

# JEAN MATAL AND HIS ANNOTATED COPY OF THE *EPIGRAMMATA ANTIQUAE VRBIS* (VAT. LAT. 8495): THE USE OF MANUSCRIPT SOURCES<sup>1</sup>

## JEAN MATAL Y SU COPIA ANOTADA DE LOS *EPIGRAMMATA ANTIQUAE VRBIS* (VAT. LAT. 8495): EL USO DE LAS FUENTES MANUSCRITAS

*Resumen:* Entre los ejemplares de los *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (1521) editados por J. Mazochius y copiosamente anotados por humanistas del s. XVI, es sin duda el de Jean Matal (ms. Vat. Lat. 8495) el que revela unos objetivos más claros y un método de trabajo más sistemático. Hasta ahora se han puesto de relieve los esfuerzos del mismo Matal o de sus numerosos informantes para corregir las inscripciones mediante su autopsia; más desapercibido ha quedado, sin embargo, el estudio que realizó de diversas fuentes manuscritas con las que igualmente colacionó los textos impresos. En este artículo avanzamos en la identificación de estas fuentes manuscritas y analizamos el método de trabajo que desarrolló, y por el que no solo merece formar parte de la vanguardia en la ciencia epigráfica, sino que debe ser considerado como el iniciador del uso de las herramientas filológicas para la edición de los textos epigráficos.

*Palabras clave:* Mazochius, Metellus, Epigrafía, Manuscritos, Humanismo.

*Abstract:* Among the different copies of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (1521) published by J. Mazochius and abundantly annotated by 16th century humanists, Jean Matal's (ms. Vat. Lat. 8495) is undoubtedly the one that reveals the clearest objectives and the most systematic work method. The importance of Matal's efforts, as well as those of his many informants, to correct the inscriptions based on their autopsy has already been highlighted. However, his study of several manuscript sources, to which he also compared the printed texts, has remained largely unnoticed. In this paper we progress in the identification of these manuscript sources and we analyse the work method developed by Matal, for which he deserves to be considered not only one of the forerunners of epigraphical science, but also the initiator of the use of philological tools in the edition of epigraphic texts.

*Keywords:* Mazochius, Metellus, Epigraphy, Manuscripts, Humanism.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

In this article we will establish the connection between a book and a man, both dating back to the origins of epigraphy as a *scientific* discipline. They are the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* published by J. Mazochius in 1521 and the humanist Jean Matal (*circa* 1517 - 1597). Only for the last two decades has the importance of this book been continually and systematically emphasized as the first ambitious attempt at recording a large corpus of inscriptions in print, in this particular case that of the city of Rome. However, Jean Matal's crucial role in the genesis of a *philological* edition of the epigraphic texts has not been as insistently highlighted, probably because he, like many other humanists, did not publish his works. Before Heuser's recent study (2003; regarding his work as an epigraphist, *vid.* 89-104) he had always been eclipsed by Antonio Agustín—who employed Matal as his secretary for a decade—and his work had been obscured by those of two contemporary humanists: M. de Smet—whose sylloge was published in 1588—and O. Panvinio—whose sylloge, despite being also a manuscript, constitutes a better organized *corpus*. In fact, Matal seems to have lost interest in epigraphy after leaving Rome in 1555 and, as a consequence, his work remained unnoticed for years in the manuscript collections of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), until they were uncovered by the editors of the *CIL*. The publication in 1993 of the papers presented in the *Colloquium* on Antonio Agustín in London rescued the humanist from almost complete anonymity<sup>2</sup>. More recent contributions can be found in the works of J.-L. Ferrary (1996) and M. Buonocore (1999, 155-157; with additions, 2006; 2009) regarding Matal's manuscripts, and also in the work of W. Stenhouse (2005), who has written several pages establishing some of the characteristics of the Frenchman's epigraphical work. Finally, our own efforts have been aimed, for the last few years, at showing how Matal, as regards his interest in epigraphy, deserves—at the very least—the same recognition as Agustín (e. g. Carbonell 2009).

With this contribution we want to show some of the results of our research—now in an advanced phase—concerning Matal's work methods, which proves that his work was pivotal in establishing the *scientific* bases of the study of epigraphy, later built upon by other humanists during the second half of the 16th century and culminating in Gruter's 1603 work (Vuilleumier Laurens, Laurens 2010, 13-48).

2. THE ANNOTATED COPIES OF THE *EPIGRAMMATA ANTIQUAE VRBIS*

Ever since their first publication in 1521, when they were edited, the *Epigrammata* constituted a sort of epigraphical handbook for every humanist interested in Roman antiquities in general and epigraphy in particular. This is shown by the large number of copies with manuscript annotations—whether their author can be identified or not—that have survived. Among the copies that present a greater number of annotations made in the 16th century, we should mention those belonging to L. Giovenale Manetti [Biblioteca Angelica, KK 15.17], Antonio Lelio Podager [ms. Vat. Lat. 8492], Angelo Colocci [ms. Vat. Lat. 8493] (about these copies and some more others cf. Buonocore 2006 & Bianca 2009), Benedetto Egio [Bodleian Library, ms. Auct. S 10 25] or Piero Vettori [Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck HB-S 101 272] (cf. Vagenheim 2006 and 2008).

<sup>2</sup> See particularly Crawford 1993; Cooper 1993.

## 3. JEAN MATAL'S ANNOTATED COPY

In our opinion, however, J. Matal's annotations [ms. Vat. Lat. 8495] reveal, without a doubt, clearer objectives and a more rigorous and continuous epigraphical method. Due to space limitations, here we will deal only with the manuscript sources used by the French humanist to correct and complete his printed copy. What were these sources? It is Matal himself who gives us the first clues in the upper part of fol. I nn v of the printed copy kept at the BAV, where he wrote a few lines by hand as a sort of prologue<sup>3</sup> in which he offers us a rather exhaustive catalogue of the documents, both printed and manuscript, used —according to him— by the anonymous author of the *Epigrammata* and then by himself, in order to carry out his constant *labor limae*. Among the printed sources he cites *Blondus, primus antiquitatum restitutor* [Biondo 1527]; *Fulvius... aetate nostra* [Fulvio 1527]; the *Antiquitatum liber Inglostadii editus* [Apianus, Amantius 1534]; and the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, that he discredits in these terms: *ferrī vero non potest auctoris libri italice scripti, titulo Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, audacia; qui tot inscriptiones latinas et graecas, confinxit*. Among the manuscript sources, he includes *Iucundus monachus* [fra Giovanni Giocondo]; *quidam Cardinalis Carpensis codex; quidam Cardinalis Salviati codex; Alfonsi Taveræ Hispani liber, Hispanicorum epigrammatum fictorum plenissimus; Alfonsus Castrus Hispanus*, and two other sources that he has only heard about: *Florianus Ocampus, qui historiam Hispaniae scripsit* [Ocampo 1543], *dicitur omnes Hispaniae veteres inscriptiones in unum volumen congesisse et Io(hannes) Aventinus, totius Germaniae*<sup>4</sup>. He also mentions *Io(hannes) Camers, Nic(olaus) Sipontinus et Pomponius Laetus... et... Iovianum Pontanum* as authors of fakes. Conversely, he praises the meticulousness of certain figures, such as an *Episcopus quidam Ragusinus, qui Romae mortuus est MDXLV, magna praestitisse diligentia dicitur* [Pamphilus Strassoldus, bishop of Ragusa between 30 January 1544 and 1545]; *quidam canonicus Lugdunensis, et Minucius pater Tolosas* [Jacques de Minut]<sup>5</sup>; Mariangelo Accursio —the acknowledged author of the *corrigenenda* at the end of the *Epigrammata*— and Alfonso de Castro. Finally, he claims knowledge of Ciriaco d'Ancona's sylloge in these terms: *fertur Cyriacus Anconitanus, Latinorum Graecorumque huiusmodi epigrammatum volumen confecisse*.

