Conrad Peutinger, Reader of Inscriptions: A Note on the Rediscovery of His Copy of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (Rome, 1521)*

— Gerard González Germain —

Abstract

In this paper Conrad Peutinger's copy of the Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis *(Rome, Jacobus Mazochius, 1521) — which appeared listed in his 1523 library catalog, but was hitherto unknown — is identified as one of the two copies kept at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Peutinger's marginal annotations in the volume are described and analyzed, and the book is contextualized within the antiquarian literature contained in his library. This case-study sheds new light on one aspect of Peutinger's antiquarianism, which has so far received little attention: his role as receptor, reader and annotator of antiquarian printed books.*

Keywords

*Conrad Peutinger, antiquarianism, marginalia,
antiquarian literature, Jacobus Mazochius*

1. Conrad Peutinger and the Study of Classical Antiquity

Conrad Peutinger (1465–1547) was one of the most distinguished scholars of German humanism, especially in the rediscovery of classical antiquity.[1] While today his name is immediately associated with the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (which he neither discovered nor published),[2] during his lifetime he was acclaimed chiefly as the greatest

[1] See recently Franz Josef Worstbrock, "Peutinger (Bei-, Peitinger), Konrad", in id. (ed.), *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520*, vol. 3, Berlin 2014, cols. 1–32.

[2] Conrad Celtis (1459–1508) discovered the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and gave it to Peutinger sometime before his death. Although Peutinger made some efforts towards publication, he was not successful and the map remained hidden in his library until it

antiquarian north of the Alps. He gathered an impressive collection of inscriptions, coins and other antiquities in his house in Augsburg; divulged his collection of inscriptions in what became one of the earliest printed epigraphic corpora (*Romanae vetustatis fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et eius diocesi*, Augsburg 1505; new expanded edition in *Inscriptiones vetustae Roman*[ae] *et earum fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et eius dioecesi*, Mainz 1520);[3] wrote several antiquarian treatises (such as the *Sermones convivales de mirandis Germanie antiquitatibus* [Strasbourg 1506][4] and the unfinished *Kaiserbuch*);[5] and

was rediscovered by Marcus Welser and published by Abraham Ortelius in 1598. See Patrick Gautier-Dalché, "La trasmissione medievale e rinascimentale della *Tabula Peutingeriana*", in Francesco Prontera (ed.), *Tabula Peutingeriana. Le antiche vie del mondo*, Florence 2003, pp. 43–52.

[3] See Johann Ramminger, "The Roman Inscriptions of Augsburg Published by Conrad Peutinger", *Studi Umanistici Piceni* 12 (1992), pp. 197–210; Angela Caracciolo Aricò, "Una testimonianza di Marin Sanudo umanista: l'inedito *De antiquitatibus et epitaphis*", in *Venezia e l'Archeologia. Atti del Convegno (Venezia, 25–29 maggio 1988)*, Rome 1990, pp. 32–34 (for Marin Sanudo's copy of Peutinger's 1505 edition); Christopher S. Wood, "Early Archaeology and the Book Trade: The Case of Peutinger's *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta* (1505)", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 28:1 (1998), pp. 83–118; id., "Notation of Visual Information in the Earliest Archeological Scholarship", *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 17:1–2 (2001), pp. 94–118 (109–111); Adolfo Tura, "L'esemplare parigino rés Vélins 718 dei *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta* di Conrad Peutinger", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 82 (2007), pp. 111–114; Martin Ott, "Die *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta* von 1505 im Kontext des gelehrten Wissens nördlich und südlich der Alpen", in Gernot Michael Müller (ed.), *Humanismus und Renaissance in Augsburg. Kulturgeschichte einer Stadt zwischen Spätmittelalter und Dreißigjährigem Krieg*, Berlin–New York 2010, pp. 275–292; Mathias Ferber and Gernot Michael Müller (eds.), *Ein Augsburger Humanist und seine römischen Inschriften: Konrad Peutingers* Romanae vetustatis fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et eius dioecesi, Lindenberg 2014; Stefan Wirth, "Zu Konrad Peutingers Druckeditionen römischer Inschriften", in Reinhard Laube and Helmut Zäh (eds.), *Gesammeltes Gedächtnis. Konrad Peutinger und die kulturelle Überlieferung im 16. Jahrhundert*, Lucerne 2016, pp. 26–39 (see also ibid., pp. 94–97).

[4] Christoph Pieper, "Germany's Glory, Past and Present: Konrad Peutinger's *Sermones convivales de mirandis Germanie antiquitatibus* and Antiquarian Philology", in Karl A. E. Enenkel and Konrad Adriaan Ottenheym (eds.), *The Quest for an Appropriate Past in Literature, Art and Architecture*, Leiden–Boston 2018, pp. 485–510.

[5] Erich König, *Peutingerstudien*, Freiburg 1914, pp. 43–60, 159–166; Paul Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluss des Humanismus*, Leipzig 1910, pp. 205–209; Johannes Helmrath, "Die Aura der Kaisermünze. Bild-Text-Studien zur Historiographie der Renaissance und zur Entstehung der Numismatik als Wissenschaft", in *Medien und Sprachen humanistischer Geschichtsschreibung,* Berlin 2009, pp. 99–138 (124–126); Bernd

became a close advisor to emperor Maximilian I.[6] Thanks to his network of humanist friends and acquaintances, he became the recipient of extensive epigraphic and antiquarian documentation, both in manuscript and in print, which swelled the ranks of his magnificent library.[7]

Undoubtedly, the most studied aspect of Peutinger's antiquarianism is his 1505 edition of inscriptions from Augsburg. One facet that has received less attention, and which will be the object of this paper, is the role of Peutinger as receptor, reader and annotator of antiquarian printed books, taking his copy of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (ed. Giacomo Mazzocchi, Rome 1521) as a case-study.[8] The location of this copy was

Posselt, "Das Kaiserbuch", in Laube and Zäh, *Gesammeltes Gedächtnis* (see n. 3), pp. 108–117.

[6] See Christopher Wood, "Maximilian I as Archeologist", *Renaissance Quarterly* 58 (2005), pp. 1128–1174.

[7] Peutinger owned four entirely epigraphical manuscripts: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4012, fasc. b; Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2º Cod H 23; 2º Cod H 24, and 4º Cod H 26. See Christian Hülsen, "Eine Sammlung römischer Renaissance-Inschriften aus den Augsburger Kollektaneen Konrad Peutingers", *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse*, Jahrgang 1920:15 (1921), pp. 3–61; Hans-Jörg Künast and Helmut Zäh, *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers: Edition der historischen Kataloge und Rekonstruktion der Bestände*, 2 vols., Tübingen 2003–2005, vol. 1, pp. 433–435; Martin Ott, "Gesammelte Inschriften: Drei handschriftliche Syllogen aus der Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers", in Laube and Zäh, *Gesammeltes Gedächtnis* (see n. 3), pp. 88–90. On Peutinger's reception of Austrian epigraphic material, see Doris Marth, *Der sogenannte* Antiquus Austriacus *und weitere* auctores antiquissimi. *Zur ältesten Überlieferung römerzeitlicher Inschriften im österreichischen Raum*, Wien 2016, esp. pp. 228–264. On Peutinger's reception of Hispanic epigraphic material, see Gerard González Germain, "Una aproximación a los *studia epigraphica* de Conrad Peutinger: el testimonio de las inscripciones hispanas", *Euphrosyne* 42 (2014), pp. 119–134. On the antiquarian printed material of Peutinger's library, see below, pp. 15–20.

