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A New Renaissance Epigraphic Sylloge at Blickling Hall*

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Abstract:

A copy of the *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis* (Rome 1521) at Blickling Hall (Norfolk) was annotated and expanded with a short manuscript sylloge on the back flyleaves by an anonymous humanist around 1530. The sylloge includes two previously unknown inscriptions, which are discussed and published here, and sheds new light on the provenance and early tradition of the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* (*CIL* I² 589) as well as of *CIL* X 114 and 1733. As argued here, this sylloge may be the most complete copy available of a manuscript collection compiled around 1528 and kept within the Della Valle family.

Keywords: epigraphic manuscripts, antiquarianism, *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, *Lex Antonia de Termessibus*, Andrea della Valle.

1. Introduction

In the course of an ongoing census of extant copies of the *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis* (Rome 1521)¹, a previously unrecorded copy has come to light. This volume, preserved in the collection assembled by Sir Richard Ellys, 3rd Baronet (1682–1742), and now housed at Blickling Hall (Norfolk, UK) under the care of the National Trust², bears extensive annotations and incorporates a manuscript sylloge on its rear flyleaves.

Neither the annotated copy nor the accompanying sylloge has hitherto been mentioned—let alone examined—in any printed source, and they remain entirely unknown to the scholarly community. The sylloge, though brief, is of particular significance: it preserves two previously unrecorded inscriptions—one in Latin and one

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¹ For this foundational work—not only as the earliest printed sylloge from Rome but also as a tool later humanists used for their own epigraphic research—see, most recently, J. CARBONELL and G. GONZÁLEZ GERMAIN, *The Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis (1521) and Its Influence on European Antiquarianism*, Roma 2020 (the copy discussed here is absent from the “List of known copies” on pp. 153–168).

² Running number 6957; there is a good catalogue description at <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/3008534>. On Sir Richard Ellys’s library at Blickling Hall, see most recently E. GREER, *The Social History of a Library: Four Stages in the Life of the Collection of Sir Richard Ellys (1682–1742)*, PhD diss., London, The Warburg Institute, 2022.

in Greek—and sheds new light on the provenance and early transmission of *CIL* X 114, *CIL* X 1733, and the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* (*CIL* I² 589).

2. The *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* at Blickling Hall (6957) and its Marginalia

No evidence has yet emerged concerning the history of this copy prior to its acquisition by Ellys; it was likely rebound around that period in sprinkled calfskin with a gilt-tooled spine³. The front flyleaf bears catalogue annotations in the hand of John Mitchell (ca. 1685–1751), who served as Ellys’ librarian from 1730 onwards⁴. Two letters (“C. P.”), inscribed on the frontispiece beneath the printed text, may represent the initials of an earlier owner; however, the ink differs markedly from that employed by the annotator of the book.

All marginalia within the printed collection can be attributed to the same humanist responsible for the final sylloge. This reader began by diligently transferring every correction from the errata list into the main text—not only the textual emendations but also the editor’s explanatory notes, which appear almost verbatim on the lower margins of folios 1r, 1v (Fig. 1), 2v, and 4r—in a neat, calligraphic humanistic script reproduced here in the hope of eventual identification. However, this meticulous endeavour was soon abandoned, and from f. 5r onwards such corrections become sporadic. Subsequent annotations consist chiefly of *notabilia*⁵ and reading marks.

Fig. 1. Blickling Hall, 6957 (*Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*, Rome 1521), f. 1v.

Only on two occasions throughout the printed volume do the annotations disclose that this reader was an active epigrapher. On f. 163v, next to the Greek epigram in Claudia Homonoëa’s epitaph (*IG* XIV 1892 = *CIL* VI 12652 = *CLE* 955), the annotator supplied a Latin rendering of the Greek text:

³ This rebinding involved the trimming of the book, with partial loss of *marginalia*.

⁴ These include the “M” code found in many of Ellys’s books, a collation note remarking that the first quire with Valerius Probus’s abbreviations was misbound (“But Val. Probus is wrong folded”), a crossed-out number (price?), and a manuscript code on the lower left-hand corner. On such notes, see GREER, *The Social History* cit., pp. 90–94.

⁵ This reader systematically noted attestations of the *gentes Sallustia* (ff. 42v–43r, 44r–v, 57v, 63r, 64v, 87v–88r, 109v, 124v, and 166v), *Caelia* (ff. 57r and 58v), and *Coelia* (ff. 77v and 104r).

Ego quae cantu eram syrenis suavior, ego quae apud Bacchum et Musas ipsa [e]ram magis aurea Venere, ego [c]lara pulchraque hirundo, hic Homonoëa iaceo Athimetoque lacrymas reliqui, quoi gratissima fui a pueritia: tantum autem [i]mprovidus laceravit amorem⁶.

This is not an original translation but one of the two versions that circulated in epigraphic sylloges from the latter half of the fifteenth century onwards⁷. The version in question appears in one of Felice Feliciano's manuscripts, where it is explicitly attributed to Giovanni Tortelli (ca. 1406–1466)⁸, and reappears in the first recension of Giovanni Giocondo's sylloge⁹. Our copy, however, diverges from both Feliciano's and Giocondo's texts in three aspects: it reads *Musas* in place of *mensas*, omits *Deus* before *improvidus*, and employs the archaic spelling *quoi* rather than *cui*. The only sylloge known to me that shares all three variants¹⁰ is an Italian epigraphic manuscript from the late fifteenth century now preserved at Uppsala¹¹. It is therefore highly probable that our humanist had access either to this very manuscript or to another closely related exemplar.