## 4. THE MANUSCRIPT SYLLOGE OF (GASPAR) ALFONSO DE CASTRO [ms. Vat. Lat. 6040 fols. 151r-189r]

On 83 different occasions, we find the handwritten abbreviation *A. C. exscr.* next to the printed inscriptions of his copy of the book (Vat. Lat. 8495), referring to a manuscript that he has access to and which he is following accurately. Without a doubt, we must always interpret this abbreviation as *Alfonsus Castrus exscripsit*, since Matal himself uses this developed form on one occasion (fol. 136v) (cf. fig. 3b).

We will not comment here on the origin of this manuscript compilation —made up, in fact, of three independent sylloges—, because that is the central subject of a paper that is to be published in the near future (Carbonell, forthcoming). We believe that in that contribution we have proved

<sup>3</sup> The complete transcription of the words with which Matal introduces *his Mazochius* can be found in Mommsen 1872, 76-77.

<sup>4</sup> Both humanists wrote indeed manuscript sylloges; for Aventinus' *Vetustates Romanae*, see Ott 2002, 116-122

and *passim*; for Ocampo's lost sylloge, see González Germain, forthcoming.

<sup>5</sup> He was the first president of the Parlement of Toulouse, which is why Matal calls him *pater*.

that behind those initials could be found Gaspar Alfonso de Castro<sup>6</sup>, the person ultimately responsible for a series of papers found in the ms. Vat. Lat. 6040 (fols. 150-212: *Variae inscriptiones ex saxis antiquis Romanae et Hispanicae Gasparis Castri Bletisani manu. // Io(hanni) Metelli Sequani; Iac(obi) Taveræ munere*) and the ms. Vat. Lat. 6039 (fols. 19-25 [= 216-222])<sup>7</sup>.

A meticulous study of said 83 references has led us to identify the sylloge that constitutes their origin in fols. 151r-189r of ms. Vat. Lat. 6040, containing exclusively inscriptions of Rome. This is demonstrated by the fact that, in turn, we find in many of these folios the cross-reference *R(omae)* next to a number referring directly to the folio of the book printed by G. Mazzocchi<sup>8</sup>. When Matal read these papers, which he had obtained through Antonio Agustín, he discovered the faithfulness with which a Spaniard, named Castro, had copied the inscriptions and, from that moment on, he attributed a high degree of credibility to all of his copies and usually based his proposed corrections on them. The reason for this is that Castro's is the only sylloge which reproduces, in the most meticulous of ways, not only the texts but also the layout of the lines and the style of the characters. Therefore, he decided to compare Castro's inscriptions, which he considered an authoritative and faithful source, to the corresponding epigraphs in his *Epigrammata*, which led him to systematically introduce new interpretations and comments about the layout and extension of the lines in the epigraphic field and about the size of the characters. We will now see an example of this. In the margin of *CIL* VI 533 (fig. 1) he writes:

*A(lphonsus) C(astrus) exscr(ipsit) vers(ibus) XI litt(eris) ineptis et insulsis. Primus magnis, tres seq(uentes) non ita magnis ut priore, iisdemq(ue); quintus, sextus iisd(em) sed quarto minorib(us). Reliqui paulo minorib(us) iisdemq(ue). Litterae hic sunt huiusmodi*

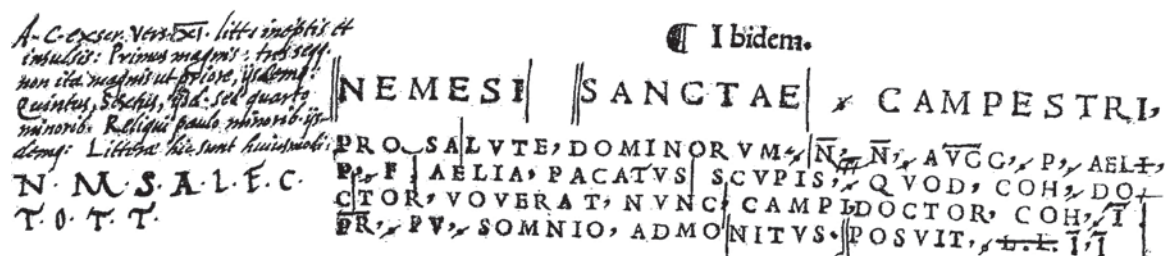


FIGURE 1. Ms. Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 131v. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

<sup>6</sup> Regarding Castro's name and identity our ideas will be proposed in Carbonell forthcoming, based on the cross-study of the BAV manuscripts.

<sup>7</sup> The ms. Vat. Lat. 6039 is the manuscript continuation of the printed MS. Vat. Lat. 8495 (see Carbonell 1991, 91, 281 *et passim*; Crawford 1993b, 283-289). Matal wanted to establish a sylloge that complemented the *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis* by compiling inscriptions not only from Rome, but also from other parts of the Empire. Thus, the humanist copied or selected entire sylloges that he obtained from friends and acquaintances,

among which we find a cohesive group of 36 epigraphs, at that time attributed exclusively to Rome [fols. 19-25r (= 216-22r): *Romanae quaedam inscriptiones exscriptae ex ipsis saxis ab Alphonso Castro canonico Salmanticae ex cuius archetypo sumpsimus*], that he copied, as he himself declares, from an *archetypo* by Alfonso Castro; that archetype is without a doubt contained in fols. 151r-189r of the ms. Vat. Lat. 6040.

<sup>8</sup> See for example Vat. Lat. 6040 fols. 152r-v, 153r-v *et alii*. A complete list of these correspondences can be found in Carbonell, forthcoming.

In domo Iacobi de Albrimus.

ONI MEST  
 ANCTAI  
 CAMESTRI PROSA  
 IVSE DOMINORUM.  
 GAGG P REL P E  
 IIA PACATVS  
 SCUPH QVOD CON DOC  
 VVERAT NVNC  
 DOCTOR CON I  
 SOMNU ADMO  
 OSVIT I I

FIGURE 2. *Ms. Vat. Lat. 6040 fol. 186v.* © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

If we examine the ms. Vat. Lat. 6040 fol. 186v, we realize that the copy of this epigraph does in fact correspond exactly to Matal's description (fig. 2).

This interest in reflecting reality in an exact manner prompts him to copy the text and even to draw the physical medium of the inscription whenever he believes that there are too many corrections, or his explanation is not sufficient, to avoid confusion. We find an example of this in relation to *CIL VI 25075*. In the margin he writes: *his duob(us) spatiis utraque pingenda manus erat cum brachiiis pansa et in altum levata more Deos execrantium. Hinc (e)n(im) ait se levare manus contra Deos* (fig. 3a), and at the bottom of the folio he adds a drawing of the epigraph, annotated with the usual *Alphonsus Castrus exscripsit* (fig. 3b).