[8] On this work, its various annotated copies and its Early Modern influence, see I. Calabi Limentani, "Andrea Fulvio, *alter homo doctus*, autore degli *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*?", *Epigraphica* 31 (1969), pp. 205–212 [repr. in *Scienza epigrafica. Contributi alla storia degli studi di epigrafia latina*, Faenza 2010, 191–197]; Marco Buonocore, "Miscellanea epigraphica e codicibus Bibliothecae Vaticanae. XIII", *Epigraphica* 61 (1999), pp. 137–160 (155–157) [repr. in "Appunti sulle due copie vaticane annotate del Mazzocchi", in id., *Tra i codici epigrafici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Faenza 2004, pp. 241–244]; William Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History. Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance*, London 2005, pp. 24–41 and *ad indicem*; Marco Buonocore, "Sulle copie postillate vaticane degli *Epigrammata Antiquae Vrbis*", in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae XIII*, Città del Vaticano 2006, pp. 91–102; Ginette Vagenheim, "Piero Vettori e l'epigrafia: l'edizione (*Epigrammata Antiquae Vrbis, Romae 1521*), le schede (*Firenze, B.N.C., cod. Magliab. XXVIII, 29*) e le lapidi", *La Bibliofilia* 110:2, pp. 139–157; Concetta Bianca, "Giacomo Mazzocchi e gli *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*",

hitherto unknown, but I have been able to identify it as one of the two copies kept at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

2. Peutinger's Library and the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*

Conrad Peutinger built one of the largest private libraries in northern Europe, containing more than 6,000 titles.[9] His determination in collecting books was matched by his efforts in developing a cataloging system. By 1515, when he drew up his first catalog, he had divided the legal section from the rest of the library (each stored in a separate room) and he had sorted both parts by book size (A for great-folios, B for folios, C for quartos) and type of binding (A for wooden-board binding, AA for vellum binding, AAA for leather binding, and so on), with a consecutive numeration for each combination; he often inscribed this shelf-mark either on the volume's spine or on one of its edges. Since this system did not allow for an easy location of a particular book, he accompanied the catalog with subject and alphabetical indexes.

The continuous growth of his library led Peutinger to include new additions in the blank spaces of the 1515 catalog. In 1523 the former catalog was no longer effective, and he prepared a new one, which — despite being again supplemented with new entries — remained definitive. In 1597 a new inventory of the libraries of Conrad and his son Christoph Peutinger (1511–1576) was drawn up. The bulk of the collection

in Concetta Bianca, Gabriella Capecchi and Paolo Desideri (eds.), *Studi di antiquaria ed epigrafia per Ada Rita Gunella*, Rome 2009, pp. 107–116; Joan Carbonell and Gerard González Germain, "Jean Matal and His Annotated Copy of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Vrbis* (Vat. lat. 8495): The Use of Manuscript Sources", *Veleia* 29 (2012), pp. 149–168; Joan Carbonell, "El corpus epigráfico de los *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* (ed. Mazochius, 1521) a raíz del estudio del ejemplar anotado por Jean Matal (ms. Vat. lat. 8495)", in Gerard González Germain (ed.), *Peregrinationes ad inscriptiones colligendas. Estudios de epigrafía de tradición manuscrita*, Bellaterra 2016, pp. 13–72; Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, "Sous la dictée de la Sibylle. Épigraphie et Poésie. Un exemplaire des *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* annoté par André de Resende et Francisco de Holanda", ibid., pp. 73–134; Joan Carbonell and Gerard González Germain (eds.), *The* Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis *(1521) and Its Influence on European Antiquarianism*, Rome, in press.

[9] For the study and the reconstruction of Peutinger's library through the edition of his catalogs, see Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7); a third and final volume is scheduled to appear in 2020. See also Hans-Jörg Künast, "Two Volumes of Konrad Peutinger in the Beinecke Library", *The Yale University Library Gazette* 77 (2003), pp. 133–142; id., "Konrad Peutingers Bibliothek. Wissenordnung und Formen des Bucherwerbs", in Rolf Kießling and Gernot Michael Müller (eds.), *Ein Universalgelehrter zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven*, Berlin–Boston 2018, pp. 85–106.

remained intact within the Peutinger family until 1718, when their last male descendant bequeathed the library to the Augsburg Jesuit College of Saint Salvator, at which point the collection was finally dispersed.[10]

Peutinger's catalogs have been studied and edited in 2003–2005 by Hans-Jörg Künast and Helmut Zäh, who have identified many of his copies that passed from the Jesuits of Augsburg to other Bavarian libraries, mainly the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, as well as the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the Bibliothek des Priester-seminars St. Hieronymus in Augsburg or the Studienbibliothek in Dillingen. Other copies have turned up outside Bavaria, e.g. in Stuttgart or in Oxford.[11] The most recent discoveries of books formerly owned by Peutinger come from the United States, notably the Beinecke Library and the New-York Historical Society Library.[12] These identifications are greatly relevant due to Peutinger's habit of adding annotations on the volumes, which range from marginal *notabilia* to proper commentaries and additions that address the books' content. It is to be hoped that other unidentified copies from Peutinger's library may still resurface, especially outside Germany, and particularly in the US.

This is precisely the case for Peutinger's copy of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*. The book appears on his second catalog of 1523, under the shelf-mark B25 (i.e., no. 25 of the wood-bound books in folio format) and the title "Liber antiquitatum per Iacobum Mazockium impress-arum".[13] From the low number of its shelf-mark, it is possible to infer that the book was already in his possession by 1523 — only two years after the book's publication. After that, all traces of this book disappear: it is absent from the 1597 inventory, and it was not mentioned by Andrea Felix von Oefele (1706–1780), who still saw and described a good portion of Peutinger's library in 1743.[14] Similarly, Künast and Zäh could not locate the copy in their edition of Peutinger's catalog.

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[10] On the history of Peutinger's library and its catalogs, see Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, pp. 12–43.

[11] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 231–232 no. 149.4 and p. 386 no. 460.2.

[12] Künast, "Two Volumes" (see n. 9); Anthony Grafton, "Reading History: Conrad Peutinger and the Chronicle of Nauclerus", in Laube and Zäh, *Gesammeltes Gedächtnis* (see n. 3), pp. 19–25.

[13] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4021 c, f. 94r (*olim* 42r); on the page side, the entry is abridged as "Inscriptiones vetustae"; see Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, p. 337 no. 348 [B 25]. Likewise, in the alphabetical index the book is registered as "Inscriptiones vetustae B25 infra 42 per Iacobum Mazockium" (ibid., f. 29r). This altered name is of course reminiscent of Peutinger's own *Inscriptiones vetustae Romanae et earum fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et eius dioecesi*, published a year before the *Epigrammata*.

[14] See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, pp. 21 and 41–42.

The copy located at the University of Illinois bears Peutinger's unmistakable handwriting in the margins of the volume [see Figs. 2–7].[15] Unlike most of Peutinger's books, this copy lacks his autograph ex-libris as well as the ex-libris of the Jesuits of Augsburg. And yet there can be no doubt that this was Peutinger's personal copy, since it bears the number "25" — corresponding to its shelf-mark — written by Peutinger himself on the fore edge of the book [Fig. 1]. Its 16th-century German wooden boards may well date to Peutinger's time.

Fig. 1. Peutinger's copy of the *Epigrammata* (see n. 15), fore edge

Like a few other copies of the *Epigrammata*, this book was bound with the frontispiece incorrectly inserted between Valerius Probus's *De notis antiquarum litterarum* and Leo X's privilege for the publication of the *Epigrammata*. With no ex-libris or bookplate (other than that of the Library of the University of Illinois on the front pastedown), the only information about the book's provenance comes from two modern annotations on pencil. On the gutter of the opening page of the volume (headed by Mazzocchi's address *ad lectorem*), an annotation reads "Baldwin 6 Apr 42 Norman"; and on the bended top right corner of the front flyleaf, a similar note reads "Norman 21 May 42". It thus appears that the library acquired the book in 1942 using a fund named after Thomas W. Baldwin (who also left an important collection of books to the University of Illinois), probably from a bookseller called Norman. Nothing else is known about the history of the volume.