Finally, on f. 165v, the *Epigrammata* records the inscription (a travertine *cippus* that had been reused near St Peter's) of an *Ara Incendii Neroniani*, an altar erected by

⁶ Letters in brackets indicate text lost through trimming.

⁷ The other translation (inc. *Quae multum Sirenarum cantu*) is first recorded by Giovanni Marcanova (Burgerbibliothek, ms. B. 42, ff. 134v–135r) and is the only one cited in *CIL* VI, p. 1556 *apud* 12652.

⁸ Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. CCLXIX (240), f. 168r: “<A>lia expositio suprascriptorum carminum per Ioannem Aretinum” (the text follows the other translation of the Greek epigram; see previous note). In his *De orthographia*, Tortelli claims to have seen the inscription (ed. Venice 1477, f. I5r, s.v. ‘Atimetus’: “in marmore... cineribus uxoris Homonoëae cum epitaphio pulcherrimo, quod Romae legi in sacello Michaelis archangeli”; see G. DONATI, *L'orthographia di Giovanni Tortelli*, Messina 2006, pp. 84–85), but makes no mention of the Greek epigram. Among Tortelli's notes and letters in Vat. lat. 3098 are a transcription of the Latin inscription (f. 192r–v) and two other Latin renderings of the Greek epigram, which are not found among epigraphic manuscripts (f. 187r, inc. *Quae modulans vici sirenes voce canora*; f. 188r, inc. *Quae sirenibus longe sonoriore apud Bacchum eram*); see M. REGOLIOSI, *Nuove ricerche intorno a Giovanni Tortelli. I. Il Vaticano lat. 3908*, «Italia Medioevale e Umanistica», 9 (1966), pp. 123–189 (177–178).

⁹ Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. CCLXX (241), f. 22r.

¹⁰ Andrea Alciato's sylloge (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. lat. 10546, f. 110v [olim 59v]) reads *Musas*, but lacks the other two variants. Alciato's text was later copied by Johannes Choler (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm 394, f. 94v).

¹¹ Uppsala, Universitetsbibliothek, ms. C 49, ff. 17v and 144r (the epigram is written between the end of quire *b* and the beginning of *bb*, which were subsequently misbound). See C. LINDSTEN, *De codice Upsaliensi C 49*, Göteborg 1916, pp. 15 and 24. The Uppsala manuscript is supposed to contain a copy of the so-called sylloge of Publio Licinio (Ch. HÜLSEN, *Di due sillogi epigrafiche urbane del secolo XV*, «Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Memorie», ser. III, vol. I parte I [1923], pp. 123–157 [138–157]), though these readings are absent from the other witnesses of the group. The codex is dated by LINDSTEN (*De codice* cit., p. 125) after 1483; by HÜLSEN (*Di due sillogi* cit., p. 140) around 1490, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century in M. ANDERSSON-SCHMITT and M. HEDLUND, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala. Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, vol. 1, Stockholm 1988, pp. 333–334.

Domitian in fulfilment of a vow made after the fire of 64 CE (*CIL* VI 826 = 30837a)¹². Only two manuscript sylloges reproduce this same text¹³, both depicting the same oblong stone with a pyramidal top and a broader base (Fig. 2a)¹⁴. In the lower margin of the page, our humanist sketched this very monument and added, as a caption, “*Cipporum IIII qui aream Volcani Romae claudebant forma*” (Fig. 2b). The number *IIII* should be understood as the annotator’s own inference regarding the delimitation of a square space.

Fig. 2a. Florence, BNCF, ms. Magl. 28 34, Fig. 2b. Blickling Hall, 6957 (*Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*, Rome 1521), f. 165v.

3. The Manuscript Sylloge on the Back Flyleaves

The chief interest of this volume, however, resides in its final sylloge (whose contents are described in the Appendix). It begins on the verso of the last printed page (f. aa8v) and continues across six additional flyleaves (ff. 1’r–6’v). The watermark on these leaves permits an approximate dating of the sylloge to the latter half of the 1520s or the very early 1530s¹⁵. The collection comprises thirty-three ancient inscriptions—one in Greek, the remainder in Latin—consistently transcribed in capitals, largely preserving their original line divisions and incorporating extratextual elements such as *hederae* and *I longae*. Most texts—though not all—are accompanied by brief location captions and, on occasion, notes on their fragmentary state.

The collection opens with a bronze tablet from Rome and proceeds with what appears, at first glance, to form a coherent sylloge of inscriptions from the southern half of Italy: Calabria (Strongoli and Crotona), Campania (Polla, Teggiano, Salerno, Pozzuoli, Naples, Mondragone, and Alife), southern Lazio (Formia), Molise (Isernia), and the central Adriatic coast (Atri, Ortona, Fermo, and Lanciano). Yet among them, two inscriptions—both lacking location captions—originate from northern Italy (Piacenza

¹² On the archaeological reconstruction of these *arae*, mainly based on two other altars found in the seventeenth century, see L. K. CLINE, *Rising from the Ashes: Domitian’s Arae Incendii Neroniani in New Flavian Rome*, «Athanor», 27 (2009), pp. 15–23; V. ASTOLFI, *Le are dell’incendio Neroniano. Una nuova proposta interpretativa*, «Babesch», 96 (2021), pp. 101–109.