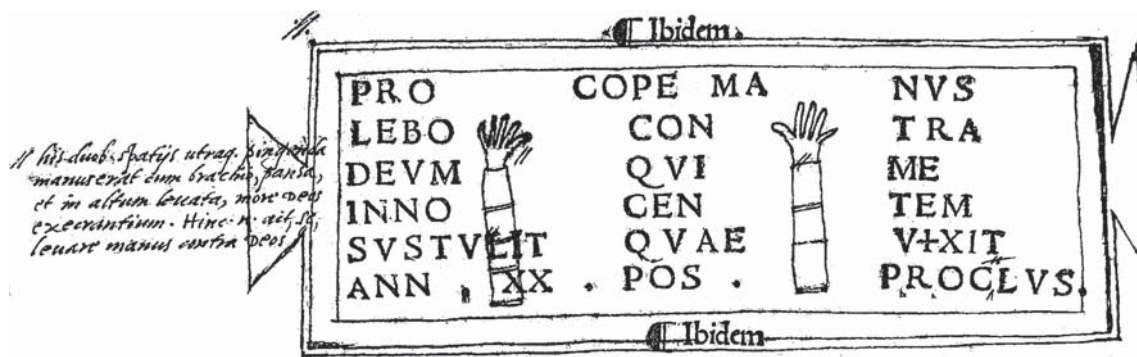


FIGURE 3a. Ms. Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 136v. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana



FIGURE 3b. Ibidem. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

##### 5. CARDINAL RODOLFO PIO DA CARPI'S SYLLOGE

Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi (1500-1564) was one of the patrons who provided documents to Matal (Rossi 2004). In the manuscript prologue mentioned above, the humanist writes, regarding the sources of the *Epigrammata*: *quemadmodum e multis manuscriptis libris in quos incidimus maxime ex quodam Cardinalis Carpensis codice et ex altero Salviati Cardinalis [inscriptiones] depræhendimus*. Matal repeatedly refers to that codex in his corrections and additions found in Vat. Lat. 8495. He seldom does this explicitly<sup>9</sup>, and more often he uses an enigmatic abbreviation, «c. c.», which until now had not been explained, and which doubtless must be interpreted as *c(odex) C(arpensis)*<sup>10</sup>. He

<sup>9</sup> These are some examples: *id vide proxime, vere expressum ex codice Card(inalis) Carpensis in domo Ep(iscopi) Hortani* (fol. 91v); *est Nepete civitate ut dicitur in codice Carpensi* (fol. 127v) [= Vat. Lat. 6039 fol. 99v:

*NEPETE civitate]; ex codice card. Carpensis et Ang. Colotii hanc ultimam inscriptionem emendavimus* (fol. 174v).

<sup>10</sup> In fol. 39v; 76; 110; 120 (*Iucund(us) vid. et c.c.*); 123; 134v (*Iuc(undus) vid(it) et in c. c.*); 142v; 145v.

also refers to that codex in the heading of three sections in Vat. Lat. 6039: *ex libro epigrammatum manuscriptorum recens Cardinalis Carpi 1545* (fols. 87-92v); *epigrammata nonnulla veterum ex recens manu scripto codice Card(inalis) Carpensis* (fols. 96-103v); *ex libro epigrammatum Cardinalis Carpensis recens scriptorum* (fols. 150-151v)<sup>11</sup>.

We are fortunate in that the *codex Carpensis* used by the Frenchman has survived. The manuscript was found in the municipal library in Carpentras and immediately identified as the Matalian codex by G. de Rossi in about 1880<sup>12</sup>. However, the study of Matal's manuscripts for the development of the *CIL* (and particularly for its sixth volume, which records Roman inscriptions) had been carried out in the two previous decades, so the discovery of this new manuscript did not result in a revision of the analysis of Matal's manuscripts. Similarly to what happened with other sylloges of inscriptions, this manuscript was ignored in most of the epigraphical studies of the 20th century, and only very recently has it been considered of interest in some studies (Ricci 2004, 236-237; Gionta 2005, 148-150).

The manuscript in question (Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, ms. 607, *olim* 581) shows clear signs of having belonged to cardinal Pio da Carpi: at the beginning of the manuscript there is a note written by Onofrio Panvinio himself and dated 13 February 1568 where he claims: *hic liber cuius apud neminem extat exemplar emptus fuit ab illustrissimo cardinali Carpensi CCC aureis (...)* (fol. IXv). Moreover, at the end of the manuscript, a 'decree' was added (emulating those of ancient Rome), whereby it was forbidden for anyone to write upon the codex, and stating that any offender would be considered *hostis patrum academiaeque Carpensis* (fol. 166v). Regarding the epigraphical sylloge, it is actually the combination of two independent collections, each with separately numbered folios: the first (fols. I-LX), dating from the end of the 15th century, was associated by the editors of the *CIL* with the so-called *anonymus Corvisieranus* (fig. 4) and the second (fols. 1-166), dating from the early 16th century, to Pietro Sabino's sylloge (fig. 5).

The first conclusion that emerges from the comparison between the *codex Carpensis* and Matal's manuscripts is that he knew the document in its current format, with both sylloges combined and with some final additions made by Pio da Carpi's circle<sup>13</sup>. Indeed, based on the first sylloge he corrects texts such as *CIL* XI 4209 (Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 39v = Carp. fol. XXXI) or *CIL* VI 2613 (Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 110 = Carp. fol. XXXv); and based on the second one, he corrects, for example, *CIL* VI 2931 (Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 76 = Carp. fol. 93v), while some of the texts in fol. 165-166 can be attributed to Pio da Carpi or his circle; they are the decree mentioned above (which Matal copied in Vat. Lat. 6039 fol. 103<sup>14</sup>); the verse that comes after it (*quicquid Roma capit hoc tibi monstrat opus*) —to whose transcription Matal adds the note *in calce libro* (Vat. Lat. 6039 fol. 92v)— and the false epigraph *CIL* VI 61\*, which in the *codex Carpensis* appears in the preceding folio and which Matal used to correct his version of the Mazochius (Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 127v) and copied again in Vat. Lat. 6039 fol. 99v.

<sup>11</sup> This *liber cardinalis Carpensis* is not to be confused with the manuscript given by Smet to the cardinal (in 1551, after Smet returned from the Netherlands), for whom he had worked as a secretary for five years, and which is now the ms. V E 4 of the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, known in Roman humanistic circles as *libro del Car(din)al di Carpi di Martino Fiamengo* (Carbonell 2009, 56). Given the dates above, Smet was writing his volume at the same time that Matal was working on his corrections. Thus, when Matal refers to Smet in his corrections he uses the expression *Mart(inus) F(landrus) exs(cripsit)*.

<sup>12</sup> The first reference to the manuscript (already identified as Matal's *codex Carpensis*) is by Mommsen (*CIL* IX-X, LXI) based on Giovanni de Rossi, who described the manuscript at greater length in *JCVR*, II, 400-401.

<sup>13</sup> In the last pages there are also several modern epitaphs with notes in French, among which we find the epitaph of Mary, Queen of Scots, who died in 1587.

<sup>14</sup> The decree was transcribed by Mommsen (*CIL* IX-X, LXI) and, more recently, by Gionta (2005, 149-150).