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[15] Urbana, IL, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, IUQ01658. The copy is available online at https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiuc.5540934, last accessed 13 September 2019.
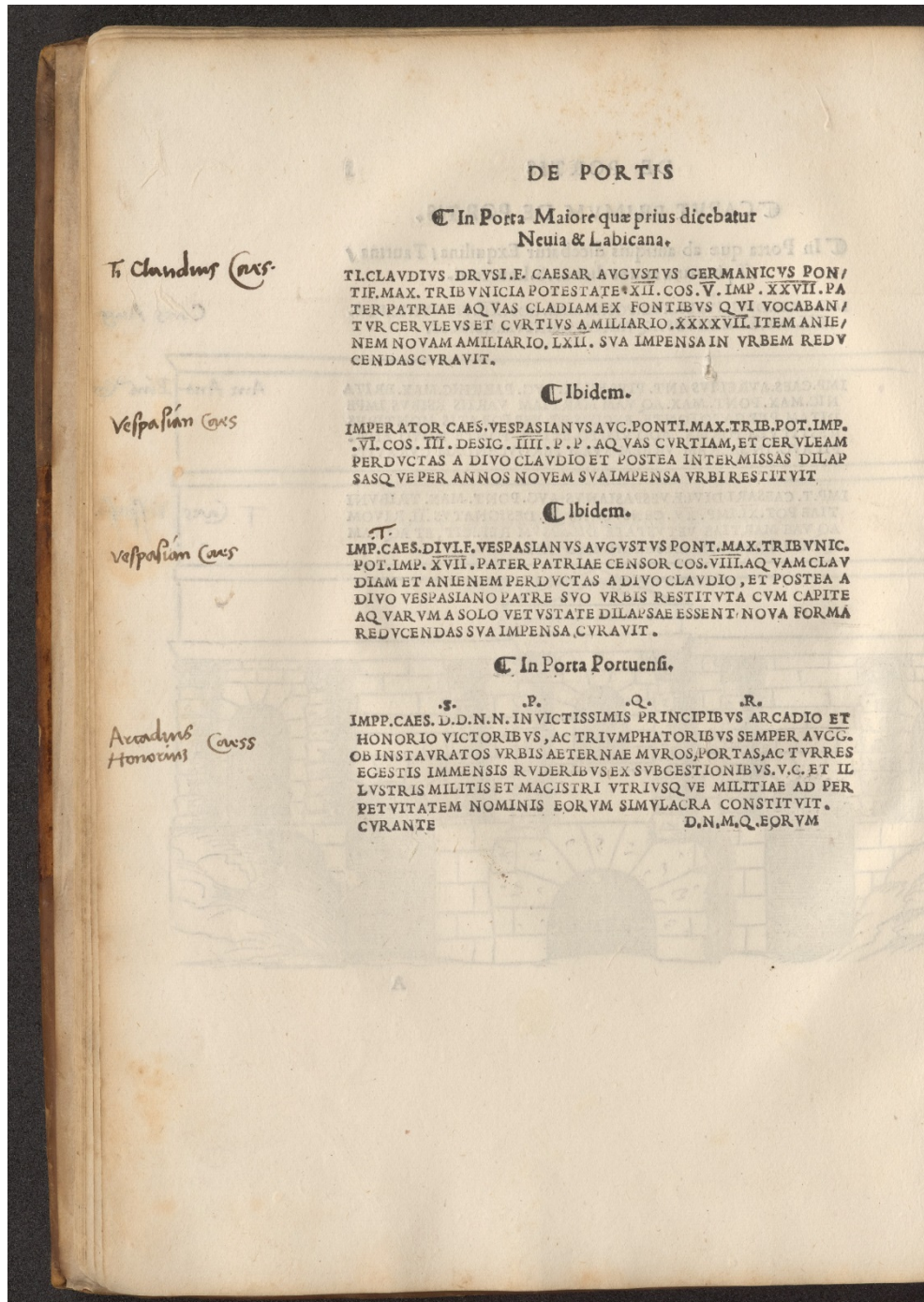
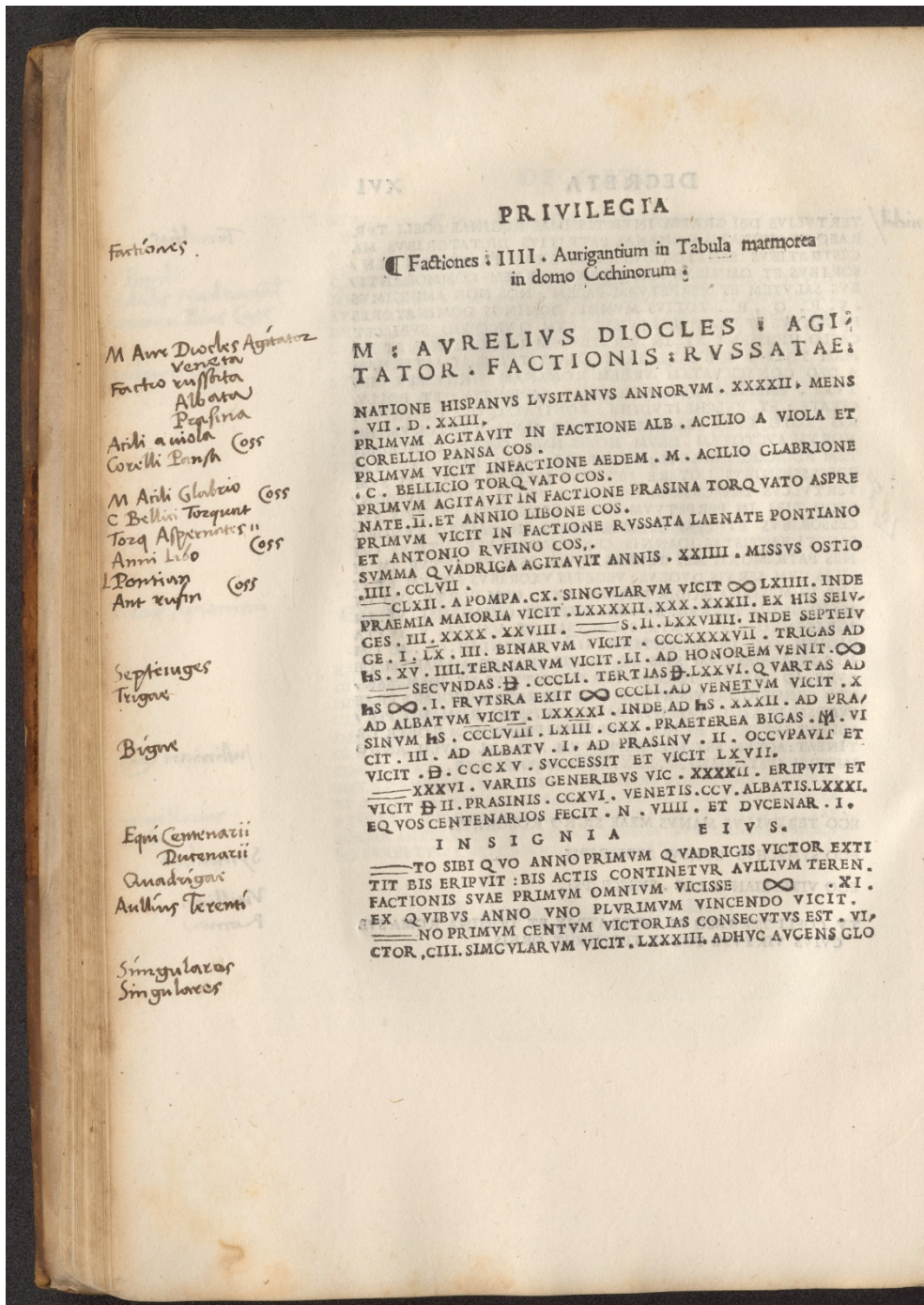## 3. Peutinger's reading of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*

The *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* was one of the most influential antiquarian publications of the Renaissance.[16] Although a few epigraphic sylloges had already appeared in press by 1521, none surpassed 20 folios, whereas in the *Epigrammata* the inscriptions spanned 180 sheets. It was also the earliest printed collection of inscriptions of Rome, and the only Cinquecento publication to focus solely on the city's epigraphy. The *Epigrammata* became, due to their exhaustivity, organization of the material, and expression of non-textual elements on the printed page, a sort of vade mecum for any humanist interested in Roman antiquities, as well as a model for later collections of inscriptions. The book's success, however, may not have been immediate; we know of numerous readers and annotators from the middle of the century, but only a handful from the 1520s — Conrad Peutinger being of course one of them.[17]

Peutinger's annotations on his copy of the *Epigrammata* provide a good insight into his reading of the book. His *notabilia*, written all in a homogeneous brown ink, appear on every single page from f. 1r until the end of f. 48r, stop abruptly at that point and do not return again. These *notabilia* consist of proper and (more rarely) common names, which are written in nominative, often with the omission of the ending -*us* for the second declension. Emperors are consistently identified, with the addition of *Caes*(*ar*) after the name [e.g. Fig. 2]; on the few occasions where consuls are mentioned, their names are highlighted as well, with the addition of the word *coss.* (i.e. *consules*) [Fig. 3]. Proper names of private individuals, ethnic groups and cities are also regularly recorded [Figs. 4–5]. Finally, a few common names that are considered remarkable are singled out, as is the case of the chariot-related vocabulary in the funerary inscription of a charioteer (*CIL* VI 10048, f. 16v) [Fig. 3].

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[16] See above n. 8.

[17] The best-known reader of this period is Antonio Lelio (who signs as *Antonius Laelius Podager*); see Bianca, "Giacomo Mazzocchi" (see n. 8). Only two (or possibly three) other Transalpine readers from the 1520s are known so far; see Gerard González Germain, "The *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* Travels North: Early Modern Owners and Annotators Beyond the Alps", in Carbonell and González Germain, *The* Epigrammata (see n. 8), pp. 87–100 (87–89).