¹³ Florence, Biblioteca degli Uffizi, ms. 6, f. 4v (with the caption, perhaps erroneous, “*apud dominum Benedictum Saxum*”); Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, ms. Magl. 28 34, f. 160r (*olim* 250r).

¹⁴ The *cippi* from another *Ara Incendii Neroniani* at the Quirinal are the only ones preserved and display this characteristic pyramidal top: see ASTOLFI, *Le are dell’incendio* cit., pp. 101 and 103 Fig. 5.

¹⁵ *Sirène à deux queues courbées et redressées au long du corps, tenue avec les deux mains, dans un cercle, surmontée d’une étoile*, very similar (though not identical) to Briquet 13899 (Naples 1524 and 1528, with a variant in Rome 1526). This watermark is present on ff. 1’, 3’, and 5’.

and Rimini), a circumstance that suggests the sylloge is not the product of direct autopsy but rather a copy of a pre-existing compilation.

Indeed, our humanist seems to allude explicitly to the original (*archetypum*) from which he drew his copy (*exemplum*), in a note on the state of preservation of *CIL* X 114: “*Quot sunt lineae, et earum literae hoc in exemplo, tot in archetypo leguntur, sed in marmoris fine quaedam sunt tempore corrosae (!) elementa, quae illic deficiunt*” (f. 2’r).

We may therefore conclude that the sylloge is a fair copy transcribed from an earlier compilation, probably in a single sitting, given the uniformity of the group. Despite not being based on direct autopsies, these transcriptions remain highly relevant. First, both our reader and the author of the autopsies were sufficiently meticulous to preserve line divisions and other extratextual details. And, more importantly, the original from which this sylloge derives has not resurfaced—and is most likely lost—nor is any other similar copy known to exist. This is demonstrated most clearly by the presence of two previously unknown inscriptions, as well as several others whose earliest attested source dated, until now, to the seventeenth (*CIL* X 113) or even the eighteenth century (*CIL* IX 5031, X 289, 304, 313, and 4740). Similarly, *CIL* X 6192 (from Formia) was previously known only through a fifteenth-century manuscript (the *codex Redianus*)¹⁶ which provided no indication of the epigraphic object—now identified as an urn.

Finally, the author of this sylloge was undoubtedly a skilled humanist. After transcribing the text of *CIL* X 114¹⁷, he observed:

Ex hoc vetusto et eleganti epigrammate ubicunque apud auctores de Petilia fit mentio. Auderem ego semper legere ‘Petiliam’ potius quam ‘Petilium’, carmenque Vergilianum in tertio Aeneidos commutata literula emendarem, “Parva Philoctetae subnixa Petelia muro”.

From the word *Petelinorum* in the inscription, our humanist correctly inferred that the ancient city of Strongoli should be spelled *Petelia* rather than *Petilia*. He further proposed an emendation to Verg. *Aen.* 3, 402, which Renaissance manuscripts and editions transmitted as *Petilia*. This conjecture—now accepted—was incorporated into the Virgilian text only three centuries later, on the basis of the *Mediceus* manuscript and numismatic evidence¹⁸.

¹⁶ On the *codex Redianus* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Redi 77) and other closely related sylloges, see most recently X. ESPLUGA, *La silloge di Faenza e la tradizione epigrafica di Verona*, Faenza 2017, pp. 389–396.

¹⁷ On this inscription, see the next section.

¹⁸ P. VERGILIUS, *Codex antiquissimus... qui nunc Florentiae in Bibliotheca Mediceo-Laurentiana adservatur*, Florence 1741, p. 225 (“Petelia”). P. VIRGILIUS, *Opera*, ed. Christian Gottlob Heyne, vol. II,

4. The *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* and an Honorary Altar to Megonius Leo

Further evidence for the chronology and possible provenance of this sylloge emerges from its opening two inscriptions. The collection begins with the bronze tablet bearing the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* (*CIL* I² 589 = *DESSAU* 38; Fig. 3)¹⁹. Pirro Ligorio (ca. 1513–1583) and Jean Matal (ca. 1517–1597), writing in the 1540s, offer conflicting accounts of its discovery and early ownership. According to Ligorio, the tablets of the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* and the *Lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus* (*CIL* I² 587) were unearthed in 1528, presented by Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici (1511–1535) to Cardinal Andrea della Valle (1463–1534), and acquired after 1535 by the Capranica family²⁰. Conversely, Matal dated their discovery to the pontificate of Leo X (1513–1521) and recorded only Ippolito de' Medici's ownership, after whose death they were purchased at auction by Camillo Capranica (d. 1566)²¹. In his study of the tablet's history, Jean-Louis Ferrary regarded Matal as a more authoritative source and therefore considered it somewhat more likely that the tablet passed directly from Ippolito de' Medici to the Capranica collection²². The Blickling Hall sylloge, however, now confirms that the tablet once formed part of Andrea della Valle's collection²³, leaving no reason to doubt 1528 as the date if not of the tablets' unearthing, then at least of their entry into the Della Valle collection.

Leipzig 1787, p. 373: “*Petelia* Medic. et sic in numis et Graecis script. occurrit: Πετηλία; hoc itaque restitui. Vulgo *Petilia*, quod vulgare est”. In his first edition (Leipzig 1771, p. 301), Heyne had noted the spelling *Petelia* in the apparatus but left the text unaltered.

