–b). Many handwritten annotations also have their counterparts in the errata list, but the manuscript notes are often longer and more detailed.⁴² This is the first major difference compared to other annotated copies of the *Epigrammata*, where readers transcribed information from the errata list into the sylloges, typically shortening the original texts, rather than expanding them.

Further evidence of Accursio’s authorship can be found by comparing this set of annotations with his Ambrosian sylloge. The same specific terms and expressions recur frequently: *urnula sacri laticis*, *urnula litteris minio illitis*, *litterarum figuris inconditis*, *pro foribus*, *pro fulcro altaris*, *in hypetro*, *in pariete domunculae*, etc. Moreover, in one of the few cases where Accursio copied into his sylloge an inscription already present in the *Epigrammata* (*CIL* VI 27098), he provided the same location and description as in the annotated copies: ‘in domo Francisci Thomasi in urna quadrata oris rotundi’.⁴³ In another occasion (*CIL* VI 24613), similar sketches for the monument’s busts can be found in the sylloge and in the *Epigrammata* copies.⁴⁴ Two different inscriptions were located in the same house using the exact same words: ‘in horto Silvii aromatarii, non procul a Tyberi’;⁴⁵ and two others in the house of a ‘Francisci... (*vac.*)’, whose surname Accursio apparently hoped to learn later.⁴⁶

Finally, the commentary regarding the cinerary urn of Gaius Iulius Metrodorus (*CIL* VI 20137) in the annotated copies [Illustrations 2a–b] and the errata list clearly demonstrates how Accursio reworked his annotations from the lost archetype to compile the latter:

FVA, fol. 91^v: Hoc quonam modo, quove ordine et quibus mendis in proprio marmore extet, in altero libro nostro manuscripto reddidimus ac depinximus. [Illustrations 2a–b]

Errata list (*Epigrammata*, fol. aa4^r): Fuerat autem hoc ipsum epigramma referendum quo modo, quoque ordine et quibus etiam mendis in proprio marmore convisitur, sed hoc alterum opus.

⁴² E.g., compare the manuscript note regarding *CIL* VI 9222 (fol. 33^r, edited in the Appendix) with that of the errata list (fol. aa2^v).

⁴³ *FVACW*, fol. 110^v (*C* omits ‘quadrata’); ms. Ambr., fol. 88^v.

⁴⁴ *F*, fol. 77^v; ms. Ambr., fol. 64^r (*CIL* VI 24613).

⁴⁵ *FVW*, fol. 172^v (*CIL* VI 16993); ms. Ambr., fol. 91^v (*CIL* VI 17122).

⁴⁶ *FVCW*, fol. 172^v (*CIL* VI 16979); ms. Ambr., fol. 96^r (*CIL* VI 9425).

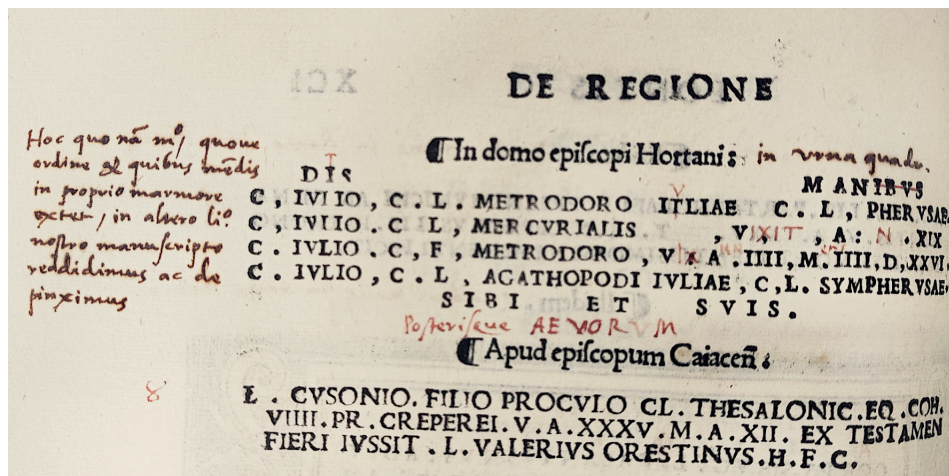


Illustration 2a: Antonio Lelli in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Postillati 123 (F), fol. 91^v (detail of *CIL* VI 20137)

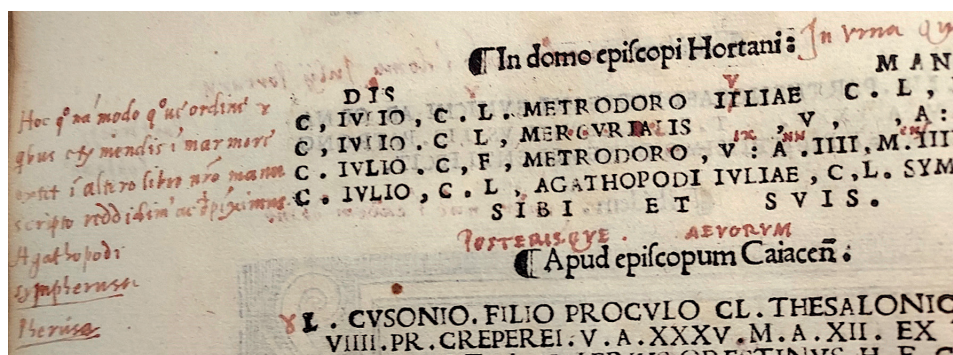


Illustration 2b: Latino Giovenale Manetti in Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, KK.15.17 (A), fol. 91^v (detail of *CIL* VI 20137)

The repetition of the initial clause and the word *alterum/altero* suggests that the ambiguous expression ‘but this is another work’ was an adaptation of Accursio’s original note ‘I have reproduced and depicted [the inscription] in my other manuscript sylloge’, which was personal in nature and therefore unsuitable for the errata list. Indeed, the inscription is one of the few that Accursio recopied in the Ambrosian sylloge (i.e., his *alter liber manuscriptus*), to sketch the epigraphic object and accurately depict the text’s proper disposition.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Ms. Ambr., fol. 83^v.