DE PORTIS

❡ In Porta Maiore quæ prius dicebatur
Neuia & Labicana.

Ti Claudius Cœs.

TI.CLAVDIVS DRVSI.F. CAESAR AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS PON/
TIF.MAX. TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE XII. COS. V. IMP. XXVII. PA
TER PATRIAE AQVAS CLADIAM EX FONTIBVS QVI VOCABAN/
TVR CERVLEVS ET CVRTIVS AMILIARIO.XXXXVII. ITEM ANIE/
NEM NOVAM AMILIARIO. LXII. SVA IMPENSA IN VRBEM REDV
CENDAS CVRAVIT.

❡ Ibidem.

Vespasian Cœs

IMPERATOR CAES. VESPASIANVS AVG. PONTI.MAX. TRIB.POT.IMP.
.VI. COS. III. DESIG. IIII. P.P. AQVAS CVRTIAM, ET CERVLEAM
PERDVCTAS A DIVO CLAVDIO ET POSTEA INTERMISSAS DILAP
SASQ VE PER ANNOS NOVEM SVA IMPENSA VRBI RESTITVIT

❡ Ibidem.

Vespasian Cœs

.T.
IMP.CAES.DIVI.F. VESPASIANVS AVGVSTVS PONT.MAX.TRIBVNIC.
POT.IMP. XVII. PATER PATRIAE CENSOR COS. VIII.AQVAM CLAV
DIAM ET ANIENEM PERDVCTAS A DIVO CLAVDIO , ET POSTEA A
DIVO VESPASIANO PATRE SVO VRBIS RESTITVTA CVM CAPITE
AQVARVM A SOLO VETVSTATE DILAPSAE ESSENT/ NOVA FORMÁ
REDVCENDAS SVA IMPENSA CVRAVIT .

❡ In Porta Portuensi.

Arcadius Couss
Honorius

.S.   .P.   .Q.   .R.
IMPP.CAES. D.D.N.N. INVICTISSIMIS PRINCIPIBVS ARCADIO ET
HONORIO VICTORIBVS , AC TRIVMPHATORIBVS SEMPER AVGG.
OB INSTAVRATOS VRBIS AETERNAE MVROS,PORTAS,AC TVRRES
EGESTIS IMMENSIS RVDERIBVS EX SVBGESTIONIBVS.V.C. ET IL
LVSTRIS MILITIS ET MAGISTRI VTRIVSQ VE MILITIAE AD PER
PETVITATEM NOMINIS EORVM SIMVLACRA CONSTITVIT.
CVRANTE   D.N.M.Q. EORVM