¹⁹ On the history of the tablet, see J.-L. FERRARY, *La Lex Antonia de Termessibus*, «*Athenaeum*», 73 (1985), pp. 419–457 (esp. 435–439). See also M. H. CRAWFORD (ed.), *Roman Statutes*, London 1996, vol. I, pp. 331–340 no. 19.

²⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. ital. 1129, f. 289v: “Cavandosi dunque nel quinto anno del ponteficato di papa Clemente settimo [sc., 1528] sotto la rupe Tarpeia in capo del vico iugario furono trovate alcune colonne di Tivertino... et con esse furono trovate due tavole di bronzo scritte... Et questa et l'altra tavola furono donate dal cardinale Hippolito de' Medici al cardinal Della Valle. Et finalmente dopo la morte di essi signori sono venuti per heredità in casa di Crapanchi gentilhuomini romani”. See R. LANCIANI, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità*, Roma 1902, vol. I, pp. 244–245.

²¹ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. lat. 6034, f. 8r: “Haec tabula [sc. *CIL* I² 587] et prima illa Thermensium [sc. *CIL* I² 589] tempore Leonis X repertae fuerunt ad radices Tarpei montis prope Ioannis Florentinorum eo loci, ubi aedis Saturni ruinae. Morte deinde cardinalis Medicae, cum sub auctione venderentur, eas Camillus Capranica civis Romanus emit et eas nunc possidet. (...) MDXLVII Iunio”. For the limited biographical details available on Camillo Capranica, see FERRARY, *La Lex Antonia* cit., pp. 435–436 note 61.

²² FERRARY, *La Lex Antonia*, p. 438.

²³ On Andrea della Valle's collection of antiquities, see M. C. PAOLUZZI, *La famiglia della Valle e l'origine della collezione di antichità*, in *Collezioni di antichità a Roma fra '400 e '500*, ed. A. Cavallaro, Roma 2007, pp. 147–186; K. W. CHRISTIAN, *Instauratio and Pietas: The della Valle Collections of Ancient Sculpture*, «*Studies in the History of Art*», 70 (2008), pp. 32–65; EAD., *Empire without End. Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350–1527*, New Haven and London 2010, pp. 216–219 and 383–388.

Fig. 3. Blickling Hall, 6957 (*Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*, Rome 1521), f. aa8v.

In turn, the reference to Andrea della Valle as the owner of the tablet (“*Romae ad aedes Andreae de Valle S. R. E. P. cardinalis*”) indicates that both the Blickling Hall sylloge and its exemplar were certainly produced after 1528 and, in all likelihood, before the cardinal’s death in 1534. Indeed, the prominent placement of *CIL* I² 589 as the opening text of the sylloge—and the only inscription from the city of Rome—strongly suggests that the original compilation was assembled shortly after the tablet passed into Andrea della Valle’s possession around 1528, a date that accords well with the watermark found in the Blickling Hall copy²⁴.

The second inscription of the Blickling Hall sylloge—and the first from southern Italy—is the honorary altar erected by the *Augustales* of Petelia in honour of Manius Megonius Leo, with a fragment of his will carved on the side (*CIL* X 114 = *DESSAU* 6469)²⁵. The two other sixteenth-century sources that record this inscription do not specify its provenance, and by 1624 the stone stood, as it does today, at Strongoli Cathedral²⁶. By contrast, our sylloge—compiled a century earlier—locates the piece “*in ecclesia Sancti Nicolai extra moenia*”. Since other location captions in this sylloge are accurate, it is reasonable to assume that the inscription was originally found outside Strongoli and subsequently relocated. The precise site referred to in the manuscript remains uncertain: the two churches dedicated to San Nicola closest to Strongoli are S. Nicola dell’Alto (8 km) and S. Nicola di Mesoraca (14 km), the former being slightly more plausible.

As noted above, in the sixteenth century the inscription was recorded twice more, by Georg Fabricius (ed. 1549) and Maximilian van Waelscaple (in 1554)²⁷. In both cases, their location captions make it clear that they did not examine the stone *in situ*, but transcribed it from a written source. Fabricius, who travelled through Italy between 1539 and 1543, provided a specific, if somewhat perplexing, indication of its source:

²⁴ See above, note 15.

²⁵ For this inscription and four others mentioning the dedicatee, see C. BOSSU, *M’ Megonius Leo from Petelia (Regio III): A Private Benefactor from the Local Aristocracy*, «Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik», 45 (1982), pp. 155–165.

²⁶ G. GUALTHERUS, *Siciliae obiacentium insularum et Bruttiorum antiquae tabulae cum animadversionibus*, Messina 1624, p. 57 no. 389: “pro aede maiori”.

²⁷ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Lat. fol. 61s, f. 93r–v: “missum exemplar huius marmoris Della Rocca ad Hadrianum Guilhelmi”. On this sylloge, see Th. MOMMSEN, *CIL* IX–X, pp. LXVIII–LXIX.

“*Descriptum Romae apud Bernardinum de Valle et antea non editum. Inventum autem marmor est MCCCCXCVIII*”²⁸. It is likely that Fabricius derived the date of discovery (1498) from this written source. More puzzling, however, is his reference to Bernardino della Valle (1450–1505), a cousin of Andrea, who had died four decades earlier²⁹. Whether Fabricius meant the palace that had belonged to Bernardino³⁰, or whether this name appeared in the transcription of *CIL* X 114 compiled after 1498, the evidence strongly suggests that the document remained in the possession of a member of the Della Valle family when Fabricius consulted it.

