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# The Roman Inscriptions of Augsburg Published by Conrad Peutinger

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In the year 1505 the Augsburg humanist and city secretary Conrad Peutinger (1465-1547; Stadtschreiber 1497-1534) published a small volume of Roman inscriptions of Augsburg entitled *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et eius dioecesi*.<sup>1</sup> Following the title page the book contained two epigrams, one praising the book, the other explaining the etymology of a local Augsburg place name. Next was a letter by Peutinger *ad lectorem* (König no. 36).<sup>2</sup> The major part of the publication consisted of some twenty Roman inscriptions, mainly from Augsburg itself (two in Peutinger's own possession), with a few additional ones from nearby villages.<sup>3</sup> They were typeset in capital letters retaining the line divisions on the stone. Each inscription was headed by an introductory note indicating the site where it was found. The last item in the book was the Latin speech delivered by Conrad Peutinger's four-year-old daughter Juliana on the occasion of a visit by Maximilian to Augsburg in 1504. Peutinger's publication was a novel enterprise. While printed editions of classical texts transmitted in MS were common at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the epigraphical remains of antiquity, despite vivid interest, had not been published separately. Peutinger's book is the third known printed edition of inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

The inscriptions found a printer as exceptional as the project itself. They were published in Augsburg by Erhard Ratdolt, 'the most inventive printer after Gutenberg himself'.<sup>5</sup> Ratdolt was, for example, the first to print in three colors. He was a very successful publisher of liturgical books; ours is one of his few non-liturgical productions. Another, incidentally, is the inaugural lecture by Conrad Celtis at the university of Ingolstadt in 1492.<sup>6</sup> For Peutinger's book, which he printed *cura et impensa sua* (Peutinger *ad lectorem*, König no.36), he designed a monumental font of Roman capital letters to reproduce the inscriptions. The notes accompanying the inscriptions appear in a smaller type in red.

Despite these extraordinary features Peutinger's book has not received much scholarly attention. It is the aim of this paper to describe the context of Peutinger's enterprise within Augsburg's intellectual life. I will demonstrate how it was connected with other contemporaneous scholarly projects of the Augsburg humanists, how it reflected the scholarly aims of South German humanism in general, and supported the cultural and patriotic propaganda of the imperial court in particular.

The major source for our interpretation is, besides the printed book itself, an earlier version in MS form with slightly different contents. It was written by Peutinger himself and is today in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (clm 4028). Instead of the address *ad lectorem* it contains two letters, one from Conrad Celtis addressed to Peutinger, the second Peutinger's reply, both with a few marginal corrections by Peutinger (König nos. 34 and 35). The inscriptions number one less than in the printed edition, otherwise they are identical. In one case their sequence is different in the printed edition, apparently for reasons of layout. They are carefully drawn so as to reproduce the distribution of

the text on the stone. As in the printed edition, the inscriptions are headed by introductory notes. These are identical in substance in both works, sometimes more specific in the MS or in less polished Latin.<sup>7</sup> These follows in the MS a series of epigrams composed by members of the Augsburg *sodalitas litteraria*, including the two published in the printed edition (one in a longer version).<sup>8</sup> The last piece is Juliana Peutingering's speech (the version in the print is slightly revised).

The MS allows us to identify several stages in the prehistory of the publication. The earliest identifiable part comprises the epigrams, for which the biography of two contributors establishes the time limits. The *terminus a quo* is 1502, when Conrad Adelmann von Adelmansfelden became an Augsburg canon; as such he appears in the MS,<sup>9</sup> the *terminus ad quem* is 1503, when Adolph Occo died. The epigrams already speak of Peutingering's collection as an ongoing or even completed project. However, our MS was only written later, after Juliana's speech on January 30, 1504, which is written in the same hand and evidently at the same time as the rest, and before September 15, 1505, the date of the dedicatory epistle of the printed edition. The *terminus a quo* could be set even later, if Celtis' words in his letter to Peutingering "*quum nuper apud regem Augustae, ut scis, agerem*" refer to a visit of the Emperor to Augsburg in 1504.<sup>10</sup> Concerning the later date, the letter *ad lectorem* in the printed edition seems to presuppose a contact between Peutingering and the Emperor, of which the MS does not yet show any trace. Therefore the MS may have been written in or before the spring of 1505, i.e., before Peutingering left Augsburg to represent the city at the diet in Cologne (from the end of May to the middle of August, 1505), where he was in contact with the emperor.<sup>11</sup> After returning from Cologne, Peutingering abandoned this version and produced yet another, final draft for the printer. This contained the letter to the reader (dated a little over a week before the print was finished on September, 24), the Latin notes as they were to appear in the printed version, and the one additional inscription found only there.<sup>12</sup>

In the letter *ad lectorem* of the 1505 edition Peutingering explains the circumstances which had led to the publication as follows (König no. 36):

Dn. Imp. Caes. Maximiliani P.F. Augusti Inuicti et Foelicissimi Principis iussu mandatoque: Romanae uetustatis inscriptionum fragmenta in hac urbe Augusta Vindelicorum: et eius Dioecesi. marmoreis lapidibus: priscam illam erudicionem et nobilitatis uestigia prae se ferentia. non sine uenerandae sodalitatiss litterariae Augustanae: tam maioris ecclesiae Canonicorum: quam Conciuium nostrorum ope: a nobis perquisita et conlecta. Erhaldo Ratoldo [...] dedimus imprimenda.

Peutingering raises three points, which we will pursue in inverse order: the edition was undertaken at the command of the emperor, it contained inscriptions displaying the erudition and distinction of the past, and it was compiled with the support of the *sodalitas litteraria Augustana*.

The *Sodalitas litteraria Augustana* was formed around the turn of the century and included Peutingering and other Augsburg intellectuals. It was one of several literary societies founded in southern Germany and Austria by Conrad Celtis after the example of the Roman academy of Pomponio Leto.<sup>13</sup> Membership in these societies was rather fluid;

participation varied from project to project. The support the Augsburg *sodales* gave Peutingers project is documented in the *sodalitatis nostrae Augustensis epigramata* (Celtis, König no.36) contained in the MS. Thirteen *sodales* contributed epigrams to accompany Peutingers projected book. These were (in the order of the MS): Matthaeus Lang, Conrad Mörlin, Matthaeus Marschalk von Biberach zu Pappenheim, Berhard von Waldkirch, Bernhard and Conrad Adelman von Adelmansfelden, Adolph Occo, Sebastianus Ilsung, Iohannes Collaurius, Blasius Hölzel, Conrad Celtis, Christophorus Welsler, and Iohannes Mader (Foeniseca). A brief look at some of their biographies will show how they came to take an interest in Peutingers enterprise.