5. The Viennese copy: a transcription of Accursio's volume after 1533

The annotated copy housed in Vienna (*W*), hitherto unexamined, provides new evidence regarding Accursio's lost volume. Notably, it contains a few annotations – not found in any other volume – which explicitly mention Accursio and most likely date to after 1533.

Next to the aforementioned inscription (*CIL* VI 20137; Illustration 3), the annotator of *W* transcribed, in the first layer, the complete note from the errata list. In the second layer, which derives from Accursio's annotations, this reader added the information that the inscription appeared 'in altero libro nostro manuscripto', but under a different formulation: 'vide librum manuscriptum Accursii', thus expressly attributing the sylloge to Accursio.

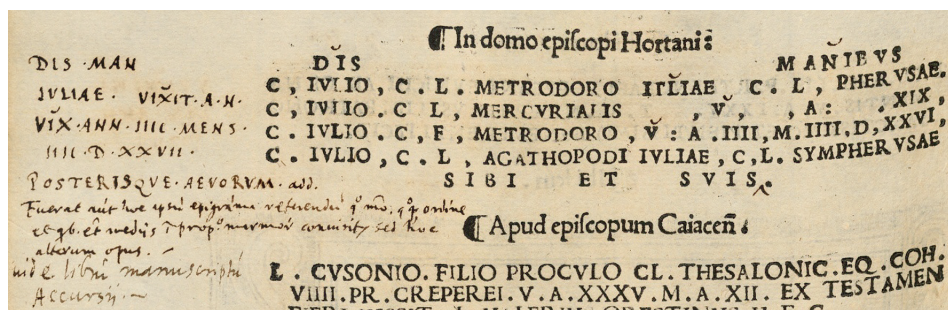


Illustration 3: Anonymous scribe in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 80.D.30 (*W*), fol. 91^v (detail of *CIL* VI 20137)

Similarly, beside the honorary inscription for Tranquillina (*CIL* VI 1095; *Epigrammata*, fol. 27r), annotated in the other three copies (*FAC*) with the location 'in pavimento' (i.e., in S. Maria in monte Aventino), we read in *W*: 'Translatum in urbem Aquilam; nunc est in aedibus Mariangeli Accursii'. The Ambrosian sylloge attests that Accursio moved the stone from Rome to his residence in L'Aquila.⁴⁸

Two other annotations, undoubtedly attributed to Accursio, are found in the final pages of the volume. After transcribing the corrections of the errata list beside the funerary inscription by Furia Spes (*CIL* VI 18817),⁴⁹ where Accursio noted the illegible form 'D++PARATI' and proposed the restoration 'disparati',

⁴⁸ Ms. Ambr., fol. 267^v ('in aedibus Mariangeli Accursii allatum ab urbe Roma'). The inscription is today at the Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo, L'Aquila.

⁴⁹ *W*, fol. 171^v, numbered 'CLXXII' by mistake.

Undoubtedly, these notes were added by Accursio not only after the preparation of the errata list (1517–1521), but also after Lelli, Manetti, and the annotator of *C* had copied the annotations soon after the book's publication. The two chronological references for dating these notes are the transfer of *CIL* VI 1095 to L'Aquila (which perhaps occurred before 1525),⁵⁶ and Accursio's access to two or more epigraphic sylloges in Germany. Accursio passed briefly through Germany in 1522 and in 1525, but the prolonged study of various epigraphic manuscripts was probably only possible during his longer stay north of the Alps, from August 1530 to July 1533, during which he resided for an entire year in Augsburg with Anton Fugger (in 1532–1533).⁵⁷

Indeed, it is possible to identify, with a fair degree of certainty, the German manuscript that records *CIL* X 185* among 'those inscriptions found near the Garigliano (*Lyrus*) river'. This text is one of three literary forgeries created around 1490 and originally located 'between Baias and Aversa' ('inter Baias et Aversam'), 45 km south of the Garigliano. In the sylloge of Johann Choler (or Koler; c. 1481–1538), an antiquarian humanist and canon of Augsburg, these forgeries are listed on fols 104^r–105^r among urban inscriptions, immediately followed by *CIL* X 6069, which bears the location 'apud Lyrim amnem ubi dicitur el Garagliano'.⁵⁸ The contact between Accursio and Choler during those years is well-documented: Choler mentions him in a letter to Erasmus dated 5 June 1533,⁵⁹ and sent him a letter that Accursio transcribed at the end of his copy of the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (Ingolstadt 1534).⁶⁰

⁵⁶ This section of Accursio's library (ms. Ambr., fols 266^r–269^v) has been dated to before 1530 by S. Rocchi, 'Accursiana IV. Carmi latini epigrafici angioini all'Aquila (Fontana della Rivera e Porta Barete)', *Studi medievali e umanistici* 20 (2022), pp. 211–221 (212–213 n. 1). Since Accursio was away from Italy between 1525 and the second half of 1529, if the dating is correct the inscription had most probably been transferred into L'Aquila before 1525.

⁵⁷ The information derives from Accursio's epigraphic sylloges; see A. Campana, 'Accursio, Mariangelo', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 1, Rome, 1960, pp. 126–132; S. Rocchi, 'Accursiana I. Il ciclo epigrammatico della Fuggerkapelle ad Augsburg', *Studi medievali e umanistici*, vol. 18, 2020, pp. 59–86 (esp. 62–65).

⁵⁸ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm 394, fols 104^r–105^r (*CIL* X 185*–187* reappear in fols 122^v–123^v with the location 'inter Baias et Aversam in vepribus, alias apud Consam'). Choler's transcription of fols 104^r–105^r derives from Andrea Alciato's sylloge, which contains the same texts and locations (Vatican Library, ms. Vat. lat. 10546, fols 131^r–132^r). I have not encountered this same sequence in any other manuscript sylloge.

⁵⁹ H.M. Allen and H.W. Garrod, eds, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami*, vol. X, Oxford, 1941, pp. 231–232 no. 2814. See Rocchi, 'Accursiana I. Il ciclo' (as in n. 57), p. 65.

⁶⁰ Letter transcribed by Mommsen in *CIL* IX, p. 398. For Accursio's annotated copy of the *Inscriptiones*, destroyed during World War II, see M. Buonocore, '«Sunt... Accursiana haec apographa plane egregia». Accursio e l'epigrafia classica: una prima messa a punto', in: Rocchi and Andronio, *Mariangelo Accursio* (as in n. 38), pp. 127–154.