The fact that the first two inscriptions in the Blickling Hall sylloge are directly associated with the Della Valle—who owned both the tablet of the *Lex Antonia* and the transcription of *CIL* X 114—allows us to infer, with a fair degree of certainty, that the source consulted by our humanist must have been the epigraphic materials amassed by a member of that family.

We can now connect this lost ‘Della Valle sylloge’ with a third surviving transcription: an anonymous copy of the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* preserved in the Ambrosian Library³¹. First employed by Muratori in his 1740 edition of the text and meticulously analysed by Ferrary³², this anonymous *scheda*—which presents only the bare epigraphic text, without any accompanying information, and is bound within an unrelated codex³³—contains the so-called Ambrosian supplements, which fill the *lacuna* affecting Col. I, lines 19–26. As Bormann first observed, these supplements include conjectures that cannot be accepted at face value, although their author may have had access to a fuller version of the text than was available when it was recopied in the 1540s³⁴.

²⁸ G. FABRICIUS, *Antiquitatis aliquot monumenta insignia ex aere, marmoribus membranisque veteribus*, Strasbourg 1549, f. B2r. See W. STENHOUSE, *Georg Fabricius and Inscriptions as a Source of Law*, «Renaissance Studies», 17:1 (2003), pp. 96–107.

²⁹ In addition to the bibliography cited in note 23, see M. DE NICHILLO, *Della Valle, Berardino*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma 1989, vol. 37, pp. 729–731.

³⁰ Among the della Valle properties along the via Papalis, Bernardino lived at the Palazzo di Giove, which was inherited by his nephew Lello della Valle (d. 1535) and then by the Lello’s son Bruto della Valle (1525–1571); see CHRISTIAN, *Instauratio and Pietas* cit., pp. 36–37.

³¹ Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. A 55 inf., ff. 54r–55v.

³² FERRARY, *La Lex Antonia* cit., pp. 430–435.

³³ The only dating element comes from the watermark in f. 55, which coincides with Briquet 93 (*Aigle à une tête*; Florence and Naples 1529). This makes it roughly contemporary with the Blickling Hall sylloge. See FERRARY, *La Lex Antonia* cit., p. 433.

³⁴ E. BORMANN, *Zu römischen Urkunden der Zeit der Republik*, in *Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds sechzigsten Geburtstage*, Berlin 1903, pp. 431–439 (434–439); see, most recently, FERRARY, *La Lex Antonia* cit., p. 435.

The transcription in the Blickling Hall sylloge incorporates the same Ambrosian supplements. While it constitutes an overall superior copy to the Ambrosian transcription (for instance, it reproduces the entire text in capitals)³⁵, both versions contain errors absent from the other. It is clear that the Ambrosian supplements³⁶ were introduced in a transcription made shortly after Andrea della Valle acquired the tablet. By collating both transcriptions, we can now reconstruct a more accurate text of the original Ambrosian supplements³⁷:

18 possederunt usei fructeiuē sunt, quae de ieiis rebus
 19 locata non sun(t utei antea habeant possideant) quaeque
 20 de ieiis rebus (loceis agreis aedificieis locata su)nt ac ne
 21 locentur (sancitum est sanctione q)uae facta
 22 est ex l(ege rogata L. Gellio Gn. Lentulo cos.) ea omnia
 23 Ther(meses Maiores Pisidae habeant)t possideant
 24 ieiisque (rebus loceis agreis aedificieis utantur fr)uantur
 25 ita utei ant(e bellum Mitridatis quod p)reimum
 26 fuit habueru(nt possederunt usei fructu)eiue sunt.

18 possederunt *A ed.* : possi- *B* | fructeiuē *A ed.* : fructeique *B* | quae *B ed.* : quaeque *A* || 21 loceis agreis *B*, cf. *Col. II 23* : ag- lo- *A* | sunt *B* : sun *A* || 21 est *A* : fuit *B* || Gellio *B*, cf. *Col. I 3* : Gallio *A* || 23 possideant *B ed.* : possidean *A* || 24 ieiisque *A ed.* : eieisque *B* || 25 bellum Mitridatis *B*, cf. *Col. I 29* : Mi- be- *A* || 26 possederunt *A ed.* : possi- *B* | sunt *A ed.* : sint *B*.

5. A New Inscription from Strongoli and *CIL* X 1733

Following *CIL* X 114, three inscriptions appear on f. 2^v. The first, under the caption “*ibidem in alio marmore*”, is another honorary inscription dedicated to Megonius Leo (*CIL* X 113), recorded in the seventeenth century in its current location, walled into the Palazzo Vescovile at Strongoli. The next inscription, again introduced by the caption “*ibidem*”, is otherwise unattested and therefore unpublished (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4. Blickling Hall, 6957 (*Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*, Rome 1521), f. 2^v.

This is the tombstone of the six-year-old L. Albius Proculus. The text, as transmitted in our sylloge, consists of the *tria nomina* in the vocative, the indication of age (*vixti* is clearly a scribal error for *vixit*), and two farewell formulae, *sit tibi terra levis* and *vale*. I would propose the following restitution:

[Have]
 L(uci) · Albi · Procule
 vixit · ann(is) · VI
 sit tibi ter-

³⁵ Interestingly, this is the only text in the Blickling Hall sylloge that does not follow the true line division, except for *Col. I*, lines 12–18 (just before the *lacuna*), where the line division is accurately reproduced.