Matthaeus Lang (1468-1540), later archbishop of Salzburg, is the most famous. He is called *Praepositus Augustensis, Reg(ius) Consiliarius* in the MS, titles which reflect the actual stage of his career between 1500 and 1505. He had become provost of the Augsburg chapter in 1500, would become bishop of Gurk in Carinthia in 1505, and be raised to the nobility with the title von Wellenburg in 1508. It was he who proclaimed the king Maximilian as Emperor in Trent on February 4, 1508. He was a well-known patron of the arts, and a recipient of countless dedications, among them Peutingers *Sermones coniuuales*.<sup>14</sup> His active participation in scholarly projects seems to have been rare and would naturally have been confined to his younger years. In fact, the two lines in our MS are among his very few known poetic productions. Lang certainly shared Peutingers interest in collecting inscriptions, even though their scholarly appreciation was left to his learned friend.<sup>15</sup>

There are two other court officials in this group: Giovanni Colla (Collaurius) and Blasius Hölzel. Collaurius, *urium Doctor, Reg(ius) Secretarius*, had come into the imperial service from Ludovico il Moro.<sup>16</sup> Our MS contains what seems to be the earliest attestation of his activity in the imperial chancellery. We know from his correspondence that he was in contact with Peutingers as well as other humanists during this period.<sup>17</sup> Blasius Hölzel, as manager of the imperial finances, was a man of considerable importance at the court. Many letters bear witness to his close friendship with Peutingers, whom he not only expected to find him a wife, but also provided with the latest information from Maximilian's campaigns. He had minor literary ambitions; some poems of his are known, none is very good. A collection of poems published in 1518 celebrates him as a patron of the humanists at court.<sup>18</sup>

Several of our poets were men of the Church residing in Augsburg.<sup>19</sup> There was Conrad Mörlin (1452-1510), abbot of the local Benedictine monastery of Saint Ulrich and Afra since 1496, which reached a peak of its artistic and scholarly activities under him.<sup>20</sup> His archeological interests are attested in the antiquarian dissertation transmitted under the authorship of Margareta Welsler, Peutingers wife.<sup>21</sup> Matthaeus Marschalk von Biberach zu Pappenheim, an Augsburg canon, is known for his treatises on local history, a history of his own family, and the *Excerpta chronici Australis*. Our little epigram seems to be the only witness to his poetic creativity.<sup>22</sup>

Also noteworthy is Bernhard Adelman von Adelmansfelden. He was born in 1457 and studied in Tübingen, where he made the acquaintance of Reuchlin. A letter of his from 1490 was printed in the *Illustrium virorum epistolae*. He was a canon in Augsburg from 1498 on. He was one of the six people threatened with excommunication together with Luther in the papal bull *Exsurge domine* of 1520, gaining absolution through the intercession of Sebastian Ilsung, another *sodalis*.<sup>23</sup>

The others are Augsburg citizens and residents. Adolf Occo I, the Elder, formerly

physician to Archduke Sigismund of Tyrol, was a medical doctor in Augsburg since 1494 and, incidentally, a neighbour of the printer Ratdolt.<sup>24</sup> He was acquainted with Reuchlin and a scholar of Latin and Greek, although Pirckheimer did not have a high opinion of his scholarship.<sup>25</sup> Celtis praised him as a poet.<sup>26</sup> The 1505 edition came out after his death, as he had died on July 24, 1503.<sup>27</sup>

Johannes Mader (Foeniseca) was a schoolman and admirer of Reuchlin. He edited the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius in 1506, and the *Chronicon* of the Abbot of Ursberg,<sup>28</sup> which Peutingger had discovered, in 1515. Furthermore, he was the author of a treatise on the liberal arts, the 'quadratum sapientiae'.<sup>29</sup>

As we see from this survey, the *sodales* represent a group with a rather uneven scholarly profile. The possibility that some of them contributed actively to Peutingger's project cannot be summarily dismissed, even though the extent of their participation must remain uncertain.<sup>30</sup> We can get further circumstantial evidence concerning their scholarly interests and activities from other occasions on which they collaborated with Peutingger.

Also among the *sodales* was Christoph Welsler (1480-1536), Peutingger's brother-in-law. He was the dedicatee of the antiquarian commentary purportedly written by his sister Margareta Welsler. In Rome he collated an inscription "*ad diuum Laurentium extra Urbis Romae muros*" for Peutingger.<sup>31</sup> An impression of his antiquarian interests can be gained from a scene Peutingger described in the *Sermones conuiuales de mirandis Germaniae antiquitatibus* (b 5v):<sup>32</sup>

Inter scribendum haec / aduenit Sororius meus Christoferus  
Vuelser / linguae lancialis: non ignarus: et super effigie lapidea  
uetustissima aedibus sacris diui Vdalrici Augustensium Patroni  
affixa admonuit / eam non esse Cisae / ut uulgus credit: sed  
Meduse. Sculptos enim habet crines grossos vipereos collum eius  
plectentes: [...]<sup>33</sup>

This learned exchange between two *sodales*, whether fictive or not, occurred in the year 1504, at the very time when Peutingger was collecting inscriptions in and around Augsburg. We may well imagine similar informal discussions of epigraphical questions. Certainly his fellow humanists were well aware of Peutingger's studies of ancient coins and inscriptions and their importance for historical studies.<sup>34</sup>

The *Sermones conuiuales* are alleged to be the record of an educated dinner conversation between several *sodales*. They discuss a variety of topics, amongst them the Spanish exploration of India and the question of whether the apostle Paul had been married. Peutingger develops the following scenario for the invitation in his dedicatory letter to Matthaeus Lang (b 1v-b 2r, König, no. 20):

a.d. septimum idus octobris Ioannem Caprum diuinarum humanarumque rerum interpretem doctissimum. Nobiles et uenerandas ecclesiae tuae canonicos Bernhardum Vualchirchium ac Iheronimum Lochner. simul quoque Sebastianum Ilsung eque patricia domo Augustensi natum: iureconsultos disertissimos Ioannem Iung Seniore et Ioannem Othonem / artis medicae / et sideralis scientiae expertissimos professores. et etiam me prandio tuo praesentiae esse uoluisti / ad conuiuium inuitati conuenimus.

Whether this passage describes any actual dinner invitation is irrelevant for our purposes. Whatever the degree of fictionality, the host and the guests were people Peutingner knew were interested in the issues in question. The idealized form of a learned exchange of ideas was a tribute to the intellectual pursuits of his Augsburg *sodales* and their importance for his own scholarship.

The topics raised were not only of personal interest to Peutingner, but also of relevance to the public. The discussion of St. Paul's marriage led to a controversy between Peutingner and a Dominican theologian.<sup>35</sup> The last section of the *sermones* (forming their major part) was the most important. It appeared under the heading: "that the cities on this side of the Rhine [that is, the east side] never served French, but only German kings or Roman emperors". This was a discourse on the *finis imperii Romani*, reaffirming the "*translatio imperii*" from the Byzantine to the Frankish rulers in 800, and explicitly dealing with a central question of imperial politics. As he states at the beginning of this *sermo*, Peutingner composed it at the request of Lang, who had wanted to have the relevant arguments at hand *quibus facilius non solum hijs desertoribus [sc. Germaniae]: sed etiam Gallis (si qui essent) Germanias hasce affectantibus / obviam ire possemus* (b 3v).