On the other hand, Choler's manuscript does not contain *CIL* VI 29374, nor the reading 'disparati' in *CIL* VI 18817.⁶¹ This confirms that Accursio consulted at least one other sylloge during his stay in Germany. It is very tempting to identify this second collection with the luxurious manuscript prepared for Johann Fuchsmagen (c. 1450–1510), which was most probably owned at the time by the Fugger family and which Apianus and Amantius used for their *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* in 1533/34.⁶² Indeed, this manuscript contains both *CIL* VI 29374 (fol. 48^r) and *CIL* VI 18817 with the reading 'disparati' (fol. 120^r).

6. The autograph copies of Antonio Lelli (Postillati 123 and Vat. lat. 8492)

Although Antonio Lelli can no longer be considered the author of the main body of annotations, he did add a few important annotations of his own. Moreover, his copy of Accursio's notes remains the most comprehensive and faithful of the four and was by far the one that enjoyed the widest circulation.

Postillati 123 (*F*) and Vat. lat. 8492 (*V*) are two apparently 'identical' copies: they bear the same corrections, drawings, and marginal notes, without voluntary alterations of the text or the layout. The most striking difference between the two copies is that in *F* all annotations are written by Lelli, while in *V* the largest part of the work was entrusted to an anonymous copyist, leaving Lelli to add a selection of notes to embellish the copy (including the four that bore his name at the end).⁶³

A second difference is that *V* bears, on the frontispiece, the following autograph dedication note: 'FELICI TROPHIMO, EPISCOPO THEATINORVM SANO, / DONVM DEDIT ANTONIVS LAELIVS PODAGER'. The dedication to Felice Trofimo can be dated between 1524 (when he was made bishop of Chieti) and, probably, 1526 (when his see was elevated to an archbishopric), and certainly before his death in 1527.⁶⁴ *F*, on the other hand, appears to be Lelli's personal copy, as evidenced both by the absence of a similar dedication note and by the fact that it was entirely annotated by him.

⁶¹ *CIL* VI 18817 is found twice in Choler's manuscript (see n. 58 above), on fols 3^r (with the reading 'deparati') and 90^r ('die perempti').

⁶² Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, ms. XIII. G. 14. See D. Marth, *Der sogenannte Antiquus Austriacus und weitere auctores antiquissimi. Zur ältesten Überlieferung römischer Inschriften im österreichischen Raum*, Vienna, 2016, pp. 162–227 and 305–326. For the genesis of the *Inscriptiones* and the Fugger's probable ownership of the manuscript, see González Germain, 'Printing, Reading' (as in n. 8), pp. 80–84.

⁶³ This is evident in an annotation (fol. 172^v, numbered CLXXIII by mistake) begun by the copyist and finished by Lelli; see Bianchi, 'Antonio Lelli' (as in n. 26), p. 39.

⁶⁴ On Felice Trofimo and his cultural contacts with Lelli, see now Bianchi, 'Antonio Lelli' (as in n. 26), pp. 33–35.

When *V* was no longer in Lelli's nor in Trofimo's hands, the copy was further annotated by two other readers. Angelo Colocci, who owned the volume after Trofimo, added some notes (mainly *notabilia*) in the margins of 36 pages.⁶⁵ Finally, Bernardino Maffei added two annotations regarding *CIL* VI 20329 (fol. 134^v, copied among those 'in domo d. Augustini de Maffeis'): 'Ibidem repositum per me B. Mafaeum' and 'cum catellae imaguncula, quae lares significabat apud veteres'. These two notes are certainly in Bernardino Maffei's own hand, as evidenced by the paleography.⁶⁶ Evidently, 'repositum' cannot refer to its first placement in the Maffei house (where it is already mentioned in late fifteenth-century collections), but it should refer to a subsequent 'relocation' within the same house.⁶⁷

The only previous study that has tackled the stemmatic relationship between *F* and *V* is that of Bianchi, who focused on Lelli's autograph texts in *V*, and found insufficient evidence to establish their relationship with certainty.⁶⁸ However, the texts copied in *V* by a scribe are an inseparable part of Accursio's annotations, and here the differences between the two copies become conspicuous.

This 'ignorant scribe' (as Sarti dubbed him) frequently made Latin errors, usually so trivial as to be easily emendable.⁶⁹ It is evident that, whether or not he had a fair grasp of Latin, he was certainly a very inattentive scribe, which is also reflected in the epigraphic textual readings⁷⁰ and, most apparently, in the drawings of the inscriptions.⁷¹ Moreover, he omitted numerous brief notes relating to the typology or location of the epigraphic objects,⁷² and four longer

⁶⁵ Colocci's hand appears on the frontispiece, in Probus' list of abbreviations (fols 1^v, 2^r, 5^v, 6^v, 7^v, and 8^v), and in ff. 5^r, 7^r, 8^r, 15^v, 16^v–18^r, 20^r, 24^r–^v, 40^v–41^r, 81^r, 87^v, 89^v, 99^v, 126^r, 130^v, 132^r–^v, 143^v, 144^r, 152^v, 170^v, 176^r, 178^r, and 179^v–180^r.

⁶⁶ The identification is secure, based on two letters by Bernardino (BAV, Vat. lat. 4103, fol. 88^r, and Vat. lat. 4104, fol. 78^r); see, e.g., the lower strokes of *p*, *f*, and *q*.

⁶⁷ Bianchi, 'Antonio Lelli' (as in n. 26), pp. 37–38.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 42–46. There are only three divergent readings in these texts. On fol. 11^r, we read: 'de nomine divi Augusti et [de *add. V*] his verbis', and 'circa gnomonem [hunc *add. V*] erant. Iulio [...] ut obeliscum hunc iterum erigi [...]'; the presence of 'obeliscum hunc' makes the previous 'hunc' rather an addition in *V* than an omission in *F*. The third reading, not noted by Bianchi, is found on f. 122^v: '[simulachrum] Fidei quoque esse arbitror ex [in *V*] similitudine huius [...]'; here, the reading 'ex similitudine' is clearly preferable.