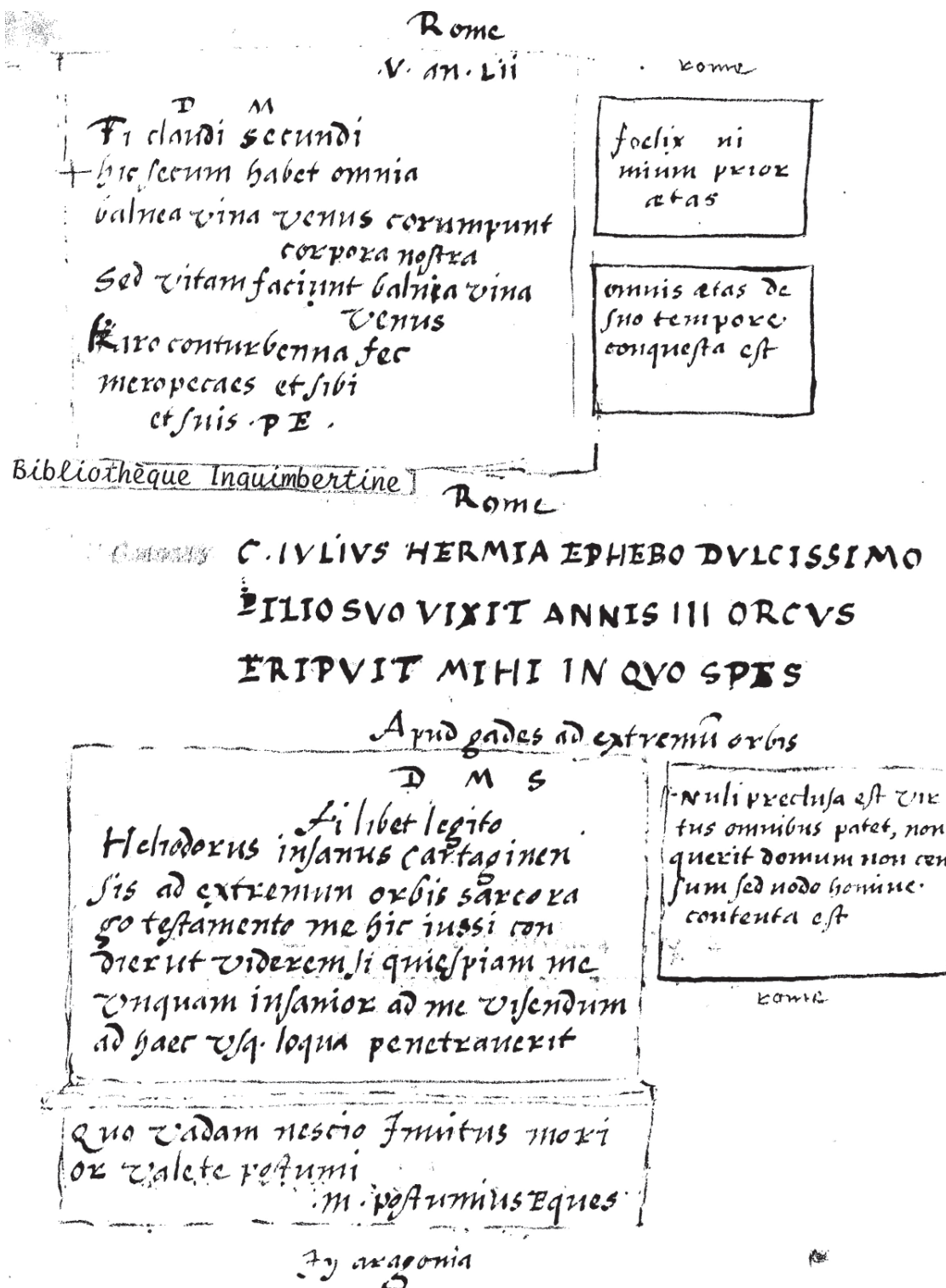


FIGURE 4. Ms. 607, fol. Vv. © Bibl. Inguimbertaine. Carpentras



Roma  
 Secundus episcopus

Vndiq; vim antem veterum monumenta quiritum  
 si qua extant longa non uiolata die;  
 Summam operi da queso manū me imponere: Et sit  
 uile lecturis et hui' chrusto docus.

In subterraneo specu sine crepta  
 maioris altaris templi diui peruij  
 in uaticano

Dij's Manibus

D. Laberi. D. et. D. lib.

primigeni

Laberia. D. f.

vera et

Laberia. D. l. Bibliothēque Inquimbertaine.

Helpis et

D. Laberius. D. lib.

Laus et

D. Laberius. D. lib.

augendus

Benemeriti  
 fecerunt  
 Apud sacellum diuiae  
 Mariae de febris.  
 . D . M .

FIGURE 5. Ms, 607, fol. 1. © Bibl. Inguimbertaine. Carpentras



FIGURE 6. *CIL VI 25531. Palazzo Barberini. Roma*

The most interesting —and, to a certain degree, surprising— aspect is, in our opinion, the fact that Matal used an epigraphical sylloge over 200 folios long just to correct eleven inscriptions in his *Epigrammata*<sup>15</sup>. We believe the reason for this is Matal's systematic preference for the autopsy of inscriptions over the use of indirect copies; it is no coincidence that Matal turns to the *codex Carpensis* only when there is no direct source available. Furthermore, he seems to prioritize copying the epigraphs that include, in the Carpentras manuscript, a detailed description of the epigraphic object, which allowed him to expect a higher degree of reliability as regards both the textual variants and the line division. A clear example of this is *CIL VI 25531* (Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 145v = Carp. fol. 120), for which Matal rewrites<sup>16</sup> the note in the Carpentras manuscript, where the relief is described in great detail (fig. 6): Use of Manuscript Sources 6):

*super est pater cum filio a dextra accinto gladio porrigente sertum rosarum manu dextrae patris. P(ate) autem tenet ollam in sinistra; tres autem ollulae sive cuppae stant in mensa citrea quae substantantur (!) tribus pedibus pardorum.*

A similar case can be found in *CIL VI 20137* (Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 91v (figg. 7a-b) = Carp. fol. 100 (fig. 7c)).

<sup>15</sup> *CIL VI* 61\*, 1018, 1715, 2613, 2650, 2931, 10755, 20137, 25531, XI 4209 and XIV 3607 = Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 127v, 123, 134v, 110, 120, 76, 142v, 91v, 145v, 39v and 174v = Carp. fol. 165, 6, 36, XXXv, 24v, 93v, XXVI/28v, 100, 120, XXXI and XXXVIIv.

<sup>16</sup> Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 145v: *pater hic cum filio gladio cincto a dextra, qui porrigit sertum rosarum patri. Pater tenet ollam sinistram; tres aliae supra mensam stant citream, quae pedes habet pardorum tres.*

*Haec epigr. referendum erat quo modo, quos, ordine, et quibus etiam mensis in proprio mense iussit. sed ut est alibi opita. Id uidebimus non in epigramm. ex codice Card. Casanensis.*

**In domo episcopi Hortani: In urna quadr.**

DIS MANIBVS

C. IVLIO. C. L. METRODORO IULIAE C. L. PHERVSAE.  
 C. IVLIO. C. L. MERCVRIALIS, VIXIT A. N. XIX.  
 C. IVLIO. C. F. METRODORO, VIX. AN. IIII, M. IIII, D. XXVII.  
 C. IVLIO. C. L. AGATHOPODI IULIAE, C. L. SYMPHERVSAE  
 SIBI ET SVIS. POSTERISQVE AEVORVM.