Some of the *sodales* undertook another project at the same time, which had even more specific political implications than the *sermones*. This was the edition of the *Ligurinus*, printed in Augsburg in 1507. The *Ligurinus* is a twelfth-century poem about Frederick I Barbarossa, dealing mainly with his Lombardy campaigns up to 1160. Celtis had acquired the MS of it (now lost) and brought it to Augsburg.<sup>36</sup> According to the preface, the edition was a joint effort by Marquard von Stain, Matthaeus Marschalk, Bernhard and Conrad Adelmann von Adelmansfelden, Peutingner and Georg Herbart (*Ligurinus*, praefatio, König no. 51<sup>37</sup>). Their interest in this work was scholarly as well as patriotic. They undertook the publication, *partim ne... lucubraciones Ligurini perirent, partim etiam ne incliti Caesaris nostri Friderici primi labores et egregia facinora oblivioni traderentur*. Furthermore, since they were all Swabians, it had seemed to them a beautiful idea to preserve a text dealing with an emperor, *qui et ipse ex gente sueua originem duxit*. More practically, they had also financed the publication, because the printer had not been willing to publish it at his own risk. The edition was not only a scholarly enterprise, but also responded to the needs of contemporary imperial propaganda. It dealt with an emperor, whom Maximilian especially admired and who was considered the ideal emperor by, e.g., Cuspinian.<sup>38</sup> Seven reprints in quick succession show the political relevance of this work at the time, when Maximilian was preparing for his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in Rome.<sup>39</sup> Peutingner published his own article, *De ortu genere et posteris Imp. Caes. Friderici Primi Aug. (Ligurinus, m 2r-m 3v)*, about the emperor Maximilian revered, together with a dedication to Maximilian to accompany the *Ligurinus*.

Certainly Peutingner's inscriptions lacked a comparably obvious political message. Nevertheless, if we compare the list of *sodales* given in the *Ligurinus* or the participants in the *sermones convivales* with the authors of our epigrams, it becomes clear that our publication not only belongs in the same context, but also has a pre-eminent place by virtue of the distinction and the number of the participants. Names such as Lang, Hölzel, Collaurius and Celtis indicate the importance Peutingner's epigraphic project had in the eyes of the intellectuals formulating official cultural policy.

This calls for a "political" interpretation of the *Romanae uetustatis fragmenta*,

which should take the epigrams of the *sodales* as its point of departure. Most of them express pride in the city of Augsburg and gratitude to Peutinger for proving its venerable antiquity. A few show a different vision. Hölzel's epigram connects Peutinger's inscriptions with imperial politics in a rather blunt way:

Nunc omnis nostro plaudat Germania Regi  
Temporibus cuius tot monumenta patent.

Why Germany should and could praise the *king* on account of *Peutinger's* inscriptions, becomes clearer if we consider the cultural aims and literary models of the South German humanists. They had been programmatically formulated by Conrad Celtis in his inaugural lecture at the university of Ingolstadt in 1492 (p. 5r-5v, §§29.31):

Ita et vos accepto Italarum imperio exuta foeda barbarie Romanarum artium affectatores esse debebitis [...] (p. 5v) Magno vobis pudori ducite Graecorum et Latinorum nescire historias et super omnem impudentiam regionis nostrae et terrae nescire situm, sidera, flumina, montes, antiquitates, nationes, denique, quae peregrini homines de nobis ita scite collegere [...]»<sup>40</sup>

The aim of humanist activity, thus formulated, was closely associated with imperial politics. The *translatio imperii* was to be complemented by a *translatio artium*,<sup>41</sup> a humanist culture was to be developed which could rival the great achievements of the Italian renaissance.

In Italy it was already the generation of Niccoli and Poggio that had begun to collect epigraphical and archeological material.<sup>42</sup> Poggio's slightly younger contemporary Flavio Biondo (1392-1463) had been able to include many antiquities in his *Roma triumphans*. His *Roma illustrata* provided a systematic description of Rome and its classical topography based on the evidence of inscriptions, monuments, and classical literature. Finally, his *Italia illustrata* extended the survey of antiquities to the whole of Italy.<sup>43</sup> With the Roman Pomponio Leto (1428-97) we come to the generation of Peutinger's and Celtis' teachers. When Peutinger became acquainted with Leto and his academy during his stay in Italy in 1482-86, their attitudes shaped his activities as epigrapher, archeologist, and collector of antiquities decisively.<sup>44</sup>

Flavio Biondo and Pomponio Leto were the prime inspiration behind two major ongoing projects of Peutinger and the Augsburg *sodales* at the time of the compilation of our inscriptions.<sup>45</sup> Peutinger himself worked on the *Caesares* or *Liber augustalis*, which was to comprise the lives of the Roman emperors from Augustus to Maximilian I. This was a project especially favoured by the Emperor, since it undertook to prove that the Holy Roman emperors were the legitimate successors of the Caesars.<sup>46</sup> The progress of the *Caesares* can be followed from 1503 on in Peutinger's correspondence (König no. 11). In 1504/5 the project had led to substantial collections of inscriptions, coins, and other antiquities acquired *una cum conciuibus tuis* (Celtis, König no. 34).<sup>47</sup> A first draft of a complete version was written about 1510.<sup>48</sup> The other enterprise is the *Germania illustrata* to be composed by Conrad Celtis, which aimed to surpass Biondo's *Italia illustrata*. Celtis had written the *Norimberga*, a description of Nuremberg, printed in 1502, as the first part.<sup>49</sup>

All these projects appear connected with each other in various ways in Celtis' dedication letter contained in the MS. There he refers to a recent stay with Maximilian in Augsburg, when Peutingger had presented his *epitaphia et inscriptiones*. Celtis had urged him to publish them, *ne [...] diutius delitescerent*, together with the *sodalitatis nostrae Augustensis epigramata*. Peutingger's collection of antiquities, especially the coins collected by him and his "fellow citizens", had, as Celtis says, again raised his hopes that he himself might be able to finish his *Germania illustrata*. After praising Peutingger's collecting activities, the letter proceeds to discuss the *Liber Augustalis*, which Celtis wants to see published together with his *Germania illustrata*. There follows a short comment on the *finis Romani imperii*, the topic discussed in the *sermone conuiuales*. Peutingger's reply thanks Celtis for the consideration shown to himself as well as the "*litterariae tuae sodalitatis institutae commilitones*", and assures him that he will carry out Celtis' wish to see the inscriptions published.

In the printed preface Peutingger mentioned neither these projects nor Celtis, but cited an imperial mandate as the official basis for his work. There is no documentary proof for Maximilian's patronage, but this claim can be substantiated by circumstantial evidence. It is known that Maximilian was generally interested in archeological remains. He jotted down short notes in his notebooks about findings of coins and antiquities amongst other miscellaneous items.<sup>50</sup> In 1512 he was taking an interest in Pirckheimer's collection of Roman inscriptions in Trier.<sup>51</sup> According to Celtis' letter, Maximilian was acquainted with Peutingger's project from an early stage. It is a sign of the Emperor's interest that he received a spectacular luxury copy of Peutingger's book, printed on vellum with the inscriptions in golden letters.<sup>52</sup> It has even been suspected that it was in consequence of Maximilian's enthusiasm that Peutingger decided to leave out the major part of the epigrams of his *commilitones* and content himself with the indication of the emperor's approval.<sup>53</sup>