Fig. 2. Peutinger's copy of the *Epigrammata* (see n. 15), f. 1v

Fig. 3. Peutinger's copy of the *Epigrammata* (see n. 15), f. 16v

Besides writing these *notabilia* in the margins, Peutinger evinced his interest in particular passages of the inscriptions by drawing a manicule on three different occasions [Figs. 4–6]. In two of these cases, his attention was caught by the fact that the text of the inscriptions seemed to mention his native city, Augsburg (*Augusta Vindelicorum*) — although only one of them actually referred to it (under the form "Aug. Vindelicum", *CIL* VI 3353, f. 29r) [Fig. 4], whereas the other abbreviated formula ("aug. vind.", *CIL* II 370*, f. 18r) did not [Fig. 5].[18]
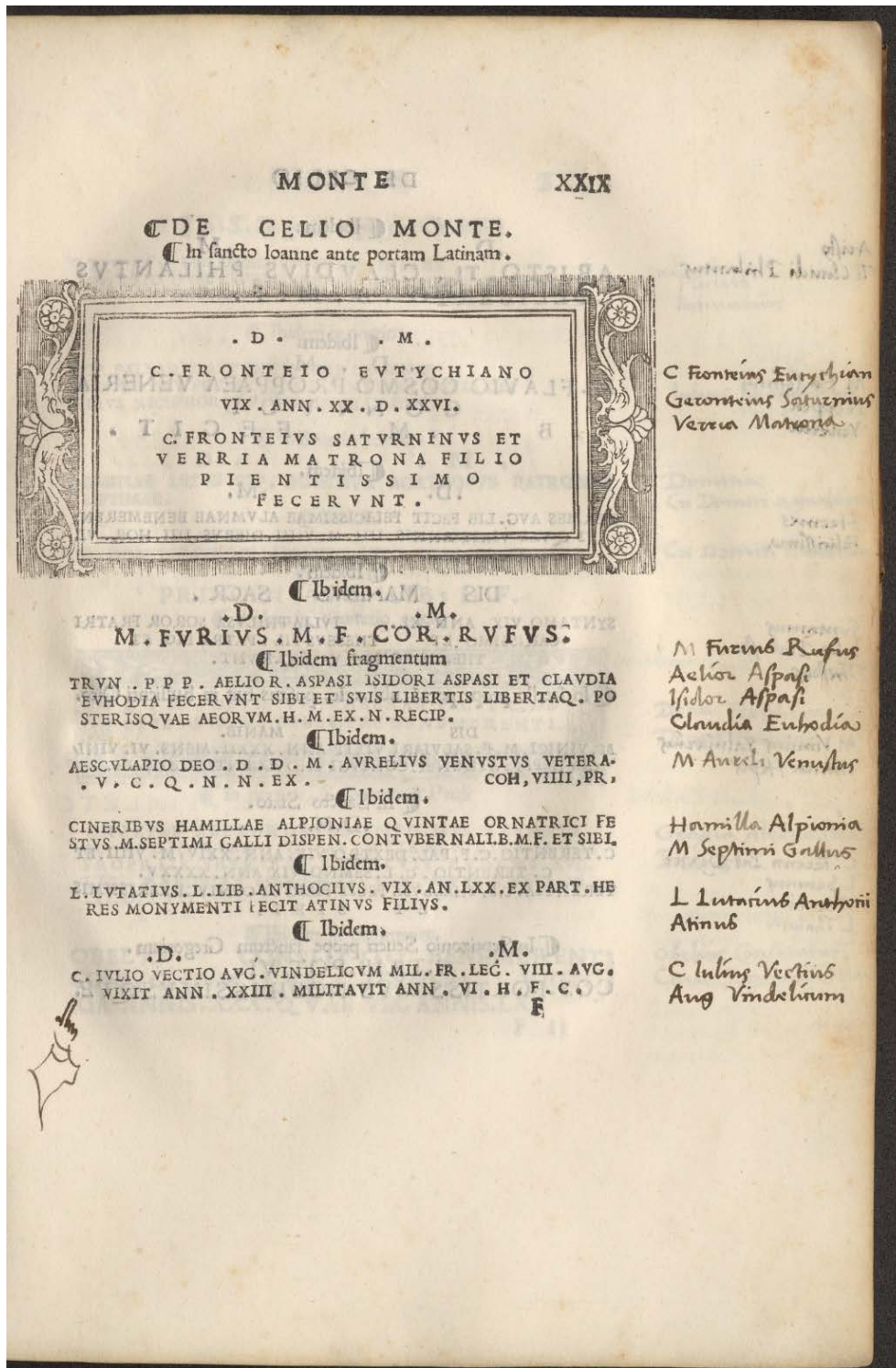
The third manicule (*CIL* VI 59*d**, f. 16r) [Fig. 6] is found within the so-called Donation of Tertullus, a 12th-century forgery by Peter the Deacon, who tried to attest the donation of numerous possessions in Sicily by the patrician Tertullus, father of St. Placidus, to St. Benedict.[19] The sentence underscored states Tertullus's duty to worship God after the many benefits he has received from Him;[20] and could have been singled out by Peutinger for its Christian message in an essentially pagan book.
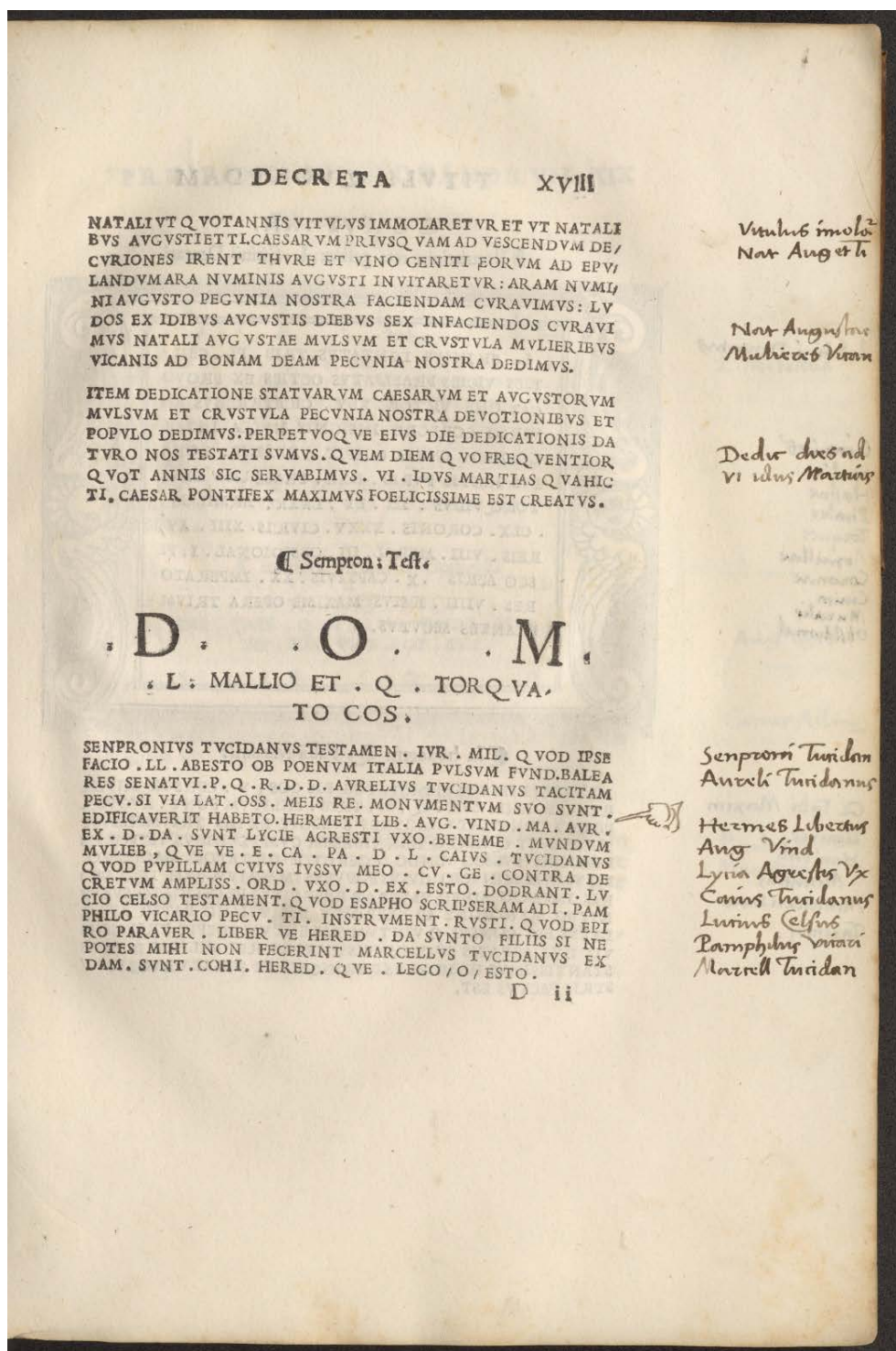
Finally, only once does Peutinger correct the text of an inscription, namely to add the missing *praenomen* of the emperor Titus, *T.* (*CIL* VI 1258, f. 1v) [Fig. 2]. The emendation may plausibly be seen to come from the list of *corrigenda* appended at the end of the book (f. aa1r), which Peutinger annotated — in order to facilitate its consultation — for the first 28 folios of the book. Although the ink used in the correction is almost identical to that in the *notabilia*, it appears this correction was made later, since Peutinger identified the emperor as Vespasian and not as Titus.
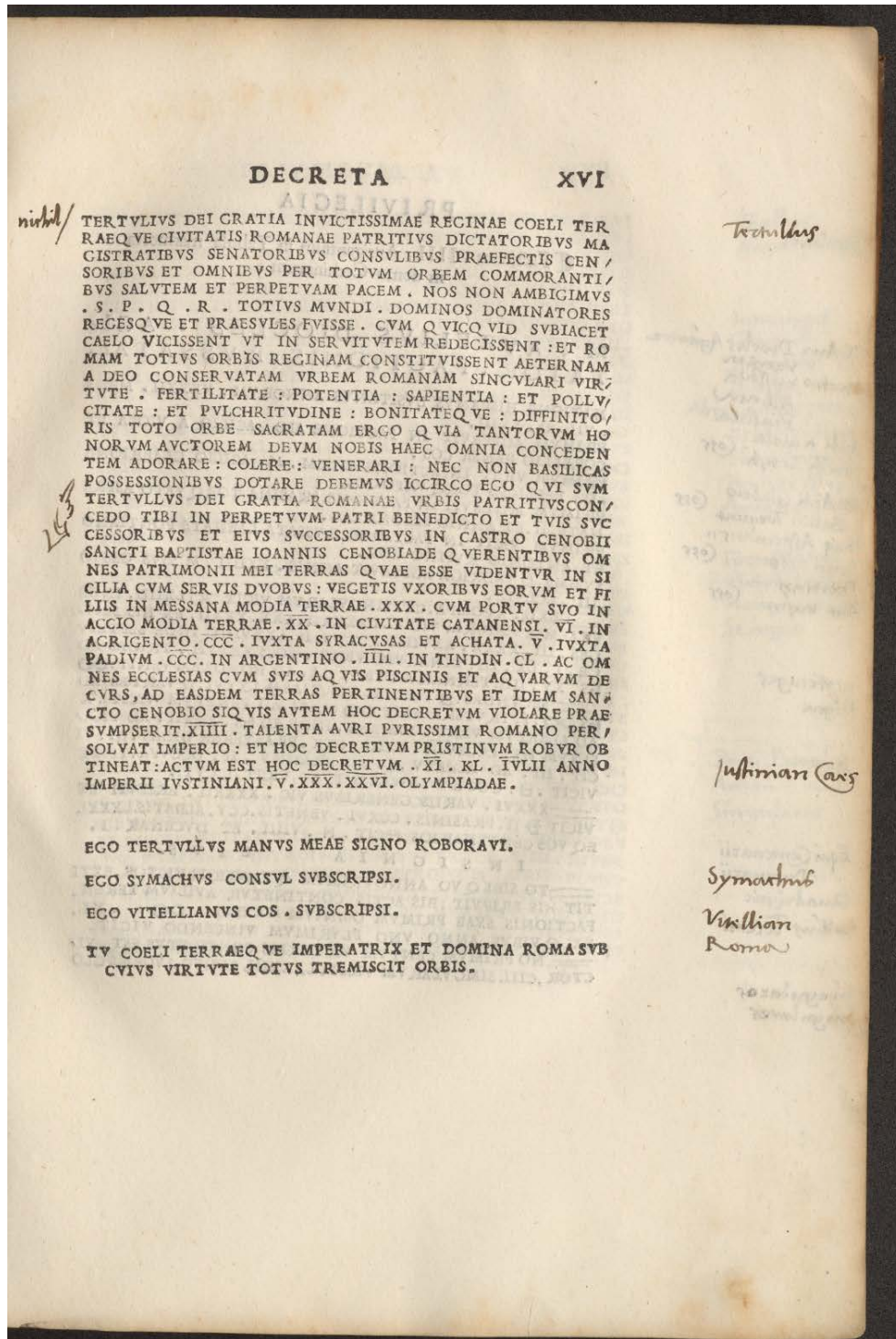
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[18] This inscription is in fact an intricate spurious will, in which the sentence "Hermeti lib. aug. vind. ma. aur. ex. [*sic*, instead of CX] d. da. sunt." should probably be understood as "Hermeti lib(erto) aug(urali) vind(icta) ma(numisso) aur(ei) CX d(ono) da(ta) sunt(o)"; this is at least the interpretation provided by Georg Fabricius in his *Antiquitatis aliquot monumenta insignia ex aere, marmoribus membranisque veteribus*, Strasbourg, Blasius Fabricius, 1549, f. E1r.

[19] On this forgery, see Herbert Bloch, "Tertullus' Sicilian Donation and a Newly Discovered Treatise in Peter the Deacon's Placidus Forgeries", in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongreß der Monumenta Germaniae Historica München (16–19 September 1986). Teil IV: Diplomatische Fälschungen (II)*, Hannover 1988, pp. 97–128 (109–120).

[20] "Ergo quia tantorum bonorum auctorem Deum nobis hec omnia concedentem, adorare, colere, venerari, nec non eius basilicas possessionibus dotare debemus". Mazzocchi's text reads "honorum" instead of "bonorum".

MONTE XXIX

DE CELIO MONTE.
In sancto Ioanne ante portam Latinam.