³⁶ I maintain the expression, although we now know that the Ambrosian manuscript contains merely a transcription of the original supplements.

³⁷ I use the following abbreviations: *A* (=Ambrosian manuscript; see above, note 31), *B* (= Blickling Hall sylloge), *ed.* (edited text without the Ambrosian supplements).

ra levis
vale

Of the thirty funerary inscriptions known to date from the *ager* of Petelia, twelve open with the introductory formula *have*, followed by the name of the deceased in the vocative³⁸. Thirteen inscriptions contain the clause *sit tibi terra levis*—six of them in combination with *have*³⁹—although this is the first instance in which it appears fully expanded. Moreover, the present inscription represents the first attestation of both the farewell formula *vale* and the *gens Albia* in the epigraphic record of Petelia.

Finally, a third inscription has been added in the left margin—perhaps as an *addendum*—without a location but with the caption “marmo posto in mezzo d’uno mattone”. This is the earliest transcription of *CIL* X 1733, probably predating its transfer to the collection of Adriano Guglielmo Spatafora (ca. 1496–1589)⁴⁰ in Naples, where Stephanus Vinandus Pighius located it in 1554 (“*Neapoli apud Hadrianum Guilielmum*”)⁴¹. It was also recorded in an anonymous scheda in Vat. lat. 6040 (s. l.)⁴² and by Giulio Cesare Capaccio (“*Apud Spataphorum*”)⁴³. Published in the *CIL* in the chapter on *Puteoli* alongside other inscriptions from Campania of uncertain provenance⁴⁴, Mommsen expressed doubts about its authenticity, suspecting it to be a spurious inscription carved on stone—particularly because of the presence of the word ‘*lanista*’ (line 2)⁴⁵—and its authenticity remains debated today⁴⁶. This new transcription does not

³⁸ *CIL* X 116 (“*D. M. s. / have / Aufidia / Heure/sis vix. / an. VIII / fecit pater / s. t. t. l.*”); *CIL* X 8086 (“*Have / Megonia / Euhodis / vixit ann. / XXVI / s. t. t. l.*”); *CIL* X 8340 (“*D. M. s. / have Copia Sucas. / vix. m. [---]*”); *AEP* 1975, 281 (“*Have / M. Meconi / Aphrodisi / vix. an. LXV / s. t. t. l.*”); *AEP* 1984, 267 (“*Have / C. Aufidi Felix / vix. ann. L*”); *AEP* 1984, 268 (“*Have / C. Aufidi / Successe / vix. a. XXX / s. t. t. l.*”); *AEP* 1984, 269 (“*Have / Philicia L. f. / Aphro / vix. an. / III m. XI d. X / s. [t. t. l.]*”); *AEP* 1984, 270 (“*Have / Silvia Sex. / Arelli Ursi / ser. vix. ann. / XXX fecit Dionysius coservae / bene merenti*”); *AEP* 1985, 313 (“*Have / C. Mari / Ursule / vix. ann. L*”); *AEP* 1985, 315 (“*Have Me/goni Nata/lis v. a. I / m. X s. t. t. l.*”); *AEP* 2014, 370 (“*Have / Pomponia / Syntyce*”); S. Medaglia, *Carta archeologica della provincia di Crotone. Paesaggi storici e insediamenti nella Calabria centro-orientale dalla Preistoria all’Altomedioevo*, Arcavacata di Rende 2010, 188 no. 126 (“*Have / Luccius / Logismus / vixit annos XXXI*”). Nine of them are carved on steles, and the other three (*CIL* X 116, X 8340, and *AEP* 1975, 281) on tablets.

³⁹ With *have* (see previous note): *CIL* X 116 and 8086; *AEP* 1975, 281; *AEP* 1984, 268 and 269, and *AEP* 1985, 315. The clause appears, moreover, in *CIL* X 117–118; *AEP* 1975, 280 and 282; *AEP* 1984, 266; *AEP* 2023, 554; and *AEP* 2014, 368.

⁴⁰ On Adriano Guglielmo Spatafora (or Spadafora) and his collection of antiquities, see I. M. IASIELLO, *Il collezionismo di antichità nella Napoli dei viceré*, Napoli 2003, pp. 65–80.

⁴¹ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Lat. fol. 61h, f. 66r (*olim* p. 129); *ibid.*, ms. Lat. fol. 61, f. 93r.

⁴² Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. lat. 6040, f. 44v.

⁴³ G. C. CAPACCIO, *Neapolitanae historiae... tomus primus*, Napoli 1607, p. 343.

⁴⁴ Th. MOMMSEN, *CIL* X, p. 183: “*Puteoli urbs (...) congegimus quidquid emersit ex universo agro Neapolitano neque rectius collocari videbatur in Neapolitanis et Misenatibus et Cumanis*”.

⁴⁵ Th. MOMMSEN, *CIL* X 1733: “*Titulum in lapide extitisse cum constet, vereor ne fictus fuerit, ut aliae non paucae inscriptiones musei Spadaforani. Certe offendit tam Maetius gentilicium quam lanista Augusti*”.