Whatever the extent of Maximilian's influence on Peutingger's publication may have been, the book corresponded well to the imperial cultural policy. It responded to Celtis' call for *scire antiquitates* and demonstrated the excellence of the empire's cultural past and present. Peutingger entitled it *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta*, 'fragments of Roman antiquity', which was rather imprecise, considering that this first edition (unlike the second) did not contain any antiquities but inscriptions. The title's broad formulation indicates the aim of the publication to prove the *vetustas*, the antiquity and distinction of the culture of Augsburg, "the city of Augustus, the imperial city *par excellence*",<sup>54</sup> and, by extension, of Germany. In his letter to Celtis, Peutingger saw his inscriptions as *prisca erudicionis et nobilitatis nostrae testimonia* (Peutingger, König no. 35; similarly in the letter to the reader). The inscriptions were published *In patriae tuae laudem* (Celtis, König no. 34), they testified to the equality and independence of the cultural ancestry and rank of the *patria* of the German humanists, especially in relation to the Italian cultural achievements. Compared to the MS, the contents of the edition were streamlined accordingly. The notes on the inscriptions provided no prosopographical or further information beyond the location of the stones, even though such information was available and of interest to Peutingger.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, the local place names, which had still appeared in the MS in their vernacular form, were now carefully latinized.<sup>56</sup> The same emphasis on the Roman past of Augsburg appears in Juliana's speech, which was thus eminently suitable as conclusion of the book: *Vrbs Augusta Vindelicorum*

[...] *Diuo Augusto olim dedicata. atque ab eius priuigno Decimo Druso Tib. Neronis et Liuiæ Drusillæ Fil. restituta [...]*. The closely defined aim of the edition also explains why Peutinger published an epigram which apparently was not connected with his collection at all:

Perlegia qui est locus in media Augusta ad aedem sacram Diui Petri Apostoli  
Cur me Perlegiam dicant: si forte requiris  
Iam tibi responsum perbreue: siste: dabo.  
Non Vnum Verbum est: duo sed mea nomina sunt  
Quod periiit Legio hic. Perlegiam vocitant  
Tres enim hic Varus legiones perdidit olim  
A quibus extinctis nomina nostra sonant.<sup>57</sup>

Mader's epigram could hardly have been published for the information about a local place name; 'Perlach/Perlegia' would have been entirely unknown to and therefore have posed no problem for a reader not familiar with the topography of Augsburg. Nevertheless, it is not merely a superfluous bit of mediocre poetry. Rather, it again showed the antiquity and continuous existence of civilization in Augsburg. More significantly, it mentioned the most spectacular victory of Germanic tribes over a Roman army in early Roman imperial times, thus balancing the exclusively Roman culture of the inscriptions with an achievement of the native population. In the *sermones conuiuales* Peutinger himself shared Mader's evaluation of this historical event (with a different Latin form of the German 'Perlach', c 2r): *tunc ea Vari Clade [...] Civitas nostra plurimum nobilitata / forum publicum apud nos Perlaem / a perdita legione cognominant: ubi aliquando inscriptum fuit: Indicat hic collis Romanam nomine cladem // Martia quoque legio simul perijt*. It is therefore not incongruous that Peutinger referred with equal pride to both the Roman and the post-Roman past of Augsburg and its province. He introduced the inscription *CIL III 5874* with the following note: *Laugingiaci Alberti magni Patrio opido Danubiano Aug. Dioeces. fragmentum*.<sup>58</sup> The note emphasized a point completely alien to the inscriptions. It had, however, a definite significance for the status of Augsburg's past and its culture.

All of these, to some degree contradictory, expectations are summarized in an epigram by Collaurius contained in the MS:

Haec eadem vobis redeunt duce Maximiliano  
Saecula: quae fuerant sub seniore Deo  
Marmora namque: annis Augustae Vindelicorum  
Plus bis sexcentis quae latuere: patent.

The realities of the Golden Age here evoked were quite different. Neither Peutinger's *Caesares* nor the *Germania illustrata* of Celtis was ever finished. The project of the *Caesares* was eventually taken over by Cuspinian. While he did finally finish the book, it was not printed until 1540, long after his death.<sup>59</sup> The idea of a *Germania illustrata* was pursued by various other writers. 'La réalisation la plus ambitieuse'<sup>60</sup> was the *Germaniae exegetese volumina duodecim a Francisco Irenico Ettelingiacensi exarata* published in 1518 together with a reprint of Celtis' *Norimberga*.<sup>61</sup> Of all the grandiose plans

of the Augsburg humanists few were realised in the form they had envisaged.

Peutinger's inscriptions, originally part of more ambitious plans, came to be appreciated for their intrinsic value. Hartmann Schedel copied them into his collection of antiquarian material, the *Opus de antiquitatibus cum epitaphiis or Liber antiquitatum cum Epigramatibus*.<sup>62</sup> He added the majority of the inscriptions to the margins of a little treatise *De Vetustatibus Auguste* to supplement the otherwise meagre material (clm 716, fol. 302r-304r). The rest he distributed wherever there was empty space in the MS. A second augmented edition of Peutinger's inscriptions appeared in 1520, bearing a modest and specific title: *Inscriptiones vetustae Romanae et earum fragmenta*.<sup>63</sup> Where the title page of the first edition had not contained any text beyond the mere title, this one included the name of the editor in the manner of any other edition of a classical text. Peutinger's inscriptions were incorporated in the form of the 1520 edition as a distinct group into the *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis non illae quidem Romanae, sed totius fere orbis*, compiled by Petrus Apianus and Bartholomaeus Amantius, and published in Ingolstadt in 1534, the first large printed corpus of epigraphic material.<sup>64</sup>

Peutinger's method set an example for subsequent epigraphic publications. Not only did he introduce the diplomatic reproduction of the inscriptions in capital letters, also he established a fundamental principle of epigraphy by his insistence on autopsy. Johannes Huttichius expressed his admiration for Peutinger in his 1520 edition of the Roman inscriptions of Mainz with the following words:

Nolui tamen credere illis, qui descripsere, sed ipse omnia meis oculis inspexi, et an sincere omnia depicta fuerint, laboriose per-lustravi, imitatus in hoc CHVONRADUM PEVTINGERUM AVGVSTAN. iuris doctorem, et perquam sollicitum antiquita-tis, et historiarum indagatorem, qui ante me Augustae Vindelico-rum omnia, quae potuit, perquisiuit diligenter, et ne corraderentur iniuria temporum, excussioni dedit. (Huttichius to Th. Zobel, p. a1v, dated July 22, 1517)

A comparison with modern collections of inscriptions shows that Peutinger's publica-tion is indeed a remarkable achievement, accurate in the transcription and precise in the reproduction of the text found. It is still indispensable where the stone itself has perished. Peutinger managed to conceive a publication that magnificently satisfied the literary and cultural ambitions of his contemporaries and compatriots, and should be admired even today for the solidity of its scholarly approach.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The printer's colophon gives the exact date: "Anno. Christ. salut. M.D.V. VIII Kls Octobr. Erhardus Ratoldus Augustensis impressit." Modern editions of Peutinger's inscriptions are Th. Mommsen, ed., *CIL* III, 2 (Berlin 1873); and F. Vollmer, ed., *Inscriptiones Bavariae Romanae sive inscriptiones prov. Raetiae adiectis aliquot Noricis Italicisque* (München 1915). Brief surveys of Peutinger's epigraphic activity are provided by Ae. Hübner, *CIL* II (Berlin 1869) VI; Th. Mommsen, *CIL* III, 1 p. XXXI, and *CIL* III, 2 p. 705 and 1050; and W. Henzen, *CIL* VI, 1 (Berlin 1876) XLVII; see also Vollmer 245.