FIGURE 7a. Ms. Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 91v. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

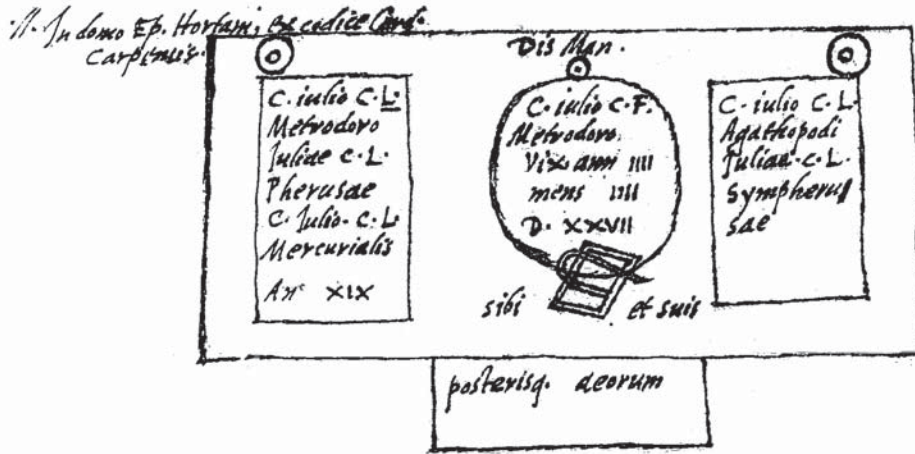


FIGURE 7b. Ibidem. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

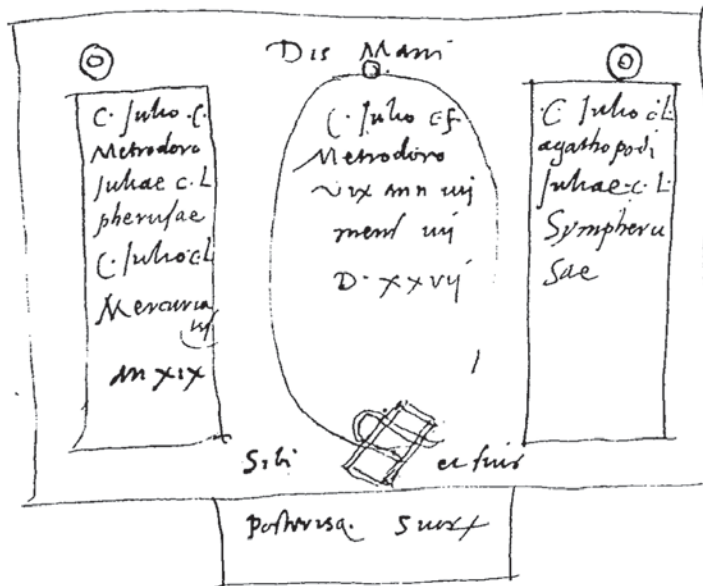


FIGURE 7c. Ms. 607, fol. 100. © Bibl. Inguimbertaine. Carpentras

Matal first corrected the inscription based on the *corrigenda* at the end of the Mazochius, and he also copied the commentary to the inscription (*hoc epigr. referendum erat quo modo, quoq. ordine, et quibus etiam mendis in proprio marmore visitur; sed id est alius operae*). However, when he found, within the *codex Carpensis*, a drawing of the layout of the text, he copied the new *exemplum* in its entirety, and completed his note by adding: *id vide proxime vere expressum, ex codice card. Carpensis*.

## 6. GIOVANNI GIOCONDO'S CODEX

One of the references that we find most frequently repeated throughout the Vat. Lat. 8495 is the reference to the Veronese humanist Giovanni Giocondo (see recently Pagliara 2001; Tura 2008; Buonocore 2008), most often noted as *Iuc(undus) vid(it)* (fol. 12v, 21v...), but also as *fr(ater) Iuc(undus)* (fol. 7v and 30), *Iuc(undus) exscr(ipsit)* (fol. 22) and even in *Iucundi libro* (fol. 21v)<sup>17</sup>. Matal refers to the eminent epigraphist in his 'prologue' to the volume, where he stresses how, of all the early authors of epigraphical sylloges, *Laurentii Medices suasu praestitit Iucundus monachus* (fol. I nn v). Also, in Vat. Lat. 6039, he does not hesitate to attribute to him the ultimate origin of some of the epigraphs he copies from other manuscript sources: *ex Iucundi discipulo quodam* (fol. 105), *ex codice Vallamberti Hedui, qui eas ex libro Adriani Gulielmi sumpserat, ex libro Io. Iucundi excerpto* (fol. 106).

While these references have been known and repeatedly pointed out<sup>18</sup>, the exact relation between the French epigraphist and the *corpus Iucundianum* has received much less attention. In fact, the only concrete proposal regarding this was made by Mommsen<sup>19</sup>, who reached the surprising conclusion that Matal had never known Giocondo's sylloge from direct sources and that all the material originated actually from the *codex Carpensis*, which (before it was rediscovered in Carpentras) had been erroneously identified as simply another copy of the third recension of Giocondo's sylloge (*CIL* VI, XLIX). Not even after the reappearance of the *codex Carpensis* (which made it possible to disprove the idea that it was a copy of Giocondo's work<sup>20</sup>) did the editors of the *CIL* propose an alternative hypothesis to Mommsen's, and it appears this matter has not since aroused the interest of specialized critics.

<sup>17</sup> Carbonell 2009, 52. The complete list of the folios in the Vat. Lat. 8495 which include references to Giocondo is as follows: fol. 7v, 12v, 20v, 21v-22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27r-v, 29v-30, 32v-33v, 34v-35v, 38v-39, 40r-v, 42-43v, 44v-45, 46, 47v-48, 48v, 52v, 53v, 54v, 55v, 57, 59r-v, 60v, 61v-62v, 65v, 73r-v, 77v, 79, 80v, 84, 89v, 92v, 96, 98, 109v-110v, 113v, 117r-v, 120, 124r-v, 129, 130r-v, 131v, 134v-135v, 136v-139, 140, 141, 142v, 144v, 146, 151, 153r-v, 155v-156, 157, 159-160, 162 and 170.

<sup>18</sup> They do not yet appear among the many abbreviations used by Matal which can be found in the *CIL* VI, XLIX. Recently, they have been noted by Koortbojian (2002, 308), who cites Mommsen 1872. Mommsen, however, only included the indirect indications present in Gruter's *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* (Heidelberg, 1603) (See note 19). The 'prologue' is also acknowledged by Cooper (1993, 99), while Crawford (1993b, 285-286) transcribes the notes found in the Vat. Lat. 6039.

<sup>19</sup> Mommsen (1872, 70): *Tituli non ita pauci leguntur apud Gruterum cum subscriptionibus formae diversae, modo 'ex Metelli schedis Gutenstenius', modo 'Metellus e*

*codice fratris Iucundi', modo 'Metellus e manuscripto codice cardinalis Carpensis', quas subscriptiones dudum intellectum est plerumque certe idem significare, id est titulum ex codice fratris Iucundi servato tum apud cardinalem Carpentensem Metellum descripsisse, Gutenstenium rursus misisse ex Metellianis. Versavit igitur Gutenstenius excerpta Metelliana iam inserta codice Vaticano 6039 p. 242. 309-328. 369 sic inscripta 'ex libro epigrammatum manu scriptorum recens cardinalis Carpensis': quae cum olim perlustrabam iudicavi excerpta esse ex exemplari aliquo nequaquam eximio corporis Iucundiani. In the index auctorum of the CIL IX-X (LIII) this is expressed in similar terms: Iucundiana Metellus ipsa non versavit; habuit excerpta a Vallamberto sumpta ex collectaneis Iucundi quae credebantur, servatis tum Neapoli apud Spadaforam, vere profectis ab Augustino Tyferno et per hunc ex bona parte a Iucundo.*

<sup>20</sup> ICVR, II, p. 400: *Metellus (cod. Vat. 6039 fol. 309-328) multa excerpit 'ex libro epigrammatum manu scriptorum recens card. Carpi MDXLV', qui prius visus est pertinuisse ad familiam codicum recensionis tertiae corporis Iucundiani, sed Metellianis excerptis attentius expensis intelligitur librum Carpentensem ab ea recensione diversum fuisse.*