. D . . M .

C . FRONTEIO EVTYCHIANO
VIX . ANN . XX . D . XXVI .
C . FRONTEIVS SATVRNINVS ET
VERRIA MATRONA FILIO
PIENTISSIMO
FECERVNT .

C Fronteius Eurychian
Geronteius Saturnius
Verria Matrona

Ibidem.
.D. .M.
M . FVRIVS . M . F . COR . RVFVS.

M Furius Rufus

Ibidem fragmentum
TRVN . P. P P . AELIO R . ASPASI ISIDORI ASPASI ET CLAVDIA
EVHODIA FECERVNT SIBI ET SVIS LIBERTIS LIBERTAQ . PO
STERISQ VAE AEORVM. H . M . EX . N . RECIP .

Aelion Aspasi
Isidor Aspasi
Claudia Euhodia

Ibidem.
AESCVLAPIO DEO . D . D . M . AVRELIVS VENVSTVS VETERA.
. V . C . Q . N . N . EX . - COH . VIIII , PR ,

M Aureli Venustus

Ibidem.
CINERIBVS HAMILLAE ALPIONIAE QVINTAE ORNATRICI FE
STVS . M.SEPTIMI GALLI DISPEN. CONTVBERNALI. B. M. F. ET SIBI,

Hamilla Alpionia
M Septimi Gallus

Ibidem.
L . LVTATIVS . L . LIB . ANTHOCIIVS . VIX . AN . LXX . EX PART . HE
RES MONYMENTI FECIT ATINVS FILIVS .

L Lutatius Anothonii
Atinus

Ibidem.
.D. .M.
C . IVLIO VECTIO AVG . VINDELICVM MIL . FR . LEG . VIII . AVG .
VIXIT ANN . XXIII . MILITAVIT ANN . VI . H . F . C .
F.

C Iulius Vectius
Aug Vindelicum

Fig. 4. Peutinger's copy of the *Epigrammata* (see n. 15), f. 29r

Fig. 5. Peutinger's copy of the *Epigrammata* (see n. 15), f. 18r

Fig. 6. Peutinger's copy of the *Epigrammata* (see n. 15), f. 16r

There is a single annotation by Peutinger that clearly does not belong to the same layer as the rest of marginalia, both for its distinctive features and for the use of a different, bright reddish ink. This is indeed the only extensive annotation, and it appears not on the side, but on the top margin of the page, which contains the *Lex de imperio Vespasiani* (*CIL*

VI 930, f. 14v) [Fig. 7], the famous bronze tablet that records the grant of imperial powers to Vespasian. Interestingly, Peutinger does not mention the inscription directly, but relates it to a passage from Suetonius's *Life of Vespasian*:

> C(aius) Suetonius Tranquillus in *Vespasiano* ait: 'Instrumentorum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum confecit, quo continebantur pene ab exordio urbis senatusconsulta, plebiscita de societate, de foedere ac privilegio cuicumque concessis' [Suet. *Vesp.* 8, 5].
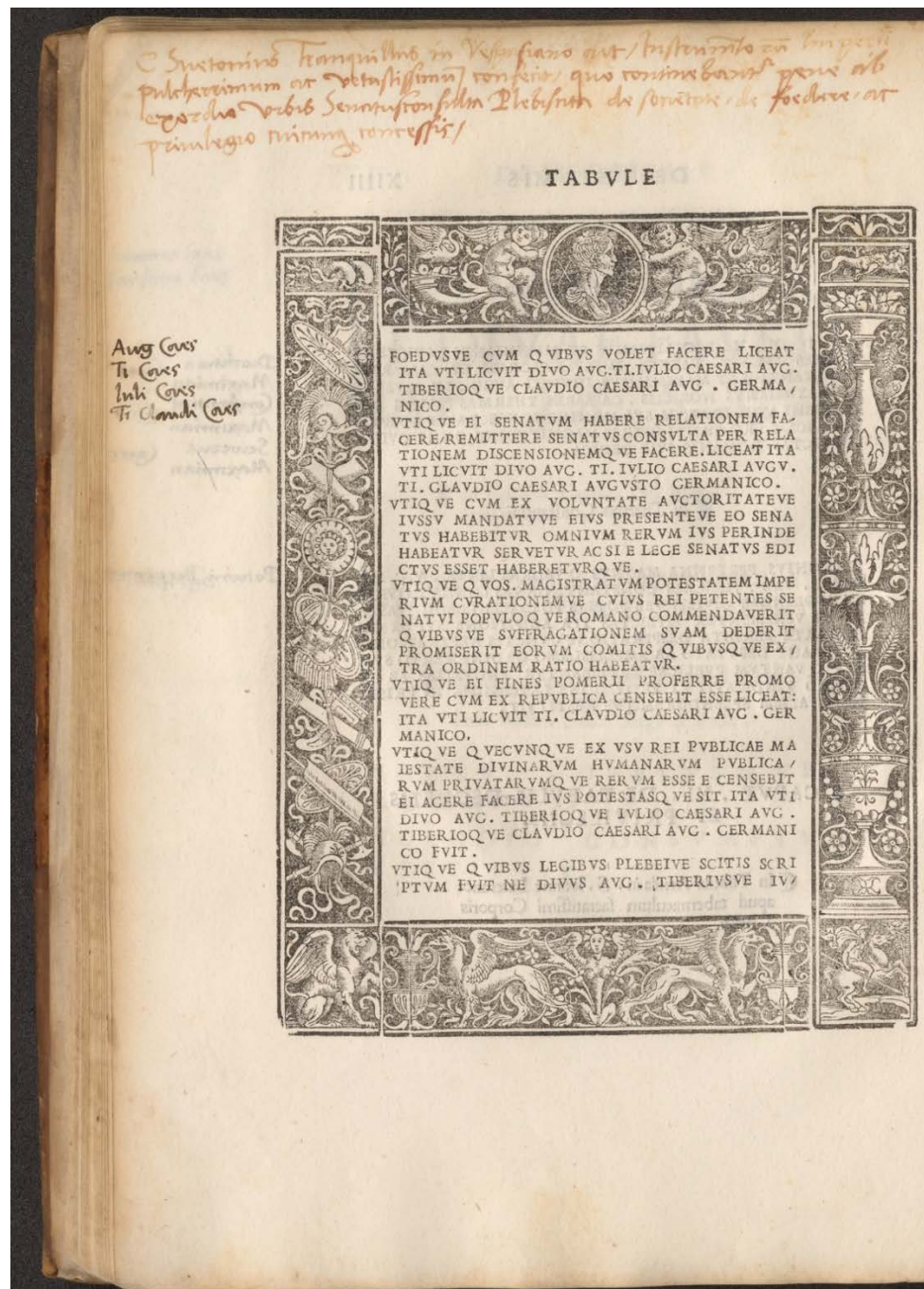

Fig. 7. Peutinger's copy of the *Epigrammata* (see n. 15), f. 14v

Suetonius here alludes to the fire on the Capitol in 69 CE, which destroyed the public archives, and Vespasian's efforts to re-inscribe the decrees of the senate and the plebiscites by seeking copies of the lost originals.[21] Suetonius was obviously referring to past decrees and not to the *Lex de imperio Vespasiani* itself, but the passage indeed provides valuable information on the Romans' epigraphic habit of inscribing laws on bronze tablets, and on their concern for preserving them.[22]

The evidence gathered here allows us to conclude that Peutinger did not really use the *Epigrammata* as a source of historical and philological information, but contented himself with reading it in much the same way as he would have read a literary book: he started at the beginning and read each and every inscription, writing *notabilia* as he did so, and taking delight in the presence of his city in the inscriptions. He went over more than a quarter of the book this way, at which point he put it down, apparently without ever taking it up again. Only once, probably at a different moment, he wrote down the passage from Suetonius regarding the importance of inscribed legal texts.

4. Antiquarian and Epigraphic Literature in Peutinger's Library

Peutinger's copy of the *Epigrammata* can provide further evidence of his interest in inscriptions if it is framed in the context of the antiquarian section of his library. For such a task, we have relied on Künast and Zäh's study (which includes a general survey of the presence of annotations in

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[21] Robert A. Kaster's edition (*Oxford Classical Texts*, 2016) of Suetonius' passage (*Vesp*. 8, 5) reads as follows: *instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum quo continebantur paene ab exordio urbis senatus consulta, plebi scita de societate et foedere ac privilegio cuicumque concessis*. Note the differences with the text cited by Peutinger, who follows exactly the text of his copy of Suetonius with Filippo Beroaldo's commentary (Bologna, Benedetto Faelli, 1493, f. 289r), preserved at Dillingen, Studienbibliothek, XXIVa, 129; a different text appears in two other editions of Suetonius owned by Peutinger: Venice, Bernardino Rizzo, 1489, f. [i4v] (preserved at London, British Library, IB. 22631), and Basel, Johann Froben, 1518, p. 152 (preserved at Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2º L.R. 163). The three volumes contain multiple annotations by Peutinger, but not on the passage in question. See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, p. 343 no. 371 [B 47]; pp. 347–348 no. 380 [B 55], and pp. 690–691 no. 716.