<sup>2</sup> I will cite Peutinger's correspondence with the numbering used in *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel*, gesammelt, herausgegeben und erläutert von Erich König. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Erforschung der Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation. Humanistenbriefe I (München 1923).

<sup>1</sup> The small size (according to today's standards) of the collection was not unusual at the time. MS-collections of similar size are mentioned by A. Ritoók-Szalay, "Der Kult der römischen Epigraphik in Ungarn zur Zeit der Renaissance", *Geschichtsbewußtsein und Geschichtsschreibung in der Renaissance*, ed. A. Buck, T. Klaniczay, S.K. Németh (Leiden etc. 1989) 65-75.

<sup>2</sup> Commonly the *De amplitudine, devastatione, et de instauratione urbis Ravennae* by Desiderius Spretus, published in Sept., 1489 (posthumously, from a MS dating from ca. 1459), is considered the first printed publication of inscriptions. The booklet is not a corpus of inscriptions, but a historical description of Ravenna's sights (not unlike Leto's *Antiquitates urbis*, see n. 44), with a collection of inscriptions as an appendix (c 3r-c 6v). I used the copy in the British Library; see E. Borland, *CIL XI*, Berlin 1888, If.; a list of contents in *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Not in the British Library*. Part V: Venice (London 1924) 483. The second publication is the extremely rare *Epitaphia mirae vetustatis* by Nikolaus Marschalk, printed in Erfurt in 1502. Unlike Spretus' publication, Marschalk's is a collection of (mostly spurious) epigraphical texts compiled from secondary sources. Marschalk's edition was published and analyzed by C. Hülsen, "Die Inschriftensammlung des Erfurter Humanisten Nicolaus Marschalk", *Jahrbücher der Königlichen Akademie gemeinnütziger Wissenschaften zu Erfurt*, N.F. Heft 38 (Erfurt 1912) 161-185. There is no indication that Peutingger was aware of these earlier publications.

<sup>3</sup> A. Hyatt Mayor, *Prints and People; A Social History of Printed Pictures* (New York 1971) n.p., no. 74-76.

<sup>4</sup> P. Geissler, "Erhard Ratdolt", *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben* 9 (München 1966) 141-152 (an index of his books and other prints); J. Bellot, *Die Augsburger Frühdrucker Günther Zainer - Erhard Ratdolt*; Führer durch die Ausstellung im Schaezlerpalais 20. Januar bis 4. März 1979 (Augsburg 1979) 13-28; *Augsburger Renaissance*; Ausstellung Mai bis Okt. 1955, Katalog ed. N. Lieb et al. (Augsburg *Ich* 1955) 109 no. 653 (Johannes de Sacrobosco, *Sphaera mundi*, Venice 1485, printed in yellow, olive green, red and black); R.T. Risk, *Erhard Ratdolt, Master Printer* (Francestown 1982) 51-55 (bibliography). Ratdolt was later to collaborate with Peutingger and the artist Hans Burgkmair in a genealogy of the Emperor Maximilian I, which had already reached the proof stage before the plans were abandoned in 1512; see J. Bellot, "Konrad Peutingger und die literarisch-künstlerischen Unternehmungen Kaiser Maximilians", *Philobiblon* 11, 1967, 181; cf. P. Geissler, "Hans Burgkmairs Genealogie Kaiser Maximilian I; zu einem Augsburger Fund", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 40, 1965, 249-261.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. *CIL III* 5842, MS: *extra portam rubeam eiusdem vrbs versus turrim aquaeductus*; ed.: *Extra Portam Rubeam urbis August.* *CIL III* 5881, MS: *in villa Phinningen*; ed.: *In Villa Phinnigiaci Augu. Dioeces. fragmentum.*

<sup>6</sup> See n. 57.

<sup>7</sup> See E. Bernstein, "Adelmann von Adelmansfelden, Konrad", *Die deutsche Literatur. Biographisches und Bibliographisches Lexikon*. Reihe II: *Die deutsche Literatur zwischen 1450 und 1620*. Abteilung A: *Autorenlexikon*. Lieferung 3-4 (Bern, Frankfurt, New York 1985) 184; bibliography *ibid.*, Abteilung B: *Forschungsliteratur II (Autoren)* Lieferung 1-2 (Bern etc. 1985) 45-46; A. Hämmerle, *Die Canoniker des Hohen Domstiftes zu Augsburg bis zur Säkularisation* (<Zürich> 1935) 2 no. 6; G.S. Graf Adelmann von Adelmansfelden, *Das Geschlecht der Adelmann von Adelmansfelden. Stammtafeln in Listenform* (Ellwangen 1948) 11 no. 50.

<sup>8</sup> C.F. Stälin, "Aufenthaltsorte K. Maximilian I. seit seiner Alleinherrschaft 1493 bis zu seinem Tode 1519", *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 1 (Göttingen 1862) 363, reports the following visits of the Emperor to Augsburg in 1504: January 30 to February 28, March 10 to May 3, May 27-28, July 7-11. In 1505 the Emperor did not come to Augsburg before October 20.

<sup>9</sup> He arrived in Cologne on May, 27; see König no. 31. On August, 16, he was back in Augsburg; see König 55 n. 9. In 1505 Peutingger had already met the Emperor in Strasbourg in April, see König 72 n. 1 and below n. 17.

<sup>10</sup> A second edition of Peutingger's inscriptions was published in 1520 in Mainz: *Inscriptiones vetustae Roman. et earum fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et eius dioecesi. Cura et Diligencia Chuonradi Peutingger, Augustani. Iuriconsulti antea impressae. nunc denuo revisae, castigatae. simul et auctae. M.D.XX*. Printer's colophon: *Excusa sunt haec antiquitatum collectanea in aedibus Ioannis Schoeffler Mogunciaci. Anno Christi. M.D.XX Mense Augusto*. It contained a much larger number of inscriptions, an epitaph for Maximilian, who had died on January 12, 1519, written by the Swabian humanist Michael Hummelberg of Ravensburg, and Juliana's speech.

<sup>11</sup> See H. Lutz, "Die Sodalitäten im oberdeutschen Humanismus des späten 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts", *Humanismus im Bildungswesen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. W. Reinhard. Mitteilung der Kommission für Humanismusforschung 12 (Weinheim 1984) 25-60, esp. 47-48.

<sup>12</sup> See C. Bonorand, *Personenkommentar II zum Vadianischen Briefwerk*. Vadian-Studien, Untersuchungen und Texte 11 (St. Gallen 1983) 326-329 with ample further bibliography and a list of the dedications he received; and I. Günther, "Matthäus Lang", *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation* 2 (Toronto 1986) 289; further literature in *Willibald Pirckheimer's Briefwechsel* 3, bearbeitet von H. Scheible, ed. D. Wuttke (Munich 1989) 170 n. 89.

<sup>13</sup> In the 1520 edition (see n. 12) Peutingger published four inscriptions in Lang's possession. He introduced them with the following text (fol. d 1r): *Marmora IIII ex Agro Patauino dum a milite Germano vastaretur effossa, et ad arcem Welenburgii supra Windam flu. prope Augustam Vindelicorum per R. principem D.*

Matheum Card. et Archiep. Saltzburgen. conlocata.