In fact, even if the Carpentras manuscript had remained lost, there would be enough reasons for us to reject the identification proposed by Mommsen. In the first place, Matal already uses a specific code to refer to the *codex Carpensis* («c. c.»), and so the use of a different name (*Iucundus*) to mention the same source would be inconsistent with the Frenchman's systematic methods<sup>21</sup>. In the second place, the periphrases used by Matal to refer to the *codex Carpensis* imply that it is an anonymous manuscript, whereas Giocondo is mentioned not only as the author of the epigraphical compilation, but also specifying that he was a monk and that he compiled the sylloge at the request of Lorenzo de' Medici (*Laurentii Medices suasu*<sup>22</sup>). Finally, and this is the simplest and most irrefutable proof, Matal copies, in the first of several folios added at the end of his Mazochius (fol. 189v), the letter addressed by Giocondo to Lorenzo de' Medici (1449-1492) found at the beginning of some of his epigraphical manuscripts. This letter was, obviously, Matal's source of information on Giocondo's sylloge, and Mommsen's hypothesis can only be explained by his having overlooked it<sup>23</sup>. Indeed, there can be no doubt that, if Matal had access to a signed copy of Giocondo's sylloge and felt compelled to reproduce its introductory letter, he also must have consulted the material contained in the codex. Therefore, that copy and no other has got to be the source he identifies as *Iucundus*.

The letter to Lorenzo de' Medici is also useful to us as a starting point to try to identify the manuscript used by Matal. To date, more than fifteen manuscripts have been pointed out which could be called *codices Iucundiani*, but no global study has yet been conducted to determine how many surviving manuscripts constitute this tradition and what exactly is the relation between them and the other contemporary sylloges<sup>24</sup>. Despite this plethora of codices, an important fact remains: the letter copied by Matal appears only<sup>25</sup> (addressed to Lorenzo) in four manuscripts<sup>26</sup>, plus two more sylloges where it has the same content but is addressed to the Archbishop of Cosenza Ludovico Agnelli (mid 15th century - 1499)<sup>27</sup>.

This letter, published on numerous occasions<sup>28</sup>, presents slight differences in its text which mainly set the copy given to Lorenzo (Vat. Lat. 10228, known as *Mediceus*) apart from the other three. This can be explained because the scribe commissioned by Giocondo to copy the *Mediceus*,

<sup>21</sup> This double form proves to be absurd in some cases where both sources are cited at the same time (see *supra*, n. 10).

<sup>22</sup> Currently we have knowledge of several mentions to Giocondo's sylloge given as a gift to Lorenzo which date back to the time of its writing (Koortbojian 2002, 297-299), the most famous of which is by Angelo Poliziano, in his *Miscellaneorum centuria prima*, Firenze, 1489, fol. [1 5v] (cap. 77): *in collectaneis autem quae nuperrime ad Laurentium Medicem Iucundus misit, vir unus, opinor, titulorum, monimentorumque veterum supra mortales ceteros non diligentissimus solum, sed etiam sine controversia peritissimus*. Matal's words, however, go beyond the information that can be obtained from Poliziano's mention.

<sup>23</sup> In fact, we have not found any direct references to this letter in the modern bibliography. One of the few references to it that we know of can be found in Bandini 1750, 99-100 n. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Among the more significant attempts (never fully coincident with one another) to catalogue and organize Giocondo's manuscripts are: *CIL* III, XXVII; *CIL* IX-X, XLVI-XLVII; *ICVR*, II, 395-401; Ziebarth 1905,

221-245; *ICVR* n. s., XXXV-XXXVIII; Koortbojian 2002, 300 and 306-307; Buonocore 2008, 533-534.

<sup>25</sup> We have personally examined the following manuscripts, which do not include the letter to Lorenzo: BAV, ms. Barb. Lat. 2098, ms. Vat. Lat. 5326 and ms. Vat. Lat. 8494 (fol. 309-354v); Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. Magl. XXVIII, 34; *ibid.*, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Ashb. 905; London, British Library, ms. Stowe 1016; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 10096; Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Lat. class. e. 29, and Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, ms. Cicogna 1632.

<sup>26</sup> Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. CCLXX (241); BAV, ms. Vat. Lat. 10228; BAV, ms. Borg. Lat. 336; Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, ms. Lat. XIV, 171 (4665).

<sup>27</sup> Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. Magl. XXVIII, 5; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, ms. Lat. fol. 61q.

<sup>28</sup> The only critical edition (based on the Veronese manuscript, on the Vat. Lat. 10228 and on the Magliabecchiano) is by Koortbojian (2002, 309-311), who cites the previous editions, to which we should now add Buonocore's edition (2003, 229-230).

Bartolomeo Sanvito (De la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009), produced another manuscript —also including the dedicatory letter to Lorenzo— for his own personal use (the *Veronensis*), which served as a basis for subsequent copies<sup>29</sup> and thus resulted in the propagation of its textual variants. The fact is that the letter reproduced by Matal accurately follows all of the variants in the *Mediceus* and differs from every other manuscript<sup>30</sup>; therefore his version has got to derive —whether directly or indirectly— from the Medicean codex, as should also be the case, according to our hypothesis, for the epigraphical annotations which Matal attributes to *Iucundus*. In this respect, when the *Mediceus* is compared to the variants attributed to *Iucundus* in the Vat. Lat. 8495, the result is surprisingly contradictory: we find, as expected, signs that support this relationship, along with other signs that seem to disprove it. Let us now consider a few of the most interesting examples of this.

In fol. 21v we find the following note in relation to *CIL VI 13534*: *in Iucundi libro fragmentum esse dicitur, sic*: LOCVS · SACER · IVSSV · Q · BATONI · TELESPHORI [---] FECIT [---] / [---] Q · BATONIVS · ONESIMVS · etc (fig. 8a). Indeed, both the inclusion of the *vacat* and the use of capital letters seem to reproduce the text in the *Mediceus* (fol. 110v) (fig. 8b), since Giocondo's other manuscripts never mention more than one *vacat* after *fecit* and in all of them the text is copied in lower case (e. g. in the Veronese sylloge) (fig. 8c)<sup>31</sup>.

FIGURE 8a. *Ms. Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 21v*. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

FIGURE 8b. *Ms. Vat. Lat. 10228 fol. 110v*. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

FIGURE 8c. *Ms. CCLXX fol. 53*. © Bibl. Capitolare. Verona

<sup>29</sup> The favoured position of the Veronese sylloge was already identified by Mommsen; see *CIL III*, XXVII, and Henzen 1869, 387-400. An illustrative analysis of the work method of Giocondo-Sanvito can be found in Koortbojian 2002, 303-304. It should be noted, lastly, that the codex was thought by Mommsen to be written in Giocondo's own hand (*CIL III*, XXVII), an idea which has often been reproduced in later bibliography (most recently in Contò 2006). In truth it was copied by Sanvito (Hobson 1989, 79-81; Koortbojian 2002, 303; De la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009, 314-315 n. 96); the only fragment written in Giocondo's own hand in the collection of known epigraphical manuscripts that constitute his sylloge is in Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, ms. Lat. XIV, 171 (4665), fol. 191-215v; in connection to this, see Koortbojian 1993.

<sup>30</sup> For example, both the *Mediceus* and Matal present, among other variants, "praesertim quia" instead of the "praesertim cum" found in the *Veronensis*, the ms. Borg. Lat. 336 and the *Marcianus*; the fragment *si per palingenesiam Varronianam renasci illis liceret. Quod etsi incorrupti essent, non tamen satis* instead of *si ad has auras iterum remearent. Quinetiam etsi incorrupti haberentur haud quaquam satis; sunt* instead of *extant; principum* instead of *potentum; assidue* instead of *in horas*, and *tibi uni* instead of *clementiae tuae*.