⁶⁹ E.g., 'conspitur' instead of 'conspicitur' (*V*, fol. 3^r), 'similii' instead of 'similis' (fol. 7^r), etc.

⁷⁰ E.g., 'TAN[---]TIBVS' instead of 'TANT[---]IBVS' (*V*, fol. 9^v).

⁷¹ The scribe of *V* transcribes *CIL* VI 418 in five lines instead of three (fol. 21^r), does not copy the text of *CIL* VI 9222 within the sketch of the urn (fol. 33^r), etc.

⁷² The scribe of *V* omits 'in parva tabella' (*F*, fol. 17^v), 'fragmentum' (fol. 30^r), 'in pavimento' (fols 33^v and 38^r), 'ingens marmor' (fol. 35^v), 'quadr.' (fols 36^r, 46^r, 71^v, 87^r, 89^r, and 98^v), and 'urna' (f. 143^v).

notes.⁷³ Finally, this scribe also omitted all notes in Greek, clearly due to his ignorance of the Greek language.⁷⁴

The frequent errors and omissions in *V* clearly exclude the possibility that *F* is a copy of *V*, contrary to De Rossi's assertion. Furthermore, there is not a single error or omission committed in *F* that is not also present in *V*. It can also be deduced that *V* was transcribed from a copy written by a single hand: this led the scribe to mistakenly start copying a note that bore Lelli's name at the end (and which the latter should therefore have copied in full), leaving only his own name to Lelli (*V*, fol. 30^v). Consequently, we can safely conclude that *V* must derive from *F*, and is almost certainly a direct transcription.⁷⁵

There is still one annotation to consider, which has so far received no particular attention, regarding a dedication to the nymphs with a relief of three nude women in the attitude of the three Graces (*CIL* VI 548, fol. 105^v; Illustration 5). In *F*, Lelli first penned Accursio's note, which cited the Servian commentary on the *Aeneid* and ended with the abbreviated word 'Ser(vius)'.⁷⁶ At a later stage – as evidenced by the use of a brown ink distinct from the previous reddish one – Lelli expanded the original note with his own commentary (which is obviously missing in *AWC*), starting from the name Servius, which he now fully developed in the genitive:

Gratiae nude finguntur, quia sine fucō esse gratiae debent. Ideo autem connexae, quia insolubiles esse oportet. Quod vero una aversa pingitur, duae nos respiciunt: est quia profecta a nobis gratia duplex solet reverti. Ser[*in a different ink*:]vii sunt verba libro primo *Aeneidos*, super eo carmine: 'Inscia Dido, insideat (!) quantus miserae deus; at memor ille matris Acidaliae' [Verg. *Aen.* 1, 718–720] etc. Ubi etiam dicit, quod in fonte Acidalio se lavant Gratiae, quae Veneri sacrae sunt, ipsius enim et Liberi filiae sunt, et iure. Nam Gratiae fere per horum numinum munera conciliantur.

In *V*, the copyist only transcribed Accursio's original annotation. In this case, the absence of the second part of the note cannot be attributed to an involuntary omission by the scribe. Instead, the most plausible hypothesis is that the

⁷³ The scribe of *V* omits 'elementorum figurae pares sequentibus' (fol. 17^v), 'in aede divae Mariae ad Spolia Christi in urnula sacri laticis' (fol. 23^v), 'litterarum figuris inconditis' (fol. 35^v), and 'quod altaris loco' (fol. 128^r).

⁷⁴ Greek annotations have been omitted in *V*, fols 32^v, 33^v, and 38^r.

⁷⁵ The fact that Lelli introduced the same set of annotations into two copies of the *Epigrammata* is already quite exceptional. In the unlikely event that he had prepared a third copy, we would expect him to have followed the same procedure as in *V*, i.e., to have left the majority of notes to a scribe and to have accessed his original copy (*F*) on both occasions.

⁷⁶ The same annotation is found in *A* and, much more abbreviated, in *W*.

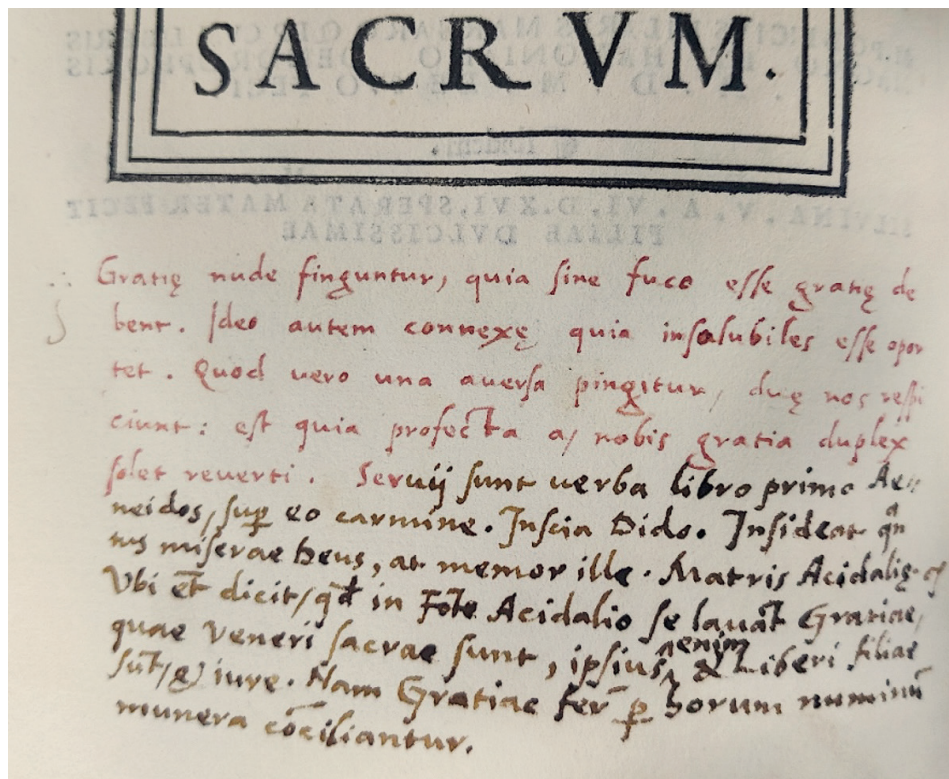


Illustration 5: Antonio Lelli in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze,
 Postillati 123 (F), fol. 105^v (detail of CIL VI 548)

transcription of V took place some time before Lelli expanded Accursio's text with a second part of his own.