<sup>16</sup> H. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I. Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, 5: *Der Kaiser und seine Umwelt. Hof, Staat, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft und Kultur* (München 1986) 292.

<sup>17</sup> A letter of his from May 4, 1503 to Celtis is printed in *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*, Gesammelt herausgegeben und erläutert von H. Rupprich. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Erforschung der Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation. Humanistenbriefe, 3 (München 1934) 530 no. 295, another one (dated "Ex Tilling, XXXIII Maij Anno MDIII") and signed "Ioannes Collaurius Doctor, Caesaris ab epistolis") is published by P. de Nolhac, "Les correspondants d'Alde Manuce. Matériaux nouveaux d'histoire littéraire (1483-1514)", Part I: *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto* 8, 1887, 282 no. 30. He was also the dedicatee of a 1505 edition of Pontano poems by Aldus Manutius, who wanted Collaurius to support his plans *pro academia constituenda* with the Emperor, see *Willibald Pirckheimers Briefwechsel*. In Verbindung mit Dr. Arnold Reimann (+) gesammelt, herausgegeben und erläutert von E. Reicke, 1. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Erforschung der Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation. Humanistenbriefe, 4 (München 1940) 286. G. Hummel, *Die humanistischen Sodalitäten und ihr Einfluß auf die Entwicklung des Bildungswesens der Reformationszeit*. phil. Diss. (Leipzig 1940) 99 n. 106, mentions a "symposium sapientum" in Strasbourg on the occasion of the diet of Hagenau in 1505; Peutingier, Collaurius, Francesco Pico della Mirandola, and their host Thomas Wolff the Younger are named as participants. A political biography of Collaurius, mainly dealing with his later years, is provided by F. Petrucci, "Colla, Giovanni", *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 26 (Rome 1982) 764-766. Some information is also in Rupprich, *ibid.*, 530 n. 3.

<sup>18</sup> It contains a poem by Celtis to Hölzel, which had already been used as the conclusion to Celtis' odes (4, 10). The collection is discussed in my "Humanist Poetry and Its Classical Models: A Collection from the Court of Emperor Maximilian I", *Acta conventus neo-latini Torontonensis. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, 1988*. Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies (Binghamton, New York 1991) 581-593. For Hölzel's biography see Wiesflecker, 5 (n. 16) 261-265; and F.H. Schubert, "Blasius Hölzel und die soziale Situation in der Hofkammer Maximilians I.", *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 47, 1960, 105-115. His *ex libris* is in the Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck; see *Ausstellung Maximilian I. Innsbruck, 1. Juni bis 5. Oktober 1969. Katalog* (Innsbruck 1969) 89 no. 338.

<sup>19</sup> See R. Kiefling, *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Kirche in Augsburg im Spätmittelalter; Ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyse der oberdeutschen Reichsstadt*. Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg 19 (Augsburg 1971) passim.

<sup>20</sup> H.A. Lier, "Der Augsburger Humanistenkreis mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Bernhard Adelmanns von Adelmansfelden", *Zschr. d. Hist. Vereins f. Schwaben und Neuburg* 7, 1880, 70f.; Rupprich (n. 17) 213 n. 2 (short biography); Adelmann (n. 9) 10 no. 49; R. Schmidt, *Reichenau und St. Gallen. Ihre literarische Überlieferung zur Zeit des Klosterhumanismus in St. Ulrich und Afra zu Augsburg um 1500*. Vorträge und Forschungen ed. Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, Sonderband 33 (Sigmaringen 1985) passim, esp. 35-45.

<sup>21</sup> Chapter I. The work was completed in 1511. I used the MS in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, clm 4018 (now bound together with the editions of the inscriptions of 1505 and 1520) and the printed edition *Margaritae Velseriae, Conradi Peutingeri Coniugis, ad Christophorum fratrem Epistola, multa rerum antiquarum cognitione insignis quam primum typis excribendam curavit Hieronymus Andreas Mertens*. Augustae Vindelicorum 1778 (I used the copy of the British Library). The authorship of the commentary has sometimes been attributed to Peutingier; whatever the extent of his involvement, he would certainly have contributed to the evaluation and interpretation of the antiquities collected in their house. Cf. Hübner, *CIL* II p. 542; Mommsen, *CIL* III, 2 p. 705; Vollmer (n. 1) 247a; R. Aulinger, "Margarethe Welsler", *Contemporaries of Erasmus* 3 (Toronto 1987) 437-438. The falsification is discussed by König (n. 44) 26-27, esp. n. 4 (with further bibliography); and König (n. 2) 154 n. 1.

<sup>22</sup> F. Zoepfl, "Matthäus Marschalk von Pappenheim-Biberach", *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben* 10 (Weißenhorn 1973) 15-34, about the *sodalitas Augustana* 32-33; Lier (n. 20) 85; his works are listed in Th. Wiedemann, *Johann Turmair genannt Aventin* (Freising 1858) 70-72, cf. *Maximilian I, 1459-1519*; Ausstellung Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Graphische Sammlung, Albertina, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Waffensammlung); 23. Mai bis 30. September 1959 (Wien 1959) 58f. no. 192. In 1505, presumably during the summer in Augsburg, Celtis wrote a *carmen ad Matheum Marescalcum* [...] *hospitiem* sum, see Rupprich (n. 17) 539 n. 8, with further bibliography.

<sup>23</sup> Lier (n. 20) 86ff. 103. For the Augsburg canons see Hämmerle (n. 9) 1 no. 3 (Bernhard Adelmann von Adelmansfelden), p. 2 no. 6 (Konrad Adelmann v. A.), p. 11 no. 43 (Mathaeus Marschalk), p. 181 no. 90 (Bernhard von Waldkirch).

<sup>24</sup> Geissler (n. 6) 129.

<sup>25</sup> Reicke (n. 17) no. 60, a letter to Celtis from Nov. 17, 1503.

<sup>26</sup> He wrote an obituary of Bishop Johannes Count of Werdenberg, the patron of humanists, published as the preface to an Augsburg Obsequiale printed by Ratdolt in 1487, see A. Layer, "Schwaben. Wissenschaft und Bildung vom 13. bis 18. Jahrhundert: Der Humanismus", *Handbuch der Bayerischen Geschichte* 3, 2 (München 1971) 1128; Lier (n. 20) 92.

<sup>27</sup> O. Nübel, "Das Geschlecht Occo", *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben* 10 (Weißenhorn 1973)

77-113, Adolph I. Occo (1447-1503) 77-83; cf. B. Mondrain, "La collection de manuscrits grecs d'Adolphe Occo (seconde moitié du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)", *Scriptorium* 42, 1988, 156-175, esp. 157-159 (biography); and Rupprich (n. 17) 539 n. 6.

<sup>21</sup> J.F. D'Amico, *Theory and Practice in Renaissance Textual Criticism. Beatus Rhenanus between Conjecture and History*. (Berkeley 1988) 292 n. 80 with bibliography; *450 Jahre Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg: Kostbare Handschriften und alte Drucke*; Ausstellung Augsburg 15. Mai bis 21. Juni 1987 (Augsburg 1987) 52 no. 134 with bibliography.