<sup>31</sup> As has been pointed out (Koortbojian 2002, 299), the systematic copying of the text in capitals is unique to the *Mediceus* among the *codices Iucundiani*.

In fol. 73v, Matal offers his own reading of *CIL* VI 27619, but not without reproducing Giocondo's variant: *MARCILIAN · MA · / IN · FRO ·* Iuc. (fig. 9a). Again, the use of capital letters and the line division point to the Medicean copy (fig. 9b) and not to others as the one in Verona (fig. 9c)<sup>32</sup>.

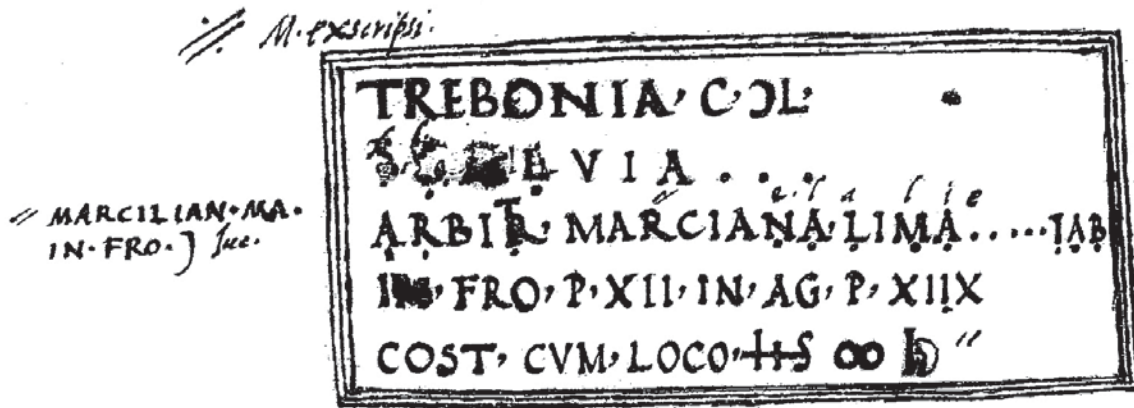


FIGURE 9a. *Ms. Vat. Lat. 10228 fol. 55.* © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana



FIGURE 9b. *Ms. Vat. Lat. 10228 fol. 55.* © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

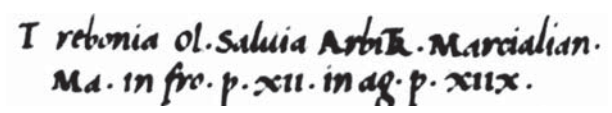


FIGURE 9c. *Ms. CCLXX fol. 28v.* © Bibl. Capitolare. Verona

Finally, let us consider the most conclusive example. In fol. 138v, regarding *CIL* VI 4348 (fig. 10a), Matal corrects Mazochius' reading *lecticarius*, changing it to *lepticarius* as proposed by Alfonso Castro, and afterwards changes it again to the reading *lepicarius*, which he attributes to Giocondo and which is, in fact, the form found in the stone (Ilardi 2000, 110). The fact is that the *Mediceus* is the only manuscript, of all the *codices Iucundiani* we have been able to examine, which contains this reading, while all the others include the form *lecticarius*<sup>33</sup> (fig. 10b).

So far everything would seem to suggest that the *Mediceus* was, in fact, the manuscript consulted by Matal. But the French humanist records several other readings, also attributed to *Iucundus*,

<sup>32</sup> The reading *Marcialian.* appears in the copies that can be found in Verona (fol. 28v; cit. in n. 26) and in the Biblioteca Marciana (fol. 45v), whereas the reading *Marcilian.* appears again in other manuscripts such as the Magliabecchiano (fol. 51) and the Madrid manuscript (fol. 62), which presents the same line division as the

*Mediceus*. All of them, however, copy the text in lower case letters.

<sup>33</sup> Such is the case, for example, of the Veronese manuscript (fol. 92), the Magliabecchiano (fol. 28v), the *Marcianus* (fol. 23) and the Madrid manuscript (fol. 29); see. notes 25 & 26. for their respective signatures.

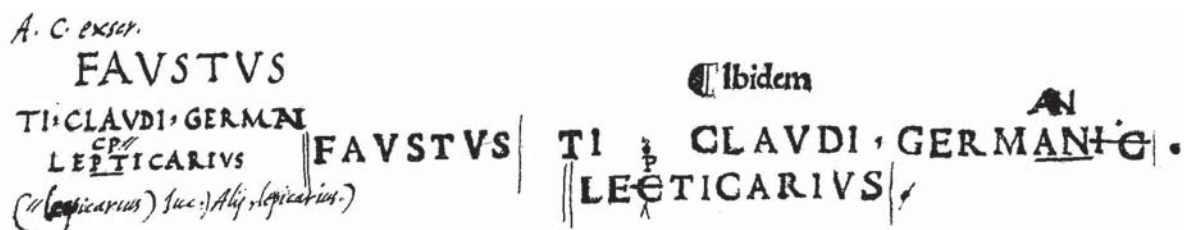


FIGURE 10a. *Ms. Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 138v.* © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

FAVSTVS TI. CLAVDI GERMANI.  
LEPICARIVS.

FIGURE 10b. *Ms. Vat. Lat. 10228 fol. 72v.* © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

which do not correspond either to the Medicean copy or any of the other *codices Iucundiani* that we have examined. For example, concerning *CIL* VI 2613 (fol. 110), he attributes to *Iucundus* the reading *polingenices* instead of the form contained in the *codex Carpensis*, *polingenues*, which is the form actually used by Giocondo (fig. 11a-b)

In *CIL* VI 18510 (fol. 124v), Matal attributes to him the reading *sibi posterisque eius* when in fact Giocondo gives, like Mazochius, the form *sibi posterisque suis*; in *CIL* VI 1020 (fol. 135), instead of Giocondo's actual reading *Heliodorus*, Matal attributes to him the clearly faulty reading *Helpiodorus*; in *CIL* VI 28881 (fol. 135v), Matal mentions *aeadem* as a variant used by Giocondo, when in fact Giocondo records the correct form *eaedem*; the same thing happens successively in *CIL* VI 22792 (fol. 137) —with the variant *Corme* appearing instead of *Cornelia*— and in *CIL* VI 4358 (fol. 138) —with the variant *Scamphan.* instead of *Scaplian.* In both cases the latter form is the one found in all of the *codices Iucundiani*.

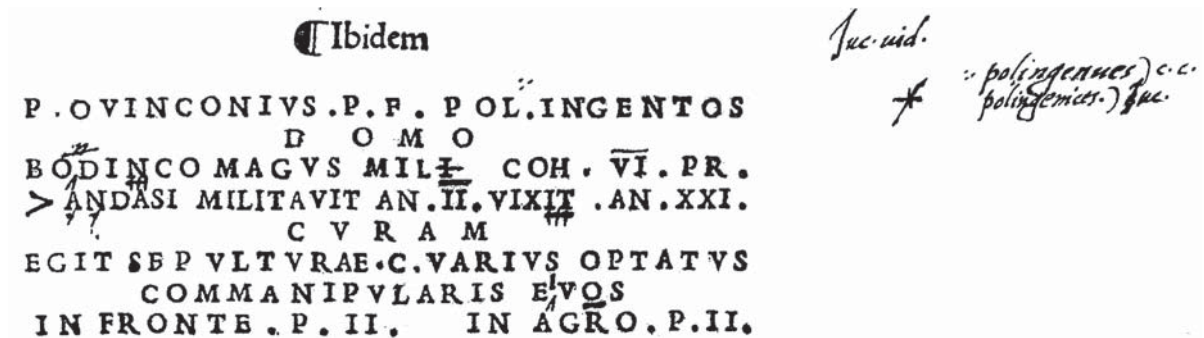
The presence of so many non-matching readings forces us to reject the idea that Matal consulted the Vat. Lat. 10228 directly. At the same time, none of these readings appears, so far as we have been able to ascertain, in any other of Giocondo's manuscripts, and in some cases they are clearly errors that neither Giocondo himself nor his scribe Sanvito were likely to make. In the absence of new evidence, then, the most plausible hypothesis is that Matal consulted a manuscript derived from the *Mediceus* which included the errors he records as alternative readings, and that he used this source for both the letter to Lorenzo and the correction of his Mazochius<sup>34</sup>.