7. A survey of the annotations of Mariangelo Accursio and Antonio Lelli

Comparing the four main copies (FACW) enables us to attribute the vast majority of annotations to Mariangelo Accursio. He marked all the inscriptions he had not seen, much like Giovanni Giocondo had done thirty years earlier.⁷⁷ For a few sporadic readings where autoptical transcription was not possible, he relied on two epigraphic manuscripts from Germany, thus applying his philological skills

⁷⁷ As in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 270. See M. Koortbojian, 'A Collection of Inscriptions for Lorenzo de' Medici. Two Dedicatory Letters from Fra Giovanni Giocondo: Introduction, Texts and Translation', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 70, 2002, pp. 297–317 (302–304).

to the study of ancient remains. For the inscriptions he actually saw, Accursio corrected the text (the only aspect systematically included in the errata list), sometimes also noting their extratextual epigraphic aspects: line division, ligatures, *I longae*, *apices*, letter forms (especially cursive and late antique scripts),⁷⁸ etc. Additionally, he updated the location of the pieces and described many of the epigraphic objects both summarily and methodically, dividing them into *quadratum* (for bases, altars, and *cippi*), *tabula/parva tabella*, *urna/urnula*, and *fragmentum*, or describing their material (*marmor* or *lapis Tybertinus*). He also provided a textual description of the decorative apparatus of some altars,⁷⁹ and systematically removed the fanciful woodcut borders that surrounded many of the inscriptions.⁸⁰

These aspects are most clearly evident in the complete transcriptions of inscriptions, often accompanied by a sketch of the object in the margin (for at least twenty-two inscriptions),⁸¹ but also with the sole transcription (for nine inscriptions),⁸² or by altering the printed version.⁸³ These drawings and transcriptions – of the Pons Fabricius (fol. 2^v),⁸⁴ the plaque for the poet Claudius Claudianus (fol. 9^r), two votive inscriptions to Jupiter Dolichenus (fol. 21^r) and Aesculapius (fol. 29^r), the urn of M. Canuleius Zosimus (fol. 33^r), etc. – are undoubtedly the most striking aspect of Accursio's annotations.

Overall, Accursio's study of the non-textual aspects of inscriptions is remarkably uneven. Many corrections provide no information in this regard, while some sketches and transcriptions offer highly detailed renditions. This inconsistency is clearly reflected in the contemporary section of his Ambrosian sylloge,⁸⁵ where very few epigraphic monuments are drawn, and many transcriptions do not accurately portray the actual line divisions. It appears that Accursio initially approached inscriptions primarily as philological texts. However, during his preparation of the *Epigrammata*'s errata list, he gradually became aware of the

⁷⁸ On fols 3^r, 9^r, 91^r, 94^r, 95^r, etc.

⁷⁹ On fols 21^r, 21^v, 22^r, 28^v, 31^v, etc.

⁸⁰ On fols 13^r, 19^v, 22^r, 24^r, 26^r, etc.

⁸¹ Edited in Appendix. The sketch of *CIL* VI 4a* (found only in *F*, fol. 44^r) may also derive from Accursio.

⁸² Transcriptions in the margin without sketch of the object appear on fols 1^v, 13^r, 30^v, 62^v, 71^r, 128^r, 149^r (see Illustration 5), 161^v, and 171^v.

⁸³ On fols 4^r, 10^r, 53^v, 97^v, 100^v, 103^v, etc.

⁸⁴ See S. Centi, 'I.5. Gli *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis* e un disegno del *Pons Fabricius*', in: A.R. Sartore et al., eds, *Roma ritrovata. Disegni sconosciuti della cerchia dei Sangallo alla Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*, Florence, 2022, pp. 198–199.

⁸⁵ See above, n. 41.

importance of describing the epigraphic object, a practice that would become a staple feature of his later transcriptions.⁸⁶

Accursio exclusively employs the first personal singular for the verb *arbitror*.⁸⁷ In all other instances, he consistently uses the first person plural (as he does in the errata list) to indicate that he has sketched or copied an inscription (*exscripsimus*, *ascripsimus*, *exscribi curavimus*)⁸⁸ or to specify whether he has seen an epigraph (*vidimus*, *comperimus*).⁸⁹

The rigour of the epigraphic method applied by Accursio is unmatched in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and far surpasses that of Giovanni Giocondo – perhaps the epigrapher who, before him, had shown the most meticulous attention in distinguishing autopsies from indirect copies, identifying forgeries, and reporting the layout of the epigraphs.⁹⁰ Accursio's accuracy was only surpassed by Jean Matal and Martinus Smetius in the latter half of the 1540s;⁹¹ and it should be noted that Matal, at the beginning of his epigraphic investigations, relied on a copy of Accursio's annotations (through one of Lelli's copies, most probably *F*), which he transcribed into his own copy of the *Epigrammata*.

Antonio Lelli is undoubtedly the most comprehensive and attentive copyist of Accursio's corrections, annotations, and sketches. Nevertheless, he also made a few involuntary omissions: at least eighteen annotations are missing in *F* (and therefore also in *V*), most of which are very brief and concern the type of support or the location of the epigraphs.⁹² Similarly, Lelli occasionally made errors in *F* that reappear in *V*.⁹³ Besides these mistakes, Lelli also introduced a few voluntary changes in *F*. For instance, Accursio had indicated that Lelli was the owner

⁸⁶ See, most recently, S. Andronio, 'Disegni di iscrizioni e monumenti antichi nelle carte di Mariangelo Accursio', in: Rocchi and Andronio, *Mariangelo Accursio* (as in n. 38), pp. 219–248.

⁸⁷ *CIL* VI 4a* (fol. 44^r, see Appendix); *CIL* VI 4b* (*FW*, fol. 122^v): 'Est et illud simulachrum in pariete aedis S. Marci, quod Fidei quoque esse arbitror ex similitudine huius quod in S. Laur. esse diximus'.