⁴⁶ Regarded as a forgery by Ch. HÜLSEN (*Miscellanea epigraphica. XIX. Falsificationi lapidarie ligoriane*, «Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung», X [1895], pp.

resolve the question, but it offers several noteworthy considerations: a) the inscription clearly existed carved on stone; b) if it was a forgery, it must have been engraved no later than 1535, which rules out Ligorio and other forgers active only from the 1540s onwards; c) the Blickling Hall sylloge is the only source to read ‘*lani*’ instead of ‘*lanista*’: it is striking that the earliest transcription failed to record three letters that the other three sources report without difficulty. This discrepancy raises the possibility that the inscription was indeed authentic, but that the second line was later altered—perhaps at the time it entered the Spadafora collection—to include a reference to the *lanistae*.

6. A New Greek inscription from Ortona (Chieti)

A second unpublished inscription appears on f. 5’v, under the caption “*Ortonae*” (Fig. 5). No details are provided regarding the epigraphic object or its state of preservation at the time of transcription, yet the significant reading difficulties in the first and last lines of an otherwise brief and straightforward text suggest that either the stone was in poor condition, or the copyist lacked proficiency in Greek—or perhaps both. The overall sense, however, is perfectly clear: this is a simple funerary inscription consisting of the deceased’s name (a Greek name followed by a patronymic) and an indication of age at death. The square lunate sigma (line 2) and the cursive omega (line 3) allow us to date the inscription to the Imperial period.

Fig. 5. Blickling Hall, 6957 (*Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*, Rome 1521), f. 5’v.

On the first line, a clear “A” is followed by what appears to be a blank space, a deliberately faded “V”—which must be interpreted as a letter of difficult reading (+), since the ink is perfectly legible elsewhere in the sylloge—and “IPOΔΕΙΤΟΙ”. The final letter can be easily corrected to a sigma, but the beginning of the line poses greater difficulties. By far the most common name containing the sequence -οδειτ- is Ἐπαφρόδειτος⁴⁷, but this reading—while it should not be categorically dismissed⁴⁸—

289–298 [295–296]) and as genuine by DESSAU (5151), it has been defended by G. Ville (*La gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien*, Roma 1981, p. 273 note 96) and more recently relegated as a fake in S. EVANGELISTI, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell’Occidente romano*, vol. VIII (*Regio Italiae, I, 1: Campania praeter Pompeios*), Roma 2011, p. 17.

⁴⁷ There are 670 entries in the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN) for Ἐπαφρόδειτος (the majority attested with the diphthong ει), 37 of which are from Italy.

⁴⁸ Especially since this is a copy of a previous transcription, there are multiple possible explanations for the resulting sequence. For instance, “A” could have been—in the original transcription carried out from the

appears to conflict with the initial A. The much rarer name Ἀφρόδειτος⁴⁹ may align slightly better with the transcription, though it would still require correcting two signs (+I) into a Φ. If the name began with the *nomen Aurelius* (which is far less frequent in Italy than in the provinces, since Greek residents in Italy had Roman citizenship by 212 CE), an abbreviation such as Αὐρ. or even Αὐ. would leave almost no space for a Greek name—the most plausible candidate being Ἀφρόδειτος. On the other hand, the patronymic Εὐπορίστου (lines 2–3) presents no reading difficulties⁵⁰.

On the fourth line, the numeral for the age of the deceased (“ΛΙΞ”) is again corrupt. The letter “Λ” makes sense as a multiple of ten, after which a single numeral from one to nine (Α–Θ) would be expected. This particular reading is best explained if the original text was “ΛΕ” (i.e., 35). Thus, a conservative restitution would be:

Transmitted text:

A +ΙΡΟΔΕΙΤΟΙ
ΕΥΠΟΡΙΣ
ΤΟΥ ΕΤΩΝ
ΛΙΞ

Restored text:

[---]φροδείτος
Εὐπορίσ-
του ἐτῶν
λε´

7. Valentinian’s Name in a Text from Castel Nuovo, Naples

Finally, on the top of f. 4’v, a caption—the first line of which has been lost through later trimming—reads “I[n (?) ---] Neapoli in Castro novo”. Below, the text is transcribed as “*ḐN̄ FL VALENTINIANI P P AVG*”, with an alternative reading “S” above the final letter and an expanded interpretation in the margin: “i(dest) *Domini nostri Flavii Valentiniani patris patriae Augusti vel auspiciis*” (Fig. 6).

Fig. 6. Blickling Hall, 6957 (*Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*, Rome 1521), f. 4’v.

Although the text appears genuine, it is not attested elsewhere in precisely this form and almost certainly requires emendation. A definitive restitution, however, remains elusive, as no information is available regarding its state of preservation or the nature of the text—details that may have been clarified in the now-missing first line. Notably, this

stone—an uncertain restitution of the + made in the margin, which was subsequently misunderstood as the first letter of the line. This would allow one to read [Επ]αφροδείτος.

⁴⁹ There are eleven entries in the LGPN for Ἀφρόδειτος, none from Italy.

⁵⁰ There are forty entries in the LGPN for Εὐπορίστου, all of them from the imperial period, although none from Italy.

text is immediately followed by the only non-epigraphic item in the sylloge, namely a table of Roman numerals, raising the possibility that the text may not be epigraphic at all. Its phrasing, in fact, bears a striking resemblance to numismatic legends issued by Valentinian I (“*D N VALENTINI|ANVS P F AVG*”) and Valentinian III (“*D N PLA VALENTI|NIANVS P F AVG*”)⁵¹.