Besides the difficulty in determining the relation between the *Mediceus* and Matal, there are also several unresolved issues regarding Giocondo's manuscript (*ICVR* II, 396-397; Carini 1894, 219-282; Ziebarth 1905, 222-223; *ICVR* n. s., XXXV-XXXVI; Koortbojian 2002, *praes.* 299-300;

<sup>34</sup> The lesser diffusion of the *Mediceus* (we have no information regarding its whereabouts during the 16th and 17th centuries), compared to other manuscripts of the Iucundian tradition inclines us to think that Matal could have seen this apograph in a library in Florence

(maybe even in the Medicean library itself), where he conducted a thorough search for manuscripts starting in 1544, and especially in 1545, at the behest of Antonio Agustín; cf. Hobson 1975, 39-42; Heuser 2003, 86-87.



FIGURE 11a. *Ms. Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 110.* © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

IBIDEM

P OVINCONIVS .P. F. POLINGE  
 NVES DOMO BODINCOMAGVS  
 MILI .COH. VI. PR. > ANDASI  
 MILITAVIT AN. II. VIXIT AN.  
 XXI. CVRAM EGIT SEPVI  
 TVRAE C VARIVS OPTATVS  
 COMMANIPVLARIS EIVS  
 I NFRONTE P. II. I NAGRO P. II.

FIGURE 11b. *Ms. Vat. Lat. 10228 fol. 57.* © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Buonocore 2003, 227-244; De la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009, 304-305). Evidently the manuscript was presented in an unfinished state: the space reserved for the first character of the letter to Lorenzo was left blank, and the ornamentation decorating the inscriptions in the first pages disappears from fol. 51 onwards. But it is not clear if what has survived is the whole or just a part of the material given to the Medici prince; in the letter-prologue a second part is mentioned which was to include the inscriptions that Giocondo had not seen in person<sup>35</sup>; we know of this second part from other Iucundian manuscripts, such as the Verona manuscript and the Magliabecchiano<sup>36</sup>, but whether it was finished before Lorenzo's death in 1492 is unknown. In parallel, the fact, on the one hand,

<sup>35</sup> Giocondo claims that *referam tamen quae ab aliis accepi*, and he later specifies: *praeter quae vidi quaeque accurate exscripsi in hoc volumen nihil congressi* (Koortbojian 2002, 311).

<sup>36</sup> In these manuscripts the introductory letter to the second part has survived. This letter explicitly states

that *cum ergo in superiori volumine annotaverim quae propriis laboribus atque sudoribus congressi, operae pretium duxi etiam ea quae ab amicis et dignissimis diligentissimisque viris accepi, in sequens opus conscribere et tibi quoque ex alienis laboribus aliquam afferre voluptatem* (Koortbojian 2002, 313).

that the last of the eleven fascicles that make up the manuscript also includes the number referencing the next fascicle (Buonocore 2003, 227), and, on the other hand, that the current binding is not original, but dates from the 17th century (De la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009, 304), opens the possibility that the manuscript might have contained other fascicles that have not survived<sup>37</sup>. In this regard, we can only note that, among the inscriptions Matal attributes to Giocondo, we find no less than ten epigraphs which do not appear in the current Vat. Lat. 10228. Six of these are part of the *corpus Iucundianum*<sup>38</sup> and, in particular, at least in one Matal reproduces the description of the physical medium found in Giocondo<sup>39</sup>. The other four, as the *CIL* already detected, do not seem to appear in Giocondo's manuscripts<sup>40</sup>.

Therefore, although the facts presented here do not bring the issue of the tradition of Giocondo's *corpus* to an end, we hope that they might contribute to narrowing the scope of research in this area.

## 7. CARDINAL GIOVANNI SALVIATI'S SYLLOGE AND OTHER MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Finally, we should mention the only of the four manuscripts cited by Matal that has never been found to date. As we have seen, Matal refers to it, in his prologue to the Mazochius, as the *codex Salviati cardinalis* [Giovanni Salviati, 1490-1553], a codex he must have consulted when he visited the Cardinal's library in 1546<sup>41</sup>. It is worth noting, however, that this codex is referenced several times in Matal's annotations, in fol. 62v explicitly as *codex Salviati* and in other cases in the form of the abbreviation —parallel to the one he uses for the *codex Carpensis*— «c. s.», which must undoubtedly be interpreted as *c(odex) S(alviati)*<sup>42</sup>. Just like was the case of the former manuscript, this was the source used in one of the sections of the Vat. Lat. 6039, found under the heading *ex libro Cardinalis Salviati manuscr(ipto)* (fol. 104).

In one occasion (Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 15v) Matal refers also to a codex seen by B. Egio —*Benedictus Hegius vidit manuscripto codice in Camilli Capranici domo*— that he himself does not seem to have examined.

An equally important issue which remains to be determined is the relation existing between Matal's manuscript comments and those recorded in the copies annotated by L. G. Manetti,

<sup>37</sup> This is actually Koortbojian's opinion (2002, 299). According to him, the manuscript is "clearly a fragment, and an unfinished one".

<sup>38</sup> *CIL* VI 26464 and 1968 (Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 22); 2004 (Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 24r-v), 562 (Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 26), 16398 (Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 65v) and 26580 (Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 120).

<sup>39</sup> In *CIL* VI 1968, where Matal notes: *haec sunt insculpta: subest aquila residens inserto, sub qua lupa, una cum Remo et Romulo* (...). The information comes undoubtedly from Giocondo's note (ms. Ver. fol. 145: *hic suberat aquila residens inserto sub qua erat lupa cum Romulo et Remo*), but was later completed using Alfonso Castro's *exemplum*.

<sup>40</sup> *CIL* VI 17123 (Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 35), 28615 and 12507 (Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 39) and 3630 (Vat. Lat. 8495 fol. 53v).

<sup>41</sup> Matal wrote a catalogue of this and other libraries in a manuscript kept in Cambridge, University Library, ms. Add. 565; cf. Hobson 1975, 44; Cataldi 1995. Only one title (n. 164 in the catalogue) is an epigraphic work (*Urbis inscriptiones antiquae, duo vol<umin>a. 2. c.*), which Cataldi (1995, 76) thinks can be identified as a copy of the Mazochius, although we must bear in mind that Matal usually distinguishes printed works with the annotation *editus*.

<sup>42</sup> Fol. 9; 34v; 48v; 50v; 53v; 108r-v; 112v; 116v; 117r-v; 118v; 122 (*Ben. Heg. et c. s.*); 123v; 124r; 129v; 133; 139v; 153; 169v; 170; 171v.

A. Lelio and A. Colocci, to which we have referred at the beginning of this article. This issue will be discussed in a paper we are now preparing after having conducted an accurate study of the four printed copies, to be published in the near future.

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