⁸⁸ On fols 1^v, 2^v, 4^r, 33^r, 144^r, 145^r, and 172^v.

⁸⁹ On fols 7^r, 157^r, and 175^r.

⁹⁰ On Giocondo's epigraphic method, see Koortbojian, 'A Collection of Inscriptions' (as in n. 77). On Accursio's, see Buonocore, '«Sunt... Accursiana haec»' (as in n. 60).

⁹¹ For the development of epigraphy in the 1540s, see Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions* (as in n. 2).

⁹² On fols 41^v/2 (*AWC*: 'in pariete hyp.'), 43^v/1 (*AC*: 'quadr.'), 44^r/1–2 (*AW*: 'quadr.'), 53^v/2 (*ACW*: 'fragmentum utrinque'), 61^v/2 (*ACW*: 'in domo Iulii Porcarii'), 93^v/6 (*AC*: 'quadr.'), 95^r/2 (*ACW*: 'in urnula'), 98^r/5 (*ACW*: 'in urna'), 108^r/1 & 4 (*ACW*: 'quadr.'), 147^v/5 (*CW*: 'urnula s. l.'), 148^r/3 (*CW*: 'quadr.'), 168^r/4 (*CW*: 'super scalpta sunt et viri et mulieris capita'), 170^r/1 (*CW*: 'pro altaris fulcro'), 173^r/4–5 (*CW*: 'in eodem horto'), 176^v/5 (*CW*: 'in parieti').

⁹³ E.g., *CIL* VI 23392 (fol. 113^v: 'super eminuerunt hic imagines trium capitum [capitum *ACW*: capita *F*]'), *CIL* VI 9897 (fol. 147^v: 'super hoc epigrammate lupa est cum gemellis. Sub

of *CIL* VI 21017, with the expression ‘nunc autem est penes Antonium Laelium nostrum’;⁹⁴ in *F*, Lelli kept the proper name in the third person but removed ‘nostrum’. In *CIL* VI 9222 (fol. 33^r; see Appendix), Lelli modified Accursio’s location ‘in domo Benedicti Saxi’ to the more general ‘in domo Saxorum in regione Parionis’, likely due to Benedetto’s death in 1519.⁹⁵

Turning to the annotations entirely written by Lelli (and therefore absent in *ACW*), we must begin with the four that bear the final subscription ‘Antonius Laelius Podager’ (*F*, fols 11^r, 30^v, 85^v, and 103^v).⁹⁶ These concern the obelisk that served as the *gnomon* of the *Horologium Augusti* (fol. 11^r, *CIL* VI 702), excavated in a barber’s garden in 1512,⁹⁷ which Lelli (but not Accursio) was able to see before it was reburied; a metrical epitaph (fol. 30^v, *CIL* VI 10131) which Lelli remembered having seen some time ago, but which had already disappeared; a Christian verse inscription (fol. 85^v, *CIL* VI 32038 = *ICVR* 1, 175), which had subsequently been covered and could no longer be read; and, finally, one of the boundary stones marking the *pomerium* expanded by Claudius (fol. 103^v, *CIL* VI 1231a). This is the only case where Accursio had been able to see and amend the text; nevertheless, the modern reuse of the stone had entailed the loss of its first word (‘pomerium’), not attested by Accursio; Lelli explained the vicissitudes of the epigraph, reported the entire text, and discussed the use of the Claudian digamma. It is noteworthy that, in these four cases, the first person singular is always used,⁹⁸ in clear contrast with Accursio’s usage of the first person plural.

Antonio Lelli is also the author of a second transcription: the funerary plaque of Marcus Sutorius Pamphilus and other freedmen (*CIL* VI 1892; fol. 149^r). Accursio had seen the inscription, described its support (‘in tabula Tyburtini lapidis’), amended the text (with multiple fragments no longer legible), and had

[sub *CW*: sed *F*] eodem vero mulier [...]), or *CIL* VI 3562 (fol. 171^r: ‘hinc [hinc *CW*: hunc *F*] lanceam habens, inde ensem’).

⁹⁴ In *AW*, fol. 30^v.

⁹⁵ D. Lodico, ‘La collezione della famiglia Sassi’, in: A. Cavallaro, ed., *Collezioni di antichità a Roma fra ‘400 e ‘500*, Rome, 2007, pp. 187–204 (190 n. 44 and 192). The author deduces (pp. 196–197) from Lelli’s note ‘in domo Saxorum’, that the inscription entered the collection after 1519, but Accursio’s original note confirms that it was acquired by Benedetto.

⁹⁶ First published by Gori, ‘Xeniorum epigraphicorum’ (as in n. 17), the most recent edition is that of Bianchi, ‘Antonio Lelli’ (as in n. 26), pp. 42–43.

⁹⁷ The exact year of discovery is only recorded by Bernardo della Volpaia (London, Sir John Soane’s Museum, *Codex Coner*, fol. 56^v): ‘Reperto fuit anno D. 1512 in Canpo (!) Martio’.

⁹⁸ In *F*, fol. 11^r: ‘in basi erat inscriptio quam ego legi. Non recte de ea memini, quamquam de nomine divi Augusti et de his verbis [...] memini probe’; fol. 30^v: ‘hoc epigramma vidi ego olim’; fol. 85^v: ‘Memini me vidisse hoc epigramma’; fol. 103^v: ‘Censebam ego [...]’.

written next to it ‘consule lapidem’ [see Illustration 1].⁹⁹ Lelli transcribed Accursio’s annotations into the book except for this last one, and added his own transcription on a loose sheet, which was bound between folios 148 and 149 (also found in *V*, in Lelli’s handwriting).

There are at least three other notes, absent from *ACW*, which certainly derive from Lelli. As previously mentioned, he is the author of the second part of the note concerning the relief of the Graces (fol. 105^v, *CIL* VI 548), added sometime after the transcription of *V*.¹⁰⁰ The other two are much more trivial: in the margin of the false epigraph *CIL* II 363* (*F*, fol. 46^r), Lelli noted the presence of an individual with his own surname (‘Q. Laelius’). Finally, next to *CIL* VI 14596 (*F*, fol. 64^r), he noted the name ‘Catiae Rusticae’, adding that ‘Novaria hodie habet Catos, Roma Rusticos,’ referring to the families of the Caccia and the Rustici respectively.