[22] See Callie Williamson, "Monuments of Bronze: Roman Legal Documents on Bronze Tablets", *Classical Antiquity* 6 (1987), pp. 160–183; Pier Luigi Tucci, "A New Look at the *Tabularium* and the Capitoline Hill", *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Serie III, Rendiconti* 86 (2013–2014), pp. 43–123.

the preserved copies), supplemented with our own analysis of the 1597 inventory for the books published after 1523.[23]

Peutinger's collection of antiquarian printed books is impressive. It contained the first edition of the list of epigraphic abbreviations that circulated under Valerius Probus's name,[24] which was published in Brescia in 1486;[25] and still two later editions of the same text, which included other epigraphic material: Giovanni Bonardi's Venetian edition of 1499 (reprinted in 1502 and again in Rome in 1509),[26] and that of Dietrich Gresemund (Oppenheim 1510), which also contained three short antiquarian treatises by Pomponio Leto.[27] This work became an essential tool for anyone attempting to read and understand Roman epigraphic texts.

The earliest collection of inscriptions to ever appear in print was Desiderio Spreti's epigraphic appendix to his *De amplitudine, de vastatione et de instauratione urbis Ravennae*, published posthumously in Venice in 1489: of this book Peutinger owned not one, but two copies.[28] He owned other historical, geographical and philological works that made

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[23] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4021 d, ff. 20r–58v.

[24] See Theodor Mommsen, "De Probi qui dicitur notarum laterculo alphabetico", in Heinrich Keil (ed.), *Grammatici Latini*, vol. 4, Leipzig 1864, pp. 347–352.

[25] Marcus Valerius Probus*, De interpretandis Romanorum litteris*, [Brescia], Bonino de' Bonini, 1486. Currently preserved at Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4° Ink 142. See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, pp. 92–93 no. 12.6 [C 12].

[26] Marcus Valerius Probus, *De interpretandis Romanorum litteris*, Venice, Giovanni Tacuino, 1499; with reprints in Venice, Giovanni Tacuino, 1502; and Rome, Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1509. See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, pp. 89–90 no. 9.3 [C 9].

[27] Marcus Valerius Probus, *Interpretamenta litterarum singularium in antiquitatibus Romanis cum plaerisque circa singulas litteras additionibus. De abbreviationibus.* Iulius Pomponius Laetus, *Libellus de Romanorum magistratibus. De sacerdotiis Romanorum. De diversis legibus Romanorum*, Oppenheim, Jakob Köbel, 1510. Currently preserved at Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4° L.R. 186. See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, pp. 261–262 no. 197.1 [CC 12]. Peutinger owned yet another copy of Leto's treatises: Iulius Pomponius Laetus, *De Romanorum magistratibus, sacerdotiis, iurisperitis et legibus libellus*, Venice, Massimo Butrici, c. 1491; currently preserved at Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4° Ink 85d. See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, pp. 125–126 no. 40.1 [C 40].

[28] Desiderius Spretus, *De amplitudine, de vastatione et de instauratione urbis Ravennae*, Venice, Matteo Codecà, 1489. See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, p. 127 no. 42.3 [C 42] and pp. 242–243 no. 169.1 [C 167].

ample use of epigraphic sources, such as Ermolao Barbaro's *Castigationes* (Rome 1492–93),[29] Pomponio Leto's *Romanae historiae compendium* (Venice 1499),[30] Flavio Biondo's *Roma instaurata* and *Italia illustrata* (Venice 1503),[31] or Raffaele Maffei's *Commentarii urbani* (Rome 1506).[32]

Peutinger owned practically all the topographic and archaeological treatises on ancient Rome published in the first two decades of the 16th century. These included the Pseudo-Publius Victor's *De regionibus urbis Romae* (a version of the *Curiosum urbis Romae regionum XIV* interpolated by Pomponio Leto);[33] Leto's *De Romanae urbis vetustate* (a text that had circulated in manuscript form under the title *Excerpta a Pomponio dum inter ambulandum cuidam domino ultramontano reliquias ac ruinas Urbi ostenderet*, followed again by his *De regionibus*);[34] Mazzocchi's edition of the *Menologium rusticum Vallense* (Rome

[29] Hermolaus Barbarus, *Castigationes Plinianae et in Pomponium Melam*, Rome, Eucharius Silber, 1492–1493. Currently preserved at Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° Ink 880. See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, p. 344 no. 372 [B 48].

[30] Pomponius Laetus, *Romanae historiae compendium ab interitu Gordiani Iunioris usque ad Iustinum III*. Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, *Pomponii vita*, Venice, Bernardino Vitali, 1499 (reprinted in 1500). See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, p. 140 no. 56.1 [C 56].

[31] Flavius Blondus, *De Roma instaurata libri tres. De Italia illustrata. De gestis Venetorum*, Venice, Bernardo Vitali, 1503. Currently preserved at Augsburg, Bibliothek des Priesterseminars St. Hieronymus, M 37 (bound together with Peutinger's copy of Flavius Blondus, *De Roma triumphante libri decem*, Brescia, Angelo Britannico, 1503). See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, pp. 364–365 no. 419 [B 92].

[32] Raphael Volaterranus, *Commentariorum urbanorum libri XXXVIII*, Rome, Johann Besicken, 1506. Currently preserved at Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° Alt. 95. See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, pp. 386–387 no. 463 [B 135].

[33] Venerabilis Beda, *De temporibus sive de sex aetatibus huius seculi liber*. Publius Victor, *De regionibus urbis Romae libellus aureus*, Venice, Giovanni Taccuino, 1505 (reprinted in Paris in 1507 and in Venice in 1509). See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, p. 210 no. 129.1 [C 129]. On Leto's so-called *Regionarium*, see Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti (eds.), *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, 4 vols., Rome 1940–1953, vol. 1, pp. 193–258; Maria Accame, "Il *Regionario* interpolato di Pomponio Leto", *Roma nel Rinascimento* 2017, pp. 275–300.

[34] Iulius Pomponius Laetus, *De Romanae urbis vetustate*, Rome, Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1510 (reprinted in 1515). See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, pp. 274–275 no. 221.2 [CC 34]. On Leto's *Excerpta*, see Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice topografico* (see n. 33), vol. 4, pp. 421–436; Maria Accame, "Pomponio Leto e la topografia di Roma", *Rivista di topografia antica. Journal of Ancient Topography* 7 (1997), pp. 187–194.

1509),[35] Francesco Albertini's *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (Rome 1510),[36] and Andrea Fulvio's *Antiquaria urbis* (Rome 1513).[37] Given the time spent coordinating with Hans Burgkmair for the creation of a series of woodcut portraits of the Roman emperors to accompany his *Kaiserbuch*,[38] it is hardly surprising to discover that he owned a copy of Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines* (Rome 1517);[39] more intriguing is the fact that this title is missing from his autograph catalog, and appears only in the 1597 inventory, which opens up the possibility that it was acquired after 1523.[40]

The inventory of 1597 also lists a copy of the epigraphic collections regarding the cities of Mainz and Augsburg published by Johann Schöffer in 1520: Johann Huttich's *Collectanea antiquitatum*[41] and Peutinger's *Inscriptiones vetustae*,[42] respectively. The next antiquarian treatise that we encounter after the publication of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* is Fabio Calvo's *Antiquae urbis Romae cum regionibus simulachrum*

[35] [Calendarium Romanum], Rome, Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1509. Currently preserved at Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4° Gs 36. See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, p. 268 no. 211.2 [CC 24].

[36] Franciscus Albertinus, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae*, Rome, Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1510. Currently preserved at Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4° Gs 36. See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, p. 268 no. 211.1 [CC 24].

[37] Andreas Fulvius, *Antiquaria urbis*, Rome, Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1513. Currently preserved at Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4° Gs 36. See Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, p. 268 no. 211.3 [CC 24].

[38] See most recently Ashley D. West, "Conrad Peutinger and the Visual Arts: Collaborating with Hans Burgkmair the Elther", in Laube and Zäh, *Gesammeltes Gedächtnis* (see n. 3), pp. 63–73 (and ibid., pp. 118–122).