<sup>22</sup> Layer (n. 26) 1130; Lier (n. 20) 79f; H.A. Lier, "Johannes Mader", *ADB* 20, 32.

<sup>23</sup> It is also to be expected that there were other collaborators who did not leave their poetic stamp of approval of the project in the MS, e.g., Johannes and Leonhard Rochlinger, from whose property Peutingers published two inscription, *CIL* III 5799 (now lost) and 5840.

<sup>24</sup> *CIL* VI 3353; see Welsch (n. 21) chapter 29.

<sup>25</sup> *Sermones conuivales Conradii peutingeri: de mirandis Germanie antiquitatibus*. Argentinae 1506.

<sup>26</sup> Zedler, *Universallexikon* vol. 6: "Cisa, oder Ciza, Ziza, Zitzta, ohne Zweifel von den Teutschen Zitz, die Brust genennet, weil sie vor die Ernehmerin gehalten wurde, eine Göttin derer alten Teutschen... Von ihr soll Augsburg anfangs Cisrois, Cisara oder Zisaris genennet worden seyn. ... Sie ist mit einem Tann-Zapfen in der Hand gebildet welchen einige vor eine Wein = Traube, andere vor eine Erdbeer angesehen". A photograph of the sculpture is in *Augsburg. Geschichte in Bildokumenten*; ed. Friedrich Blendinger et al. (München 1976) 27 no. 9 "Kopf einer Medusa aus Kalkstein, 2. Jh. n. Chr., früher bei St. Ulrich aufgestellt", now in the Augsburg Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Römisches Museum. "Die Medusa wird oft zu Unrecht mit einer keltischen Göttin in Verbindung gebracht. Eine solche Göttin hat es nicht gegeben, und daher wurde auch das Bild der Windfahne auf dem Perlachturm zu Unrecht als Abb. der Cisa gedeutet". Leo Weber; *ibid.* I thank A. Seeböhm for the reference.

<sup>27</sup> They are acknowledged as an established fact in the letter by the imperial secretary Petrus Bonomus recommending the *sermones conuivales* to Lang (*sermones*, 44r): *perpende ipse inter legendum, quo studio, qua industria / quot citatis: et nostri et prisci temporis auctoribus: quot inquisitis Marmoribus et veterum Nomismatis: Germaniae partem non ignobilem citra Rhenum [...] imperio et nomini nostro restituerit.*

<sup>28</sup> See a letter by Reuchlin of April, 1507; König (n. 17) no. 49.

<sup>29</sup> See a letter by Behaim to Pirckheimer, Reicke (n. 17) 485 no. 146, mentioned by L. W. Spitz, *Conrad Celtis, The German Arch-Humanist* (Cambridge, Mass. 1957) 98; cf. König (n. 2) no. 50 p. 82 n. 7 with further bibliography; Lier (n. 20) 84f.; *Albrecht Dürer 1471-1971. Ausstellung des Germanischen Nationalmuseums; Nürnberg 21. Mai bis 1. August 1971* (2nd ed. München 1971) 163 no. 287. The contents of the edition are itemized in Rupprich (n. 17) 598 n. 1. The *Ligurinus* itself is now edited: Gunther der Dichter, *Ligurinus*. ed. E. Assmann. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi LXIII: Guntheri poetae Ligurinus* (Hannover 1987). Assmann emphasizes the responsibility of Celtis for the scholarly aspects of the edition; see p. 2-34.

<sup>30</sup> Also published by Rupprich (n. 17) no. 335, with ample commentary.

<sup>31</sup> Spitz (n. 36) 98.

<sup>32</sup> H. Lutz, "Conrad Peutingers", *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben* 2 (München 1953) 140.

<sup>33</sup> Cited from L. Forster, ed., *Selections from Conrad Celtis. 1459-1508*. Edited with translation and commentary (Cambridge 1948), with Rupprich's (Leipzig 1934) numbering of the paragraphs.

<sup>34</sup> E. Schäfer, "Conrad Celtis' Ode an Apoll. Ein Manifest neulatinischen Dichtens in Deutschland", *Gedichte und Interpretationen I: Renaissance und Barock*, ed. V. Meid (Stuttgart 1982) 88.

<sup>35</sup> See E.B. Fryde, "The Revival of a 'Scientific' and Erudite Historiography in the Earlier Renaissance", *Idem, Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (London 1983) 3-31.

<sup>36</sup> R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxford 1976) 50; B. Nogara, "Biondo, Flavio", *Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti* 7 (Roma 1949) 56b.

<sup>37</sup> E. König, *Peutingerstudien*. Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte 9, H. 1 und 2 (Freiburg 1914) 7. Pfeiffer argued that Peutingers also got the inspiration for his *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta* from Leto's *Antiquitates urbis*. The contention is hardly convincing, since the *Antiquitates urbis* are a description of Rome; see R. Pfeiffer, "Augsburger Humanisten und Philologen", *Gymnasium* 71, 1964, 193.

<sup>38</sup> That Peutingers was familiar with Biondo's works is evident in the *sermones conuivales*, where Biondo is quoted repeatedly (e.g., c 4r, c 4v).

<sup>39</sup> Bellot (n. 6) 173.

<sup>40</sup> Pfeiffer (n. 44) 195.

<sup>41</sup> It is now preserved in Augsburg, Stadtbibliothek, 2<sup>o</sup> cod. 26; see *Ausstellung Maximilian I., Innsbruck* (n. 18) 99; *Albrecht Dürer 1471-1971* (n. 36) 162 no. 286; *450 Jahre Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg* (n. 28) 16 no. 18; a reproduction of page 76r *Ibid.* pl. 27.

<sup>42</sup> H. Rupprich, *Humanismus und Renaissance in den deutschen Städten und an den Universitäten*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt 1964) 50f; A. Kraus, "Gestalten und Bildungskräfte des fränkischen Humanismus", *Handbuch der Bayerischen Geschichte* 3,1: *Franken, Schwaben, Oberpfalz bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts* (München 1971) 586, bibliography 587 n. 1. The models of the *Norimberga* are discussed by A. Werninghoff, *Conrad Celtis und sein Buch über Nürnberg* (Freiburg i. Br. 1921) 62-87; see also L. Veit, "Umwelt: Kaiser und Reichstadt", *Albrecht Dürer 1471-1971* (n. 36) 129, and nos. 236 and 281; J. Lebeau, "L'éloge

du Nuremberg dans la tradition populaire et la littérature humaniste de 1447 à 1532", *Hommage à Dürer (Strasbourg et Nuremberg dans la première moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*; Actes du Colloque Albrecht Dürer de Strasbourg, 19-20 novembre 1971. Publications de la Société Savante d'Alsace et des régions de l'Est. Collection "Recherches et Documents" 12 (Strasbourg 1972) 15-35.

<sup>30</sup> Wiesflecker, 5 (n. 16) 306, 319, 738 n. 82 with further bibliography.

<sup>31</sup> N. Holzberg, *Willibald Pirckheimer. Griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland*. Humanistische Bibliothek Reihe I: Abhandlungen 41 (München 1981) 174.