In total, Lelli added new commentaries to eight inscriptions, including two transcriptions. This group does not correlate with Lelli’s autograph annotations in Trofimo’s dedication copy (*V*): five of Lelli’s notes (including the four bearing with his name) were written by him, but the other three were not. Conversely, six other autograph annotations in *V* reappear in *A*, *C*, and/or *W*, and are certainly attributable to Accursio rather than Lelli.¹⁰¹

From Lelli’s original annotations, it is evident that his epigraphic research was much more limited than that of Accursio. He largely avoided correcting or expanding Accursio’s information, instead focusing on three inscriptions that Accursio had failed to see, and a fourth which had lost part of its text in its last reuse. Moreover, in the first three cases, his information depended on investigations he had carried out years earlier: he ‘recalled’ having seen the inscriptions, but had not transcribed them and therefore was unable to correct the printed text.¹⁰² Only on one occasion did he add (without replacing it) his own autoptic transcription next to Accursio’s, perhaps prompted by the latter’s marginal note ‘consule lapidem’.

In conclusion, the comparative study of the five main copies with the same set of annotations has established that Mariangelo Accursio was the author of

⁹⁹ In *CW*, fol. 149^r. The note ‘consule lapidem’ had been interpreted by De Rossi (see Renier, ‘Note sur le recueil’ [as in n. 19], p. 53) as an addition of the annotator of *C*, but the comparison with *W* allows us to confirm that it derives from Accursio.

¹⁰⁰ See above, p. 190.

¹⁰¹ In *V*, fols 9^r (also in *AC*), 107^r (also in *ACW*), 122^v (also in *CW*), 145^r (also in *CW*), 156^v (also in *W*), and 172^v (also in *CW*).

¹⁰² Bianchi (‘Antonio Lelli’ [as in n. 26], p. 46) portrays a remarkably more positive picture of Lelli’s antiquarian research.

the original annotated volume. He played a fundamental role not only in correcting the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, but also in its early diffusion among Rome's antiquarian circles. Moreover, it has been determined that *F* is indeed the original copy of Antonio Lelli, whose epigraphic enquiries were far more circumscribed than previously thought (with only eight notes attributable to him). Finally, the study of *W* in particular has revealed that Accursio kept his copy of the *Epigrammata* with him and continued to annotate it until at least the 1530s. This study has also illuminated Accursio's access to the epigraphic manuscripts of Choler and Fuchsmagen during his stay in Augsburg, and the continued circulation of his annotations more than a decade after the book's publication.

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Appendix. Accursio's annotations with sketch of the object (in *FACW*)

folio (<i>CIL</i>)	Sketch and annotation
2 ^v (VI 1305)	<i>Sketch and annotation: FA.</i> <i>FA:</i> Sunt haec in fronte ea, qua pons agmen venientis Tiberis prospectat, quamquam non ita referenda videbantur, sed quemadmodum nos hic infra pictura exscripsimus.
9 ^r (VI 1710)	<i>Sketch: FAC. Annotation: FA.</i> <i>FA:</i> Fragmentum quod aliis post ita suffectum est. Scribi hoc modo debuerat praesertim primi versus ergo. Est autem ¹⁰³ epigramma totum literis perquam inconditis, ut quasdam ¹⁰⁴ reddidimus et hic test(imonii) causa, ut A, Y, K [<i>cursive letters</i>].
21 ^r (VI 418)	<i>Sketch: FW. Annotation: FACW.</i> <i>FAW:</i> Nunc in regione trans Tyberim in aedícula S. Benedicti, quae est prope pontem quatuor capitum. Marmor quadratum in hunc ferme modum. ¹⁰⁵ <i>C:</i> in aede S. Benedicti trans Tyberim.
29 ^r (VI 2)	<i>Sketch: FW. Transcription: AC.</i>
33 ^r (VI 9222)	<i>Sketch: FW. Annotation: FACW.</i> <i>FAW:</i> Epigramma hoc nunc visitur in domo Benedicti Saxi ¹⁰⁶ in quadrata urnula, cum sculpturis quoque his quae huc exscripsimus. ¹⁰⁷ Relatum est et ab Hermolao Barbaro <i>Castig(ationum)</i> libro 33 ¹⁰⁸ ex aede S. Vivianae, nobile ac de officina Claudiana ei dicitur. Sed et ipse dum exscribit errata quaedam commisit, licet tunc minus labefactum fuisse credi debeat. Iam enim litterarum figuris ex parte collapsis vix legi datur ac cognosci. ¹⁰⁹ <i>C:</i> Nunc in domo Benedicti Saxi. Citatur ab Herm(olao) Barb(aro) <i>Cast(igationum)</i> libro 33 ex aede S. Vivianae.
36 ^v (VI 21501)	<i>Sketch: FACW. Annotation: FAC.</i> <i>FA:</i> Vas quo nunc sacer latex continetur. <i>C:</i> Vas s. l.

¹⁰³ scribi—autem *F:* *om. A.*¹⁰⁴ quasdam *A:* quaedam *F.*¹⁰⁵ quae—modum *FW:* *om. A.*¹⁰⁶ in domo Benedicti Saxi *AW:* in domo Saxorum in regione Parionis *F.*¹⁰⁷ quoque—exscripsimus *FW:* in fronte Grippes, a latere utroque tripodes quibus supposita est sphaera opere reticulato distincta item faces *A.*¹⁰⁸ Hermolaus Barbarus, *Castigationes Plinianae et in Pomponium Melam*, Rome, E. Silber, 1492–93, fol. G3^v (*apud* Plin. *nat.* 33, 139).¹⁰⁹ ac cognosci *FW:* *om. A.*