[39] [Andreas Fulvius], *Illustrium imagines*, Rome, Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1517. The copy now at Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Bio 3762, bears on its front pastedown the modern indication "prov.: Konrad Peutinger"; it is not annotated and has no ex-libris apart from the stamp of the former Königliche Kreis- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg on its frontispiece; the book is bound together with another title of a similar topic, but which does not appear in any of Peutinger's inventories, namely Iohannes Huttich, *Imperatorum Romanorum libellus una cum imaginibus ad vivam effigiem expressus*, Strasbourg, Wolfgang Köpfel, 1525.

[40] See Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4021 d, f. 55r, where it is entered three times, under no. 19 ("Illustrium imagines"), no. 23 ("Imagines illustrium"), and no. 38 ("Illustrium imagines").

[41] Iohannes Huttich, *Collectanea antiquitatum in urbe atque agro Moguntino repertarum*, Mainz, Johann Schöffer, Mainz 1520. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4021 d, f. 34r no. 27.

[42] Chonradus Peutinger, *Inscriptiones vetustae Romanae et earum fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et eius dioecesi*, Mainz, Johann Schöffer, Mainz 1520. See Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4021 d, f. 34v no. 41.

(Rome 1527).[43] Peutinger also owned the two most remarkable antiquarian books that appeared in the following decade: Petrus Apianus and Bartholomaeus Amantius's *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (Ingolstadt 1534)[44] and Bartolomeo Marliani's *Antiquae Romae topographia* (Rome 1534).[45] After that, the only book worth mentioning is the posthumous edition of Iohannes Cuspinianus's *De Caesaribus atque Imperatoribus Romanis* (Strasbourg 1540),[46] which contained a portrait of each emperor and included a few inscriptions.

The overall impression is that the antiquarian section of the library is truly exhaustive until the 1520s, when we find the first noticeable omissions, such as Mazzocchi's compendium *De Roma prisca et nova varii auctores* (Rome 1523), and, especially, Andrea Fulvio's *Antiquitates Urbis* (Rome 1527). Furthermore, judging from Peutinger's located copies, earlier editions appear to have been annotated more intensely: Peutinger copied an inscription from Augsburg in the first edition of Probus's list of abbreviations, Barbaro's *Castigationes* are thoroughly annotated and were used as a source for getting inscriptions,[47] and his now-lost copy of Leto's *Compendium* contained numerous epigraphic

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[43] Marcus Fabius Calvus, *Antiquae urbis Romae cum regionibus simulachrum*, Rome, Ludovico degli Arrighi, 1527. See Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4021 d, f. 33v no. 1. Currently preserved at Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2º L.impr.c.n.mss. 60; see Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum. A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries*, vol. 3, London–Leiden 1983, p. 633.

[44] Petrus Apianus and Bartholomaeus Amantius, *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis, non illae quidem romanae, sed totius fere orbis*, Ingolstadt, Peter Apian, 1534. See Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4021 d, f. 38r no. 67 (according to the inventory, it was bound together with Joachim Vadianus, *Epitome trium terrae partium, Asiae, Africae et Europae compendiariam locorum descriptionem continens*, Zurich, Christoph Froschauer, 1534).

[45] Bartholomeus Marlianus, *Antiquae Romae topographia libri septem*, Rome, Antonio Blado, 1534. See Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4021 d, f. 51v no. 76 (the title on the inventory coincides with that of the Roman edition, and not the Lyon edition of the same year).

[46] Iohannes Cuspinianus, *De Caesaribus atque Imperatoribus Romanis*, [Strasbourg], [Kraft Müller], 1540. See Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4021 d, f. 34r no. 23.

[47] For an example of an inscription from Tarragona, featuring in the earliest phase of Peutinger's *Kaiserbuch* and coming specifically from Barbaro's *Castigationes*, see González Germain, "Una aproximación" (see n. 7), p. 131.

and numismatic texts added in the margins.[48] On the other hand, Albertini's *Opusculum* and Mazzocchi's *Epigrammata* contain mostly *notabilia*, and Fulvio's *Antiquaria urbis* has no annotations.

5. Peutinger's Interest in Inscriptions: The Evidence of His Library

The rapid survey presented here allows us to put forward some points on Peutinger as a reader of inscriptions, which a future analysis of his marginalia within all his extant antiquarian books (both in manuscript and in print) might confirm and develop. First of all, it is fairly safe to assume that his interest in inscriptions (and antiquities in general) began early on — probably during his student years in Italy (1482–1488) and his encounter with Pomponio Leto, as is often assumed[49] — and continued throughout his entire life, as his later book acquisitions show.

On the other hand, we can identify at least two consecutive phases in the way he read antiquarian and epigraphic treatises: in the first one, he took a very active role, exhaustively collecting antiquarian books (sometimes even acquiring various editions of the same text) and profusely annotating them. In the second phase, he continued to acquire antiquarian literature, but now rather as a curious reader, mostly limiting himself to writing notabilia and not hesitating to drop a book after a while. His copy of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* is exemplary of this second phase: he read it line by line, stopped after a quarter of the book, and only one annotation goes beyond the simple *notabilia*.

It is not by chance that Peutinger's more active role as an antiquarian reader — which can be dated approximately to the final years of the fifteenth century and the first decade of the sixteenth century — corresponds with the preparation of his own antiquarian works. The *Kaiserbuch* was begun not much after 1500, and its last phase is dated around 1514–1516.[50] His two more properly antiquarian works — i.e. the *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta* and the *Sermones convivales* — were published in 1505 and 1506 respectively. And, finally, two letters written in 1510–1511 included inscriptions as a source for the names of the Roman emperors: one was addressed to Dietrich Reysacher,[51] and the other was

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[48] According to Andrea Felix von Oefele's description; see Künast and Zäh, *Die Bibliothek* (see n. 7), vol. 1, p. 140.

[49] See e.g. West, "Conrad Peutinger" (see n. 38), p. 64.

[50] See Posselt, "Das Kaiserbuch" (see n. 5).

[51] This letter (signed in Augsburg on November 14, 1510) is preserved in two copies: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Hist. 2° 248, ff. 12r–23v; and Munich,

prepared together with his wife Margarete Welser and addressed to her brother Christoph Welser.[52]

Just as Peutinger's more active involvement as a reader of inscriptions coincides with the full duration of his unfinished *Kaiserbuch* project, the inception of this book appears to be linked with Peutinger's reading of one particular work: Pomponio Leto's *Romanae historiae compendium*. There, his former teacher shed light on the history and onomastics of late antique emperors, using the evidence provided by inscriptions and coins to that end — much in the same way as Peutinger did a few years afterwards; Peutinger explicitly mentioned Leto's treatise in his letter to Christoph Welser,[53] and his own annotated copy of the *Compendium* may have served as the very first layer of the *Kaiserbuch*.[54]

Peutinger's special interest in the emperors' onomastics continued years after he had abandoned his *Kaiserbuch* project: the most recent antiquarian book in his library appears to be Cuspinianus's *De Caesaribus*. And, as we have seen, in his copy of the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis* Peutinger persisted in highlighting the names of Roman emperors, just as we find in his earlier manuscript epigraphic collections.[55] In fact, Mazzocchi's assemblage of the monumental inscriptions at the beginning of the *Epigrammata* may well have been one of, if not the main, reason why Peutinger lost interest in the book, once the emperors stopped featuring in the inscriptions.

Gerard González Germain
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
gerardggermain@gmail.com

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4029, ff. 231v–243v. There is only one partial edition that does not include the epigraphic part: see Erich König, *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel*, Munich 1923, pp. 125–126 no. 77.

[52] On the *Epistola ad Christophorum fratrem*, see Helmut Zäh, "Konrad Peutinger und Margarete Welser – Ehe und Familie im Zeichen des Humanismus", in Mark Häberlein, Johannes Burkhardt (eds.), *Die Welser: neue Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des oberdeutschen Handelshauses*, Berlin 2002, pp. 449–509 (457–466); id., "Die Margaritae Velseriae ad Christophorum fratrem epistola: Konrad Peutingers stolze Zwischenbilanz seiner Baschäftigung mit res römischen Antike, verfasst unter dem Namen seiner Frau", in Laube and Zäh, *Gesammeltes Gedächtnis* (see n. 3), pp. 102–107.

[53] Zäh, "Konrad Peutinger" (see n. 52), pp. 457–458.

[54] See above n. 48.

[55] See e.g. González Germain, "Una aproximación" (see n. 7), p. 134.