<sup>32</sup> A second vellum print of Peutinger's *fragmenta* is mentioned by J.B.B. van Praet, *Catalogue des Livres imprimés sur velin de la bibliothèque du roi V* (Paris 1822) 68 no. 84. There the first inscription is printed in gold. Earlier prints in gold on vellum by Ratdolt are: Euclid's *Elementa* (in Latin), Venice 1482, the copy presented to the doge, now in the British Library; see *Printing and the Mind of Man*; Catalogue of the Exhibitions at the British Museum and the Earl's Court, London, 16-27 July 1963, part II: *An Exhibition of Fine Printing in the King's Library of the British Museum*. July - September 1963 (London 1963) 15 no. 23; another copy is mentioned by Praet, vol. III p. 71 no. 99; a print in gold on paper now in Munich was donated by Ratdolt to the St. Anna monastery in Augsburg in 1489; see *Augsburger Renaissance* (n. 6) 109 no. 650; Johannes of Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg 1488, two copies for the Hungarian court, see C. Wehmer, *Deutsche Buchdrucker des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden 1971) no. 72; *450 Jahre Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg* (n. 28) 44 no. 108 with bibliography. In both cases only the dedication in printed in gold. The development of gold printing is discussed in: V. Carter, L. Hellinga, T. Parker, "Printing with Gold in the Fifteenth Century", *British Library Journal* 9, 1983, 1-13; C.W. Gerhardt, "Wie haben Ratdolt und Calligies Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts in Venedig ihre Drucke mit Blattgold hergestellt?" *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 59, 1984, 145-150, with further bibliography. I thank K. Jensen for the references. Maximilian's copy was first stored in his library in Innsbruck (it appeared in the inventory of 1525), then in Schloß Ambras, whence it came to Vienna in 1665 (now Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, C.P.1.C.4); see E. Trenkler, "Die Frühzeit der Hofbibliothek (1368-1519)", *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. ed. Josef Stumm-voll. 1. Teil: *Die Hofbibliothek (1368-1922)*. Museion: Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, N.F. 2. Reihe: Allgemeine Veröffentlichungen 3 (Wien 1968) 53. The 1536 inventory of the former collection of Maximilian I also registered this copy: "Fragmenta Augustane antiquitatis in rot gepunden in grossem form(at) aber dünn", see Th. Gottlieb, *Die Ambraser Handschriften, Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wiener Hofbibliothek*. vol. I: *Büchersammlung Kaiser Maximilians I. Mit einer Einleitung über älteren Bücherbesitz im Hause Habsburg* (Leipzig 1900) 104 no. 244. Other vellum prints for Maximilian are, e.g.: Riccardo Bartolini, *De bello Norico*, Straßburg 1516, see *Gutenberg und die Frühzeit seiner Kunst*; Ausstellung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Wien. ed. Franz Unterkircher (Wien 1968) 69 no. 241; Cuspinian's *De congressu Caesaris Maximilianii Aug. et trium regum, Hungariae, Boemiae, & Poloniae, Vladislai, Ludovici, ac Sigismundi. In Vrbe Viennae. [...] 1515*; Ausstellung Maximilian I., Innsbruck (n. 18) 56 no. 219; and Maximilian's *Theuerdank* and his prayer-book; see R. Neumüller-Klauser, *Bibliotheca Palatina*; Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 8. Juli bis 2. November 1986, Heiliggeistkirche Heidelberg. vol. I (Heidelberg 1986) 207f. no. E. 3.4.

<sup>33</sup> Bellot (n. 6) 173.

<sup>34</sup> H. Trevor-Roper, "The Emperor Maximilian I as Patron of the Arts", *Idem, Renaissance Essays* (Chicago 1985) 15.

<sup>35</sup> As witnessed e.g. by Margareta Welsers's antiquarian commentary (see n. 21).

<sup>36</sup> For an example see n. 7.

<sup>37</sup> The text follows the MS. In the 1505 edition the epigram is headed by the following text: *Perlegia qui est locus in media Augusta in foro publico*. The last two lines are omitted in the print. We find the same localisation of the *clades Variana* in Celtis, *Odes*, 3, 8, 30; see K. Preiß, "Konrad Celtis und Kaiser Maximilian I.", *Unsere Heimat* 30, Wien 1959, 108 n. 22; cf. W. John, "P. Quinctilius Varus", *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften* 24 (Stuttgart 1963) 975-976 ("Das Nachleben der cl. V.") with bibliography.

<sup>38</sup> The MS has: *In Laugingen opido Danubiano ad VI Miliare ab Augusta Fragmentum*, with a marginal addition to be inserted before *opido*: *Magni Alberti patria*.

<sup>39</sup> D.J. Weiß, "Johannes Cuspinianus (1475-1529)", *Fränkische Lebensbilder* 13 (Neustadt 1990) 13.

<sup>40</sup> J. Ridé, "Un grand projet patriotique: Germania illustrata", *L'Humanisme allemand (1480-1540)*. XVIII<sup>e</sup> colloque international de Tours. Humanistische Bibliothek Reihe I: Abhandlungen 38 (Paris/München 1979) 106.

<sup>41</sup> Printer's colophon: *Elaboratum est hoc Germaniae opus typis ac formulis Thomae Anselmi, Hagenoae, presente castigatoreque auctore ipso. Sumptibus autem Viri ornatissimi Ioannis Kobergii Norimberga. Anno salutis nostrae M.D. XVIII. Mense Augusto*; with a papal printing privilege for five years, dated Jan. 14, 1518. See H. Kauffmann, "Albrecht Dürer: Umwelt und Kunst", *Albrecht Dürer 1471-1971* (n. 36) 18-25; and Scheible-Wuttke (n. 14) 269-272 no. 512, 367-370 no. 547.

<sup>42</sup> Now Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, clm 716; B. Hernad, *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel*. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ausstellungskataloge 52 (München 1990) 103. The MS was finished and bound in 1504, but has later additions and corrections. Vollmer's comments on Schedel's MS (n. 1) 296 a have several inaccuracies. The inscriptions are distributed as follows: fol. 26v: *CIL III 5874*.

5878. 5876. 5881; fol. 62v: III 5993. 5890; fol. 64r: III 5825. 5771. 5840. 5813; fol. 64v: 5793 with the title "Epigramma quod obseruatur apud uirum doctum". 5796 "Aliud quod obseruatur Auguste", the *acclamatio publica* by Juliana Peutinger; fol. 302r bottom margin: III 5842. 5809; fol. 302v top margin: 5881. 5823; bottom margin: 5846; fol. 303r top margin: 5815 titled "Eodem loco" as in the print, but here wrongly, since it does not follow 5823 (as in the print); bottom margin: *Perlegia qui est locus...* (4 verses as in the print); fol. 303v top margin: 5816; bottom margin: 5817 = Vollmer, no. 128, not in clm 4028; fol. 304r top margin: 5814. In no case did Schedel keep the line breaks within the inscriptions as indicated by Peutinger. Schedel owned a copy of Peutinger's 1505 inscriptions, which is preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Rar 584).

<sup>63</sup> See n. 12.

<sup>64</sup> They are on p. 418-434. Cf. J.E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*. vol. II (New York 1964) 260.

<sup>65</sup> Research for this paper was done in part at the Warburg Institute, London, and the British Library. I thank them for the generous hospitality.