folio (<i>CIL</i>)	Sketch and annotation
44 ^r (VI 4a*)	<p><i>Sketch: F.</i>¹¹⁰ <i>Annotation: FA.</i></p> <p><i>FA:</i> Arcus, pharetrae cervique vetustis indiciis Dianio referendum lapidem persuaserit, arbitror suis Caeciis, Pomponius Laetus aetate nostra.¹¹¹</p>
47 ^r (VI 510)	<p><i>Sketch: F. Annotation: FA.</i></p> <p><i>F:</i> Marmor est quadratum, cuius dextro latere sunt haec [<i>sketch</i>]. A tergo sic [<i>sketch</i>]. In sinistro latere sic [<i>sketch</i>]. Porro haec ipsa magis etiam ruditer quam nos exscripserimus, scalpta sunt.</p> <p><i>A:</i> Marmor est quadratum, in cuius dextro latere est pinus e cuius truncis pendent tibiae et tiara, item aries. In sinistro latere pinus itidem e cuius ramis pendent tympanum, fistula, item taurus. A tergo item faces, patera et vasa etc.</p>
70 ^v (VI 24824)	<p><i>Sketch: FACW.</i></p>
77 ^r (VI 24613)	<p><i>Sketch: F. Annotation: FAW.</i></p> <p><i>F:</i> In dextro latere huius quadrati lapidis sunt haec: [<i>sketch</i>] Q. POMPONIVS EVDEMON. In sinistro latere: [<i>sketch</i>] POMPONIA HELPIS.</p> <p><i>A:</i> In dextro latere huius quadrati lapidis est imago viri pectore tenus subtentata ab aquila fulmen ferente sub qua sunt hae litterae. Q. POMPONIVS EVDAEMON. In sinistro latere est imago mulieris itidem pectore tenus subtentata ab ave quadam quae videtur ciconia sub qua sunt hae litterae: POMPONIA HELPIS.</p> <p><i>W (first layer, from the errata list):</i> In dextra porro quadrati eius lapidis habentur sub efficie viri Q. POMPONIVS EVDEMON. In sinistra vero sub effigie mulieris POMPONIA HELPIS.</p>
93 ^v (VI 2243)	<p><i>Sketch: FACW. Annotation: FAW.</i></p> <p><i>FA:</i> In marmorea tabula. Haec quidem sunt sub parva capitis usque ad pectus imagine, in cuius conspectu est simulachrum stantis mulieris altitudine ped(um) circiter 4 et nescio quid laeva manu gestantis, laevam autem ad anguem velut ad genium porrigentis. Supra quam visitur hoc fragmentum.</p> <p><i>W (first layer, from the errata list):</i> Habentur sub parva capitis usque ad pectus imagine. Contra quam et simulacrum est stantis mulieris <altitudine pedum circiter 4 et nescio quid laeva manu gestantis, laevam autem ad anguem velut ad genium porrigentis>.¹¹² Supra quod visitur hoc fragmentum.</p>
100 ^r (VI 41023)	<p><i>Sketch: FACW.</i></p>

¹¹⁰ The sketch's authorship is uncertain as it is only attested in *F*. However, since the annotation is clearly attributable to Accursio, it is likely that the sketch also originates from him.

¹¹¹ Pomponius—nostra *F*: Pom. Laeti solita temeritas *A*.

¹¹² Added in the margin in the second layer.

folio (<i>CIL</i>)	Sketch and annotation
111 ^v (<i>AE</i> 2018, 92)	<i>Sketch and annotation: FAW.</i> <i>FA</i> : Marmor quadr. mox autem discissum ideoque in parte eius laeva hae tantum literae supersunt. <i>W</i> (<i>first layer, from the errata list</i>): Porro marmor ipsum cum foret quadratum, mox autem discissum in parte eius laeva hae tantum literae supersunt.
114 ^v (VI 2318)	<i>Sketch: FCW. Annotation: FACW.</i> <i>FAW</i> : Laevo hoc latere fragmentum est. <i>C</i> : Fragmentum.
121 ^r (VI 70*)	<i>Sketch and annotation: FCW.</i> <i>FCW</i> : Quinque convisuntur fasces et pars etiam ¹¹³ unius, ut videantur sex fuisse uno eodemque lapide.
122 ^v (VI 27567)	<i>Sketch and annotation: FCW.</i> <i>FCW</i> : Urnula sacri laticis. In pagina 57 unde linendum hoc idem epigramma admonuimus ¹¹⁴ scriptum est TROPHIMI · AVG · LIB · atque ita prorsus legisse alios putaverim anteaquam pars urnulae frangeretur. Sunt hic nonnulla scalpta sed parerga atque indecenter scalpta, ¹¹⁵ ideoque nec exscribi curae fuit.
131 ^r (VI 15258)	<i>Sketch: FW. Annotation: F.</i> <i>F</i> : In parva tabella.
136 ^v (VI 25075)	<i>Sketch: FC. Annotation: A.</i> <i>A</i> : Pingenda hic manus. Pingenda hic manus.
137 ^r (VI 271)	<i>Sketch: FCW.</i>
144 ^r (VI 85)	<i>Sketch and annotation: FCW.</i> <i>FCW</i> : Lapis forma qua columellae ¹¹⁶ scapus. Est item alius qui eadem prorsus contineat, sed apertius atque expositius. Quo prorsus modo nos ¹¹⁷ hic exscripsimus.
145 ^r (VI 10971)	<i>Sketch and annotation: FCW.</i> <i>FCW</i> : Urna. Desunt hic Graeca carmina. Ita enim epigramma ipsum extat totum velut hic exscribi nos ¹¹⁸ curavimus.
150 ^v (VI 238)	<i>Sketch: FCW. Annotation: FC.</i> <i>FC</i> : Pro sella post aram maiorem fragmentum.
178 ^r (VI 1347)	<i>Sketch and inscription: FC. Sketch: W.</i> <i>FCW</i> : In pariete parva ¹¹⁹ tabella.

¹¹³ pars etiam *FW*: etiam pars *C*.¹¹⁴ in pagina—admonuimus *F*: retro folio 57 *C*.¹¹⁵ scalpta—scalpta *F*: sed parerga atque indecenter scalpta *W*: indecenter scalpta *C*.¹¹⁶ columellae *W*: columnellae *C*: columnella *F*.¹¹⁷ nos *FW*: *om. C*.¹¹⁸ nos *FW*: *om. C*.¹¹⁹ parva *CW*: in parva *F*.