Conversely, if the reading “*FL.*” is accurate, we could be dealing with a previously unknown epigraphic text. Should the inscription be largely intact, it might represent an *instrumentum domesticum* (amphora, brick, or lead pipe), in which case both nominative and genitive forms could be expected; however, the abbreviation “*p(er)p(etuus)*” is unattested in such contexts⁵². Alternatively, if this is a fragment of a longer text, it may have formed part of a consular dating clause, appearing either in the ablative⁵³ or as a genitive modifying *consulatu*⁵⁴. As is well known, in most epigraphic attestations Valentinian appears alongside one or more co-emperors, with abbreviated epithets in the plural.

Given that no single restoration is clearly preferable, it seems prudent to leave the matter unresolved, without presuming the existence of a new inscription.

8. Appendix. Index of Inscriptions of the Manuscript Sylloge at Blickling Hall

This is the complete list of inscriptions contained in the manuscript sylloge appended to the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* preserved at Blickling Hall.

Folio	CIL	Location	Location caption
aa8v– l’r	I ² 589	Rome	Aenea tabella Romae ad aedes Andreae de Valle S. R. E. P. cardinalis.
l’v–2’r	X 114	Strongoli	In civitate Stronguli, quae olim Petelia dicta est, decimo lapite a Crotone in ecclesia Sancti Nicolai extra poenia lapis visitur omni e parte quadratus, altitudine pedes V, latitudine III. In cuius uno latere leguntur hae litterae (...). In capite alterius lateris minutioribus litteris: (...) I[---] ⁵⁵ . Quantum lapidis latus nihil habet inscriptionis.
2’v	X 113	Strongoli	Ibidem in alio marmore.
	unpublished (a)	Strongoli	Ibidem.
	X 1733	Naples	Marmo posto in mezzo d’uno mattone.

⁵¹ A few coins minted in Mediolanum and Rome (*RIC* X Valentinian III 2002, 2004, 2027, 2028, and 2031) have “*PL*” instead of “*PLA*”, which aligns even better with the reading “*FL*” in the manuscript.

⁵² E.g., *CIL* XV 1659 (later): “*d(ominus) n(oster) Fl(avius) Valentinianus Aug(ustus)*”, or *CIL* XV 7259 (*fistula plumbea*): “*Aqua Pinciana / d(omini) n(ostri) Pl(acidi) Valentinia/ni Aug(usti)*”. Among the *instrumenta*, the imperial epithet “*p(er)p(etuus)*” is only found in *tesserae monumentorum*, e.g., in *CIL* XV 7106 and *AEP* 2011, 187: “*Salvo d(omino) n(ostro) / Valentiniano p(er)p(etuo) Aug(usto)*”.

⁵³ E.g., *CIL* III 9519: “*(...) d(omino) n(ostro) Valentiniano p(er)p(etuo) Aug(usto) V(...)*”.

⁵⁴ The sequence “*consulatu d(omini) n(ostri) Valentiniani Aug(usti)*” (i.e., without “*p. p.*”) is found in *CIL* VI 32953; *AEP* 1984, 849; *AEP* 2010, 1177; and *ICUR* II, 4778.

⁵⁵ This caption, on the top margin of Ilr, has been lost due to later trimming.

3'r	X 110	Crotona	Ad Crotonis portam.
	X 107	Crotona	Ibidem.
3'v	X 6950	Polla	<i>s.l.</i>
	X 313	Teggiano	Ibidem.
	X 289	Teggiano	In columna.
	X 304	Teggiano	<i>s.l.</i>
4'r	X 531	Salerno	Salerni.
	X 1700	Naples ⁵⁶	Neapoli.
	X 2313	Pozzuoli	<i>s.l.</i>
	XI 1234	Piacenza	<i>s.l.</i>
4'v	[?] ⁵⁷	Naples	I[n (?) ---] Neapoli in Castro novo ⁵⁸ .
	—	—	<i>s.l.</i> [Table with Roman numerals, for 1–9, 10–90, 100–900, 1000–9000, 10000–90000, and 100000–900000]
	X 1634	Naples	<i>s.l.</i>
	X 4740	Mondragone	In agro Sinuessano qui nunc Roccae Montisdraconis.
	IX 2368	Alife	Allifi in ecclesia Sancti Andreae.
	IX 2367	Alife	Allifi in via publica.
5'r	X 6087	Formia	Caietae in cacumine montis qui Orlandi dicitur, ubi Saturni templum forma rotunda cum his literis.
	X 6192	Formia	In urna.
	IX 2637	Isernia	Isernae.
5'v	IX 2668	Isernia	<i>s.l.</i>
	IX 2642	Isernia	<i>s.l.</i>
	XI 512	Rimini	<i>s.l.</i>
	IX 5031	Atri	Hatri.
	unpublished (b)	Ortona	Ortonae.
6'r	IX 5368	Fermo	<i>s.l.</i>
	IX 2998	Lanciano	Anxiani, nunc Lanciani.
6'v	IX 5357	Fermo	Firmi.
	IX 5365	Fermo	Ibidem.
	IX 5358	Fermo	<i>s.l.</i>

⁵⁶ Inscription found in Naples at the end of the fifteenth century, but “*origine fortasse Puteolana*”, according to Mommsen (*apud CIL X 1700*).

⁵⁷ See section 7 above.

⁵⁸ The first line of this caption, on the top margin, has been lost due to later trimming.